ABSTRACT

Title of thesis: REPRESENTATIONS OF FAMILIAR WILDLIFE IN GERMANY AND ENGLAND, 1520-1630

Ashley Scheffel Behringer, Master of Arts, 2013

Thesis directed by: Professor Philip Soergel
Department of History

This work uses Protestant propaganda, hunting tracts and forest laws, and natural histories to explore the depiction of deer, foxes, and hares in Germany and England, 1520-1630. Religious, venatorial, and natural historical discourses overlap with one another and the three differ more in the way in which they use real animals than in how they depict animals on the page. Continuing the theme of mixing the real and the symbolic, in portrayals of the characters of animals we see a mixture of real traits and anthropomorphic traits. Germany and England do not differ greatly in depiction of animals though they differ in several respects in the ways they used real animals. Deer, foxes, and hares are the example species because they were familiar, hunted, culturally significant animals and thus they can be compared to one another.

REPRESENTATIONS OF FAMILIAR WILDLIFE IN GERMANY AND ENGLAND, 1520-1630

by

Ashley Scheffel Behringer

Thesis submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate School of the
University of Maryland, College Park in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts
2013

Advisory Committee
Professor Philip Soergel, Chair
Professor Janna Bianchini
Professor Alejandro Cañeque

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES

Introduction

Fox is tricky, although it is doubtful he knows this. He makes his first great impact on Western literature in the fables of Aesop. In the Middle Ages, Reynard continued the foxish work of exploiting the foolish. The fox was up to his usual wily business in nineteenth-century America under the name Br'er Fox. The trickiness of foxes has been entrenched in Western culture for so long that depicting foxes as tricky is not a cliché: it's simply *true*. (See also: Ben Jonson's *Volpone*, Leoš Janáček's *The Cunning Little Vixen*, Disney's *Robin Hood*, and Roald Dahl's *Fantastic Mr. Fox*.)

One of the fox's most cunning periods was during the Reformation. Protestant propaganda painted fox as a duplicitous Catholic, even the Pope himself. Hunting manuals told stories of fox's wiles but presented the cleverness not as wicked but rather as a challenge for hunters to overcome. And yet they considered foxes mere vermin! Natural histories invariably depicted foxes as cunning, but to some authors this was a natural trait while to other it was a moral exemplar. Clearly, there were many ways of being a fox.

These different modes of foxiness exemplify the three utilizations of animals that form the topic of this paper: animals as religious symbols, animals as game, and animals as objects of natural history. These three categories are among the most common. (Animals as labor and animals as food also appear often.) They also have clear bodies of sources. For religious materials, a vast array of propaganda and theology beckons, from expensive volumes to cheap prints. For hunting, there are many manuals and forest laws that explain the practice in detail. For natural history, there are encyclopedic works on the natural world, many fine images, and even a few unusually accurate broadsheets.

All three categories sometimes have illustrations. Although I will focus on verbal descriptions, many illustrations depict unusual features or are especially accurate or inaccurate. These merit discussion.

The discourses of animals as religious symbols, as game, and as objects of natural history overlap messily. In general, symbolic works about animals employ them only as symbols. But sometimes the symbolism involves animals as game, thus overlapping with hunting works. There is even one example in this thesis of a symbolic work which ventures into a natural historical debate. Hunting works often provide information of a natural historical character. Natural histories also use symbolism and some have sections about hunting. Despite the lack of sharp distinction between the three different types of works, I believe the categories are workable since they explain different approaches to real animals (or in the case of symbolism, no real animals at all). They are also useful for discussion as I hope will be obvious in this thesis.

The periodization of this thesis begins in the 1520s with the Reformation and ends during the shift to Baconian natural history around 1630. There were many, many attitudes towards and practices involving familiar wildlife during this period. They would spread this thesis too thinly if included. I chose to limit symbolism to Protestant propaganda. Secular literature is far too vast a subject to broach. There has been a good deal of work done on metaphors about just one animal, deer, in the work of just one author, Shakespeare. The familiar figure of Reynard falls into this category as well. Heraldry provides a wealth of animal symbolism and is prevalent in allegorical broadsheets. Aside from Gervase Markham on hare and rabbit health, which is of natural

historical interest, I neglect the perspective of husbandry about captive deer, hare, and rabbit because I want to focus on wild animals.

I use the species of deer (red, fallow, and roe), fox, and hare (including rabbit) as points of comparison. These animals were well known to early modern Europeans and are frequently depicted in diverse sources from that period. I want to focus on a handful of species that can be talked about in the same terms. These species are wild, or at least semi-wild in large enclosures, they live in areas near to humans, and they are hunted. Their interactions with and uses to humans are totally different from those of horses, dogs, or farm animals. These broad similarities are easily overlooked because humans depicted the species so differently.

Religious materials, hunting tracts, and natural histories in often employ the same tropes, such as cowardly hare or noble deer, but use the trait to different ends. On the other hand, a single work sometimes presents one species in a variety of ways. Sometimes animals seem to think, especially when they are symbolic moral actors, while at other times they seem like bundles of instinct. Whether animals were intelligent or automatic, God made them and He made them theologically different from humans. On this point everyone agreed. But animals are as decidedly different from other species of animals as all animals are from humans. Authors depicted deer, fox, and hare as three separate characters. We saw above the different ways of being a fox. Imagine all the different ways of being an *animal*.

It is important to study depictions of animals during the Renaissance because the depictions often tell us more about humans than animals. (Not that studying animals for their own sake is not also worthwhile). Humans applied anthropoid class, gender, and

religious norms to animals even when the author's avowed purpose was other than didactic. Their frame of reference for imagining the lives of animals was their own culture. It is small wonder that animals appear frequently as symbols of human concepts.

The ways humans used real animals are also important historically, though that is not a focus of this paper and such uses appear only incidentally. Most early modern people depended on the animals around them for survival. They used animals as food, clothing, medicine, labor, transportation, and so forth. No natural history was complete without explaining the uses of animals. Many of the prescribed uses for animals are quite impractical, rooted in perceptions of animal character. Ideas about what animals were "like" influenced how people used animals.

Englishmen and Protestant Germans characterized deer, fox, and hare in approximately the same way and used them for similar symbolic purposes. But they exploited real animals in somewhat different manners and that lead to somewhat different sets of sources for each country. English hunting was a more elite activity than in Germany and thus English hunting tracts are more literary and influenced by fashionable French hunting. Building up a head start in botany, (the "fathers of botany" were the Germans Otto Brunfels, Hieronymus Bock, and Leonhart Fuchs), German natural histories from this period are superior to English ones.[1] Ultimately I found that Germany and England have more commonalities than differences. The commonalities are huge while the differences are trivial, like the German belief that the hare was diabolical or the English taste for fox hunting.

[1] Brian Ogilvie, *The Science of Describing: Natural History in Renaissance Europe* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008), 34.

For those categories of texts which purport to provide factual, practical information, that is to say hunting manuals and natural histories, I will also explore the accuracy of the different sources as regards deer, foxes, and hares. The standard of accuracy is what is true according to modern science. The mistakes the centuries old texts make are more illuminating than the many aspects of the lives of animals they get right. Sometimes natural historians make errors even about the rabbits right under their noses. It is not an unfair comparison to relate present day animal science to sixteenth-century materials in categories which can easily be explored through observation with the naked eye. The behaviors of deer, foxes, and hares were readily observable throughout Central Europe and yet people looked at them and saw something totally different from what was really going on.

Before beginning, we must clarify to which animals the terms fox, deer, and hare apply.

"Fox" in this paper refers to *Vulpes vulpes*, the red fox found throughout the Northern Hemisphere. The fox of Aesop's fables and Reynard the Fox are members of the same species as that which one could find in College Park today. Most sixteenth-century European images of a fox depict a creature which closely resembles *Vulpes vulpes*.

There are three species of deer found in Britain and Central Europe: red/Rothirsch, fallow/Dammhirsch, and roe/Reh. (One might have found moose in the sixteenth century in Prussia, but they do not appear in German hunting tracts and are treated as a novelty in most materials.) The red deer is the largest, the fallow deer is known for its spots and palmate antlers, and the roe deer is sometimes smaller than the

scent hounds following it. The fallow deer is not native to Britain but rather a Norman introduction, originally in enclosures.[2] Vocabulary in both sixteenth-century German and English sometimes distinguishes the species clearly and sometimes it does not. A hart is a male red deer while a buck can be roe or fallow. Male red deer are sometimes called stags but specifically, according to George Gascoigne, a stag is a five year old hart.[3] The German is worse. Conrad Gessner introduces each species in his *Thierbuch* with all known vocabulary. A young deer may also be called a *Reh* or a *Hind.*[4] Gessner recorded all knowledge whether he thought it correct or incorrect. He perhaps records here erroneous usage, people confusing small deer such as females, calves, and roes for one another. Nevertheless, Gessner never mingles species and ages and sexes like this, nor do the German hunting tracts.

Illustrations of deer or *Hirsch* without any narrower division usually depict what looks like a red deer. Hunting manuals often taken it for granted that unqualified deer are red deer. I follow their practice. Unspecified deer in this paper are of unknown species but we may guess that they are red deer.

The terminology for the animals of the family *Leporidae* is tortuous. In part, this is due to the late arrival of rabbits, a species native to Spain and southern France. Anglo-Saxons had no word for rabbits, a species brought over by the Normans and initially kept as a domestic animal in warrens. In Germany, rabbits arrived in the twelfth century but the first reference to rabbits as a wild species dates to 1423.[5] In Europe, the *Leporidae*

---

[2] Yalden, Derek, *The History of British Mammals* (Waltham: Academic Press, 1999), 156.
[3] George Gascoigne, *The Noble Arte of Venerie or Hunting* (London: Henry Bynneman, 1575), 237.
[4] Conrad Gessner, *Thierbuch. Das ist Außfuhrliche beschreibung und lebendige ja auch eigentliche Contrafactur*... (Heidelberg: Johan Lancellot, 1606), 79.
[5] Harry V. Thompson and Carolyn M. King, eds., *The European Rabbit: The history and biology of a successful colonizer* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), 9.

species are the European or Brown Hare, Alpine Hare, and European Rabbit. Hares are larger than rabbits and their young are more developed at birth. Sixteenth-century and modern day Germans use the term *Hase* to refer to both hares and rabbits while *Kaninchen* refers to just rabbits. An older word for rabbits is *Königlein* or the Latin word *Cuniculos*, from which both *Königlein* and coney derive. Pictures of what seem to be rabbits sometimes are sometimes labeled *Hase* and the absence of rabbits in some hunting manuals also suggests they fall into the category of *Hase*. (Taking the opposite route, modern day Americans erroneously call many animals rabbits which are actually hares). In the English of George Gascoigne, hares and conies are separate species while the word "rabet" refers to a young coney.[6] I will use the term hare to indicate hares and *Leporidae* of unknown species, and for the instances rabbits are specifically indicated, I shall follow suit.

Section 1: Symbol

There are two logical places to begin on the subject of religious and moral animal symbolism in Germany, England, and in fact anywhere in Western Europe: the Bible and Aesop. This section examines Protestant use of animal symbols. Protestants were more adept at disseminating their message in woodcuts and broadsheets than Catholics were.[7]

Luther and other reformers wanted to return to the Bible. For a Christian in the time of the Reformation, the vernacular Bible was by far the most important text and thus what it has to say about animals is important. But deer, fox, and hare appear less frequently in the Bible than horses, asses, dogs, lions, and even (according to the King James Version at least) unicorns. This scarcity might be one reason the depictions of

[6] Gascoigne, *The Noble Arte*, 237.
[7] R.W. Scribner, *For the Sake of Simple Folk: Popular Propaganda for the German Reformation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 231.

deer, fox, and hare in the Bible were, as we shall see, not as influential as those of Aesop and other classical authors.

The only mention of a hare in the Bible comes from Leviticus 11:16 and related passages which repeat the dietary injunction. The hare, "because he cheweth the cud, but divideth not the hoof" is unclean. This Jewish dietary tradition did not influence early modern Europeans views of that species. Christians disliked hares for their rapid reproduction, not their cud chewing. They took the great volume of mating as evidence of lasciviousness. Thus, lascivious hare is a symbol with basis in real animal behavior.

Some of the foxes the Bible refers to are probably jackals, but most translations do not differentiate between those two species. The most famous reference to foxes in the Bible comes from the Song of Solomon 2:15, "Take us the foxes, the little foxes, that spoil the vines: for our vines have tender grapes." Fox's taste for grapes was an influential theme in the Renaissance, one expressed by Aesop as well as the Bible. Surrounded by the sexual imagery of the Song of Songs, it is hard to accept the grapes as just grapes, so presumably this fox is lascivious. Whatever the Biblical author meant by this, German and English authors during the Reformation did not depict lust among fox's flaws.

Deer, like hares, appear in the Old Testament dietary laws. They are a clean, edible animal. The translations of Deuteronomy 14:5 in the King James Version and the Zürich Bible identify one of the edible cloven animals as an unspecified "deer"/"Hirtz" while another is specifically a roebuck.[8] The King James Version also speaks sometimes of fallow deer. Deer, like foxes and hares, appear mainly in the Old Testament. Besides serving as food, the Bible uses the roe in the Song of Solomon to represent a male lover.

[8] *Bibel Teütsch* (Zürich: Christoffel Froschouer, 1534), LXXX verso.

Something of this virility of deer, though applied to red deer rather than roe, appears in sixteenth-century European sources. Psalm 42:1, "As the hart panteth after the water brooks, so panteth my soul after thee, O God," was popular in England.

The animal symbolism seen in the sources for this thesis is mostly non-Biblical. Its written origins lie in Aesop, Pliny, and post-Biblical Christian thought. Its unwritten origins, which surely influenced popular broadsheets or hunting manuals, probably lie in the forests of Europe. Fox the trickster appears in different Indo-European traditions and there is no reason to assume that common animal traditions appeared in Central Europe and Britain only with the arrival of Romans or Christians.[9] Many impression of animal personality originate in the application of human character traits to natural behavior, so fleeing masses of hares might prompt different cultures to present hares as timid or stupid.

Aesop is the literary source most relevant to Protestant animal discourse. The sixteenth century in Protestant lands saw an Aesop Renaissance which found its way into sermons, broadsheets, and other materials. Educated and uneducated people alike knew the most popular fables in some form.[10] German readers who knew either Latin or German could read Heinrich Steinhöwel's translations of Aesop, which appeared in both those languages in the 1470s. Many of the fables are well known today in translations from the same Babrius and "Romulus" texts Steinhöwel used. In England, a vernacular Aesop likewise appeared early, printed by William Caxton in 1484.

---

[9] Hans-Jörg Uther, "The Fox in World Literature: Reflections on a 'Fictional Animal'," *Asian Folklore Studies* (2006), 134.

[10] Wolfgang Brückner, *Volkserzählung und Reformation; ein Handbuch zur Tradierung und Funktion von Erzählstoffen und Erzählliteratur im Protestantismus Volkserzählung und Reformation*, (Berlin: E. Schmidt, 1974), 712-713.

These famous fables do not require elaboration, but it is appropriate to highlight the basic characters of the different animals. The fox, as always, is clever and tricky. He is wary of lion, he tricks stork, and he rationalizes his inability to reach the grapes. Nevertheless, his excessive trickery sometimes comes back to kill him. The hare most famously loses a race to tortoise through his arrogance but he is also timid. The deer is a silly, vain beast who almost always dies at the hands of other animals or hunters. Unlike fox and hare, this Aesopian deer is mostly absent from early modern Germany and England. The clean and noble Biblical deer is more common.

Early modern German and English utilizers of animal symbolism thus drew upon a shared tradition. Authors adapted long established traits of beasts to make them symbols relevant to current religious controversies. Though the fox is wicked, at least most of the time, he is not always wicked in the same way. Though the hare is not admirable, she may be either a flighty fool or sin incarnate. Animal symbolism was unstandardized despite the longevity of certain tropes. But the main difference between religious animal symbolism in Germany and England is not meaning but rather the vessel of its conveyance.

German Protestant propagandists, in part due to the established woodcut tradition in Germany, more fully incorporated woodcuts into their cheap prints than the English did.[11] The illustrated broadsheet, with a picture and short text, is a medium very apt for a beast parable. Another difference in vehicles of animal symbolism is that no English reformer had a cult as powerful as Luther's in which followers passed down everything he said as is it were scripture. Luther regularly employed animal symbolism in his

[11] Tessa Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety, 1550-1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 131.

sermons and table talk. Multiple authors collect anecdotes of Luther and others. Thus, for the section on German animal symbolism, I draw from many little stories plus one book length work by Luther.

For the English section, I rely upon books. Even in periods when reformers were not welcome in England, they managed to get their books printed on the Continent. Sixteenth-century England saw a particular trend in animal symbolism: the Romish fox. This fox represented the Pope or another prominent Catholic. By examining just the Romish fox, we see the subtle variations in the depiction of that animal.

Subsection 1.1: Symbol, Germany

Deer, foxes, and hares appear in a variety of roles in German Protestant texts. In fact, animal symbolism in German religious texts is more erratic than in English religious texts or German or English natural histories. The hare is the most inconsistently portrayed species, being either fearful or devilish. One German broadsheet employs a fox in a Reynardian role, which we do not see elsewhere in this thesis even though many authors casually reference Reynard. While the Reynardian fox is an antihero, in other Protestant sources the fox is a symbol of the Pope or even Herod. Deer appear less frequently but when they do they have positive connotations of nobility or holiness.

Much of the inconsistency has to do with the different mediums of the sources. Animal symbolism in table talk takes the form of brief storytelling, broadsheets incorporate an image and brief text, and books can be either a coherent narrative of an assemblage of miscellanea from various sources. Example books contain any kind of source imaginable. But what all the sources have in common, besides being German and from the same period, is that they employ animals as religious and/or moral symbols.

One common method of animal symbolism was adapting an existing fable. The 1618 broadsheet "A Very Short and Useful Fable of Tyranny" ("Ein sehr kurtzweilige vnd hochnutzliche Fabel von der Tyranney") is an adaptation of the fable of lion in his cave. In this story, the King of Beasts summons his councilors wolf, ass, and fox to ask their opinion of his palace (a cave). The wolf is critical and the ass flatters, so lion tears them apart. But the fox pretends to have the sniffles. He holds a smelly handkerchief before lion who agrees that he must go away to recover. The fox runs away from lion not just for the moment, but forever.

According to Wolfgang Harms's commentary on the broadsheet, nothing about the print indicates a reference to a particular court.[12] The text is similar to that of Erasmus Alberus (c.1500-1553), the Protestant satirist. The story follows several found in Babrius or the Romulus Corpus. Babrius is our chief ancient source for "Aesop." Thus, the broadsheet falls firmly into the Protestant Aesop tradition.

The fox has a typically cunning adventure in "Tyranney." After seeing the fates of wolf and ass, the fox knows the danger of speaking. He "thought to hold his teeth shut" ("Fuchs gedacht zuhalten sein gebiss"). He executes his plan to pretend to be ill. After the fox fails to heed the lion's later summons, "the fox, his guile made well, lightly marked this trick" ("Der Fuchs/ dem sein list wol erschoffen/ Merckte gar leichtlich disen possen"). Henceforth, he will sleep in safety.[13]

The fox is the hero of this story in the independent, anti-authority style of Reynard. That famous fox was well known in Germany as Reineke Fuchs. The explanation on the fable reiterates the opposition to bad Earthly authority found in the

[12] Wolfgang Harms et al., eds., *Deutsche illustrierte Flugblätter des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts*, Bd. 6 (Tübingen: M. Niemeyer, 1997), 242.
[13] Harms, *Illustrierte Flugblätter* 6, 243.

fable, but it goes on to emphasize adherence to the better authority, God. The fable is thus only half successful in conveying its message via beast symbolism. Fox's nature suits him well to rejecting tyranny, but it is extremely rare that he is ever a symbol of piety. In the fable, he does not trade lion for a higher power. That part requires more explanation.

The classical stereotypes about animals could be adapted for Lutheran purposes even without turning to established fables. Many broadsheets take this route. Consider "Depiction of Various Alarming Images of the Catholic Service" ("Abzaichnus etlicher wolbedenklicher Bilder vom Römischer Adgotdinst"). This broadsheet from Straßburg incorporates the satirical animal carvings which decorated a column in the Straßburger Münster until the French destroyed them in 1681. According to Harms, this broadsheet went through many printings.[14]

fig. 1, excerpt from "Abzaichnus etlicher wolbedenklicher Bilder vom Römischer Adgotdinst"[15]

The top panel of the print depicts a mock Catholic procession (fig. 1). The animals walk on their hind legs like humans. A bear leads with Holy Water, a wolf follows with a cross, next comes a hare with a candle, and finally a boar and a ram bearing a fox. Some of the symbolism is fairly straightforward. For example, the wolf is a

[14] ibid. 88.
[15] ibid. 89.

sinner because he hunts sheep. But the fox is confusing to look at – he could be dead, asleep, or a figure the animals are carrying. In fact, the text clarifies he is a *Heuchler*, a hypocrite or pretender, posing as a sheep: "The pretender poses as a sheep/ we laud a fox asleep" ("Die Heuchler stellen sich wie Schaf/ lauren wir ein Fuchs in schlaff").[16] The fox in sheep's clothing, a rather small fox by the looks of him, takes the place of the Lamb of God. The text compares him to the "priest Bel." If you but wake him, his fox-craft will be discovered. ("Aber da man in heut erweckt/ Da wurd sein Fuchslist klar entdeckt.") This fox is tricky, but unlike most foxes, he tricks from a position of power – presumably, being one of the lower beasts, he reached power through trickery in the first place. Perhaps it is a devil rather than a fox as the poem earlier states that the devil disguises himself a monk. "It is in Rome the hellish fox/ Father of all foxes" ("Das ist zu Rom der höllisch Fuchs/ Aller Fuchs vater"). The cross imagery furthers the image of the Catholic fox as an imposter of everything for which Christianity should stand. It might also mean that the fox's influence crosses the world. But in the spirit of the Reformation, true Christians can fight against the fox. "Today, one learns to know his fox/ And wants to run the fox out of his hole/ That he rages and defends himself to the last/ Like a quarry already stuck in a net" ("Heut/ da man sein Fuchs lernt kennen/ Und will den Fuchs aus der höl prennen/ Da wüt er/ und wehrt sich zur lez/ Wie ain Wild/ das schon steckt im Nez"). This is a reversal of the common German symbol of the devil and/or death as hunters pursuing humankind.[17]

The broadsheet also uses the hare in a typical way. He carries the light which can illuminate hearts, but out of fear he does not let it shine. "So it is found with the learned/

[16] ibid. 89
[17] ibid. 89.

They well recognize something of the light" – but they do not share it ("Also ists mit dem Glehrten gefanden/ Die wol das Licht etwas erkanten").[18] They prefer to rule darkness. The author uses this hare to accuse the Catholic Church of cowardice as well as malice.

Lutherans also use the hare as a symbol of the devil. This probably builds upon the image of hares as cowardly and lascivious – they reproduce rapidly and their ears in many woodcuts look like female genitilia. A story in Andreas Hondorff's *Promptuarium Exemplorum*, an *Exempelbuch*, tells of a nobleman hunter who comes across a hare. His horse dies and the hare vanishes.[19] The nobles come together and cry out: "the last of the devil" ("der letzte des Teufels"). Luther uses this as a teaching moment. He says, "One should not invite the devil as a guest, he comes unprayed for. It is always full of devils around us." ("Man sol den Teuffel nicht zu gaste laden/ er kompt sonst wol unbeten/ Ja es ist alles voller Teuffel umb uns.")[20]

Luther also tells over a table of noble people in Thüringen who hunted hares one night on the Hörselberge. The propensity of hares to be on low mountains at night could be seen as related to Witches' Sabbaths, which also convened in the hills in the dark. The hunters catch eight hares and bring them home and hang them. The next morning, they find horse heads.[21] (Presumably the heads of their own horses.) No explanation follows this story, but it is likely the same Lutheran lesson about the omnipresent devil. Mention of the devil in disguise as a hare, this time in Rottweil, occurs yet another time in *Promptuarium*.[22]

---

[18] ibid. 69.
[19] Andreas Hondorff, *Promptuarium Exemplorum* (Leipzig: 1576), fol. 92r.
[20] *Promptuarium Exemplorum*, fol. 92v.
[21] *Promptuarium Exemplorum*, fol. 92v.
[22] *Promptuarium Exemplorum*, fol. 94r.

Thus it is interesting that Luther elsewhere compares a hare being run before hounds with the predation of the Catholic Church. He explains, "Namely, so rages the Pope and Satan that he brings the saved souls [to death or perdition] and doesn't bother about my efforts." ("Nämlich, so wütet der Papst und der Satan, daß er auch die geretteten Seelen umbringt, und meine Bemühungen kümmern ihn nicht.")[23] The hare as saved soul is unlike most hare symbolism. Luther writes about an actual hunt he witnessed, and thus bases his comparison on a visual experience (a little beast running from destroyers) rather than established symbolism. As some of the observations from natural historians will show, seeing an animal produces a different effect than reading about it. Observers of animals present animals positively or negatively in different situations, as Luther does with hare.

The *Promptuarium* has almost as much to say about foxes as it has about hares. One story repeats a saying from Plutarch's *Moralia*. A boy steals a young fox, presumably from humans, as they come searching for the fox. He hides the fox under his clothes and it bites him to death. The boy explains to his peers that it is better to die with honor than live as a thief.[24] He dies because of his crime and the physical representation of that crime is the bites of the fox. Although not himself a thief in this story, the young fox serves to teach a lesson about thievery. The Aesopian fox also dispatches lessons to his victims.

The *Promptuarium* quotes a phrase commonly attributed to Celestine V concerning Boniface VIII that "he came to the papacy as a fox, ruled as a lion, and died as a dog" ("er zum Bapsthumb kommen wie ein Fuchs/ hat regieret wie ein Lew/ ist

[23] Martin Luther, *Luther Deutsch: Die Werke Martin Luthers in neuer Auswahl für die Gegenwart vol. 10* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1983), 99.
[24] *Promptuarium Exemplorum*, fol. 384v.

gestorben wie ein Hundt").[25] The reference to the fox obviously refers to his craftiness, as the first sentence of the paragraph says that Boniface came to the papacy through "cunning" ("listigkeit"). This association of the Pope with a fox is seen frequently in both German and English propaganda, and this quote about Boniface also appears in the work of Thomas Bell and others.

In the Gospel according to Luke, Jesus calls Herod a fox for plotting His death. Martin Luther calls Herod a fox for a different ill deed in his 1532 work about the fourteenth chapter of Matthew, *Von der entheuptung Johannis des Teuffers durch den Fuchs König Herodem* (*On the Beheading of John the Baptist by the Fox King Herod*). In this pamphlet, Luther uses the word fox so often that it begins to lose any distinct meaning and acquires overtones of every kind of vice. Nevertheless there are common themes of dissembling and hypocrisy.

Luther begins by describing the Biblical event of "how Herod the fox (as Christ Himself named him) brought and killed John the Baptist treacherously and sneakily, like a true fox" ("wie Herodes der Fuchs (wie in Christus selber nennet) Johannen den Teuffer, so verreterlich und meuchlingen/ habe umb gebracht und getödt/ Wie ein rechter Fuchs").[26] Throughout the work, Luther consistently calls the betrayal of John, particularly Herod's misrepresentation of his intent, "foxish." It is not the imprisonment and execution of John which makes Herod a fox but rather the duplicitous manner in which the events occurred.

Matthew writes that Herod fears to kill John because the multitude considers him a prophet. Luther gives as an example of Herod's "fox work" ("Fuchs stücke") that "he

[25] *Promptuarium Exemplorum*, fol. 347r.
[26] Martin Luther, *Von der entheuptung Johannis des Teuffers durch den Fuchs König Herodem* (Magdeburg: c. 1550), Ai(v)-Aii.

poses (as Matthew writes) that he has such fear of the people that he will not kill John because the people hold him for a prophet" ("er sich stellet (wie Mattheus schreibet) er habe sich fur dem volck gefürchtet/ das er Johannen nicht tödtet/ denn das volck hielt in fur einen Propheten").[27] Curiously, in Matthew 14, even in Luther's own translation, it does not seem that Herod lies about his fear of the people and initial reluctance to kill John. His fear of offending the unnamed daughter of Herodias simply outweighs his fear of revolution. If we assume that Herod really does fear the people, then his duplicitous position is that he actually intended to kill John all along despite being afraid. We cannot ascribe courage to Herod but unthinking overconfidence seems possible. It is also foxish, though not in the cunning sense that came to dominate Western impressions of that animal. The fox, going back to Aesop, is a cowardly beast who nevertheless performs some reckless actions when his greed and scheming drive him forward.

If Herod had kept his promise, "then it would have been written to show what a pious, simple, good little beast a fox is; it pleases Herod to let John live" ("Das wird alles also geschrieben/ anzuzeigen/ wie ein from/ einfeltig gütig thierlein ein fuchs ist/ Er Herodes liesse Johannen wol gerne leben").[28] Luther could have expressed the thought as "a pious, simple, good man" but instead he takes the sarcastic route and calls Herod a fox even in a hypothetical situation in which he does the right thing. The stated positive attributes ("pious, simple, good") contrast with fox as a symbol for petty villainy. The fact that Herod is a fox overrules the possibility that sparing John the Baptist would make Herod "good." For Herod is always a fox. He married his niece. He was involved in the death of Jesus. Saving John the Baptist would not have saved Herod.

[27] Luther, *Fuchs König Herodem*, Aiii.
[28] ibid. section XII

Luther's foxes are peculiarly steadfast in their irreligion. Real foxes and many literary or allegorical foxes are opportunists, but Herodian foxes are resolutely bad. They are Papists, although Luther in this work mostly avoids explicitly attacking the Pope. He suggests towards the end of his work that the story of Herod is also the story of our time. Luther depicts the Pope, who has hypocritically praised Christ in his bulls and so devoured the world, laughing at and mocking Christians.[29] Hypocrisy is Herodian and foxish. Earlier, Luther described modern Junkers as Herods. They "pose as though the Gospel were favorable to their hearts, but secretly they hold it up to mockery and laugh" ("...stellen / als weren sie dem Evangelio von hertzen günstig / Aber heimlich halten sie es fur einen spot / lachen...").[30] What these hypocrites really want to say is "O little foxes, little foxes, how did it so well happen that you devoured the earth" (O Füchsleine / Füchsleine / wie were irs so wol werd / das euch die erde verschlünge").[31] The repetition of vocabulary, "lache[n]," "spott," and "verschlünge," makes the actions of Herod, foxes, Junkers, and the Pope the same.

Swine, who belong with fox among the lowlier animals, can be proselytized into sensing their own baseness, but "the foxes remain impenitent and despair of God and his word" ("die Füchse bleiben unbusfertig und verzagen an Gott und seinem Wort").[32] It is better to be a pig than a fox in the same way that Luther later says that it is better to be Pilate than Herod (who is Satan's colonel *and* captain *and* lieutenant) and better to be a

[29] ibid. image 24
[30] ibid. Aii
[31] ibid. Aii
[32] ibid. B.

heathen than a "wicked [lit. godless] Jew or Christian" ("Gottloser Jüde / oder Christe").[33] Like the Pope, the fox knows better but actively chooses evil.

Deer have appeared infrequently thus far. There are two historical examples of deer in the *Promptuarium*, namely the deaths of Basil the Macedonian and William Rufus. These royal examples align with the tradition of the deer as noble. If a king is going to die hunting, it best be in pursuit of a worthy beast. Although the holiness of the deer is less uniform than his association with nobility, the deer is usually a good animal. We can briefly look to other sources to learn about the religious symbolism of deer. Deer, but not hares or foxes, appear in the heavenly menagerie of Job Fincels's *Wunderzeichenbuch*.[34] In German art, he appears very frequently alongside Adam and Eve in paradise before the Fall. St. Hubert, or sometimes St. Eustace, saw a crucifix between the antlers of a deer. There is a Dürer engraving of St. Eustace and the deer. It is somewhat surprising not to have found more examples of positive deer symbolism in broadsheets and Hondorff.

Just to complicate matters further, the hare, who is usually either lustful or timid, is sometimes a symbol of the Trinity. Three hares in a triangle with their ears interlocked form a symbol of non-Christian origins which many European churches adopted in the Middle Ages.[35] Three hares appear at the feet of Dürer's Holy Family, surely a reference to the Trinity. Hare as signifier refers to a variety of signifieds. The contexts in which deer, fox, and hare may represent different things even within sixteenth-century Germany

[33] ibid. Biii. (25)
[34] Wolfgang Brückner, *Volkserzählung und Reformation; ein Handbuch zur Tradierung und Funktion von Erzählstoffen und Erzähllliteratur im Protestantismus Volkserzählung und Reformation*, (Berlin: E. Schmidt, 1974), 355.
[35] Chris Chapman, "The Three Hares Project," http://www.chrischapmanphotography.co.uk/hares/index.html.

are beyond the scope of this paper, but in most early modern German discourse they stood for nobility, cunning, and lust or cowardice.

Subsection 1.2: Symbol, England

The concept of the Romish fox was very popular among sixteenth and seventeenth century English Protestant reformers. William Turner coined the term in 1543.[36] While subsequent authors use the phrase Romish fox to refer to the Pope, Turner's titular Romish fox is Stephen Gardiner and John Bale's Romish fox is Edmond Bonner. These English foxes nevertheless serve a chief fox in Rome.

Turner, Bale, and the other two authors examined in this section, Thomas Bell and J. Baxter, all write against Popery but under different regimes and with different goals. Nevertheless, their Romish foxes share five common traits. First, they are quarry to be hunted. Second, they live in holes or dens. Third, they employ young foxes or cubs as their minions. Fourth, they are crafty, wily, cunning, subtle, and hypocritical. And finally, the Romish fox interacts with other symbolic animals like Christian sheep or deer or the Mohammedan lion.

William Turner was a reforming cleric and naturalist who twice went into exile among like minded brethren on the Continent. Turner writes in his first Romish fox work *The huntyng and fyndyng out of the Romyshe foxe* that he has little knowledge of hunting. He did, however, have excellent knowledge of botany and ornithology and he was a friend of Conrad Gessner, even visiting him in Zurich.[37] Unfortunately, Turner's descriptions of foxes do not exhibit knowledge greater natural historical prowess than the

[36] Patricia Cole Swenson, *Noble Hunters of the Romish Fox: Religious Reform at the Tudor Court, 1543-1564* (PhD diss. University of California, Berkeley, 1981), 3.
[37] Charles E. Raven, *English Naturalists from Neckam to Ray: A Study of the Making of the Modern World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1947), 82.

works of other Romish fox authors, though Turner's third Romish fox book contains an interesting argument about spontaneous generation.

The huntyng and fyndyng out of the Romyshe foxe, which more then seven yeares hath bene hyd amongst the bisshoppes of Englonde dates from 1543 and was first published in Basel, where Turner was in exile. The "seven yeares" refers to the number of years since the Act of Supremacy which supposedly rid the English Church of Roman control. Turner dedicates his work to Henry VIII, even though he does not feel the King has properly reformed his Church. Turner bids on the title page that someone give the book to the King before the bishops condemn it.

Turner distinguishes between the common fox and the Romish fox. He adapts behaviors of the common fox into Romish equivalents, placing deceit and greed in the Church instead of the animal world. The common fox flees to holes in the ground when he is chased. Likewise the Romish fox has "a great hole in the hygh aultare" ordained by the "gentlemen of the chyrche."[38] Lambs' bones scatter the altar. Turner suspects that if the Romish fox is not in the hole, he is curled up in a bishop's miter. Turner turns the image of physical foxes squeezing into tight spots into symbolically foxish people squeezing their way into positions.

After Turner establishes that the fox supposedly banished from England was the Pope, he writes more often of the Pope than the Romish fox. Turner says that the Pope is banished from England but papal doctrine remains. He lists grievances against crucifixes, communion in one kind, idolatry, masses for the dead, and other lingering Catholic doctrines and practices.

[38] William Turner, *The huntyng and fyndyng out of the Romyshe foxe, which more then seven yeares hath bene hyd amongst the bisshoppes of Englonde* (Basel: 1543), 7.

Turner ends his list of grievances by asking for help in hunting the fox, particularly from those who "are none of the foxes favourers."[39] Turner then drops the fox metaphor for the last two thirds of his book. The verbose, doctrinal tone of the latter part of Turner's *Huntyng and fyndyng* is very different from the section at the beginning concerned with foxes. Perhaps Turner developed the fox metaphor after he wrote the bulk of the text.

A parody of *Huntyng and fyndyng* is mentioned in the Harleian manuscript "The Imprisonment of John Davis." Written sometime in the 1560s, supposedly by John Davis himself, it recounts the young Davis's imprisonment as an alleged heretic. Davis depicts Papists reading *The hunting of the hare with curres and bandoges* and holding it in higher esteem than the Bible.[40] It is unlikely that such a book ever existed, but the imaginary parody of Turner situates hare as the opposite of fox. Presumably, if Protestants hunt the verminous fox, then Papists must hunt the harmless hare. This goes against other depictions of hares as sinful. John Foxe adapted the story of John Davis for his *Book of Martyrs*.

John Bale published a Romish fox work certainly after Turner did. The title makes clear whom he considers to be the Romish fox: *Yet a course at the Romyshe foxe: A dysclosynge or openynge of the Manne of synne, Contayned in the late Declaratyon of the Popes olde faythe made by Edmonde Boner bysshopp of London*. In particular, Bale is angry that Bonner made William Tolwyn, parson of St. Anthony's, publicly recant after being accused of being a heretic. He also laments that Tolwyn said what Bonner wanted him to say to avoid martyrdom.

---

[39] Turner, *The huntyng and fyndyng out of the Romyshe foxe*, 29.
[40] John Gough Nichols, ed. *Narratives of the Days of the Reformation*, (London: Camden Society, 1859), 61.

But Bale depicts Bonner more often as the "man of sin" than the Romish fox. Like William Turner's book from the same year, the infrequent references to the Romish fox make the title somewhat misleading. Later books about the Romish fox commit more fully to the metaphor, as Luther did with Herod the fox in his *Beheading*. There are nevertheless several juicy descriptions of foxish behavior in Bale's book. Bonner utilizes "A Craftye custome" of "the wylye foxe" when he flatters the people to make them more receptive to his wicked teachings.[41] Bale also calls him subtle and wolfish. (Conflation of foxes and wolves is something we shall see again.) Bale repeatedly writes about Bonner's deception of Londoners through flattery. He quotes what he calls a "common adage," "whan the wylye foxe fawneth, beware your chyckens."[42] But this proverb does not resemble what Bonner is doing. In the quoted adage, as in most stories of foxes' flattery, the fox flatters those in power, in this case the owner of the chickens. But Bonner flatters ordinary citizens, the chickens themselves. The Romish fox is always strangely powerful for a fox, typically a beast not interested in permanent rule over others. It is never clear if Bonner fears the mob, as Herod did.

William Turner published a sequel to his first Romish fox work, *The rescuynge of the romishe fox other wyse called the examination of the hunter devised by steven gardiner,* in 1545 in Bonn. The title page calls the work the "second course of the hunter at the romishe fox & hys advocate & sworne patrone steven gardiner." But the first Romish fox work did not clearly identify Gardiner and the Romish fox character variably represents the Pope and his English defender. Gardiner responded to the first work and his response forms the dialogue of the rescuer in *Rescuynge. Rescuynge* is

[41] John Bale, *Yet a course at the Romyshe foxe* (Antwerp: Olyver Jacobson, 1543), 15.
[42] Bale, *Yet a course at the Romyshe foxe*, 44.

twice as long as the earlier book and features a woodcut illustration of a fox with tonsure and crosier, the only visual depiction of the Romish fox in any of these books (fig. 2). Clearly, the success of Turner's first Romish fox book justified the expense of an illustration in the sequel. In the woodcut, the fox's ears are partially cut off. A poem explains this is because "My son steven gardiner with wepyng teares/ Hath cut away the toppes of myn eares/ But the rest of my body abydeth still."[43] The change from the Catholic Church to the Church of England was only cosmetic and the bulk of the Pope's doctrines remain.

fig. 2, the Romish fox

Turner states in his dedication, again to Henry VIII, that his initial success in hunting the Romish fox was halted when Gardiner "drove my houndes from the beste" and said "that the beaste was no fox/ but one of your [the King's] rede dear."[44] Gardiner claims that the fox is actually a harmless, noble deer. Turner explains that only the fox's ears have been removed, the rest of him, including his "gorgious and fayre tale"

[43] William Turner, *The rescuynge of the romishe fox other wyse called the examination of the hunter devised by steven gardiner* (Bonn: Laurenz von der Meulen, 1545), Ai(v).
[44] Turner, *The rescuynge of the romishe fox*, Aii(v)

remains.[45] It is not clear which particular aspect of Popery the tail, singled out, represents. It is possibly the ornate clerical vestments which Turner so dislikes.

Gardiner was one of the defenders of the fox discussed in the first book but now he is on the offensive, accusing and judging. Turner identifies Gardiner as the maintainer of the fox. Turner continues his Romish fox metaphor throughout, further suggesting that the earlier work was not initially intended as fox metaphor, since it mostly ignores foxes. Readers must also have reacted favorably to the fox metaphor, since Turner expands upon it. He covers the same topics as in the first Romish fox book, but greatly expands the section on priestly marriage and ventures more into the role of contemporary figures such as Martin Bucer.

The Hunter and the Rescuer debate for the duration of the book. The Rescuer accuses the Hunter of poaching deer rather than hunting the Romish fox. The Hunter explains that in the park (the popish Church of England) the deer (Christians) are given no meat at all or only spoiled meat (withholding of scripture in English).[46] There is no ambiguity in the allegory, as Turner explains everything. Turner continues to call worshippers deer, "the red dere of christis hyrde."[47] To sixteenth-century Englishmen, red deer were beasts with almost exclusively positive characteristics, but not the sort of characteristics one expects to describe Christians. The red deer is noble, proud, and somewhat aggressive. A more natural allegory, one Turner used in his next book, would be to speak of foxes and lambs, since Christ is a shepherd and foxes eat small lambs. But Turner chose deer because deer are the property of the King just as English Christians are the King's subjects.

[45] ibid. Aii(v)
[46] ibid. Avi
[47] ibid. Avii

Turner repeatedly insists that contrary to Gardiner's claims, the Romish fox has not been driven out from England. Turner says that it is typical of a fox that he would pretend to be dead. Why should anyone believe Gardiner, "in whose hows of late a yong fox or ii was founde as ye cannot your selfe de ni."[48] This is a reference, explained several pages later, to Gardiner's nephew and secretary German, who plotted against Cranmer. Bishops shelter a growing generation of young foxes in their homes.

In one of the most interesting uses of the fox metaphor, Turner tells a story about fox and lion in which Gardiner is the fox and Bucer the lion. The "crafty subtiltie of this wylie fox" leads him to tell lion that they must fight. But first, lion must pull out his large teeth and claws so that the fight will end peacefully. This represents how Gardiner forces Bucer to argue without his weapon, scripture.[49] (Again, Turner spells everything out for those who might not "get" it.) We also saw fox trick lion in the Protestant broadsheet "Ein sehr kurtzweilige vnd hochnutzliche Fabel von der Tyranney," but in that case the lion was a symbol of tyranny. Here, Bucer the lion is one of the good guys, though not very efficient.

The Hunter compares the Rescuer's dialectic to a fox fleeing the hunter. The "fox dar not adventure to run in the playn way/ for fear of the howndes" just as the protectors of the Romish fox avoid directly answering questions and instead change the subject.[50] Fox in Aesop is a persuasive, silver tongued beast towards other animals, but he has not human language and cannot argue with hunters. The Romish fox escapes in typical crude

[48] ibid. Bvi(v)
[49] ibid. Li(v)-Lii
[50] ibid. Evi

foxish fashion by befouling his pursuers and running away. The Romish fox's dung is slander.[51]

Turner returned to foxes with *The hunting of the fox and the wolfe because they make havocke of the sheepe of Christ Jesus*. Turner wrote this work during the reign of Mary I while he was in exile yet again. (He had returned to England under Edward VI.) It was first published as *The Huntyng of the Romyshe Wolfe* in 1555 and later reprinted with a lengthier introduction by John Knox in the 1565 version consulted by me. The reprint publicizes both wolf and fox in the title. The book takes the form a dialogue between the Hunter (our hero), the Forester (an honest Englishman), and the Dean (who has Catholic inclinations).

As suggested by the title, Turner is no longer concerned simply with foxes. The Hunter believes that England is overrun with wolves. The Hunter explains that the number of foxes holds steady even as the number of hunters grows and there has been an uptick in the number of sheep killed. Foxes cannot achieve this: it must be wolves. The speakers propose various reasons why wolves should have appeared in England. Their suggestions are fascinating and show Turner's knowledge of the natural historical debate over spontaneous generation. Turner mistakenly believed that barnacle geese were born from barnacles based on a source he thought was credible.[52] Romish foxes turn into Romish wolves in Turner's book but the Dean raises astute objections to spontaneous generation of common vermin. Perhaps symbolic animals experience strange births that real animals do not.

[51] ibid. Nvi
[52] F.D. Hoeniger and J.F.M. Hoeniger, *The Development of Natural History in Tudor England* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1969), 33.

The Hunter explains that God created certain species which spawn without parents in isolated areas such as islands or ditches of water separate from other aquatic bodies. House mice appear in structures miles distant from any others. The Dean, following the course of recent natural historical scholarship, argues against parentless birth. He says that spawn were probably transported on the wings of waterfowl. As for the house mice, field mice probably infested the house and became house mice.[53]

The Hunter says that God makes species appear as if out of the ground in order to punish people. But his proposed solution to the mysterious appearance of wolves is that the wolves are old foxes which turned into wolves. He cites as precedent a caterpillar turning into a butterfly (then thought to be two separate species), therefore "It is not... against nature / that an imperfit beast should be changed into a more perfit of an other kinde." The wicked cunning of foxes has been perfected in wolves during the reign of Bloody Mary.[54] Stephen Gardiner himself turned into a wolf while imprisoned in the Tower. From henceforth, Turner writes of wolves rather than foxes.

Our study of the Romish fox advances in time to 1598 with Thomas Bell's *The Hunting of the Romish Foxe*. Bell did not face a Church of England quite so full of lingering Popery as Bale or Turner did. Bell is more concerned with the malevolent Pope himself than papists in England. Bell says that his book is "for the common good of the vulgar sort, and of other younge studentes, who either for wante of bookes, or for lacke of time, or other defectes, can not so easilye espie the subtile waies, of this Romish Foxe, or finde out his secrete dennes."[55]

---

[53] William Turner, *The hunting of the fox and the wolfe because they make havocke of the sheepe of Christ Jesus* (London: 1565), 12
[54] Turner, *The hunting of the fox and the wolfe*, 13.
[55] Thomas Bell, *The Hunting of the Romish Foxe* (London: Richard Bradocke, 1598), A4.

Bell begins his book with a list of the hounds who hunt the Romish fox. In the introduction he confusingly says it is Romish hounds who hunt the Romish fox, and this list make that statement clear. Aquinas is a hound here, so are Gaetano da Thiene and Jean Charlier de Gerson, Catholics all. The list includes many Spaniards such as Bartolomé Carranza, Diego de Covarubias y Leyva, and Domingo de Soto.[56] These figures are reformers or conciliarists, "good" Catholics. Why doesn't Bell have Protestants hunt the Romish fox? It is more fitting, he writes, that the Pope's own followers point out his errors. The criticisms of the hounds seem truer if they come from parties who have not outright rejected the Pope. Bell repeatedly tells the Pope that it is "thine owne" who make these criticisms.

Bell, echoing Turner, claims to have found "the secrete Caves, Dennes, and holes" in which the Romish fox hides.[57] The hound representing Gerson says "O Pope, have not thy predecessours made their beginning like Foxes and theeves and in the end dyed like dogges?"[58] In saying they began like foxes, he refers specifically to cases of accession to the papal throne through irregular means. This echoes, Gerson freely admits, something said of Boniface VIII: "He entred as a foxe, he reigned as a Wolfe, he died as a dogge."[59] A fox would of course resort to trickery to get what he wanted. Hounds pursue the Pope throughout Bell's work, which is less paranoid than earlier Romish fox books.

A toile for two-legged foxes, written by J. Baxter and published in London in 1600, raises many theological objections to the Catholic Church, but it is also a patriotic

[56] ibid. A6.
[57] ibid. A3(v).
[58] ibid. 17.
[59] ibid. 18.

work which repeatedly praises Elizabeth and the virtue of Christian England. Baxter extols the peace and prosperity of England compared to its Catholic neighbors. He especially loathes the violent actions of Spain. The anti-Catholicism of Baxter's work has much to do with politics as well as piety.

Baxter begins the main text by explaining that God's Church, symbolized by a lamb, shall always have enemies. In scripture, he writes, the enemies of the Church are called lions and tigers, but covert, false enemies are called either foxes or wolves in sheep's clothing.[60] Biblical examples of the fox/wolf type include Pharisees and Herodians. These are the enemies who want "to entrap the Lord of the vineyard."[61] The Bible compares God's kingdom to a vineyard in several places. Baxter interprets the Biblical verse "Take us the foxes, the little foxes, which destroy the vines" as a commandment for "Foxes to be taken."[62] It is surprising that so few accounts of heretical foxes emphasize the vine angle.

The text calls foxes an enemy more dangerous than lions and tigers. Foxes have a long history, including perpetrating various early Christian heresies such as Nestorianism and Apollinarianism. Today's foxes have a leader "an olde gray Foxe, which under the colour of the Church of Rome... doth seeke continually to supplant the vineyard of the Lord."[63] This fox is cruel and subtle, and has raised his cubs to spread treacherous dogma. He wants to inspire the common people to rebel against Elizabeth and her laws. The message from "Rainard" to his cubs is "Give me thy hart and it sufficeth!"[64] In this and other sources authors use Reynard as a name for any fox rather than that specific

[60] J. Baxter, *A toile for two-legged foxes* (London: Thomas Man, 1600), 12.
[61] ibid. 13.
[62] ibid. 151.
[63] ibid. 15.
[64] ibid. 17.

character. (Incidentally, Master Reynard the Fox is nothing like the Romish fox.) The Pope's "Foxlike wilines" allows him to see the many of the English are potential traitors against their Queen.

Can the fox play the lion? Yes, he is indeed capable of bloody deeds against Christians. Baxter loathes the Spanish actions in the Low Countries and massacres in France, where the crosses and saints' medals worn by Catholics are like the Mark of the Beast.[65] But good Christians can actually learn something from fox, or at least the Aesopian fox who noted that many tracks entered the lion's den and none came out again.[66] This fable indicates that Protestants should be less trusting of Catholics, as fox distrusts lion.

Baxter says that the four legged fox reeks, and so, morally, do the two legged foxes. His lists the various personal failings and impieties of popes, including "Joan the bitch-Foxe."[67] Baxter lists three kinds of cunning employed by foxes: ranging far and wide so as not to get caught in their dens, traveling by night in disguise, and preying on the young. Real foxes, of course, are nocturnal hunters and due to their size can only take small prey, but unlike two legged foxes they do not range far and wide. Baxter also notes that just as common foxes are ravenous, so are two legged foxes greedy for material wealth.[68]

The Pope, in a chapter in which he writes to his cubs, asks them to work with and learn from the Turks. They must "strike with Mahomet whilst the Iron is hot."[69] Thus, Baxter presents the Turks as allied with France and Spain. Mohammedans, says the Pope,

[65] ibid. 19.
[66] ibid. 22.
[67] ibid. 30.
[68] ibid. 64.
[69] ibid. 83.

are lions. They allow theft and vengeance among their followers and they are swift to take violent action against infidels.[70] Catholics merely looks the other way from fornication while Islam outright permits polygamy. Young foxes should follow the example of the Turks to strengthen the Pope's cause. The Pope says that foxes have yet to learn from lions, but Baxter spends the next chapter equating the Pope and Mohammed one bad deed for another. They are equally deceptive, blasphemous, and cruel. Baxter continues to call Mohammed a lion, but the difference between lion and fox becomes unclear.

Baxter says that foxes dig vast, labyrinthine holes that make it difficult to pursue them.[71] This goes against the tradition that the fox steals his den from badger. This is also untrue: fox dens are quite simple, far less complex than a rabbit warren. But depicting fox dens as winding and confusing represents two legged foxes' lying rhetoric and sneaky movements.

Baxter concludes on a patriotic and optimistic note. He reminds the reader that the hunt of the two legged foxes is not literal but rather takes place in true Christian preaching. Hunters pursue the foxes not with hounds and nets but rather the Gospel. We need not kill all the papists, for "Gods word purely preached, transformeth Foxes into sheepe."[72]

Section 2: Hunting

Most of the authors of the hunting works examined in this section were experienced hunters or forest officials. They went into forest or field, located deer, foxes, and hares, and attempted to kill them. Hunters had to know where animals live, how they

[70] ibid. 84.
[71] ibid. 122.
[72] ibid. 212.

move, when they reproduce, and what they eat. This experience seems to be diametrically opposed to hunting a symbolic fox with pen in hand, but hunters lived in a society which had certain traditions about animals and their characters. These cultural connotations of different species colored hunters' impressions of the real animals they pursued. For a hunting book written or translated by someone without personal knowledge of hunting the already extent written record greatly influenced description of animals.

There is no correlation in the hunting works in this section between practicality and lack of anthropomorphizing. An author may give sound advice on how to find and kill animals while still treating them as characters or symbols. George Gascoigne is a good example of this. On the other hand, an author like the forest law judge Noe Meurer is more concerned with ritual and vocabulary than with animal character. The degree to which an author anthropomorphizes does not correspond to level of personal experience with hunting and both works with and without literary pretension present animals emblematically. Often in the same work there is a fable-like account of an animal's behavior but also sound information on diet and habitat. This is similar to the mixture seen in natural histories although hunters are far less likely to cite classical sources.

Without exception, these hunting tracts value deer about all other quarry and devote the most space to stags. Aristocratic late medieval hunters favored the red deer because he met four criteria: speed, difficulty to capture (he runs through water to shake off his pursuers and will fight to the end), he has positive symbolic associations, and his meat is edible.[73] Deer were also less numerous than foxes or hares and thus only a small percentage of the population could hunt deer without eradicating the species entirely.

[73] Susan Crane, "Ritual Aspects of the Hunt a Force," in Barbara A. Hanawalt and Lisa J. Kiser, eds. *Engaging with Nature: Essays on the Natural World in Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame, 2008), 64.

Deer can make nuisances of themselves by eating crops but they are arguably less destructive than rabbits undermining fields or foxes eating poultry.

To both Germans and English, fox were vermin. Yet two English authors on hunting, Gascoigne and Thomas Cockaine, describe foxes as enjoyable, hardy quarry while German huntsmen advocate poisoning and netting foxes with the goal of exterminating them as efficiently as possible. The English taste for fox hunting has traditionally been seen as a seventeenth century development caused in particular by the depletion of deer during the Civil War, but a higher opinion of fox hunting than seen in Germany seems to have already been present in England by the late sixteenth century as evinced by the growing presence of fox hunting in English hunting tracts.[74]

Subsection 2.1: Hunting, Germany

The first German language hunting treatise, a very short tract titled "Vogelfang und Hasensuche," appeared in the late fourteenth century.[75] (Frederick II had written a treatise on falconry a century before, but it was in Latin.) German translations of works such as the popular *Liber ruralium commodorum* by Pietro de' Crescenzi appeared in the late Middle Ages as well. Italian and French hunting traditions influenced Germany as well as England, as we shall see. For those who could read Latin or French and had access to expensive illuminated manuscripts, a wealth of hunting materials such as the magnificent accounts of Albertus Magnus and Gaston Phoebus awaited.

Hunting literature in the vernacular became common in the sixteenth century and at first it was mostly translations of older material such as the nine German editions of

[74] Emma Griffin, *Blood Sport: Hunting in Britain Since 1066* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), 83.
[75] Kurt Lindner, ed., *Deutsche Jadgtraktate des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts*, Teil I (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter & Co., 1959), 13.

Pietro de' Crescenzi printed from the 1490s to the 1530s.[76] The three manuscript hunting tracts in this section exhibit considerable variation in writing style, by which I mean aspects such as depth of detail, inclusion of the author as a subject, and references to other hunters. Although many references to shooting appear, netting and luring appear far more often than chases. An exception is the chasing of deer. The manuscript sources do not represent the ritualistic hunt par force. The techniques usually do not require horses. A non-aristocrat who hunts out of necessity rather than honor could conceivably utilize these tracts.

A fourth tract on hunting which forms part of Noe Meurer's book on forest law is quite different as it describes ritualistic, aristocratic hunting practices. Hunter must make certain calls and horn blows. Nevertheless, Meurer's advice on hunting deer has wide application and shares features with some of the manuscripts.

The authors present conceptions of animals formed in part by personal experience. Cornelius Latomus finds the male deer to be a Christian beast and has little to say about hares and foxes. Likewise, the anonymous author of the *Puech zu der Waidmannschaft* find stags to be virile and almost chivalric, and his hares and foxes are also undeveloped characters. Taking a wholly different approach to both animals and hunting techniques, Hans Peter von Firdenheim says little about animal sociology or psychology and instead presents animals exclusively as objects of games for human hunters. Noe Meurer resorts to literary tropes about beasts in writing about forest law.

The tracts share an approach based on exploiting natural tendencies of each beast even as the authors make gross errors about animal diet and behavior. The authors generally have knowledge of the terrains and vegetation deer, foxes, and hares call home.

[76] Lindner, *Jadgtraktate* I, 25.

This familiarity with the familiar wildlife of Europe makes the misconceptions and bizarre recipes which Latomus and the author of the *Puech* share all the more striking.

One of the most detailed of early modern German hunting tracts is the *Jagdbuch* of Cornelius Latomus. Latomus was a forest officer who lived in Zschorlau near the Ore Mountains at the time he wrote the dedication of his book, probably in 1585.[77] Latomus credits several peers in his work, suggesting he was well aware of the hunting techniques of his time and place. His techniques in their own turn proved influential as one Johann Taentzer freely stole from the *Jagdbuch* in 1631. Latomus favors baiting and luring animals with carefully prepared recipes, a practice he raises almost to the level of alchemy.

Most deer recipes include various natural materials deer might normally consume such as fenugreek, caraway, marigold, lovage, sap, *Peucedanum cervaria* (hirschwurtzel), and salt. The hunter typically mixes these ingredients and places them in shallow hollows. Some other ingredients are rather dubious, for example, arsenic and opium poppies burnt in a fire with some herbs supposedly draws deer.[78] This inverts the stereotype of deer (and all other woodland creatures) as fearful of fire. One recipe calls for six days' worth of the urine of a sick old woman. For most recipes, it does not seem to matter when the ingredients are gathered, but one for roe deer says that fenugreek should be picked on Pentecost or thereafter.[79] Although picked according to the Christian calendar, the late spring timing of Pentecost suggests this is for optimum plant maturity rather than religious timing. Germans and English defined hunting seasons according to

[77] Lindner, *Jagdtraktate* I, 211-214.
[78] ibid. 255.
[79] ibid. 259.

feast days but there is no discernible religious symbolism. These are simply dates that people understood.

Latomus also provides a deliberately poisonous recipe for those who "do not want to shoot, however the deer or game must die, and who do not want to damage the flesh, and also must have no resistance" ("Wiltu aber jn nicht schießen// vnd doch der hirsch oder wildt sterbenn muß, vd jn doch nicht schadet an dem fleisch, bedarfs auch kein abscheuung haben..."). Clearly, shooting or capture are preferable routes to poisoning, possibly because they are more honorable according to aristocratic hunting tradition, or perhaps because poisoning would contaminate the otherwise edible venison. Latomus recommends a cheese head with eight or nine pieces of salmoniac, which is ammonium chloride.[80]

While Latomus's deer recipes consist mostly of deer friendly plant matter, his recipes for hares are comparatively bizarre. One calls for the bile of a hare, sugar, agrimony, herring, urine, and pickled rinds.[81] The hunter places this concoction on sticks stuck in the ground which will attract hares. Several hare recipes involve organs or humors from hares. There is no suggestion that the hares eat these mixtures in cannibalistic acts. I have not found mention in any German or English source of hares eating meat, which of course they do not. Presumably hares are drawn to the odor of the body parts of other hares. But strange as they are, Latomus's recipes are bound to work because he suggests placing the baited sticks into fields or woods where hares already live.

[80] ibid. 257.
[81] ibid. 259.

One of Latomus's fox recipes overlaps with a hare recipe. It is a material both species will avoid running over. They would rather run straight into a net. Both species do not like urine soaked parsley.[82] Urine is so constant throughout the recipes that it basically substitutes for water as a liquid substrate.

The fox recipes, which are mostly based on natural diet like the deer recipes, contain many meats such as bacon, rinds, and fish skins. Latomus also mentions butter and pig's lard. One chapter compares the favorite foods of wolves and foxes. "A fox likes to take what is made of beaver bile" while the wolf takes anise ("Ein fuchs nimbt gern, was von bibergail gemacht ist").[83] Several chapters discuss wolves and foxes together, suggesting recognition that the two species are related or otherwise share something in common. This relation, and both species' connection to domestic dogs, is commented upon by hunters surprisingly infrequently. Inevitable, one bizarre recipe makes its way into the fox section. It includes Venetian glass ("nim venedisch glaß, das auch nicht klein gestoßen,") marshmallow, hemp seeds, sow's grease, and honey.[84]

The *Puech zu der Waidmannschaft* discussed below is a more thorough example of the stringent gender divide in deer lore, but Latomus, who influenced the *Puech*, includes some examples of human created stag chauvinism as well. The majority of his section on deer focuses on telling apart the signs of male and female deer. This section in the *Puech* is rambling and repetitive with extraneous narrative elements thrown in, but Latomus makes the agenda clear. The hind is crooked in a way reminiscent of sin. While the stag bites evenly, she bites sideways. The stag's legs sink in deeper on the right side

[82] ibid. 261.
[83] ibid. 263.
[84] ibid. 266.

while she favors the sinister.[85] As in the *Puech*, Latomus compares male deer droppings to a pater noster. His point of reference for hinds' droppings is goat droppings.[86] Latomus applies human misogyny and religious superstition to deer.

Ein Puech zu der Waidmannschaft presents a thorough image of the social lives of deer, presumably red deer. The author stringently divides the sexes which depicts with personality traits that reflect human gender ideals. Most notably, the young male becomes a knightly figure, just as in Latomus the stag is more Christian than the hind. The author includes some erroneous information about the feet and movement of hinds which furthers his glorification of stags. The *Puech* also includes brief materials on other animals, includes fox and hare. However, for these beasts the author focuses on baits after the model of Latomus. Kurt Lindner says this tract is derivative and old fashioned and indeed it seems to be of little use as a guide to actually hunting animals.[87] I will focus on the sociology of deer in the *Puech*.

The manuscript dates from circa 1593 and resides in the library of the Stift St. Florian near Linz. It is bound with a presumably contemporary fish book and bird book. The work is Catholic, advising amongst some other invocations "3 pater noster et 3 ave Maria" as protection against wolf bites. Another verse includes nonsense:

> Osto osta aff af a a a
> b b b malch malchidas
> malchidus denett tentet
> port.[88]

[85] ibid. 251.
[86] ibid. 252.
[87] Kurt Lindner, ed., *Deutsche Jadgtraktate des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts*, Teil II (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter & Co., 1959), 10.
[88] ibid. 58.

The author's writing is quite expansive and descriptive at some points, particularly about deer, while in the recipes he takes a cursory tone. He writes in the second person, singular and informal.

The author is particularly concerned with identifying the sex of a deer based on its traces. Identifying worthy quarry is especially important in a hunt in which hunters chase on animal at length, similar to the French hunt *par force* but with less ritual. He spends pages describing how to discern male from female tracks. For example, the male deer steps with his hind legs into the prints left by his front legs, thus creating only one impression.[89] The prints of the hind overlap, but not completely. More striking is the nature of their hooves. The hind's hoof is poorly created, uncloven (or barely cloven) and pointed, unlike the rounded print of the male.[90] She runs poorly. This is all untrue, with the exception that the cleft in a hind's hoof is often narrow, as the overall hoof is smaller. The pointed prints are possibly those of the fallow deer. The author also proposes that the sex of a deer can be identified by its droppings. The stag's look like a pater noster, a comparison to something very positive, while the hind's do not.[91]

Since the author makes hinds clumsy, no wonder the hunter desires to bag a stag. "When you want to track the deer, the male is wholly more handsome and lusty than the hind" ("Dann wann dw den hürschen spüren wildt, so ist sein gemäl albeg hübscher vnd lustiger alls der hindt").[92] But the greatness of the stag lies not only in his form, but also in his nature. Every deer has a role in society.

[89] ibid. 35.
[90] ibid. 36.
[91] ibid. 38.
[92] ibid. 38.

To begin, the fawn has the same, presumably feeble, nature as that of an elderly deer. A hunter who goes after fawns is no hunter.[93] The fawns live among their elders to learn from them. But one day the male deer no longer respect their mothers ("sy der muetter nimer vasst achten").[94] The author provides no reason for this loss of respect. They go with the other young males to fight and jump, "as if they wanted to run knightly games" ("alls wolten sy gern ritterspil treiben").[95] The males have fun together, they run and weave ("verflechten"). The young stag can wander alone, if the mood takes him, or shred and destroy with his antlers.[96] (This might refer to scraping bark off trees in the process of removing velvet.) He is free and bold. While it is true that young male deer cavort, the use of such words as "knightly game" and "joke" make these behaviors seem human.

The daughters like to construct common troughs (or some kind of depression) and to live with one another. Their game is hide and seek ("guckhupergens"), which they play in thick hedges or the lower woods.[97] Both young and old females like to eat their grass near to one another. The male deer are not exactly loners, but only the females are truly communal. The elders manage these female calves. The playful males are never called "calf" ("khalb") and the respective ages of these two described groups is unclear. If they are the same age, "calf" indicates lesser maturity on the part of the females.

The problem with the depiction of deer society in the *Puech* is not its accuracy. Young males really do wander while the females remain together. But the author is

[93] ibid. 50.
[94] ibid. 51.
[95] ibid. 49.
[96] ibid. 52.
[97] ibid. 53.

incapable of describing what he sees without portraying deer as if they were cloven hoofed, four legged, forest dwelling humans.

The *Waidbuech* of Hans Peter von Firdenheim is a work of joy and confidence in the art of hunting. Part of the lower nobility of Saxony, Firdenheim was an administrator of a small territory. As a younger man, he arranged hunts for the Grafen von Hanau-Lichtenberg. In fact, he states in his second chapter that he learned from the Oberjäger Deysinger.[98] Circa 1622, at the age of sixty-two, he assembled his *Waidbuech* for Markgrafen Friedrich von Baden. The original manuscript presumably went to Baden; it has since been lost and the text is known from a later seventeenth century copy in the Badischen Landesbibliothek.[99]

Kurt Linder marvels at the natural historical knowledge of Firdenheim and calls him a "reliable technician" ("zuverlässiger Fachmann") of hunting.[100] Unlike the other German hunt authors, Firdenheim narrates in the first person and often remarks on what techniques he is good at and which he especially likes. Firdenheim clearly takes great pleasure in hunting, even tasks without much honor. His pithy comment on netting hares: "It's fun" ("Ist lustig").[101]

While Firdenheim has a distinct personality in his *Waidbuech*, his animals do not. Firdenheim applies no adjectives to beasts and does not attempt to portray animal society. In fact, Firdenheim's animals come across as creatures of pure behavior without any kind of emotions or character. Admittedly, there is an exception. The male deer "like" to run ("lauf die böckh gern") from various cries, but less readily than the females because they

[98] ibid. 165.
[99] ibid. 138-141.
[100] ibid. 160.
[101] ibid. 168.

have a coarser disposition ("gröber gestimbt").[102] Aside from this sentence, deer, foxes, and hares are automata. Firdenheim's animals sometimes feel like a forerunner to Descartes's beast-machines although this is just a coincidence. Firdenheim is more like an empiricist than a dualist.

There are two reasons Firdenheim might portray animals purely as beings of action. First, he does not care for Latomus's baiting methods and thus his animals have no favorite foods or magical attractions. Second, as Lindner observes, his work is less in debt to foreign or established sources than the earlier hunting tracts, with only a slight French influence.[103] Older works were more likely to build upon classical or Christian themes. It should also be noted that Firdenheim's work is shorter than Latomus or the *Puech*, just twenty-three pages in modern print, some of which are devoted to fishing. Firdenheim's lack of animal personification might simply be a result of brevity.

Firdenheim identifies animal habitats and proposes different material and organizational methods of capturing and shooting. His hunting tract is about the act of hunting, not animals. That is what makes his descriptions of animal behavior interesting. It is only implicitly Firdenheim's foxes come across as more clever than hares. Unlike the rapid deer who must be caught in the forest by mobile groups of hunters, Firdenheim usually catches hares and foxes near their holes. No tricks are necessary to snare or net a hare, but Firdenheim must either smoke out foxes or use fake animal cries such as hare, goose, mouse, or best of all a blackbird to bring them out.[104] Presumably, the fox would elude capture in other situations. Again, this is not because Firdenheim says they are

[102] ibid. 167.
[103] ibid. 147.
[104] ibid. 170.

wily, nor does he apply any other adjectives or explanations. His deer, hares, and foxes differ mainly in size and speed – he will shoot deer or fox but nets the smaller hare.

For all the animals, Firdenheim presents the matter of fact domination of man over the natural world. Unlike the other authors, he lists different methods of dispatching animals. In some hunting tracts, once animals are contained they seemingly die without having anything done to them. Netting an animal actually means netting it and somehow killing it. Latomus's poisons are an exception to this vagueness as to method of dispatching the animal. Firdenheim explains the use of nets, snares, dogs, crossbows, and firearms. Beavers are "good to shoot," and shooting is also a good method for those who do not like to wait ("Sie sein guth zu schießen").[105] One can fire when an animal appears rather than surround and capture it. He also presents different scenarios for winter or evening, in which cover and light affect the situation. Firdenheim's unsentimental *Waidbuech*, which only presents animals on a surface, descriptive level, is better natural history than many natural histories which essentialize traits.

While the hunting tracts above are idiosyncratically constructed based on personal experience, the 1576 *Jagd- und Forstrecht* of Noe Meurer is a reference work for those interested in hunt and forest law. Meurer was a lawyer and judge in the Palatinate and his work especially considers the role of the Reichskammergericht, at that time in Speyer. Meurer claims on the title page that he gathered his materials from never before published collections. The book is an expansion of his 1561 work *Von Forstlicher Ober Herrligkeit und Gerechtigkeit*. Meurer says in the dedication that he felt the first book needed to be strengthened in several respects, so he sought permission from his friend the

[105] ibid. 172.

publisher Sigmund Feyerabend to create a new edition.[106] (We shall meet Feyerabend again later in this section on German hunting.) *Jagd- und Forstrecht* was an influential work, reprinted into the seventeenth century. It is lengthy, 410 pages in the modern reckoning, with numerous passages in Latin. The hunting section was printed as the standalone work *Jägerkunst* in 1610 and 1611.

Meurer feels it incumbent to defend the practice of hunting, but not from the animal rights perspective we expect today. In the dedication, he mentions Cyriacus Spangenberg, who argued against hunting as predation upon poor both symbolically (massacring the defenseless) and literally (eradicating a food source) men. Meurer admits that hunting can be taken to the point of abuse. But Meurer says it is "not hunting itself that is forbidden but only its abuse" ("nicht das Jagen an im selber / sondern allein der mißbrauch verbotten").[107] Besides, animals themselves can be destructive of the livelihood of the poor. Meurer always strives to maximize the utility of forests, reap the most wood and animals without exhausting the ecosystem.

Meurer divides quarry into two divisions, the greater and the lesser. These are the "tall red and black quarries" and "the other, a hare, fox, or bird" ("hohen / roten und schwartzen Wildpreth" ... "das ander ein Hasen / Fuchs / oder Vogel").[108] Meurer clarifies later that the red and black beasts are red deer and boars. He places other large animals such as wolves and bears in a third category, the dangerous. Meurer considers the hunting of hares and foxes to be legally different from hunting for larger prey. He notes this difference in rejecting the argument "I have to course [small beasts], ergo, I also have to hunt the greater quarry" ("Ich habe zuhetzen / Ergo, Ich habe auch das Hoch

[106] Noe Meurer, *Jagd- und Forstrecht* (Frankfurt a.M.: Sigmund Feyerabend, 1576), ii.
[107] Meurer, *Jagd- und Forstrecht,* XII(v)
[108] ibid. 15(v).

Wildtpreth zubejagen.")[109] The right to kill hares does not give someone the right to kill deer. That is an aristocratic privilege.

Although Meurer does not place deer in the category (or "species" as he calls it) of dangerous animals, he includes deer in the section about animals which can harm humans. He mentions deer horns as a potential source of damage. A person of any social rank gored by a deer has the right to kill the animal.[110] If no one witnesses the attack, then his oath is enough to maintain his innocence. This sounds like a loophole for poachers, but stags in rut sometimes do attack humans without provocation.

Meurer's usually depicts animals as quarry, but in at least one case be uses a beast fable to illustrate a point. Once, a fox captured a hare, a stranger, in a lord's forest. He went to the lord and was punished for hunting. This was wrong, as "he, the fox, didn't hunt the hare, but he ate the hare [as retaliation for punishment] and had a stronger hatred of humans" ("er dem Fuchs den Hasen nicht abgejagt / der Fuchs doch den Hasen gefressen / unnd derhalben besser solcher Haß dem Menschen").[111] The lesson of the story, explains Meurer, is that lords should reward those who capture dangerous quarry and indicate it to the authorities. Then they will be safe from both parties, animal and human. It is interesting to use the fox, generally a bad animal, as symbol for a faithful subject who points out a wild beast to his lord. Of course, the fox turns into his usual rascally self at the end of the story. Also, hares are not dangerous, but this hare is a stranger, a trespasser, and thus constitutes a threat at least to the law.

The section on the practice of hunting includes hunting outlines for games including deer, foxes, and hares. Only deer hunting merits thorough explanation. The

[109] ibid. 32(v).
[110] ibid. 40.
[111] ibid. 51(v)-52.

hunting vocabulary comes from a work published in 1538, *Handbüchlin... der Orthographie und Gramatic*, by Hofgerichtssekretär Johann Helias Meichßner of Württemberg, but Meurer expands upon the vocabulary.[112]

The hunting material in *Jagd- und Forstrecht* differs greatly in style from the three German manuscripts. For one thing, it is a published work, well organized with less erratic spelling and grammar. It includes illustrations after Jost Amman. Meurer explains esoteric hunting terms, whereas the authors of the manuscripts assume a basic familiarity with hunting on the part of the reader. *Jagd- und Forstrecht* includes dialogues. These are outlines of hunting situations containing the correct rhymes, repeated prepositions (there!), and nonsense syllables to cry aloud. The rhymes results in an easy to remember set of instruction such as "Stand still, stand still, I know not where the noble deer whither will" ("Standa still/ standa still/ ich weiß nit/ wo der edler Hirsch hin wil").[113] The cries repeatedly use the phrase "noble deer." The whole procedure is relevant only to aristocratic deer hunting.

Meurer exhibits the same low opinion of the agility of female deer seen in Latomus and the *Puech*. The *Puech* so exactly replicates the signs of a hind, and in the same order, that the author either read Meurer or whatever unknown work inspired Meurer: the hind's hoof is pointed and barely cloven, her rear legs do not overlap the front, and the stag favors his right side but the hind her left. But Meurer, always an author conscious of words, has vocabulary for these hoofprint signs. Most of the vocabulary consists of obvious terms, such as tread marks by one another being "Beytritt" and rear hoof marks blending with fore hoof marks called "erblenden." But Meurer specifies that

[112] Bernd Bendix, "Vorwort," in Noe Meurer, *Jag- und Forstrecht* (Remagen-Oberwinter: Verlag Kessel, 2010), viii.
[113] Meurer, *Jagd- und Forstrecht*, 73(v).

his is the correct vocabulary.[114] Meurer presents in a formal manner what the other authors describe in idiosyncratic ways. Although Meurer is concerned with identifying stags, unlike the *Puech* author he does not situate male and female deer in a patriarchal, knightly cervarial society.

If Meurer seems a step down in usability from the manuscript authors because he expends more words on what to say than what to do, the *Künstliche Figuren von allerlai Jagt und Weidwerck* with illustrations by Jost Amman is even less useful. This book is entertainment, a tidy and beautiful version of hunting. The texts, in Latin and German, are brief and non-specific. Both the art, full of liveried servants, and the bilingual texts indicate this book is intended for an aristocratic audience. The other hunting tracts generally involve fewer hounds and horses and could be utilized by any good fellow who was able to read.

More compelling than any of the material of the main body is Sigmund Feyerabend's introduction. It states that he drew together a wealth of materials in different languages for the book. The introduction lists the sources and provides a history of hunting from the moment of creation. God Himself gave man dominion over the Earth. But as famous as hunters like Nimrod or Actaeon may be, they did not actually leave behind any writings. Feyerabend could only have read truly historical authors he cites such as Pliny, Virgil, Palladius, Columella, and Varro, none of whom are known for hunting but rather natural history and farming.[115] He cites one "Crescetius" who may be Pietro de' Crescenzi (Petrus de Crescentius), who greatly influenced early German vernacular hunting tracts. The classical authors, with the exception of Pliny, have almost

[114] Meurer, *Jagd- und Forstrecht*, 69(v).
[115] *Künstliche Figuren von allerlai Jagt und Weidwerck*, (Frankfurt a.M.: Sigmund Feyerabend, 1592), no page number.

no influence whatsoever on the *Künstliche Figuren*. Nevertheless, Feyerabend listed them as sources to cater to an audience which valued classical learning.

While the techniques of the book are modern, including firearms and advanced net systems, the animal traits are ancient. Unfortunately, the four lines about each illustration do not offer a comprehensive view of any animal. Both hare and rabbit (the *Künstliche Figuren* separates them after the manner of a natural history) are fearful. The fox is a wicked teaser. The deer gets no words of praise while he is alive, except for his speed, but after death the hunters present his hoof to the lord and prince. Again, he is associated with nobility. The illustrations offer little more information about each animal although the stags and foxes are strangely large compared to dogs and humans. A larger quarry was better. But in the *Künstliche Figuren*, the presence of dogs overwhelms all other animals. Some of the images are of no conceivable practical value – dogs on a boat, dogs drinking from a fountain. The domestic dog is, of course, a relative of fox and wolf. The wild canines are evil animals while dog is usually portrayed as "true and good" ("trew und gut") as in the *Neuw Thierbuch*. Natural histories, including Gessner's *Thierbuch* and the *Neuw Thierbuch* discussed below, associate dogs with foxes. But as symbols and animals to either hunt with or be hunted, dogs and foxes are total opposites.

Subsection 2.2: Hunting, England

This section on English hunting discusses two aristocratic hunting tracts and a book about forest law. In addition to the key national differences about fox hunting described in the introduction to hunting, these English works differ from the German ones in several respects, mostly trivial to our purposes. The English hunting manuals discussed in this thesis tend to explain the types and roles of hounds more than the

German works do. This reflects both a regional difference and the nature of each body of tracts. Early modern German natural historical works devote considerable attention in their sections about dogs to English breeds. The German authors write about exterminating vermin in relatively greater volume, which is appropriate since several of them were practicing hunt masters describing the diverse work of their trade.

British deer hunting was necessarily more aristocratic than German because by Tudor times many species such as red and roe deer were virtually extinct outside of royal forests or private parks.[116] The fallow deer had always been a deer of the park. While only the aristocrat could hunt deer, no one in England could hunt certain of the animals described in hunting tracts. The wolf, as some contemporary authors admitted, was extinct in England. By any measure Germany, except for some highly developed regions along the Rhine (Noe Meurer's country, in fact), was a more fertile hunting ground than England and a more inclusive one as well due to the forests of independent cities being the domain of burgers.

A Short Treatise of Hunting: Compyled for the delight of Noblemen and Gentlemen by Sir Thomas Cockaine, Knight exemplifies several English traits of hunting literature. He enjoys hunting foxes. Following Malory and other interpreters of Arthurian legend, he portrays Tristram as the first author to write about hunting. While German hunting tracts are usually dedicated to a certain lord but make no further mention of that person after the dedication, English hunting tracts celebrate England throughout. Cockaine, unlike Gascoigne below, claims to write his pamphlet based solely on his own experience.

[116] Yalden, *History of British Mammals*, 171.

Although Cockaine classifies foxes as one of the "ravenous vermine," he esteems the animal as a "well breathed" quarry.[117] All the huntsmen involved in pursuing a fox must cooperate in cornering him. Hunting is a rewarding challenge to Cockaine. He believes that roe can learn from their experiences since a roe who has been hunted before will prove more difficult to catch. Cockaine is unusually fond of roe. Roe occupy a middle position in his program of learning hunting through increasingly difficult prey. One can move on to roe after mastering hare.[118]

Cockaine's is a short and practical hunting tract compared to the lengthy, literary Gascoigne. Accordingly, Cockaine explores animal character less. His animals resemble Firdenheim's except in that they are capable of thought and learning.

George Gascoigne's *The Noble Arte of Venerie or Hunting* is the most aristocratic and literary of the hunting works discussed in this paper. While the work is currently believed by historians of the hunt to be a translation and expansion of Jacques du Fouilloux by Gascoigne, the work is still sometimes attributed to George Turberville due to bibliographic inertia. A falconry work by Turberville was printed in the same year (1575) by the same printer (Christopher Barker) as *The Noble Arte of Venerie*.[119] Since *The Noble Arte* only credits Gascoigne for one poem rather than the entire work, at some time people came to believe that Turberville translated *The Noble Arte* as well. A 1908 Oxford reprint calling the work *Turbervile's booke of hunting* made the error canonical.[120]

---

[117] Thomas Cockaine, *A Short Treatise of Hunting*, London: Thomas Orwin, 1591, A3(v), B2(v).
[118] Cockaine, *A Short Treatise of Hunting*, C2.
[119] See Early English Books Online for original publication information.
[120] Still identified on Google Books and some entries in Worldcat as a Turberville work due to error of turn of the century editors.

The role of animals in *The Noble Arte* differs radically from German and other English hunting works. In Gascoigne, quarry animals speak verse complaints praising their own virtues and seeking mercy from hunters. This striking aspect of the work has its origins in *La Venerie de Jaques du Fouilloux* (Poitiers, 1561). Gascoigne translates the preface pronounced by the hart while acknowledging Fouilloux and Anglicizing the content with a reference to Tristram in an original final verse. In both the original Fouilloux poem and Gascoigne's translation the deer is named by the Greeks for his beauty and ordained for "King's delight" ("plaisir des Rois").[121] But while Fouilloux ends his poem by inviting those who wish to learn the art of Gaston Phoebus to learn from him, Gascoigne states that the learner should "give eare to skilfull Tristrams lore,/ To Phoebus, Fowllouz and many more."[122] Indeed, Gascoigne sometimes adds information into the translation from other sources or editorializes on some aspect of Fouilloux's work with which he disagrees. Adding to the international flavor is that some originally German woodcuts appear in the French edition and then the English one.

La Venerie contains a complaint by deer. Gascoigne loosely translates it in *The Noble Arte*. Fouilloux attributes the poem to Guillaume Bouchet, the author of a book on falconry. In *La Venerie*, unlike in *The Noble Arte*, deer pleads explicitly to Fouilloux. The French work also differs from Gascoigne in that the deer is the only animal who gets a complaint. The singling out of Fouilloux in the verse in the sole complaint by the deer is very different from the tone of Gascoigne's comprehensive animal voices. The complaint seems like a tribute Bouchet paid to Fouilloux.

[121] George Gascoigne, *The Noble Arte of Venerie or Hunting* (London: Christopher Barker, 1575), 38; Jacques du Foiulloux, *La Venerie de Jaques du Fouilloux* (Poitiers: 1562), 48.
[122] Gascoigne, *The Noble Arte*, 38.

Gascoigne's translated complaint of deer and new complaints of fox and hare illuminate the perceived characters of those animals while presenting the relations of animals and humans in a manner quite different from anything else we have seen.

The animals' accusations against man are harsh. The deer addresses a "murdyring cruell minde" and "wicked wylie witte." "Canst thou in death take suche delight?"[123] Deer repeatedly calls himself harmless and requests that the hunter satisfy himself with fallen antlers, which possess a variety of useful properties. Deer depicts the actions described in the hunting manual, the movement of hounds and blowing of horns, as a terrifying experience. He asks Mars to call humans to do battle with a more deserving foe than a poor unfortunate stag. In perhaps deer's strongest accusation, he says that hunters kill deer because they are too cowardly to go to war:

> But if so chaunce there be, some dastard dreadfull mome,
> Whome Trumpettes cannot well entyse, nor call him once from home:
> And yet will play the man, in killyng harmelesse Deare,
> I crave of God that such a ghoste, and such a fearefull pheare,
> May see Dyana nakt...

Classically, Diana turned Actaeon into a stag after he saw her naked and the unfortunate peeping Tom was torn apart by his hounds. Deer wishes a very fitting punishment upon cowardly, murdering man.

The hare calls herself harmless and a "sillie beast" and "wretch" and wonders why men would ever delight in harming such a creature. If humans are so brutal, "I thanke my Maker than/ For makyng me, a Beast and not a Man."[124] The hare contradicts deer's assertion that he is harmless, saying that he spoils corn and hedges. Like deer, hare knows the patterns of hunting, citing particular hunting calls in a fearful manner. While

[123] ibid. 137.
[124] ibid. 175.

deer praised his antlers as something very useful to man, hare has no annually regrowing body part to recommend. She says that all of her body is useless, which of course contradicts the many purported uses of parts of a hare. Almost every hunting manual states some uses for animal parts.

Master Fox prefaces his complaint with a personal introduction. He depicts himself as Reynard, "a craftie child well knowne," who uses to wit to earn fame.[125] In his complaint, the fox says that man should amend his own faults before addressing fox's. Sometimes it is two legged foxes rather than four legged foxes who eat the ducks. The fox does not deny that he steals fowl. He also does not deny the usefulness of his innards and pelt. But he feels he is being singled out. After all, "every town had two or three, which Rainards parts could play."[126] The fox concludes by mocking humans' desires for delicacies, expensive goods, and novelties: "They must have costly clothes, they must have deintie fare/ They must have condrs stuft with doune, they must have all in square."[127]

Although the animals praise their virtues and cleverly argue against being killed, these poems do not constitute condemnation of hunting. Gascoigne repeatedly calls hunting an activity which teaches virtue and valor. The poems present deer, fox, and hare as being quarry worthy a gentleman's efforts. What valor is there in hunting a stupid klutz of a beast which does not value its own life? Killing a beast has to redound to the honor of the hunter. Daniel C. Beaver proposes that "the animal at bay became a model

[125] ibid. 197.
[126] ibid. 198.
[127] ibid. 199.

of noble resistance to the death, or a reminder of subtle calculations of policy."[128] In his introductory poem, Gascoigne says that the quick turns of the hare teach that "pollicie, sometime surpasseth force."[129] The images of the animals struggling and pleading for their lives are nevertheless affecting. Gascoigne employs such pathetic adjectives that surely he meant the reader to have an emotional reaction to the complaints.

Gascoigne upholds the morality of hunting in an account of the death of Basil the Macedonian, a story also recounted in the *Promptuarium Exemplorum*. Gascoigne uses the example of the deer constrained in a tight spot and forced to kill the king to save his own life as a mirror for all "Princes and Potestates" who proffer "undeserved injuries" and "constrayne the simple sakelesse man to stand in his owne defence."[130] For those who somehow failed to see that the story of the deer is about humans rather than animals, Gascoigne explains that he does not mean that hunting beasts is wrong. God created animals for the use of man. This notion of unfortunate, harried animals as allegory of oppressed humans applies to Basil's deer but does not make sense as an explanation of the complains. The complaints are very narrow and species specific. Further, the animals are not pursued by hunters of any identifiable religion or social class.

The animals describe themselves in species stereotypes in their verses. The actual text about hunting also mostly confirms European standard attributes that characterize deer, fox, and hare in *The Noble Arte*.

Gascoigne repeats much of the oldest knowledge about deer, such as their longevity, herbal purging, and shame when their antlers are fallen. Deer come across in

[128] Daniel C. Beaver, *Hunting and the Politics of Violence Before the English Civil War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 22.
[129] Gascoigne, *The Noble arte*, Aiv.
[130] ibid. 125.

The Noble Arte as proud, high strung, intelligent creatures. They enjoy life, which is something animals almost never do in any of the sources consulted for this paper. Deer love the sound of "a Flute or any other sweete noyse."[131] Gascoigne translates an interesting passage from Fouilloux in which the French hunter states that he likes to watch the rut including the vault itself. Or rather, he likes to watch the just the stag, "for when they smell the Hynde, they rayse their nose up into the ayre, and looke aloft, as though they gave thanks to nature which gave them so great delight."[132] This phrase loads a mundane behavior (lifting the nose in order to better scent the hind) with anthropomorphic traits. Giving thanks is a positive human characteristic. The stag probably thanks a concept of nature with supernatural overtones. The use of the word "nature" to refer to the world of plants, animals, and the land existed in the sixteenth century, but this physical entity could not create anything and it would be strange to thank it. Gascoigne probably means nature as "the creative and regulative power which is conceived of as operating in the material world and as the immediate cause of its phenomena."[133] The relation between this power and the Christian God is unclear. Pre-Christian Englishpeople also saw nature as powerful. One suspects that many woodsmen of the sixteenth century were not fully Christianized. Whatever it is that the stag thanks, at least it is not diabolical, since the stag's action is portrayed in a positive light.

The hare "make[s] sport of love and gentle gestes" and calls herself a "silly harmelessse Hare" in her complaint.[134] The hare is more clever than usual in Gascoigne. He praises her subtlety and cunning in the chase. But this is the kind of cunning that other

---

[131] ibid. 42.
[132] ibid. 45.
[133] "nature, n.". OED Online. March 2013. Oxford University Press. http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/125353?rskey=yf3iZd&result=1 (accessed March 16, 2013).
[134] Gascoigne, *The Noble Arte*, 159, 175.

hunters might call cowardice. The German hunters consider the sudden, rapid running away of the hare to be a mark of fearfulness. But Gascoigne calls hare "craftie" because she starts at the sound of a horn even if she is "a quarter of a myle dystant from the huntesman that blewe."[135] Gascoigne also considers the evasive maneuvers of deer to be a kind of subtlety. Behavior which increases likelihood of survival is a form of rude intelligence.

Gascoigne does not care for Fouilloux's brief section on foxes and adds information about foxes from an unnamed different author. While Fouilloux says there is "small pastime" in hunting foxes, the alternative author says that the hunting of the fox is pleasant because the hounds follow a fox easily and the fox excels in hiding.[136] Although he praises fox hunting, he does not hold foxes in high esteem. The vixen (it is unusual to single out the female) is false and cunning. They also like grapes. Some foxes live in the forest while others enter villages and stealthily kill poultry. The fox is a filthy animal. He will "beshyte" hounds in dire extremity to overwhelm them with his stench.[137] But Gascoigne also refers to "gentle master Raynard" who will eat the delicacies of "butter, cheese, creame, flaunes, and custardes" if poultry is not available.[138] Since this Reynard is also, sarcastically, "a very well disposed man," we cannot account him a typical fox.[139] This passage also references Dame Partlet, a hen in Chaucer's "Nun Priest's Tale," based on Reynardian stories. In general, the section by the anonymous author is quite imaginative, referring to casemates and parapets of foxes' dens and a court of hens. It

[135] ibid. 164.
[136] ibid. 186.
[137] ibid. 188.
[138] ibid. 188.
[139] ibid. 191.

would not be surprising if the unidentified author with literary tastes was Gascoigne himself. We have already seen that he composed more poems than in the French original.

Although seventeenth century English hunting occurred increasingly in private parks, royal forests still covered many acres. Forests and non-forested areas which nevertheless fell within forest bounds were governed by forest rather than common law. John Manwood was the Justice in Eyre (judge of forest law) in the New Forest. The New Forest was actually quite old, having been founded by William the Conqueror. Manwood's *Treatise and discourse of the lawes of the forrest*, published in 1598, is an authoritative work on the subject based on an extensive body of laws and judgments.

Manwood in his hunting section draws from the *Book of St. Albans*, a 1486 publication based on much older material. It is an impractical, heraldic work. Manwood uses the list of names in *St. Albans*, which George Gascoigne also includes in his work. But Manwood differs with Gascoigne on one key point. Gascoigne rejects St. Albans and says that a stag does not become a hart in his fifth year, rather he only becomes a hart when hunted by a prince. But Manwood follows St. Albans. He says that a stag becomes a hart with age and a hart becomes a hart royal when hunted by a king.[140] (He describes finding moldering papers in Nottingham Castle telling the story of Richard I chasing a hart outside a forest and losing it.)[141] This is interesting because Manwood continually emphasizes the power of the king over his forests and in general wants hunting to be as aristocratic or aristocratically ordained as possible. He would seem unlikely to let a stag not hunted by a king be called a hart. But Manwood also has a deep respect for tradition and extensively quotes medieval forest laws in his *Treatise*.

[140] John Manwood, *Treatise and discourse of the lawes of the forrest* (London: Thomas Wight and Bonham Norton, 1598), 24(v).
[141] Manwood, *Treatise and discourse*, 25.

The *Book of St. Albans* divides animals into three groups. Beasts of the forest are hart, hind, hare, boar, and wolf. (Manwood admits that wolves are now extinct in England.) The beasts of the chase are buck, doe, fox, marten, and roe. Chase in this situation refers not to a style of hunting but rather a less dense woodland, not necessarily part of a royal forest. The beasts and fowls of warren are hare, rabbit, pheasant, and partridge.[142] Manwood never explains why hare is listed twice, but he repeatedly explains how a warren is the most protected area in a forest, and at other points mentions hares in areas that are "wild" parts of forests. (But Manwood also calls forest animals protected.) The hares of forest and hares of warren must live in different terrains. Manwood explains the listing of deer as both hart and hind, buck and doe as the result of separate hunting seasons for the male and female.[143] The male and female are nevertheless unquestionably of the same species.

While foxes are several times called beasts of chase, Manwood also considers them vermin.[144] There is nothing in the text to support this, but fox might be a beast of chase in the forest but vermin when around humans. As seen in *The Noble Arte*, foxes were known to live in both forests and villages. The term vermin in the sixteenth century had a much more diverse meaning than today and included such beasts as otters and squirrels. Manwood has much less to say about the poaching of foxes than the poaching of hares and deer because foxes were a nuisance and traditionally little valued as quarry. If anything, fox poaching might be a benefit. But this was changing. Cockaine considers foxes vermin but good quarry and Gascoigne defends fox hunting as well. Manwood reflects medieval attitudes towards foxes, not surprising considering his antiquarian bent.

[142] ibid. 2(v).
[143] ibid. 25(v).
[144] ibid. 27(v).

Manwood scorns the notion of common people hunting beasts of forest. He says they can hunt animals they find in the wilderness, but large animals were almost extinct outside of protected forests at this time.[145] Since he knows wolves are extinct, he likely knows about the deer shortage as well and does not seriously believe common people will often come across wild, unprotected deer. He also distinguishes between popular and venatorial vocabulary. Manwood uses the term venison to refer to all beasts of forest and chase. It simply means they are hunted animals, *venatori*. Deer, foxes, and hares are all venison. But the common people call the meat of red and fallow deer venison.[146] The vocabulary of the common people, even though common people rarely had the chance to eat venison (at least legally), is the one that lasted.

Manwood is very precise about the terms of who may hunt in a forest and what they may take. (Or gather: common people could pick some plant matter from the forests.) Certain non-aristocratic persons, such as lower gentry and clergy or the servants of a lord, may receive license for limited hunting. Manwood repeatedly gives the example of one buck, implying that common license was the granting of one fallow deer, a beast providing much meat though it is not as noble or large as the hart.[147] Non-nobles might also accompany a lord on his hunt as dog handlers, beaters, or in a variety of other roles.

Manwood observes that the punishments for unlawful hunting and trespassing (he never actually uses the word poaching) have become less strict since the Middle Ages. During the reign of Richard II (1377-1399), illegally hunting "Deere, Hares, Conies, or other Gentlemens game" brought with it one year's imprisonment. By the time of Henry

[145] ibid. 28(v).
[146] ibid. 31.
[147] ibid. 106(v)-108.

VII, deer poachers paid a ten pound fine. In the reign of his successor, poachers of hares paid five shillings and eight pence per head.[148] Clearly, deer were valued more than hares. Deer could count as personal as well as royal forest property. It was a felony under common (not forest) law in the time of Henry VIII to steal "a Buck or Hind, which is domesticall and tame."[149] Manwood gives no word on the legal implications of stealing domestic rabbits.

Section 3: Natural History

Natural history in the Middle Ages consisted of reading the ancients. Renaissance natural historians too read Aristotle, Pliny, and Dioscorides, but they no longer considered their predecessors infallible. Fifteenth century Italian humanists uncovered a greater range of ancient natural historical materials than known during the Middle Ages. They even discovered serious discrepancies between authors and observed plants to determine who was correct. Somewhat later, scholars north of the Alps, in an attempt to clarify to which plants and animals classical terms applied, began to observe nature as well. They discovered that their local wildlife was not the same as that described by the ancients of the Mediterranean.[150] While Renaissance natural historians continued to hold figures like Aristotle in high repute, they knew they themselves had to learn about animals and plants to add to the body of natural historical knowledge.

The periodization presented by Brian Ogilvie in *The Science of Describing: Natural History in Renaissance Europe* informs this section.[151] In the 1490s to 1530s, Italian humanists and physicians edited ancient works and began the practice of firsthand

[148] ibid. 155-155(v).
[149] ibid. 122.
[150] Brian Ogilvie, *The Science of Describing: Natural History in Renaissance Europe* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008), 34.
[151] Ogilvie, *The Science of Describing*, 29.

observations and descriptions. This practice spread north of the Alps in the 1530s to 1560s, the period dominated by Conrad Gessner. Gessner developed the art of describing through both words and images. From the 1560s to 1590s, Europeans continued to describe, including through works on specific topics rather than attempts to catalog all of nature. Unfortunately, this period saw few great vernacular works on mammals in Germany and England. Finally, the trend in natural history began to shift in the 1590s to 1620s. Classification and experimentation became more important that description, in part because so many species were already well described. This is the movement of which Francis Bacon was a part and the English section concludes by introducing Bacon.

English natural history was poorly developed compared to German natural history in this period, particularly in the discipline of botany. But zoology lagged behind as well in most respects. A few English authors performed significant studies on particular topics, like John Caius on dogs or William Turner on birds (and Romish foxes). These authors contributed material to Gessner. Caius, who also observed African animals in the Tower menagerie, was a popular author.[152] But Caius and Turner are not of use in learning about deer, foxes, and hares. English illustrations are also poor compared to German ones.

Both German and English works continued to employ animals symbolically or to anthropomorphize them even as they included more observations and corrections. A completist polymath like Gessner included ancient literary accounts for the sake of completeness. Taking a different approach, Topsell used animal parables for moral purposes even as he incidentally provides some accurate descriptions of animal appearance and behavior. Although in this section we shall see some useful new

[152] Raven, *English Naturalists*, 141.

empirical information about deer, foxes, and hares, their established characters are still clearly visible.

The sixteenth century saw the "discovery" of vast numbers of new species, particularly in the New World. However, explorers were rarely natural historians. Gessner and other Europeans who attempted to describe New World wildlife depended on the accounts of explorers. Explorers almost invariably describe non-European animals with European vocabulary. They compare species with similar ones at home and sometimes apply European terms to very different animals without commenting upon any difference. The vocabulary of explorers, most of whom reasonably claim to have seen these common animals personally, shows how loose the categories of deer, fox, and hare were. Natural historical errors made by explorers were influential since so few Europeans saw the New World firsthand in this period.

The Germany and England subsections each include a translation of Gessner: the *Thierbuch* and *Historie of Four-footed Beasts*. Each subsection also includes several smaller, generally less authoritative works. Finally, each subsection contains explorers' accounts in which the authors describe New World, Asian, or African wildlife in European terms. English, German, and Spanish explorers and travelers provide the widely read and translated reports.

Subsection 3.1: Natural History, Germany

Botany was well developed in the German lands in the sixteenth century. Botanists such as Leonhard Fuchs and Hieronymus Bock, who had training as physicians, observed and described plants in the wild. Botanists also created accurate illustrations. They did this in part to inform readers about medical uses of plants. Animals are not as

obviously medically useful as plants and they are more difficult to observe. Thus, zoology lagged behind botany in adopting observational practices.[153] Most natural historians who wrote about animals also wrote about plants. Conrad Gessner of Zürich was one such scholar.

Gessner justified his study of natural history in his dedicatory letter to the *Historia Animalium*. The study of animals works "towards a contemplation and admiration of the works of God."[154] Animals, he says, are beautiful and fascinating. Gessner, after all, was someone who found plants so interesting that he climbed mountains to collect them – an insane practice even after Petrarch's own mountain climbing. Humans, he writes in a more old-fashioned vein, can study morality from the habits of animals. Animals are useful as food, labor, material, and medicine. We should "thank God for His benevolence in producing so varying kinds of animals for the use of man, and for preserving their species forever."[155] Clearly, animals were many things to Gessner.

Gessner explains his methods as well as his motivation in his dedication. He traveled to Germany and Italy to make observations. He was in contact with friends around Europe who sent him illustrations and observations. For example, Romish fox author William Turner found a reference to the spontaneous generation of the barnacle goose and reported it to Gessner, who published it. Gessner spoke with travelers and common people and read everything he could find. He states that if he had the money and

[153] Karl A.E. Enenkel, "Zur constituierung der Zoologie als Wissenschaft in der Frühen Neuzeit: Diskursanalyse zweier Großprojekte (Wotton, Gesner)," in *Early Modern Zoology: The Construction of the Animals in Science, Literature and the Visual Arts*, eds. Karl A.E. Enenkel and Paul J. Smith (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 19.
[154] C.A. Gmelig-Nijboer, *Conrad Gessner's "Historia Animalium": An Inventory of Renaissance Zoology* (Meppel: Krips Repro B.V., 1977), 150.
[155] Gmelig-Nijboer, *Conrad Gessner's*, 151.

health, he would travel to "the remotest places on land and at sea... to hand down, with the help of God, for posterity a survey of animals."[156] If he had written his entire history based on observations, it would be marvelously scientific in a modern sense, but Gessner also included many old facts and stories he admitted probably were not true. Although Gessner develops zoology beyond ancient natural histories or medieval bestiaries, his work is not a step on a linear road to modern biology. The early modern period saw many discourses of zoology existing alongside one another, none of which is the direct ancestor of contemporary zoology, as Karl A.E. Enenkel recently characterized the situation.[157] To many early modern scholars, natural history was an exercise in reading the ancients or a pedantic practice of classification. To Gessner, knowledge of natural history is in part those things but also an essential part of general Protestant education. His natural history accordingly is useful, as he says on the title page of the original Latin edition, to philosophers and physicians, poets and grammaticians.

The German translation of the *Historia Animalium*, the *Thierbuch*, which was published in Zürich in 1563, is a harsh abbreviation of the *Historia Animalium* with some tall tales added in. The translator cut many references and literary materials. Although published in Gessner's lifetime, he had nothing to do with the translation.[158] The *Thierbuch* was a bestseller, printed well into the seventeenth century. Interestingly, Gessner did want to make his work available to those who could not afford the full edition, albeit only in Latin. His *Icones Animalium* features abridged texts without the

[156] Gmelig-Nijboer, *Conrad Gessner's*, 146.
[157] Enenkel, "Zur constituierung der Zoologie als Wissenschaft," 21.
[158] Gmelig-Nijboer, *Conrad Gessner's*, 11.

linguistic, medicinal, and literary material. [159] Gessner might not have been horrified by the abridgement of the *Thierbuch*.

The red fox of the *Thierbuch* is crafty, spiteful, and forward. (Gessner also has a section on the arctic fox or "Kreuzfuchs.") These are not incidental characteristics. "Der Fuchs ist" all these things.[160] This personification of the fox, as we have seen, is quite traditional. The translation leaves in Gessner's references to Pliny, Isidore of Seville, and unnamed Thracians. Others who are listed as having collected stories of foxes' cunning include Agricola and Aristotle. These authorities might be necessary for information about foxes abroad, as the *Thierbuch* states that foxes live from the Caspian Sea to Spain. But anyone, it seems in the *Thierbuch*, can observe foxes. Gessner describes them as a familiar beast which wanders into cities and can mate with dogs. [161] The later fact is not true.

The *Thierbuch* provides examples of fox's craftiness. He hangs his brush into the water and lures fishes into it and he plays dead to disarm potential prey. As is written in Plutarch, he tests the sound of ice to hear if it is strong enough to walk across. The *Thierbuch* does not cite a source for every anecdote about foxes, but as they come after the short list of authorities who collected information on foxes, presumably the reader will connect the stories with those figures.

The chapter on foxes also includes general information on fox habits. Some of the natural history is accurate, for example that foxes will eat almost anything, and some is false, such as the assertion that foxes do not dig their own holes but rather steal them

[159] Gmelig-Nijboer, *Conrad Gessner's*, 10.
[160] Conrad Gessner, *Thierbuch. Das ist Außfuhrliche beschreibung und lebendige ja auch eigentliche Contrafactur*... (Heidelberg: Johan Lancellot, 1606), fol. 55.
[161] ibid. fol. 56.

from badgers.[162] This mistake nevertheless suggests observation because foxes really do frequently live in European badger setts in winter – but in relative peace with the badgers in their complex underground habitat.[163] The chapter concludes with the uses humans can make of foxes. These are fewer in number than those of hares and deer as the fox is not good to eat. The chief use of a fox is collecting its pelt and brush.

Gessner presents a chapter on *Hasen* in which he differentiates what are presumably "normal" (or unmarked) hares from rabbits, which are of a family with hares. In fact, he begins by emphasizing the diversity of *Hasen*, saying that in some lands (for example, France,) they are larger than in others, that some live in the mountains while others prefer flat fields, and that they come in many colors. Gessner correctly notes that Alpine hares turn white in the winter, which is something the ancients got wrong, believing the different colors to reflect separate species.[164] That would have been a particularly egregious error to perpetuate, as Gessner actually lived in the Alps.

The *Thierbuch* makes the personality of the hare clear. The hare has a "bright voice... as also other animals of a fearful nature" ("hellklingende stimm... als auch andere thier so forchtsamer natur sind").[165] She is too fearful to come near to humans, and is not easily domesticated, though some hares are tame. God made the family of hares the most fearful of all animals. ("Auss welcher urfach dem Eiwigen Gott gefallen hatt/ dass das geschlecht der Hasen under allen anderen das fruchtbarest solte sein. ")[166]

---

[162] ibid. fol. 55.
[163] R. Kowalczyk et. al. "Facilitative interactions between the Eurasian badger (Meles meles), the red fox (Vulpes vulpes), and the invasive raccoon dog (Nyctereutes procyonoides) in Białowiez˙a Primeval Forest, Poland," *Canadian Journal of Zoology* 86 (2008), 1346.
[164] Gessner, *Thierbuch*, fol. 69
[165] ibid. fol. 69v.
[166] ibid. fol. 69v.

The *Thierbuch* repeats several classical errors about hare mating which exaggerate hares' exponential reproductive capacities. This emphasis on rapid breeding, which resulted in the images of hares as lascivious, has no moral overtones here. Their mating is purely reproductive. One sentence suggests (but does not clearly describe) Aristotle's concept of superfoetation.[167] This means a hare can be pregnant from embryos from different ovular cycles and thus give birth while still being pregnant and lactate through all the gestational cycle. The mating of hares in the *Thierbuch* involves urine and female (presumably crouching) positions: "When the hares want to multiply, they turn to one another and their behind parts come together while they also urinate out of their behinds, the same as the females of other animals" ("Die Hasen so sie sich mehren wollen/ so kehren sie sich von einander/ kommen zusammen mit den hinderen theilen/ dieweil sie auch hinden aussen harnen/ gleich als sonst die weiblein anderer thieren").[168] Tying in with the earlier part about superfoetation, they mate "suckling or not." The *Thierbuch* does not repeat Pliny's claim that hares are hermaphrodites.

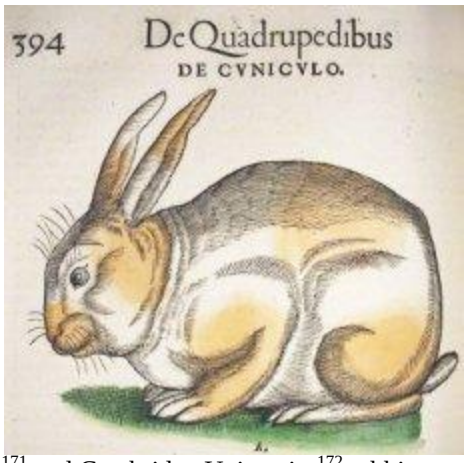
Different editions of the *Historia Animalium/Thierbuch* depict the rabbit with different colors. (Of course, many others are not colored at all.) Gessner offered some copies of the original Latin work with hand drawn coloring after the originals. Later editions and translations often had quite different colors. This was a source of frustration to the author.[169] Many of the original watercolors used to create the plates for the *Historia Animalium* survive in the collection of Felix Platter in Amsterdam University. The rabbit in this collection is white (fig. 3). A *Historia Animalium* in the National Library of

[167] ibid. fol. 69v "Die Hasen milch ist gantz dick/ und als Aristoteles spricht/ haben sie allein under den thieren milch eh dann sie geberen. "
[168] ibid. fol. 69v.
[169] S. Kusukawa, "The sources of Gessner's pictures for the Historia animalium," *Annals of Science* 67.3 (July 2010), 327.

Medicine depicts a rabbit that looks like a beagle, mostly white with large black and brown patches (fig. 4). The copy held by Cambridge has lighter colored rusty patches (fig. 5). On the other hand, a *Thierbuch* held by Keio University features an all white rabbit as in the original watercolor (fig. 6). Likewise, this *Thierbuch* has a more accurate coloring of red deer, particularly capturing the white on the hind's neck and the tips of the stag's antlers. We can see just from four different versions of the illustrations how greatly coloring could vary and curiously it is the bastard translation rather than the Latin original which has the more accurate colors.

fig. 3, original rabbit illustration in collection of Felix Platter[170]

[170] Amsterdam University Special Collections, "Animal drawings collected by Felix Platter (1536-1614)," https://www.flickr.com/photos/bijzonderecollectiesuva/sets/72157632809370911/.



figs. 4 and 5, National Library of Medicine[171] and Cambridge University[172] rabbits


fig. 6, rabbit from *Thierbuch* owned by Keio University[173]

The *Thierbuch* counts guinea pigs among the *Hasen*. Both Gessner's rabbitish Latin name for the beast, *Cuniculus indus* and German name, *Indianisch Küniglein*, differ from the piggish present day names *Cavia porcellus* and *Hausmeerschweinchen*. The book acknowledges the animal as one newly known to Europe. Sometime between the *Thierbuch* and today, guinea pigs became decidedly porcine – already, Gessner says

[171] National Library of Medicine, "Conrad Gesner's *Historiae Animalium*," http://archive.nlm.nih.gov/proj/ttp/flash/gesner/gesner.html .
[172] Cambridge University Library, "Conrad Gesner: Historia animalium," http://www.lib.cam.ac.uk/deptserv/rarebooks/gesner.html.
[173] Keio University, *Thierbuch*, http://www.humi.mita.keio.ac.jp/treasures/nature/Gesner-web/mammal/html/normal_b/l169b.html.

another name for the guinea pig is *Seüwlein*. The defining aspect of a hare, someone today would probably say, is its long ears, but guinea pigs have short ears. Guinea pigs and hares do share a similar round, low body type. They share this shape with chinchillas and pikas, species Gessner did not know. Perhaps the discovery of large numbers of similarly shaped animals from the Western Hemisphere made ears the defining characteristic of the hare. Incidentally, the illustration of a guinea pig in the *Thierbuch* more closely resembles a capybara than a guinea pig. The inclusion of the guinea pig among the *Hasen* says more about *Hasen* than about guinea pigs.

The *Thierbuch* retains many more classical references for the chapter on deer than for foxes or hares. The deer is a noble animal in most early modern portrayals, and something of this comes through in the *Thierbuch*, which mostly admires deer from an impersonal distance. Antiquity too was noble. The classical references are diverse. For example, Julius Caesar found deer in the Black Forest with one horn growing out of their foreheads.[174] Solinus says that hinds hide their young in thickets until they are old enough to run.[175] Gessner also makes reference to his near contemporary, the German botanist Hieronymous Bock. Perhaps it was the lofty position of the deer as a beast hunted by aristocrats which led the translator to retain these references.

The *Thierbuch* differentiates strongly between male and female deer, but not to the extreme extent of the author of the *Puech*. The male deer feels shame when he is without his antlers. The hind is fearful and cries more, but the stag's cry is rougher ("rauer").[176] Gessner also counts red deer and fallow deer among the true deer while the roe deer is more like a goat. (This is not meddling by the translator. The ordering is the

[174] Gessner, *Thierbuch*, fol. 79v.
[175] ibid. fol. 80v.
[176] ibid. fol. 80r.

same as in the Latin.) Gessner accordingly places roe in the section on goat-like animals. He attributes this to overall shape of the roe.

But the most interesting aspect of Gessner's deer is their use of plants. The *Thierbuch* thoroughly explains the diet of deer. Deer in some parts of France use *Bupleurum* ("hasenohrlein") against snake venom. In summers, female deer live together near *Smilax aspera*. Female deer purge themselves with "Siler montanum," which may mean *Laserpitium siler*.[177]

Deer can grow extremely old. Alexander encountered such deer. Agathocles caught and collared a deer and offered his life in the Temple of Jupiter. But Diana found the collar sufficient and the deer lived to a ripe old age.[178] Ptolemy Philadelphus had a young deer which could understand Greek.[179] These stories are more evidence of the nobility of deer. There are few parts of the deer which are not useful to humans.

The *Thierbuch* counts *Tragelaphus* among the deer. This horned animal described by the classical authors apparently could be found in Bohemia in Gessner's day. More on that beast appears below in the section about the *Neuw Thierbuch*, in which *Tragelaphus* is more prominent. Gessner also places moose, who have the understandable common name Horse-deer ("Pferdhirsch") among the deer. The *Neuw Thierbuch* places moose among horses while acknowledging that the moose has deer antlers "hirschen hörner." This parallels the problem of the guinea pig counted among the hares. For Gessner, antlers are the essential trait of a deer, while the author of the *Neuw Thierbuch* looked at the overall shape of a moose and found it horselike. Their taxonomy is pre-Linnean.

[177] ibid. fol. 80v.
[178] ibid. fol. 80v.
[179] ibid. fol. 81r.

Ein neuw Thierbuch. Eigentliche und auch gruendliche beschreibung allerley vier und zweyfuessigen Thieren... is a less scientific but obviously post-Medieval natural history with superb illustrations after Jost Amman (except for the rhino after Dürer, all rhinos are after Dürer). The illustrations show animals on a small piece of specific natural terrain. The illustrations are not as accurate as those in Gessner, but they display animal behavior and character better. Fox holds a fowl as he stands in front of a farm building. He's been thieving. Curiously, the image of a fallow deer closely resembles like a roe deer (fig. 7). This so-called fallow deer has antlers and while the animal explicity labeled a roe does not. It seems that someone labeled the image of a male roe deer as a fallow deer and included the female roe deer as illustration for roe. Further, the so-called fallow deer is in a hilly landscape and the description of roe mentions mountains and valleys while the verse about fallow deer does not.[180] This is a major mistake and probably editorial rather than artistic. It is unlikely that Amman would depict a fallow deer so poorly.

fig. 7, labeled as a fallow deer, this is clearly a roebuck[181]

[180] *Ein neuw Thierbuch. Eigentliche und auch gruendliche beschreibung allerley vier und zweyfuessigen Thieren...* (Frankfurt a.M.: Sigmund Feyerabend, 1569), H iii.
[181] *Ein neuw Thierbuch*, H.

The organization and some of the material is similar to Pliny, who is mentioned frequently, but several sections, for example descriptions of a turkey and some British dog breeds, confirm the inclusion of contemporary information. The book often ventures into literary material, but the inclusion of new species and mentions of sixteenth-century scholars tip this book towards being a natural history rather than something else. As we saw with Gessner, pure natural history did not yet exist in the sixteenth century. The most impressive aspect of the *Neuw Thierbuch* is the illustrations.

The book's seller, Sigmund Feyerabend, who printed the book in Frankfurt am Main in 1569, twice mentions the costliness of creating the book in his introduction. Feyerabend, as we saw with the Amman hunting book, did not hesitate to aggrandize his publications. He describes the book as an "Art Book of Animals" ("Kunstbuechlein von den Thieren.") The book brings together descriptions for each animal "collected from many admirable histories from many learned authors and daily experience" ("sampt viel treffenlichen Historien auß viel gelehrten Scribenten und täglicher erfahrung").[182] It is unclear just whose "daily experience" informs the text, but the inclusion of that phrase suggests familiarity with the emergent emphasis on observation over repeating what has already been written. The text consists of rhyming couplets in iambic tetrameter, making it a pleasure to read.

The *Neuw Thierbuch* divides deer into unidentified deer (the picture resembles a red deer,) fallow deer, roe, and "Brandhirsch." A Brandhirsch is a deer with long hair on its neck and/or breast. But the verse also names the animal as "Tragelaphos" with reference to Pliny. The *Historia Naturalis* states: "Of the same species is an animal,

[182] *Ein neuw Thierbuch*, A iiii.

which only differs from the stag in having a beard and long hair about the shoulders: it is called tragelaphus, and is produced nowhere except on the banks of the Phasis [in modern Georgia]."[183] Tragelaphus sounds like some kind of mountain goat, but the illustration depicts it as looking like a red deer but with more impressive antlers.

The pages about deer emphasize the role of deer as game. The author says that deer do not attack unless hunted.[184] The mothers with young, on the other hand, spring, run, and hide from hunters. Deer behavior in this book is largely from Pliny, such as the purging herbs of the female and crossing the sea in herds.

The fox of the *Neuw Thierbuch* is a more interesting character than the running deer because he gets a fable very loosely based on Aesop's farmer and viper rather than natural history. The first lines cut straight to the point: "The fox is an artful animal, as experience gives him" ("Der Fuchs ist so ein listig Thier/ Wie die erfahrung gibet dir").[185] He is the enemy of geese and hens. The story relates that one day in Marburg a snake under a rock promised a farmer a reward. The farmer lifted the rock "and the snake gave him this answer: while I have promised to give you the highest reward, it will cost you nothing more than your life" ("Und ihm diese antwort gab: Dieweil ich dir verheissen hab/ Den aller höchsten Lohn zu geben/ So kosts nicht mehr denn dein Leben"). Fox comes along to serve as judge and the farmer seemingly rejects the rock with invective and is safe.[186] "Ingratitude was fox's reward" ("Undanckbarkeyt wars Fuchses lohn"). This could mean that the farmer should have shown gratitude towards

[183] Pliny the Elder, *The Natural History* (London: Taylor and Francis, 1855), Ch. 50 (unpaginated).
[184] *Ein neuw Thierbuch*, G ii.
[185] *Ein neuw Thierbuch*, R ii.
[186] *Ein neuw Thierbuch*, R iii(v).

fox for saving his life or that fox failed to give the farmer the reward the rock promised him. Fox often shows ingratitude in Aesop's fables.

The hare is pusillanimous ("verzagt") and silly or stupid ("blöd"). The verse emphasizes his (this is about a male hare specifically) fleeing. As example, a saying ("Sprichwort") is quoted: "with his [the human's] flight and running, the hare throws his banner up" ("der mit seinr flucht und lauff/ Wirfft das Hasen Panier auff"). The second page about hares describes the hare's desire to play/fight ("spilt") until his "lust is stilled" ("sein lust ist gstillt"). Although "Lust" in German is not an exclusively sexual term as in modern English, this probably does refer to the intense boxing during mating season, as this was the only condition under which people saw hares as bellicose. The male hare seems to be quite overcome by his emotions. "He falls into the groove and holds himself so stiff in fury and courage that he must fall to the Earth and become dinner" ("Ihm in die Kehlen fallen thut/ Hielt ihn so steiff im grimm und muth/ daß es muß fallen zu der Erden/ Und ihm also zur Speiß werden"). Hare comes off very poorly in the *Neuw Thierbuch*, with all his worst attributes mentioned.[187]

For those interested in learning more about hares, the *Neuw Thierbuch* suggests D. Forer. This might refer to Dr. Conrad (or Cunrat) Forer, who translated the *Historia Animalium* into German six years before the *Neuw Thierbuch* was published.

Generally, broadsheets were not a reliable source of natural history. They used animals in a symbolic sense or as objects of wonder. As objects of wonder, many imaginary beasts or freaks appear in the prints, but sometimes prints appear which seem to depict genuine abnormal animals.

[187] *Ein neuw Thierbuch*, V ii-iii.

One broadsheet it is easy to accept as true concerns a dicephalic deer fetus found in a hind taken by Markgraf Ernst von Brandenburg on May 3, 1603. The picture depicts the fetus accurately and with small details (fig. 8). If the artist did not actually work with the two headed fetus, at least he saw a deer fetus or newborn deer and added an extra head. It is easy to interpret the fetus as a conjoined twin which would doubtless be miscarried or stillborn. The subtitle of the print details that the fetus has two hearts, two stomachs, two spleens, and only one "exit." The sheet does not sensationalize the find – there is no shock or wonder in the title.[188]

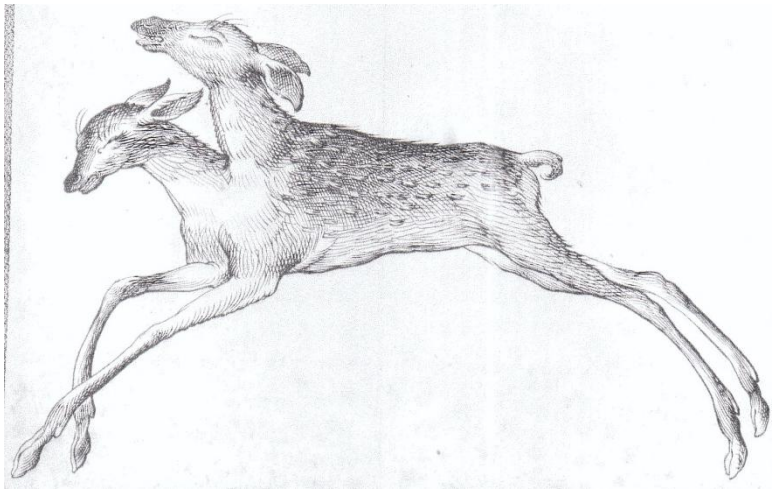


fig. 8, dicephalic deer fetus

Natural history and symbols interact in the case of the "Perückenbock" (wigged buck).[189] The effect of testosterone on antler production is complex and postpubertal castration and low testosterone levels result in abnormal antler growth. The shedding of velvet and eventual dropping of the antlers is the effect of a high testosterone level during the fall rut. Thus, a castrated or hormonally deficient deer may remain forever in velvet,

[188] Ingrid Faust, *Zoologische Einblattdrucke und Flugschriften vor 1800* (Stuttgart : Anton Hiersemann, 1998), 71.
[189] Faust, *Zoologische Einblattdrucke*, 107.

or his antlers may continue to grow on top of antlers which never fall.[190] The true phenomenon of the "Perückenbock" appears in many broadsheets. The most popular picture seems to show a wig of exaggerated bushiness, but the basic concept is sound and likely Hans Mair did capture such a deer. In fact, the wig of this roe deer is very unhealthy. Its weight pressing against the forehead skin (the print shows this contact) will cause an ulcer and the deer, who does not exactly live in a disinfected environment, will die of sepsis.[191] But the author of the 1580 broadsheet from Augsburg uses the deer as an opportunity to reflect upon the wonders created by God. The effect of castration upon deer was known to many people including Gessner and Pliny, but the biological causes of the "Perückenbock" are absent from the print. The wig is an act of God.

Germans were not among the leaders in exploring the New World. Germany was not a unified nation and it did not have many ports. Most German accounts of travel beyond Europe are within the Mediterranean world, to Turkey, Egypt, and the Holy Land. This area is interesting because it mixes species familiar to Europeans such as the familiar red fox, roe deer, and European hare, with similarly shaped but exotic species like antelope, oryx, the fennec fox, and jackals. But authors generally found totally different animals like crocodiles, elephants, and lions to be more worthy of their attention. They went to the Holy Land for broadly cultural purposes: to see great sites of Christianity and observe the customs of Turks.

This is not to say that no German authors attempted to describe the fauna they saw. Hanß Jacob Breüning published his *Orientalische Reyß* in Strassburg in 1612.

---

[190] C. Li, et al., "Effects of testosterone on pedicle formation and its transformation to antler in castrated male, freemartin and normal female red deer (Cervus elaphus)," *General & Comparative Endocrinology* 131.1 (March, 2003), section 1.
[191] Faust, *Zoologische Einblattdrucke*, 106.

Breüning says that he saw many exotic animals in a zoo in a castle in Cairo during his journey to the Holy Land and he spends several pages introducing the menagerie. Breüning describes the strange hoofed ungulates by comparing them to deer, among other animals. Like the ancients, he compares the patterns on a giraffe to a leopard and the giraffe's docile personality to a sheep's, and "the head is like a deer's" ("der Kopff vergleicht sich einem Hirsch").[192] Breüning also compares the ears of a gazelle to those of a deer and the range of colors of water buffalo to deer, although acknowledging that in most respects water buffalo more closely resembles an ox. But generally Breüning was more interested in Turks than animals.

Leonhart Rauwolf of Augsburg went further off the beaten path than most Europeans, as described in *Aigentliche beschreibung der Raiß, so er von diser zeit gegen Auffgang inn die Morgenländer*. Rauwolf traveled by camel caravan into Mesopotamia. He is knowledgeable about the history of that land. Rauwolf recounts that Fulk, King of Jerusalem, died in an accident while hunting hare.[193] This was probably a hare of the same species that vanished when being hunted on the Hörselberge. Rauwolf also presents an image of riding through Lebanon which sounds suspiciously like Europe. His party rides through a "large and dark forest" filled with roe and hares ("grossen unnd finsteren Wald").[194] But Rauwolf prefers to write about camels above all other animals. In fact, he prefers plants to animals. Rauwolf was a botanist and wrote the plant book *Viertes Kreutterbuech*.

[192] Hanß Jacob Breüning, *Orientalische Reyß* (Strassburg: Johann Carolo, 1612), 148.
[193] Leonhart Rauwolf, *Aigentliche beschreibung der Raiß, so er von diser zeit gegen Auffgang inn die Morgenländer*, (Laugingen: Leonhart Reinmichel, 1582), 391.
[194] Rauwolf, *Aigentliche beschreibung der Raiß*, 274.

Although Germans did not generally explore strange new worlds, many Germans were leading figures in writing about the lands and peoples of the Earth. Martin Waldseemüller was the first to apply the term America to the new found lands across the Atlantic and one of the first to depict America as a continent separate from Asia. The *Cosmographia* of Sebastian Münster was an influential work translated into Latin, French, Czech, and Italian.[195] Münster spends most of his book detailing Europe and in particular various German cities and principalities. Parts of Germany were somewhat exotic then – he finds in Prussia a kind of a deer as large as an ass (which is understating the size of a moose) with wide antlers.[196] But Münster has little to say about the New World while he rehashes ancient stories about the other continents.

The *Weltbuch* of Sebastian Franck first appeared in 1534, several years before the *Cosmographia*. Nevertheless, Franck draws upon some of Münster's earlier works. Franck likes to quote, with citation, ancient and modern authors at length. In this sense he is a lesser synthesizer than Münster but more useful for our purposes. In addition to Münster, Franck utilizes Vespucci, Columbus, Cortés, and Bernhard von Breydenbach, a fifteenth century German traveler to the Holy Land. Franck compiles a diverse array of voices in his book which indeed attempts to describe the whole world.

Frank includes excerpts from letters from Hernán Cortés to Holy Roman Emperor Charles V and Pope Clement VII. In what is now the Yucatan Peninsula, the conquistadors found rabbits, hare, foxes, and deer, and other animals unknown to

[195] Harold L. Ruland, "A Survey of the Double-Page Maps in Thirty-Five Editions of the "Comographia Universalis"
1544-1628 of Sebastian Münster and in His Editions of Ptolemy's "Geographia" 1540-1552," *Imago Mundi* 16 (1962), 88.
[196] Sebastian Münster, *Cosmographia: Bschreibung aller lender* (Basel: Henricus Petrus, 1544), ccccxcix.

them.[197] In Tenochtitlan, Cortés encountered a zoo. In this grand menagerie, which he claims has 300 human caretakers, he sees foxes, lions, tigers, wolves, and various unspecified cats.[198] There are, of course, no tigers in the New World and the great cats of the Americas only superficially resembles lions. It is probable that some of the animals called a fox or wolf were actually coyotes, but there is no way of isolating them as Cortés writes of zorros and lobos.[199] It is also unclear what kind of deer Cortés saw in the Yucatan. It could be a white tailed deer, similar to European deer, or one of the varieties of tiny rainforest deer with antlers that look like horns. Whatever kinds of animals Cortés saw, he describes them in European terms.

Other New World animals include an island discovered by "Alonsus" (presumably Alonso de Ojeda) with deer and hares and the discovery of rabbits by Columbus on Hispaniola. Franck's translations always differentiate between rabbits and hares.

The fourth book of the *Weltbuch*, about America, actually starts with Portuguese exploration down the west coast of Africa. Alvise Cadamosto, a Venetian hired by Henry the Navigator, explored the region in the fifteen century. In the kingdom of Budomel, somewhere north of the Gambia River, Cadamosto finds large groups of lions, leopards, wolves, roe bucks, and hares.[200] In various sections of the *Weltbuch* (written by various authors and about various places,) lists of local animals indiscriminately mix familiar and unfamiliar species. One of the most incredible descriptions of a variety of deer occurs in the section on Budomel's kingdom. The natives hunt deer of "various colors, green, gray,

[197] Sebastian Franck, *Weltbuch: Spiegel und bildtnis des gantzen Erdtbodens* (Ulm: 1542), ccxvii.
[198] Franck, *Weltbuch*, ccxxxii(v).
[199] Hernan Cortés, *Cartas y relaciones de Hernán Cortés al emperador Carlos V*, ed. Pascual de Gayangos (Paris: Imprenta Central de los Ferro-Cabriles, 1866), 111.
[200] Franck, *Weltbuch*, ccxvi(v).

yellow, or speckled with these colors" ("mancherley farb / grün / graw / geel / oder von disen farben gesprencklet").[201] Cadamosto brought back some half a hundred deer with him to Spain and gave one to a duke. One wonders whether Spaniards who saw this duke's African deer were disappointed to find that the animals were not a rainbow as reported or whether they interpreted animal colors more broadly. Germans and English call a certain creature a red fox, but no fox is really red. Today, we call many animals "yellow" such as yellow bellied marmots and yellow labs even though they are actually a light wheaten hue. If early modern Spanish/German definitions of "yellow" included that shade, then yes, there are yellow deer in Africa.

Subsection 3.2: Natural History, England

The major English natural historical pandect of the sixteenth century, *De differentiis animalium libri decem*, published by Edward Wotton in 1552, was not translated into the vernacular and I did not include it in this thesis. But it is necessary to mention this work since historians often compare it with the *Historia Animalium.* Both works are encyclopedic and they were published just a year apart. *De differentiis animalium*, heavily influenced by Aristotle, is based overwhelmingly on the writings of the ancients. Wotton is very credulous whereas Gessner compares ancient accounts to other observations and descriptions to determine whether they are reliable or not.[202] Wotton is practically medieval. But he was the only English natural historical encyclopedist of the sixteenth century. Edward Topsell provided the first large vernacular natural history although his work likewise is old fashioned.

[201] Franck, *Weltbuch*, ccxvi(v).
[202] Karl A.E. Enenkel, "Zur constituierung der Zoologie als Wissenschaft," 40.

As we shall see, in the first three decades of the seventeenth century the work and plans of Francis Bacon revitalized English natural history although much of Bacon's impact was felt only towards the middle part of the century and does not appear in this thesis. Nevertheless, Bacon's own works display a new attitude toward natural historical methods and nature itself.

The earliest printed English natural history is *The noble lyfe and natures of man of bestes, serpentys, fowles and fisshes* published by Laurence Andrew in about 1527. It is a translation of a Dutch work derived from the *Hortus sanitatis*, a 1491 German herbal that also contains information on animals.[203] The introduction explains that the book will help readers "here & se all that refressheth & quickeneth the spretys of man," as Aristotle said.[204] The same paragraph explains that God created animals for the use of humans. Accordingly, in addition to providing entertaining information about animals *The noble lyfe* explains the humans of each species.

This crudely illustrated work is a world apart from Gessner. There are no original observations, no information from recent scholarship, descriptions are so brief and vague as to be useless, and Andrew blindly repeats even the most incredible facts reported by the ancients. Andrew, or perhaps his Dutch predecessor, usually does not cite his sources, making this work of natural history poor not only by the standards of modern science but by humanist standards as well.

The depictions of deer, foxes, and hares in *The noble lyfe* are entirely typical. For example, "Vulpis / ye foxe is a fals wily beste," which of course is no news.[205] The

[203] Hoeniger and Hoeniger, *Development of Natural History in Tudor England*, 11.
[204] Laurence Andrew, *The noble lyfe and natures of man of bestes, serpentys, fowles and fisshes* (Antwerp: Doesborowe, c. 1527), Aii.
[205] ibid. Hi.

illustration depicts the fable of the fox and the crow. In this story, fox encounters a crow eating a piece of cheese. The fox flatters the crow and asks to hear her sing. In doing so, she drops the cheese out of her mouth and fox gobbles it up, a typically cunning excursion for the bushy tailed beast.

The noble lyfe repeats Pliny's claim that hares are hermaphrodites. The hare is "swift in ronnynge & alwaye full of feare & drede & exchewinge."[206] Andrews says that a hare's lips are always wagging, by which he may mean the muzzle movements caused by sniffing. *The noble lyfe* provides poor physical descriptions of animals but does correctly note that the hind legs of a hare are longer than the fore. The entire extent of the physical description of the rabbit is typical of *The noble lyfe*: "The coney is a lytel beste."[207] As there is not a picture of a rabbit either, a reader who had never seen a rabbit would have no idea how to identify a rabbit, although he or she would know that they live in holes and reproduce rapidly.

The paragraph about the hart is full of classical errors, such as the deer's love of flutes, fear of frogs, and the worm in his brain. He will defend himself bravely against hunters until at some point he apparently gives up and lies down.[208] The hind hides from hunters to bear her young. The illustration of the hart depicts fancifully long antlers that do not continually branch apart but rather consist of a central branch to which all the tines are attached (fig. 9). It is one of the most inaccurate illustrations of a familiar beast in any of the natural historical works I consulted.

[206] ibid. Gi.
[207] ibid. Ei.
[208] ibid. Diii.

fig. 9, poorly depicted deer in *The Noble Lyfe*[209]

Edward Topsell's 1607 *Historie of Four-footed Beasts* is nearly as credulous and unoriginal as *The noble lyfe*, but it is not painfully terse and the illustrations, after those in Gessner, are excellent. Topsell, a cleric, wrote his book with the intention of informing readers about the creations of God. Gessner also appreciates the divine creation of animals, but he considers animals useful and interesting for their own sakes as well.

Topsell based his work on the Latin edition of Gessner. He includes a translation of Gessner's original preface which thus appears in the English translation of the *Historia Animalium* but not the *Thierbuch*. Topsell says that Gessner is his primary source but he altered the *Historia Animalium* for his own purposes. Nevertheless, he finds it important to acknowledge Gessner to avoid plagiarism, of which he says many are guilty, especially against the ancients. Topsell differentiates his work from Gessner's in that *The Historie of Four-footed Beasts* is in the vernacular. He even wants his countrymen to help him "with their owne observations uppon these stories." Seeking the observations of others is a very Gessnerian activity although Gessner did not write in the tongue of "every plaine

[209] ibid. Diii.

and honest man."[210] But Topsell was himself not much of an observer and he contributes nothing to zoology in this work.[211] There does not seem to be any scholarship on whether readers actually sent Topsell observations as invited.

Since most of what Topsell says is found in Gessner this section will focus on differences between the two.

One significant difference between Topsell and Gessner is that Topsell includes roe with deer, not goats. He does not justify the decision. Perhaps his readers would consider the classification obvious, for English hunting tracts and forest law always count roe as a kind of deer. In the section on roe we find another example of Topsell working from the *Historia Animalium* rather than the *Thierbuch*. The *Thierbuch* omits the Martial epigram "Tam despar aquilae columba non est, Hec dorcas rigido fugar leoni" which Topsell translates as "As the Dove from the Eagle, and the Roe from the Lyon."[212] This refers to the great fear of the roe, a subject on which Topsell is more verbose than the *Thierbuch*.

Topsell recounts a story told by Philipp Melanchthon which appears in neither the *Thierbuch* nor the *Historia Animalium*. (It is from Luther's table talk.) Frederick the Wise owned a deer which would leap out of its enclosure each rutting season and then return home. After the Elector died, the deer ran away for good.[213] This anecdote occurs in a paragraph which also mentions the intelligence of tame deer. The story shows that they can be faithful as well, a trait that is not usually singled out in deer but rather falls under their general nobility of nature.

---

[210] Edward Topsell, *The Historie of Four-footed Beasts* (London: William Jaggard, 1607), 18.
[211] Hoeniger and Hoeniger, *Development of Natural History in Tudor England*, 38
[212] Topsell, *Historie of Four-footed Beasts*, 117.
[213] ibid. 128.

It is interesting that a German deer story occurs in Topsell but not Gessner. Topsell must have been a teutophile like other English natural historians as he retains many references to German scholarship. In fact, his terminology for arctic foxes is German. The words are Kreuzfuchs, Birkfuchs, and Blauwfuchs.[214] Natural historians of the period apparently did not understand that the arctic fox's coat changes color with the seasons, hence the multiple names. By later in the seventeenth century the term "white fox" appears in some sources, but Topsell apparently had no English term for the arctic fox available to him.

Topsell writes more about hunting than Gessner does. He uses hunting to provide examples of animal behavior and character but he also gives some practical instructions in hunting. Topsell's language is frequently vivid. Although, following Gessner, he applies to fox such adjectives as "crafty, wary, deceitfull, stinking," Topsell paints the fox in an heroic light in one tableau from hunting.[215] He describes a treed fox standing "like as a Champion in some fort or Castle." When he can no longer enduring to be pierced by hunters' spears, "downe he leapeth, falling upon the crew of barking Dogs, like a flash of lightning," and fights to the death.[216] It is strange to depict a fox with such noble bravery, though perhaps less strange in England, where fox hunting was growing increasingly popular. But Topsell is out of touch with trends in English hunting as he quotes with approval Xenophon's negative opinion of fox hunting.

The section on hare hunting is surprisingly long. It begins with hare eluding not humans and hounds but fox. Hare runs very fast but only in short bursts. She must pause to rest during which time fox, driven by hunger, catches up. Topsell presents the strange

[214] ibid. 221.
[215] ibid. 221.
[216] ibid. 225.

image of a hare in a small tree with fox at the bottom shaking it. She jumps out and continues to run away but a fox catches her. Topsell then portrays the fox as a sort of angel of death. The hare, sick with fear and exhaustion before her impending death, feels "the Foxes presence like the voice of a passing bell." The fox's efforts were "like a gentle and kinde exercise for the preparing of his stomacke to such a feast."[217] Topsell has no interest in the actual life and death struggle of hare and fox. Rather, he portrays fox as a hunter with just cause and no malice.

It is no coincidence that in the next paragraph, the hunter of hare is man. The previous example with the fox justifies the hunting of timid, fearful, little hare.

To give a final example of Topsell on hunting, he describes the phenomenon we know today as a deer caught in the headlights. When deer are surprised by a strange looking creature such as a hunter standing next to a horse, "they stand staring upon the new-formed Beast, untill the Dart do end their lives."[218] Topsell places this in the same paragraph as deer's propensity to be deceived by music. Thus, he presents the staring deer not as unintelligent but rather prone to astonishment.

In addition to increased observation of animals during the sixteenth century there was an increasing interest in veterinary medicine. Physicians made discoveries about animal anatomy while dissecting or vivisecting animals to learn about human anatomy. Further, animal owners had an economic incentive to keep their possessions alive. Gervase Markham, whose specialty was horses, wrote *Markhams Method* in 1616. Among the many domestic animals for which Markham offers cures are hares and rabbits.

[217] ibid. 268.
[218] ibid. 129.

Hares and rabbits are beasts of a melancholic disposition, therefore they thrive during winter, when they prefer the taste of frozen grass. They breed at an incredible rate. Markham notes that rabbits sometimes eat their young, but he incorrectly says this is due to the male being "unnaturall."[219] In fact, does will eat their young when starving or under stress.[220] He attributes the mother's hiding of her young in a dammed up hole as protecting them from their father. Gessner also described the hostility of male rabbits towards their offspring.

The only infirmities to which hares and rabbits are subject are "The Rotte" and "Madnes."[221] The cure is a diet of dry hay and "hare-thistle," *Sonchus oleraceus*. "The Rotte" is caused by a wet environment and may be the same as the rot which sheep get in their feet. Madness might be ordinary March madness (although Markham would probably have mentioned it alongside breeding in that case) or an actual disease.

Natural history advances in the work of Francis Bacon. While Bacon's own zoological observations were limited, his scientific program greatly influenced the subsequent generation of natural historians. Brian W. Ogilvie says that Renaissance natural history, the "science of describing," came to an end around the time of Bacon. As we saw in the introduction to the natural history section, Ogilvie says that in the early part of the seventeenth century, natural history shifted towards classification. This was in part due to the incredible success of the natural historians who identified ever increasing

---

[219] Gervase Markham, *Markhams methode or epitome wherein is shewed his aprooued remedies for all diseases whatsoeuer incident to horses, oxen, kine, bulls, calues, sheep, lambs, goats, swine, dogs of all kind, conies...*
(London: Thomas Langley, 1616), 51.
[220] Will Easson, "A review of rabbit and rodent production medicine," *Seminars in Avian and Exotic Pet Medicine* 10.3 (July 2001), 133.
[221] Markham, *Markhams methode*, 53.

numbers of species, including some species very exotic and mysterious but unquestionably real. Bacon articulated this shift rather than inventing it.[222]

Bacon had a plan, articulated in *The Great Instauration* and elsewhere, for a universal natural history, by which he meant all creation organic and nonorganic. In *Of the proficience and advancement of Learning, divine and humane*, a 1605 letter to James I, Bacon explains the different aspects of human understanding which must be cultivated. Bacon distinguishes between natural theology and natural history. The two often intermingled in the sixteenth century. Natural theologians learn about God through studying His creation. Bacon is skeptical of this. Although he feels natural theology may ward off atheism, it cannot "attaine to the misteries of God."[223] This echoes Gessner's desire to use nature to appreciate rather than understand God.

Natural history, unlike natural theology, only yields knowledge about nature. Bacon does not approve of the current state of natural history. He considers the still influential Pliny, Gerolamo Cardano, Albertus Magnus, and various unnamed Arab authors to be "fraught with much fabulous matter, a great part, not onely untryed, but notoriously untrue, to the great derogation of the credite of naturall Philosophie."[224] He contrasts them with Aristotle, who was erroneously thought at the time, including by Gessner, to have made many firsthand observations, including of specimens sent to him by Alexander the Great. Factual information about nature "was not to bee mingled or

[222] Ogilvie, *The Science of Describing*, 258.
[223] Francis Bacon, *Of the proficience and advancement of Learning, divine and humane* (London: Henry Tomes, 1605), 5(v).
[224] Bacon, *Of the proficience and advancement of Learning*, 22.

weakened with matter of doubtfull credite," such as the many fantastical beasts found in Pliny or Albertus Magnus.[225]

Thus, Bacon's program, like Gessner's involves actually looking at animals and plants, but it differs in that it refuses to recount old, doubtful stories just because they have not been explicitly disproven.

Sylva sylvarum, or, A naturall history in ten centuries was published posthumously in 1627. It fits in with Bacon's program regarding natural history expressed in *Of the proficience and advancement of Learning* in that it focuses on expanding human knowledge by acquiring information through observation. *Sylva sylvarum* proposes future directions of inquiry into natural history and relates much information on nature in a disorganized manner.

Bacon notes that in many species we see "a Composition of Matter, which happeneth oft."[226] He refers to physical traits occurring across species, a topic he considers fruitful matter for investigation. He notes some obvious examples, such as that dogs look like wolves and foxes, and hares and rabbits resemble one another. Bacon, who strongly opposed theorizing without first making extensive observations, offers no hypothesis as to why these animals resemble one another.

Bacon does offer guesses as to why some animals, for example hares and rabbits, bear many young at one time. His guesses are physiological in nature: either more sperm or more "Partitions and Cells of the Wombe."[227] He does not suggest that hares and rabbits are simply lascivious.

---

[225] Bacon, *Of the proficience and advancement of Learning*, 22.
[226] Francis Bacon, *Sylva sylvarum, or, A naturall history in ten centuries* (London: William Lee, 1627), 169.
[227] Bacon, *Sylva sylvarum*, 196.

Bacon explains why hares, rabbits, and deer are edible and foxes not. It is because foxes, like lions or wolves, are "Fierce and Cholerick."[228] Gessner's *Thierbuch* also states that the fox's bad temper is the cause of its inedible flesh.[229] Likewise, the mild character of deer and hares, similar to that of sheep, accounts for their tasty meat. "Cholerick" by itself might not refer to the Galenic four humors but a separate reference to the deer as "a Melancholy Dry Creature" confirms the application of ancient physiology to these animals.[230] Bacon was not a thoroughgoing iconoclast and in fact his adherence to the four humors gives the characters of his animals a kind of medical credibility absent from purely symbolic descriptions of animal character. It provides a purely chemical explanation for deer, foxes, and hares personalities.

Bacon often ties together the behavior of deer and rabbits with sheep. The three species eat before rain.[231] They reproduce only at certain times of the year.[232] This is presumably the effect of their similar humors. Since Bacon's work is not a natural historical encyclopedia organized according to species he can mix three different species with ease. He states broad similarities that might go unmentioned if he wrote about deer, rabbits, and sheep in different chapters.

Bacon's urge to experiment shows up in the disputed case of ivy growing out of a deer's antlers, a widely reported falsehood. Bacon suggests that the ivy merely became entwined in the antlers. But just to be sure, he recommends an experiment in which hollows are made in a deer's antlers and seeds placed inside to see if they will grow.[233] It

[228] Bacon, *Sylva sylvarum*, 229.
[229] Gessner, *Thierbuch*, 56(v).
[230] Bacon, *Sylva sylvarum*, 195.
[231] Bacon, *Sylva sylvarum*, 216.
[232] Bacon, *Sylva sylvarum*, 195.
[233] Bacon, *Sylva sylvarum*, 140.

would never have occurred to Gessner to make such a recommendation. In subsequent centuries, Baconians such as Robert Boyle performed many experiments on animals, but with the goals of learning about human anatomy through analogy. Experiments to learn about nature focused more on trees than animals.[234] Even with these caveats, Bacon's almost empirical conception of natural history proved to be more influential that Wotton or Topsell.

Bacon never traveled over the seas but he could read accounts by his fellow countrymen. Two English books about voyages to Guyana describe native fauna. Walter Raleigh's *The discoverie of the large, rich, and bewtiful empire of Guiana* appeared in 1596 while Robert Harcourt published *A relation of a voyage to Guiana* in 1613. While the descriptions are different from one another, each views the animals from an English framework. Harcourt calls the local deer red and fallow deer, which of course these animals could not have been. [235] Raleigh discerned in South America copses "as full of deare, as any forrest or parke in England." [236] Raleigh presents the deer as part of a rich environment, full of diverse lifeforms and terrain. These animals become numerous and healthy in the wild, whereas in England they only thrive under human maintenance. These deer are part of Raleigh's propaganda for exploration in Guyana. They may be an exaggeration like much of what he claimed to have found, but certainly there are many deer in the rich forests of Guyana.

[234] Michael Hunter, *Science and Society in Restoration England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 93.
[235] Robert Harcourt, *A relation of a voyage to Guiana* (London: W. Welby, 1613), 19.
[236] Walter Raleigh, *The discoverie of the large, rich, and bewtiful empire of Guiana* (London: Robert Robinson, 1596), 82.

Raleigh claims there are hares in Guyana, but Harcourt is more specific, saying that "there be stores of Hares, and Conies, but of a kinde farre differing from ours."[237] He might mean a tapeti or a guinea pig. Neither Raleigh nor Harcourt mention foxes.

The wildlife of North America is more similar to that of England than is the wildlife of Guyana. Thomas Hariot describes Virginia in his *A briefe and true report of the new found land of Virginia* of 1590. James Rosier also reported on what he considered Virginia in *A true relation of the most prosperous voyage made this present yeere 1605, by Captaine George Waymouth, in the discovery of the land of Virginia.* He was actually in what is now Maine. Both authors marvel, like the explorers of Guyana, at the number of deer. Rosier calls North American deer "Rain-Déere and Fallo-Déere."[238] He claims the native people keep deer as the English keep cows. (This is possible, as more southerly Indians did this.)[239] Rosier includes a complete list of the animals of "Virginia" which includes hares, rabbits, and three kinds of deer: reindeer, stags and fallow. If Rosier makes the same mistake Albertus Magnus made, then by reindeer he means moose. The failure of either Rosier or Hariot to notice foxes might be explained due to the generally nocturnal behavior of that animal. The fox is a lowly animal, but so are rabbits and rabbits apparently merit mention.

Hariot says that the deer near the ocean are more or less the same size as English deer, "but further up into the countrey where there is better seed they are greater."[240] These deer are possibly elk. Hariot says the antlers of the large deer "looke backwards,"

---

[237] Harcourt, V*oyage to Guiana*, 29.
[238] James Rosier, *A true relation of the most prosperous voyage made this present yeere 1605, by Captaine George Waymouth, in the discouery of the land of Virginia* (London: George Bishop, 1605), C3.
[239] Matthew Roper, "Deer as "Goat" and Pre-Columbian Domesticate," *Insights: A Window on the Ancient World* 26.6 (2006), 2.
[240] Thomas Hariot, *A briefe and true report of the new found land of Virginia* (Frankfurt a.M.: Sigmund Feyerabend, 1590), 19.

which is consistent with a larger rack reaching back over the head due to its greater size. But large red deer in England have such a rack as well. Hariot also says there are many rabbits, which have a gray color like hares. The cottontail rabbit does indeed have a dustier colored coat than the European rabbit. Hariot's descriptions of animals seem accurate, as befits someone who was also an observational astronomer.

But just as we could not get very far geographically in exploring the world with German explorers, we cannot explore the New World adequately through the works of English explorers. Spanish accounts of New World animals are superior in their volume and thoughtfulness. They make English works seem almost cursory. We already saw some German translations of Spanish works. Many were translated in English as well and were quite popular. Of course, Spanish works describe Central and South America as opposed to Virginia and Maine and the species there are even more alien to Europeans.

José de Acosta's *The naturall and morall historie of the East and West Indies*, to give the title of the 1604 English translation, is an excellent work of natural history not only for its descriptions but for Acosta's speculation about the origins of New World animals. Most explorers were not natural historians but Acosta was a Jesuit academic who discovered errors in Aristotle based on his own experiences in the New World. He fits in the descriptive tradition of Renaissance natural history exemplified by Gessner. Acosta wanted to determine which animals were native to the Americas and which were brought there by the Spanish, who had already been traveling to the New World for a century. He correctly determines in *The naturall and morall historie* that since there are no native words for horses and cows, the Spanish must have brought over those

species.[241] (He makes the same hypothesis, incorrectly, for dogs as well.) He notes that Europeans certainly did not introduce tigers or lions in their ships. This leads Acosta to assume that "this worlde ioynes with the new in some part: by which these beasts might passe, and so by little and little multiplied this world."[242] Acosta did not know about continental drift or the lower sea level during the Ice Age, but his guess lies in the right direction and is well reasoned. Acosta also correctly describes the tigers and lions of the New World as being different from those of the Old. The American lion is gray and has no mane, while the tiger is not striped but spotted.[243] This sounds like a black panther and a leopard.

To return to our familiar triumanimate, Acosta counts vicuñas, a small member of the camelid family, as a kind of deer.[244] But he considers the vicuña's relative, the llama, to be a kind of sheep. This is easily explained. Llamas are domesticated and wooly whereas vicuñas are a wild animal and have shorter hair. This parallels deer and sheep. Acosta correctly places vicuñas in the high regions of the Andes. He also came across deer that he considers to be more like those found in Europe. These are wild deer that crossed from the Old World to the New at the hypothetical part where they join. Further evidence of immigration, as opposed to God creating deer everywhere across the world or humans carrying them, is that deer do not live on the islands off the South American continent.[245]

---

[241] José de Acosta, *The naturall and morall historie of the East and West Indies* (London: Edward Blount and William Aspley, 1604), 302.
[242] ibid. 303.
[243] ibid. 303.
[244] ibid. 317.
[245] ibid. 304.

Acosta finds hares and rabbits in South America, but also a species he considers to be "like small conies," the cuyes, or guinea pig.[246] Conrad Gessner also compared guinea pigs to rabbits. Acosta says that the guinea pigs live in burrows and in some places have undermined the land, which is a nuisance associated with rabbits. He also compares viscachas (a rodent looking like a fat bunny with a longer tail) to hares.

Acosta has strong opinions on the subject of foxes. He dislikes them intensely, although the crab-eating fox he was likely to encounter in the New World is quite different in appearance from that of Europe. Like the wolf, the fox is a useless, common species which harasses livestock. Acosta rejects entirely the idea that foxes were brought over from Europe for hunting pleasure: "Who can imagine, that in so long a voyage, men would take the paynes to carrie Foxes to Peru, especially of that kind which they call Anas [a Quicha word], which is the filthiest that I have seene?"[247] English readers would agree with this characterization of foxes as vermin.

Conclusion

Classical examples and fables appear again and again in religious, hunting, and natural historical materials. Humanist education accounts for some of this. Learned people were expected to know and employ the writings of Aristotle, Pliny, and others. But stereotypes about animals spread through many means besides formal education. Preachers used the fables of Aesop to teach moral lessons. Fable art appears in church art and architecture. Many proverbs in English and German reference animals. The animal world described in the sources of this thesis existed in many places besides books, broadsheets, and manuscripts.

[246] ibid. 314.
[247] ibid. 66.

This is because basic conceptions about the characters of animals, though reinforced by classical authors and the humanists they inspired, have deeper roots than the Greeks. Fox is a cunning deceiver in written and oral traditions from Europe to India. Folklore and oral fables about fox and other beasts complemented what respected authors like Pliny had to say about animals. In fact, medieval and early modern encyclopedists including Gessner incorporated folklore into their works.[248] The synthesis came naturally.

This cultural saturation of animal stereotypes is why, barring Lutherans' disproportionately low opinion of hares, animals have roughly the same character across religious, hunting, and natural historical works in Germany and England. While authors might present the personality in different terms, such as the noble deer being like a knight in German hunting materials and like a martyr in English ones, there are not huge discrepancies. Making fox good would be revolutionary, a revolution with little benefit to its initiator.

Where the three types of materials differ is the extent to which they depict animals as having human-like personalities, but even there the boundaries between a natural historical and a symbolic depiction of an animal are blurry. Hunting manuals and natural histories contain practical advice and firsthand observation but this does not preclude anthropomorphizing. An animal can have a distinct personality even as humans write about her for different purposes, whether to teach morals, hunting, or appreciation of God's creations.

The male chauvinist deer and devil hare are all but extinct in modern Germany and England. These particular stereotypes are very culture specific and have far more to

[248] Hans-Jörg Uther, "The Fox in World Literature: Reflections on a 'Fictional Animal'," *Asian Folklore Studies* (2006), 135.

do with sixteenth-century notions of chivalry and Protestantism than actual animal behavior. Other perceptions of animal character are longer lived – created long before the Reformation and surviving into the present – because they are based in actual behavior. We still say that a couple with too many children "breed like rabbits" since rabbits have a great number of offspring. When applied to humans, the phrase is usually pejorative. Contemporary people would not criticize rabbits for breeding like rabbits, but rabbit reproduction still has a negative connotation as evinced by that phrase. The negativity connotation is cultural but the association of rabbits with mere volume of children rather than the moral implications of many children is natural. The real and the symbolic continue to mix.

Martin Luther died in 1546, Conrad Gessner in 1565, George Gascoigne in 1577, Noe Meurer in 1583, and Edward Topsell in 1625. Red deer, fallow deer, roe deer, red foxes, European hares, and European rabbits are still alive. They never noticed the deaths of the authors who attempted to describe their lives. Early modern portrayals of animals sometimes seem ridiculous but they reflect the experience of being a deer, fox or hare just about as well as modern zoology does. Which is to say, not very well at all.

Bibliography

Symbol

Primary sources

Bale, John. *Yet a course at the Romyshe foxe.* Antwerp: Olyver Jacobson, 1543.

Baxter, J. *A toile for two-legged foxes.* London: Thomas Man, 1600.

Bell, Thomas. *The Hunting of the Romish Foxe.* London: Richard Bradocke, 1598.

Bibel Teütsch. Zürich: Christoffel Froschouer, 1534.

Harms, Wolfgang et al., eds., *Deutsche illustrierte Flugblätter des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts*, Bd. 6 and 7. Tübingen: M. Niemeyer, 1997.

Hondorff Andreas. *Promptuarium Exemplorum.* Leipzig: 1576.

Luther, Martin. *Von der entheuptung Johannis des Teuffers durch den Fuchs König Herodem.* Magdeburg: c. 1550.

Luther, Martin. *Luther Deutsch: Die Werke Martin Luthers in neuer Auswahl für die Gegenwart vol. 10.* Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1983.

Turner, William. *The rescuynge of the romishe fox other wyse called the examination of the hunter devised by steven gardiner*. Bonn: Laurenz von der Meulen, 1545.

Turner, William. *The huntyng and fyndyng out of the Romyshe foxe, which more then seven yeares hath bene hyd amongst the bisshoppes of Englonde.* Basel: 1543.

Turner, William. *The hunting of the fox and the wolfe because they make havocke of the sheepe of Christ Jesus.* London: 1565.

Secondary Sources

Brückner, Wolfgang. *Volkserzählung und Reformation; ein Handbuch zur Tradierung und Funktion von Erzählstoffen und Erzählliteratur im Protestantismus Volkserzählung und Reformation*. Berlin: E. Schmidt, 1974.

Chapman, Chris. "The Three Hares Project." http://www.chrischapmanphotography.co.uk/hares/index.html.

Nichols, John Gough, ed. *Narratives of the Days of the Reformation*. London: Camden Society, 1859.

Scribner, R.W. *For the Sake of Simple Folk: Popular Propaganda for the German Reformation.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981.

Swenson, Patricia Cole. *Noble Hunters of the Romish Fox: Religious Reform at the Tudor Court, 1543-1564.* PhD diss. University of California, Berkeley, 1981.

Uther, Hans-Jörg. "The Fox in World Literature: Reflections on a 'Fictional Animal'." *Asian Folklore Studies* (2006): 133-160.

Watt, Tessa. *Cheap Print and Popular Piety, 1550-1640.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991.

Hunting

Primary Sources

Cockaine, Thomas. *A short treatise of hunting.* London: Thomas Orwin, 1591.

Foiulloux, Jacques du. *La Venerie de Jaques du Fouilloux.* Poitiers: 1562.

Gascoigne, George. *The Noble Arte of Venerie or Hunting.* London: Christopher Barker, 1575.

Künstliche Figuren von allerlai Jagt und Weidwerck. Frankfurt a.M.: Sigmund Feyerabend, 1592.

Lindner, Kurt, ed. *Deutsche Jadgtraktate des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts*, Teil I and II. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter & Co., 1959.

Manwood, John. *Treatise and discourse of the lawes of the forrest.* London: Thomas Wight and Bonham Norton, 1598.

Meurer, Noe. *Jagd- und Forstrecht.* Frankfurt a.M.: Sigmund Feyerabend, 1576.

Secondary Sources

Beaver, Daniel C. *Hunting and the Politics of Violence Before the English Civil War.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008.

Bendix, Bernd. "Vorwort," in Noe Meurer, *Jag- und Forstrecht.* Remagen-Oberwinter: Verlag Kessel, 2010.

Crane, Susan. “Ritual Aspects of the Hunt a Force.” In Barbara A. Hanawalt and Lisa J. Kiser, eds. *Engaging with Nature: Essays on the Natural World in Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame, 2008.

Griffin, Emma. *Blood Sport: Hunting in Britain Since 1066.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007.

"nature, n.". OED Online. March 2013. Oxford University Press. http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/125353?rskey=yf3iZd&result=1 (accessed March 16, 2013).

Natural History

Primary Sources

Andrew, Laurence. *The noble lyfe and natures of man of bestes, serpentys, fowles and fisshes*. Antwerp: Doesborowe, c. 1527.

“Animal drawings collected by Felix Platter (1536-1614),” Amsterdam University Special Collections, https://www.flickr.com/photos/bijzonderecollectiesuva/sets/72157632809370911/

Bacon, Francis. *Of the proficience and advancement of Learning, divine and humane.* London: Henry Tomes, 1605.

Bacon, Francis. *Sylva sylvarum, or, A naturall history in ten centuries.* London: William Lee, 1627.

Ein neuw Thierbuch. Eigentliche und auch gruendliche beschreibung allerley vier und zweyfuessigen Thieren... Frankfurt a.M.: Sigmund Feyerabend, 1569.

Faust, Ingrid. *Zoologische Einblattdrucke und Flugschriften vor 1800.* Stuttgart : Anton Hiersemann, 1998.

Gessner, Conrad. *Thierbuch. Das ist Außfuhrliche beschreibung und lebendige ja auch eigentliche Contrafactur...* Heidelberg: Johan Lancellot, 1606.

Markham, Gervase. *Markhams methode or epitome wherein is shewed his aprooued remedies for all diseases whatsoeuer incident to horses, oxen, kine, bulls, calues, sheep, lambs, goats, swine, dogs of all kind, conies...* London: Thomas Langley, 1616.

Pliny the Elder. *The Natural History*. London: Taylor and Francis, 1855.

Topsell, Edward. *The Historie of Four-footed Beasts.* London: William Jaggard, 1607.

Explorer Sources

Acosta, José de. *The naturall and morall historie of the East and West Indies.* London: Edward Blount and William Aspley, 1604.

Breüning, Hanß Jacob. *Orientalische Reyß*. Strassburg: Johann Carolo, 1612.

Cortés, Hernan. *Cartas y relaciones de Hernán Cortés al emperador Carlos V*. Ed. Pascual de Gayangos. Paris: Imprenta Central de los Ferro-Cabriles, 1866.

Franck, Sebastian. *Weltbuch: Spiegel und bildtnis des gantzen Erdtbodens.* Ulm: 1542.

Harcourt, Robert. *A relation of a voyage to Guiana.* London: W. Welby, 1613.

Hariot, Thomas. *A briefe and true report of the new found land of Virginia.* Frankfurt a.M.: Sigmund Feyerabend, 1590.

Münster, Sebastian. *Cosmographia: Bschreibung aller lender.* Basel: Henricus Petrus, 1544.

Raleigh, Walter. *The discoverie of the large, rich, and bewtiful empire of Guiana.* London: Robert Robinson, 1596.

Rauwolf, Leonhart. *Aigentliche beschreibung der Raiß, so er von diser zeit gegen Auffgang inn die Morgenländer*. Laugingen: Leonhart Reinmichel, 1582.

Rosier, James. *A true relation of the most prosperous voyage made this present yeere 1605, by Captaine George Waymouth, in the discouery of the land of Virginia*. London: George Bishop, 1605.

Rabbit Illustrations

Amsterdam University Special Collections. "Animal drawings collected by Felix Platter (1536- 1614)." https://www.flickr.com/photos/bijzonderecollectiesuva/sets/72157632809370911/ (accessed March 16, 2013).

Cambridge University Library. "Conrad Gesner: Historia animalium." http://www.lib.cam.ac.uk/deptserv/rarebooks/gesner.html (accessed March 16, 2013).

Keio University. *Thierbuch.* http://www.humi.mita.keio.ac.jp/treasures/nature/Gesner-web/mammal/html/normal_b/l169b.html (accessed March 16, 2013).

National Library of Medicine. “Conrad Gesner’s Historiae Animalium.” http://archive.nlm.nih.gov/proj/ttp/flash/gesner/gesner.html (accessed March 16, 2013).

Secondary Sources

Easson, Will. “A review of rabbit and rodent production medicine.” *Seminars in Avian and Exotic Pet Medicine* 10.3 (July 2001), 131-139.

Enenkel, Karl A.E. “Zur constituierung der Zoologie als Wissenschaft in der Frühen Neuzeit: Diskursanalyse zweier Großprojekte (Wotton, Gesner).” In *Early Modern Zoology: The Construction of the Animals in Science, Literature and the Visual Arts*, eds. Karl A.E. Enenkel and Paul J. Smith, 15-74. Leiden: Brill, 2007.

Gmelig-Nijboer, C.A. *Conrad Gessner’s “Historia Animalium”: An Inventory of Renaissance Zoology*. Meppel: Krips Repro B.V., 1977.

Hoeniger, F.D. and J.F.M. Hoeniger. *The Development of Natural History in Tudor England.* Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1969.

Hunter, Michael. *Science and Society in Restoration England.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981.

Kowalczyk, R. et. al. “Facilitative interactions between the Eurasian badger (Meles meles), the red fox (Vulpes vulpes), and the invasive raccoon dog (Nyctereutes procyonoides) in Białowiez˙a Primeval Forest, Poland,” *Canadian Journal of Zoology* 86 (2008), 1389-1396.

Kusukawa, S. “The sources of Gessner’s pictures for the Historia animalium.” *Annals of Science* 67.3 (July 2010): 303-328.

Li, C., et al. “Effects of testosterone on pedicle formation and its transformation to antler in castrated male, freemartin and normal female red deer (Cervus elaphus),” *General & Comparative Endocrinology* 131.1 (March, 2003), 21-32.

Ogilvie, Brian, *The Science of Describing: Natural History in Renaissance Europe*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008.

Raven, Charles E. *English Naturalists from Neckam to Ray: A Study of the Making of the Modern World.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1947.

Roper, Matthew. “Deer as "Goat" and Pre-Columbian Domesticate.” *Insights: A Window on the Ancient World* 26.6 (2006), 2-3.

Ruland, Harold L. “A Survey of the Double-Page Maps in Thirty-Five Editions of the "Comographia Universalis" 1544-1628 of Sebastian Münster and in His Editions of Ptolemy's "Geographia" 1540-1552.” *Imago Mundi* 16 (1962), 84-97.

Thompson, Harry V. and Carolyn M. King, eds. *The European Rabbit: The history and biology of a successful colonizer.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994.

Derek Yalden. *The History of British Mammals*. Waltham: Academic Press, 1999.