

A selective survey of visual representations of Reynardian Literature and fox lore in the last fifty years

Kenneth Varty & Paul Wackers

University of Glasgow / Universiteit Utrecht

This article offers a survey of fifty years research into Reynardian iconography. It analyses secondary and primary sources: it discusses a number of book length studies, it shows trends in articles, makes suggestions for further research, describes the properties of and the main research on the major illustration cycles of Reynardian literature and ends with an annotated bibliography.

Introduction

Just over fifty years ago Kenneth Varty published *Reynard the Fox, a study of the fox in medieval English art*, – the first book length study of Reynardian iconography and in fact the first serious study of the impact of the stories around and the character of the wily fox Reynard¹ on the visual arts. Although the book restricted itself to England it received also a very positive reception outside the British Isles. Since then the interest in Reynardian iconography has grown, some really interesting discoveries have been made and published in often richly illustrated books and articles. However, quite a few of these have been in languages in which few of us are competent – for example, Swedish, Dutch and – sad to say – German. Furthermore, published reviews of them have sometimes been rare and hard to come by. So it seems useful to give an overview in English of what has been done in the last fifty years in the languages of western Europe as a first guide for newcomers and a check list and a starting point for further discussion by specialists. This overview has two parts. First we describe and discuss modern studies, then we write about illustration cycles in Reynardian written and printed sources. Of course this overview is personal and necessarily incomplete. We end with a bibliography,

1. The fox has many names. In specific cases we use the names of the diverse languages (Renart, Reinhart, Reynaert, etc.) but in general contexts we always use the English name Reynard.

however, that strives for completeness with regard to scholarly work.² To make it more usable for the non-specialist we have added short annotations to every title.

Studies

Probably the single most important contribution to our field of study in the last half century is Dr Zumbült's study, *Die europäischen Illustrationen des 'Reineke Fuchs' bis zum 16. Jahrhundert* ('European illustrations of Reynard the Fox up to the sixteenth century').³ The 934 pages of the two volumes of this study include descriptions of 731 miniatures, all of which are to be found in French manuscripts. 175 of them are reproduced in colour. The 188 woodcuts which illustrate the first 7 early printed editions of the Beast Epic are also all described and half of them are reproduced.

To understand what Dr Zumbült wanted to do in this book it is useful to refer to an earlier article in English which appeared in *Reinardus* 15 (Zumbült 2002). Here you'll find in advance of the book a concise outline of the arguments that will appear fully clothed in the book. It is argued that for studying the iconography of the fox stories from an art historical perspective attention must be paid to which scenes were chosen for illustration, for what reason and how they were composed. These compositions must then be compared to other, contemporary iconographic or pictorial genres.

When writing about composition Dr Zumbült writes about the originality of some of the artists. A particularly nice example is the way the artist depicts the funeral service for Coppe, Chantecler's daughter.⁴ (Figure 1) All the text says about this in all the English sixteenth century versions of the Beast Epic derived from

2. The article and the bibliography are meant to be used together. To indicate the links between the two we have used the author-year system of the *Chicago Manual of Style* in text and footnotes because this proved to be shorter, less repetitive, and far easier to use than the rules of *Reinardus'* own Stylesheet. References to studies that have no bearing on Reynardian iconography, however, are always given in footnotes and do follow *Reinardus'* Stylesheet.

We have tried to include in the bibliography all officially published studies, even if they are probably difficult to get nowadays. We have, however, not included privately published material. That type of study from before 1998 may be found in Kenneth Varty. *The Roman de Renart. A Guide to Scholarly Work* (Lanham, Md. & London: The Scarecrow Press, 1998). See entries 236, 368, 454, 654, and 682. We want to thank Erwin Verzandvoort and Larissa Birrer for their help in preparing the bibliography.

3. Zumbült 2011.

4. Zumbült 2002, 201–202. Cf. also Zumbült 2011, II, 285–286 (XIV.7)

Caxton's translation from the Dutch is (slightly modernised) "the lion king tells the Cock 'We will sing her vigils and bring her worshipfully on earth (i.e., bury her with due ceremony)'" The text continues "They begin by singing the appropriate verses of 'Placebo Domino'" – and that is all the text says about the funeral of Coppe.⁵ However, the woodcut in the *Wynkyn de Worde* series gives all sorts of not mentioned details and these show, as Dr Zumbült points out, that the artist uses not only his imagination but also his knowledge of the way in which a funeral service is depicted in contemporary Books of Hours. He has taken an already existing and probably fairly well known type of image and adapted that for a new context. By doing so he contributes in his own way to the comic qualities of the narrative by depicting (of all animals!) two *sheep*⁶ singing at the lectern before a candle-lit altar set in open countryside and a procession of two hens and a cockerel hooded in such a way that they must have had some difficulty in seeing where they were going, approaching a bier on which is sprawled a headless Coppe spotlighted by a tall candle in a tall candlestick. The crowned lion and lioness, on all fours, solemn-faced, look at the baa-ing sheep while the congregation consisting of a stag and three other animals, sit behind the lions. So it is that some artists add to the narrative and to the mood of the written word. There may well be scope for more research into the contributions or modifications artists make to written narratives, especially in *modern* versions of the Beast Epic.

But let us return to Dr Zumbült's book. Besides cataloguing and making accessible all the pictorial matter in the European Beast Epic between the late 13th and the mid 16th centuries, Dr Zumbült undertakes the huge task of finding links between the visual matter within Reynardian texts and parallel, contemporary visual matter outside them. Here we profit from having an art historian rather than a literary historian at work. As Dr Zumbült shows, when medieval artists illustrated a Reynardian story, they were more likely to refer to what seemed to them to be parallel illustrations in non-Reynardian stories with which they were familiar. And

As the fox epic has always and in every form been a parody or a satire of social and literary traditions, we may expect the illustrations of fox stories to refer to iconographic types in other texts and their illustrations.⁷

5. Cf. for Coppe's funeral: *The History of Reynard the Fox, Translated from the Dutch Original by William Caxton*, edited by N. F. Blake, published for the Early English Text Society. London: Oxford University Press, 1970, p. 12. One may also care to consult Donald B. Sands' edition in modernised English: *The History of Reynard the Fox translated and printed by William Caxton in 1481*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1960, pp. 3–4.

6. On the other hand: according to the story the court chaplain is a ram.

7. Zumbült 2002, 192. Cf. also Zumbült 2011, I, 5–6.



Figure 1. Coppé's funeral. Wynkyn de Worde series (ca. 1495). Cf. Goossens 1983, Abb. 25–27; Zumbült 2011, II, 285–286 (XIV.7)

Especially interesting is Dr Zumbült's argument that Reynardian picture cycles developed their own relatively stable lines regardless of the language of the text to which they were added. Many elements from the oldest picture cycle – that of *Renart le Nouvel* – may still be found in the woodcut cycles that were added to the printed Reynardian books of the 15th and 16th century. The Reynardian texts in the different languages (French, Dutch, English, German) proved to be less stable and changed

over time more than the illustrations did. And when they did change they usually did so by reference to changes in iconographic fashions rather than textual changes.⁸

Dr Zumbült writes especially well about parody in the Beast Epic, and in particular in some of the woodcuts and miniatures which parody parallel, serious images in non-Reynardian texts. Two illustrations of a formal duel show this clearly. The first is from a Reynardian text, the other from a non-Reynardian text (the French *Roman de Guiron le Courtois*.) Figure 2 is a Mohnkopf series woodcut (Lübeck 1498) showing the fox slapping the wolf across his eyes with his urine-soaked tail during their duel. In Figure 3 we see two mounted knights brandishing their swords. Both are formal duels in specially constructed, fenced off dueling space watched by royalty and by both eminent and lowly members of society.



Figure 2. Duel of fox and wolf. Mohnkopf series (1498). Cf. Goossens 1983, Abb. 130–132; Zumbült 2011, II, 335–336 (XV.31)

8. This argument develops throughout the book but the nucleus may be found clearly in the *Zwischenbilanz* in vol. I on pp. 174–180. Cf. also our remarks on the miniature cycles below and the studies in the notes there.



Figure 3. Duel at the court of king Artur. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce 383, fol. 16r (from Janssens & Van Daele 2001, 73)

Because of the (still fairly unique) art historian perspective, the enormous wealth of material and the nuanced and intelligent interpretations, Dr Zumbüls book is a must for everyone who wants to study Reynardian iconography.

Another outstanding contribution to research into Reynardian visual matter is a book whose author's main aim was not to contribute to our knowledge of Reynardian iconography. This is Professor Hubertus Menke's *Bibliotheca Reinardiana*, an outstanding bibliography of all the editions of Reynard the Fox stories in Latin, French, Dutch, Low and High German, English, Danish, Swedish and Icelandic from the time books were first printed till about 1800 (Menke 1992). It gives also information about the manuscript version of animal stories in these languages, their content and their modern editions. The information is extremely detailed and of the highest scholarly quality. The book is important for researchers interested in visual representations of fox-centred stories because of the 260 high-quality illustrations mostly of woodcuts and etchings from editions of these stories but also of architectural detail – sculptures in wood and stone, frescoes, mosaics and tapestries, referring to them. Some of these things are rarely reproduced and photos of them are difficult to find. Sometimes photographs are grouped to illustrate a well-known Reynardian theme such as those of the fox stealing fish from a passing fisherman's cart (cf. Figure 4) or the attack of Tibert on the private parts of the priest.⁹ There are, however, no critical commentaries on the similarities, differences, origins or influences of these groups of illustrations. There is really room for research here.

The third book which we would like to mention is in Dutch, jointly authored by Jozef Janssens and Rik van Daele (Janssens & Van Daele 2001). It is called *Reinaerts streken van 2000 voor tot 2000 na Christus* ('Reynard's tricks from 2000 B.C. to 2000 A.D.'). The authors' aim is to show to a cultured but non-academic reader how European fox-centred stories have evolved from long before Christ through the Middle Ages and up to the end of the twentieth century. This literary history (for that is what it is) is richly illustrated. Indeed there are nearly one hundred illustrations charting the evolution of Reynardian matter, verbal and visual, primarily in Dutch-speaking cultures. However, these illustrations are not investigated, not researched. This is not a study in Reynardian iconography, but it can be of considerable help to Reynardian iconographers, especially in the exploration of cycles of illustrations in early printed books and in more recent books for both adults and children. Most of these are by Belgian and Dutch artists to whom the authors' selections make a good introduction.

9. Fox stealing fish: Menke 1992, 397–400, Figure 78.1–14. Tibert attacking priest: Menke 1992, 189–197, Figure 42.1–6. Cf. on this scene Goossens 1988; Goossens 2000 and Feliers 2000a.

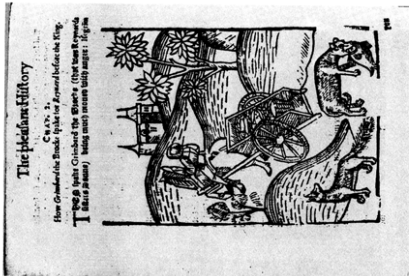


Abb. 78.3: London: E. Aldie 1629 (= v.12).

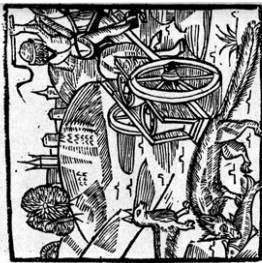


Abb. 78.4: Lübeck [Mohlspödrucker] 1498 (= v.11.D).



Abb. 78.7: Hd. Bearbeitung Frankfurt: D. Zepfel 1566 (= v.1.3). Seitenverkehrter Nachschnitt der Serie von E. Altdorfer (s. Abb. 78.6).



Abb. 78.5: Rostock o. Dr. 1517, Bl. B5 (= v.1.3).



Abb. 78.6: Rostock: L. Dietz 1539, Bl. AXY (= v.1.9).
Holzschnitt von E. Altdorfer.



Abb. 78.9: Nd. Ausgabe Hamburg: Z. Dose 1660
(= v.1.21), Holzschnitt des J. Amman.

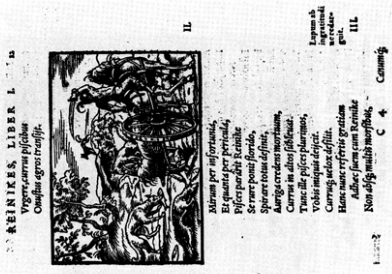


Abb. 78.8: Lat. Bearbeitung Frankfurt: P. Fabricius 1567 (= n.2), Holzschnitt des V. Salis.



Abb. 78.10: Hd. Vollstocher C. o. u. J. [1680-1720], S. 20 (= v.1.28). Seitengleicher Nachschnitt der Serie des J. Amman.

Figure 4. Fox stealing fish. Part of dossier in Menke 1992, 397-400 (398-399)

Many other languages and cultures have probably produced talented book illustrators of the Beast Epic, mostly for adults but also for children, and many would be worth exploring. This is true not only for traditional books but also for what are usually called comics, that is comic-strip-stories, stories told largely in a series of pictures and the minimum of text, of printed narrative, enclosed in bubbles exhaled by the protagonists. In the first half of the 20th century these were called ‘comics’ published solely for children. (Examples were comics called *The Beano*, *the Dandy*, and the *Mickey Mouse Weekly*). Now, however, they appear to have graduated into what are called graphic novels. The authors give examples of a Dutch adaptation of a French graphic novel by Forest and Cabanes (see Figure 5) – a very adult, sexy, at times explicitly sexual pictorial narrative (Janssens & Van Daele 2001, 301–302). Jean Dufournet wrote a few interesting pages about another French one entitled *Le Polar de Renart* (Varty & Dufournet 2000, 237–244; Figure 6). Some research has already been done into these graphic novels,¹⁰ but there may be more of them in other languages – other than Dutch and French, that is, – and there may well be quite a bit more room for research here.

In this book by Janssens and Rik van Daele, in addition to reproductions from medieval manuscripts, and copies of woodcuts, etchings and drawings in printed books, there are numerous photographs of historiated foxes on furniture and household equipment, fox statues in public places, and foxes in plays and non-literary entertainments such as musical comedies and concerts. It is a very good starting point for research into the multifaceted role played by the fox in culture.

From these three wide-ranging and richly illustrated books we now turn to a few more limited, sharply focussed books. Two of these are based on doctoral theses, and are in Swedish. The first of these is by Per Peterson (Peterson 1981). Its title is *Rävens och Tranans gästabud. En studie över en djurfabel I verbal och ikonografisk tradition* (‘Fox and Crane invite each other. A study of an animal fable in verbal and iconographical tradition’).

Per Peterson examines the fable of the fox and the crane inviting each other to supper in both its visual and verbal forms from antiquity to modern times. He draws his evidence from all over Europe. He shows that in the verbal tradition the bird is usually a crane, but in the visual tradition it is usually a stork. Peterson publishes 28 black and white illustrations of visual representations of this fable, mostly from Scandinavia, western and central Europe. One of the most interesting is from Switzerland where the bird seems to drink from a strangely shaped barrel (Figure 7). Although this fable is not incorporated into the Beast Epic, there are other fables which are and which might be researched in ways similar to those employed by Per Peterson – e.g. (and perhaps the most interesting example) the fable of the fox and the wolf in the well.

10. See for instance Vroomen 2014 and Vroomen 2016.



Figure 5. Rape of the she-wolf. Cabanes & Forest, *Reinaert de vos met tal van vrijheden en verschillen*, Casterman, 1998, 50



Figure 6. Imbar & Hubert, *Le Polar de Renard*, Paris: Éditions du Square, 1979 (from Varty & Dufournet 2000, 240)



Figure 7. Fable of fox and crane. Tympanum. Schaffhausen, Switzerland, c. 1100 (from Peterson 1981, p. 110)

The second of these doctoral theses, also in Swedish, is Kerstin Rodin's *Räven predikar för Gässen. En studie av ett ordspråk i senmedeltida ikonografi* ('The Fox Preaches to the Geese. A Study of a Proverb in Late Medieval Iconography') (Rodin 1983). Dr Rodin studies 89 medieval visual representations of the fox preaching. He usually wears the clothing of a religious and either stands facing his congregation out in the open or occupies a raised pulpit. Thirty two of the 89 examples she describes are reproduced in black and white illustrations. The majority were found in central and western Europe. One notes the total absence of examples from Portugal, Italy, the Balkans, and the rest of Eastern Europe so it is possible that more remains to be explored under this heading. The cock and hens form the fox's audience in the earliest scenes and he usually stands out in the open. Later, geese replace the cock and hens and the fox moves up into a pulpit. The latest development in the iconography of this motif is the reversing of fortune when the geese capture and hang the fox (Figure 8).

Here it is useful to recall the evidence of the long-lost fox-preaching scene in stained glass in Leicester's cathedral church (Figure 9). This scene proves conclusively that some visual representations of our villainous hero could have multiple interpretations.¹¹ Here, unable to read the Latin in the banderole (not shown) the

11. Varty 1967, 51.

illiterate viewer would be reminded, most likely, of the popular proverb, ‘when the fox preaches beware your geese.’ But a more literate and learned viewer able to read the Latin in the banderole, would enjoy the joke ‘God is my witness how I desire you in my bowels;’¹² while the really learned viewer who could remember the words of St Paul to the Philippians would enjoy in addition the deliberate misquotation – for what St Paul wrote is ‘God can testify how I long for all of you with the affection of Jesus Christ.’¹³ There may be more evidence for multiple or differing interpretations of images centred on the fox, but it has never been collected. There is room for research here.

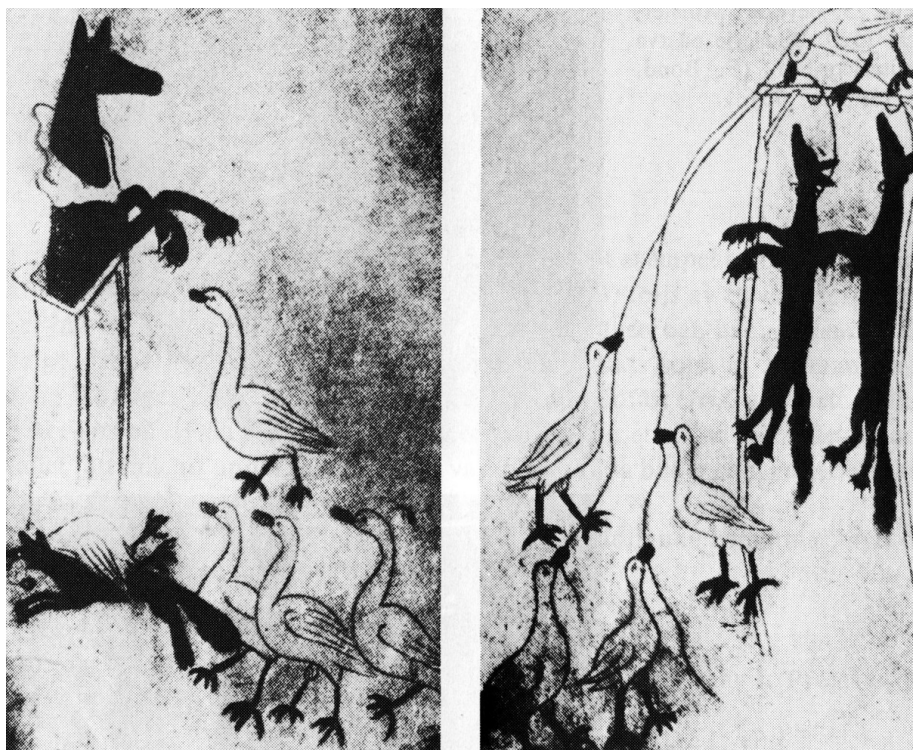


Figure 8. Fox and geese. Wall painting, Otterstrup, Denmark, c. 1500–25 (from Rodin 1983, 84)

12. ‘Testis est mihi Deus, quam cupiam vos omnes in visceribus meis.’

13. Cf. Phillipians I,8 ‘Testis enim mihi est Deus, quomodo cupiam omnes vos in visceribus Jesu Christi.’

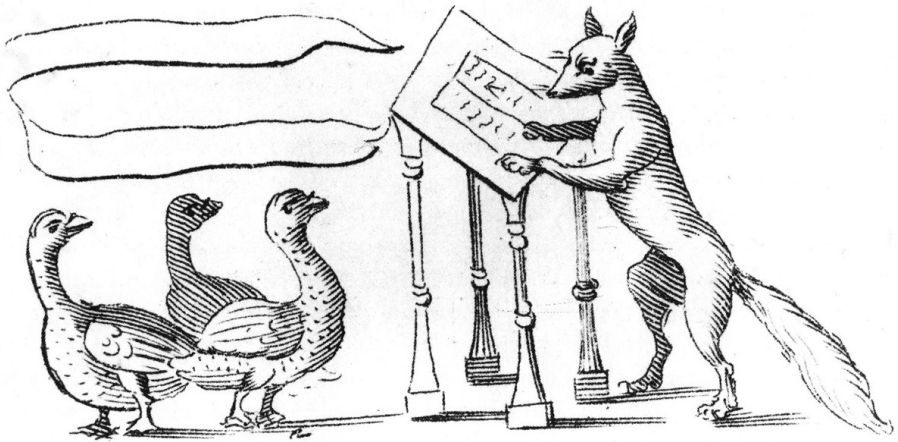


Figure 9. Stained glass, St Martin's Cathedral, Leicester. Late medieval, now lost. Etching by J. Nichol

So far we have concentrated mostly on books; we now turn to a few articles in which authors have concentrated on the different roles played by the fox. He played not only at being a preacher, but at times also presented himself as pilgrim. This theme has been treated by Paul Wackers (Wackers 1995). He analyses three stories depicting the fox as pilgrim (branches VIII and I of the *Roman de Renart* and *Van den vos Reynaerde*) and in doing so makes use of three images of the fox as a pilgrim, a miniature, a woodcut and a pewter badge (Figure 10). He shows that there is a clear link between the stories and the objects, viz. the deviousness of the fox. Curiously the pewter badge shows the fox with an erect penis, as he is shown in some Bestiary illustrations (Figure 11). There is no obvious explanation for this. Perhaps it is one of the signals of the duplicity of the animal.

In this study of the fox as pilgrim texts are used together with diverse types of images. Probably it would also be interesting to study the way Reynardian matter is treated visually on one particular kind of artefact – for example, on pieces of porcelain, cushion covers, rifle butts (yes, cushion covers and rifle butts), and consider their role, find out for whom they were they intended.¹⁴ Others have

14. Cushion covers: see Rodin 1983, 39; rifle butts: the arms collection in the Wallace collection, London contains rifles with on their butts fox hunting scenes; porcelain: see Von Fuchs 2001, pp. 59, 81, & 139. A glance through this book may suggest other media to investigate, e.g., chessmen and playing cards and other games. It would perhaps be interesting to add other embroidered material to cushion covers such as the Bayeux tapestry (cf. for images <http://aesopfablesbayeux.tumblr.com/fableintapestry>) and the Lübeck altarcloth (cf. Varty, 1991a, II, illustrations 84–86).

thought along these lines and one of the most interesting is, possibly, the subject of a couple of studies in Dutch by Paul Wackers and Rik van Daele in which they concentrate on the pewter ornamentation on drawer fronts in a number of chests of drawers.¹⁵



Figure 10. Pewter badge, c. 1350–75. Courtesy Stichting Behoud Cultuurbezit, Amsterdam

Interestingly, but probably by accident, the discovery of these pewter cycles of Reynardian images took place in England and in Flanders at approximately the same time. One of the most interesting and unusual examples of a cycle of Reynardian scenes reported to Kenneth Varty when he was busy fox hunting in the

15. See Wackers & Van Daele 1988; Van Daele & Wackers 1988; Van Daele 1988.

1980s came from a titled lady whose country seat was in the south of Wales. On a torn fragment of faded brown wrapping paper she had drawn the outlines of a cabinet with ten small drawers around a central cupboard. She told Kenneth that, attached to the front of each drawer and to the cupboard door was a pewter plate cut and engraved with scenes from, it seemed to her, a story, or several stories, about a fox. She thought the cabinet was very old, and if he would like to see it he would be welcome to visit. This he did, and took photographs a year or so before the Belgian meeting of the International Reynard Society at Spa in 1985. There in Spa, he spoke about this discovery and showed slides of it. Present at that meeting was Rik van Daele who, in the discussion which followed, said he knew of a very similar cabinet housed in his home town of Sint Niklaas. In 1988, in the very first volume of *Reinardus* Rik published (in English) a detailed analysis and commentary on the 21 scenes depicted on the Welsh and the scenes on a recently discovered cabinet, then in the possession of an antique shop in Antwerp ('s-Gravenwezel) (Figure 12).¹⁶ In the meantime, he discovered five more similar cabinets and together with Paul Wackers he published, in Dutch, two richly illustrated articles in the glossy art journal, *Antiek*, the first on the five similar cabinets and the second about the Welsh and the Antwerp cabinet.¹⁷

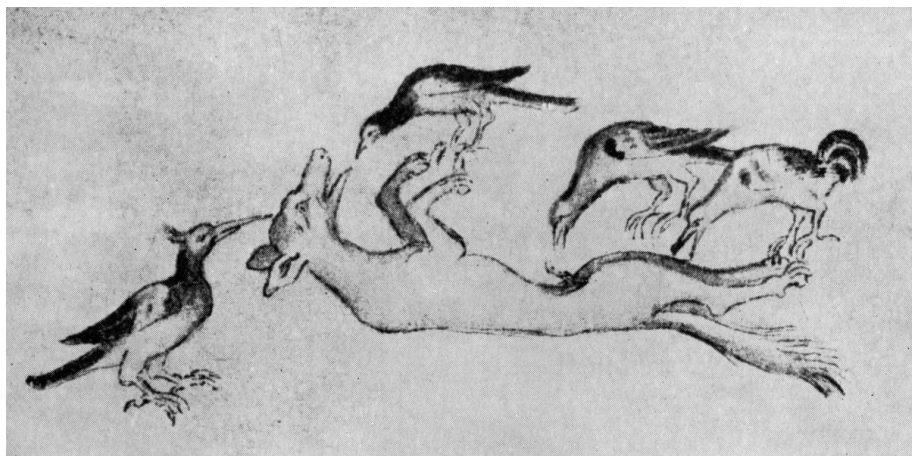


Figure 11. Bestiary fox. British Library, Ms Roy B VII, f. 94v. Early 14c

16. Van Daele 1988. Analysis in Dutch of these two cabinets: Van Daele & Wackers 1988.

17. Wackers & Van Daele 1988 and Van Daele & Wackers 1988.



Figure 12. Reynaert cabinet, Antwerp ca. 1700 (now in private collection in Washington; from Wackers & van Daele 1988, 380)

What Rik tells us about the illustrated books which were in circulation and about the most probable kind of customer who would purchase the illustrated cabinets (Van Daele 1988) leads us to guess that there must have been a very lively Beast Epic oral tradition stretching across several social layers from the relatively humble to the relatively well-off in Flemish and Dutch speaking regions from the end of the Middle Ages well into the eighteenth century. In any case: in the two articles composed with Paul Wackers it is pointed out that there are two different versions of these cabinets. One version (the older one, the Welsh and the Antwerp cabinet) faithfully follows its pictorial source, while the other (the five other ones) departs from it here and there. This last fact could be explained by assuming oral traditions.

The cabinets are shown to be of Flemish origin, made in Antwerp in the second half of the seventeenth or early eighteenth century. When compared with earlier illustrated editions of the Beast Epic, there are a few completely new scenes, but on the series of five cabinet these are more extensive. Remarkable are those which show the castration of the village priest *inside* his house and the one which shows the grave of the hen Coppe with a Dutch text engraved on her tombstone (Figure 13).

The cabinets point to the popularity of the Beast Epic in the Flemish upper middle class of the later seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.

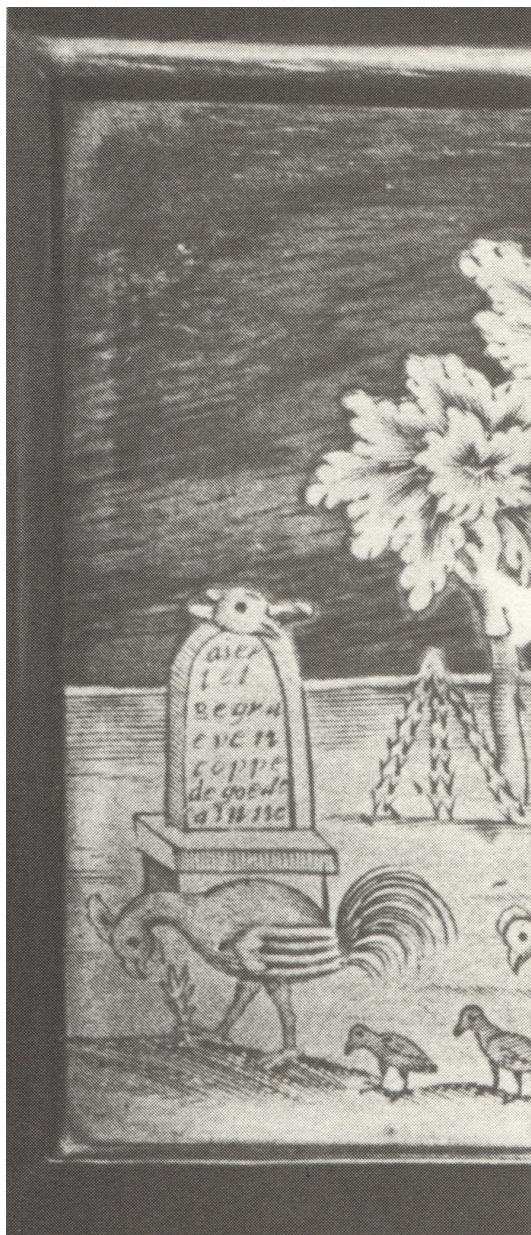


Figure 13. Coppe's grave. Detail from pewter plate on Reynaert cabinet (Antwerp, ca. 1700; from Van Daele 1988, 198)

There have been several good studies of illustrations made to depict a single Reynardian theme or motif. One of the most entertaining and instructive of changes in social attitudes has been the studies by Jan Goossens of the village priest being half castrated by Tibert the cat.¹⁸ In his two studies, the one in Dutch and the other in English, Jan Goossens examines both the verbal and visual versions of the episode in which the cat, inveigled into a trap by the fox, escapes in the confusion following his attack on his captor, a village priest, by half castrating him (he tears off only one of his testicles – leaving, as his concubine consoles herself, by saying that he has at least one bell left in the belfry). The study in Dutch contains 33 black and white illustrations from printed books beginning with the Lübeck 1489 woodcut and ending with drawings and photographs from the 1970s and 1980s. Indeed, nineteen of the illustrations are from the twentieth century, mostly Dutch, and most of the others from the sixteenth century.

In both the Dutch and the English studies Goossens traces the passage from brutal realism (Figure 14) to coy veiling (Figure 15) then changing of the part of the wounded male – first the body part is hidden by folds of clothing, then it is the upper leg which is attacked then the man's nose (Figures 16+17). Even the man's role is changed – from village priest, to monk, to verger, to farmer, to some man who happened to be around. Medieval realism returns only in the 1970s and the 1980s in adult versions of the story (Figure 18) but not in the growing number of versions meant for children. The study in English is illustrated by only twelve black and white illustrations of which a fair number show the cat attacking other parts of his victim's body – other than a testicle, that is.

There is, we feel sure, many another single Reynardian theme waiting to be researched like this, showing how the kind of readership envisaged, the politics, the religion and moral climate of different cultures affects both text and image.

In this section we have mentioned many opportunities for further research. We conclude by drawing attention that there is already very much material available to do this research. In the bibliography many catalogues are mentioned, just as articles that explore certain Reynardian themes for a general public. What is lacking is scholarly attention and more rigorous analysis. And the fact that so much material has been collected outside academia shows that scholarly work in this field would not only be appreciated by other scholars but also by a wider, culturally interested public

18. Goossens 1988 and Goossens 2000. Cf. Feliers 2000a.



Figure 14. The cat's mutilation of the priest. Wynkyn de Worde series (ca. 1495). Cf. Goossens 1983, Abb. 152–153; Zumbült 2011, II, 287 (XIV.13)



Figure 15. The cat's mutilation of the priest. Wilhelm von Kaulbach (1846)



Figure 16. Cat attacks man. Rie Kooyman, *Reinaart de vos*, Groningen, s.d. (from Goossens 1988, 94)



Figure 17. Cat attacks man. *Reineke de vos* door M. Barack, Averbode, s.d. (from Goossens 1988, 94)

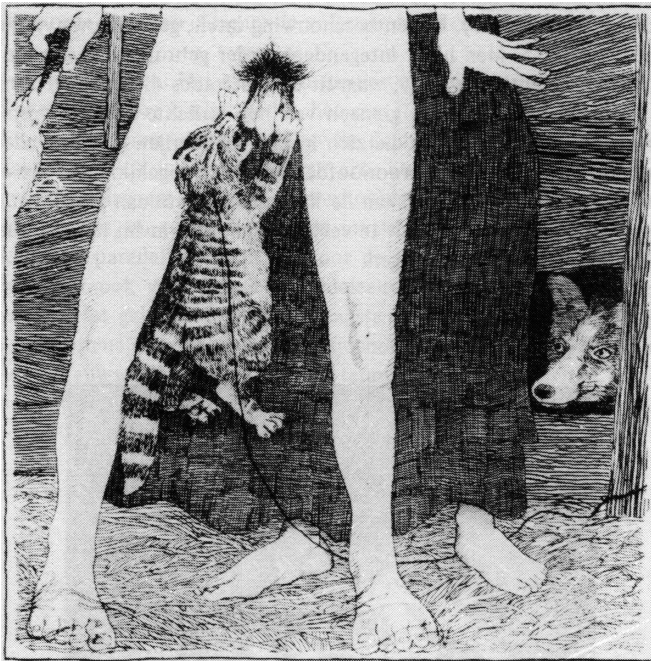


Figure 18. The cat's mutilation of the priest. *Reinaert de Vos*, de middeleeuwse satire door Ernst van Altena hertaald, Amsterdam 1979. Drawing Bert Bouman (from Goossens 1988, 98).

Illustration cycles in books

The most important sources for Reynardian iconography are undoubtedly illustrated books. Hence we draw attention to some of the most important of them.

The oldest Reynardian books are medieval manuscripts. Most of them are unillustrated but seven of the 33 known manuscripts of the *Roman de Renart* contain illustrations: three just one at the beginning, three 'sister manuscripts' with a comparable cycle, and one with the staggering number of 514 miniatures.¹⁹ In the three manuscripts with just an opening miniature, this image refers to the stories as a whole. Two show the court of king Noble, so the animal society, one Renart's funeral, a pointer to the end of the cycle and to the deviousness of the main character.²⁰ The three manuscripts with a comparable cycle (mss. *D*, *G* and *E*) come from the same workshop in Paris which makes them a very interesting group. The content of the three manuscripts is not exactly the same and thus (?) the three cycles also show differences. But from a stylistic and iconographical point of view they clearly belong to the same tradition.²¹ Ms. *I* contains an abbreviated text of the *Roman de Renart* and that is perhaps one of the reasons that so many illustrations are added to the text: to help the reader to follow the story. The miniatures have an oblong format which is unusual and many pages contain several miniatures what gives the manuscript a bit of the feel of a modern graphic novel.²²

The oldest surviving illustrated manuscripts with Reynardian stories, however, are the four remaining manuscripts of *Renart le nouvel*. The text itself is younger than the *Roman de Renart*, but the manuscripts are younger than the remaining illustrated manuscripts of the *Roman de Renart*. Together these four manuscripts contain miniatures of 67 different scenes. This cycle has had a considerable influence on the later tradition. This influence and the originality and the quality of the cycle itself have been studied in an admirable way by Dr Zumbült (Zumbült 2011, I, 44–81, 276–305; II, 1–103).

Flanders plays a major role in the development of the European Reynardian tradition but not one of the Dutch Reynardian manuscripts is illustrated. In manuscript *B* of *Reynaerts historie* (Brussel, KB, 14601), however, there are 20

19. See on the miniatures in the manuscripts of the *Roman de Renart* Busby 2002, I, 234–253 and Zumbült 2011, I, 122–159 and II, 122–271. References to older studies in their notes.

20. It concerns mss. *N*, *C* and *O* respectively.

21. See Busby 2002, 235–248 and Zumbült 2011, I, 122–159 and II, 122–271.

22. See on this cycle Busby 2002, 248–253; Zumbült 2011, I, 122–159 and II, 122–271; and Bausch-Bronsing 2010.

open spaces which are clearly meant for illustrations. Several scholars have studied these open places and have tried to reconstruct the intended cycle.²³ They do this on the basis of the surrounding text, supposing that the intended illustration would have a bearing on that part of the story. This non-existing cycle proved to be not only interesting, but also important, because there are strong similarities between the reconstruction of the cycle in ms. *B*, the woodcut cycle of the Haarlem master (see below), and the miniatures for branche I in ms. *I* of the *Roman de Renart*.²⁴ The similarities are so strong that they cannot be explained alone by the tendency to illustrate only the most important moments in a story, so that independent illustration cycles of the same story tend to be alike. They suggest very strongly that in the 15th century there have been relations between miniature cycles and woodcuts cycles of Reynardian stories and that the difference between French and Dutch texts was irrelevant for these relations.

The Haarlem master/Wynkyn de Worde/Mohnkopf cycle

The first phase of the printed Reynardian books contains one of the most successful and widespread cycles ever. It was designed and executed by an anonymous artist, called the Haarlem master,²⁵ for the edition that Gheraert Leeu made of the verse version of *Reynaerts historie* (Antwerp, between 1487 and 1490).²⁶ He designed just over 40 woodcuts but, sadly, only two and a half cuts of his series survive. They are part of a fragment that is nowadays kept in Cambridge.²⁷ These woodcuts are remarkable because of their quality, especially regarding the natural way in which the animals are presented and the suggestion of space in the landscape. So it is lucky that it survives in a way in the series of woodcuts based on his work and made for Wynkyn de Worde's c. 1495 edition of his version of Caxton's earlier translation of the prose incunabulum version of the Dutch *Reynaerts historie*. No illustrated edition of Wynkyn de Worde's text survives, but it has been possible to

23. Goossens 1983, 6–9; Wackers 2003; Berteloot 2008; Zumbült 2011, I, 162–174.

24. On the relations with ms. *I* see especially Wackers 2003 and Zumbült 2011, I, 162–174. Both go no further than the weighing of possibilities.

25. Nowadays art historians prefer to call him the Master of Bellaert because it is sure that his work is present in works by this printer from Haarlem but we do not know where the master himself lived. Because in all older publications about his Reynardian woodcuts the name 'Haarlem master' is used, we have conformed to this convention.

26. On the earliest printed Dutch Reynaert editions see Rijns 2007, XX–XXXIII or Paul Wackers, "The printed Dutch Reynaert tradition: from the fifteenth to the nineteenth century." In Varty 2000, 73–103.

27. Cambridge, University Library, Inc 4 F 6.2 (3367). A facsimile is available, see Breul 1927 (in *Reynardian sources*).

reconstruct it from later illustrated editions using his blocks (Figures 1, 14).²⁸ And in 1498 there appeared in Lübeck another version of this cycle of illustrations, printed in the so-called Mohnkopf office, closely following both the Haarlem and Wynkyn masters, in a Low German book called *Reynke de vos* (Figures 2, 19).²⁹



Figure 19. The fox on the gallows. Mohnkopf series (1498). Cf. Goossens 1983, Abb. 67–70; Zumbült 2011, II, 321–322 (XV.18)

28. See Varty 1980; Varty 1975 and Goossens 1983, esp. 10–14. Cf. also Varty 1999, 87–130 and 227–280.

29. See on this text Goossens 1983, 2–6 and the facsimile: Sodmann 1976 (in *Reynardian sources*).

On the basis of these English and German cycles a reconstruction of the original cycle of the Haarlem master has been made.³⁰ Next to that the Wynkyn de Worde cycle and the Lübeck cycle have been studied in their own right and they have been compared with the work of mostly less good but interesting artists who have used these earlier cycles as models.³¹ In the Northern Low Countries imitations of the woodcuts of the Haarlem master have been in use up to the 18th century.³² From a temporal perspective the Haarlem master's cycle is thus the most successful Reynardian cycle ever. It is probably also the best studied cycle.

The 1846 Kaulbach cycle

Johann Wolfgang von Goethe published his *Reineke Fuchs* in 1794. First reactions were mixed. Nevertheless there appeared more editions and for the 1846 edition by the famous printer Johann Georg Cotta in Stuttgart Wilhelm von Kaulbach made 36 full-page steel engravings (Figure 20). These were the first illustrations for Goethe's text. There have been since then other illustrators for Goethe but the Kaulbach cycle has proved to be the most popular, has become almost 'archetypal' and almost everyone who reads *Reineke Fuchs* nowadays meets Kaulbach's illustrations. And when Goethe's work was spread over the world in many translations Kaulbach's illustrations travelled with them. From a spatial point of view his cycle is the most influential and most successful Reynardian cycle of all. However, surprisingly little has been written about this in English.³³ There is a fine, succinct survey at the beginning of an article by Rik van Daele on the influence of Kaulbach's illustrations in the Low Countries (Van Daele 1993). He summarises the basic facts about Kaulbach's career and artistic output, then concentrates on the illustrations made for the 1846 edition of Goethe's *Reineke Fuchs*.³⁴ He emphasises the striking anthropomorphism which characterises these etchings, not only of the animals (which mostly walk on two legs and wear some items of clothing) but also of inanimate things. This powerful anthropomorphism facilitates Kaulbach's

30. Goossens 1983.

31. See Varty 1980 and Varty 1975 for Wynkyn de Worde and Vedder 1980 for the Lübeck series. Together these two studies reproduce 147 woodcuts. See Goossens 1983 for a synthesis of Varty's and Vedder's findings and Zumbült 2011, I, 181–230 and II, 272–344 for an art historical approach of the three cycles.

32. Cf. Goossens 1983 and Verzandvoort 1989.

33. In German see Czech 1993, 41–97 and Kirmse 1994.

34. For a reprint of *Reineke Fuchs* with the Kaulbach illustrations see the bibliography, section *Reynardian sources*.

sly attacks on some of the social vices of his day – court intrigue, hypocrisy, inappropriate life-style of some Catholic clergy, and so on. These more serious aspect of his drawings are veiled by the richness of his comic talent (and we would add, the brilliance of his compositions and extraordinary lightness of touch).

As Rik van Daele points out, Kaulbach's engravings have been seminal for the artists who have illustrated late nineteenth century editions of *Reineke Fuchs*. He then lists some of the many channels through or in which Kaulbach's illustrations were transmitted both in Germany and in Flanders – so numerous as to merit further research. So great was the impact of his portrayal of the animals that they were made into pewter 'stand-up' models a bit like tin soldiers, as well as into chess pieces. They have also appeared in stained glass windows and on stone tiles.³⁵ A substantial part of Rik van Daele's study is devoted to a series of seven paintings on canvas housed in the city library of Sint-Niklaas, and another section is devoted to a series of 196 high-quality vignettes distributed in the wrapping of bars of chocolate made by a famous Belgian chocolate factory. There is room for many more studies of this type, analysing and interpreting specific influence by the illustrations of Kaulbach.³⁶



Figure 20. The fox on the gallows. Wilhelm von Kaulbach (1846)

35. For an interesting collection of objects influenced by Kaulbach see Von Fuchs 2001. The book does not intend to show this influence but Kaulbach is dominantly present.

36. More work of this kind has been done since 1993 but only in Dutch. See Gielen 1994; Maclot 2012; Van Daele 2012a and 2012b; Van Daele 2016a and 2016b.

Paul Weber

There is another great illustrator of the Beast Epic, and in particular of both the Low and High German versions of *Reineke Fuchs* who needs to be mentioned after the 1498 and 1846 cycles of pictures. He is Andreas Paul Weber (1893–1980).

He drew 46 scenes for a 1924 edition of Goethe's fox epic, a few years after establishing a reputation as an outstanding illustrator of long satiric poems (notably, three years earlier he had brilliantly illustrated Meyer's *Till Eulenspiegel*). Weber's darker style, darker both metaphorically and pictorially compared with Kaulbach's lightness of touch and clarity of humour may be illustrated by comparing his gallows scene with Kaulbach's (Figures 21 + 20). But Weber has his lighter, pleasantly comic sides – this may be illustrated by a glance at his depiction of the cat arriving at the fox's den and comparing it with Kaulbach's. In Kaulbach's illustration the cosiness of the fox family and Hinze's humility are remarkable.³⁷ And do not miss the text written under the fresco on the wall above Reineke's head: "Heiliger Florian, beschütz dies Haus. Zünd andre an" ('Holy Florian [= protector against fires], protect this home. Ignite others,' Figure 22). By Weber (Figure 23) we see a slightly less humble cat and the fox smoking a Sherlock Holmes style pipe, tobacco pouch on his lap contrasting entertainingly with Kaulbach's book-reading fox, but the foxes' legs are crossed on both images.

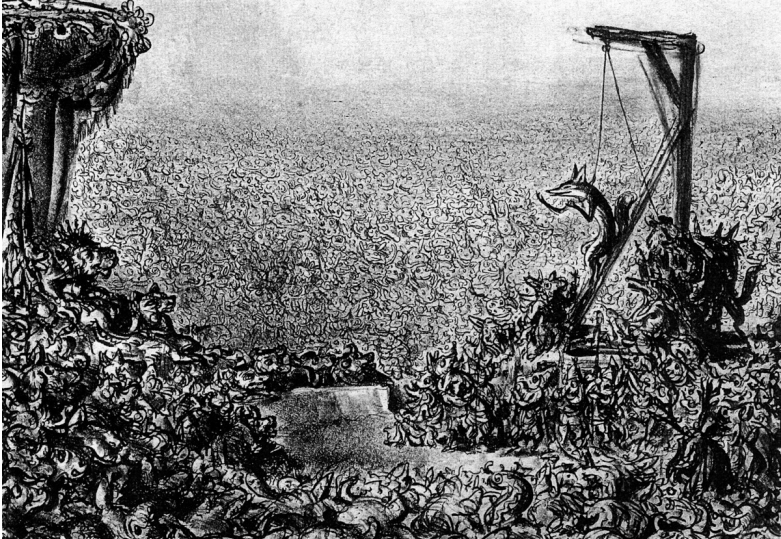


Figure 21. The fox on the gallows. A. Paul Weber (Goethe's *Reineke Fuchs*, 1977, p. 40)

37. Hinze is the German name for the cat Tibert.

What makes Weber so interesting is the fact that he was also a newspaper cartoonist, a democrat and a powerfully satirical one; and he took Reineke out of Noble the lion's kingdom and gave him a role in Adolf Hitler's Third Reich. Then, much later, a pacifist, he gave him roles to play in the re-armed Federal Republic of Germany.



Figure 22. The cat summons the fox. Wilhelm von Kaulbach (1846)



Figure 23. The cat summons the fox. A. Paul Weber (Goethe's *Reineke Fuchs*, 1977, p. 36)

So it was that in 1935 Reineke joined forces with Till Eulenspiegel and together they took shelter under the branches of a collapsing willow tree as the rising tide of Nazi-ism threatened to engulf them (Figure 24). Weber called this *The Patient Ones* – implied advice to anti-fascists to keep their heads down, and hope that the Nazi threat would subside and pass away. Then, in the 1960s and 1970s, Weber opposed the re-arming of the Federal Republic. Hence this cartoon of goose-stepping geese (Figure 25); and the fox demolishing a cannon as a pacifist's comment on opposing military might (Figure 26).



Figure 24. A. Paul Weber. *Die Geduldigen* (1935). In *Mit allen Wassern*, 11

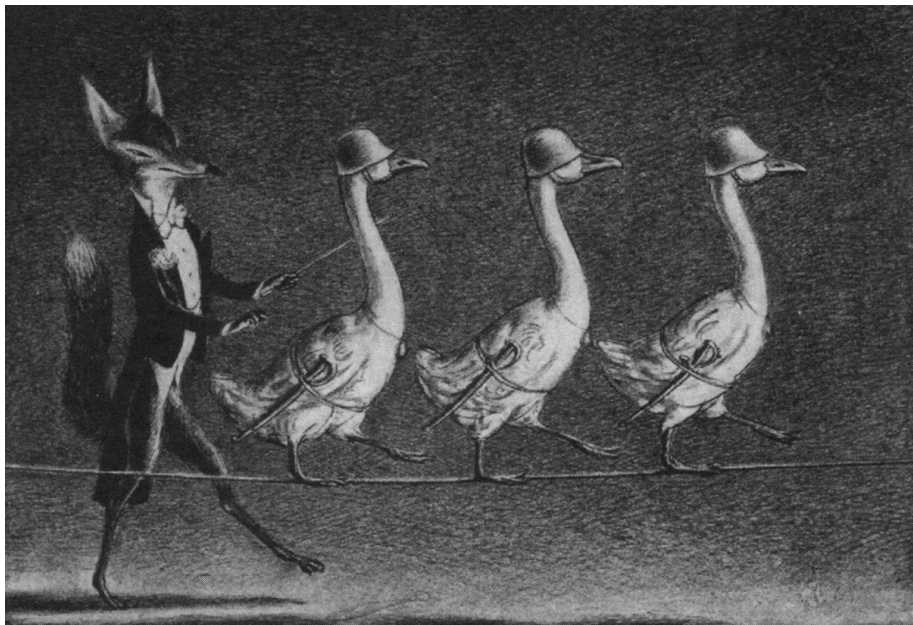


Figure 25. A. Paul Weber. Gänse ... marsch. In *Mit allen Wassern*, 37

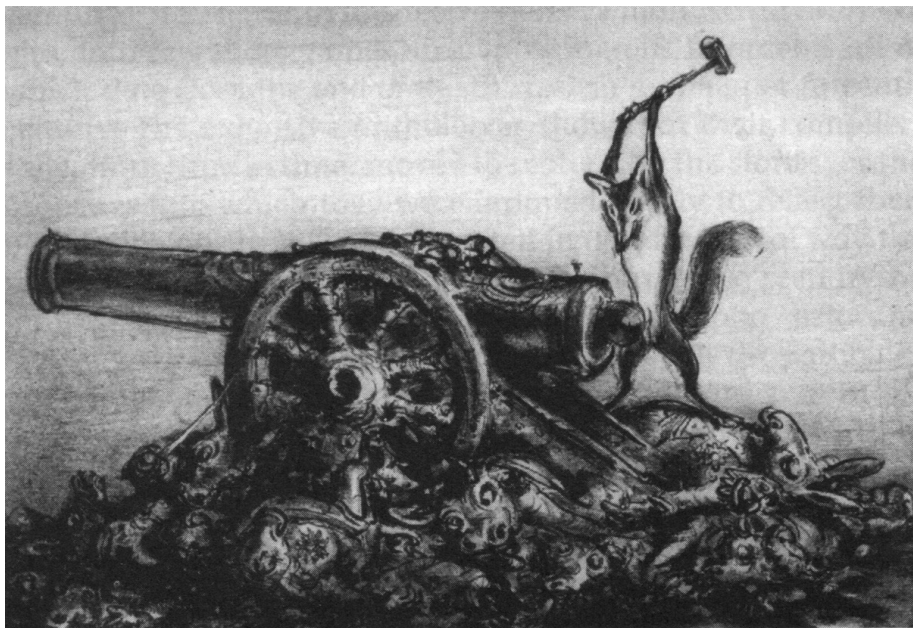


Figure 26. A. Paul Weber. Schluss. In *Mit allen Wassern*, 38

Weber deserves to be better known by Reynardians, and merits further scholarly research. This could depart from Varty 2000b.

To conclude

When Varty's *Reynard the Fox* was published in 1967 it was his hope that others would do for other countries (especially France, the Low Countries, Germany, and Scandinavia) what he has done – or tried to do – for the UK. That is, catalogue and group representations of the fox in and on all kinds of artefacts, in manuscripts and in books.³⁸ But this has not happened. Perhaps this was an unrealistic hope, because he had had extraordinary good luck in the preparing of his book. During one day in 1958 he came accidentally across several examples of the fox carved on six misericords dating from the late fourteenth century and he supposed therefore that there must be many more in other churches throughout the country. But how to find them? No doubt some had already been discovered and written about, so a search should begin by researching in Libraries. But how to discover those that were still unnoticed, unknown? A possibility was perhaps writing to the editor of one of the national newspapers and try to enlist his readers' support. Thinking it unlikely that such a letter would be published Varty decided to start by writing to two national newspapers, and went for two of the most widely circulated and, at that time, prestigious – the *Sunday Times* and the *Observer on Sunday*. Amazingly enough both newspapers published on the same Sunday the letter appealing for information about medieval foxes in churches, and the *Observer* even got their cartoonist to illustrate it with an imaginary stained glass fox window. Then, a few months later, the editor of the *New Yorker* found the letter sufficiently odd to reproduce it in his editorial, and this was followed up by letters over many weeks in the monthly journal, *Country Life*. As a result of this good luck Varty received scores of letters over a few weeks with lots of useful leads and in some cases photographs and drawings. About a dozen of the correspondents stayed with him for years, and together they formed the kind of team that any would-be author of a study of the fox in any other culture would need to have to ensure a wide and comprehensive covering of the evidence. Perhaps that is why we still await general surveys of the medieval fox in other countries and cultures. But hopefully they will eventually appear. The circle of readers and contributors around the Flemish journal/yearbook *Tiecelijn* shows that there are other regions where the needed help is in principal available. But in Flanders there is not one scholar in the centre who has the abilities, the time and the energy to combine all the separate data into one book. And thus we have there

38. This conclusion is loosely based on Varty's contribution to the soon-to-be-published *Mélanges Roger Bellon*.

a steady stream of shorter studies but no synthesis. Any researcher who would like to take up the gauntlet, should do well, however, not to write to one or two newspapers but should start crowd sourcing with help of the social media.

And now to end with a bit of a puzzle. In 1981 Varty received from Michael Bath, retired Professor of English in the University of Strathclyde, a photograph of a painting by Jan Breughel the Younger – a painting of God naming the animals (Figure 27). In the lower left hand corner, pretty near to God Himself, Breughel painted the protagonists of one of the earliest and most famous of the branches of the *Roman de Renart* – the fox and cock story (Figure 28). On the back of that photograph Michael Bath had written ‘Dundee Art Gallery.’ But a recent request to the Curator of Dundee City Art Gallery for permission to reproduce it, was answered by the message that this painting was not in the gallery and nothing was known about it. Probably it was part of a temporary exhibition, on loan in Dundee from somewhere in 1981. Varty has made, with the help of several art historians, including especially Dr Zumbült, a great effort to trace its present whereabouts. Dr Zumbült has traced it to Art Galleries in the 1980s and 1990s in Berlin and in Paris, but those galleries no longer exist. So the present whereabouts of this painting is still unknown, as are the names that Breughel thought God gave to these animals – and why they are grouped so near to Him bearing in mind that this naming of the animals took place before the Fall. Is there one of our readers who can answer these questions or one of the others we asked above, disguised as suggestions for further research?



Figure 27. Jan Breughel the Younger, God naming the animals (16th c.). Present location unknown



Figure 28. Fox and Cock. Jan Breughel the Younger, God naming the animals. Detail

Acknowledgements

This article is firmly based on the key note lecture that Kenneth Varty gave at the opening of the 22nd colloquium of the International Reynard Society in Reading on July the 13th 2017. For this version, however, both authors have a shared responsibility, but the first sentence is by Paul Wackers and the bibliography has also been established chiefly by him.

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Analyses the illustration tradition of Goethe's *Reineke Fuchs*. The text considers all known illustrations of German artists with special attention for Kaulbach. In an appendix all known editions, in whatever language, with Kaulbach's series are listed. A division is made by etchings in metal and etchings in wood.

Klitzing, Horst. 1989. *Reineke Fuchs, ein europäisches Epos. Eine Ausstellung des Goethe-Museums Düsseldorf von 29. Januar bis 12. März 1989*. Düsseldorf: Goethe Museum.

Contains studies of aspects of the German Reynke tradition. The illustrations show manuscripts of *Reinhart Fuchs* and the Dutch Reynaert tradition, printed Dutch and German Reynaert/Reynke books from the 15th–18th century, illustrations for Goethe's *Reineke Fuchs* (Van Everdingen + Kaulbach) and modern Reynaert/Reynke illustrations. 172 pp., 102 full-page illustrations, a few in colour.

- Lavado Paradinas, Pedro J. 1979. "Acerca de algunos temas iconograficos medievales: el Roman de Renard y el Libro de los Gatos en España." *Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos* 82: 551–567.
A general, descriptive survey, concentrating on images of funeral processions.
- Lecco, Margherita. 2016. "Le miniature di 'Renart le Contrefait' nel manoscritto Paris BnF fr. 1630." *Reinardus* 28: 100–110. <https://doi.org/10.1075/rein.28.07lec>
The title indicates the object. The article contains no illustrations.
- Lefèvre, Yves. 1978. "La Mosaique de Lescar et la littérature médiévale: le supplice d'Hersent, la mutilation d'Alderufe, le symbolisme biblique." In *Mélanges de langue et de littérature françaises offerts à Jean Rychner*. Travaux de Linguistique et de Littérature, 16, 303–316. Strasbourg: Centre de Philologie et de Littérature Romanes, Université de Strasbourg.
Supports the view that the *supplice d'Hersent* refers to br. VII, challenged by Varty 1986 and Varty 1991a. See also Clemens 1976.
- Maclot, Petra. 2012. "Een staart aan het reisverhaal van Henri Verbueckens Reynaertcyclus in Sint-Niklaas." *Tiecelijn* 25, *Jaarboek 5 van het Reynaertgenootschap*: 160–188.
Studies the commission and the intended place for 7 panels painted by the Flemish painter Henri Verbuecken, based on Kaulbach's Reineke illustrations. Cf. Van Daele 1993, 146–148.
- Maierhofer, Waltraud. 2014. "Die "Reineke Fuchs"-Radierungen von Johann Heinrich Ramberg; zu einer Neuauflage." In: *Vielfalt und Interkulturalität der Internationalen Germanistik; Beiträge des Humboldt-Kollegs Shanghai (28-5-2014)*. *Festgabe für Siegfried Grosse zum 90. Geburtstag*, 303–313. Tübingen: Stauffenburg Verlag.
This article acts as preparation for a re-edition of the etchings that Ramberg published in 1826 as illustrations of the Reynard story. (This book appeared as Maierhofer 2016, see *Reynardian sources*). The line of argument is slightly fuzzy but attention is paid to the relations between the etchings and the drawings that were made as preparation and to the text versions of D. W. Soltau (1803) and Goethe, because adaptations of the original etchings were used in editions of these two versions.
- Meuwese, Martine. 2006. "The Secret History of the Fox and the Hare in Trinity B.11.22." In *Medieval Manuscripts in Transition. Tradition and Creative Recycling*. Eds. Geert H. M. Claassens & Werner Verbeke, 180–195. Leuven: Leuven U.P.
Discusses the possibility that two marginal illustrations in ms. Trinity B.11.22 refer to the (Dutch?) Reynaert story and that they have sexual connotations. Important because of the reflection on the difficulties that are inherent in this type of interpretation.
- Meuwese, Martine. 2008. "Reynaert doet dubbelzinnig en Cuwaert is het haasje." *Tiecelijn* 21, *Jaarboek 1 van het Reynaertgenootschap*: 122–132.
Slightly popularising version in Dutch of Meeuwese 2006.
- Menke, Hubertus. 1992. *Bibliotheca Reinardiana. Teil I: Die europäischen Reineke-Fuchs-Drucke bis zum Jahre 1800*. Stuttgart: Hauswedel & Co..
Descriptive bibliography of all the known printed European Fox-epics to the 19th century. Every chapter, based on a language, contains a set of illustrations from the books described in that chapter. Added are also some 'iconographic dossiers' of specific scenes. 472 pp. and 260 illustrations.
- Nieboer, Ettina. 1990. "La branche de Renart, Liétart et la mort de Brun à travers les manuscrits." In Dufournet, Jean (ed.). 1990. *Le Goupil et le Paysan (Roman de Renart, branche X)*. Collection Unichamp, 22, 217–251. Paris: Champion.

First concentrates on variations in the text of the prologue in the thirteen mss that contain this branche; then on the different places it occupies in those mss; then on variations in its length; and, finally, on the miniatures that illustrate it.

Nieboer, Ettina. 1991. "Un regard nouveau sur le manuscrit *I* du Roman de Renart (BN f. fr. 12584)." In Varty 1991, II, 445–469.

This article deals with the manuscript as a whole, it is not very iconographical but makes remarks on the manuscript's special place in the tradition because of the 514 miniatures.

Peterson, Per. 1981. *Rävens och Tranans gästabud. En studie över en djurfabel I verbal och ikonografisk tradition*, Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, Studia Ethnologica Upsaliensia 8, Almqvist & Wiksell International, Stockholm.

Studies the fable of Fox and Crane in text and images from antiquity to modern times. 134 pp.

Regalado, Nancy. 1992. "Staging the *Roman de Renart*: Medieval Theatre and the Diffusion of Political Concerns into Popular Culture." *Mediaevalia* 18 (1995 for 1992): 111–141.

A comprehensive study of the six *Renart* scenes in the dramatized procession at Philip the fairs Pentecostal celebration in Paris of the knighting of his sons in 1313. The detailed analyses and discussion draw on scholarly work about dramatic performance, civic and royal processions, iconographical evidence (there are numerous illustrations), and the political issues of the time. Cf. entry 236 in Varty, *The Roman de Renart. A Guide to Scholarly Work* (note 2).

Rijns, Hans, ed. 2007. *De gedrukte Nederlandse Reynaerttraditie. Een diplomatische en synoptische uitgave naar de bronnen vanaf 1479 tot 1700*. Hilversum: Verloren, 2007.

This is first and foremost a synoptic edition of all the printed Reynaert books in Dutch up to 1700. It has, however, also iconographic importance because it contains reproductions of all the illustrations in these books. In principle this material is also available in Goossens 1983, but there one finds only the copies of the series of Quellijn and Jegher from the Southern Dutch chapbooks and here the original Quellijn/Jegher woodcuts are given next to the copies. Cf. 359–392.

Rodin, Kerstin. 1983. *Räven predikar för Gässen. En studie av ett ordspråk i senmedeltida ikonografi*. Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell.

Study of medieval visual representations of the fox preaching. 119 pp.

Rohr, W Günther. 2009. *Reineke, Isegrim & Co. Katalog zur Ausstellung in der Landesbibliothek Oldenburg 19. März bis 29. Mai 2009*. Oldenburg: Isensee Verlag.

Catalogue of an exhibition of Reinardian books. Most attention is paid to the German tradition with a special place for the Grimm brothers and for Goethe. 81 pp., 26 illustrations, five in colour.

Rouse, E. Clive & Kenneth Varty. 1976. "Medieval Paintings of Reynard the Fox in Gloucester Cathedral and some other related examples." *The Archeological Journal* 133: 104–117. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00665983.1976.11020456>

Description and analysis of the paintings on wooden panels in Gloucester cathedral of Reynard's funeral.

Ruberg, Uwe. 2013. "Das Tierprozessions-Kapitel im Straßburger Münster: Auslegungsstrategien im publizistischen Konfessionsstreit der Reformationszeit." *Reinardus* 25: 141–160. <https://doi.org/10.1075/rein.25.09rub>

Analysis of a broadsheet with a 16th century polemical text from Lutheran perspective. It uses illustrations based on a capital in the minster of Strasbourg, showing the funeral procession of the seemingly dead fox, a theme that is also handled in branche XVII ('La mort et la procession de Renart').

- Scheidegger, Jean R. 1991. "Renart et Arthur à la cathédrale de Modène." In Varty 1991a, II, 391–414.
 Interpretation of the Reynardian scene on the tympan of the Porta della Pescheria of the cathedral of Modena (two cocks bearing a seemingly dead fox). It is linked with branche XVII (Mort et procession de Renart), and with the Arthurian scenes on the arch above. Lastly the function of these two worldly themes is interpreted within the whole iconographic programme of the cathedral.
- Schouwink, Wilfried. 1993. "The Fox's Funeral in European Art. Transformations of a Literary Motif." *Reinardus* special volume: 169–179. <https://doi.org/10.1075/rein.si.13sch>
 Studies the representation of the fox's funeral on the frieze of the parish church in Marienhäfe, on the Reynard capital in the cathedral of Strasbourg and on 19th century picturesheets.
- Stracke, J. C. 1970. "Der Bilderfries an der ehemaligen Kirche zu Marienhäfe (Ostfr.). Versuch einer Ikonographie." *Friesisches Jahrbuch* Neue Folge, Bd. 6: 52–66.
 Describes the scenes on the (now mostly lost) frieze in the church in Marienhäfe and compares them with other images. Here are only relevant the images of the funeral of the fox and the theft of the fishes. The text is mainly descriptive, there is not much scholarly depth.
- Subrenat, Jean. 2004. "Quand le 'Roman de Renart' veut se montrer sérieux." In. *Bestiaire du Moyen Age. Les animaux dans les manuscrits*. Eds M.-H. Tesnière & T. Delcourt, 76–89. Paris: Somogy.
 In an illustrated publication accompanying an exhibition in various municipal libraries of France, this article gives an overview of the French fable and beast epic traditions, with reproductions of several miniatures (*Fleur de vertu*, *Isopets*, *Roman de Fauvain*, *Roman de Fauvel*, *Roman de Renart*, two marginalia and an historiated initial).
- Tiecelijn. 1–20 (Tijdschrift voor Reynardofielen), 21- (Jaarboek van het Reynaertgenootschap)
 Tiecelijn is a periodical for people interested in Reynardian stories, especially Van den vos Reynaerde. Its articles range from scholarly important to just of local interest. It must be mentioned, however, because it always pays attention to the visual representation of Reynardian stories and characters. Almost all articles are available on line. For the volumes 1–20 and for 21–25 (=Jaarboek 1–5) see http://www.dbnl.org/tekst/_tie002tiec01_01/ For the volumes 26 (*Jaarboek* 6) up to now see <http://www.reynaertgenootschap.be/node/163>.
- Trachsler, Richard. 1994. "Si le gita / sor son dos, en si l'en porta (Yvain, vv.3445–46) ou: comment porter un cerf si vous êtes un lion." *Reinardus* 7: 183–193.
<https://doi.org/10.1075/rein.7.13tra>
 Treats the way the lion and then the fox is said to carry its prey flung over its shoulder, and is often shown to do so in drawings and paintings. Relevant to br. IIb and to the *Nun's Priest's Tale*. 6 ill.
- Van Daele, Rik. 1988. "Reynard on Antwerp Cabinets circa 1700." *Reinardus* 1: 49–60.
<https://doi.org/10.1075/rein.1.08van>
 Discusses the same five Reynaert cabinets as Wackers & Van Daele 1988.
- Van Daele, R. 1992. "Als Reynaert de passie preekt, Cantecler pas op je kippen. Over de haan in de Reynaerttraditie." In: *Litteraire, kunsthistorische en volksculturele aspecten van de haan*, special volume of *De Brabantse folklore en geschiedenis*: nr. 275–276, p. 224–255.
 Analysis of the role of Cantecler the cock in the Reynardian tradition and of the way he is depicted in images. 16 ill.
- Van Daele, Rik. 1993. "The Reynard Illustrations of Wilhelm von Kaulbach in the Low Countries." *Reinardus* 6: 139–152, illustrations 1–14. <https://doi.org/10.1075/rein.6.10van>

- Shows the influence of the Kaulbach cycle on visual art in the Low Countries, especially in Flanders. Special attention is given to seven panels by Henri Verbuecken (end 19th century) – cf. Van Daele 2012a and Maclot 2012 – and to the (loose) illustrations for a scrapbook produced by the Victoria chocolate factory.
- Van Daele, Rik. 2012a. “Weg van Walburg. Zeven Reynaertpanelen van Henri Verbuecken.” Catalogue, Sint-Niklaas: stadsbestuur.
Cf. Van Daele 1993 and Maclot 2012.
- Van Daele, Rik. 2012b. “Zes Reynaertschilderingen in het huis van Max Roosees.” *Tiecelijn 25, Jaarboek 5 van het Reynaertgenootschap*: 110–159.
Studies six painted panels by Constant Montald, made specifically for a house in Antwerp. The panels are based on the cycle of Kaulbach.
- Van Daele, Rik. 2016a. “Reynaert in de Jezüietenberg in Maastricht. Of scholastiekunst naar Wilhelm von Kaulbach.” *Tiecelijn 29, Jaarboek 9 van het Reynaertgenootschap*: 355–374.
Studies two drawings on the wall of corridors under a hill in Maastricht. The drawings were made by novices of the Jesuit order and based on two of Kaulbach’s illustrations.
- Van Daele, Rik. 2016b. “Reynaert in Bratislava.” *Tiecelijn 29, Jaarboek 9 van het Reynaertgenootschap*: 375–393.
Shows influence of Kaulbach’s Reineke illustrations on wood carvings in the Saint Martin-scathedral in Bratislava.
- Van Daele, Rik & Paul Wackers. 1988. “Nog twee Antwerpse Reynaertmeubelen van omstreeks 1700.” *Antiek 23*, 3: 128–34.
Continuation of Wackers & Van Daele 1988. Describes two more pieces of furniture from the same workshop but with other images.
- Varty, Kenneth. 1967. *Reynard the Fox. A Study of the Fox in Medieval English Art*. Leicester: Leicester University Press.
Examples found may be divided thus: non-historiated. The natural fox (alone) – 18 examples; pursued by dog(s) or a man – 17; carrying off prey (bird, rabbit) – 74. historiated examples: posing as a religious (priest, friar, monk, pilgrim, etc) – 63 (of which 30 preach from a pulpit); fox and cock story – 27; trial and associated matter – 12; fox physician – 10; musician – 9; fabulist’s fox – 8; Bestiary fox – 7. musician – 9.
- Varty, Kenneth. 1975. “Further examples of the fox in medieval English art.” In *Aspects of the Medieval Animal Epic. Proceedings of the International Conference (Louvain, May 15–17, 1972)*, edited by E. Rombauts and A. Welkenhuysen, 251–256. Leuven University Press / The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff.
A simple exposition of the way Wynkyn de Worde’s cycle of woodcuts may be established is given here on pp. 252–54.
- Varty, Kenneth. 1980. “The earliest illustrated editions of ‘Reynard the Fox’ and their links with the earliest illustrated continental editions.” In *Reynaert Reynard Reynke; Studien zu einem mittelalterlichen Tierepos*, ed. Jan Goossens und Timothy Sodmann, *Niederdeutsche Studien 27*, 160–195, 369–406. Köln/Wien: Böhlau Verlag.
Studies the Wynkyn de Worde woodcuts, their links with the continental tradition and their following on the British Isles. A complete set of WdW cuts follows from p. 369 onwards. There are 147 reproductions of early woodcuts in this volume.
- Varty, Kenneth. 1982. “The Iconography of the Medieval Beast Epic: From Manuscript to Printed Page.” In *The Medieval Alexander Legend and Romance Epic: Essays in Honour of David J. A. Ross*, ed. Peter Noble, Lucie Polak & Claire Isoz, 243–258. Millwood/London/Nendeln: Kraus.

An outline history of the illustrations of the Beast epic in its manuscript and printed forms, with a description of some recent research and descriptions of the miniatures in *Roman de Renart* manuscripts and of a selection of woodcuts from the incunabula period. Now superseded by Zumbült 2011 and Varty 1999.

- Varty, Kenneth. 1986. "La Mosaïque de Lescar et la datation des contes de Renart le goupil." *Revue des Langues Romanes* 9: 1–12.
Reviews published research (Clemens 1976, Lefèvre 1978 and older studies) on the mosaics on the floor of the choir, and in particular suggestions about the meaning of the fox or wolf tied to the tail of an ass. Argues that this scene depicts part of a three-hundred-line episode in br. IX. Foulet dates this branche c. 1200; art historians date the mosaic 1130–1140.
- Varty, Kenneth, ed. 1991a. *À la recherche du Roman de Renart*, 2 vols. New Alyth: Lochee Publications.
- Varty, Kenneth. 1991b. "La mosaïque de Lescar et la datation des contes de Renart le goupil." In Varty 1991a, II, 318–329.
Slightly revised version of Varty 1986.
- Varty, Kenneth. 1991c. "Le goupil des Bestiaires dans le *Roman de Renart*." In Varty 1991a, II, 344–360.
Studies the relations between the chapter on the fox in the bestiary tradition and its illustrations on the text and the miniatures of the *Roman de Renart*.
- Varty, Kenneth. 1991d. "Les Funérailles de Renart le goupil." In Varty 1991a, II, 361–390.
Studies the visual representations of branche XVII ('La mort et la procession de Renart') in the visual arts (miniatures, mosaïques, friezes, carvings, drawings). Revised and expanded version of a study from 1966. 35 ills. Of which several had not been previously published.
- Varty, Kenneth. 1991e. "La représentation visuelle de la 'matière de Renart'." In Varty 1991a, II, 415–444.
Studies visual anthologies of the matière renardienne, first in the manuscripts of the *Roman de Renart*, then in the cycles of the earliest printed editions, and lastly in wood (miseri-cords in Bristol), pewter (on a Antwerp cabinet: see Van Daele 1988), and textile (Lübeck altarcloth).
- Varty, Kenneth. 1991f. "Animal Fable and Fabulous Animal: The Evolution of the Species with Specific Reference to the Foxy Kind." *Bestia* 3: 5–14.
After a brief survey of the history of Aesopian fable, the Bestiary and Emblem traditions, turns to the Beast Epic proper and to its evolution from the Middle Ages to the present day. The *RdR* is mentioned briefly (p. 8–9). The mutations experienced by the Beast Epic (and especially the *RdR*) are shown through illustrations from scholarly, popular adult, and children's versions; also from dramatizations, films and comic strips.
- Varty, Kenneth. 1999. *Reynard, Renart, Reinaert, and Other Foxes in Medieval England. The Iconographic Evidence*. Amsterdam University Press, Amsterdam.
<https://doi.org/10.5117/9789053563755>
Most of the categories listed in Varty 1967 above are repeated but expanded. Most notable additions concern the fox's funeral and the Wynkyn de Worde series of woodcuts and some of its imitators.
- Varty, Kenneth, ed. 2000a. *Reynard the Fox; social engagement and cultural metamorphoses in the Beast Epic*. Oxford: Berghahn Books.
- Varty, Kenneth. 2000b. "Paul Weber's Satirical Use of Reineke in Cartoon Form." In Varty 2000a, 209–220.

Argues that the fox in the cartoons by Paul Weber (1893–1980) may be identified with Reineke and discusses the satirical content of these cartoons.

Varty, Kenneth. 2007. *Les Dessins marginaux du manuscrit Douce 360 (Le Roman de Renart) de la Bibliothèque Bodléienne*. Textimage 1. https://www.revue-textimage.com/01_en_marge/varty3.htm

Studies the – later added – marginal illustrations of *branche I* of the *Roman de Renart* in ms. D (Oxford, Bodleian, Douce 360)

Varty, Kenneth & Jean Dufournet. 2000. “The Death and Resurrection of the Roman de Renart.” in Varty 2000a, 221–44.

Discusses the disappearance of the *Roman de Renart* from French literature after the manuscript period and its reappearance in the 19th century, especially by the influence of Paulin Paris. Some other modern adaptations are discussed, the last of which is *Le Polar de Renard* (1979), a comic book with a completely new intrigue.

Vedder, Raimund. 1980. “Die Illustrationen in den frühen Drucken des Reynke de vos.” In *Reynaert Reynard Reynke; Studien zu einem mittelalterlichen Tierepos*, ed Jan Goossens und Timothy Sodmann, *Niederdeutsche Studien* 27, 196–248, 406–444. Köln/Wien: Böhlau Verlag.

Studies the German tradition of Reynke woodcuts. Woodcuts from the 1498 Lübeck edition begin on p. 408. There are 147 reproductions of early woodcuts in this volume.

Verzandvoort, Erwin. 1988–1989. “Over de door Plantijn gedrukte uitgaven van *Reynaert de vos*.” *De gulden passer* 66–67: 237–252.

Discusses among other subjects the series of 40 woodcuts for the 1566 *Reynaert de vos/Reynier le Renard* edition by Plantijn, drawn by the Parisian Geoffroy Ballain and cut by Jehan de Gourmont. Attention is given to the discrepancy between drawings (70) and cuts (40), the link with the emblemata tradition and influence of the Haarlem Master tradition on this series.

Verzandvoort, Erwin. 1989. “The Dutch Chapbooks of Reynaert de Vos and their Illustrations.” *Reinardus* 2: 176–184. <https://doi.org/10.1075/rein.2.15ver>

Sketch of the Dutch chapbook tradition. It is shown that on the basis of small differences in seemingly identical illustrations in different chapbooks, these can be divided into groups. It is also shown that some illustrations prove the existence of lost editions.

Verzandvoort, Erwin. 1994a. “Lezen bij Wilhelm von Kaulbach.” *Tiecelijn* 7: 68–76.

Study of the texts (on walls, on paper, in books, etc.) present on Kaulbach’s Reineke illustrations.

Verzandvoort, Erwin. 1994b. “Bruun de beer op pad, een iconografische verkenning.” *Tiecelijn* 7: 138–155.

Exploration of the illustrations of Reynaert’s summoning by Bruun, mainly in the Dutch tradition, from the first printed books to modern times. 35 ills.

Verzandvoort, Erwin. 1995. “Allart van Everdingen (1621–1675) and his Illustrations for J. Chr. Gottsched’s *Reineke der Fuchs* (Leipzig, 1752).” *Reinardus* 8: 151–164.

<https://doi.org/10.1075/rein.8.1over>

Argues that Van Everdingen’s illustrations were originally not meant for a book, although they have become reasonably well known by their inclusion in Gottsched’s *Reineke*, and later in some impressions of Goethe’s *Reineke*. A possible Maecenas is suggested, some technical and iconographical properties are discussed, as are possible sources.

Von Fuchs, Friedrich. 2001. *Reineke Fuchs in der Kunst*. Wien: Österreichischer Kunst-und Kulturverlag.

144 pp., 127 illustrations, mostly full-page and in colour. Most of the illustrations are based on the Reineke collection of Friedrich von Fuchs. They are ordered according to the story of Goethe's *Reineke Fuchs*.

Vroomen, Lisanne. 2014. "Een oude vos is kwaad te vangen. Een analyse van de stripbewerking Reynaert de vos van Broens en Legendre." *Tiecelijn* 27, *Jaarboek 7 van het Reynaertgenootschap*: 127–149.

Analysis of a modern graphic novel, retelling *Van den vos Reynaerde*. The illustrations are remarkable by their references to other works of art and their strong realism.

Vroomen, Lisanne. "Foxy: Reynaert in de moderne wereld." *Tiecelijn* 29, *Jaarboek 9 van het Reynaertgenootschap*: 412–418.

Review of a modern graphic novel with a new Reynardian story placed in the contemporary world, but loosely based on *Van den vos Reynaerde*.

Wackers, Paul. 1983. "Drie eeuwen Reinaertillustraties." *Spiegel historiel* 18: 242–248.

Overview for non-specialists of the representations on the Haarlem master cycle in printed Reynardian editions in Dutch, English and German from the 15th to the 19th century.

Wackers, Paul. 1989. "De Bron van de Illustraties in de Zuidnederlandse Volksboeken." *Tiecelijn* 2: 24–25.

Proves that the illustration cycle in Segher van Dort's Reynaert adaptation (Antwerp 1651) and – in simplified form – in the Flemish chapbooks is based on Jost Amman's cycle for Hartmann Schopper's *Speculum vitae aulicae* (Frankfurt am Main, 1574–75).

Wackers, Paul. 1995. "Reynaert de vos als pelgrim." in *Heilig en Profaan. Laattmiddeleeuwse insignes in cultuurhistorisch perspectief*, ed. by A. M. Koldewey and A. Willemsen, 44–52. Amsterdam: Van Soren & Co.

Discusses a pewter badge of a fox with a pilgrim's staff and a goose on a chain, linking it with some illustrations of the chapter on the fox in bestiaries and on the stories about the fox's pilgrimage in branches VIII (Le Pèlerinage) and I (Le Jugement) of the *Roman de Renart* and in *Van den vos Reynaerde*.

Wackers, Paul. 2003. "'Much Ado About Nothing'. Remarks on the Projected Illustration Cycle of Ms. B of Reynaerts historie." *Reinardus* 16: 195–208.

<https://doi.org/10.1075/rein.16.13wac>

Studies the intended but not executed illustration cycle in ms. *B of Reynaerts historie* (Brusel, KB, 14601) and its possible links with the miniatures for branche I in ms. *I of the Roman de Renart* (BN f. fr. 12584) and the woodcut cycle in the 15th century Reinardian incunabula.

Wackers, Paul & Rik Van Daele. 1988. "Antwerpse Reynaertscribanen van omstreeks 1700." *Antiek* 22, 7: 377–92.

Description of five luxury cabinets made by the atelier of Hendrik van Soest (Antwerp, ca. 1700). They contain pewter illustrations based on the Reinardian cycle of Quelliijn and Jegher.

Zumbült, B. 2002. "Approaching the Medieval Illustration Cycles of the Fox-Epic as an Art Historian. Problems and Perspectives." *Reinardus* 15: 191–204.

<https://doi.org/10.1075/rein.15.15zum>

Argues that in studying the iconography of the fox stories attention must be paid to which scenes were chosen for illustration, for what reason and how they were composed. These compositions must then be compared to other, contemporary iconographic or pictorial genres.

Zumbült, Beatrix. 2011. *Die europäischen Illustrationen des 'Reineke Fuchs' bis zum 16. Jahrhundert*. Band I Textteil, Band II Katalogteil. Wissenschaftliche Schriften der Westfälische Wilhelms-Universität Münster, Reihe X, Band 8. MV Wissenschaft. Münster: Monsenstein und Vannerdat OHG.

Art-historical study of the European Reynardian illustrations in miniatures and in woodcuts of the incunabula period. Vol.1, 421 pp. + vol. 2, 513 pp. Vol. 1 contains 731 descriptions of miniatures over 271 pp. Colour reproductions of 175. In the first seven early printed books there are 188 woodcuts, all described; 95 are reproduced. There are 131 black and white illustrations towards the end of the second volume. See the review by Baudouin Van den Abeele in *Scriptorium* 67 (2013), p. 124*–125*.

Reynardian sources³⁹

Renart le Nouvel, BNF fr. 1581 > <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b60009654/f1.image>

The *Roman de Renart* is an older text than *Renart le Nouvel*, but this is the oldest Reynardian manuscript with miniatures. In a colophon it is dated October 9th 1288. Cf. Zumbült 2011, I, 36–81 and II, 1–29.

Roman de Renart Ms. I, BNF fr. 12584 > <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b60004625/f1.image>

It contains more than 500 miniatures in oblong format. It is dated between 1375 and 1450. Cf. Busby 2002, 248–253; Zumbült 2011, I, 122–159 and II, 122–271; and Bausch-Bronsing 2010.

Breul, K. (ed.). 1927. *The Cambridge Reinaert Fragments (Culemann Fragments)*. Cambridge: CUP; reprint 2010; electronic reprint 2011 > <https://www-cambridge-org.proxy.library.uu.nl/core/books/cambridge-reinaert-fragments/400209384832025F76A6623AF9F773AC>

Edition and facsimile of the remaining fragments of an incunabulum printed by Gheraert Leeu in Antwerp between 1487 and 1490. That book contained the woodcut series by the Haarlem master. Only 2 ½ woodcuts remain. For a reconstruction of the whole cycle see Goossens 1983.

Reynke de Vos, Lübeck 1498. Nachdruck des einzig vollständig erhaltenen Exemplars in der Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel (32.14 Poet.). Ed. Timothy Sodmann. Hamburg: D. und K. Kötz, 1976.

Woodcuts based on the series of the Haarlem Master

Reynke voß de olde. Rostock, Dietz, 1539. > <http://gdz.sub.uni-goettingen.de/dms/load/img/?PN=PPN633656895&IDDOC=586068>

Woodcuts based on the series in the Lübeck *Reynke*.

Reynaert de vos/Reynier le Renard. Antwerp: Plantijn, 1566. Facsimile: Brussels: Editions Libro-Sciences, 1989.

39. In this list only facsimiles, editions or internet sites of Reynardian sources with many illustrations are given (and thus there is only one manuscript of the *Roman de Renart*). They are ordered chronologically. The list contains only a few newly illustrated editions of classical Reynardian texts. This type of book deserves its own bibliography.

- Woodcuts by Jehan de Gourmont based on drawings by Geoffroy Ballain. Cf. Verzan-
voort 1988–1989.
- Der listige Reineke Fuchs...* No place, no publisher, no date (ca. 1660–1680). Facsimile ed. Chris-
tian Scheffler. Hildesheim/New York: Georg Olms Verlag, 1977.
Title woodcut by Virgil Solis, woodcuts from the series of Jost Amman. Cf. Menke 1992,
343–345 (nr. VII 26(1–3)).
- Schopper, Hartmann. *Speculum vitae aulicae...* Frankfurt am Main: Nic. Bassaeus, 1579. >
<https://www2.uni-mannheim.de/mateo/camena/AUTBIO/schopper.html>
Woodcuts by Jost Amman and Virgil Solis.
- Reynaert den vos oft der dieren oordeel.* Antwerp: Hieronymus Verdussen, ca. 1700. Ed. Erwin
Verzanvoort & Paul Wackers. Antwerpen/Apeldoorn: Berghmans Uitgevers 1988.
Woodcuts copied from the series by Jan Christoffel Jegher based on drawings by Erasmus
Quellijn. Cf. Wackers 1989.
- Een zeer genoeglyke en vermaaklyke historie van Reynaert de Vos.* Amsterdam: Erve de Wed.
Jacobus van Egmont 1773. Facsimile: Hulst: Antiquaritaat Merlijn, 1975.
Woodcuts ultimately based on the series of the Haarlem master. Cf. Verzanvoort 1989.
- Von Kaulbach, Wilhelm. Illustrations for Goethe's *Reineke Fuchs*, Stuttgart: Cotta, 1846.
There are many later editions with this series and most of the illustrations are also easily
found on the internet but we have used:
- Von Goethe, Johan Wolfgang. *Reineke Fuchs*. Mit 36 Illustrationen von Wilhelm von Kaulbach.
Wiesbaden: Hasso Ebeling Verlag, 1973.
- Goethe, Johann Wolfgang. *Reineke Fuchs*. Mit Zeichnungen von Oswald Jarisch. Herausgegeben
von Steffen Gärtner und Gunter Oettel. Görlitz: Verlag Gunter Oettel, 2016.
Edition with the first publication of the ca. 100 drawings that Oswald Jarisch (1902–1979)
made as illustrations for *Reineke Fuchs* while he was in a Russian prison camp in 1944–1948.
- Maierhofer, Waltraud (ed.). 2016. *Reineke Fuchs – Reynard the Fox. Zeichnungen und Radierun-
gen von Johann Heinrich Ramberg. Textauszüge von Dietrich Wilhelm Soltau*. Weimar: Arts
and Science.
Contains all the Reynardian etchings that Ramberg (1763–1840) published in 1826 and
also of the drawings that he made as preparation. Cf. Maierhofer 2014 and Czech 1993,
19–28. For a pre-publication of a part of the images see [http://www.goethezeitportal.de/
fileadmin/PDF/db/wiss/bildende_kunst/maierhofer_reineke_fuchs.pdf](http://www.goethezeitportal.de/fileadmin/PDF/db/wiss/bildende_kunst/maierhofer_reineke_fuchs.pdf)
- Von Goethe, Johann Wolfgang. *Reineke Fuchs mit Bildern von A. Paul Weber*. Stuttgart:
Europäische Bildungsgemeinschaft Verlags-GmbH., 1977.
Illustrations by A. Paul Weber
- Mähl, Joachim. *Reineke Vosz; ut frier Hand*. Stuttgart: Cotta, 1878. Facsimile: *Reineke Voss* von
Joachim Mähl, Bilder von A. Paul Weber. Gütersloh: Mohndruck Graphische Betriebe,
1986.
The original had no illustrations. In the facsimile illustrations by Weber are added.
- Weber, A. Paul. *Mit Allen Wassern: Neue Geschichten Vom Alten Fuchs*. Frankfurt am Main:
Bärmeier & Nickel, 1960 (53 ill.) and 1961 (54 ill.)

Authors addresses

Kenneth Varty
74 Tay Street, Newport-on-Tay, Fife
DD6 8AP, Scotland, GB
United Kingdom

Kenneth.varty@gmail.com

Paul Wackers
Afdeling Nederlands, Departement TLC
Universiteit Utrecht
Trans 10, 3512JK Utrecht
The Netherlands

p.w.m.wackers@uu.nl