Cultural depictions of the European Fallow Deer (*Dama dama*) 6000 BCE to 1600 CE

By

Christopher S. Ward

University of Nottingham

Department of Archaeology, School of Arts and Humanities

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Abstract

This thesis will seek to illustrate the social and cultural role which the European Fallow Deer has played in the period 6000 BCE – 1600 CE by investigating cultural depictions of the animal. These cultural depictions take various forms, in material culture, iconography and literary works as well as in its conceptions and classifications. Taking specific examples of practices throughout the eras, each will be examined in regard to the historical, cultural and ecological contexts and the fallow deer itself.

Although many depictions, especially from earlier eras would appear scant, and later depictions are very geographically and culturally specific, the perception of the deer by cultures is a worthwhile and meaningful exploration. This present work gives particular attention to the ancient Greeks, the Thracians, the Romans, and the medieval British, who all appeared to invest heavily in the species and in its cultural depictions and movements. Depiction of fallow deer will be discussed from the Neolithic period, through the medieval until the 17th century at around the time the medieval emparkment and sovereignty systems ended.

Whilst fallow deer has become a staple for the many deer parks of Europe, and has been introduced across the world, historical research into the human approaches and efforts shown towards the animal by species and classifications has been minimal. As part of an AHRC funded project, this species of deer has been subject to intensive study. It is hoped that this research will complement the project's work and that a better understanding of the human perception and efforts regarding the animal may be attained.

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Dedicated to my mother Margaret, my father Simon, and my sister Emily. And in memory of Pip (1999-2015), Úna Finnegan (1987-2013) and Margaret Bulmer (1920-2016) who I wish could have seen me finish this thesis.

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Chapter 1 - Introduction

The European fallow deer (*Dama dama dama*) is today a common sight within deer parks, enclosures and forests around the world, and indeed is found on every habitable continent on the planet (Chapman and Chapman 1975; de Nahlik 1987: 5-6). The present distribution of the species has been attributed to human interference, via a string of introductions spanning the last few millennia that were conducted by many different cultures in different locations.

The wide distribution of this ruminant is the consequence of humans from the Neolithic period onwards translocating and maintaining this elegant deer, taking it from an originally restricted range to, now, across the world. It is this that renders the species an excellent proxy for human diaspora, both physical and ideological. Whilst research into its native range is on-going, it is clear that wherever the species has been introduced, it has transformed the landscape by its 'emparkment', its enclosure in parks. It has also become incorporated into culture over the centuries, and indeed millennia. For these reasons, the Arts and Humanities Research Council funded a project to investigate the bio-cultural impact of its diffusion, with the aim of answering some of the highest profile issues in European archaeology, including invasions, religious beliefs and attitudes to nature (Sykes et al. 2013; Sykes et al. 2016).

The *Dama International Fallow Deer Project*, of which this research work is part, is a multi-disciplinary and multi-university research project funded by the AHRC (Sykes et al. 2016). [1] At Nottingham, the zooarchaeological project under lead co-ordinator Dr. Naomi Sykes has researched a variety of issues including isotope analysis, dental aging models and morphometrics of fallow deer. Meanwhile at Durham University, researchers under Professor Rus Hoelzel performed genetic analysis of fallow deer for

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all date-ranges. Further support for the project came from a range of academics at other institutions in Britain and abroad, including independent researchers, and also deer-managers from various relevant organisations, many of whom contributed to my own research, and who are thanked in the acknowledgments.

This slight mammal appears to have held enduring significance to both the recipients and instigators of all such enterprises to translocate or empark it - and to its observers. For this reason alone, surely cultural as well as zoological investigation of the fallow deer is warranted. One problem met by all researchers relates to issues of identification. Depictions of fallow deer can appear generic, rather than representing specifically fallow deer. It is therefore important first to consider the identity and the physical appearance of the fallow deer itself, before observing its depictions and representations in order to thread the strands together in this research project.

The Deer: Identity and appearance

The European fallow deer, named 'fallow' after its pale brown colouring, is a gently dappled, slight and agile, gregarious yet docile, member of the deer family (Cervidae). Alongside the doe, and their fawns, the buck[2] is easily identified by his penile brush and his characteristically palmated antlers (Chapman and Chapman 1975: 98, 157; MacDonald & Barrett 1995: 204; Fletcher 2011: 267); for fallow deer classification, see Chapter 6, Table 6:1. Recognition of individual animals has been proved repeatedly in observations, through the distinction of markings and coat colours as through the antler formation amongst the bucks, allowing for the collection of empirical evidence from individuals (Jennings et al. 2005: 515). Although commonly a chestnut colour dappled with white, variations in coat colours are typically found in four main hues, which are assumed to be a consequence of human involvement upon breeding patterns and have no particular significance beyond that and superstition (see

[2] In contrast with the stag and hart (archaic term, for a male over 5-years-old) in other species including the red deer (Whitehead 1964: xiii-xiv; de Nahlik 1987; Fletcher 2011).

Figure 1:1; Whitehead 1950: 45-49; Whitehead 1964: 454-455; Masseti 2002: 116-117).

During the Last Glacial period (c. 70-11 ka years B.P.), the European fallow deer became extinct across most of Europe, but a major population survived in the warmer refugia of Anatolia (Yannouli and Trantalidou 1999: 247). A few other places possibly held fallow deer, including Sicily and the southern Balkan Peninsula (Halstead and Jones 1987; Sykes et al. 2013). There is evidence for fallow deer throughout Neolithic and Bronze Age Greece, and Macedonia was particularly heavily populated by them (Yannouli and Trantalidou 1999: 251-252). Recent work in genetics suggests that the European fallow deer was present also in Bulgaria (Sykes et al. 2016); see Chapter 2, Maps 2:1-2:2.

The geographic ranges of the two separate species of fallow deer, European and Mesopotamian, were distinctly defined in the pre-medieval era in particular, with Mesopotamian fallow deer found primarily east of the Mediterranean (Figure 1:2; Masseti 2002: 108; Fabiš 2003; Valenzuela et al. 2016). It is important in distinguishing the European fallow deer to note the physical difference from the Mesopotamian species which it most resembles: the antlers provide the most notable diagnostic differentiation (see Figures 1:3-1:4). In some instances, the differences between the two species are too slight to accurately determine the species, as shown by previous studies of the animal (Figure 1:5 - Chapman and Chapman 1975: 216).

The Deer: Cultural representation and depiction

The later spread of European fallow deer across the continent has been complex, with their eventual arrivals in Britain owing much to Roman imperialism and Norman expansionism. Cultural observation of this deer reaches from the present back to ancient Greek and Roman scholars via Linnaeus ([1756] 1786) and his nomenclature: hence in modern times the trinomen *Dama dama dama*. This was differentiated from *Dama dama mesopotamica,* Mesopotamian/Persian fallow deer, in the same family (Cervidae) which includes, in the binomial nomenclature (used henceforth here) *Cervus elaphus,* red deer, and *Capreolus capreolus,* European roe deer. The original

word from which *Dama dama* derives may, like the animal itself, have come from the East: Sykes and Carden (2011: 142) remind us that the Persian word 'dam' means a tame, subdued or domestic animal, "a fitting label for such a biddable creature". However, the Latin word *dam[m]a* has been seen as a generic term in antiquity as was the Greek *élaphos* (Yannouli and Trantalidou 1999: 254). On the other hand, the word *dama* used by Columella (*De Re Rustica*, 9.1) alongside the generic (plural) *cervi*, has been variously translated over time.[3]

Cultural representation of deer, in a variety of formats, is evident throughout the millennia. As this thesis will discuss, these cultural depictions include more tangible artifacts such as iconography and material culture, to more abstract notions regarding classification and trope. The periods chosen - 6000 B.C.E. – 1600 C.E. - span the eras that the deer appeared to be subjected to the most human efforts, but prior to the later cultural movements of the market and the renaissance, as well as the primary efforts made of the colonial project which saw a wholesale change of attitudes to deer and animals in general. Whilst some discussion of cultural depictions beyond the end of this era will be made for instance in regards to the knucklebone floors (Chapter 6), this is relevant here in its illustration of the prior systems and their mechanisms. Similarly, the focus on this species leads a focus on cultural practices limited to certain geographies. The European fallow deer came specifically to human awareness as an individual entity and seems first to have been depicted materially in the Greek Bronze Age, although previous studies have found that fallow deer depictions are often hard to discern, at times apparently lacking any specific symbolism of their own (Haltenorth 1959: 51; Chapman and Chapman 1975; Yannouli and Trantalidou 1999; Richardson 2012; Daujat 2013).

There have been various geographically or temporally restricted surveys of the deer species. Across time and the continent, we have recourse to primary sources, but also

[3] Other ancient Greek and Latin terms will be introduced when appropriate.

to modern works based on evidence from ancient Greece and Turkey, the Roman, Byzantine and medieval worlds, and Britain from the 1st millennium C.E. to the early modern era. Representations and depictions of this fallow deer have been studied in scholarly works: these include, in the Greek world and Eastern Mediterranean, (Yannouli and Trantalidou 1999; Masseti 2002; Monaco 2002; Fabiš 2003; Trantalidou and Masseti 2014), in the Roman Empire (Toynbee 1973; Davis and MacKinnon 2009; Madgwick et al. 2013; Campbell 2014; Miller et al. 2014; Valenzuela et al. 2016), in the medieval period onwards (Bath 1992; Almond 2009; Richardson 2012), and in research of various periods and geographical areas (Chapman and Chapman 1975; Hough 2001; Daujat 2013; Sykes et al. 2016; Miller and Sykes 2016; Baker et al. forthcoming). Furthermore, the social history of the animal, and concept of the animal, has been subject to significant studies (cf. Ritvo 1987; Haraway 1989; Ingold 1994; Boglioli 2009; Fudge 2013).

However, none of these works were intended to be comprehensive. In this project, therefore, an attempt has been made to bring many, and perhaps most, disparate strands of our knowledge of the species together in order to record shifts through time and to see themes developing, to contribute to the international project's objectives - and to enhance our knowledge of a species that deserves our understanding. That this wide time-span is employed might limit the engagement with primary sources, and lead to a reliance upon secondary sources and collated data, following the correlations and incongruencies of the fallow deer in representation and culture should be a rewarding avenue of research.

The Thesis

In presenting and discussing all manner of evidence, this thesis will be investigating primarily how the European fallow deer (*Dama dama dama*) was represented in cultural depictions between the end of the Neolithic era and the post-medieval period. What were these depictions, and how did the representations unfold? Did separate strands in their representation develop into themes, did they intertwine and did they continue or recur?

How do the depictions serve, for instance, to impart knowledge as to whether this species held prominence in the overall cosmology of society, and whether their functions within larger and smaller societal structures are indicated by or reflected in them? Whilst their presence is recorded or recognised in the archaeological record, the absence of the species within culture or cultural representations could be just as telling. In both instances, the wider societal conventions will be examined; absences will be scrutinised in order to reveal explanations or any ostensible motives for omission.

By researching observations made from antiquity onwards by geographers, encyclopaedists, natural scientists and historians, and by supplementing them with the evidence of art, literature and other cultural representation, we may be able to gain not only a broader, but perhaps a more specific understanding of this animal's position both in the natural world and in relation to humanity past and towards the present. Art has largely avoided direct engagement with anthropologic concerns, as indeed with the treatment of animals; other fields of study have been deemed to offer greater theoretical value (Morphy 2010: 66; Mullin 1999). Thus theoretical consideration of a combination of subjects often neglected, such as art, object and animal, would indeed be timely.

While such documentation, artwork and archaeological evidence has been utilised and is presented throughout, a variety of theoretical approaches will also be employed in the presentation of this thesis. These will include theory familiar to and commonly used in socio-cultural anthropology, art history, economics, zooarchaeology and the study of material culture, supported by evidence from geography and zoology, together with socio-political, economic and cultural history.

The topic of this thesis invites an engagement that explores beyond the limits of aesthetic, pragmatic and social meanings previously utilised in epistemological investigations including those regarding deer (Cartmill 1993; Morris 1998: 173) – an engagement that should avoid the pitfalls of regarding cultural depiction clinically as abstract and apart from its social context (cf. Bath 1992). If one were to regard these

objects as independent texts awaiting interpretation (as espoused by Clifford Geertz in 1973), one would risk confirmation bias in pre-interpreting the objects to suit the coherence of such an interpretation (Little 1991: 73; Hazan 1995: 221). The economic historian and anthropologist Marshall Sahlins (1985: xv-xvi) argues this point in particular, that even if one were to focus on the phenomenon as the object of study within a moment in time, it would still be necessary to study the diachronic component of each moment.[4] Similarly, in the study of hunting within classical art the point has been made that, specifically within depictions, the diachronic should never be separated from the diatopical (geographic and political) dimensions (Cohen 2010). This current research therefore considers the social-political forces at work, rather than simply the social practice of hunting for meat-gathering, and conversely attempts to avoid reducing the practice into mere social metaphor – where practices are understood reductively as "standing-in" for other cultural pressures.

This multi-disciplinary approach will be guided by the core tenet of social anthropology, pursuing the microscopic interactions and demonstrations in order to better understand the greater societal structures and conundrums: 'the sort that connects chrysanthemums and swords' (Geertz 2000: 19). Rather than pursuing an epistemological approach, the "ontological-turn" of anthropology will be employed to observe elemental relationships that may have occurred between humanity and the deer (cf. de Castro 1998; Paleček and Risjord 2013). This approach is encouraged by Eduardo Viveiros de Castro (1998; 2004) and his successors (e.g. Paleček and Risjord 2013), where the world should be understood not from the underlying laws of an epistemological approach to find reality/truth/meaning, but instead from a complete acceptance and understanding that the perspective of each individual is reality: relativism at its extremities. Here, reality is understood to be inside each mind at all

[4] Latour (1999: 168; 2007: 27-29) makes a parallel point in a study of biological science, noting that historical theorists often rely upon a rhetoric of "backward causation", ignoring or detracting from the realities that were once lived in.

moments, not metaphorically to be found "out there" beyond and before time and individuals – as viewed in epistemology and a regular criticism of historical study (Latour 2007).

Thus, it is perhaps necessary to examine what Geertz (1973: 5) termed the "web of connections" and "webs of significance" that once embodied these cultural depictions, so as to attain a better understanding of them. Through ontological, contextual and diachronic regard, hopefully the pitfalls for which Geertz has been widely criticised for could be avoided. Throughout the chapters, chronology and sinuous themes will be found to interweave in just such a web, or perhaps a meshwork of strands that are not always untrammelled (cf. Ingold 2006).

Critiques of the social history of the animal are important for this study (cf. Ritvo 1987; Haraway 1989; Ingold 1994; Boglioli 2009; Fudge 2013); they will be employed to guide theoretical discussions away from reductive reasoning. Such reductive reasoning of interspecies relations in many previous studies have made the animal appear as merely mimetic - mere reflections of social and cultural practices, making the living creature into merely a metaphorical caricature, representing materials and functions.[5] Any such reduction needs accounting for; it may be seen as having an alternative, malign agenda of the kind Donna Haraway (1989: 318) describes as persistent academic labour in 'polishing reflective surfaces that returned the images of their own societies and bodies in their picture of the animal other'.

[5] Jiménez and Willerslev (2007: 539) have particularly cited Bird-David (1992), Descola (1996: 87-89) and Tanner (1979) as examples of the disregard and reduction via metaphorical and symbolic castigations, a criticism that could be levelled at Geertz's seminal interpretative work on the Balinesian Cockfight (1973: 412-453).

Yet this current work will not attempt to push the boundaries of the human-animal divide, as has been much lauded in contemporary work in social science and the humanities regarding the non-human animal (cf. Haraway 1989; 1991; Cartmill 1993; Ingold 1994; Mullin 1999; de Castro 2004; Latour 2007; Nadasdy 2007; Candea 2010; Kirksey and Helmreich 2010). Although a statement meant as a critique to the stances taken by anthropology, there is much of value in the words of Noske (1997: 169), bemoaning that 'there exists no anthropology of animals, only an (anthropocentric) anthropology of humans in relation to animals'.[6] Indeed, it might appear that in regard to the cultural representations of this animal from the standpoint of anthropology, art history and archaeology, it becomes impossible for studies of the fallow deer to escape the anthropocentricism that pervades these disciplines (Knight 2000: 23).[7] Hence, this study should be understood as an attempt to determine and decipher the cultural and social depictions and the forces (imperial or economic) in which the fallow deer appears, seen from the perspective of the people who created or performed them. Likewise, this current research-work cannot claim to represent an attempt to better understand the ontology of the deer. It can only be said to reflect the perspective of humans towards the deer, rather than the deer independently themselves.

A human perspective must, *per se*, be manifested in cultural representation. Through the intention to study the cultural depiction of the fallow deer, a 'once-removed'

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[6] Following the assertion of Lévi-Strauss (1962), that animals are lightning rods for social issues, being 'good to think' with, intellectual studies of animals have been strongly condemned for objectifying the animal (Noske 1997: 168), but also for having acted to police the human-animal boundary (Roebroeks 1995).

[7] Not without merit: examples include using bees in reference to national identity (Tsing 1995); fish to understand transnational circulation (Maurer 2000); ecological invaders to understand sentiments towards human immigrants (Subramaniam 2008: 133-142).

detachment will result, predisposing the objectification of these depictions. Whilst this very detachment has always been scientifically valued for suppressing 'the temptation for anthropomorphic projection' (Candea 2010: 243), this aloofness should not be given such unshakeable credence in discussions of social interactions, where the stark irreconcilable ideals of scientific detachment are rare. Similarly, it would be inattentive and ethnocentric in respect of cultural depictions, to overlook the capability to "act back" and to overlook any agency that individual objects may have enjoyed (cf. Kopytoff 1986; Thomas 1991; Gell 1998). As Nicholas Thomas (1991: 4) asserts, it is not necessarily the creation of the object that can explain or interpret the object, but their narrative, in that 'objects are not what they were made to be but what they have become'.[8]

Chapter Outline

European fallow deer may be considered native to the region now represented by Turkey and Greece. Their later spread across Europe has been seen as complex, with their eventual arrivals in Britain owing much to Roman imperialism and Norman expansionism, particularly demonstrated in the various maps collated for this thesis. Whilst evidence for fallow deer appears throughout Neolithic and Bronze Age Greece, Macedonia was particularly heavily populated by them (Yannouli and Trantalidou 1999: 251-252). Both botanical and zoological evidence indicate that farming was introduced into Europe and the eastern Mediterranean islands from several places in southwest Asia at about the same time (Hubbard 1995: 537). Some colonists brought fallow deer that were released into the wild on arrival. These introduced populations of fallow deer sometimes survived for thousands of years, and sometimes they died out within a couple of hundred years. In prehistoric Cyprus there were no comparable indigenous wild animals on the island: the ecological niche for a

[8] One example: the rocks that monitor humans in Aborigine society – their process of monitoring is automatic and not the result of a recent transformation or creation by another human, but has also led to ridicule and persecution from Western ontology (Povinelli 1995).

large ruminant being unoccupied, the introduced fallow-deer populations expanded to fill it unimpeded.

As **Chapter 2** reveals, it was in the Bronze Age Greek world that depictions begin to be more diagnostically identifiable. Thus, it is from this point that our study begins, with Mycenaean depictions and the ideograms of Linear B in the later-2nd millennium B.C.E. Discussion of the iconography of the Greek world will be found to be of considerable significance, ranging from the many cultural representations of the deer in mythology and its association with the hunter-goddess Artemis, who became the famed goddess of Ephesus where Greek Artemis became associated with Roman Diana. Indeed, while lexicological distinctions may prove to be inadequate, it is above all the iconographic record, from Mycenaean Greece to the time of Alexander the Great and beyond, that perhaps proves more informative in analysing this deer's significance and presence in this part of the eastern Mediterranean. For this reason, a consideration of metalwork deer-headed *rhyta* is presented as a specific case study. With recent archaeological discoveries and reinterpretations of the vessels eroding previous theories, new insight may be welcome.

A further strand for discussion is the influence of the age-old mythology of deer and its deity that was to continue into and pervade the Roman world, as argued in **Chapter 3**. In this chapter, we benefit from zooarchaeological evidence collected by other members of the project which indicates not only that the Romans and later, perhaps, the Normans introduced the fallow deer to many areas of Europe including Britain, but that the fallow deer populations themselves had substantially differing origins (Sykes et al. 2011; Sykes and Carden 2011). In contrast, for example, foot-bones and antlers in particular have been considered the focus of trade linked to their use in zootherapy (Miller et al 2016: 247); Pliny (Natural History 28.49) provided information on the early use of powdered antler to cure ills ranging from tooth-ache to epilepsy. Such usage and such trade will be considered in relation to the animal's cultural representation.

Although some progress has been made by zooarchaeological efforts of this project, evidence for fallow deer garnered from the zooarchaeological record of Roman sites remains very limited and often questionable. The representation of this animal can, however, be seen in arts and crafts throughout the Empire and across the centuries. Evidence derived from material representations has been collated as far as possible in Chapter 3, Table 3:1 - Maps 3:1-3:8, but this represents only a small proportion of the data available and has been drawn from many different media and periods. It is hoped, however, that a large enough sample has been provided to allow the drawing of some general conclusions on the role and perception of the fallow deer in Roman social cosmology. Further iconographic evidence will be seen to link the deer to Christianity over many centuries, as for instance in Byzantine art and recurring in medieval religious iconography.

In **Chapter 4,** the discussion turns to the medieval and Elizabethan periods, which incontrovertibly saw the fallow deer in deer parks in Britain. Here, the role of the emparkment practice that underlies the remaining chapters will be examined in regard to economic and political theory. The 'emparkment' or 'emparkation' process, whereby an area was enclosed with fences, ditches and other geographical boundaries, was not merely the physical construction of barriers, but represented a wide mix of social-cultural practices (Liddiard 2007; Pluskowski 2007a; Fletcher 2011). Emparkment rights provided by the monarch along with the park's living deer in turn facilitated the giving of venison and enabled an individual to host visitors adequately and engage in certain social spheres, but could also have a deeper socio-political effect, through measures such as the redistribution of the deer and eventually even disparkment, or disparkation - the dismantling of the park.

While presenting the emparkment process as a macrocosmic model during the medieval era, **Chapter 5** will consider the subsequent, symbolic roles of the deer and deer park. Both were employed in a variety of imagery and within metaphor and tropes, particularly concerning marriage, seduction and femininity and it is particularly this, and the symbolism of such 'gendering' and the concomitant implications of self-aggrandisement that will be discussed. One question to be

addressed is the degree to which fallow deer in general, in contrast specifically to bucks and stags (Richardson 2012: 257-258), attracted their own individual species-specific symbolism, comparing various contemporary research on this topic. Another will be to enquire into the role that the sovereign, sovereignty and contestations of sovereignty played in regard to this deer, particularly evident in a series of paintings of a lost Stuart Prince. Meanwhile, fallow deer also makes an appearance within the 'still-life' or 'rhopography' of the 16th century, and subsequently within displays of successful hunting in 'game-piece' artwork. Oddly, whilst the still-life might provide agency still to the contemporary viewer, we shall find that the paintings of game-pieces reveal further insight into those who are depicted.

Further developments regarding both aestheticism and landscape design in the late-medieval period, but even more so from Elizabethan times and continuing in the early modern period, will be discussed in **Chapter 6.** Through paintings, landscape art in particular, the intended aestheticism of the landscape was apparently both realised and instigated. It will be seen that, in most cases, the artist attempted to paint a landscape as seen from a distance, providing a near map-like diagram of park grounds in their entirety. The fallow deer's position in such panoramic views of the park raises issues of power-relations in geographic knowledge (Foucault 1980; Rabinow 1984: 239-256) and its depictions are especially pertinent to our understanding of these dynamics. For in some examples, the fallow deer are so diminutive as to escape observation, being almost invisible when displayed at a distance. Despite a reductive appearance, maps and cartography displayed the aestheticism of the deer park through depicting the intended design. Nor do the deer themselves escape this designed aesthetic, as we shall see them becoming increasingly managed through factors such as coat-colouration and antler formation to create a better form of nature. Towards the final edge of the research time-scale, the practice of using the fallow deer within the structures of the park would apparently culminate in architectural practices – perhaps an outcome of various market forces and social pressures.

The Intention

How was the European fallow deer represented in cultural depictions between the end of the Neolithic era and the post-medieval period? It is hoped that this study, whilst certainly not comprehensive in any one area or time-frame, through the employment of specific social and cultural movements will answer such questions and illuminate key elements in the fallow deer's roles and movements in history.

Whilst previous studies have indeed found that fallow deer depictions can be hard to discern and at times apparently lack any specific symbolism of their own, the reason for this needs to be understood through both context and comparison with zooarchaeological evidence. The conception of species and role of species classifications throughout history cannot be understood without accommodating the social representation and cultural depiction of the deer. Such is the importance of the historical sections of this research. That this history still underpins many of the contemporary fallow deer parks and populations continued existence around the world today, will surely lend further significance to the conclusions of this study.

Wherever fallow deer have been introduced they have had impact on their local landscape, on the populace and on cultural depictions over centuries. It is hoped that this research will be of service over a range of disciplines, whether to deer-managers, ecologists, historians, archaeologists, or anthropologists, and indeed to all with an interest in our natural environment and historic heritage.

Chapter 2 – Fallow Deer depictions in ancient Greece and neighbouring regions

Introduction

Having outlined the modern-day global distribution of European fallow deer, we can begin to question when the diffusion began. Current evidence suggests that the earliest translocations occurred in the Neolithic period (Masseti 1996; Sykes 2010b). The evidence of fallow deer depictions from ancient Greece and neighbouring regions is here the focus of attention.

Conclusions drawn from zooarchaeological evidence indicate a wild fallow deer presence in mainland Greece which persisted over centuries. It had been argued in the past that European fallow deer were imported by the Crusaders, particularly to Rhodes (Festa 1914: 18-21), a large island south of the Turkish coast, whose evidence over many centuries will be referred to several times in this thesis. However, zooarchaeological evidence now indicates that their arrival occurred much earlier (Masseti et al 2006). They are considered to have been present at sites across mainland and also insular Greece in the Neolithic and Bronze Ages, with particularly heavy populations in the northern mainland and specifically in Macedonia (Yannouli and Trantalidou 1999: 251-252). However, red deer are said to have been "the quarry par excellence" across much of the Balkan peninsula in antiquity, whilst fallow deer appeared predominant in the Eastern Aegean area, as well as in the south-east of the Balkan peninsula (Trantalidou and Masseti 2014: 66). As shown in Figure 2:2, their habitat seems to have been located primarily around the Sea of Marmora, with incidences of the species found on both the European and the Asian sides. In this area, fallow deer appear to have been endemic and, as would be expected, their presence in the zooarchaeological record here, too, is extensive (Lister 1984; Uerpmann 1987; Masseti 1996; Yannouli and Trantalidou 1999; Fabiš 2003).

Similarly, according to the evidence of representation in culture and iconography, it is clear that whilst the pervasive red deer (see Figure 2:1) are depicted far more rarely

throughout the region under discussion, the depiction of fallow deer was widespread and indeed prevalent there in antiquity (Trantalidou and Masseti 2014: 66-7). These representations of fallow deer have been taken as related particularly to hunting (Barringer 2001; Cohen 2010; Trantalidou and Masseti 2014), but it is evident that other narratives based upon the deer's role in mythology also occur (Anderson 1985). Both thematic approaches will be considered here.

It is evident that depictions of animals, specifically deer, became more diagnostically identifiable in Bronze Age Greece. Here, the question will be raised whether the iconographic record, from Mycenaean Greece to the time of Alexander the Great and beyond, is more informative in analysing this deer's significance and presence in this part of the eastern Mediterranean than other sources of evidence such as lexicological differentiation. For this reason amongst others, accompanying the general comparisons and their overview a specific case-study on deer-headed *rhyta* in metalwork will be presented.

Methodological approach

Rather than following a thematic or discussion-based approach, as seen in later chapters, this chapter will follow a few key examples of the fallow deer's representation. Where academics previously have chosen to attempt identification of this species at the expense of meaning (Yannouli and Trantalidou 1999: 261), the aim here is to use a detailed consideration of this one animal to illustrate broader collective cultural changes and movements.

This approach has also been chosen owing to the disparate methods of previous research in the area, which were presented in a variety of languages and often in uncatalogued formats. In this chapter, the case in point will primarily be the examination of those *rhyta* which form a group, or groups, of artefacts from the Black Sea region and beyond, and which apparently depict these fallow deer. Given that such specific artefacts appear to have been found in contexts where the animal has not been considered present, discussion of their presence and significance is itself important. Whilst many scholars have analysed these vessels, their interests have been

restrictive and their conclusions appear divergent. The case-study will examine factors that appear to have been overlooked.

Thus, rather than simply following the methodology of previous studies of fallow deer which have culminated in the analysis of identifications based on modern taxonomic classifications (Yannouli and Trantalidou 1999: 261-262), this chapter using very basic methodology will discuss further the meanings of some instances of cultural and mythological convergence evident in literary, iconographic and material records (cf. Morgan 1985: 6-7).

Identifying the fallow deer in the Bronze and Iron Ages

The presence of fallow deer in the landscape of Bronze Age Greece is to some extent made evident by their depiction on friezes and artefacts. These have recently been discussed at length by Harris (2014). In the Mycenaean period in the 2nd millennium B.C.E., in the palace at Pylos in the south-west of the Peloponnesian mainland, numerous frescoes show what are, according to their analysts, indisputably European fallow deer. The 'Archer Fragment' from the Palace of Nestor shows a figure, which is considered probably to be female, though whether she is human or divine is unclear. This may belong with others from the palace' s hunting scene and, on the basis of pigment analysis, it appears to belong to the palace's earlier period (Brecoulaki et al 2008, 387–8). In Mycenae itself the earliest cultural depictions are those from shaft grave IV in Grave Circle A (Late Helladic I). There, a gold plated *pyxis* depicts lions chasing deer and antelope [figure 2:3], whilst a gold ring shows hunters in a chariot chasing a fallow deer (identified by its dappled coat and palmated antlers) with bow and arrow [Figure 2:4]- Harris 2014: 84. Harris (2014) suggests that that this type of human / fallow deer engagement may have been restricted to an elite group across a wide Mediterranean region, with the chariot's use as a shooting platform together with the bow and arrow being considered borrowed imagery from the Near East. Deer are further found depicted on miniature frescoes from the contemporary settlements of Ayia Irini, Kea and Akrotiri, Thera. The first of these depicts not only a hunting scene with dog and what appear to be fallow deer but also

the subsequent feast (Harris 2014: 84 [Figure 2:4]). At Tiryns, to the north-east, fallow faunal remains have also been found (Yannouli and Trantalidou 1999: 254).

Fallow deer are then prominent as animals of prey in hunting scenes in the iconographic evidence from the Aegean Bronze Age. At the same time a case can certainly be made for some form of domestication in the form of human husbandry of deer herds. This is reflected in the Linear B tablets also found at Pylos (Chadwick 1958: 119) where the deer ideogram and syllabic signs representing CERV are found. These apparently show deer that could be either wild or tame and deer used in both sacrifice and games. The inspiration for the pictorial ideogram is believed, according to current studies of "scribal aesthetics", to have been the frescoes visible at the Mycenaean palaces, frescoes that clearly depict fallow deer (Yannouli and Trantalidou 1999: 254, [Figure 2:5]).

Yet, even after the Late Bronze Age, it seems that there was no proper lexical differentiation between red and fallow deer, perhaps because they were not recognised as separate species. However, the oral tradition originating in the 2nd millennium B.C.E. which ultimately found expression in Homer's *Odyssey* referred metaphorically to deer, often dappled, and usually as shy creatures and, from Homer onwards, a distinction emerges between the adult animal, whether red or fallow deer - *élaphos*, the pricket - *kemás*, and the fawn - *nevrós* (Yannouli and Trantalidou 1999: 254); see, for instance, Xenophon, *Cynegeticus* (*On Hunting*), chapter 9, on hunting deer. Later, a further distinction was introduced with the use of *dorkas*, meaning gazelle, which occurs in the 5th century B.C.E. *Histories* of Herodotus (4,192) and, in the following century, in Aristotle's *History of Animals* (2, 449a9), but this includes gazelles, mostly *Gazella dorkas* [Linnaeus [1756] 1786], of the Syrian area as well as North African antelopes. While lexicological differentiation of species seems vague and sometimes indiscriminate, iconographic evidence even in early times can often be more revealing. The detailed rendering of diagnostic and morphological characteristics of the fallow deer indicates that these animals were observed in the flesh (Yannouli and Trantalidou 1999: 256). On pottery, the first evidence of deer in

Mycenaean times may also have owed much to the Deer Frieze at Tiryns (Immerwahr 1990: 131; Yannouli and Trantalidou 1999: cf. fig. 5a-e [Figure 2:5]).

The vast majority of deer representations of deer in Greek and Anatolian art are, at best, too ambiguous in form to depict species distinctly enough to identify reliably, as has been noted by Trantalidou and Masseti (2014: 60- 64) and Collins (2003: 75-76). Many depictions of deer are considered unrealistic (Higgins 1967), and others are thought to be influenced by Persian and Near-Eastern representations rather than being the depiction of fallow deer (Cook and Dupont 1998; Monaco 2002). However, some features, not present in other cervids of the area, such as the dappled coat, the diagnostically palmated antlers and the penile brush, are characteristic enough to allow for a tentative designation of the species (Yannouli and Trantalidou 1999: 261 and fig. 7): these characteristics in some representations may be exaggerated, but even when dappling can be seen across the bodies of the deer or where the dappling is abnormally stylised, as for instance on pottery, this dappling may not be dismissed in all cases as simply generic or merely decorative (King 1983). Recently, Trantalidou and Masseti (2014: 66-68) published an introduction to the possible types of deer having been depicted iconographically; excluded were juveniles and females as they lack defining characteristics for red, fallow and roe deer. In relation specifically to red deer, they have noted both the iconographic difference in antlers and the commonness of deer per area, and tentatively suggest the overwhelming majority of iconographic depictions to be the red deer, a species that was itself ubiquitous (Trantalidou and Masseti 2014: 71-72); they conclude, for instance, that on proto-Corinthian vases from the late-8th through the 7th century B.C.E. most are red deer. Yannouli and Trantalidou (1999: 256) had previously shown fallow deer to be less frequent in ceramic representation from mainland Greece than, in their study, from the island of Rhodes.

On pottery again, early archaic deer appearing mostly in silhouette became more naturalistic in the 6th century B.C.E. (Yannouli and Trantalidou 1999: 256; cf. Figs. 6b-c and 7). At the end of the 6th century, an Attic Black Figure cup shows a buck lacking antlers and with a characteristic penis sheath (cf. MacDonald & Barrett 1995:

204) – in a sexual scene with a satyr (Johns 1982: pl. 26; - Figure 2:6). This is the period in which Artemis[9] became named the Goddess associated with hunting and the deer, and one in which she was described as *Elaphebolos,* Deer-shooter or Deer-slayer. It is at this period that the cult seems to have developed rituals relating to the hunt and ritual killing and sacrifice (Pausanias 7.18.7). One such festival indicating the importance of Artemis and her deer was the *Elaphebolia*, 'Deer Shooting', a very ancient festival held over many centuries at Athens and Phocis on the Greek mainland, during the spring month of *Elaphebolion* – both clearly dedicated to *Artemis Elaphebolos.* Significant too for the material and iconographic representation of culture was the festival of *Artemis Laphria* at Patrae in Achaea, south of the Gulf of Corinth. Frazer ([1929] 2015: 167]) noted that the procession ended with Artemis in "a car drawn by deer" and in Roman imperial times this was commemorated by the same scene with a priestess representing the goddess, depicted on silver coins from Patrae (see Frazer [1898] 2012: 146; Gardner 1887, plate 5.21). In this cult celebration, deer amongst other 'wild' animals were then sacrificed by cremation on piles of wood on an altar. Pausanias himself, writing in the 2nd century C.E., stated in his travelogue of Greece that some attempted escape from the pyre (Pausanias 6. 18. 12-13; see Shelton 2014, 465).

Apparently related to these deer sacrifices which may perhaps have taken the place of ancient human sacrifice, is the story of Iphigeneia, daughter of Agamemnon greatly famed in Greek literature. Having offended Artemis by hubristically killing a deer in the goddess's sacred grove this determined and defined all that followed (Lloyd-Jones 1962: 199). Agamemnon's actions in killing a deer in Artemis' sacred grove, required his sacrifice of his daughter, Iphigeneia (Euripides, *Iphigeneia in Aulis*). In the event, his willingness to commit the act, ultimately saves her and Artemis substitutes, her

[9] The Greek name Artemis seems to indicate the anti-tame, if we follow Liddell and Scott (2007) in their dictionary definition of it as 'more probably connected with *artamos* than with *artemes* - the former meaning 'a butcher' and the latter 'safe and sound'. The first occurrence of the name may be the fragment of Linear B tablet reading a-te-mi-to at Pylos (see Yannouli and Trantalidou 1999: 263).

with a deer for sacrifice. The sequence of events that had caused Agamemnon's guilt, including Iphigenia's 'sacrifice' and even the destruction of Troy, was an inevitable progression of various narratives, and eventually appeared merely as the consequence of an ancestral curse. As Sophocles (*Electra* 563-72 in trans. Lloyd-Jones 1994) described the originally slaughtered deer as having a "dappled hide" and antlers, Agamemnon's original crime too, seems to have been perpetrated on a fallow deer. This should be borne in mind when inspecting artistic representations in connection with Iphigeneia, as it is frequently impossible to identify the species. However, Artemis is often shown accompanied by a fawn or antler-less male (Yannouli and Trantalidou 1999: 258); and more specifically Iphigeneia is depicted on a votive relief, from the 4th century B.C.E sanctuary to Artemis at Brauron (modern Vravrona, east of Athens), in which at Iphigeneia's sacrifice the animal accompanying the goddess is a fallow deer (ibid. 263). Such a depiction was perhaps later the inspiration for a fresco discovered at Herculaneum that clearly depicts a fallow deer delivered by the Goddess to save Iphigeneia (see Chapter 3, Figure 3:19, F52; Balch 2008). The Euripidean legend of *Iphigenia in Tauris*, situated, it seems, in the Tauric Chersonese, in the Crimea on the north coast of the Black Sea, may draw on a common source in the story of the Taurian Parthenos (Maiden), related by Herodotous (*Histories* 4,103) earlier in the 5th century B.C.E., a Taurian goddess referred to as *elaphochthonos* (deer-slaying). To be discussed in Chapter 3 is one of the myths of the foundations of Rome represented in an image of Artemis Tauropolos, a talisman offering tangible physical proof of the existence of the goddess and perhaps borne alongside Iphigeneia when she fled the Taurian Crimea to set up that cult (Romano 2006: 75). That Iphigeneia survived was partly because of the nature of the sacrifice at Aulis, where her body appears, according to legend, to have been switched with that of a deer. However, the "remarkable coincidence in the treatment of simile" renders Iphigenia's status, and perhaps her identity, during the sacrifice as particularly ambiguous (von Glinski 2012: 17): throughout, she is treated either as an animal (Aeschylus, *Agamemnon* [1848]: 232-8) or as an object like a painting (ibid. 241-243). This has however, been interpreted as a rebellious, not a submissive act (von Glinski 2012: 17-18). This will be seen in Chapter 3 to have appealed strongly to Roman culture.

We saw above scholars concurring that the vast majority of representations of deer in Greek and Anatolian art are, at best, too ambiguous in form to depict species distinctly enough for reliable identification, with many depictions considered unrealistic and others appearing influenced by Persian and Near-Eastern representations rather than depictions of fallow deer. However, features characteristic enough to allow a tentative designation of the species include such representations as seen on a mosaic of the late-4th century B.C.E. at Pella, the Stag Hunt, signed by Gnosis (see Figure 2:7; Pedley 2007: 323; Cohen 2010: 31). Although without the penile brush or diagnostically palmated antlers, the deer does indeed present a dappled effect, with sharper hooves, and the correct height (de Nahlik 1987: 5) and might rather be be a depiction of a European rather than a Persian fallow deer (*Dama mesopotamica*; see Chapter 1). In another depiction, a nearly identical scene on the exterior of a Red-Figure *kylix,* a drinking-cup (c. 440-430 B.C.E.), the penile brush is more evident (Cohen 2010: 33 [Figure 2:8]). Certainly, the antler for the Greeks is noted as not necessarily indicating the sex of the species of deer (Cohen 2010: 33-34). Indeed, Aristotle (*Hist. An*. 4.11.538 b18-19) and Pollux (*Omnon*. 5.76) concurred in their conclusion that what is seen in modernity as male, the antler, was in antiquity not an exclusively male attribute. Antlers were quickly lost in females, whilst the oft-repeated Keryneian, or Kerynitian, Hind of Herakles' Labours was almost always considered golden-horned as early as the 7th century B.C.E. although, in legend, a female (cf. Cohen 2010: 34 – n79; Yannouli and Trantalidou 1999: 256).

Cross-cultural transference of iconography as well as material processes is evident, for instance, in the mosaic tradition discussed above with regard to the pebble mosaic of the Stag Hunt at Pella, c. 300 B.C.E. (Figure 2:7). Iconographic similarities can also be seen in the mosaic from Alexandria [Chapter 3, F02 - Figure 3:6], which is thought to date slightly later, within the 3rd century B.C.E. Similarities continued on, for instance, in a 3rd century B.C.E. Red Figure kylix (Cohen 2010: 33 [Figure 2:8]). These iconographic similarities recall those visible in the earlier depiction of that renowned Macedonian hunter, Alexander the Great, on the 'Alexander sarcophagus' made in the late-4th century B.C.E. (Figure 2:9). This sculpted sarcophagus, found in Sidon in the Lebanon, displays a fallow deer with palmated antlers (Yannouli and

Trantalidou 1999: 259-7p; cf. Ridgeway 2001: 42; Hägele 2013: Plate 3.3). Differences between these depictions show that great attention was being paid to detail, as the weaponry appears to be context and geographic-specific (Ridgeway 2001: 42-43). Clearly, the fallow deer form was equally intentional in these depictions, despite some of the characteristic features not always being apparent. Indeed, for the 'Alexander sarcophagus' it has been suggested that the deer was originally painted as dappled, and that its sculpture and painting were probably the work of Rhodian artists - who would have been well-acquainted with fallow deer (Hägele 2013: Plate 3.3), just as Alexander's warriors and fellow-huntsmen from Macedonia must have known this animal well (Yannouli and Trantalidou 1999: 251-252).

Besides the recreational value in its practice, the hunting of these deer came to be regarded as of importance in developing not only the moral fibre required of a good soldier and general, but also in the generic positive effects of hunting upon the body in improving the senses and indeed in treating senility (Xenophon, *Cynegeticus* (*On Hunting*), 12; cf. Anderson 1985: 17-18). In imagery of the doe hunted by a young man, the activity portrayed can be both sexualised and deadly; this appears to represent a test for a young man's fitness for adulthood (Durand and Schnapp 1989: 66; Barringer 2001: 42). In the late Classical and early Hellenistic periods, such hunting narratives often appear to present a display of masculine domination and, as is particularly argued by Cohen (2010: 16), citing Cartmill (1993: 240), such scenes appear based on a sexual paradigm, often one of rape. These masculinised performances also had clear military associations, and many of the depictions employ the weaponry expected of war (Ridgeway 2001: 42-43), or even appear alongside depictions of battle, as on the 'Alexander sarcophagus' (Figure 2:9; Cohen 2010: 123). Indeed, many researchers note that hunting was especially important as an approximation for war in placing and demonstrating oneself in life and death, already evident within the hierarchical and performative Mycenaean society (Morris 1990; Laffineur 1992; Yannouli and Trantalidou 1999: 262-263).

Whilst Anderson (1985: 29), would agree that hunting was primarily a male pursuit, he notes that the appearance of female hunters and goddesses alongside hunting scenes and the European fallow deer shows that alternative narratives occurred. For instance, such females (and deer) are represented in terracotta form at the Spartan sanctuary to Artemis Orthia (Rose 1929: 339; Anderson 1985: 29-30), and in another, 5th century scene an Amazon is portrayed spearing a dappled fallow buck (see Figure 2:10; Beazley and Boardman 2002), with a hound and possibly a bird-of-prey. Obviously it was not unknown for women to participate, or be seen to participate, in the hunt, but there appears to be a common mythological connection between depictions. Warrior women, be they mortal worshippers or the embodiment of the mythological characters they represented, were apparently acceptable (Anderson 1985: 29; Rose 1929: 339).

General evidence of continuity in tradition from the Greek world into the Roman Empire awaits our consideration in Chapter 3. The Greeks' association of Artemis with purity and chastity, as well as with hunting, was thrown into high relief by her contrast and conflict with Aphrodite, goddess of sensuality and sexuality, as demonstrated strikingly in Euripides' 5th century drama *Hippolytus*. In this present discussion, however, we must bear in mind the links between Artemis and the European fallow deer which held further resonance when both became assimilated into the Diana cult. Artemis became associated with this deer, presumably because both cult and deer were common locally in the wild; in Greek culture, and particularly at Ephesus (on the Ionian coast of what is nowadays, modern Turkey), this goddess was famously predominant. There an indigenous mother-goddess cult that had become associated with the huntress and protectress of wild animals became, it seems, associated with Diana even before the region's conquest by Rome.

After the Roman conquest and after adopting newly associated imperial connotations, the cult saw the deity Artemis fully assimilated with Diana, the deity emerging as the more frequently commemorated by posterity (viz Walter Raleigh, on Diana alongside Alexander (Richardson 2012: 267). This integration will be discussed further in Chapter 3, but it is exemplified in a 1st-century C.E. fresco showing the sacrifice of

the Romanised Iphigenia at Pompeii; Chapter 5, F52 [Figure 3:19]. There are also iconographic representations of Roman Diana with fallow deer, but these associations are seemingly infrequent and less secure: they include coins from Gallienus with the inscription DIANAE CONS AVG and a deer depicted on the reverse [Chapter 3, F16 minted at Ephesus], and also a fresco in Rome depicting Diana, in an Artemis-like guise, from the hypogeum of the Via Livenza grotto dating from the 2nd-4th century C.E. (Chapter 3, F58).

Apart from deer seen as consorting with Artemis/Diana, deer were also among the 'wild' animals commonly associated with Orpheus, beasts which the legendary bard beguiled with his music. While the 'original' Orphic hymns or poems mentioned by Plato are lost, the poet Pindar wrote of Orpheus as the lyre-playing accompanist of the Argonauts (Guthrie 1993 for 1952: 232, 238). Orpheus's charming of wild animals is referred to in the Classical Greek period by Euripides (*Bacchae*, 562), but it was in the Hellenistic and especially the Imperial era that Orphism seems to have come to the fore, latterly subsumed in early Christian art (Guthrie 1993, 249-270). By the 1st century B.C.E. in Italy, we know from Varro (*De re rustica*, 3.13.1-3) that an Orphic performance "in the Thracian fashion" took place in a park of c.30 acres enclosing a wood and called by its owner in Latinised Greek, a *therotrophium* or game-preserve, 'Orpheus' summoned with a horn multitudes of quadrupeds - including *cervi* – to be fed. This Varro compared favourably with a beast-hunt in the Roman Circus and Orphic myths were indeed recreated in the arena (Shelton 2014: 475). The Greek narrative was represented on the Orpheus mosaic in Cyprus (Stanley-Price 1991; early 3rd-century CE), and that Orphic narrative underlies fresco and mosaic representations which include fallow deer (Chapter 3: F42, F65; D79). By the 4th century C.E., these scenes had reached from their eastern origins as far as Britain, where Orphic mosaics are known from the south-west (e.g. D79, from Woodchester) to Yorkshire (e.g. at Winterton; Allen 2014: 182-3).

Instances where fallow deer are distinctive and unambiguously presented amongst all this Greek material include a 6th century B.C.E. gold plate from Delphi which clearly shows fallow deer (Figure 2:12 - Yannouli and Trantalidou 1999: 258-fig. 6d). From

metalwork such as this and bearing in mind the previous Anatolian heritage, the following case-study of metalwork from outside the Greek mainland has much to reveal. The conclusions of previous scholars concerning these *rhyta* have been divergent and most academic effort has focussed on their decorative friezes or their possible position with societal structures. However, a simple factor has been overlooked, namely the vessel forms and the species of animal that they portray – the European fallow deer. Through very simple methodology, the spread of this depiction might be witnessed through the Aegean region.

Fallow Deer Rhyta

Made by metal-workers in the form of a fallow deer-head were several drinking or libation vessels, known as *rhyta* (e.g. Figure 2:13). These vessels were containers that took a variety of roles, including to drink and pour wine from, but usually featured some form of opening through which liquid would continuously pass or otherwise could not support themselves. Generally it seems that these vessels were intended to not hold any contents unaided, and seemed to encourage the wine to continuously stream from the vessel. Given that frequently these vessels took the form of an animal (Hoffman 1997: 8), and that the use of blood thinned with wine was uncommon but not unheard of (McGovern 2003: 274; Koehl 2006: 263), their ritual significance in animal sacrifice raises interesting questions when the rhyta

These deer-headed *rhyta* were found in the regions west and south of the Black Sea, from classical Thrace and from Sinope in ancient Paphlagonia (Map 2:1; table 2:1).

The practice of making such vessels seems to represent the culmination of several cultural diasporas, hailing from the Hittite, Achaemenid and Attic empires, which within a framework of bricolage by its very existence would suggest both the presence and the cultural importance of fallow deer. However, despite the fine state of preservation of these vessels over two-and-a-half millennia, not much is known of the artefacts themselves. Rather than adding to the cumulative speculation that these *rhyta* have elicited (Fol et al. 1986: 14; Borgeaud 1991; Archibald 1998; Tortorelli et al.

2000), the purpose of this section is to engage with the otherwise overlooked but very clear zoomorphic formation of, along with inscriptions on, the vessels themselves.

Although much effort has been made by scholars to understand the reasoning and intended uses behind the creation of these glorious *rhyta* uncovered in present-day Bulgaria and Turkey, the species of deer that appears to provide the strongest connection between the treasures has not been so readily discussed. This deer was the European fallow deer and it clearly held some importance for whomsoever crafted these *rhyta*. Yet even the reasons for which these vessels were constructed are unknown or at best remain debatable. Given that the vessels are formed as stags or bucks, based upon a design taken from the Achaemenid and (preceding) Hittite empires of the East (Miller 1991; Collins 2003, Feltham 2010), it would be prudent first to examine the origins and influences of the metal-worked *rhyta*.

Comparable examples of metal-worked 'deer *rhyta*' have been found in the Hittite empire (Figure 2:14; table 2:1). These carry friezes which became a trait later common to the Thracian vessels, on which deer and humans can be seen interacting in a ritualistic hunt or sacrificial-like manner (Collins 2003: 73). Crafted as animal-foreparts emerging from the base of vessels and apparently intended for drinking or libation rituals, similar examples can be found, following the Hittite decline in the late Bronze Age, especially in the Achaemenid Empire (see Figure 2:16). This empire, expanding in the 6th century B.C.E. with its extensive cultural and economic trade routes, was also responsible for dispersing zoomorphic metal-worked objects throughout the Persian region and beyond, even to Siberia (Feltham 2010: 11).

During this period, Greek imitations of Achaemenid *rhyta* became well-known in Athens, though the Greek examples were of somewhat inferior quality to Achaemenid examples. Notably, no metal Greek *rhyta* are known to have been made before the end of the Persian Wars in the early 5th century B.C.E., when a sudden renewed interest in the construction of zoomorphic vessels can be witnessed (Miller 1997: 142). Such cultural and economic investment in the vessels has been strongly associated with the metal-wares acquired by Greek soldiers as spoils of war; as such they became an item laden with patriotism rather than with the trappings of another

culture (Hoffman 1961: 21-24; Shefton 1971: 109-111). One incident that was narrated by the Greek historian Herodotus illustrates a scenario where, amongst the spoils of the defeated Persians' encampment at the battle of Plataea in 479 B.C.E, the Greeks gained many ornate gold and silver vessels: "golden bowls and cups and other drinking-vessels" which could have included zoomorphic *rhyta* (Herodotus in Godley 1920, 9: 80).

Indeed, after 479 B.C.E. zoomorphic *rhyta*, more often ceramic in form, are consistently found amongst affluent Attic assemblages, their workmanship at first inferior and their representation indicating that this was a sought mimicry rather than an export (Miller 1991: 69; figure 2:15). If inspired by the Achaemenid vessels, these ceramic *rhyta* also underwent unexplained alterations to their base, undertaken perhaps in order to co-opt the design, or perhaps primarily as a practical modification to mitigate the instability provided by the use of just an animal's head, cf. the Hittite Figure 2:14 with Figure 2:15 (a ram). Although they adopted other less popular designs from the culture of the Achaemenid Empire, Athenian potters did not so keenly attempt to recreate the horn-shaped or funnel-shaped *rhyta* (Hoffman 1997: 9; Miller 1997: 142). Rather than representing simple imitations, these Attic vessels may indeed have embodied a more patriotic principle, the choice of animal being particularly relevant. The chosen zoomorphic depictions of donkeys and dogs "profoundly Hellenized" these Athenian *rhyta* (Miller 1991: 70). The choice of animals involved in the creation of *rhyta* was probably also relevant in the mid- to late-5th century B.C.E., when European fallow deer appeared the animal of choice for Thracian and Black Sea metal-worked *rhyta*.

While much ink has been spilled concerning the origins and background of the golden *rhyta* of Panagyurishte in ancient Thrace (modern Bulgaria) (cf. Manassero 2007; Figure 2:13), those allegedly found in Sinope in ancient Paphlagonia (modern Turkey), have rarely been considered, partly due to their post-discovery journey. The latter treasures, supposedly uncovered on the Turkish shores of the Black Sea, were dispersed between private collectors; they are now just occasionally displayed on loan in Europe, New York and Japan (Manassero 2007: 115). Whilst their owners have

indicated the common ancestry of their *rhyta*, their exact provenance and original discoverer do not appear to be widely known. Some of the vessels from Sinope display a poor state of preservation, and occasionally lack key elements, such as the deer's antlers (Manassero 2007: 126). Nevertheless, the *rhyta* from Sinope are accepted as having pre-dated the treasure found at Panagyurishte, and thus firmly represent Sinope's penetration into Thracian culture (Stoyanov 2010).

Those Sinope *rhyta* which are of the (less popular) horn shape, or bent-funnel shape, show the deer as though gracefully leaving the end of the vessel, a trait unique to the Achaemenid horned *rhyta* (Bobko and O'Neill 2000: f68). One Sinope instance bears a particularly strong resemblance both to a Thracian *rhyton* and to an unusual example that has been suggested as Achaemenid in origin (Figure 2:16). While some have considered this particular deer on the 'Achaemenid' vessel to be a rare example of the Persian fallow deer species, *Dama mesopotamica* (O'Neill 1996: 40-41), the very specific palmation of the antler suggests that the deer is, rather, another example of European fallow deer (see Chapter 1; Masseti 2002: 108). Certainly, comparable Achaemenid depictions of European fallow deer can be found as far away as the Bukhtarma River in the east of modern Kazakhstan (Bobko and O'Neill 2000: 52).

Like the Panagyurishte treasure, the Sinope vessels have prominent friezes; however, unlike the Thracian treasure, they depict generic Greeks rather than prominently and unambiguously displaying scenes from Greek mythology (Manassero 2007: 127). In contrast, the depictions of Greek mythology on the corresponding Thracian vessels have been labelled as exuberant, reflecting "contemporary international trends towards exuberance in all forms" and, in a break from traditional Thracian depictions, they are "drawn from canonical Greek sources and the overall impression is rather academic" - especially as the friezes present captions for deities (Archibald 1998: 273-274), much like the captioning of saints in Christian churches across Europe allows for representation with no ambiguity. Despite inheriting a few forms/details such as the structure and form from previous Thracian vessels, the *rhyta* indicate a substantial cultural relationship involving an international use of these amalgamated vessels. The Panagyurishte treasure arguably represents the "milieu of these relations

in a physical form" (Marazov 1998: 142). However, the treasure might not have held such a central place in society as has been proposed (Grant 1982: 26; Borgeaud 1991; Tortorelli et al. 2000); it may rather provide evidence of more contextual and territorial practices. Archibald (1998: 275) considers these vessels to comprise material that had circulated between local leaders, while in their decoration drawing upon Greek mythology. On this interpretation, the *rhyta* would have acted as though tools of the affluent and powerful, which the economist Veblen ([1899] 2007: 107) described as conspicuous consumption - a process of "pecuniary emulation", a desire by which one can "live up to the conventional standard of decency in the amount or grade of goods consumed." Whether or not these vessels represented centralised or sectarian interests, the fact that many of these *rhyta* can be found elsewhere in Greece and occasionally even further afield, attests to the considerable cultural value placed upon *rhyton* ownership.

Other researchers, particularly those Classical scholars and including Borgeaud (1991) and Manassero (2007), conclude that these vessels had some form of ritualised use, although few agree on what ritual was involved. Within the friezes they have sought associations with various cults and religions, finding Thracian Orphism (Borgeaud 1991; Tortorelli et al. 2000), speculating a convenient relationship with death and the underworld because of an elderly man hiding behind a door (Kitov 1999; Agre 2003; Paris 2006), as well as worship of the old gods and pre-Greek Kabiri cults (Fol et al. 1986: 14; Manassero 2007). One argument espoused by Giumilia-Mair (2002) considered the two treasures of Panagyurishte and Sinope as confederates, and their fabrics as essential to their understanding. Particularly, in this argument the silver of the *rhyta* from Sinope is seen as representative of the moon, whilst the gold of the Thracian *rhyta* invokes the sun (Giumilia-Mair 2002: 123-131). However, the presence of other *rhyta* with identical forms outside the two treasures render this interpretation unlikely, as a significant number of the *rhyta* appear to have been buried alone and were also crafted from a variety of materials (see Table 2:1). Such an all-encompassing, material-based theory is perhaps a little too stringent; leaving aside an interpretation involving the embodiment of celestial bodies, the association of such *rhyta* with deities may nonetheless be considered. Manassero

(2007) speculated that the *rhyta* from Sinope represent a relationship with the Egyptian god Isis, as also with Artemis, both being associated with the moon. This juxtaposition of Artemis and Isis spread throughout the Mediterranean, and these syncretised "goddesses were apparently both assimilated and juxtaposed; they supplemented and overlapped each other" (Moltesen 2009: 364). Whilst an Egyptian connection whether with Isis, Astarte or others, seems remote, certainly other indigenous gods with varying resemblance to the Greek goddess of the hunt were subsumed by or assimilated with Artemis; these included not only Diana, but also the Taurian Parthenos already mentioned (Bilde 2009: 304) and perhaps gods local to the area, but unknown to us. Did this syncretism with any such autochthonous deities perhaps allow for a non-mainstream cult using these *rhyta*? Such overlaps and contradictions that occur within slippage has been described in an analogy by Anna Tsing (2005: 1-10) as akin to the force of friction, whereby cultural collisions and abrasions release "creative" energy. The analogy may be extended further: coarseness, robustness and force at which they meet, also determines the energy released. And did this friction and slippage account for the creation of these vessels, in a process resembling bricolage: the multi-faceted reconfigurations of practices based upon whatever the *bricoleur* had to hand (Lévi-Strauss 1974: 16-22). It seems that what was "to hand" here was the fallow deer, along with the mythology, the many production-practices, processes and indeed the raw materials to make these vessels.

Another question to be asked of these *rhyta* is, why were they buried? This is particularly important in regard to both of these noteworthy treasures: indeed, nothing but the *rhyta* were discovered at Panagyurishte, whilst the excavation of the treasure of Sinope was, as previously noted, murky. Archaeologists have speculated that the practice of burying treasure indicates hoard-burial as protection in the face of external forces, with their owners expecting to recover them later (Archibald 1998: 275; Taylor 2001: 401). Instead of a normal life cycle for these vessels, whereby wear and tear might require repairs and, later, possibly complete reduction back into valuable metal, in contrast extreme measures appeared necessary to protect the vessels. In this case the context may well have been the onslaught of the Celts, who began their expansion into Thrace at the end of the 4th century B.C.E.

However, another argument, a cornerstone for those proposing that the vessels had a ritualised use (Fol et al. 1986: 14; Manassero 2007: 154), regards the treasures as having remained *in situ* in their ritualised surroundings and perhaps having been ritually abandoned on final use. Here, rather than the monetary value being a factor in burial, social and cultural reasons would lie behind their burial and abandonment, with the practices perhaps falling out of favour or the incursion of Celtic culture making such rituals dangerous to practise, and with the last few knowledgeable individuals dying before recovery of their buried treasures. A similar theory can be found from Vickers and Gill (1994: 52), implicating a drought or famine in the disruption to and eventual abandonment of many previous cultural practices, including that in which the *rhyta* were intrinsic. It seems, rather, that with the displacement of people and cultural practices, the vessels simply were never recovered. However, the burial of two *rhyta* from Zlatinitsa unusually uncovered in a funerary context, might indicate that the burial itself was a ritual (Stoyanov 2010: 415-416).

Although there are many interpretations of the use and abandonment, few have considered the forms that link the *rhyta* to be important, apart from some generic comments noting the direct resemblance between the two examples of chalyx-rhyton in the form of "stags", and the other vessels' proportions being similar – though interchangeable in form (Manassero 2007: 123). Whilst the treasure of Sinope includes an additional fallow deer depiction emerging from a horn-shaped *rhyton*, the analogous *rhyton* in the Panagyurishte treasure depicts a goat. Furthermore, although this Panagyurishte *rhyton* depicting a ram seems to correspond with Sinope's sheep *rhyta*, the three Panagyurishte heads of gods or Amazons do not enjoy such correspondence when partnered against the janiform *rhyta* found at Sinope. Thus, with these distinctions in mind, it is not presumptuous to conclude that it is the shared depiction of the fallow deer which forms the strongest link between the two treasures.

Many examples of deer *rhyta* have, however, been recovered throughout Greece, of which the strongest association amongst these treasures is the palmation of the antlers that is peculiar to the European fallow deer (cf. Chapman and Chapman 1975: 98-

100), excluding even Persian fallow deer (see Chapter 1; Masseti 2002: 108). This appears to be the main and largely unnoticed link between the Panagyurishte (Figure 2:13) and Sinope treasures (Figure 2:17), namely the species of buck that is prominently and unambiguously displayed by them.

Of particular note is one of the deer *rhyta* recovered at Panagyurishte depicting the very deer which the vessel represents on the frieze behind the antler (Figure 2:18; Рабаджиев 1997: 71). Upon the frieze, the caped male is grappling the antlers of the beast; this has been widely interpreted as one of the trials, or Labours, of Herakles, where the Keryneian deer, and pet hind and possible familiar of Artemis, was captured.

One version of this specific trial of Herakles describes the Keryneian deer, despite being female, as having golden antlers, which Herakles breaks off during capture (Ruck and Staples 1994: 333). Although antlers are typically a male attribute, perhaps the antlers of these golden *rhyta* were meant rather to portray a 'hind' of Artemis, whose identity the sedate and easily domesticated European fallow deer (Birrell 1992: 123) could conceivably fulfil. The role of metal antlers might, furthermore, explain other artefacts linked to Artemis. These include the deer-heads detached from stone-worked architectural decoration in the Ara della Regina area in Tarquina, with slots for (now missing) metal antlers (Nielsen and Rathje 2009: 274-275). Herakles, too, was noted with Theseus on the stag/buck *rhyton* from Panagyurishte (Figure 2:13) and his perhaps highly significant association with these *rhyta* recurs in other depictions. These include the (large) amphora-rhyton, a receptacle that was presumably used to distribute wine to the other vessels (Vendikov 1976: 73); there the prodigious child Herakles is seen strangling snakes.

In academic discussion of these *rhyta*, species seems to have gone nearly unremarked. Although some welcome examples attempt to differentiate species of *Cervidae* in cultural depictions (O'Neill 1996; Fabiš 2003; Collins 2003), any effort to identify the deer depicted frequently ceases at gender (i.e. that they are male?). Evidence has been presented above that fallow deer were present throughout the Aegean area and, as also stated above, their ceremonial as well as their possible gift-giving roles have been

inferred because of their presence in religious contexts in the archaeological record and also in iconography (Yannouli and Trantalidou 1999; Fabiš 2003). [10] Rather than the blending of Greek mythology and Persian forms, the use of the European fallow deer might attribute the *rhyta* not necessarily to any Thracian political element, but instead to a religious movement. These vessels could have been implicated in ritual pertaining to the Greek goddess of the hunt, Artemis, whose chosen familiar in the deer was as characteristic to the deity as the palmation of the antlers is to the fallow deer. An offering of a "stag" shaped drinking-horn was specifically dedicated to Artemis in the early-3rd century B.C.E. (Figure 2:19 - Fontenrose 1988: 129). That this dedicatory ritual appears to have continued for centuries is indicated by one Parthian *rhyton*, cast at some time between 50 B.C.E. and 50 C.E., now in the J. Paul Getty Museum (see No. 14, not mapped, and Figures 2:19-2:20; Laptin and Wight 2010: 97). Although dedications to other gods have been described on the Panagyurishte *rhyta* (Fontenrose 1988: 128-130), it might be the forms that these vessels take that is particularly significant: in the case of the Artemis and the Parthian *rhyta*, it is the depiction of the stag/buck. Several elements of the latter artefact link it strongly to Greek mythology, with motifs derived from Seleucid and Greek designs, and indeed, on the base an Aramaic inscription dedicates the vessel to the goddess Artemis (Figures 2:19-2:20). Crafted in the form of an emerging male deer, the antlers are again notable in allowing the species to be established. In this specific instance, however, this particular palmation of the antlers has led to the deer being identified as the close relative of the European fallow deer: the Persian fallow deer (Laptin and Wight 2010: 97). In the Black Sea region there appear to be no records of such direct allusions to Artemis, nor are there any Artemis sanctuaries; nonetheless, representations and theophoric names do appear in both the areas of Panagyurishte and Sinope (Bilde 2009: 303, 317-321).

[10] And whose presence in Bulgaria having been extinguished centuries ago, was re-introduced in the mid-20th century, and flourishes in the modern day (Chapman and Chapman 1975: 59).

The allusions to Artemis in these *rhyta* are, however, not via scenes of hunting. They are, rather, framed within the mythology in which the heroes combat the animals of the gods, as in the case of infant Herakles fighting the snakes, or of Theseus battling the bull, a soothsayer consulting an animal's liver, and the fully grown and heroic Herakles capturing the golden-antlered Keryneian hind. In these depictions, the actions of the near-mortals rallying against the will of the gods are celebrated, and perhaps it is in this very empowerment, that the association between *rhyta*, user and deer might be understood (Yannouli and Trantalidou 1993).

That which conveys the interaction in the fallow deer *rhyta* is, notably, the small opening on the lower lip through which liquid could drain. Symbolically, its spurting also implies and imitates a biological reaction, in that, if these vessels are assumed to have held wine, the parallels with blood are important to recognise. The anthropologist and art historian Alfred Gell (1998: 122), in exploring the worship of bleeding statues, notes that such objects recognised to be "manifesting biological activity" also have conferred upon them animism and life. Thus, these statues traverse the boundaries of living and stone, suggesting that such objects have, in some internalised manner, biological structures from which they can bleed, and so traverse the boundaries of life and non-life. However, they are seen primarily to embody rather than act, their actions attested to occurring inside or at another site; the association and potency for agency nonetheless remains.[11] Symbolism of blood as wine has precedence, and such slippage within the representation allows for "further meanings so profound as not to be articulable in words but unplumbable by any of the ordinary

[11] A contemporary agency can be found paralleled in the portraits of King Chulalongkorn, who is perceived responsible for preventing late 19th century Thailand from becoming colonised, and through his mass-produced portraits still interact with his subjects, intervening on their behalf (Stengs 2008).

forces of human signification, and representable only by the stuff of life itself" (Rappaport 1999: 261). In the case of the *rhyta*, that the ejection of the contents of these *rhyta* (wine), destined for both consumption and for distribution in libations, can be equally understood to represent that stuff of life (blood), may indicate a ritual use of the vessels themselves.[12]

On the largest artefact amongst the Panagyurishte treasure, such innards as viscera are displayed being held by an elderly man who is attempting some form of ritualistic or possibly oracular act. In consuming the meaningful innards/viscera, completes also one of the acts of a rite of passage as described by van Gennep (1960: 11), whereby incorporation is necessary for the passage into a new social circle. Once these vessels were filled, the liquid would immediately stream from the opening requiring them to be held and possibly stoppered using the hands; unlike the horn-shaped *rhyta,* this might suggest a more reserved and personal practice (Hoffman 1997: 9). It is also feasible that it again encouraged the user to drink from the vessel in a relatively intimate manner in structured and hierarchical rituals[13]. Such forced behaviour is also regarded by Gell (1998: 18-19) as providing the objects a form of social agency and again animism, where the presence or ownership of the objects is complicit in the social role and interaction that the object conducts. Once more, these objects perhaps imply and enact agency, but it is important to consider the scale of the *rhyta* that are being discussed. Unlike the larger *rhyta* that were depicted dispensing wine directly to another vessel or the user directly, the *rhyta* in the forms of humanoid and animal heads from Panagyurishte and Sinope are particularly smaller than usual 'libation' *rhyta* (see Figures 2:21, 2:22). Depictions of the larger horn-shaped *rhyta*, in a form with emerging horses was used on a metalworked egg-shaped *rhyton* from Borovo;

[12] It is of considerable interest that Classical Greek mythology and wine consumption continued to be central in some 20th century Easter rituals in Bulgaria (Dawkins 1906).

[13] As seen in Japanese Sake drinking, where each interaction provokes reactions and subordination (Moeran 1986).

see Figure 2:21 (Manassero 2007: 139-fig. 18), and also upon an Athenian krater - Figure 2:22 (Stewart 2008: 245). However, also present are larger vessels that could not stand unaided, whose form does not present such singular depiction. With multiple openings, surely these containers furthermore would have been intended to distribute wine to the smaller and more personal examples (Vendikov 1976: 360; Manassero 2007: 116).

If the *rhyta* were circulated or possibly affiliated with gift-giving (on gift-giving see Chapter 4), as Archibald (1998: 274) has speculated, it is important to note that gifts too can be regarded as agents between parties and, through obligations, ultimately can be seen to possess a kind of life and "soul" of their own, as Marcel Mauss has discussed (1990: 12). Whether or not it would be better to call the obligations the "memory", and whether the life and the soul should be called a "narrative" (Thomas 1991), other anthropologists have also speculated that in the gift "one can venture to say that "things" no longer exist, there are only persons, sometimes in the guise of human beings and sometimes in the guise of things" (Godelier 1999: 105). It is within the action of giving the gift, Godelier (1999: 170) explains, that these "persons" are created: once these "persons" have been transferred, having passed outside of the donor's domain yet embodying the original impetus, they are not so easily recognisable to the original owner and thus can become a separate entity. That this entity could be a carefully and accurately crafted head of an animal could embody the agency of such a gift – amplifying the 'living' quality. Indeed, Mary Douglas (1969: 114) in her seminal work, *Purity and Danger*, notes that in social interactions the structures of living organisms are preferred, as it "is better able to reflect complex social forms than door posts and lintels". Furthermore, she alleges that individual portions of the structures of living bodies are never divided without reason. That this agency could also be associated with ownership or a gift relationship will also implicate the transactors in this agency alongside Persian forms and Greek mythology. In circulating the *rhyta*, their abundant and exuberant 'Greekness' could have been an attempt to imbue both of these aspects in the relationship with their legends that they displayed; that the donor could give such a cultural artefact, and that the recipient was worthy of it.

It is pertinent to finish this case-study with a warning. These vessels, unlike many artefacts, lack a narrative or a "biography" as Igor Kopytoff (1986: 66-68) characterises, before their discovery. Although attempts have been made to classify the objects in relation to societal movements, recent re-interpretations have instead rewritten the biographies of these objects. Those *rhyta* of the Panagyurishte treasure have long been assumed to be exports from the city of Lampsak, perhaps bought by the powerful Seuthes III, as the golden handiwork forged there has borne some resemblance in weight and in purity markings found on the amphora-rhyton (Vendikov 1965; Ovcharov 2003: 47). However, other examiners of the vessels' purities suggest a much closer origin, as such purity markings based upon Persian coins could be encountered across Greece, and that variations in unit-weights of some Panagyurishte *rhyta* also wholly correlate to local currency replacements to the Alexander staters (Vickers 1989). In simple terms, knowledge of these particular objects has only been promoted in perceived associations with other objects, whereas what they depict and represent appears to have been largely overlooked.

Archaeologists and classicists appear to ascribe the vessels in context to wider detectable forces, firmly placing them amongst the cutlery and gifts of the wealthy (Grant 1982: 26; Archibald 1998), whilst secretive cultic uses and users within the friezes are suspected by others. Perhaps those Greek soldiers whom we have seen mentioned, reliably or not, by Herodotus as looting the tents of Persian officers discovered the opulent *rhyta* that they had left behind - and perhaps they embraced, adopted and patriotically adapted their forms. Whilst this is hypothetical, using it only as an analogy, perhaps so too is there a tendency amongst modern academics to attempt to appropriate the (narrative-lacking) *rhyta* in order to substantiate overarching academic practices: thus, 'we take the "concrete and palpable" presence of a thing to attest to the reality of that which we have made it signify' (Thomas 1991: 176). Furthermore, Thomas's (ibid. 1991: 204) criticism of material culture's study as being too reductive particularly in reducing objects to their societal function or relationship, such as gift-giving, should highlight the necessity that the forms objects take should never be forgotten.

Whether the choice of animal in the fallow deer reflects a Hellenised ideal, or a local animal as a 'skin' with and for which Greek associations could be made, or some reasoning inexplicable to the modern mind, perhaps all that can be surely said for the deer relates to what they depict and represent: the fallow deer's importance, and the popularity of Greek mythology. Such 'academic' reproduction of the gods might be understood as Thracian expression of sought authenticity, a recreation of an "authentic" Greek mythology. Similarly, Brian Spooner (1986: 231) writing about the Oriental rug trade, explains it "is inspired by an interest in the Other and its product," but is limited to "what the Other provides… the Other must therefore be preserved in pristine form." Through the vessels and through their realisation with/to the *Other*, these mythological descriptions gain an authenticity through the material *rhyta*, but also common knowledge of this mythology would provide the correct understanding of the vessels to all who came across them.

In sum, the Panagyurishte treasures have been labelled as extravagant and exaggerated representations, '…expressing an exuberant triumph that ruptures the boundaries of taste to spread into gluttony' (Hoddinott 1981: 90, 118); a statement of the milieu of a new and powerful international community (Archibald 1998: 275), but it also embodies the last series of examples of European fallow deer *rhyta*. Following the end of the 4th century B.C.E., none seem inspired to recreate the extravagance of these vessels adorned with European fallow deer. Akin to the symbolism of the wine and blood discussed above, the animal, the representation and the slippage between them may allow for further, deeper meanings to be ascribed to them (Rappaport 1999: 261). Once the generic animal of the wild became all too familiar – or perhaps experientially familiar (see Glossary), their representations in the later Greek and Roman periods changed consonantly. Nevertheless, as shown by a ceramic *rhyton* found in Pompeii (Chapter 3 – F55), the form was still recognised in the 1st century C.E., and in the Roman Empire.

Conclusions

As described by Yannouli and Trantalidou (1999: 260), many depictions across all periods confirm the "phenotypic congruence" of the fallow deer of Greece, especially in regard to the common colouration of this deer. The importance of the apparent recognition of these deer especially when in comparison with other 'wild' animals, these authors state (*ibid.* 262), could indicate the fallow deer's role in demonstrating mankind's position in, and domination of, the natural world.

In the Late Bronze Age palaces of southern Greece and Crete, which were centres of bureaucracy, there is understandably little faunal evidence, and therefore the material culture is of greater importance for indicating fallow deer presence and their cultural impact. In particular, the role of the fallow deer is thought to have become increasingly prominent amongst faunal evidence in ritual and cultic contexts in archaic and classical sanctuaries (Yannouli and Trantalidou 1999: 262-263). While lexicological distinctions may have proven inadequate, it is the iconographic records, however, that are considered to be more informative in analysing deer significance and presence than is, so far, the archaeofaunal record in these cultic contexts (Bevan 1986: 107).

In the case-study of the Black Sea *rhyta*, it is apparent that the fallow deer were recognised, but also that they were culturally important. Whether they were the artefacts of a wealthy political leader (Archibald 1998) or a mechanism of a secretive cult (Manassero 2007), what is clear is the careful rendition of the fallow deer's form. The unambiguity shown in the vessel forms, alongside the careful captioning of the mythology being depicted, could indicate that the associations were not only sought, but were to be disseminated. Attic imitations of the Achaemenid *rhyta* were initially of an inferior quality, but they had become popular at the end of the Persian Wars in the early-5th century B.C.E., when Greek soldiers acquired similar vessels as spoils of conflict. As such, rather than having Achaemenid cultural associations, the ceramic *rhyta* of the Greeks became items laden with patriotic symbolism.

Moreover, the influence of the age-old mythology of deer and deity was to continue into and to pervade the Roman world. Earlier depictions of stag-hunts in Thrace have been long understood as causing the hunter to unexpectedly undergo a transformation by the unsuccessful hunt, with the buck itself thus acting as a catalyst and a mediator which is chased but never caught (Marazov 1998: 214). This indeed seems likely to be the basis for the Greek metamorphosis myths such as Aktaion and Kyparissos, who were to be adopted enthusiastically as Actaeon and Cuparissus by Roman writers including Ovid. So too were the associations of fallow deer with the gods and demi-gods, whether Artemis and Herakles, Diana and Hercules or the long-lived cultic mythology of the bard Orpheus. In this chapter, we have also seen developing the links between Artemis and the fallow deer which held resonance when assimilated into the Diana cult. This was particularly evident at the city of Ephesus, on the Ionian coast of what is now Turkey, an association that continues into the Roman era (see Chapter 3). Such associations, including Artemis/Diana alongside Alexander, will be found to have been revisited far away in the Renaissance and the neo-Classical phase (cf. Richardson 2012: 253; Chapter 5).

Although brief, this chapter has indicated the importance of the study of the depiction of species in this time-frame, and has also suggested a way forward. Much more comprehensive surveys of material and iconographic depictions, such as that suggested here and performed in Chapter 3, could be attempted in considerably greater comprehensiveness and depth, with this one species as the subject. However, the length, breadth and depth of all such data, the analysis and discussion would comprise a doctoral thesis in its own right. In particular, these studies should aid zooarchaeological data concerning the ‘domestication’ of deer, or whatever form of semi-domestication might be occurring, as such processes in this era and context are not directly detectable osteologically (Yannouli and Trantalidou 1999: 262-263), as seen also in the cases of other species of deer (Clutton-Brock 1981: 134).

Chapter 3 - The depiction of the Fallow Deer in the Roman and Byzantine periods

Introduction

Amongst the *rhyta* discussed in Chapter 2, an example of a fallow deer *rhyton* is evident in early 4th century B.C.E. Italy, at Apulia (Manassero 2007: 126; Figure 3:1). There were, indeed, later *rhyta,* which were similar in form to those seen in the earlier periods and at least one of these was manufactured locally to its find-spot in Pompeii (Adam and Boyd 1835: 398 – see Table 3:1: F55, cf. F75). This is one specific instance which clearly shows some continuity in *rhyton* forms and associations between ancient Greece and the Roman Empire. The purpose of this chapter is to explore the depictions of fallow deer under the Roman Empire, and to discuss variations of their visual representations, but also to consider the role and the associations of these deer in such representations. That the Roman Empire came to occupy and incorporate the areas in which fallow deer are found in the wild, in Greece and the Black Sea regions, would have implications also for the associations made with this deer. For instance, the representation of fallow deer in Roman culture, beyond their natural habitat, might reflect a concentrated effort both to depict and to export the fallow deer alongside the spread of Greek mythology.

The involvement of the Romans in the movement of the fallow deer has been accepted by zooarchaeologists, with many viable populations of fallow deer apparent amongst Roman contexts. A noteworthy example is the possible founder-population in Britain's Fishbourne Palace, where a significant number of fallow deer bones has been identified (Sykes et al. 2006; Sykes 2010b; Madgwick et al. 2013). Similarly, fallow deer appear to have been subject to comparable emparkment in Portugal (Davis and MacKinnon 2009); and also introduced into Mallorca (Valenzuela et al. 2016), and perhaps also into central Gaul at Chassenon (Miller et al. 2014: 9). Another area could possibly include Northern France, although evidence for populations is primarily that of antlers (Lepetz and Yvinec 2002). In Portugal and Mallorca, clear evidence of living populations can be demonstrated for the Roman period. The wide

distribution of fallow deer throughout the Roman Empire, both chronologically and geographically, has been demonstrated, and is shown on Figure 3:2.

Fallow deer are mentioned by Columella (*De re rustica* 9, 1) as held in parks or *vivaria* in the early Roman Empire, and Varro (*De re rustica* 3, 12.1) noted enclosures of this era in Latium as well as methods of rearing and keeping a wide range of wild animals, including deer, within them. Such emparkments appear to have been commonplace in Italy by the late 1st century B.C.E. Moreover, we know from Varro (*D.R.R.* 3, 12.2) of one especially large example in Transalpine Gaul in modern France, although its animals are not specifically named. There is, however, ostensibly little zooarchaeological evidence for any permanence of the spread of fallow deer north of the Alps until the 11th century C.E. and mostly later (Sykes 2010b; Fletcher 2011: 88; Sykes and Carden 2011; 140; Madgwick et al. 2013; Miller et al. 2014: 9). Thus, as one might expect, the representations of fallow deer in the Roman Empire appear, in general, relatively scarce north of Roman Italy and Greece. This hypothesis, that such representations remained relatively scarce to the north, will be tested here, using the following methods.

Methodology

Through a variety of methods, primarily based upon research in literary, archival and report-based material, various representations of fallow deer in the Roman Empire were collected, and the results are summarised in Table 3:1 with images also collated in an attached digital appendix. Nevertheless, the information contained within Table 3:1 is by no means comprehensive, particularly as visual identification has limited the data-collection to listing only those instances which could be confirmed as depictions of European fallow deer. Any depiction of a fallow deer, as noted before (see Chapter 1), can be limited by the gender of the deer as well as by the efforts made in its depiction: many of the idiosyncratic elements of a fallow deer are to be found in the male. Given these limitations, a sub-section entitled “non-identifiable deer and non-fallow deer” has been added, listing supportive depictions of other species, as well as other deer whose species cannot be determined. The data collated have been ranked according to location, the most relevant location, be it the place of production or, in the absence of that information, where it was found, in order to facilitate the placing

and finding of depictions within a map. However, across the range of formats, in instances where the nature of the location might reflect either the find-spot or the production-place of an artefact, information was not readily available or reliable enough to allow comparison of any two competing locations. In these cases, artefacts such as coins depicting fallow deer might reveal the spread of fallow-deer depictions, but it is only variations between depictions that have been given a geographic 'origin' in Table 3:1.

After collating, presenting and assessing the data, it will then be possible to make suggestions and draw some conclusions concerning fallow deer in regard to the depictive repertoire. The discussion will address issues such as their representation in a range of activities including, conspicuously, hunting, activities made evident both in 'factual' representation and in mythology, where this animal was associated with deities including Artemis/Diana and beings ranging from demi-gods to snakes.

Results

Of over 200 depictions from 121 locations, 91 are here deemed likely to have been attempts to represent fallow deer. Following the diffusion of the depictions over time, as shown by Maps 3:2-3:8, it would initially appear that depictions of fallow deer emanated outwards from the centre of the Roman Empire in the 1st century C.E. (Map 3:3), and were found in more far-flung regions by the end of the 4th century (Map 3:6). After the collapse of the Roman Empire, under the Byzantine Empire - beginning in the 5th century with its retreat into the Eastern Mediterranean area - depictions of the fallow deer are also seen to retreat.

Results from the total of representations of fallow deer found across the Roman Empire (Table 3:1; Map 3:1), indicate an abundance of examples from Roman Pompeii and Herculaneum. In areas where the fallow deer were apparently long established, formats embedded within architectural structures, such as the mosaics, frescoes and large sculpture of the south, are abundant. A few notable examples of representations of fallow deer have been recovered from the northern reaches of the Roman Empire, but these frequently appear in the form of portable artefacts and fine wares which may have been, and in some cases were, imported. However, this

particular sample may be skewed, in that these examples are in large part due to the unique preservation of these settlements by the eruption of Mount Vesuvius in 79 CE. Although King (2002: 417) indicates otherwise, the most frequent location for apparent examples of Roman fallow deer is to be found amongst the buried buildings of the Vesuvius eruption (See Table 3:1; Figure 3:3a-3b). Preservation on these sites is unparalleled elsewhere in Roman archaeology. They were sites where existence ended very suddenly and which provide a true example of the eponymous "Pompeii premise" with structures, humans and artefacts frozen in the moment of their internment (Binford 1981). Furthermore, the abundance of certain decorative formats (such as the mosaic, fresco and sculpture) with depictions of fallow deer often reflect processes of preservation and burial rather than the actual abundance of the animal (Ling 1998: 8). Nevertheless, the representations amongst the frescoes, mosaics and statues themselves are useful beyond their meronymic and comparative usage, with the depictions often playing a contextual role, providing a context, particularly in their use of narratives. Here this meronymic usage refers to the part-whole relation, in terms of the use of the fallow deer, or at least the aesthetic of the fallow deer and the associations that such depictions will carry, as parts of the whole (Cruse 2001: 248). As King (1985: fig. 185; 1994: 387) himself has shown, fallow deer populations are found amongst the finds from excavations in late-Roman Naples and at the Villa Settefinestre. It seems likely that their presence may also be demonstrated elsewhere.

The spread of fallow deer amongst the Roman Empire would appear to follow conquest also, with depictions in Britain, France, Germany, Hungary, Israel, Libya, Sicily, Syria and Tunisia occurring after 100 C.E. (see Figure 3:3b). With the exception of Pompeii and Herculaneum, fallow deer representations in Italy and Turkey apparently continued throughout the entire date-range but were especially frequent in the period 0-300 CE. Many of the coins (F21-F23 – see Figure 3:4), from 100-0 B.C.E., were indeed late and in use into the 1st century also. In consideration of this, two depictions, one an early Etruscan vessel dated 350-325 B.C.E. (F26; Del Chiaro 1974: 29-33 - Figure 3:5), and the other found in the mosaic at Alexandria in Egypt date 300-200 B.C.E. (F02 – see Figure 3:6), should be regarded as the earliest outliers. Following 400 C.E. and the fall of the Western Roman Empire, as might be expected, the numbers of depictions apparently decrease suddenly and the range of countries represented declines also: see Figure 3:3a-b, Map 3:6-3:8.

Of all the depictions of fallow deer in the Roman era which are visible and accessible, the repeated presence of specific narratives and themes is striking. These narratives, broadly grouped in Figure 3:8, reflect two particular themes in depiction: the hunt and mythology. The fallow deer's involvement in Greek mythology particularly involved Diana/Artemis, but also Cyparissus, Actaeon, Hercules, Telephus and Iphigenia and will be discussed after the (most popular) hunting theme – in which mythological characters themselves played a part. Some mythological scenes also show acts of sacrifice of the deer, whilst in others, the fallow makes an appearance amongst what appear as animal catalogues or otherwise as studies of animal behaviour (cf. F84).

Most frequently, the depictions show a clear and continuous predominance towards the deer as a prey animal in the hunt. Amongst these depictions (Figure 3:7), the animal acts as a common contextual element within the narrative, and these narratives regularly feature the different forms of interaction found during deer-hunting, whether these acts are of human or animal predation. Great effort has been shown to accurately depict the animals, and it would appear that what is being displayed is either for zoological and perhaps physiognomic accuracy (see Glossary), particularly centralised around deer behaviour or movement. Many of the depictions would suggest a human dominance over the inter-species interaction, or a focus on the hunting itself, in that no deer seems shown as successfully escaping. Methods of hunting and its techniques are shown with great accuracy, demonstrating the use of bow and arrow (F36), spear (F32, F58, F59, F91 [Figure 3:8]), hunting dogs (F31, F63) and netting (F37 [Figure 3:9], F88). Frequently the depiction appears to be the exact moment before capture or death. Of the hunting scenes, only a few examples (F37 [Figure 3:9], F73 [Figure 3:10], D11; D32 [Figure 3:11], D61) apparently depict anything beyond the chase and the moment of the kill. This strongly corresponds with what Ingvild Gilhus (2006: 4) describes as a widespread and varied practice of exhibiting animals that was engaged in by the Romans, an activity that came at the expense of the previously popular sacrificial acts, focusing instead on the process and performance rather than the conclusion of the act and butchery.

Concept of the Fallow Deer in the Roman Empire

Whilst the expansion and maintenance of the Empire may have been determined by the production of agriculture and natural resources of the countryside, supported indeed by grand estates, symbolic and political power came to rest in the urban areas (Meeks 1983: 14-16). However, the wild animal, as non-domesticated and irrelevant to any direct productivity of organic or agricultural power, retained a particular importance. Symbolic power of these wild animals seemingly arose through their performative use, as the slaughter of wild animals in the centre of Rome 'was considered by the Romans to be the symbol of their complete power over the universe' (Auguet 1994: 113). Many in Rome would engage in the collection of 'unapproachable' animals in order to keep them as status symbols, alongside tamed predators. Thus, the stag and buck could be incorporated into a household's gardens in the same way that the hunt of 'the wild' was transported to the centre of the Empire (Anderson 1985: 83-121; Starr 1992; Gilhus 2006: 30). A prime example of this can be seen in Herculaneum's eponymous House of the Stags (or Deer) (Figure 3:12; D28-D29; Merrill 2012: 203). Furthermore, the animal-human relationship was recast from reciprocal and inter-dependent that is more common to Greek societies, where the animal kingdom presented opportunities for human agency – to prove oneself and individuality often in the form of a rite of passage. This was transposed into a structured hierarchical formation and interpretation of the same relations, themes and narratives in the Roman Empire to a more epistemic understanding. In particular, rather than the sacrifices indicated by earlier, primarily Greek depictions of fallow deer, fallow deer for the Romans offered different opportunities.

Hunting was apparently an important rite of passage for both Greek and Roman young males with a view to their developing such moral and physical qualities as were necessary for adulthood (Isler 1978; Vidal-Naquet 1986: 106-128; Kyle 1998: 43; Barringer 2001; Hjerrild 2009: 43; Trantalidou and Masseti 2014: 72), demonstrated in a depiction of Achilles' instruction which sees him hunt fallow deer (F29 – see Figure 3:13). However, where for the Greeks the transformative nature of the hunt might appear fortuitous in providing adventure through the disorder of the natural world (Vidal-Naquet 1986: 118-122; Marazov 1998: 214), for the Romans subsequently the perception of engaging in hunting amongst one's peers could be of

more importance than actually performing such acts (Anderson 1985: 135; Gilhus 2006: 34, 122). Polybius (31.29.3-5, in Eckstein 1995: 149-150) shows us that, whilst the participation in hunting could create an honourable future leader in Roman culture, it would be pointless without the necessary display and performance of such domination (Anderson 1985: 135). Such perceptions and displays of humanity's domination over the animal were particularly important, but rather than terrain for social exclusivity of Greek cults where knowledge and narrative could be reserved to a selected few (Redfield 2012: 178; see chapter 2), for the Roman it was one of inclusivity. Through spectatorship of the wild animal in the arena and exhibition, and the dissemination of narrative and their comprehension, all were permitted to be part of a vast social incorporation. Here all were incorporated through their varying involvement and spectatorship, from Emperors to citizens, and the slave and animal through their performance (Kyle 1998: 19; Kalof 2007: 28-30).

Wild animals were now drawn from across the Empire to Rome, to demonstrate the military might and reach of Empire, and were employed in displays in a variety of fashions from the arena to the menagerie (Pliny, *Natural History* 8.16-17; Kyle 1998: 43; Epplett 2001: 217; Allen 2014: 178). In these efforts differentiation of species, such as the fallow deer, was made conspicuous, as shown in records from the period 71-63 B.C.E. Here Julius Caesar, before his acclamation as *Imperator*, when attending priestly inauguration and finally as *Pontifex Maximus* or high priest, had enjoyed a vast variety of greatly specified and recorded dishes including that of roast loins of fallow doe for an entrée dish (Bober 1999: 165). Beyond Rome, spreading such animal-collecting practices to integrate Roman (or Romanised) ideals and the importance of the centralised Empire was apparently carried out in the provinces (Futrell 2006: 8-9; Gilhus 2006: 35-36). Furthermore, collection of these ideals was central to integrating the environment and indeed the universe into Roman cosmology (cf. Ptolemy's map of the known world as trans. Berggren and Jones 2000), which became epitomised in the precision and care with which many of the mosaics depicting such animals were constructed. This careful depiction may therefore indicate the importance of the distinctiveness of the knowledge (Dunbabin 1999: 47-48; Gilhus 2006: 18), reflective again of the encyclopaedic efforts of such writers as Pliny the Elder. Moreover, rather than the careful labelling of the gods on the Black Sea *rhyta* (see Chapter 2), no such descriptions appear to have been necessary for all

but a few of the Roman depictions present on Table 3:1 (F37 [Figure 3:9]). Nevertheless, the similarities of forms, and the accuracy of their repetitious depiction particularly at Pompeii might indicate use of a 'copy-book' as a basis for many of the depictions (Appleton 1987: 185-186). Thus, in particular, on two nearly identical frescoes from Pompeii, the profile of the buck is clearly shown staring away (F54 [Figure 3:14] and F65) (Appleton 1987: 185). Such detailed, depictive information, like the animals themselves, might have been subject to distribution, allowing the conception of form, such as that of the fallow deer to spread beyond their usual contexts.

This careful collection of encyclopaedic knowledge of these animals was perhaps also stimulated by the popularity of magico-medical consumption and indeed the healthy properties of food, where the behaviour and appearance of the animal was thought to lend special properties to their products (Gilhus 2006: 20). Importantly, however, no more than five examples have been found to demonstrate processes of extracting any form of product or ingredient from the deer (F37 [Figure 3:9], F73 [Figure 3:10], D11; D32 [Figure 3:11], D61). In three instances, men are shown drawing their knives down the carcasses of already partially butchered deer, which hang by the hind limbs from trees, with a container below to collect the blood (F37 [Figure 3:9], F73 [Figure 3:10], D32 [Figure 3:11]).

Although differences in the men's ages and in the stages of butchery are evident, the similarities between the three depictions and their format indicate a preferred method of butchery. In the fourth example, a silver dish from the late 4th century Sevso Treasure found in Hungary (F37 [Figure 3:9]), at the centre of the dish a buck dangles upside down beneath two other bucks in the process of being captured, accompanied by inscriptions of a location and the recipient (Bennett & Mango 1994: 77-78). It would seem likely that many, if not all these depictions were very personal to their owners, one (F72) being directly worn and the dish from the Sevso Treasure (F37 [Figure 3:9]) apparently presented to a specific individual.

For the most part, butchery, as with the death of the hunted animal, appears markedly scant in the representations collected here; unlike Roman depictions of poultry and fish (Marzano 2013: 49; Ekroth 2014: 331), the depiction of the hunted animal

following death is seemingly absent from Roman representations. While occasionally the moment of death may be inferred as also in Greek depictions of animal sacrifice (with the animal shown about to be pierced by a knife, or even stunned), the actual violence inflicted is seldom shown (Durrand 1989: 90-91; van Straten 1995: 106; Gilhus 2006: 118).

Similarly, notable products that could have been derived from the deer, such as the antlers, are not readily visible in any of the representations seen, even though archaeological finds might have led us to expect their depiction. Recently, for instance, a semi-ground fallow deer antler recovered from a Roman well at Scole Dickleburgh in Norfolk, might indicate some medicinal use (Sykes 2010b).

Other examples may include antlers recorded at the Imperial Residence of the Western Roman Empire in Trier, and antlers found both at Witham Romano-Celtic temple in Essex and those from the Castellum at Valkenburg may have been worked in a similar fashion (Hilzheimer 1927; Prummel 1977; Luff 1999: 218; Allen 2014: 181). As explained in Pliny's *Natural History* (8.41.101), antlers were considered to contain a healing property, and upon burning could be used to treat epilepsy, but no similar mention is made as to the properties of venison. Perhaps, as indicated by Walter Houston (1998), the original value of the meat derived from deer had no symbolic value, with deer in respect to their meat being regarded at best as 'honorary cattle', and the meat itself seeming less valuable than that of other wild animals. On the other hand, rather than acting always in a specifically functional role as a 'risk buffer' for failures in agriculture and ensuing famine (Grant 1981: 205-207),[14] venison was not always regarded as a foodstuff (Hamilakis 2003: 239; Allen 2014). Like cattle, the value of the deer could have been in their secondary products; however, these were products which could be obtained without the same intensive husbandry and were ones which allow experiential value by way of hunting. Indeed,

[14] An argument that Martyn Allen (2015: 175) criticises as a traditional 'economic archaeological' interpretation 'where animals are cleaved from the social realm and their remains are limited to answering a select range of time-honoured research questions.'

what is apparently pervasive in the representations are the performances of the hunt, or the predator, rather than the actual conclusion of the interactions wherein the deer would outrun its pursuers or be seized and disassembled. Such ambiguous moments in which either eventuality could occur, would appear outwardly more important than either conclusion (Douglas 1969: 40); the performance of the activity and participation in it was, we may presume, highly regarded. The many representations of deer caught in these ambiguous and liminal moments, compared with the near-absence of venison or of antler use in depictions might embody the importance of such moments with deer. It may be that venison (and presumably prepared meat from other large animals) was considered an inappropriate subject for artistic representation in the Roman period. Bearing in mind the representation of dead fish and plucked chickens on mosaics, it would seem that the materials taken from deer, for instance, were not considered suitable subject-matter rather than not valuable or recognisable enough to stand alone semiotically. Certainly, deer themselves are represented in various media of Roman art, and the referential embodiment of the deer, their associations, and hunter-deer narrative made them valued enough to transport across the Empire.

Animals, Gods and Humans

In mythological terms, the interaction between the fallow deer and the cult of the Roman pantheon, is manifested chiefly in relation to the Graeco-Roman association of the animal, firstly when companion to the Greek Goddess Artemis, and subsequently in her assimilation with Roman Diana, as discussed in Chapter 2**.** In particular, repeated themes which are implied in depiction of fallow deer comprise numerous interactions between gods and humans, where the deer acts as a mediator between the two parties.

Four Greek narratives known to us from Roman sources are especially visible, these being the intended sacrifice of Iphigenia; the deer-human relationship of Cyparissus; the demi-god Hercules and the Ceryneian or Cerynitian deer, and finally the transformation of Actaeon. In a fifth thread, two notable frescoes (F30 [Figure 3:15], F56) and a cameo (F76 [Figure 3:16]) buried at Pompeii and Herculaneum clearly depict the baby Telephus and his doe alongside his father, Hercules, with the child

shown suckling from the doe and, on another of the frescoes, shown feeding a speckled doe (F56) (Bragantini et al. 1983: 187; de Carolis 2001: 64). Michael Grant (1971: 155) has suggested that the depiction at the Herculaneum Basilica, where Telephus is suckling, bears a certain familiarity with the origins of Romulus and Remus, the founders of Rome who were reputedly raised by a she-wolf, even though here Telephus is suckling on a hunted animal rather than on a deerstalking predator.[15] Likewise, the closeness of this relationship was continued further in the family according to a frieze at Pompeii (F49 [Figure 3:17]), which depicts the close relationship between Cyparissus, son of Telephus, and his tame buck. This buck was again significant, as its accidental death at the hands of Cyparissus during a hunt led to his grief-caused transformation into the cypress tree (Balch 2008: 117). Such transformations can also be seen in the case of Actaeon, another hunter featured amongst the depictions (F83 [Figure 3:18]; D13; D47; D48), who becomes transformed into a deer and then killed by his own hunting hounds, after witnessing Artemis/Diana bathing (Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, 3; Rigoglioso 2009: 95).

Similarly, in depictions of Iphigenia set to be sacrificed for the hunting crimes of her father, the intended victim has her body switched by Artemis/Diana for a fallow deer (cf. F52 [Figure 3:19]-53; D1) and so survives. Later, through her travels was instigated the founding of the cult dedicated to Diana at Nemi (near Aricia), and she herself becomes an agent of the goddess (Cato, *Origines* 3: 4; Burkert 1985: 151). Finally, as part of his labours, Herakles is himself depicted catching the hind of Ceryneia, grabbing the antlers of the doe that was sacred to Artemis (F79 [Figure 3:20], F87). In all of these narratives, the frequently depicted fallow deer appear to have a transformative effect on the humans with whom they engage, but they too were ostensibly of Greek origin. In each case the humans are put in danger through their interactions with fallow deer, or with the forces that guard them; thereafter they are chastened in character, taught humility or made timid in various ways.

[15] One representation shows Romulus and Remus and the she-wolf surrounded by the prey of the deer (D36; Malraux and Parrot 1970: 6-7).

Such contagious and transferable timidity was not exclusive to human-animal interactions, as is shown in the 1st century C.E., in the probably Flavian writings of Pliny the Elder, detailing an account of a large hunting-dog given to Alexander the Great (Pliny, *Nat. Hist*. 8.61.149; Jones 1963). Here the Roman writer, recounting with a Roman slant an event which supposedly took place centuries earlier, tells how a hound, memorably gifted to Alexander by the king of Albania to entertain him during his conquest, was a beast of 'unusually large size'. This gave delight to his owner who set him first on bears, boars 'and last of all, fallow deer (*damae*)'. Unfortunately, the hound became weakened to a state of complete apathy and atrophy; such alleged laziness and cowardice offended Alexander so much that he ordered its destruction. Another hound was duly provided by the king of Albania, with playful chastening of Alexander by its former owner, accompanied by the instruction that Alexander should set it upon more worthy opponents such as a lion or elephant. The second hound then showed both the ferocity to dispatch a lion and the intelligence to outwit and bring down an elephant. Here, we see clearly displayed the importance of environmental factors on behaviour (see French 1994: 97): the first hound exemplified the 'weakening' of its character simply by association with such supposedly 'weak' species as the deer.

The interaction with deer served in these Roman narratives, to threaten the Greek characters (if indirectly in the case of Alexander through his Albanian dog) with languor, seemingly depleting the agents and descendants of Greek mythology through their sheltered local environs. As these instances melded nature and culture, Roman cosmology would apparently espouse a certain view of the world where societal and individual development is associated with the fauna. This was perhaps a form of ecological determinism which was likewise adopted from the Greeks (Thommen 2012: 5; Hughes 2014: 62-63). Taking this wider view, it could be argued that Rome and its Empire developed through the actions and cunning of somewhat divisive individuals, a process seen as reflected in those legendary Greek narratives that saw the physical and mental forms of humans as malleable. Following the supremacy of Athens in Attic cosmology, such determinism, through ecology, allowed for a justification of supremacy for the culture of Rome and the 'natural' right to rule.

These narratives, heavily influenced by Greek mythology were reinforced by those Greek aristocrats, scholars and the like, who were present in Rome and were used in order to secure and control a newly subjugated Greece. Greek skills appear to have suitably impressed the Roman conquerors, and this the classical historian Anderson (1985: 83-84) suggests as having led to a fully realised hunting prowess in Roman society (see also Kyle 1998: 188). By way of such hunters, narratives seen in Chapter 2 as common in Greek mythology became better and more widely known, particularly those of the hero cults and their relations with the gods. Whilst the struggles of heroes descended from gods, such as Greek Herakles and Theseus, proved popular, the parallels between the gods also transcended cultural and linguistic differences, and this caused the Romans to be as readily to 'adopt', or assimilate, traditional Greek mythology and iconography (Rives 2007: 142); thus, Herakles, for instance, became the Romans' favourite, Hercules. Similarly, ritual practices appear to have been adopted, most notably the libation-related practices, as shown on F55 and F75, the first a *rhyton* found at Pompeii (Adam and Boyd 1835: 398) which bears more than slight similarity to *those rhyta* found in the Black Sea region and made several centuries prior to this (Manassero 2007).

In Greek culture and particularly on the Ionian coast at Ephesus, we saw in Chapter 2 that Artemis, goddess of the hunt, was predominant. Both she and her associated European fallow deer were prevalent there in the wild. This was an association that was encouraged and apparently centralised during the Roman occupation, perhaps not only to avoid insurrection but better to incorporate the people, as the 'centrality of Artemis was part of what it meant to be Ephesian' (Rives 2007: 117). The establishment and indeed the fame of the cult of 'Diana of the Ephesians' led to its mention in the New Testament in the later 1st century C.E. (*The Acts* 19, 27-8, 34-5). Certainly, the prominence of depictions of deer in this region within local governance cannot be understated, with a wide variety of their depictions appearing on coinage from Roman-era Ephesus (F12-F25; D21-D25): most appear to be European fallow deer. Most frequently, too, Artemis is depicted on one side of the coin, and the fallow deer on the other, while amongst other symbols of the Empire, such as Roman chariots and the now Divine Emperor himself appear (e.g. F13 [Figure 3:21]). On the later 2nd century 'Parthian monument' commemorating Emperor Lucius Verus and celebrating the end of the Parthian war (F11 [Figure 3:22]), a chariot is depicted being

drawn by a fallow deer buck and driven by one who is presumed to be Artemis,[16] apparently credited here with the victory. Whilst this slab is now in Vienna, in origin it derives from the 'Parthian monument' built in the vicinity of Ephesus's Temple of Artemis itself. Furthermore, only a few depictions of deer in this general geographic area appear not to be fallow deer. Those exceptions, moreover, show generically rendered deer, appearing amongst scenes of human-animal combat and scenes of natural predation which are familiar and common in other regions where fallow deer are not present (D2; D4; D11; D14; D16; D20; D26; D33; D75-D77). Thus, the fallow deer may be considered the species local to this area at, and perhaps before, this time. In general, the depictions of fallow deer at Ephesus appear to have a chronologically even distribution throughout the Roman period, but it is noticeable that coins become standardised and less localised after the 1st century (D22-D25; Mathiesen 1986: 413-429; Konuk 2002: 168; Neustadt et al. 2000: 611).

Indeed, fallow deer whilst popular, appear no more prevalent in zooarchaeological samples from the Greek mainland and the Aegean than they had been when the prevalent deer species overall before the Roman conquest (MacKinnon 2014: 161). Nonetheless, their appearance in Italy, Iberia, various western Mediterranean islands and in North Africa, both in archaeology and iconography, is indicative of their importance (Pascal et al. 2006; Davis and MacKinnon 2009). The representation of fallow deer alongside depictions of the goddess of the hunt and of the Emperor indicates that not only was the connection with Greek Artemis tolerated, but was indeed encouraged within Romanised Greece (Rives 2007: 153). Artemis (or Diana), the Emperor, the fallow deer and Imperial culture can all be especially witnessed, encapsulated in the depiction on the Parthian monument to Lucius Verus (F11 [Figure 3:22]); they also occur on the breast-plate of the Prima Porta statue of Augustus, where what appears again to be an antlered buck is ridden by the Goddess of the Hunt (F81; Price 1984: 158-159; Edmondson 2009: 304). Such an archetypal depiction as

[16] This is often referred to as the Artemis-Selene slab, as the chariot is accompanied by the evening star and Night supposedly suggesting Artemis' identification with Selene, the moon goddess – just as Helios, her brother, was identified with Apollo (Price 1984: 158-159).

was originally displayed at Ephesus is not only a celebration of the life and military success of an Emperor, but encapsulates the intimacy of the Emperor with the 'other' gods. It also indicates the conspicuous emergence of this deer in the developing Empire.

The connection between the fallow deer and Greece apparently continued in an association made between Diana and her worship in Roman culture (Fischer-Hansen and Poulsen 2009). But the connection between Roman Diana and Greek Artemis was not necessarily one of conquest or colonised hybridisation, as their association apparently predated the invasion of Greece. The legend of *Iphigenia in Tauris*, used by Euripides and referred to in Chapter 2, perhaps drew on a common source in Herodotos's story of the Taurian Parthenos (*Histories*, 4, 103) earlier in the 5th century B.C.E., whom we saw in Chapter 2 was a goddess referred to as *elaphochthonos* [deer-slaying]. Meanwhile, in Italy, Diana had been adopted around the 6th century B.C.E. at Lake Nemi near Aricia in the Alban Hills, south of Rome (Warrior 2006: 5). Strabo (5.3, 228) noted in the very early 1st century C.E. that the Sanctuary of Diana of Nemi was called 'Scythian' because of its custom of a ritualised human sacrifice, made famous in *The Golden Bough* (Frazer [1890] 1994). Indeed, one of the many myths of the foundation of Rome begins with an image of Artemis Tauropolos, a talisman perhaps borne alongside Iphigenia when she fled the Crimea to set up that cult (Romano 2006: 75). That this talisman was later brought to Nemi in Latium has been attributed to the founding of the Hellenised cult of Diana in the early Roman era (Wiseman 2004: 124-125). This cult is thought later to have become central to securing the supremacy of Rome, as exemplified in a newly created temple to Diana on the Aventine hill in Rome on the occasion when a Latin attendant was able to prevent, through deception, a Sabine woman from sacrificing her cow (Ogilvie 1979: 47-48; Beard et al 1998: 1.5d). The sacrifice of the heifer prophesied to install as the ruling ethnicity of Rome the very civilisation which was responsible for ritually sacrificing it, became an important anecdote that was subsequently employed to justify the history and conquest of the region by the Romans (Wiseman 2004: 57).

Additionally, the temple to Diana on the Aventine hill, according to other accounts, was established by King Servius Tullius to unite the Latin peoples, with temple laws

which ‘subsequently served as a paradigm for the regulation of Romanizing cults in provincial colonies’ (Ando 2009: 114-115). The laws of the temple to Diana were later applied to temples in Greece, Italy and Gaul citing the laws of the “Temple on the Aventine Hill” – specified in the phrase ‘this temple shall have the same laws as Diana at Rome on the Aventine’ (in MacMullen 1981: 13). They were further reinforced by the myth concerning the guile shown against the Sabine woman. Thus, the implicated supremacy initiated by trickery of the temple attendant would spread along with the growing Roman Empire, and would sustain the original prophecy. However, the flexibility shown towards most religious worship as well as the amalgamation and assimilation of many coinciding gods in local provinces allowed for the newly conquered to continue many of their practices, even when these indigenous people had become otherwise dispossessed (Rives 2007: 128, 143). By incorporating a cult familiar to Ephesus even before the Roman conquest of Greece, and later adopting its newly associated imperial connotations, the deity Artemis was assimilated with and in effect emerged as Diana. As such her assimilation has been theorised as expressly instigating a cultural compatibility with local civilisations (Palmer 1974: 73-80). In the case of Diana, many similar goddesses of the wild were assimilated into an increasingly centralised Roman cult, often retaining the hunting accoutrements of both. Aside from those that were related to Artemis in Greece (Yannouli and Trantalidou 1999), the original “earth mother” in the eastern Aegean, Cybele in Anatolia (Hjerrild 2009: 44), Anāhitā in the Persian regions (Plutarch *Artaxerxes*, Isis in Egypt (Curl 2005: 68), 2008: 319; Tacitus [1830]: iii. 62; Hjerrild 2009: 41-50), and Sirona in central and east Gaul and the Germanic regions (Lersch 1863: 22-23).

In both narratives of the founding of the temple, be it concerning the Roman King or the sacrifice of the Heifer, the cult of Diana and its rituals were employed as a means of uniting the Latin peoples of Rome in federalised cults. Whilst the original function before the 1st century C.E. appeared forgotten after the original conquests were completed and the Roman Empire was fused, the role of incorporation and universality had in effect become specifically important to the continuation of the cult. Where other cults became exclusive, that of Diana was left as “one of the few cults which slaves could attend without polluting the proceedings” and a festival was

held in her name which provided a summer holiday for slaves (Ogilvie 1979: 93-94).[17]

However, the popularity of Diana and Artemis appears to have waned in the 1st century C.E., with even the wondrous Temple of Artemis at Ephesus[18] suffering contemporary neglect, as witnessed by temple staff being dismissed and repairs postponed (*ibid*). Similarly, as shown by Maps 3:2-3:4, the depictions of fallow deer become increasingly diverse in the period following the 1st century, with their depictive distribution apparently spreading out further from urban areas and indeed towards the edges of the Empire. However, the decline of the Diana cult did not result from the impact of any central proclamation, but rather seems to reflect a decline in attendance and worship as Roman culture became embedded (MacMullen 1981: 107). Nonetheless, Diana-worship had again increased by the 3rd century C.E, but had become renewed and centralised upon the involvement of Diana within hunting practices and also of women, an association that lasted (Tschacher 1999: 234-239; Tuczay 2015: 1788). This was due at least in part to the popularity of hunting amongst the elite in that era (Aymard 1951) and is visible in the later entries of Table 3:1, where deer are seen to frequent villas and high-status sites, in contrast with their previous representation in Greek narratives. This development may, however, have been rooted more deeply in certain, unusual political movements of the 2nd century of which the evidence is well-documented and described (Turcan 1996; Turcan 2000; Speller 2003).

Indeed, the cult initiated by the Emperor Hadrian (117-138 CE) around his lover, Antinous had substantial effects throughout the Hadrianic Empire. The Bithynian Antinous, who died a youth in C.E. 130, had been Hadrian's 'Greek' hunting partner

[17] Such was the universal welcome provided, that following the death of a worshipper of Diana and Antinous at Lanuvium, near Lake Nemi, representatives from the temple were sent to arrange and fund all funerary costs and even if the body of a slave could not be retrieved from an uncooperative owner, the temple would commission an image of the deceased so that the funerary rites could be conducted (Rives 2007: 125).

[18] Understood to be one of the "Seven Wonders of the World" and much visited on that account (Rives 2007: 135).

in his tours, and parallels between the Greek Artemis and Antinous appear to have been expressed (Speller 2003: 122). Hadrian, according to archaeological findings at his villa at Tivoli, must also have been intrigued by the cult of Artemis in eastern Mediterranean lands as seen amongst his collection of religious curiosities. They included a rare depiction of the many-breasted Artemis who was evident at Ephesus (Turcan 1996: 256). Following Antinous's tragic death in the Nile, a strong association was made between him and the goddess of the hunt, and a cult worshipping both the Diana/Artemis figure and the great hunter Antinous can be subsequently witnessed at Lanuvium, in Italy. This newly formed hunter-based aspect of the cult is known to have had temples at Mantinea and possible worship at the Villa of Herodes Atticus at Era, Kynauria in Greece (Price 1984: 68; Meyer 1991: 28; Chow 1992: 67; MacMullen and Lane 1992: 66-67; Turcan 2000: 152).[19] A relief of Antinous as Silvanus in Lanuvium shows not only that Antinous became godlike through such associations during his lifetime (Vout 2006: 37), but also that any hunter could find a spiritual ally in a fellow young hunter through Antinous, rather than in a dangerous, mysterious and capricious mistress of the hunt.

Even before its renewal as a hunter-centric cult, the favour of Diana/Artemis was particularly sought by those Romans who had to engage with the natural world, be it as bear-keepers (Rives 2007: 124), woodsmen of the Germanic regions (ibid: 81) or, indeed, women in childbirth (Ogilvie 1979: 26). Although earlier classical academics have often assumed that hunting was disapproved of, that it was the terrain of slaves and freedmen (Orth 1916: 562) or of those individuals with access to horses and herds (Aymard 1951: 29) or only of those influenced by Greek culture (Anderson 1985: 83), more recently such presumptions have been criticised. Classicist Carin Green (1996: 258), in her magisterial work on the cult of Diana of Nemi (near Aricia), labelled this "a systematic misinterpretation of Greek influence on Roman writers". Similarly, Walter Burkert (1985: 64) has regarded as especially mistaken confusions by earlier

[19] However, as Gordon (in Perry 2011: 506) notes that the connection at Lanuvium between Diana and Antinous might just be a matter of timing, as the society was founded around the time that Antinous died.

scholars between gods and the animals' ontological selves, whereby each wild animal could be a totemic manifestation of the associated deities. That Antinous was deemed worthy of the attention provided to Emperors and Artemis (F16-F18), illustrates the strength of the association and manifestations made. Particularly relevant in regard to Artemis/Diana and 'her' animals, their association was previously understood by 20th century academics to have been one of parity: thus, beast was regarded as effectively the representation of the god or even as a bodily manifestation. This was proposed as part of an evolutionary religious schema verging towards monotheism (cf. Durkheim 1909; cf. Cornford [1912] 1957: 91; Harrison [1912] 2010: 125; Reinach 1924). Burkert (1985: 64-66) contests this associative parity, as being an incorrect parallel attested as a consequence of Christian theology regarding sacrifice and the incorporation of divinity through the Mass, a fallacy which was subsequently to be repeatedly applied in interpretations of classical literature. A similar argument was, for instance, pursued by Jean-Louis Durand (1989: 87-88), Stanley Stowers (1995: 297-298) and Ingvild Gilhus (2006: 2-4, 118, 197) with reference to the later Christian understanding and reinterpretation of classical Greek and Roman texts, and particularly regarding sacrifice and martyrdom based upon the sacrifice of Christ. Currently, the preferred reasoning is that the animals allowed actions through which the goddess could be invoked, but that where the Greeks focused upon animal sacrifice (Burkert 1985: 65), the Romans "desacralized" the form of the animal in favour of the human. Although "to sacrifice" translates in religious terms as "to make sacred" (Carter 2003: 2), the movement of the Greeks, continuing through the Romans and increasing with the Christians, away from the sacrifice of the human body towards the sacrificed animal body and finally towards the symbolic sacrifice of Jesus, thus sees all bodies sacralised at different and often contradicting points along the way (Snyder 1991: 14-15; Gilhus 2006: 4).

Thus the animal came to be understood in the Roman era as what Lévi-Strauss (1962: 127-128) names "chiffres" (cyphers), being "good to think [with]" and "also good to feel" (Gilhus 2006: 4). This theory holds that, acting as points of intersection, animals allowed humans to engage with the natural world as well as with the gods, but that they furthermore display human, and indeed Roman, superiority through their idealised forms. For the ancient Greeks, the role of the hunt was, rather, a non-sacrificial sacrifice, a thank-offering and a precaution against the wild gods, rather

than an act to indicate superiority (Wilkins and Hill 2006: 108), but also one that allowed for the individual to assert himself through nature (Vidal-Naquet 1986: 122). Unlike animal sacrifice during the Greek and other early pastoral societies, where valuable domesticated animals and their sacrifice had apparently provided agriculturalists and land-owners with a 'power' embedded with economic production (Stowers 2001: 97), the wild animals with which Roman Diana was associated were not of any such quantitative value. Instead, for the Romans, taking on the Greek 'assertion' of the selfhood through the hunt, the sacrifice and display of forms, both in legend and depiction, appear to have been deeply implicated in the imperialistic display of power and order over the natural world (Vidal-Naquet 1986: 118-122).

Prominent amongst the depictions of fallow deer from Roman contexts are instances where inter-species forms and boundaries are violated, whereby engagement with the natural world thus allowed a certain corporeal malleability and even metamorphosis (cf. F52 [Figure 3:19], F83 [Figure 3:18]). Those who transgressed the forms (in the cases of humans becoming animals, as will be seen in that of Actaeon, for instance) rarely did so of their own accord; instead, the transformation frequently was precipitated by supernatural powers as a reductive punishment or as a means of salvation, where the soul of the human was hidden within the form of an animal (Riddehough 1959: 203; Gilhus 2006: 78). Generally, the transformation diminished the individual, but often traits and prior dispositions would surface in the transformations,[20] being "a complex combination of change and continuity" (Barkan 1986: 25). In a society used to sacralising the human body, the Roman cosmological understanding of these Greek myths apparently exhibited acceptable alternatives for human sacrifice by way of an animal sacrifice.

We saw that Iphigenia's salvation when threatened with her father's sacrificial knife came in the form of such a transformation (F52 [Figure 3:19], F53). It is generally witnessed as being one of ancient literature's archetypes for metamorphosis as an act

[20] Especially visible in the bloodthirsty Lycaon who, attempting to kill a god and become a cannibal when finally transformed into a wolf, 'is what he was before' (Bynum 2001: 169).

of salvation by a god (Zeitlin 2011; von Glinski 2012: 17). Actaeon's literal transformation into a deer acted as a punishment, however, and, in contrast to Iphigenia, quickly induced the death of the former human. Such a harsh punishment for the hunter Actaeon comes for having seen Diana/Artemis nude, and thus violating her virginity, whilst Iphigenia's salvation via replacement protects the virgin (Frazer 1921: 3.30). These narratives popular in Roman mythology were originally Greek, and it is notable that in both these cases a palmated deer is seemingly depicted being killed in order to protect virginity.

In the first case, an act of trickery was involved in switching the virginal Iphigenia with a fallow deer for sacrifice, whilst the other is in effect an erasure of the individual whose memory of the event threatened the virginal element of the mistress of the hunt. Furthermore, in Actaeon's ignoble end, within the narrative itself the destruction of the transformed hunter at the teeth of his own hounds confirms the advantage of the human form as well as the determinism present in the natural and cultured world (Gilhus 2006: 79-81). Actaeon's inability to communicate removes him from the ability to command his dogs, though he nevertheless "makes a sound which, though not human, is still one no deer could utter, and fills the heights he knows so well with his mournful cries" (Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 3, 141). Although his death was possibly seen by the Greeks, at least, as a result of his hubris in displaying notable pride and having so diligently and so ironically trained the dogs to kill deer on sight, the action of Diana/Artemis erases the transgression of the hunter through his incorporation into the natural world: his trespass 'infects' him with the natural world. His end, caused not by the transformation alone, but by his well-trained, yet over-zealous hounds, perhaps reflects an allegory for the greedy hunter. Rather than reflecting merely the luck of the hunt, such 'greedy hunter' myths and narratives exemplify perceived impropriety in moral behaviour, wherein the hunter defrauds the natural world through overwhelming techniques that guarantee success (Ziker 2003: 350-351; Broz and Willerslev 2012). Instead of a direct punishment, the transformation of Actaeon acts as a catalyst, revealing the morality that should be expected of the hunter, as one who should neither trespass nor be too voracious in his practices. That the importance of this morality in strengthening self-discipline over such metaphorically sexualised hunting could be applied to martiality but also to civic

duty, reveals the central role that navigating the nature/culture divide had in ancient Mediterranean cultures (Hjerrild 2009: 43), here both Greek and Roman.

That this divide is also imbued with sexualised interactions or transgressions, might be further seen in the inter-species displays of nurturing. At least two frescoes appear to display females feeding a fawn in a manner suggestive of breast-feeding (D49, D58), but where the roles are reversed, the human depicted is that of a male (namely Telephus; F30 [Figure 3:15], F76 [Figure 3:6]). Whilst the females who feed the deer have not been successfully identified, it is assumed that they are potentially mythical characters (Pomarède et al. 2006: 60; Hunt 2008: 154; Harden 2014: 38). A similar theme can be seen in depictions of Diana/Artemis: whilst the goddess is not shown nourishing and feeding deer, frequently the deer are seen peering towards the goddess and occasionally interacting in unusual ways. In some the goddess appears to be riding two fallow bucks (F77; F81), and in others handles the deer affectionately (F47; F72). In two instances (F82; D53), both statues, Diana or a maenad carry a small deer under-arm: this is often thought to be a fawn, but perhaps its size alludes more to the 'supra-normal' form (here expressed in the enhancement of her aspect rather than in physicality) that the goddess is seen to enjoy both being and inflicting on others (Barringer 1995: 90-91).

Another depicted narrative (F49 [Figure 3:17]; D37; D52), that of the youthful hunter Cyparissus, which concludes with a human transfiguration following the death of a fallow deer, appears to contain many of the elements manifested in Actaeon's downfall, and he too ultimately 'loses his voice' in consequence of his metamorphosis. However, this instance of transformation was not initiated by divine power alone, but instead the strength and relationship of a young Greek hunter and his tame male deer are central to the transformation. In this particular narrative, the hunter accidentally kills his buck. His mourning and guilt see him request Apollo, who was twin to Artemis/Diana, that he be allowed to mourn eternally (Ovid, *Metamorphoses,* 10); this request is fulfilled and Cyparissus undergoes a transformation into the eponymous cypress tree. This was a narrative that appears to have been popular and well-distributed in the Roman period, for reasons beyond the simple association with the fallow deer (Cameron 2004: 186). In at least one instance from the Roman Mediterranean area, the cervid was depicted clearly as a fallow deer

buck (F49 [Figure 3:17]); since the young hunter was the son of Telephus, himself weaned by a deer, an inexorable link into the Greek mythology of Herakles is again validated, and a fallow deer may frequently be pivotal, though not necessarily active, in the relations.

In the case of Cyparissus, the origin of the deer (here, presented by Apollo) acts as a rite of passage for the boy, but also marks him as favoured by the god. In this respect, being the recipient of such a gift from a god anoints him, but indeed removes him from the human world: he enters a liminal space or state (see Glossary), leading inexorably to his final transformation. Not only can such gift-giving practices manifest the opening of a relationship and later define the relationship, they can moreover differentiate and, indeed, create the parties involved (Strathern 1999: 344; Carrier 1995: 35). Furthermore, Cyparissus in his remorse proves his absolute devotion to his gift, and consequently becomes eligible for a further gift from Apollo. In his embracing this devotion, and perhaps particularly when overcome with mourning, the devotion itself ostensibly becomes a form of reciprocation (von Glinski 2012: 30), and this in theory fulfils the obligation to reciprocate (Mauss 1990: 29). It would seem that the mourning shown in this narrative demonstrates the power of grief for the sufferer, expressing "the inability to go on as who and what they were – through matter's transition into a different life form" (Zamir 2011: 444). His internal incorporation leads to his bodily incorporation. As such, the whole procedure that transforms Cyparissus from human to tree, via deer-keeper and later accidental murderer, resembles a definitive rite of passage for the hunter.

This rite of passage, and particularly the process of separation, liminality and incorporation (van Gennep 1960: 11 – see Glossary), might be seen when provided with a deer by a god, the action thus separates the boy from others of his age who engage in similar gift-giving with mentors and powerful male, but human, figureheads in their lives. As such, the gift from Apollo marks the boy as worthy of attention and reinforces any prior relationship, but it also removes him from ordinariness, a preliminal rite before the attainment of extraordinariness. In being the carer for the deer and later its murderer, Cyparissus undergoes two transitions within liminal rites, whereby his responsibility and his later activities shape the roles that he engages in. Finally, this deer-hunter joins the natural world, an incorporation or post-liminal rite,

by merging and becoming homogenised and dispersed within the cosmos.[21] Here these rites of passage prove to be a route for a civilised mortal to attain immortality; however, it comes simultaneously at great loss to the hunter's agency. Furthermore, the deer acts as both counterpart and companion for the boy, as well as a catalyst encouraging the young hunter towards behaviour that strengthens the connection, and later heightens the loss. Whereas Actaeon suffered, Cyparissus's mourning negated his act of accidental self-destruction, and in such mourning he had truly incorporated the gift: his request is not for such suffering to end, but only for it to be prolonged. In the case of Cyparissus, his narrative "not only identifies with the ability of matter to outlive a particular lost entity, but he registers the loss of a particular tactile and olfactory constitution of living matter, the matter that perhaps only an animal, or perhaps only this animal could fully take in" (Zamir 2011: 444). In embracing the fallow deer completely, Cyparissus had reciprocated the gift of the god. He was therefore to be rewarded correspondingly with the gift of eternal mourning and near-complete loss of self, transformed as he was into a tree whose sap appears to weep slowly from the trunk. As what van Gennep calls a "complete scheme", the opening rites in such rites of passage impel the relationship onwards. Significantly, however, they are perceived as dangerous should they result in failure or faltering; they allow the demonstration of agency by actors in such transitional states, even if these practices appear to be forced upon those who engage in them (Douglas 1969: 96).

As in the case of Actaeon, an apparent warning is provided to the over-eagerness of hunters in Cyparissus's narrative. Nonetheless, unlike the voracious hunter, the latter's anguish, ancestry and nurture lead to an alternative conclusion: the suffering is ratified in nature rather than erased by it. In contrast, it is Actaeon's masculinity and the threat it poses in penetrating the inner sanctum of Artemis/Diana's femininity, which leads to his transformation. His masculinity penetrating the virginal element was regarded in some versions as an allegory for sought physical union and sometimes rape; it leads him to suffer a different incorporation, one that erases the

[21] See Claude Lévi-Strauss' (1961: 373-380) fevered imagining of the movement of Augustus into true godhood, his *apotheosis*, whereby nature seemed to him to overrun the Roman Empire.

transgression (Martindale 1993: 61-62; Rigoglioso 2009: 95). The effect of the transition on his intellectual capabilities and 'exteriority' can similarly be regarded as a rite of passage (Culianu 1987: 77-80), during which he loses all attributes of the human condition, ending his social existence and life whilst continuing biologically to be alive. Fully realised by later medieval poets, this paradox through depictions of Actaeon could serve as a demonstration of a common truth: "the two means of learning about the external world of nature and the internal world of the soul" (Culianu 1987: 77). Yet for Actaeon, his incorporation into the natural world was short-lived, as his previously greedy practices quickly led to his destruction. In Ovid's version, Actaeon may rather be seen as the victim of rape, for: "the only rape is the rending of his body which Diana herself instigates, a powerful displacement of the common sequence" (Martindale 1993: 61). Similarly, in the earlier Greek version of the myth, the nude Artemis did not feature in the narrative or in art, but instead it was the boasting as to his hunting prowess alone that led to his transformation, a theme common to all variations of the story. This boasting, sometimes manifested in the skill of his hounds, can therefore in all versions be considered as the cause of his death. The Greek aspiration for hunting prowess - and the consequence of "boasting of the hunt" - was exemplified in Chapter 2, in the character of Agamemnon, killing a deer and setting in motion those events that would lead to the sacrifice of his daughter Iphigenia (Hughes 2014: 91).

One reason for the popularity of these mythical narratives in the Roman period may be the fact that each young Roman would undergo similar rites of passage, whether in tuition, manhood and womanhood or in hunting, and would know of the intrinsic danger (through misconduct or through error) to identity during the transitional state, could be (Douglas 1969: 96). Even the mighty demi-god Hercules, after having caught the swift Ceryneian deer as part of his Labours (cf. F87, D34), in another rite of passage, is forced to beg for mercy from the wrath of Artemis, having been manipulated into this position (Bergman 1997: 83). Iphigenia's intended, though mythical, sacrifice has been identified, too, as forming an archetype for maturing girls in their own rite of passage, where the exchange of places "with sacred animals emblematize their detachment from normal society during their period of transition" (Johnston 1999: 244) and certainly, Iphigenia in Roman culture is represented in this way.

Strikingly, the three figures in narratives under consideration here (Actaeon, Cyparissus and Iphigenia) appear to lose their agency to the wills of others, but Iphigenia, as the only survivor (besides the semi-divine Hercules) in these narratives, is also alone in being capable of engaging in further action following her 'transformation'. [22] She survives partly because of the nature of the sacrifice at Aulis, with her body switched with that of a deer. However, the "remarkable coincidence in the treatment of simile" renders Iphigenia's status, and perhaps her identity, during the sacrifice as particularly ambiguous (von Glinski 2012: 17): throughout, she is treated either as an animal (Aeschylus, *Agamemnon* [1848]: 232-8) or as an object like a painting (ibid. 241-243) and yet, holding as she does her gaze to each of her killers instead of bowing her head in submission, this is seems a rebellious act (von Glinski 2012: 17-18). In the frieze of Iphigenia at Pompeii (F52 [Figure 3:19]), she is indeed presented as the "object of this work of art", yet all present with her avert their gaze, in "denial of spectatorship"; instead, the attention of the external viewer of the frieze is directed towards the sacrificial victim as the focal point (Sharrock 2002: 280-281). Such gaze and display can be intrinsically powerful in themselves alone, as illustrated in the concept of the panopticon, a prison structure where both the denial of surveillance and the shrouding of the mechanisms of surveillance reveal the disciplined and those that conduct the discipline (Foucault 1980: 140, 155). In the panopticon of the Herculaneum frieze, Iphigenia is powerless, displayed and surrounded by powerful men including her own shrouded father, who all avert their gaze, while above Iphigenia the even more powerful beings viewing the scene are manoeuvring a deer in order to liberate her. By actively refusing to be timid, Iphigenia is allowed by her rite of passage to be the "victim, priestess, and double of Artemis"

[22] In the Greek Iphigenia myth, eagerly adopted by the Romans, a metaphor repeated three times by Euripides describes the illiterate young girl as once a creator of fine weavings, but later as merely the passive recipient of 'fine-textured weavings' created by others (Euripides, *Iphigenia in Tauris,* 814, 1465; Torrance 2013: 157) Torrance argues that Iphigenia's illiteracy 'prefigures her inability to see her plan through to conclusion, for all her skill at old-fashioned weaving' and thus she becomes subject to the greater powers of the poet and the deity equally.

and is transformed as “the very figure of the Virgin grows out of the sacrifice” (Burkert 1985: 98, 152).

Later, the survival of Iphigenia allows her, in legend, to spirit away an icon of Artemis to Lake Nemi, and this eventually implicates her in the founding of the Latin Diana cult (Wiseman 2004: 124-125). This same cult was subsequently to be involved in the sacrifice of the Sabine woman’s heifer on the Aventine Hill as discussed above, and that sacrifice appears to correlate with a dominant value in sacrifice which “always contains its shadow within, flipping faith into trickery” (Willerslev 2013: 152). Such ritualistic sacrifice, where the presence of an individual is denied, is discussed by Peter Metcalf (1987: 108) as including that of the priest of Diana; here what is apparently exposed or hinted at within the sacrificial narrative has a certain significance by way of “the appearance of something ancient and sinister”.

Narrational analysis

All this shows the Roman appreciation of Greek beliefs in the inter-changeability of the human and animal worlds, where boundaries would prove dangerous but would also provide a means of mediation with the natural world (Burkert 1985: 64-65). Moreover, instead of narratives that demonstrate what René Girard in his *La violence et le sacré* (1972) names a mimetic desire within a socio-cultural hierarchy, whose accumulation creates the need for a literal scapegoat in animal sacrifice in Greek culture, the Greek narratives that the Romans enjoyed seem rather to have explored the culture-nature dichotomy and its impact upon human agency. In the narratives’ mixture of mostly inadvertent physical interactions, the subjective and the physicality of the human and animal involved are altered, inter-changed or displaced. It is not, however, necessarily a transformation of temperament that concludes these narratives, but rather the dissipation of the agencies of the individuals that allows for new interactions.

In addition, these narratives bear more than a passing resemblance to the ubiquitous “trickster myths” (see Glossary), with a malleable agent in legends that forms its own physique through engagements with the environment, as understood in a narrative format (Lévi-Strauss 1955; Douglas 1969: 78-80). Such engagements and narratives

seen in the trickster and exemplified in the shape-changers in those metamorphoses currently under discussion, Mary Douglas (1969: 85) compares to the narratives of the men marked by greater powers in Ancient Greece such as the demi-gods: they thus represent both culture and nature, but are specifically visible in examples where "the universe is man-centred in the sense that it must be interpreted by reference to humans".

Yet in accord with the hypotheses of Lévi-Strauss (1955; 1963: 216-228) and Leach (1974: 57-91), whilst being considered "empirically unsound" by contemporary theorists, the function of a myth remains "to provide a conceptual model that openly expresses some dilemma, while at the same time provides a basis for evading that dilemma" (Carroll 1981: 310-311). Fundamentally, it would seem that rather than the trickster being a ubiquitous myth in the pre-colonial world, it is instead the ubiquity of such myths that form the foundation for conceptual models of cosmology; the trickster is an element of the narrative rather than an elemental narrative. The myths in which the fallow deer feature are etiological in nature, being important to the formation and justification of both rituals and morality in their contemporary world. As such, these narratives that operate as myth allow for an understanding to be wrought concerning the universe and provide valuable knowledge regarding cosmology. This is what Sherry Ortner (2002: 147) terms a "key scenario". Such scenarios rely heavily upon myth and can be found throughout many cultures where they are sustained by consistent retelling. In such retellings are formulated both cultural goals and strategies for completing such goals, and these include rituals or actions as "cultural performances" (Singer 1958). Whilst the fallow deer was not necessarily the moving force within the relationship, the apparent presence of the ungulate in effect transformed normal interactions so as to provide for the eventual outcomes. Notably, these outcomes would see one bodily form transformed into another, and in this way, indicate the catalytic power on individuals of relationships with fallow deer.

Self-consciousness as a form of fashioning was widespread amongst the classical world's elite before it was extinguished by the move towards Christianity (Greenblatt 2012: 2 – see Glossary). For the ancient Mediterranean world, this came about through interactions with the environment and, certainly for the ancient Greeks,

hunting engagements were distinctly transformative, where the chase was a catalyst for adventure and experience (Marazov 1998: 214). As such, those who engaged in deer-hunting would temporarily remove themselves from the world of the human, and engage in the natural world (Helms 1993: 156-157). This the historian Stephen Greenblatt (2012: 9) has referred to as representative of "self-fashioning", a universal process or total social fact, which "always involves some experience of threat, some effacement or undermining, some loss of self". Similar conclusions are drawn in Arnold van Gennep's *Rites of Passage* (1960), where the temporal removal of an individual is central and is the preliminary action in the creation of a passage of states. This loss of self is particularly notable in the narratives discussed earlier, where Actaeon, Cyparissus and Iphigenia would all visibly lose their human identity whilst simultaneously remaining unchanged internally. All three proved to be important narratives for their messages, a message of greed and rape for Actaeon (Martindale 1993: 61-62), of grief for and with Cyparissus (Zamir 2011: 444) and, in the case of Iphigenia, the role of the animal instead of the human in sacrifice (Burkert 1985: 64-66).

According to many of the relevant philosophers, both Greek and Roman (Aristotle, *Parts of Animals* [1961], 686a; Philo (of Alexandria), *De Animalibus* [1981], 78-100; Philostratus, *Life of Apollonius* [1912] 8, 7, 7; Seneca, *Epistles* [1989], 121, 24; Celsus [1980]: 5,14), and even in law (compiled in the late-Roman period: Justinian, *Digest* [1985], 9, 1, 1-3), the human world existed in an exceptional state compared with members of the animal kingdom. Animals were considered only occasionally to exhibit near-human intelligence or reason (Philo, *De Animalibus* [1981], 17-30, 60; Plutarch, *De sollertia animalium* [1968], 964-966, this work being "On the Cleverness of Animals", in which he countered the Stoic view of animals as lacking a soul). The perceived lack of agency through inferior reasoning seemed in most of the ancient sources to be the defining feature of any human-animal demarcation (Gilhus 2006: 37-50). It would appear, following lines similar to the understandings of modern animism (de Castro 1998; Willerslev 2004), that the body of the animal would inform behaviour, and that to engage in the behaviour of an animal would also risk transforming the body, a theory that was to be named "physiognomics" (Horace, *Epistles* [1994], 1, 2, 23-26). Thus, any engagement which would endanger this divide, would simultaneously endanger the agency or reason of the individual. In

extreme examples, where an individual outwardly seems to become an animal, the human remains, but is often reduced: thus, Cyparissus becomes immobile, Actaeon cannot call off his well-trained hounds, and Iphigenia, although only temporarily transformed, becomes the plaything of the gods. By metamorphosis, these agents lose their voice, their ability to communicate their power of reasoning, and it is this threat that seems to lend these metamorphic narratives such attention (Midgley 1979; Salisbury 1994; Knight 2000: 18).

In narratives featuring fallow deer and indeed amongst other metamorphosis narratives of the Roman Empire, the actions and behaviour displayed by the individuals prior to the transformative event are influential on the outcome. To paraphrase Bynum (2001: 169), they are what they were before. For Iphigenia, the sequence of events seen in Chapter 2, was an inevitable progression of various narratives, from Agamemnon's actions in killing an antlered and dappled deer in Artemis' sacred grove, the required sacrifice of his daughter and her ultimate reprieve (Sophocles, *Electra*); all, perhaps, eventually appeared merely the consequence of an ancestral curse. Iphigenia's further role in the founding of the latinised cult of Diana, and the use of the temple's laws in early Imperial culture, preserves the narrative continuity in contemporary Roman structures, apparently commencing with the accidental death of a fallow deer. Similarly, in another narrative a tame "stag" belonging to Silvia and her family, when killed accidentally, causes a rapid escalation which mustered the indigenous farmers and shepherds into a formidable fighting force under King Latinus (Virgil, *Aeneid* 7, 493-99). In dying this stag expresses human traits, groaning and appearing to be in prayer, perhaps indicates the tragic power of metamorphosis in the gap not between bodies, but between perception and ontology (von Glinski 2012: 17). Deer, dappled or otherwise, seemingly played a significant role in the early years of Latin literature and ostensibly in the preliminaries to the founding of the city-state of Rome.

The Roman Empire and the Natural World

Fallow deer appear subsequently to have been transported across the Empire, indicating that, like the narratives, the animal itself remained innately and distinctly important beyond the mythical or allegorical functions which had become attached to

it. Even the emperor himself was expected to engage in the natural world, possessing "the manly qualities of the hunter, and also to provide for the destruction of wild beasts as a public spectacle" and "to hunt like a gentleman, not like a circus performer" (Anderson 1985: 148). The poet Claudian, writing in 400 C.E. (*On the consulship of Stilicho* 3, 24, 321), explicitly described such public spectacles in the arena as accredited to Diana, and her nymphs who had collected for the entertainment of the mob "all the beauty, all the terror of the forest". Indeed, Claudian (3, 24, 317-319) specifically mentions *cervi* as hunted in Corsica and Sicily by one of Diana's nymphs for the arena: "The manlike maiden Nebrophone hunts the mountains of Corsica and Sicily and captures deer and other harmless beasts, beasts that are the joy of the rich amphitheatre and the glory of the woods."[23] In the passages that follow, the roles and agencies of the trappers, hunters and those who purveyed the beasts across the empire were not denied, but it is implied that this was only performed under both the sanction and the encouragement of the Goddess. Given the position that this poet, Claudian, had come to hold within the official court of Emperor Honorius at Milan, his poetry, when not mythological, comprised mostly political eulogies and reflected a centralised mainstream belief. That this established belief in the last decades before the sacking of Rome linked 'classical' mythology with the political hierarchy, not only justified the sovereign power through these demonstrations of violent performance, but perfectly epitomised their acts of sovereignty around a "mythical act of foundational violence" (Hansen and Stepputat 2005: 7).

Thus, Diana's role in Roman cosmology allowed for the subjugation of animals, humans and new lands in support of civilisation, and the animal that is commonly associated with her, the deer, was also commonly associated with her diametrically dissimilar twin brother, Apollo, the Greco-Roman god of culture who came to be associated with the sun, just as Artemis/Diana the huntress was with the moon. These associations in Roman cosmology predated any found depictions inasmuch as these gods were originally and essentially Greek. That the deer held associations with both

[23] Claudian, De Consulatu Stilichonis, 3, 24, 317-319: *Nebrophone cervos aliasque in vincula cogit non saevas pecudes, sed luxuriantes harenae delicias, pompam nemorum*.

god and goddess caused the male deer to become an "emblem of a dangerous duality (of nature and culture) in the Italian world" (Wofford 1992: 441). Nature and culture thus become inextricably linked here, with the deer acting both as mediator and catalyst for the interactions. In practice, it seems that tame deer might be employed in order to attract wild deer and to facilitate the sacrifice of stags to Diana, as is shown in a 3rd century mosaic at Lillebonne (D38 [Figure 3:23]; Smith 1983: 133), perhaps encouraging the necessity of the emparkment. Indeed, as Pliny the Elder indicated (*Nat. Hist*: 8.123), the beast that was to be sacrificed had to come willingly, as was demonstrated by the slackness of the rope used to guide it to the slaughter; for the animal to resist would be a bad omen (Gilhus 2006: 11).

Although the mosaics, statues, frescoes and silverware that heavily populate Table 3:1 are identified as designed to appeal to the culture of the Romanised 'gentry' (Henig 1995: 120), the worship of Diana was not exclusive to the aristocracy. Rather, the cult of Diana was all-inclusive. It did not necessarily differentiate between worshippers, nor indeed did it exclude anyone from worship. This was perhaps because the pervasiveness of the natural world was not to be denied even within such a developed civilisation as the Roman Empire. Even the animals appear engaged with the goddess of the hunt. Frequently when a hunt did not require driving of the game, the animals were understood as "giving themselves up" voluntarily to the goddess who had been invoked (Anderson 1985: 149); hence perhaps the deer amongst those animals hunted by Diana's nymphs were for this reason emphasised as being *non saevas pecudes*, not savage beasts, despite being intended for the amphitheatre; they, the glory of the woods, would be the arena's frisky and frolicsome delights (*luxuriantes harenae delicias*; Claudian, *On Stilicho's Consulship* 3, 24, 318). Thus, although humans were largely free of her thrall, as Actaeon and Iphigenia's experiences indicate that they had to be transformed into a deer before Artemis/Diana could interact, nonetheless Diana might be invoked to divert disease from the civilised peoples to their barbaric counterparts among the Persian and British peoples (Ogilvie 1979: 33). However, the invocation of Diana was not, again, terrain restricted solely for those with access to the natural and wild world, as the goddess would graciously recognise when efforts were made; she even allowed the substitution of a herded animal for a wild one in such rituals (Turcan 2000: 6).

The ability to corral the wild creature into a park or enclosure for live animals, a *vivarium*, was noted by Columella:[24] these animals, including deer and wild boar, would "sometimes serve to enhance the splendour and pleasure of their owners, and sometimes to bring profit and revenue". Discussion of each of the several emparked species depends on the translation. The plural *damae* was used in this Latin text along with the generic *cervi*, but *dama* has been translated variously over time and some prefer to indicate categorisation of the deer in the general sense again. If it is accepted that *dama* in this specific case indicates fallow deer, this would suggest that the presence of fallow deer was central to the imparkation practices of the 1st century C.E. It might also imply the animal's significance in regard to human self-improvement and aggrandisement. Although this is not in any definite sense the form of self-fashioning on an individual basis that Greenblatt (2012) refers to (see Glossary), Columella's claim does suggest that imparkation was a cultural movement, where participation had recognisable rewards and perhaps relied heavily on the overall imperial project.

In more recent colonial and imperial projects, the cultural, social and economic vehicles have attempted to subjugate "the other" through the promotion of objects (Comaroff and Comaroff 2009). Furthermore, that fallow deer could exist in multiple formats, whether as wild animals or as a domesticated herd, but also in constituent parts as bone or skin and indeed as components in a narrative, all these factors might have encouraged the dissemination of fallow deer across the Empire. However, as Nicholas Thomas (1991: 151, 176) concludes, in cases when such disseminations occur, the knowledge that is transferred is often a fundamental meaning based upon the most recent or prominent interlinking features rather than on any comprehensive knowledge of the artefacts. Thus, the paintings and materials relating to fallow deer found in the centre of the Roman Empire might not have carried as far as was the occasional object or part or indeed the fallow deer themselves, whose transport seems

[24] Columella D.R.R. 9,1. *Ferae pecudes, ut capreoli, damaeque, nec minus orygum cervorumque genera et aprorum, modo lautitiis ac voluptatibus dominorum serviunt, modo quaestui ac reditibus*. Translations vary.

to have occurred at least occasionally (Davis and MacKinnon 2009; Sykes 2010b; Madgwick et al. 2013; Miller et al. 2014: 9). Furthermore, the complexity of, or accuracy in, the depiction of the fallow deer decreases with distance from the actual creature: in particular, the forms of deer on some mosaics of Britain (D17; D30 [Figure 3:24]; D67) are poor imitations of mosaics found in other regions (Henig 1995: 120; Ling 1998: 131; Dunbabin 1999: 100; Neal and Cosh 2002: 177).

Some have questioned whether the depiction of deer has any purpose, symbolic or otherwise; the predominance of hunting scenes enacted between animals and humans has been described as "partly as a result of the fluidity of the technique" in creation (King 1983: 188). Conversely, it can be contended that their presence in narrative contexts was self-evidently more complex than in simple hunting scenes; their representation in some such narrative scenes suggests that attention towards the deer and even their precise species remained significant. In general terms, it seems that the closer to the heart of the Empire, the better this animal's representation (F78 [Figure 3:25]-F82). When comparison is made between, for example, D30 [Figure 3:24] and F91 [Figure 3:8] the more exquisite artistry, but also the far better definition of the deer's characteristics is manifest on the latter mosaic from Zliten in Libya rather than in the former from 350 C.E. in late Roman Britain.

There have indeed been various explanations for the differences in quality of execution, including variations in the ability of local 'schools' of mosaic-makers (Neal 1981). The artists may indeed have been using Mediterranean pattern-books and, as suggested above, crudity in the quality of all figured representation may be considered to have increased commensurately with remoteness towards the imperial frontiers and/or with time. Thus, figured representation on mosaics at Frampton, Dorset and at Rudston, East Yorkshire in late-Roman Britain may be compared unfavourably with south Italian and Sicilian products of the earlier Empire. This is unsurprising in chronological terms and across the geographical spread of Empire; similar deterioration in quality is incontrovertible amongst other products such as tableware, with Italian 'arretine ware' being far superior to 3rd century 'samian ware' from East Gaul or 'African Red-Slipped Ware'. Whilst the migration of fallow deer across Roman Europe might possibly be traceable in the decoration of samian ware (terra sigillata), its animal depictions have not been studied in detail and lack

irrefutable evidence. Although deer are very common on moulded bowls from all major factories in Southern, Central and Eastern Gaul, different species are difficult to distinguish from their stylised images (pers. comm., Peter Webster 2016). However, a few examples may represent fallow deer: stags with palmated antlers and (less commonly) dappled coats.

In the appearance of the above-mentioned mosaics which include deer (D17; D30 [Figure 3:24]; D67 and F79-F82 [Figure 3:20]), Britain's mosaics are manifestly cruder in all their figured representations and not solely in their depiction of the deer. There are, however, exceptions and the ability of local schools, and format use varied considerably as shown in comparisons between D30 [Figure 3:24] and F91 [Figure 3:8]. Nonetheless, it is evident that the simpler, and indeed cruder, depictions of fallow deer occur in areas where this deer is not represented in the zooarchaeological record; this would indeed seem indicative of a second-hand association, the loss of form but continued meaning that Thomas (1991: 151, 176) addressed. It is, for instance, unlikely that the makers of in-situ depictions from Gaul or Roman Britain (F4, F10, and F71) had seen fallow deer living locally, and their depictions appear to reflect that lack of first-hand acquaintance. Even so, it would appear that these representations were still attempted, probably influenced by the numerous portable depictions found locally (F7-F8; F10; F27; F43-46; F86), descriptions and perhaps even by the occasional first-hand experience.

In contra-distinction is the further proposal by Nicholas Thomas (1991: 4) who, in comparing interactions between explorers and indigenous people alongside the modern museum record and antiquities market, contends that the intention of creation often has little to do with the actual use of the object: either simplicity in understanding, or new narratives, are always being attested to define the artefacts in question. Through the possession of objects and knowledge of their proper use, the understandings of the 'interlocutors' are manifested, but these narratives are often informed by the preferences and advantages of possessing such an object (Thomas 1991: 165-176; Carrier 1995: 25). As such, the far-flung owners of the Mildenhall treasure (F43-F46 [Figure 3:26]) or even of the deer herd at Fishbourne should and would be expected to have a specialist's insight into their possessions of unusual origin. These insights would nevertheless have been coloured by contextual

ontologies, and would have reinforced their owners' societal positions. For instance, the associations made by the inhabitants of Rome and Pompeii between the deer and Diana would not necessarily travel beyond areas where the association occurred in practice, but the association becomes an attestable attribute of the deity. This is what the art and agency theorist Alfred Gell (1998: 218) describes as the "least difference principle", where homogeneity and difference are recognised by "involving the least modification of neighbouring motifs consistent with the establishment of a distinction between them". As a discrepancy introduced in the form of the fallow deer could become very visible against comparable forms of native deer with which the indigenous people is familiar, Thomas's (1991: 151, 176) "break in the associative fundamental meaning", which forms a motif. Thus, motifs might be understood in such a fashion whereby they provide distinction between concepts, but from the viewpoint of an outside observer they become simplified into a single concept in and of itself. That the depictions become less complex further away from attested populations of fallow deer, could be indicative of this effect rather than symptomatic merely of lesser skills being available. This is particularly seen in a tombstone depicting the transformation of Actaeon which was recovered in Chester (F9); this simply depicts the hunter with unusually wide antlers forming. Meanwhile, such discrepancies in form become notable for creating new responses, becoming even agentive, what Bruno Latour (1990; 1994; 2005) names a "non-human" agent in the actor network theory. In such conceptions of the actor network theory, key differences, and recognition of these key differences, whether locally created, recognised or consumed, might go some way to explain the exportation of the fallow deer. That some of the artefacts of the fallow deer are thought to have been distributed for consumption, notably the characteristic antler of the fallow deer, might support this (Miller et al. 2014). These differences themselves might be what is sought from the fallow deer, and may justify not only their introduction, but notably the dissemination of certain portions and parts of this deer's corpse.

Roman Medicine, Ritual and Encyclopaedism

In Latin, knowledge was *scientia* and under the Roman Empire, medicine and 'science', knowledge, became integrally correlated. As part of this collection of knowledge, the dissemination of certain facts over the centuries seem to have had an

impact upon the display of the fallow deer. In Pliny's *Natural Histories* (8.50.118) deer, *cervi*, were said to seek out serpents, and drive them out with their breath. Specific information on such interactions between deer and snake (F28 [Figure 3:27], F46 [Figure 3:26], F85) and what has been termed "cataloguing" (Gilhus 2006) may be classed as encyclopaedism. It became more apparent following conquest and during the maturation of the Roman Empire. Certainly, in Roman literature, partly due to the survival of such knowledge by way of further interpretation through the ages, the medicinal uses and knowledge of deer as explained by natural philosophers, the predecessors of modern 'scientists', are particularly notable. For the Romans, unlike the previously, more geographically restrictive Greeks, magico-medical cookery would eagerly employ a variety of "ingredients from all over the empire taken from wild animals as well as from domestic ones" (Gilhus 2006: 20). Although meat was readily available in the Graeco-Roman world, it was often overlooked functionally in animal farming as of secondary importance to ancillary products such as dairy and hides. In Latin, the single term for the animal and its meat would provide a continuity between forms and, furthermore, characteristics, rather than the mass noun-patterns of modern languages which are widely accepted as encouraging the comprehension and treatment of animals as commodities (Giddens 1991; Lee 1992; Novak 2012; Sealey and Charles 2013: 487-9; Cook 2015). It was not until the medieval era that linguistic differences were perceived between meat and animal, a viewpoint that demarcated butchery processes from the outset and continued into modernity (Clark 1993; see Chapter 5).

The specificities of animal-behaviour and biology often held considerable significance for medicinal use instead (Garnsey 1999: 83-84; 122-123). Rather than medicine based upon certain locales such as sanctuaries, Gilhus (2006: 20-21) for instance indicates that ingredients derived from animals would be based upon similarities and contrasts perceived between afflictions and animal behaviour. As such, a symptom could be replaced or synthesised through an ingredient, or diluted with an ingredient derived from an animal of opposing behaviour. In this regard, notable is one of the foremost proponents of this movement, the second century physician and philosopher, Aelius Galen, his theories and particularly influence over centuries, was also one of the first to particularly consider the specific qualities of venison and behaviour of deer.

Aelius Galen of Pergamon, much-travelled in his medical studies, became physician to the Roman emperors in the period 160-200 C.E., but was still significant in medical writings long after the Roman period (Pearcy 1985). In his wide-ranging medical writings, he lambasted his ritualistic contemporaries for their ignorance, greed, and superficial knowledge of the "art" of medicine (Gilhus 2006: 156). Primary to Galen's beliefs was that the anatomical structures of animals which he dissected were closely similar to those of humans – whose dissection was prohibited (Tapper and Tapper 1986: 70-72). Thus he contributed considerably to the earlier Hippocratic understanding and also promoted for posterity Hippocrates' theory of bodily humours, whereby differences in human moods are a consequence of imbalances in one of the four bodily fluids (Jones, Miller and Sykes, in press). Galen further considered foods and the environmental impacts on variations in animals and humans, whereby animals seemingly accumulated unhealthy humours in their bodies, which were absorbed by humans upon consumption. Therefore the careful study of the environment was deemed significant for medicine (Galen, *On the use of parts,* 3.24, Powell translation; Wilkins and Hill 2006: 236-237). Thus, the qualities of deer were considered, and an axiom proposed that venison should be avoided by the elderly (ibid. 5.6). However, by implication the toughness, the strength, of the meat would be good in the developing body of, and developing the body for, youthful practitioners. In representations of fallow deer this might also be seen: many depictions of this species, rather than reflecting narratives of Greek origins or otherwise, appear instead to be cataloguing and documenting of the species in various forms. While it is unclear whether Galen converted his encyclopaedic knowledge of medicine into graphic or sketch, form is nevertheless uncertain. However, apart from the majority of depictions which show the prominence of the hunt, many seemingly show the behaviour of the species interacting with other fauna or flora, and in other cases the fallow deer appears in a visual form of catalogue (e.g. F42 [Figure 3:28]). Such encyclopaedic collection of knowledge through cataloguing is argued by Gilhus (2006) to have been necessary to understand and recognise the effects of their consumption, and was typified by writers of the Roman period including Galen and the Elder Pliny. As part of this understanding and recognition, awareness or consciousness of the animals' behaviour and recognition of differences between species was necessary; it was achieved through cultural artefacts.

As Roman imperial culture represented a "cobbling together" of various heritages of the region even prior to the city's expansion across the Mediterranean (Turcan 1996: 253; Rives 2007: 142-143), the allowances provided through shared history also provided a considerable flexibility for individual participation in religious practices (Rives 2007: 128). Certainly it is thought that the ability of individuals to engage with or incorporate knowledge through culture allows for a Foucauldian (see Glossary) outlet for the colonised, whereby the colonised are still permitted interpretation of knowledge, and thus can understand in unforeseen ways (Bhabha 1985; Young 1995: 179), rather than merely be subjugated (Said 1978). By way of tolerating these flexibilities, the Roman Empire was able to permeate rather than displace culture across the Empire, but it also encouraged the spread of culture alongside individuals and their objects. This we have observed in the cosmopolitan education, training and accumulation of expert knowledge by Galen. As for ectopic objects, understanding how the parts of animals and the animals themselves acted amongst the environment was very important for study. That these objects would apparently be taken from one context, geographically and culturally, to another would be important to the process.

Undoubtedly, it is said that cultural artefacts when themselves located outside of their culture are able, according to Edward Said (1978: 94), "[to] create not only knowledge but also the very reality that they appear to describe." Fallow deer when represented amongst the gods in myths, and the associations relating to the actual fallow deer would represent a notable hybrid of function and physical embodiment with myth. Bruno Latour in his seminal post-structural work *We Have Never Been Modern* (1993: 53) postulates that such knowledge is a hybridization of the political, religious, scientific and the discursive, a vast network of referring actants and actors which manifest in articulations or "quasi-objects". By the association with both the environment and cosmology, following these theories, the fallow deer, and particularly the representation of fallow deer embodies these associations. The materiality of these "quasi-objects" substantiates the sociality that has been imbued within them, and frequently serve to merge the dichotomy of nature and culture in a

linear fashion, in formats such as narratives.[25] Such narratives need a demonstrable element in order to continue the associations that they make; the fallow deer and especially its representations appear to be a perfect example of this. The representations of the fallow deer almost always appear to defer to certain, recurring cultural associations and standard qualities of the species, and perhaps this was a driving factor in depicting this animal.

The collection of knowledge of the animal kingdom and, in particular, animal behaviour had a greater importance than mere curiosity. This is clearly the case in the works of writers who were great natural historians such as Pliny, Oppian and Aelian. Meanwhile, beyond the mere behaviour of animals, the forms of the animals themselves were apparently significant in the healing process as well. In the use of votive offerings at rural healing-sites it is notable that such offerings represented "economically-important animals [when] in rural temples" (Rüpke 2007: 161). Amongst these, however, the only deity referenced is that of Diana of the sanctuary at Nemi, near Aricia (Green 2006); there the healing God, Aesculapius [Greek Asclepius], was awarded a statue, drawing a clear association between Diana and healing practices. Such votive offerings in ethnography can be used consciously to act as surrogates for the actual beasts slaughtered in bloody sacrifices but, importantly, they remain separate from "bloodless" offerings and can act in the place of ritualised butchery practices (Evans-Pritchard 1956: 203; Ingold 1986: 255). On the other hand, such bloodless sacrifices apparently occur only where it would not be prudent to kill an animal, but the ritual nevertheless has to take place to appease the natural balances. Thus, Ingold (1986: 255-257) argues, such offerings frequent domesticated animal-human relationships, often consisting of materially valuable goods, when compared with undomesticated animals which remain symbolically powerful and part of nature. Although no bloodless sacrifices have been found depicted, yet they apparently

[25] A similar theory of hybridised knowledge is discussed in post-colonialism particularly by Homi K. Bhabha (1983) as the creation of both those subjected to colonial powers and the colonisers themselves, achieving a similar agency through competing and overlapping narratives that the anthropologist Anna Tsing (2005: 4-6) names "friction" (see Chapter 2).

occurred in actuality (Green 2006; Rüpke 2007); perhaps such sacrifices could be understood as cultural depictions in themselves, as representations of animal sacrifice.

As indicated by a few depictions of deer of non-specific species being led by priests (D38 [Figure 3:23]; D54), and as such substituted bloodless sacrifices were rarely if ever depicted, perhaps the deer had come into a relationship to allow for their easy sacrifice, rather than that their domestication occurred because of their importance as meat-providers (Houston 1998; Hamilakis 2003: 239; Allen 2014). As in the case of bloodless offerings, the use of tame deer in order to ease hunting (see above with D38 [Figure 3:23]; D58; Ling 1998: 132) appears also to indicate economic pragmatism, allowing easier access to the wild deer without compromising the sought effect of the sacrifice or of venery.

Such representational forms may help to explain the role of the brooches found in the northern reaches of Empire, many of them taking stag shapes of which a few (cf. D8; D80 [Figure 3:29]) appear to display or to imply dappling of the hide or palmation of the antlers. At least 3 other brooches exist but, beyond the imagery, so far it has not been possible to attribute them reliably. Some archaeologists have indicated that such items were merely "everyday necessities" of attire (Hedeager 1978: 208) and assert their forms to be representational of regional workshops rather than representational of animal identity (Eckardt 2014: 128). However, others including Nina Crummy (2007; 2010) have attributed such items to specific deities and localities, particularly to the cult and concomitant ritual of Artemis/Diana and the motif of the deity's specific wild animal. Their role amongst votive offerings alongside shoes and pins at Bath Spa supports some level of personal incorporation (Dvorjetski 2007: 101). Indeed, their popularity even beyond the empire as seen in Scotland (Hunter 1996: 122-123) could indicate their role in 'conservatism', being at the same time familiar in generic form to the indigenous peoples and allowing the displays of "social niche as status symbols or identifiers". They would appear to operate without the purported social cachet of other imported artefacts and goods with an imperial connotation, such as samian ware.

Nonetheless, according to the network theories of Alfred Gell (1998), Nicholas Thomas (1991), and Bruno Latour (1990),[26] the transformation of fallow deer into another form such as a likeness or potential medicinal ingredient which is then transportable itself, would not necessarily maintain all prior associations. Instead, as is suggested within such networks, rendering a product may act to create a new set of relations centred around a reactive effect following consumption or interaction – the rendering becoming a form of repackaging. Upon this argument, neither the transition of the ingredient into product nor the final product itself would represent any guarantee of cultural importance. However, the strongest references within these "quasi-objects", such as associations they might carry, would remain important, just as in the case of "simulacra" (see Glossary). Hence, where the fallow deer was not present, this repackaging would not necessarily create such a dissociative effect in and of itself, but these creatures being far-flung and at times 'exotic', a representation and also a distortion of more familiar animals could have been semiotically powerful.

In geographic and representational terms, the perception of distance as regarded by Mary Helms (1993: 4) is on a par with specialist crafting, allowing for an equivalence "that associates political leadership with crafting and with long-distance acquisition, either individually or in combination". In the case of the distance that certain precious commodities travelled in the Roman Empire, and particularly those ingredients and materials that could later be incorporated and refashioned according to their geography,[27] the exceptional and unique means that their acquisition involved gave them inherently mystical values (Helms 1988: 128-129). Such distance becomes powerful, symbolically and directly, usually through the demonstration in an object taken from this other context, allowing the otherwise existential power of distance to be seen as a pre-existing "concrete thing" (Helms 1993: 9). Representations therefore, demonstrate this "otherness" of distance, and will apparently be a perfect example of

[26] Furthermore, and importantly, both of these theorists demonstrate that the divisions between nature and culture 'appear to be redistributed among the networks and to escape from them only fuzzily as if in dotted lines' (Latour 1993: 103).

[27] Such as pepper from southern India, silk from China, ivory from tropical Africa, and amber from northern Europe (Helms 1988: 129).

the purification of knowledge towards simplicity which belies the hybridised actuality of a cultural object (Latour 1993). In the case of the fallow deer, attempts to differentiate between species, but also portray the understandings of the differences by those who commissioned it, alongside the quality of the artefacts, could act as a marker of status. Thus the use of the image of the fallow deer might imply an attempt to self-aggrandise, but it also could act to inform of specific characteristics.

Although domestication of these 'exotic' animals would allow for ease of access to medicinal ingredients, it would intrinsically threaten the (medicinally) sought behaviour of the animals, apparently weakening in comparative terms the elephants to oxen, ostriches to sparrows and leopards to mice (Balsdon 1969: 303). Nevertheless, emparkment appeared to be popular amongst those who could afford to carry it out (Allen 2014: 180), and the presence of exotic animals would also appear to be a display of the prominence of the owner (Purcell 1987: 187-203). Certainly the deer themselves were recognised by the Romans to have a different status from that of other domesticated animals, but through land-ownership, deer could become retained for private use, removing them from the public domain (McLeod 1989; Starr 1992: 438). Such emparkments provided the wealthy with efficient access and control over an area of natural terrain and decent accommodation for the animals, but importantly did not risk challenging the behaviour of their wilder cousins. Whilst the red deer, seen as a truly wild animal, thus becomes an emblem of wilderness which could be "demonstratively controlled by elite groups", the keeping of fallow deer at Fishbourne could have allowed "such imagery to take place in the landscape itself, representing a wild deer in its fully tamed form" (Allen 2014: 182-183).

It cannot be coincidental that fallow deer were in residence at one of the most luxurious and opulent, if not extravagant, Roman villas in the British Isles, nor indeed can their apparently short-lived presence there (Sykes 2004). Indeed, the continuity of the species remained limited and very few fallow deer have been shown to be present in Roman Britain. The only sites other than Fishbourne that, according to current research, currently demonstrate breeding populations are the Isle of Thanet's in Kent, including 2nd-3rd century Monkton (Sykes 2006a; Madgwick et al. 2013; Miller et al. 2014). Rather than a demonstration of sovereignty and lineage as seen in the medieval emparkments (see Chapter 4), Roman parks apparently represented their owners'

primarily self-aggrandising constructions, often requiring recasting in each owners' image (Tanner 2006: 283). Such self-aggrandisement has been considered as central to the introduction of fallow deer at Fishbourne palace, possibly instigated at the behest of King Togidubnus who was a resident power-broker and responsible for much of the construction there (Miller et al. 2015). That this King was indigenous to the British Isles and was elevated by his acceptance of Roman rule and thus incorporated into the Roman Empire, has many parallels with similar theories of the subaltern, post-colonial, and indeed colonial, forces (cf. Webster and Cooper 1996; Dmitriev 2009). Individuals throughout the post-medieval colonial movement, chosen by the colonialists to rule, would engage in such extravagant displays in order to better integrate themselves into the colonial model in the form of a colonial-colonised/subaltern dialogue (Bhabha 1994; Shamsul 1996: 14; Sengupta 2010). Within the pre-capitalist, post-pastoral society, the Roman Empire did permit an adequately wide range of practices (Mattingly 2011). For the native Briton, venison had served previously as a form of "conspicuous non-consumption" in pre-Roman contexts, which seems to have continued to do so under the Romans (Allen 2014: 175-176).

Much as the cargo cults of Melanesian societies attempted to replicate outcomes by identifying key elements and replicating those key elements (Burridge 1969 – see Glossary) or indeed the agentive motif of least difference (Gell 1998: 218), the recognition and incorporation of particular motifs might encourage similar displays by those seeking imperial favour during the Roman period. Given the broader cosmological significance of Diana's cult in incorporating colonised spaces and peoples whilst preserving autonomy, as well as the localised importance placed upon such a specific deity when associated with specific spaces (Rives 2007: 84-87), such engagements with the natural world would be symbolically significant. The associations that could further be made with a wild but different version of a familiar animal in the fallow deer might be symbolically significant when invoking these relations.

Whilst the reasons for the presence of fallow deer in the zooarchaeological record might remain speculative and do depend on the results of future research and excavation, the effort exerted to perform such feats of introduction and emparkment

as seen at Fishbourne, for example, could indicate both the importance of the transfer, but also the importance of those who instigated such movements. That the fallow deer population particularly in England was limited to a few herds and petered out, whilst all definite representations of fallow deer were portable and would seem to support this (F7-F8; F10; F27; F43-F46 [Figure 3:26]; F74; F77; F86). Similar introductions of fallow deer following occupation, and extinction after the fall of the Western Empire appears to have occurred at other locations around the Roman world, as on Roman Mallorca (Valenzuela et al. 2016). Rather than being a vast system supported in multiple ways as in the later medieval emparkment systems of Britain (see Chapter 4), the representation and indeed the presence of the fallow deer in Britain during the time of the Romans would seem to be motivated by specific ideologies.

Following the collapse of the Roman Empire in Western Europe at the very end of the 4th century (Maps 3:7-3:8), and the sack of Rome in the 5th century, the representations of fallow deer as well as many of the deer populations would apparently end. However, where the fallow deer were naturally present, particularly in the Eastern and Byzantine Empires, representation appears to have continued.

Byzantine Fallow Deer, the Eastern Empire and beyond

After a wide range of examples of fallow deer during the 4th century (see Map 3:4), only one example of a fallow deer depiction occurs outside of the areas held by the Holy Roman and Byzantine Empires (see Maps 3:5-3:6). Following the spread of Christianity across the Roman Empire, the subsequent downfall of that Empire and the sack of Rome, so too depictions of fallow deer apparently retreated, even where the animals themselves remained apparently physically present in continental and eastern Europe. That the fallow deer of Roman Britain according to genetic results have proven likely to have originated in what would become the Eastern Empire, along with zooarchaeological evidence for fallow deer in that area, would indicate that the deer were present and recognised in the region throughout the era (Miller and Sykes 2016). That this area would later seem to be the source for the 11th century re-introduction in Britain would make any symbolic associations particularly interesting (Miller and Carden 2011, 142-3). Although the prominence of the fallow deer in this area's representations of deer might seem to resemble the previous abundance seen in

earlier Greek, Thracian and occasional Persian cultures (see Chapter 2), it would appear that new symbolism was especially emergent. Whilst this era has been considered as witnessing the de-sacralisation of the animal and a final end to animal sacrifice (Gilhus 2006: 4), representations of the deer did in practice continue.

In this period, two typical representations are prevalent: deer depicted in combat with snakes (F28 [Figure 3:27], F46 [Figure 3:26], F85) and, secondly, deer shown alongside a fountain or water source. Whilst deer are still depicted within hunting scenes, and occasionally featuring the goddess of the hunt, the previously noted narratives where particularly fallow deer act as mediators do not appear later than 650 C.E, the last appearing at Henchir el Fawr, Tunisia (F29; Dunbabin 1978: 249 - Figure 3:13).

That is not to say that former narratives were forgotten, as is evident from the presence of Greek mythology late into the Byzantine period (Weitzmann 1951: 16, 172; Wood 1995: 151), but the associations between fallow deer and the previous narratives are scant on Table 3:1. Some continuity is expressed, albeit subtly, as shown in one notable sixth century mosaic from the Great Byzantine Palace of Constantinople (F28 [Figure 3:27]). In this example, a deer is clearly displayed biting a snake that is wrapped around the mammal, but notably a cypress tree also features in the background (Toynbee 1973: 145; Cimok 2005: 17-18). Whilst not an explicit association, given the connection of the cypress tree with the fallow deer in previous eras, it is not hard to imagine that some understanding of the relationship continued. Whether this was a continuation of the Greek rather than the Roman world is harder to ascertain; however, as previous depictions of the buck in Greek mythology did not so keenly associate the specific fauna with the specific flora, a factor more evident in Roman depictions.

Just as the associations are absent from Table 3:1, Maps 3:7-3:8, so too are depictions of the fallow deer absent from regions where the animal itself is not thought to have been present. Where deer are depicted outside the areas of fallow deer habitats, other species frequently feature instead. Perhaps, as the apparent mediatory role of the fallow deer in Greek narratives receded, so too did the importance in recognising the form of the fallow deer. Certainly the depictions of the fallow deer in these regions,

rarely show such care and intricacy in the depictions, particularly in regard to the palmated antlers. Instead, representation of deer throughout Europe in this time seems more generic and the present writer has recognised many of the fallow deer from this period through depiction of their dappled features and penile brushes rather than of their antlers. Nevertheless, a few of these depictions occurring outside the regions in which fallow deer were found appear to show clear palmation of the antlers. Indeed, despite the over-representation of antlers and foot bones of fallow deer in zooarchaeological records might be due to their distinctiveness allowing their identification, there is unmistakable evidence that efforts were made to distribute products and parts in the Roman Empire from these characteristic elements of the fallow (Sykes 2004: 78; Miller et al. 2014).

The first trend, a typical scenario in this post-Roman period, where deer are frequently shown biting or consuming the snake (F28 [Figure 3:27], F85), was noted as a significant attribute a few centuries prior to these depictions, in Pliny's *Natural Histories* (8 and 27). Indeed, the removal of all snakes on some Aegean islands in the Mediterranean appears attributed to deer, since the two species were understood to be natural enemies of each other. Pliny's work was certainly still relevant and being circulated in this time, but prior to the 5th century only one depiction has been found directly showing the interaction of deer and snake. In this depiction (F46 [Figure 3:26]), from the Mildenhall treasure in late- Roman Britain, a deer is shown close to a small snake, but set as they are alongside the symbols of Apollo, they might here represent instead the beasts of Apollo (Painter 1977: 43).

In the second typical scenario, two deer are frequently depicted approaching or drinking from a body of water (F70 [Figure 3:30], D7, D12, D27, D40, D50). In such depictions they are always found alongside other Christian motifs or within early Christian religious structures. Here, these deer are thought to be approaching the water of life, or stand as metaphors for baptismal rituals, clear representations of Christian semiotics (Bath 1992).

Even though, neither of these typical scenes refers explicitly to narratives or interaction with god or human, rather they pivot on symbolism of Christianity contained within the depiction of the fallow deer. In regard to the first scene and the

symbolism of the snake-eating deer, apart from Pliny's reference, in Christian ideology there are biblical associations of the snake (or the serpent) with the devil, original sin, and sometimes knowledge (Bremmer 2002: 101; Gilhus 2006: 13), and the deer in contrast is associated with Christ (Charbonneau-Lassey 1992: 119). The annual regrowth and loss of antlers, the role of the deer in combatting a creature with associations to the original human corruption, sin, as well as the perceived longevity of the deer were regarded as particularly Christ-like attributes (Charbonneau-Lassey 1992: 119-25). Meanwhile, in the second scene, the fountain of life represents both baptism and purity.

Elements of both representations are present in one notable early Christian legend which also displays the importance of the male deer - stag, or buck, in the internalised struggle against evil (Schiller 1971: 129-131). Here upon drinking and accidentally swallowing a snake in murky water, the deer becomes poisoned and quickly loses its antlers and begins to expire. But guidance or providence from a greater power leads the poisoned deer to a spring of water of true purity. It is healed, and quickly regrows the lost antlers before regurgitating and also trampling the snake underfoot. Thus, the common depiction of male and female deer alongside the fountain of life (F70 [Figure 3:30], D7, D12, D27, D40, D50) which corresponds to gender division within the early Christian churches, when depicted in religious contexts becomes metaphorical for baptism and church-going (Werness 2006: 391). Deer are thus seen adorning, and approaching streams in, baptisteries such as that at Salona, Dalmatia with the Latin inscription *sicut cervus desiderat ad fontes aquarum ita desiderat anima mea ad te Deus* Psalm 42; 'Just as the deer longs for springs of water, so longs my soul for you, O God'. Meanwhile, the 5th century senator, Cassiodorus, in his *Expositio Psalmorum* (Vulgate Ps. 41.2) noted that the deer attracts snakes with its nostrils, devours them, and hastens to the water-fountain. That this narrative also features the snake-consuming habit noted by Pliny centuries before, apparently was recognised and employed to demonstrate the narrative through 'knowledge' of the behaviour and biology of the deer (Bath 1992) - much like the trickster myth (Douglas 1969: 78-80).

Finally, Byzantine game-preserves did continue and proliferate in this era, following the decline of spectatorship at the arena (Ševčenko 2002: 74-75; Gilhus 2006: 4). Notably these spaces, following Arabic traditions were apparently restricted from

general and particularly military use, only for those who could either keep them, or those deemed worthy of them (Shahîd 1984: 403); a grave insult apparently being the turning over an enemy's emparkment to the lowly soldier (Sarre-Herzfeld Reise II: 88 - Kaegi 2003: 171). In the layout of these parks, there is also continuity from the Romans with the idea of the hunt as a form of spectacle informing the layout of the park (Ševčenko 2002: 71-2). Furthermore, the idealised environment of "the garden of Eden" and their sinless repute might have influenced these structures (Fletcher 2011), and particularly the apparent interest in the fallow deer in early Christian depiction could both have been inspired and inspiring for these emparkments.

As shown in historic genetic evidence of the fallow deer (Figure 3:31), whilst Roman fallow deer appear to have a single, or at least close source from the same mutational step, later spread of fallow deer appear to originate from Anatolian and Turkish regions. That these regions were those held by the Eastern and Byzantine Empire, who appeared to have matured the emparkment process would make it seem likely that the deer park of the Byzantine and the fallow deer was exported to Britain. That existing practices of deer-hunting appeared to exist in Anglo-Saxon and early medieval Britain did not matter; rather than being purely hunting landscapes, or deer farms (Birrell 1992), these structures were heavily symbolic. Although these medieval emparkments of Britain and the culture around them did not engage so explicitly in Christian ideals, nevertheless the symbolic idealised environment does appear to show some continuity from the Byzantine era.

Conclusions

This research into the iconographic, narrative and cultural representations of the fallow deer has revealed a degree of correlation between depictions of the species in these different areas. In contrast to earlier representations of fallow deer in Greek culture (see Chapter 2), the fallow deer's representation appeared to be of greater significance in the Roman material. It was, however, in Greek mythology, as shown in the case of the Black Sea *rhyta*, that fallow deer appeared most prominently. According to anthropologists (Helms 1988; Thomas 1991; Helms 1993; Gell 1998), perhaps in terms of the geographical distance of this mythology, such associations are not only powerful but by way of a physicality in the fallow deer's form,

demonstration is helpful, if not even necessary, in order for the narratives of these mythologies to spread.

The wild animal was notably powerful in the Roman Empire, allowing for both an engagement with cosmological powers, but also would apparently be employed to demonstrate the imperial might of Rome (Anderson 1985: 83-121; Starr 1992; Gilhus 2006: 12-30). The staged spectacle and hunting, as well as arenas in which to spectate and hunt, were employed to demonstrate the domination that Romans held over the animal and the environment (Nash 1989: 18; Enenkel 2014: 44-45). Whilst agricultural animals are apparently depicted less (Gilhus 2006: 10-14), it would seem that the wild and alien animal became increasingly important as the Empire expanded, and earnest efforts were made to transport these animals throughout the empire (Kalof 2007: 27-29; Fletcher 2011: 67). Although the red deer was subjected to similar transportations, less effort would apparently be shown to create static populations in new areas in the same way as the fallow deer apparently was (Madgwick et al. 2013; Miller et al. 2016; Miller and Sykes 2016). Important to this was the connection that these animals had to certain narratives and locations; for the fallow deer, it appears that the role already identified in Greek mythology continued to dominate their representation in the Roman world.

Diana appears foremost in association with the fallow deer of this period, and it is her predecessor and equivalent, Artemis whose origin appears to overlap the fallow deer's natural habitat. For the early Roman, pre-2nd century C.E., Diana was important for, if not the origin of, many justifications of early Imperial ambitions, and through her worship, all, including those forcibly subjugated by the Romans, could find their place (Ando 2009: 114-115). Later, whilst her role in uniting the provincial religious beliefs would subside, the association with the hunt, the wild and femininity would continue (Ogilvie 1979: 26; Turcan 1996; Speller 2003: 122). Representations of this Goddess would frequently, although not always, allude to, or involve the European fallow deer; it would seem that the association with the Greek mythological huntress might be made through recognition of the species.

Notably, alongside these representations, parts of the animals were disseminated across the Empire, whilst in the Greek and Aegean Roman zooarchaeological contexts

they are almost entirely absent – perhaps due to excavation and identification shortcomings (MacKinnon 2014: 161). The representations from the regions where fallow deer are to be found in the wild compared to regions where they are not, likewise differ. Those from contexts in which the fallow deer, but also Greek mythology, appear already present, ostensibly had the more functional and imperialistic role. Where in Italy and elsewhere these associations between fallow deer and Greek mythology are simple, self-evident and obvious, in contrast with the Greek regions the fallow instead feature on imperialistic artefacts: they frequently feature in association with both Diana and the Emperor on Roman coins and also on statues of this area. As is suggested here and elsewhere (Madgwick et al. 2013; Miller et al. 2016; Miller and Sykes 2016), it appears that the fallow deer was particularly notable outside of the context in which it would be usually found. This lent the animal the greater importance.

The Romans were to see a remarkably wide and disparate spread of the emparkment, another mechanism that was distinctive of the aforementioned Thracians, and again the fallow deer would seem to be the intended inhabitant. Huge efforts were apparently made to transport these deer around the Empire, and it would appear to have been conducted on an individual basis to stock parks, as well as some form of trade occurring with medicines and parts derived from the fallow deer. Recognition of the animal in representation, as well as in visual catalogues seems to have also spread alongside these exertions, but perhaps also used to inform the provinces of the associations the fallow deer held.

With the end of the Roman Empire and the fall of Rome, and the rise of the Byzantine and Holy Roman Empire, the depictions and importation of fallow deer around Europe would subside, but not disappear. New associations, based upon old knowledge of the fallow deer's behaviour would emerge strongly, with the deer and the snake being particularly emblematic of Christian struggles. Whilst a few Romanic mythological connections continued, these would be increasingly alluded to, such as a Cypress tree in place of Cyparissus (F28 [Figure 3:27]) and a bow and quiver in place

of Diana alongside a kneeling fallow buck.[28] Previous practices of holding game-preserves by ancient Greek and Roman officials would apparently continue under the Byzantine elite, and stocked European fallow deer. These emparkments and Byzantine game-preserves would also borrow methods and ideologies from both Sicilian and Islamic parks, and importantly came to include those that would later be held by the Norman kings in 12th century Palermo (Ševčenko 2002: 74-75).

It seems that continuity of forms and representations of fallow deer throughout these millennia were occurring, and would continue into the medieval era. Rather than new political and social forces displacing the fallow deer from social-cultural awareness, the representations seem instead to have amalgamated and incorporated these new notions and ideologies. That some of these ideologies, such as those of Pliny, would continue far into the medieval era, was again perhaps in part due to the evidential physicality of the fallow deer itself. Thus, this research into the iconographic and narrative evidence may be considered to tie in with conclusions as to the apparent waves, over centuries, of fallow deer dispersal, contraction and reintroduction which have been drawn on the basis of zooarchaeology and genetics.

[28] Context unfortunately permanently lost due to current unrest in Syria.

Chapter 4 - Gift-giving and the Emparkment of Fallow Deer

Introduction - Emergence of the Medieval Emparkment

Following the end of the Western Roman Empire and of the Roman administration, the fallow deer populations of Northern Europe apparently ended also. Depictions, as discussed in the previous chapter, retreated alongside this development, and although occasionally witnessed in Eastern provinces of the Byzantine Empire, it is evident that the fallow deer's appearance in art and culture became steadily rarer.

However, in the 10-11th century, the history of fallow deer took a prominent role in medieval society, when it appears (as discussed below) to have been re-introduced to Britain and became the cultural centrepiece for a new and widespread network of deer parks (Map 4:1; see also figure 3:31). Society became increasingly aristocratic and hierarchical with the development of feudalism, which in England was boosted by the Norman invasion of 1066. There followed a wholesale redistribution of aristocratic landholdings (Davis 1976; Hudson 1994: 105). Royal and aristocratic society depended on the possession of a large number of frequently widely separated manors and holdings, partly reflected on Map 4:1. The aristocratic lifestyle was largely peripatetic; the household would move from manor to manor through the year. This allowed them to make use of and live off the resources of each landholding in turn (see Figure 4:1). But it also allowed for the administration of justice and management of the estate as well as social engagement. Initially, with a few exceptions (e.g. on the Welsh Marches), William I rewarded his followers with numerous small and widely separated holdings. This was probably to counter the endemic political instability which William knew from France, where powerful dukes and counts competed for power with the monarch. William's arrangements did not, however, endure. Over time, aristocratic marriages, royal grants and acquisitions enabled societal elites to build up large, contiguous and powerful holdings, rich in resources and therefore with greater obligations to the rest of society (Thomas 2008: 67-71).

The development of emparkment mostly relied on the right granted by the sovereign monarch to hunt the deer in various contexts. Hunting rights within the forests would allow individuals to chase the indigenous red deer, but it is the granting of emparkment rights and the fallow deer's role within such systems that this chapter will largely discuss. Beyond the more tangible products such as venison, this system became a crucial tool in medieval society for both demonstrating one's worth and engaging in societal events, as well as in the formation of familial lineage in medieval Britain.

The precise chronological introduction of the fallow into Britain is not as yet clear. Although long thought to have followed the Norman invasion in 1066 (cf. Rackham 1986: 49), recent zooarchaeological research indicates that a slow and steady introduction was occurring from the 10th century onwards (Sykes et al. 2016). This might correlate with the increasing power and centralisation of the monarchy from this period. Certainly the Normans were keen hunters, as was shown briefly in the Bayeux Tapestry (Figure 4:2); they, following the Roman and Byzantine examples encountered elsewhere (cf. Chapter 3), wished to focus upon the skillset provided by hunting (cf. Salisbury 1938: 16). Whatever the case, the mature model of the deer emparkment apparently spread with Norman culture (Mileson 2009: 121), reaching a saturation point in the 14th century. At this point, there appear to have been 3200 deer parks, perhaps covering 2% of the land (see Map 4:1 – compiled from Cox 1905; Rees 1933; Whitehead 1950; Whitehead 1964; Anderson 1967; Cantor and Hatherly 1979; Gilbert 1979; Rackham 1980; Linnard 1982; Rackham 1986: 124, 132; Mileson 2009: 124-133). With the introduction and spread of the deer park, certain ideals of land, family and sociality would seemingly develop. In the centre of this cultural milieu was, it appears, the fallow deer. However, as noted by Mileson (2009: 122), there remain serious gaps in our knowledge which make “it difficult to be fully confident about the standard image of royal control over park creation”.

The apparent association between various militant Christian orders of the Crusades and the fallow deer, can also be witnessed in the use and ownership of deer parks by the Knights Templars and the later Knights of St. John, also known as the Knights Hospitallers. The Knights Templar certainly owned many deer parks, some of which passed onto the Knights Hospitallers by the end of the 12th century, before finally

being returned to the Crown after the dissolution of the Monasteries in the late-16th century (Cantor 1971: 24; Whitehead 2001: 229). Some symbolic significance might yet be discovered, as these organisations came to possess the islands of Malta and indeed Rhodes which we have seen held a substantial number of European fallow deer, and on the latter, the deer were thought to have been introduced earlier to eradicate snakes (Masseti 2002: 54). However, it is not immediately apparent to this researcher that the fallow deer had intrinsic value to these specific orders; only passing reference is made to the ownership of deer parks by these orders (Cantor 1971: 24; Whitehead 2001: 229; Spiteri 2001: 212; Masseti 2002: 54; Masseti 2009: 191; Masseti 2012: 148-149). Instead, it seems that their ownership of deer parks allowed participation in the process of gift-giving venison and deer, facilitating these orders to conduct their important political and fundraising movements and allowing them to adequately provide as a host, as well as employ the venison "to grease a palm" within social spheres (Fletcher 2011: 199).

Following the theories of sovereignty and gift-giving systems alongside the deer park and venison, as briefly discussed by Heal (2014: 40-43), Woolgar (2011) and Griffin (2007), perhaps the popularity of fallow deer, the role of the emparkment and deer-management can be better understood. Thus, this chapter will explore the social-cultural effect of this system, how the fallow deer was to be regarded, and how it was apparently represented within this culture. Rather than a discussion of the iconography of the era, this chapter will discuss in particular the role of gift-giving in deer park formation, in venison procurement and in interspecies relationships within Britain after the Norman Conquest. Through emparkment rights, deer and venison, the medieval aristocracy of Britain created and controlled the cultural capital that was necessary in order to enforce their position within the social hierarchy. This system appears to have lasted until its demise in the mid-17th century and the contemporary rise of the market. The coeval changes in the status of the land – forestry, parks and royal franchising system - will be analysed within the cultural framework of gift-exchange.

Emparkment, Deer and Venison Gift-giving

One of the powers particularly visible from the Norman Conquest until as late as the 18th century was the ability of the monarch to grant emparkment rights. As Fletcher notes "rights to empark were granted by the king to permit someone to create a hunting reserve within which the *forest laws were suspended*" ([my emphasis] Fletcher 2006: 124). Sovereignty has been long understood as the body of persons who are able to remain exceptional from conventional laws, as Schmitt (1922: 13) describes: "*Souverän ist, wer über den Ausnahmezustand entscheidet*" – "Sovereign is he who decides on the exception". The particular exception that creates the sovereign was thought to be based upon a foundational "royal violence" that would confirm and require consistent reaffirmation (Derrida 2002; Runciman 2003; Hansen and Stepputat 2005: 7). Through the body of the deer, or rather through the permitted destruction and dissemination of this, the exception could be found. Exclusive privileges over these lands were granted to lords, and they could lease the land for grazing rights and sell the products of the landscape should they wish to do so; however, they were never granted ownership of the deer themselves, but only it seems the actions towards them - and particularly their killing (White 2012: 62).

This exception extended down through the system, through parks and live deer, and finally found itself disseminated through the medium of venison. Griffin (2007: 72) credits this venison-giving as creating a custom which "extended right down the social hierarchy, with smaller householders giving the gifts of hares, rabbits, partridges and pheasants – gifts that befitted their humbler means". However, labelling this emulation as a form of Thorstein Veblen's ([1899] 2007) "*trickle-down*" theory - as in the prior statement that labelled venison practices as acts of "conspicuous consumption" - might be premature given that the supposed universality of gift-giving in human interactions could be the origin of such lowly gifts.

It has been supposed that the universality of gift-giving has long stood as the precursor of many social interactions and much of human society (Lévi-Strauss 1987: 25-30; Graeber 2011). In accordance with the widely accepted *Essai sur le don* by the French philosopher Marcel Mauss (1990: 29), the gift is understood to inflict and exist through three obligations: the obligation to give, the obligation to receive and the

obligation to reciprocate. These obligations, Mauss (1990: 12) explains, allows "things [to] create bonds between souls, for the thing itself has a soul, is part of the soul". Under Mauss's tutelage the gift becomes the notion of a total social fact, a universal structure that exists within every individual and without, "both individual and collective", as "both 'thing' and 'representation'" (Lévi-Strauss 1987: 27, 29).

Many have since expanded upon Mauss's work, particularly Godelier (1999: 170; see also Simmel 1978: 404), who explains that although some passages are too fixated on religious connotations on Mauss's part, gifts do indeed transform relationships, and undergo transformations themselves so that their donors do not necessarily "recognize themselves in their replicas, which, once they have split off, stand before them as persons who are at once familiar and alien". The separation of objects has also been shown to be a claim to own them (Godelier 1999: 11), but to allow claims of existence through differentiating and defining also the partners in such a transaction (Strathern 1990: 344; Carrier 1995: 35). Also Jacques Derrida (1992: 14-16) has largely shown that gift-giving must not be understood as altruistic, as the debts, gratitude, humility and obligations created in the gift-exchange will contradict the idealism of a "free gift". A free gift would require that both parties are unaware of the gift-giving, and only a few examples of this free gift have ever been proven (Laidlaw 2000; Venkatesan 2011). The original gift or grant by the monarch of a deer park, would at the same time naturally involve an act of recognition of the recipient land owner, as well as an act of faith on the part of the giver that the recipient would operate in the best interests of the deer. Thus, some mutual act of trust was, as ever, involved – one which involves not merely the two parties concerned but also the contents of the gift itself (i.e. the deer).

In keeping the constituents – the venison, the deer and the emparkment itself – from the market, economic valuation, and commodity relations (Fletcher 2011: 199), it should be expected that the transfer of these items would operate in the fashion of the gift instead (cf. Gregory 1982). Indeed, as noted by Heal (2014), Munsche (1981), where these transfers would appear to be commodified, they would appear as somewhat of a challenge to the gift-giving network. In poaching, peasant economies and other spheres of exchange, this is thought in particular to have been useful for distancing the individuals and alienating the transfer (Munsche 1981: 67; Manning

1993). Commodities and the market are always thought to be alienating on some level; '*Through money, man is no longer enslaved in things'* (Simmel 1978: 404), yet it seems that even in poaching and the venison market these elements could retain aspects of gift-giving systems. If this were indeed the case, it should be further expected that aspects of law, animal husbandry and even meat preparation will be seen to resemble the reciprocal personal and inalienable interactions and reactions manifested in gift-giving.

Granting the Deer Park

To say that the deer park permeated British society is perhaps an understatement. The right to empark, otherwise known as franchising, was granted for over 3000 parks at any one time during the six hundred years that the monarch was permitted to grant emparkments (cf. Map 4:1). Jean Birrell (1992; see also Mileson 2009) has indicated that these many of these franchises were not granted simply to provide easy hunting, but were rather for the extensive management of the deer retained within.

These deer in the medieval era were nearly always fallow deer, and despite husbandry comparable to that of many domesticated and commodified species, "though venison was highly prized, it was not, as a rule, produced for the market" (Birrell 1992: 114; see also Mileson 2009: 106). Oliver Rackham (1986: 125) goes further stating: 'Venison was no ordinary meat: it was a special dish for feasts and the honouring of guests. It was beyond price – I have not a single record of a sale or valuation – and a haunch was a gift that money could not buy.' Some venison is thought to have made its way into the market illegally and in the occasional speciality shop, but emparked venison, for the most part, "brineth no manner or gain or profit to the owner, sith they commonly give away their flesh, never taking penny for the same, except the ordinary fee, and parts of the deer given unto the keeper by a custom… for venison in England is neither bought nor sold, as in other countries, but maintained only for the pleasure of the owner and his friends" (Harrison [1577] in Withington 1902: 207).

In the first few centuries of the forestry law and park franchising, in addition to such grants of deer parks under licence was the question of the deer themselves (Munsche 1981: 9-10). Regularly it appears that founding deer herds were granted alongside the

licence; first provided from the royal forests, these were later supplemented by live deer taken from successful parks, as demonstrated in the exhaustive lists provided by Evelyn Philip Shirley (1867), John Cox (1905) and George Whitehead (1950; 1964). Where herds were successful, the deer were then sent on to further parks, an act which would reiterate and reference the original gift, for to give venison requires the deer, which similarly requires the right to kill such deer. Such reiteration as referencing the original gift has been discussed by Marilyn Strathern (1990: 340-344) as being due to sincere absorption of prior gifts, creating new sources for further gift-giving, but implicitly referencing each prior transaction. The deer park guarantees the availability of venison and involves the bestowal of rights to the park-holder by the monarchy to requisition this, but it also requires a local population of live deer, another prerequisite that could not be provided through the commodity market. Here, again, the king might grant deer through the use of warrants, or through the generosity of other established fellow park-owners, but importantly even upon traditionally royal terrains "the king owned the deer in his forest, but not necessarily the land" (Rackham 1986: 133).

Although by the 13th century the process of applying for emparkment franchising rights was primarily a bureaucratic one, the king still retained the ability to veto and interfere in the process (Mileson 2009: 122-133). As early as the 13th and 14th century's disafforestation and emparkment rights had become more procedural allowing for emparkment to accelerate and effectively replace the forest as the primary source of venison (Gulley 1960: 310; Rackham 1980: 191; Rackham 1986: 123; Mileson 2009: 122). Warrants, however, to bestow live deer were usually still administered on the monarch's own decision. Similarly, the ability of the monarch or monarchy to divert deer away from parks by forestry law and by the monarch's invitation, and later be followed by a 'disparkment", should the park be seen to be without deer, was a system that was still compulsory well into the 16th century (Baker 1997: 58). Correspondingly, the fees required to apply for emparkment licenses and the costs required for transportation and labour essential to the deer park may be understood as providing a barrier against debts incurred through gift-giving and interpersonal relationships. Furthermore, these fees varied on circumstances, perhaps acting as a barrier from inappropriate obligations - lower when the family was favoured; higher when the process required heavier debates, which "could be interpreted as an attempt to discourage park creation" (Mileson 2009: 133). Lewis

Hyde ([1979] 2006: 53) has discussed the presence of such protection in the interests of the "giver" where "a fee for a service tends to cut off the force of gratitude" but also "suspends the weight of the gift and de-potentiates it as an agent of change". However, when economically pressed and without adequate taxation infrastructure to rely on, the monarch would charge higher fees, particularly under the reigns of the 12-13th century King John and King Edward I (Mileson 2009: 136-137). Implicitly, this represented instead a form of short-term taxation applied without exception; it should be seen as a result of the actions of governance and law rather than those of a sovereign and particularly the sovereign exception (Foucault 1978b p2001]: 216-217 - see Glossary), and the performance and debt to be expected within the gift-giving system.

Grants of emparkment and enfranchisement in medieval England enabled the personal provision of venison, allowing park-owners to become providers. And venison as a product of the hunt, and as a source of a gift that could not be bought, implied the position of those who could provide it (Fletcher 2011: 4). Even if the venison was to be rendered from a deer ambushed by an agent of the owner, by way of demonstrating the hierarchical apparatus, the prestige of the venison would be reinforced further. That this demonstration could be brought before guests or sent further afield and act in the place of the donor, represents the many systems and prior gifts that allowed such a provision to take place; its receipt would also prove the recipient's connections (Mileson 2009: 106). As such, "the custom of giving was an important symbol of a great house's power, consolidating social networks and relationships" whilst "the exclusion of rivals from this cycle of gift-giving and the refusal of gifts were both every bit as significant as the exchanges that did occur" (Griffin 2007: 72). He who was granted the ability to administer venison was allowed to enter into a carefully controlled system of exchange, and was therefore able to host visitors correctly, engage with local landowners "to grease a palm", and certainly venison was a real asset for gifting (Fletcher 2011: 199). Being able to provide venison could even be the direct bearer of entry into a social milieu, seen in such societies as the Royal Society, whose founders made allowances for "any nobleman or gentleman complimenting this company with venison, not less than a haunch… be deemed an honorary member and admitted as often as he comes without paying the fee" (Boulton 1901: 182). Organisations and movements such as religious orders apparently engaged in the

venison gift-giving, having inherited franchised parks from the families of their members or being directly granted by the king, demonstrating in such transactions that deer parks and ecological manipulation had become social norms (Rackham 1986: 125; Pluskowski 2007a: 77). Perhaps these systems of emparkment spread in the fashion that approximates Mary Douglas and Baron Isherwood's (1996: 71-73) application of an infectious disease model to household appliances, whereby "each member of the population who becomes an owner reduces the number of susceptible non-owners in a circle of friends".[29] Certainly, by the 14th century the deer parks of Britain were nearly pervasive and appeared to have begun spreading abroad into Denmark and the Netherlands as well (Map 4:1); few would have been unaware of the deer park (Rackham 1980: 191; Rackham 1986: 123).

Thus it seems clear that the gift-giving, and the implications of gift-giving, can be identified as operating in three areas of traditional deer parks: in the granting of emparkment rights by the king, in the live deer that were exchanged amongst deer parks, and in the venison given. That all were kept apart from monetary value and the market, seems to affirm the conclusions of Christopher Gregory's (1982: 41) monograph on the gift and commodity antinomy, that "commodity exchange establishes objective quantitative relationships between the objects transacted" whereas "gift exchange establishes personal qualitative relationships between the subjects transacting".[30] Commodification, Thomas (1991: 24) and Carrier (1995: 27-29) agree, is a configuration of transfer to allow for fungible alienation, whilst the uniqueness in the gift is intrinsically embedded and inalienable (Weiner 1985: 210; also Weiner 1992: 37). To gain a gift is to become interrelated with others, to give a gift is to embody these relations (Strathern 1990: 344); on the other hand, an act of destruction for the donor and of consumption for the receiver - to keep a gift to oneself instead and to own it truly - might see its "giftiness" (to use the neologism)

[29] In an under-appreciated passage, the ownership of cultural formats such as television sets works perfectly with the epidemiological models, demonstrating even the spread of immunity and mutations (Douglas and Isherwood 1996: 72).

[30] However, Chris Gregory (1982) has been heavily criticised for being too heavy-handed with the comparisons, particularly by Nicholas Thomas (1991), who explains how the two supposedly irreconcilable forms of transfer can easily be the same but viewed from different perspectives.

perish (Hyde [1979] 2006: 8). Such gift-giving systems require the movement to continue so as to legitimise previous and future transactions, what Marilyn Strathern (1999: 56) indicates is a matter of velocity, whereby effort must be continuously made to ensure that the accords do not decelerate.

Such deceleration was visible towards the end of the deer-park gift-giving system. In 1640, the venison of 104 does was supplied to Charles I for Christmas. 32 of these appear to have come from private parks (Cox 1905: 78-79), whilst the rest were sourced from forests; however, the latter appear "to be the last trace of the purveying of venison from the forest for the royal table at Christmas" (Whitehead 1964: 12). Although venison would continue to be present at the royal table until the early 20th century, the position of royalty in the deer park would never be the same as earlier (Fletcher 2006: 125-126). For over the last centuries before the Civil Wars, the royal family had claimed a monopoly on deer through forest law, a system that allowed them to distribute deer and various rights to interact with the deer as they saw fit. King Charles I led the final series of changes, including the sale of much of the royal forestry, new techniques provided by firearms (see Figure 4:3), in order to cement the royal family's position in response to the growing power of Parliament, at the same time - somewhat ironically – as making great efforts to reinstate forest law. During this period, parks were formally 'disparked', where the structure of the park was removed, and the surviving deer were culled under blanket orders, such as that which was given in the same year as Charles' final Christmas venison: to destroy and remove all deer in the once large High Peak Forest in the North West of Derbyshire. This latter act was seemingly as a punishment by the crown for growing resistance in the area - after which only a few enclosures and parks in the area survived (Cox 1905: 201; Whitehead 1964: 325-326). Meanwhile, Charles I and his retinue, attempted to reimpose and reinforce the antiquated systems of the forest law, which met and cemented resistance as much as it did support, thanks in part to the "ill judged" and extravagant penalties against those deemed to be working against the Crown's interests (Cox 1905: 77). In inadvertently eroding the former seat of symbolic power, and turning the land over for development and industry, Charles I ended the reign of the deer park and the fallow deer, leading to the creation of the landscape park and the 'emparkment' of the red deer.

In the 17th century, Britain underwent many changes, which involved the adoption of a commoditised culture (Carrier 1995: 75-77) as well as population growth accelerating alongside technological advances (Stone 1966: 30-31; Shaw 1985: 293), whilst political upheaval led to an extremely destructive Civil War. During the Civil War, most deer parks fared little better than the eventually decapitated monarch; facing economic paucity and a shortage of workers, the infrastructures of many deer parks collapsed, and the deer, which earlier had appeared quite contented, now escaped. In the royal strongholds of the north, during the war, effort was made to preserve and protect the deer, but deer inhabiting the royal forests south of the river Ribble were heavily expelled by the turmoil (Whitehead 1964: 336).

Similarly, upon the orders of disparkment that became frequent during the 17th century, the deer were returned to the king in the form of venison or deposited alive back into the royal forests whence they came. Whether this action was voluntary or legally prescribed, it seems that the king employed the same system of warrants that had once provided the deer, now to return them, thus clearly affirming the principle that James Carrier (1995: 32-33) has explained as that "those who originally possessed something can and do make claims on the benefits others have gained from the use of that thing". That this restitution was apparently legally administered, however does appear to contradict Carrier's (1995: 22) further explanation that in the gift there can be "no over-arching institution that enforces the obligations that people have in these relationships in the way that the state enforces a contract". Perhaps, this might go some way as to explain the resistance and upset that met Charles I's 'ill-advised' attempts in the 1630s to manipulate Forest Law in his interests and the riots that followed (Rackham 1986: 139). This attempted manipulation was particularly manifested in the parks and forests of Oxfordshire and in the stubbornness of the Duffield Frith (Cox 1905: 77). Duffield Frith in Derbyshire had, for instance, been in the hands of the Crown until the time of Charles I. Originally a valuable source of timber, by the 16th century the forest laws had been relaxed, much was considered common land and, greatly denuded, the Frith ceased to be a royal forest in 1633.

In one extensive command, by way of an open warrant from the King instructing the schedule of venison required, the stark language provides no leeway for the park-owner. It indicates that the deer were to be delivered "according to our pleasure

expressed in the said Schedule" and that the recipient of the request was instructed not to show any restraint; that "ye are not to fail" (in Cox 1905: 77-78). These carcasses were intended for the King to allow him to supply foreign dignitaries, and were only one order of many equally strident directives requiring delivery of venison for local political bodies and parties.

That Charles I would also enforce a schedule of venison for his own gift-giving would squash any ambiguity and legalise the debt that was perceived to be owed from the park-owners (Cox 1905: 77-79). Perhaps, as Oliver Rackham (1986: 139) has inferred, this King had pursued the Forest Law "in the hope that people would pay to terminate the system", and perhaps these attempts that sound somewhat 'ill-advised', in fact were meant to sabotage. For oddly, although legal debt "can be forgiven, which isn't always possible with a moral debt" (Graeber 2011: 120), where once the deer park-owners were eager to fulfil the requests of the warrants, they were suddenly burdened with the prospect of obsolescence through contractual obligation to "not fail". However, such an intransient nature of debt caused by an initial gift-giving is not itself malign; such asymmetry within the exchange encouraged later transaction and therefore interaction of sorts. For as Graeber (2011: 122) indicates, such indebtedness is implicit in the formation of relationships, it is as though "a delicate web made up of obligations to return three eggs or a bag of okra, ties renewed and recreated, as any one of them could be cancelled out at any time." Fragility and ambiguity in the gift relationship and the direct threat of potential failure would apparently be the strength of the gift – the need for the transactors to nurture the material and the relationship, described by Georg Simmel (1950: 392) as the "coercion" that can be found in the supposedly "voluntary" gift. A moral debt is inherently emotive and open to interpretation and creativity, whereas a legal debt is enforced and delineated via the contract. For the foreign dignitaries of Charles I's time, their venison was supplied by the King's command, via his royal prerogative over the deer, and the deer-parks were reduced to fungible suppliers.

Following Charles' unseating, issues regarding hunting and emparkment can be witnessed in the legislation of Parliament, with efforts made to realign the park with the powerful landowners and the members of Parliament themselves. By the mid-17th century the realignment was commonplace and accepted; Parliament and its

prominent members could and would offer emparkment rights (Fletcher 2006: 127). As the growth of capitalism and economic distancing of production led to the development of the economy on lines familiar to Marxist theorists, efforts were apparently made to protect aristocratic values in production; for the "production of deer for the market would have devalued an important aspect of the aristocratic way of life and privilege" (Birrell 1992: 115). Instead, the new laws and particularly the Game Law of 1671 were not entirely a reaction to the destruction of game during the Civil War; they were aimed rather at protecting the landowners from the upwardly and geographically mobile urban 'parasites' who preferred easily transmuted assets and international trade (Munsche 1981: 17-18). Munsche (1981: 17) also suggested that although these "parasites" could easily gain the means and fulfil the prerequisites necessary to gain the right to hunt, the Game Act by introducing a property qualification, 'forced them to concede the superiority of land over other forms of wealth'. Meanwhile, it appears that the franchising of emparkment that the king once held was no different from the rights provided to the country gentlemen, and although its symbolic value led some individuals to attempt to claim archaic connection to the King's grant,[31] by the end of the 17th century the Crown had ceased admitting emparkment rights (Munsche 1981: 14; Manning 1988: 25).

Ostensibly this politico-cultural change can be seen in the new creation and the renovation of many deer parks, labelled as 'country house parks' and later 'landscape parks' rather than the more simplistic deer parks of medieval Britain (Lasdun 1991). As discussed in Chapter 6 and particularly amongst the discussion of the Knucklebone floor (Ward et al. in press), these transformations sought a new aesthetic form focused on the archaic. These more structured parks formed, as it were, the simulacra (see Glossary) of symbolic power, whereby the aesthetic representation of the 'archaic' in the deer park would apparently take precedence over the symbolic power itself (Rackham 1986: 129). Here in the demonstrations of waste and aesthetic production

[31] For instance in 1812, Richard Howard attempted to have his rights of chase and free warren recognised as being granted by the much older Congham Common enclosure grants (Munsche 1981: 191).

of futility, the leisure class of Thorstein Veblen's ([1899] 2007) "conspicuous consumers" may be found. The deer themselves, within these parks, are cited by Veblen (2007: 90) as an inadequate substitute for the production of grazing animals, which were now preferable, however, to the upper classes "because of their superior expensiveness or futility, and their consequent repute". Around this time, the red deer previously deemed too noble an animal to enclose according to the medieval mind, John Fletcher (2011: 98-99; 103) posits were now perhaps bred into the behaviour required in a deer park, and perhaps as with breeding of cattle, their production was the new cultural value.

As symbolically the deer came to be regarded as less profitable so, following the Restoration of the Crown in 1660, legislation on deer became a matter of political concern, even if such legislation was now aimed at strengthening the aristocratic way of life and privilege. Parliament, which had usurped the monarch, became formative in the interaction of humans and deer. Although the monarch had previously held a monopoly over such interactions, in attempting to remove ambiguity through scheduling, Charles I may himself have been responsible for losing this power for his descendants; no future king or queen enjoyed venison purveyed for Christmas. It is in this failure that the untold importance of the deer to the medieval sovereign can perhaps be expressed, for although many (Platt 1978: 47; Stamper 1988: 146; Kuchta 2002: 19; Fletcher 2011; MacGregor 2012: 108) repeatedly exercise the term "conspicuous consumption" - the destruction to show disregard of worth as display, in regard to medieval deer, deer parks were anything but worthless.

Venison and the dangers of the tainted gift

That the gift required the use of another form of coercion and agency relations in the case of the fallow deer would apparently manifest itself in the quality of the deer. In one instance, the malformation of the heads and antlers of the fallow deer was attributed directly to the park-owner's attempt to diversify the produce of the park by introducing extensive rabbit warrens (Plot 1705: 190; 212a). That this owner sought to diversify for monetary profit, was seen as a source of pollution to the deer, and apparently a direct manifestation of the misuse of the deer park: once the warrens were destroyed "they came again to have as fair Branched-heads as any Deer

whatever the adjoining Forrest" (Plot 1705: 190). Whether or not this instigated the deer's malformation, that the rabbits were seen to be the cause was accepted at the time and reveals ontologically the importance of the purity of both the deer and the landscape (see Chapter 6).[32]

Indeed, it appears that the relations between individuals could be challenged by spoiled venison, of which the only recourse would be a further, correcting meal of venison. For as the prolific journals of the Royal Society's Samuel Pepys (Fletcher 2006) noted in the late 17th century, the taste of a particularly disgusting venison meal could only be forgotten with a further portion of venison, which negated the previous example and ameliorated any immediate tension to the relationship, thus truly showing "what is transacted, and how, can be important for defining transactors and their relationship to each other" (Carrier 1995: 34).

It seems equally commonplace for the venison itself to be expectantly provisioned depending on the qualities of the meat; where identified, the best venison was then sent to the monarch's table (as attested by Payne-Gallwey 1881: 322; Cox 1905: 126, 240 and Whitehead 1964: 13, 311). This venison, it seems, was frequently rendered from the female deer of the park, and the timings of the culling indicate that these gifts of venison were probably made in dedication to the king for Michaelmas. It may be that the gender of the deer did not superficially matter in and of itself when it came to venison quality. It may be rather the timings of the cull during the medieval era (in which bucks were killed over the summer and the doe killed during the winter) led the

[32] That we live in a time where epistemological rhetoric is widely dispersed and permeates "modern" society does not mean that we should find the underlying truth that implicitly ridicules prior ontological cosmologies, brilliantly described by Bruno Latour (2007: 27-29) with metaphorical "statues" to the various values of the modern era.

meat of the doe to become symbolically more valuable than its functionality or savouriness.[33]

Meanwhile, venison of suitable standards was distributed amongst the park hierarchy, friends of the parks and finally local power-brokers. At Blandsby Park, in 1488-1492, it is particularly interesting to note that these local power-brokers included local ecclesiastical individuals, and ceremonial events included initiations and rituals of wedding and priesthood, where on each occasion a buck was provided (Cox 1905: 120). Although records are scant as to the gender of deer when distributed within the household, in these four years listed in the records of Blandsby, only one doe was presented to an individual outside the local deer-park system. This was given to the most powerful person listed, to the Dean of York for Michaelmas 1491. Local records of murrain, also recorded by Cox (1905: 120) for Blandsbury Park, account for nearly a third of the deer's losses, and together with a decreasing return for hunted deer in the following season, would indicate that Blandsbury Park could ill afford to present deer. That the Clerk of Blandsbury continued enjoying the venison rendered from does out-of-season, whilst his superior ate only the meat from bucks over the summer following a bad year of murrain, might indicate that the park-owner himself would rather sacrifice his own desires in order to ensure that his confidants including his powerful friend the Dean of York might enjoy choice venison the following Michaelmas. That removing a doe from the herd would lessen the potential future numbers of the park's deer, would make the venison of Michaelmas a potent sacrifice, one that might appear wasteful for the deer park-owner's plate, but was invaluable as a gift.

[33] Modern deer practices have been largely based around antler trophies, 'which discourages the killing of stags until the late summer, but was completely foreign to medieval deer hunters and only entered the British consciousness in the 19th century, probably from Germany' (Fletcher 2006: 128). Due to breeding patterns, unlike culling the bucks, the culling of the doe will always lower the potential number of deer, yet bucks and stags are both valued for hunting: 'hinds gave inferior sport… they did not run so strongly and in consequence were regarded as mere suppliers of venison' (Almond 2003: 62). Stags and bucks provided the best experiences, hinds and does provided the best material.

Yet in the case of venison from a deer that was found dead, or was taken from a poacher, the movement of the venison was certainly an exercise of disposal rather than that of a gift. It would appear in this movement that the actions of the poachers were considered as on the same level as the contamination of venison by sickness: in both cases the venison was dispersed amongst the local poor, lepers and even pregnant women (Shirley 1867: 228; Turner 1901 89; Cox 1905: 101, 243; Whitehead 1964: 109, 321). Despite this dispersal seeming to simulate a gift-relationship, any lack of recognition in this act of charity appears much like many charitable and power-ridden transfers whereby the exchange is as asymmetrical as the gift-giving (Hanawalt 1998: 143). Although some parallel has been indicated with other game animals, it is important to note that a dead partridge or hare would never be of a quality equal to venison, and neither would any quantity of game allow any equality if reciprocated with venison (Griffin 2007). For an inferior gift will always leave the reciprocator "in a socially inferior and dependent position until he can in turn give more than he has received" (Godelier 1999: 150), and where no tangible return was possible the recipient must repay through support and esteem (Blaxter 1971: 128).[34] However, when an equivalence cannot be met or even approached, even on a microcosmic stratum such as in living organ donation, "as a consequence, the giver, the receiver and their families may find themselves locked in a creditor-debtor vice that binds them to each other in a mutually fettering way" (Fox and Swazey 2002: 40).[35] The venison which cascaded down furthest from the deer park, namely the venison administered to the pauper and leper, was certainly not a gift provided between equals, or between equal participants, but it rather involved an attempt to

[34] Such prevention of the gift-exchange through an asymmetry of reciprocation rather the reciprocation of those reliant on others in modern elderly care homes has been demonstrated to have contributed to a worsening quality of life and life expectancy (Lu and Argyle 1992) as well as encouraging abuse from their unthanked care-givers (Aronson and Neysmith 1996). Conversely, further opportunities to reciprocate relationships in the Danish welfare system have proved to mitigate the indebtedness care causes and allow the elder to maintain a semblance of independence and agency (Lewinter 2003).

[35] This instance of complete asymmetry has been termed "the tyranny of the gift" by Nancy Scheper-Hughes (2007: 511) who has gone as far as to advise that the only ethical approach would be to consign 'living donation… to a back seat as an exceptional back-up to deceased donation.' For Scheper-Hughes, only in extreme and in themselves rarified acts of donation, recipience or reciprocation can one escape the mortal debt of a living donation.

dispose of tainted meat. Seeing what was the case with the already enfeebled and handicapped leper and pauper, then in what measure could the elderly and infirm hope to reciprocate the gift of venison, when such a gift was deemed unfit for the consumption of the donor? Particularly concerning a situation where systems provisioned the king alongside the pauper, Barbara Hanawalt (1998: 147) has described especially well the contradiction that, whilst the "alms delivered in the form of such prized meat have been regarded as particularly efficacious for the health of the king's soul", on the other hand "diseased or spoiled venison must have been only barely palatable to the beggars and lepers who received it."

That such tainted venison was to be distributed to a multitude unnamed in the accounts creates no accord between individuals, but it does underline the beneficence of the park-owner named and create categories of the afflicted, be they 'poor' or 'lepers'. Such a failure to recognise a confederate in the relationship through merging individuals within a general category is notable for preventing the making of a debt and for protecting one partner from the more normal gift relationship (Laidlaw 2000: 623), but it can also be used to subjugate the weaker recipient in supposedly benevolent actions by the powerful. In the latter case, presenting oneself as an unequal giver and doing so here with a certain disregard less apparent in other forms of hierarchical gift-giving,[36] such as are witnessed in other eras in the supposed generosity displayed in Soviet Russia and Communist China, may transform mundane matters ranging from Russian museums to Tibetan housing developments (Ssorin-Chaikov 2006; Yeh 2013) into potent sites of neuroses and enfeeblement for those unable to fulfil the obligation to reciprocate. Through the invasive indebtedness, powerful donors who refuse to allow reciprocation to occur, become transcendent and create notions of an "intersubjective relationship between the giver and its citizens as recipients" and the gift-giving "thus works to produce the effect of the state as a reified, unitary actor with an ontological presence" (Yeh 2013: 267). Rather than a

[36] Such hierarchical systems that allow for or even accelerate gift-giving are especially visible in highly structured and isolated hierarchies – such as amongst isolated French alpine villages (Blaxter 1971) and Japanese and Chinese corporate culture (Yan 1996; Lotz et al. 2003).

display of disciplinary power in governmentality and biopower which will ultimately remain external, in such cases the gift permeates the interior of the recipient, creating a guilt and debt that allows the otherwise conceptual power of the sovereign to penetrate and incorporate. This may particularly have been the case when tainted venison was presented to the poor and weak for their consumption.

Following the Restoration of the Crown in 1660, attempts were made to re-establish some degree of order to the deer parks, with efforts made to destroy and corral feral deer as well as to remove deer from the parks of those who had supported Parliament during the Civil War (Shirley 1867: 65). Nevertheless, Parliament's rulings in the Game Acts beginning in 1671 removed the monarch's monopoly over the emparkment process, and allowed any with the necessary resources to empark their own land. No longer could the king keep the deer by "giving" them, a somewhat contradictory process, that Annette Weiner (1985: 210; 1992: 150) describes as "keeping-while-giving": seen as an enforcement of guardianship even across generations, but also as legitimising both transactors current and former as well as creating objects that are inherently inalienable.[37] The loss of what may be recognised as such "inalienable possessions" to accident, material destruction and atrophy,[38] can in turn work to undermine "the material symbol that legitimates their rank, status, or uniqueness" (Weiner 1992: 37; cf. Ssorin-Chaikov 2006).

[37] Particularly notable of the structuring power of gift-giving is the claim: 'The basic dilemmas surrounding these loci of power and the challenges to the priorities of keeping possessions out of circulation appear in various local guises and forms throughout human history, revealing how the motivation for reciprocity is centered not in the gift per se, but in the authority vested in keeping inalienable possessions. Ownership of these possessions makes the authentication of difference rather than the balance of equivalence the fundamental feature of exchange' (Weiner 1992: 40).

[38] A major example where atrophy and time were dangerous to the gift can be seen in the last century with those gifts presented for Stalin's birthday from the Soviet people, which were stored in a special exhibition; and where sub-committees were formed to investigate and alleviate guilt for the rotting gifts as representing either naïve ignorance or sabotage (Ssorin-Chaikov 2006: 370).

This inalienability of the gift, and reciprocal obligations of course relies nonetheless on the moral obligation of the gift, which brings rewards both materially and symbolically, but at the same time was accompanied by an ambiguity that allowed for spontaneity and creativity (Graeber 2011: 105). Charles I in his orders to deer parks, scheduled obligations and criminalised failure, thus removing the ambiguity and fragility that allowed for and encouraged individuals to become creative and spontaneous in equal measure.[39] Previously, individuals would hope that in their attempts to fulfil warrants through their own stocks - through personalising the objects of gift-giving - they would receive greater rewards and further interaction in the future (Shirley 1867: 217-218). Additionally, by privatising a very great proportion of the royal forests, Charles I and many of his predecessors had undermined their authority and their claim to the deer themselves, as "their authority depended on the power to make gifts of a kind that money could not buy, such as [live] deer and giant oaks" (Rackham 1986: 138). Although diseases and the occasional outgoing monarch may have slowed the arable expansion, the decline of the forests may be witnessed in the declining consumption of venison and the decreasing number of gifts of deer that the royal household now engaged in (Aberth 2013: 192).

This homogeneity was not long-lived, certainly, for as the monarch lost his monopoly over the emparkment process and over the deer themselves, so too did the economic cosmology change in the 17th-18th century towards alienation and distance manifesting in all walks of life (Carrier 1995: 75-77). Munsche (1981: 5) has argued that as emparkment as property proliferated, encouraged by the Game Acts of the 17th century, deer park-owners began for the first time "to view game as property – and poachers as thieves". The poachers' actions, if understood as forms of resistance (see Chapter 5), were no longer forms of resistance against the sovereign, but resistance against the deer park-owner or gentry, and they were heavily criminalised. Nevertheless, as the poaching trade expanded, relationships also changed. The

[39] Charles I's interference and mistakes must be duly credited for revealing the sublime aspects of gift-giving, as it presents the authors of the following years the 'absolute gaze of the omniscient and omnipresent spectator' theorised to be necessary to witness and deconstruct such complex structures by Pierre Bourdieu (1990: 98).

poachers, now "gangs of hardened criminals", became for the most part strangers to the deer-keepers, and indeed by the end of the 18th century "they may even have been strangers to one another" (Munsche 1981: 67).

Deer-parks: utilitarian or rarified symbols

Ultimately, the applications of law under Charles I had given the appearance that the monarch was "more concerned with upholding the royal game prerogative and aristocratic hunting privileges than preserving public order" (Manning 1993: 233). It is surely not mere chance that he was the monarch who led the country into the Civil War, having attempted to monopolise through land-rights via the forestry law and control over the deer. Assertions that medieval deer parks had previously been "to a large extent utilitarian enterprises, their purpose to provide food for the enormous households of the period… an auxiliary farm" (Lasdun 1991: 5-7) appear to be misleading and reductive. Archaeological and zooarchaeological finds as well as historical records suggest that venison provided no more than 10% of the aristocratic household's meat consumption (Dyer 1989: 59-61; Creighton 2002: 18; Bond 2004: 182; Sykes 2010a: 179-180), and individual records also seem to reflect this, with parks and the occasional forest providing as few as ten deer a year for the table (Cox 1905: 120; Whitehead 1964: 24, 287, 311, 329, 332). The upkeep of deer was expensive and the deer themselves required a great deal of time and patience. Thus, although a thousand-acre park could be efficient enough to provide the same venison as a ten thousand-acre forest, "nonetheless, overall returns were unimpressive compared to the amount of land and effort given over to these animals" (Mileson 2009: 79).

The purpose of the park was not to accrue food for the household's subsistence, but to guarantee access to a source of venison to potentially distribute. By divesting this access to venison through a gift-giving economy rather than that of the market, sovereignty permeated the hierarchy, which also worked to delineate positions within this system and through the deer presented this sovereignty as a unitary body with an ontological presence. By the means of gift-giving, individuals could engage with others. However, this was not necessarily the creation of any one individual, or the product of a singular origin. Nor has it been the attempt to find the origin or

prehistory of such system here, but rather following Latour's (2007: 145-173) proposals to understand such gift-giving within medieval cosmology and ontology.

Fallow deer for the deer park, perhaps has a parallel with the Nuers' use of cattle, where these pastoral African tribal groups societal structures are largely founded upon a reliance on their symbolic and functional relationships to animals (cf. Evans-Pritchard 1956).Here, and relevant for the deer park, there was apparently merely "an ingenious compromise between market and nonmarket forms of consciousness and sociality"; which also reflected "major socioeconomic transformations in the relative autonomy and dependence" between humanity, hierarchy and animal (Hutchinson 1992: 312). Venison was not merely consumed conspicuously, as suggested by John Fletcher (2011: 198) and Arthur MacGregor (2012: 108), it was also formative in non-market relations, and it is in these relations that venison's true worth to the aristocracy can be located. This amalgamation in which deer are 'consumed' is not a purely functional or auxiliary economic practice, but is rather a transfer and a substance, as truly gifts are the "agents of that organic cohesion we perceive as liveliness" (Hyde [1979] 2006: 153). Therefore, it was not the act of consuming venison that allowed for the ruling classes to emerge, but rather the interactions that emparkment, live deer and venison allowed. Nor were the deer parks and Prodigy Houses themselves simple acts of conspicuous consumption (Kuchta 2002: 19), but rather symbolically and socially useful particularly in regards to hosting a monarch (Girouard 1994; Dasgupta 2011: 197-198).

At the end of this discussion, a simple question should be asked: where are the deer? Certainly interspecies interactions are not visible within Mauss's (1990: 12) gift "soul", which is a clever metaphor for the "life" of the obligation rather than the material itself. There seems to be little difference in the theories of gift-giving between the inanimate objects of the Kula exchange for the Trobriand islanders (Malinowski 1922: 81-104; Mauss 1990: 21-31) and the deer exchange for the medieval lord. Although fallow deer might occasionally be witnessed as accidentally killing a hunter or park-worker, only notable incidents seemed worth any footnote, as for instance if prominent humans were involved. One such example occurred in Tottenham park in 1620, when a 'gentleman of good sort, one Waldron, who was killed by the rise or bound of a buck in the king's presence' (Shirley 1867: 100).

Others allude to the considerable number of deer as a threat to human life, a failure of deer-management rather than that of the deer's open rebellion (Whitehead 1964: 325). This and the contemporary reductive perceptions of fallow deer will be discussed further in Chapters 5-6). Deer would be outwardly indistinguishable as individuals or rather their agency is not recognised; this stands very clearly apart from narratives concerning the legendary red deer. It is not merely familiarity that allowed the fallow deer to be so easily reduced to venison It is perhaps in the fragility of the body of the deer that we should seek an answer. As venison this would be a suitable medium for medieval nobility to display their social and cultural capital and their access to the deer.

Conclusions

The re-introduction of fallow deer to Britain that was apparently conducted at some time around the period of the Norman invasion, and the lack of coeval imagery invites further discussion (Sykes and Carden 2011: 143). That these fallow deer came from an alternate source than that which was expected, and that that source is now presumed to be 11th century Bulgaria, is still in process of being researched by other members of the project (Sykes et al. 2016). Whilst some correlation can be seen in the deer parks of the Byzantine and Eastern Roman Empire (see Chapter 3), nevertheless the deer parks of medieval Britain were extensive and popular for providing urban areas with access to venison (see Map 4:1).

The importance placed upon the practices of deer-management and butchery, as cultural depictions rather than imagery, might indicate an effort to create a cultural hegemony based through the deer, and would correlate with the dynamic collective mythology that the Normans formulated (Davis 1976). By transplanting a history that is embedded within geography, and by engaging with it through hunting, these cultural movements might also prove concurrent with the transplantation of the animals which has revealed a cultural invasion through nature itself (Sykes 2010b: 57). An appropriation and "correct" engagement with "Nature" has been thoroughly documented, and has been especially discerned alongside colonialism and heritage, which in modernity manifests in conservationism (Ranger 1989; Beinhart 1989; Moore 1999; Fontein 2006; Hughes 2006a; Hughes 2006b).

Thus, by way of introducing the deer and by creating ideals of purity in the correct treatment of the animal's corpse to the extent where butchery required artistry and suffered no fool (Salisbury ([trans. Pike] 1938: 16), the Normans appear to have created a new form of cultural currency or capital as Bourdieu (1984) designates. As discussed in the next Chapter (5), these practices and performances frequently became synonymous in gift-giving, and they presented and reiterated the sovereign as an ontologically present actor in society.

Again, forms of resistance arise here. It is particularly interesting to note that the poachers' preference, even when the supposedly more 'entertaining' red deer were present, would be the fallow deer (Aberth 2013: 197-198). Whether it was the prevalence of park culture that made the poachers more comfortable poaching the fallow deer, it would seem that for the poacher the fallow still offered something that the red deer did not. That these poachers were almost without exception male, and that the park and its fallow deer was seemingly regarded as safe for women to engage with (Richardson 2012: 266), may be seen to raise issues of masculinity in these illegal but lauded acts. That male deer were targeted rather than the female might, however, be due to the symbolic value of the male's qualities compared with the doe's promise of quantity. In this respect, further information might be revealed through the use of corpus linguistics to analyse texts spanning from the 11th century to the present day in comparison to gender and animal modalities and theories.

By keeping each of the formative constituents from the market and from any economic valuation, the relevant aspects of the law, animal husbandry itself and even meat preparations may be seen to resemble the reciprocal personal interactions and features expected in gift-giving. Even economically driven poaching might on a simplistic level find a place in gift-theory, as effort was frequently made to distance the material from its origin. Where the corpse was divided, whether legitimately or not, demonstrations of gift-giving as biopower within the procedure itself can be witnessed, particularly in creating an all-encompassing hierarchy that would include not only the hunters, but their hounds and even nature itself (Rooney 1993: 160-169; Sykes 2007a: 51; Sykes 2007b). However, the disruptive effects of poaching, particularly when such endeavours were conducted as acts of rebellion, surely need

further discussion in terms of their interpretations and ameliorating re-interpretations of local authority (see Chapter 5).

If we are to accept that these spaces for medieval society were not entirely utilitarian, nor entirely rarefied into symbolism, and if gift-giving is too macrocosmic an approach, discussion of the localised space that the deer park embodies appears to be necessary. This being the case, the three chapters that follow will attempt, through depictions, to analyse the use of deer and the deer park as self-contained notions. It is hoped that, by employing fallow deer as the thread through the medieval period, a brighter light might be shed on the role of this species of deer in social, cultural, material and visual representations.

Chapter 5 - Fallow deer in gender relations and symbolism in medieval, Tudor and early modern England

Introduction

In considering the evidence of symbolism in medieval, Tudor and early modern England, the focus will lie primarily on the role of fallow deer as a cultural vehicle for various semiotics, including those of gender relations. This will necessitate looking back at the iconography of previous ages and it will also involve observation of contrasts between different species of deer, using as source material, the evidence of literature, linguistics and, especially, painting.

Few of the themes where fallow deer were witnessed in Roman iconography appear to have survived the downfall of the Roman Empire. One surviving theme is notable: that relating to Diana, seen prominently in Chapters 2-3. Deer may be missing, or at most take back-stage, in Renaissance mythological art (e.g. Titian's famous 'Diana and Actaeon' and 'Actaeon'), but Actaeon at least retained his cervid metamorphosis (cf. Almond 2009: fig. 5). Entwined with this representation, associations between gender relations and fallow deer had clearly manifested themselves in the Greek and Roman periods. Looking specifically at wild deer in the world outside mythology, they appear to have been hunted primarily by men. Changing features over time had seen the species of deer appearing highly significant in this respect, as seen in that classical association of fallow deer with Artemis/Diana which was to be apparent even centuries later. Besides those examples found in the Byzantine Empire, a few iconographic depictions have survived from this renewed association in medieval Britain, followed by a maturation of the imagery in Elizabethan times and its repetition in the Stuart period. Amongst the classical ideals that had grown up around Diana, we observed in previous chapters those of training youth in proper behaviour through hunting and associations that could be made between gender relations and the deer. Nonetheless, there was to be a noticeable shift over time. With the proliferation and standardisation of the emparkment systems (discussed in Chapter 4) and with the fallow as the central emparked animal, engagements with this deer and associations made with it diverged.

In this chapter, threads that have run through preceding periods and themes are taken up and unravelled. A prime concern here will be the role of the female in hunting, usually considered a masculine sphere. Were women allowed to hunt and were they seen to do so? Others have discussed this, but recent academic discussions have also focussed on how hunting and these spaces became resplendent with associations particularly around gender in relation to Artemis and Diana (cf. Almond 2009; Richardson 2012). Certainly, it is in the different associations with deer for male and female that much of the symbolism is to be found continuing through the centuries, but the cultural implications of hunting practices from the perspective of self-aggrandisement and self-fashioning (Greenblatt 2012) are also significant.

Here it would, therefore, seem necessary to explore the symbolism and the symbolic implications of such 'gendering', whether relating to femininity or masculinity, and self-aggrandisement (largely male, but also female). This is examined here through consideration of their cultural associations and depictions. The development of the imagery, both gender-related and 'aggrandising' may perhaps be summarised by being likened to the 'life-course' of the deer itself, reaching back further into its collective mythology, but beginning its individual life in the landscape in which it was reared - the parks and the underlying meaning of 'emparkment' (seen in Chapters 1, 3-4). Turning to the symbolism of the hunt itself, the animal's life and death then moves us on to what is termed 'the unmaking', or breaking up, of the deer and the gifting of its portions, next on to its poaching as a reflection of both masculinity and aggrandisement - and finally on to its consumption and its subsequent mythologising. In this way, we may be able to pick out some apparently disconnected strands, disentangle others and see at least some of them threading together; the social meshwork suggested by Ingold (2006).

Male, Female and Deer Metaphors

Firstly, we should observe previous research and specifically the argument that fallow deer were employed for self-aggrandisement purposes, which is a notable undercurrent in Almond's study of hunting, gender and the role of the female in hunting in the Middle Ages, *Daughters of Artemis* (2009). Although others have discussed whether or not women were allowed to hunt and were seen to do so, the

debate (Fietze 2005; Almond 2009; Richardson 2012) has focussed primarily upon the paradox that although women were on occasion involved in hunting acts throughout Europe, this was at that time not always openly acknowledged. Almond (2009) further argues that their near-complete omission and marginalisation within textual sources stands clearly counter to their cultural depictions, particularly those of iconography. According to this argument, through embodiments of Diana and through appreciation of the female form, the presence of women was allowed in depictions of the hunt. In textual sources, in contrast, such involvement appears almost completely absent. Rather than depicting the goddess herself, an individual often embodies her attributes. Some have argued that the imagery Almond relies upon for his interpretation could be fictional or overstated, being instead satirical or allegorical in nature (Sekules 1987; Oggins 2010), but as noted by Richardson (2012: 254) these depictions of women hunting invariably show the behaviour expected from those who hunted within the deer park and perhaps of the smaller dappled fallow deer itself (cf. Figure 5:1a-b - Almond 2009). With the exception of Richardson (2012; and *in press*), it is the presence of various species of deer, and especially the fallow deer, in these medieval and Elizabethan depictions that has been largely overlooked in their potential for revealing other issues.

Once a deeper inspection of the documentation of the households, local legislators and judicial documents is performed, the involvement of women in the everyday processes of the park appears obvious. From the 12th century onwards it certainly seems commonplace for a female of any rank to have been expected to engage in the hunt, or in park maintenance, in some capacity, be she the Queen slitting the throat of a fallow buck (Figure 5:2; Mileson 2009: 37), or a female servant from an aristocratic household who was by necessity instructed in the skill of deer-butchery, within a deer park (Grössinger 1997: 68). As the European fallow deer was the foremost animal held within the deer park from the medieval period, indeed until the present day (Fletcher 2011: 88-106), interactions between women - albeit if not always elite, then were somehow associated with elite households - and this deer were clearly an everyday matter.

Within the scope of iconography and artwork, Almond (2009: 147-157), echoed by Bryson in regard to the presence of feminity in still-life painting (1990: 170-178),

nevertheless finds that females depicted as interacting with the deer and the world of the hunt remain irregular and without agency: individual women seem to have been somewhat erased from or overlooked in iconography of the hunt. The post-structuralist philosopher Derrida (1996: 60), followed by Still (2015: 314), found similar issues in history concerning the female and nature. Skilled practices such as weaving, from Iphigenia in antiquity (see Chapter 3) until the Industrial Revolution, were seen as having an inherent value and as a demonstration of purity, but at the same time these skills were often equated and exchangeable with animal behaviour – such equation allowed for Iphigenia's easy transformation into a deer. Furthermore, the argument goes, in the depictions or descriptions of women, instead of being inherently recognisable as individuals they appear to be appreciated rather for their innate female form, through their beauty and connection with nature. Thus, *Venatio, the Personification of Hunting* was indeed personified on a print at the turn of the 16th-17th centuries as a neo-classical female, with small and insignificant males hunting the deer and other prey behind her back (Almond 2009: fig. 31). That the fallow deer appeared amongst some such portrayals but were absent from others is surely worth discussion, particularly given the connotations that this specific species bears (see particularly Chapters 2-3).

Such connotations also warrant investigation, as the fallow deer finds itself amongst the literary work of the period, where the relationships and interactions with deer were often mediated through 'gendered' terms. It is noteworthy that the methods employed within the park and the chase were used as metaphors, metonyms and in terms of tropes, for instance in the consideration of the body, marriage and the pursuit of women, and vice versa - with the hunt employing metaphors of seduction and courtship. In regard particularly to the fallow deer and the deer park, connotations that were made between the geography of the structures, the privacy afforded and movements of the deer themselves might metaphorically be associated with the structure of marriage. Spatial segregation particularly around gender which is attested inside medieval buildings (Richardson 2003; Creighton 2009) seems furthermore to have extended out into the landscape through the enclosure, in its representations, too (Gilchrist 1999: 113-114; Richardson 2012: 261).

Given these associations between the emparkment, marriage and gender relations, it can come as no surprise that, as in Graeco-Roman society, inculcating in the youth the art of hunting through the park was deemed an appropriate tool in the process of reaching maturity (cf. Chapters 2-3). In what follows, will be a discussion of the instances where such associations seem apparent. Also what will be investigated further, will be a consideration of the nature of such associations and how they might affect the individuals involved and their societal standing, and offer some theoretical analysis.

Metaphorical pursuits of the Fallow Deer and of the Female

An association made between the pursuit of women or deer by man or hunter, appears to have been relatively common in the medieval and Elizabethan era. This is reflected in passing remarks in theatre and literature, but also features as the driving narrative of poetry and song (e.g. *The Ballad of Chevy Chase*, probably early 15th century). Indeed, commentary in literature and verse on female beauty often elicited phrases used in connection with deer, particularly those concerning the reputedly untouched fertility of the yearling deer (cf. Jonson [1600] 1811: 135; Jonson [1605] 1811: 245). In such examples, most frequently provided in theatrical works, the purity and suppleness of the deer awakens carnal desires in older characters who seek to hunt them (Berry 2001): thus Shakespeare's Falstaff, self-seen as the fattest of Windsor stags and praying for 'a cool rut-time', greets his 'doe' (*The Merry Wives of Windsor*, 5.5).

Cartmill (1993: 64-75) discusses these narratives specifically as presenting, in their depictions, an underlying element of victimhood and predation. This feature, he finds to be common to all metaphorical narratives of the hunt in art and literature of the medieval period until the early 17th century, be they messianic or self-transformative, with the deer's suffering and its attempts to evade the hunter and capture being interpreted as standing metaphorically for acts of suppression and suppressed people. Certainly, such narratives are common in many hunting scenes and tropes of many cultures across the world, and they are often considered in terms of inter-gender actions, whether seduction (Willerslev 2004) or love (Brightman 1993: 195-196). Unlike domesticated animals, however, deer are rarely described or understood in any

affectionate sense or in terms of kinship as is sometimes shown in medieval texts (Leach 1964; Fiddes 1992; Knight 2000).

Yet it is in the completely overlooked variation of species that another factor at work might be revealed, with the fallow deer appearing to stand specifically in the place of the female. Unlike the case of anthropological narratives where deer are not treated with any affection, the depictions of fallow deer here, however, often appear affectionate and even elicit a sense of human kinship. In particular, the fallow deer elicits associations with the taking of another's wife. The methods of poaching are frequently employed as such to describe the successfully sought and secretive affairs, as seen throughout *The Merry Wives of Windsor* and where (5.5), for instance, Falstaff enters 'disguised, with a buck's head on.*'* Perhaps this was a known poaching ploy. Often the fallow deer itself was regarded in a particularly feminine format, especially in consideration of the hunt, where the pursuit of the quarry was often metaphorically referred to as a pursuit of a human female. According to the *Boke of St. Albans*, it was the method of hunting that particularly partitioned the species; stags, alongside other animals such as the hare, were "beasts of venery", whereas the fallow buck and doe were "beasts of the chase" (Baillie-Grohman 1909: 39-42; Cummins 1988: 84-86). In those examples cited directly by Cartmill (1993: 64-75) for his argument on the suffering deer, the red deer was the deer of the messianic narratives emerging in the medieval era in northern Europe until the 14th century. The fallow deer, in contrast, will be found usually to be the animal subjected to the pursuit as a metaphor for seduction or coitus.

In the messianic myth that is thought to have been transferred to medieval northern Europe from late-Roman and Byzantine culture alongside emparkment and its hunting culture as seen in previous chapters, the stag itself symbolically represents a Christ-like figure in the final moments of the hunt (Brown 1932: 110; Bath 1992). Cartmill (1993: 64-75) in particular, draws upon these narratives and tropes as being similar in sort to the depictions of pursuit and sexuality displayed in the hunt. The symbolical representations of metaphorical coitus in relation to the hunt that Cartmill relies upon feature in prominent plays of the 16th and early-17th century (cf. Shakespeare's *Troilus and Cressida* 3.1). On the other hand, the deer acting as a direct representative of messianic force, or even in a form taken by the Messiah himself, seems at first

paradoxical and contradictory to the narratives of metaphorical coitus. Yet, as Cartmill (1993: 73-75) argues in comparing the two metaphors, these overlapping cultural contradictions become easily reconciled if victimhood together with pursuit of the deer is understood to be the underlying and common factor that has been interpreted differently in different contexts. Thus, it would appear that the process and narrative of the hunt underlie the different metaphors, acting as a cultural trope (Bath 1992).

Another explanation may be provided for the differing narratives of deer in the medieval world. Such narratives frequently seem to be divided between species of deer, as Cartmill's examples (1993: 68-72) perfectly, if inadvertently, illustrate. Whilst we have seen that the hunt when acting as 'metaphorical coitus' regularly features the fallow deer, it is averred that only the wilder deer species, such as the red, feature in the messianic metaphors. Further distinction seems to lie in the separation of these two trends and threads in the symbolism by a few centuries: messianic symbolism was seen primarily in the 13th century, and metaphors for coitus exemplified work under the Tudor dynasty, being used by 16th to 17th century playwrights for example. Nevertheless, depictions of fallow deer accompanying messianic or Christian ideals appear rarely outside the late-Roman and Byzantine culture in regions where the species of fallow deer was wild and widespread (see Chapter 3). While this 'messianic' narrative is said to have been directly continued from the late-Roman and Byzantine metaphors where the fallow was employed as the messianic symbol, in the 13th century the red deer took its place (Bath 1992). Fallow bucks being in general terms physiologically comparable to red deer stags, and not attracting their own individual and specific symbolism[40] (Richardson 2012: 257-258), the fallow did not appear as a messianic metaphor outside their 'wild' habitats. This is apparent in early Italian Renaissance art, where the association between the fallow

[40] So indistinguishable in modern culture, that the word 'stag' is often used for any male deer, red, fallow or otherwise. Again, corpus linguistics might offer interesting analysis.

buck and messianic forces can be seen to continue, for example with fallow bucks visible in a 14th century example of the Vision of St. Eustace (Figure 5:3).

The changing role of species in these narratives may reflect which deer was to be found in the wild and chased, and which was to be emparked and semi-domesticated (Liddiard 2007; Fletcher 2011: 98). For instance, what was occurring with individual species of deer might indicate a reason for the recession of messianic imagery. From the 14th century, the ability to pursue stags and engage in the chase in the wild was evidently in decline - thought to be due to a mix of poor deer-management, over-population, expansion of the agriculture, and over-hunting (Munsche 1981; Rackham 1986: 88; Mileson 2009: 28). This, it has been suggested, is what brought to maturity both emparkment practices and the use of park deer in which the European fallow deer predominated (Whitehead 1964: 25; Munsche 1986; Dean 1996: 181-182; Mileson 2009: 27; Richardson 2012: 257-258; de Belin 2013). Due to the size of the parks, hunting and chasing within them was often restricted, and deer were mostly killed on foot through 'bow and stable' methods or by hounds (Figure 5:4; Fletcher 2011: 100; MacGregor 2012: 128). Although some red deer were emparked during the medieval era, the inclusion of red deer in British deer parks is thought to have largely occurred in the 18-19th centuries (Fletcher 2011). Consequently perhaps, only one occasion is known where a regent was noted for engaging in a comprehensive royal chase within an emparkment; this was one in which the future James I (when James VI of Scotland) engaged at Falklands in Fife in August 1600 (Gilbert 1979: 57-59, 221; Creighton 2009: 151; Fletcher 2011: 100-104). Whilst fallow deer could be used for the chase, they were only employed as a last resort should red deer be difficult to procure, and the fallow was seen and described by writers throughout the medieval period as being less wild than the indigenous red deer (Rooney 1993: 3; Aberth 2013: 197-198). That messianic associations with all deer had receded and vanished by Elizabethan times, but the ‘coital hunt’ imagery became commonplace, might reflect the superior position that the fallow deer had come to assume. Furthermore, the evidence seems to indicate that the role of the fallow did not directly replace that of the red deer in popular conception.

As already noted, within the hunt the exemplary use of fallow deer as direct metaphors for the object of male desire and particularly of coitus was prominent

enough to feature in Shakespeare's plays, in both spoken dialogue and theme (cf. *A Comedy of Errors* 2.1.230, c. 1592; *Troilus and Cressida* 3.1, early-17th century). Alongside such tropes and metaphors, the deer park itself was deemed a suitable venue for correction of behaviour, at the same time as a site of temptation, a dichotomy which was depicted in the publication in 1602 of Shakespeare's probably earlier work, *The Merry Wives of Windsor* (Theis 2001: 59-61). In these Shakespearean examples, the underlying themes of temptation and rehabilitation might have been inspired by Shakespeare's experiences: he had allegedly poached in Charlecote Park and been punished for it (Duyckinck 1868: xxxv; Manning 1993: 182). The themes, both poaching and hunting, and the imagery of deer will be seen to have recurred throughout his works. Within such Shakespearean landscapes, personal transformations could apparently be performed in a controlled manner, whilst these landscapes also hosted the development of personal and amorous advances. Beyond the works of this most eminent playwright, similar themes, dialogue and plot where the fallow deer appears to be equated with women can be found in late 14th century work (cf. Chaucer [1390] 1974: 414), but they became increasingly common in the 17th century (cf. Jonson [1600] 1811: 135; Jonson [1605] 1811: 245; Middleton [c. 1616] 1810: 496; Tilley [1623] in Williams 1994: 377; Beaumont and Fletcher [1626] 1778: 393). Clearly the emparkment witnessed in these narratives could be heavily emotive, providing a symbolic terrain which was both protective and protected. Furthermore, the privacy that such parks offered, as well as the physical and geographic representation of a successful lineage, were apparently embodied and legitimised in the body of the deer of the park.

The fallow deer within became somewhat representative of the temptations of the flesh, but potentially of chaste efforts and purity through the taming of one's desires (Bath 1992; Fletcher 2011). Direct symbolic connotations between deer, chastity, pursuit, lust and love, are especially well illustrated in the early 16th century courting of Anne Boleyn, later also lusted after by the King's men. From the outset of Anne's relationship with the monarch, in her first coming to the interest of Henry VIII, she became the recipient of a direct and innuendo-laden metaphor from her future husband, by way of a slain buck. During this crucial period for both Henry VIII's infamous love-life and for Britain's religious independence, the two lovers were kept physically apart when Anne Boleyn took ill with an affliction resembling the plague.

Unusually, the two could not directly communicate, their courtship being mediated and sustained by way of reciprocal gifts and letters (Warnicke 1989: 78) [41]. On more than one occasion, Henry sent her a fallow buck which he had 'dispatched', not only to remind her of him, but his intent also (Starkey 2006: 280-281). With one such dispatch, the accompanying letter stated concerning, it seems, red deer:

Seyng my darling is absent I can no less do than to sende her summe flesche representing my name, whyche is hart flesche for Henry, prognosticating that here after, God Wyllyng, you must injoye summe of mine whyche he pleased I wolde were now… I wolde we were to gyder an evening. (Hackett 1929)

This *risqué* letter, "to the modern reader seeming to invite fellatio", directly identifies the body of the King with the meat of the deer (Fletcher 2011: 18). Given Henry's penchant for hunting, particularly during Anne's absence (Erickson 1984: 103), it may be presumed that this particular carcass accompanying the letter was a beast that the King himself had killed. Direct statements that he wishes himself present, instead of the gift, are frequent in these letters, and are particularly evident in items that would have enjoyed intimate contact with Anne, such as a bracelet with a picture of himself (see Erickson 1984: 103). Regarding the gifts of venison, he alone could be one to make such a statement seemingly equating his flesh with that of the deer, inasmuch as his rights as the ultimate sovereign over the land would allow him properly and unequivocally to own the deer. Furthermore, perhaps as Henry himself indicates (Hackett 1929) this equivalence described casts himself helpless before her as the deer was before the hunter, seeing "himself as the noble buck, incapable of resistance and lying prone at the feet of his personal Diana, slain by the love of Anne" (Almond 2009: 143). With actual carcasses, the King's use of venison as gift was not the sole territory of courtship, as on multiple occasions Henry was known to gift his

[41] At least seventeen letters are known of from 1528 alone, when the pair was separated by the plague, all purportedly acting 'as a tribute to how deep his passion for her ran' (Warnicke 1989: 76). Perhaps it is ironic as whilst most of the letters were apparently saved by those who supported Anne Boleyn and opposed her later treatment, divorce and execution, they subsequently came under the protection of the Vatican library – the Vatican who had originally obstructed the marriage (Fletcher 2011: 18).

allies, friends and servants with venison, live deer and emparkments, but these bestowals and gifts, as well as accompanying correspondence, indicated that these were acts of the monarch's beneficence and power (Heal 2014: 40). Neither was this King the only one to use hunting metaphors to indicate courtship, as for others too Anne was visualised as a deer, particularly as a target for poaching by men of the court who wished to break onto their King's terrain (Starkey 2006: 270-271). Clearly, as illustrated in the case of Anne, metaphorical exchanges and interchanges between man, woman and deer were acceptable, but were often influenced also by power relations.

Later, the child born of this union, the future Queen Elizabeth I, was to take a prominent role in the hunt, and is depicted in Figure 5:2 (*The Noble Arte of Venerie or Hunting*) finishing the chase by opening a stag with a blade. Given that Elizabeth's dress on this occasion was not suitable for riding, while the sword was being dutifully provided by a kneeling attendant who bore the horn used to direct the dogs, it is unlikely that she had chased this specific deer (Fletcher 2011: 99, 199; Klemettilä 2015: 51). Nonetheless, her enthusiasm for hunting is extensively documented (Roberts 1997: 10-11). On other occasions, she was noted for seeking to hunt the hart, but instead apparently substituted it with a fallow deer buck. On yet another day, after chasing several stags and bucks she removed their ears as mementoes, while on other occasions she spared the deer entirely (Nichols 1823: 17, 435-436; Baillie-Grohman and Baillie-Grohman 1909: 32, 173; Almond 2009: 88-89; Fletcher 2011: 86). Neither did Elizabeth's penchant for hunting decrease in her later years. Her physical decline proved no obstruction to her killing further deer when attendants drove fallow deer past her in the royal parks so that she could fire into them with a bow (Almond 2009: 90). Her fondness for hunting and the culture of hunting alongside her influence on society made this monarch greatly important in the history of deer parks. Indeed, the rise of the classical 'Prodigy House' amongst the aristocracy is directly attributable to her (Sutton 2004), constructed as they were primarily during the Elizabethan as 'prodigious' lodges. These "Prodigy Houses" were architectural enterprises that were intricate and often vast, serving to properly house the aristocratic household within the deer park, but also to host social events (see Fig 6.5). The exclusivity of the park, moreover, was increasingly challenged. After Elizabeth's enthronement in 1558, despite her having exclusive access to over 200 royal parks alone (parks which she

spent most of her life visiting) these formerly exclusive landscapes were over her reign gradually opened to public visitation (Lasdun 1991: 42).

In law, the popularity of hunting and emparkment can be seen during Elizabeth I's reign where the areas left to wild deer saw their endangerment; legislation to preserve grain stocks sought also to protect game, limiting many hunters to their own properties (Dean 1996: 181-182), and other laws were introduced to protect the environment so as to prevent the loss of deer (Munsche 1981; Fletcher 2011). With the growing limitations to wild deer hunting, the concomitantly growing dependence on the deer park to provide venison contributed to the widespread generation of the "Prodigy Houses" between 1570 and 1615, especially amongst the court culture that had steadily developed within the earlier Tudor era to its height in the Elizabethan era (Girouard 1994). Many estates underwent regeneration projects, with these new buildings created as lodgings where emparkments previously went without significant architecture, while more surrounding land was turned over for the deer parks in extensive earthwork projects than ever before (Beresford 1998: 213-214; Dix 2012: 165-167; Davies 2013). The Prodigy Houses erected during the Elizabethan era communicated the status of the inhabitant but also the regard with which they valued their monarch, conveying both a personal dependence on their Queen and demonstrating what could be achieved with her favour (Girouard 1994; Smuts 1999: 97; Dasgupta 2011: 197-198). For aristocrats, the benefits were enticing. In attempting to mimic the structures of the park, and in creating especially grand and comfortable residences in their Prodigy Houses, they might further be rewarded with the visitation and favour of the Queen herself (Dickinson 2011: 296-297).

Besides the hunting, the earthworks and constructive efforts made in her name, Elizabeth I herself became associated with the Classical goddess of the hunt, Artemis/Diana. We have already noted the associations that Henry VIII made between the hunting of deer and his love, Anne Boleyn. Her daughter's symbolic role in maturity as the Virgin Queen became all the more important in respect of her assimilation with Artemis/Diana (Hibbert 1992; Pincombe 2010). Going one step further, depictions of the Queen in this guise resembled neither those from antiquity (see Chapters 2-3), nor those in other medieval, Elizabethan or Renaissance artwork, being superficial representations (cf. Almond 2009: figure 5:1) and evidence of a

fascination with nature, the wild, and Greek mythology (Waterhouse 1952; Almond 2009: 20-30). In contrast, such an association with the goddess was one of personal embodiment for the Queen - with others depicting her in this way, but presumably performed by royal fiat. Although many such depictions have been lost or destroyed (Strong 1969a: 15), notable examples of Elizabeth as Diana have survived (King 1990: *passim*; Richardson 2012: 265). As is often reported, a famous painting by Henrik Vroom (Figure 5:5; King 1990) shows Elizabeth as the goddess, and in a 16th century engraving, Elizabeth as Diana is seated as judge above Pope Gregory XIII (Almond 2009: 90, 172 [Figure 5:6]). Unlike the goddess's previous Roman depictions, Elizabeth as Diana represents an extenuation of various attributes rather than a more direct equivalence. These attributes are centred upon her femininity, though here in a form that would not allow them to appear as weaknesses, by presenting her as the very personification of virtue, virginity and natural power. As Artemis/Diana, chaste goddess of the hunt and of the moon, it was thus that the Virgin Queen became the 'Cynthia' born, mythologically, on Mount Cynthos on Delos, of the moon cult begun by Raleigh in the 1580s' and depicted in her later years by Hilliard (Strong 1977: 48-53).

Again, aristocrats seemed to take great notice of their Queen; many attempted to copy her appearance and even her name, as in the naming of Princess Elizabeth Stuart (1596-1662 – Figure 5:12) and the French-German Princess Palatine Elizabeth Charlotte (1652-1722 – Figure 5:7). In the latter, the Princess was clearly depicted as Roman Diana within a deer park, holding Diana's iconic bow-and-arrow with the quiver lying upon the floor and, in the background, dogs chasing a fallow buck (Figure 5:7). A lucid and conspicuous association between these women and the Graeco-Romano goddess was being portrayed overtly in artwork, an association that is asserted to have promoted these individuals without risking aspersions to their characters (Fietze 2005; Almond 2009).

Unlike her mother Anne Boleyn, this Queen of England and ostensibly the familiar of Diana was herself never perceived as the subject of the hunt, as a deer to be pursued by the male hunter; instead, she is seen as hostess for the hunt. Furthermore, through the use of Diana, the virginal element of the Queen could be celebrated separately from an inter-play with the male; the chaste aspect of the Classical goddess was noted

in Chapter 2. In Elizabeth's case, associations indirectly and directly made with the deer acted as the bounty of her virginal powers, rather than the taking of her virginity acting as the bounty for male pursuits such as that her mother had been subjected to. Although Elizabeth's role as a virginal huntress was a further constituent of this imagery, her virginal pride and ideals of attractiveness in reality prevented her from riding on a normal hunting-saddle[42] (Fillis 1891: 44-48; Almond 2009: 8), or at least discouraged any depiction of her doing so. Thus would the deer park ostensibly increase in value, at least regarding the depiction of chastity in relation to women hunting.

As suggested by Almond (2003; 2009), the choice of Diana or Artemis to be personified in a huntress queen seems most appropriate, for in the medieval and Elizabethan era as in antiquity, the goddess was rarely depicted as riding, or indeed employing, any animal for her use. The exception was the deer (Green 2006: 200), with whom she was understood to walk and ride or otherwise elegantly chase amongst the woods. There is indeed abundant evidence for women 'engaging' in hunting throughout the medieval period (cf. Richardson 2012: *passim*). Although it might seem an overstatement to assert that women's involvement in the chase itself was almost entirely undocumented (Almond 2009), it is certainly striking that personification as Artemis-Diana appears to be restricted to depictions of women of higher status. It was in the grace, nature and being of Artemis-Diana that power could be found. Whilst mere suggestions of jewellery would imply the goddess for Elizabeth I (Frye 1993: 101), for the later Elizabeths such as Princess Elizabeth Stuart and French-German Elizabeth Charlotte (Figures 5:12, 5:7) this relationship had to be more firmly stated, attributing irrefutable connections between their namesake and the goddess - and particularly those connections made through the fallow deer and the Elizabethan emparkment.

[42] Use of the saddle was also described as reducing the firmness of the "man's seat" in women, damaging their fertility and attractiveness to the opposite sex (Fillis 1891: 42-44).

Bodies of women and bodies of deer

Beyond the hunt *per se*, associations made between the bodies of women and those of the deer themselves form another area for investigation. Directly on successful conclusion of the hunt, the killed buck or hart was carefully and ritually broken up or 'unmade', and the division of the body was to become deeply symbolic, with the procedure indicating the positions and the favour of those individuals attending (Rooney 1993; Sykes 2007b; Thomas 2007; Klemettilä 2015). As was regularly depicted on tapestries, any women in attendance might be presented with a foot or sometimes the head, in a procedural ritual (Barnard and Spencer 2009: 617–20). Elements of this are still notable in present-day fox-hunting, but also are found amongst other Eurasian communities (Cummins 1988: 81; Latham 1965: 506-507; King 2002b: 140; Almond 2009: 130). Particularly in the context of the deer-unmaking ritual, elaborated upon further in this chapter, some have linked the presentation of the foot with its cloven formation, as having a central 'slot' (Almond 2009: 150-151). The word 'slot', derived from the Old French *esclot* and with origins in earlier Norse language, is thought to carry linguistic connotations to the female genitalia (Baillie-Grohman and Baillie-Grohman 1909: 9; Almond 2009: 130-131). Often this part, the slotted foot cut from the body, was gifted to the higher-born women present at the ritual, along with the genitalia presented to the highest-born male (Cartmill 1993: 64).

Whilst these presentations were obviously not as nourishing as portions of the flanks or other parts presented, it seems that the nutritionally lacking elements of the carcass nevertheless enjoyed a symbolic value (Almond 2003: 152; Kalof 2007: 54). In contrast with the functionality, produce or economics of the hunt, the symbolism of such rituals is often regarded as what lends the hunt its social importance (Marvin 2003), including the particular contexts, locations, animals and rituals that are involved (Cartmill 1993: 28). For the unmaking ritual, multiple accounts gave careful details of its context through the chase and the hunt, and through the processes of the deer's unmaking in which even the precision of the incisions into the carcass is specified (Fletcher 2011). Within the unmaking of a deer, being a recipient of a particularly nutritional portion of the deer would, on the contrary, be no guarantee of the recipient's importance (Rooney 1993: 160-169). Reasonable meat-bearing

portions of the carcass could always instead be garnered from social capital as outlined by Bourdieu (1984) in his much-quoted theories concerning capital. Venison could be provided through inter-personal relationships (Heal 2014: 40-42), both within the unmaking ritual and through aristocratic life in the medieval and Elizabethan periods (see chapter 4).

In such a manner, the unmaking or 'breaking' of the deer would be understood as valuable for whomsoever hunted or hosted the hunt; it showed their beneficence, but also structured relations and demonstrated hierarchical positions (Marvin 2006b: 32). These rituals varied according to the methods of a hunt, but it is the common demonstration of generosity and reciprocation with venison that perhaps underlies such interactions (Judkins 2013). As described in Chapter 4, such generosity and reciprocation can be seen within the 'deer farms' of the medieval era in the provision of venison for the household and more, a provision made usually through presentations taken from fallow deer stocks (Birrell 1992). Meanwhile, the red deer of the forests or wilder habitats was a more usual candidate for hunting interactions such as the chase that were focus of the breaking and unmaking texts (Klemettilä 2015). Furthermore, similar functional arguments that suppose the ritual to be an outcome of the practical requirement to break the deer into parts for transportation (cf. Almond 2009), or suppose it to be an expression of human domination of nature (Salisbury 1994: 37), do not adequately explain much of the symbolism involved. Here it assumed that the ritual acts as a simple mechanism to allow for functional requirements, ignoring their largely symbolically significant and complexities. Nor do these functional arguments account for the respect that was shown in the rituals to the slain deer and environment, and the prescribed careful distancing from the violent act that the hunter engaged in (Bergman 2011; Klemettilä 2015: 51).

Beyond the monarchy, women are not so easily found as reciprocal partners in the unmaking acts (so Almond 2009; Heal 2014: 40-43). In that case one might conclude that the protocol of medieval hunting closely mirrored the structuring of society; landownership laws and access to the equipment and animals necessary for the hunt would militate against their involvement (cf. Woolley 2002: 25). On the other hand, the presence of women within all stages of the hunt is demonstrated in many texts (cf. Baillie-Grohman and Baillie-Grohman 1909; Richardson 2012), and many depictions

too show women present and often engaging prominently in hunting practices. Unmaking rituals may then be seen as a locus of social acts. As discussed by Geertz (1973), they are rituals which compress not only social interactions and structures but even cosmology. Just as in Geertz's discussion of Balinesian cock-fighting, so here the animal serves as a totem for representation and action.

As is shown in some of the most expensive and prominent works of art, as for example in the May tapestry of *Les Chasses de Maximilien* (in Almond 2003: 154), the Devonshire Tapestries (Woolley 2002; Figure 5:8), and in *Le Livre de Chasse* (MS fr. 616, Chapter 40, fol 70), the events of the unmaking of the deer can be seen to represent a portrayal of society concentrated in an act with the deer. In these depictions women of all classes are regularly shown as allowed actively to engage in the event of the unmaking. At the same time, they show the permission for and encouragement of lustful interactions between the sexes.

In both the Devonshire Tapestries (Figure 5:8) and *Les Chasses de Maximilien*, in the midst of an unmaking scene, aristocratic hunters can be seen groping the breasts of young, apparently lower-status women (Berry 2001: 33). In the former example, it may be the miller's wife or daughter who appears subjected to the lustful advances of the hunter; the latter example is presumed to show much the same, also involving a lower-status individual. Such depictions have commonly been described as merely demonstrative of aristocratic and male domination, the females being recipients of the advances of powerful male hunters caught in the heat of the hunt (Woolley 2002: 66-69; Peacock 2012: 825). Especially in the Devonshire tapestries (Figure 5:8), where the scene of the miller's wife is contrasted with the careful wooing of a noblewoman in another panel, it appears that positions in society indeed informed male-female relations (Woolley 2002: 69). Yet, on this line of interpretation, the context in which the relations take place (namely the unmaking ritual and horse-riding courtship) are not recognised as playing any part in the different composures and relationships of the individuals depicted. Certainly, where the latter's wooing on horseback is limited by social status from the outset and is a depiction of noble courtship, the former unmaking ritual is notable for welcoming the mixing of both social castes and genders. Comparison of the two situations seem inappropriate in this regard, where one is solely the depiction of direct relations and courtship between the sexes, whilst

the other indirectly shows another form of cavorting interaction as the mise-en-scène. However, rather than the lesser figures illustrating the importance of male domination to the hunt (Berry 2001; Woolley 2002; Peacock 2012), it seems unlikely that the groping aristocrats were also they who brought the deer down (Fletcher 2011: 99, 199). There is no indication that they had taken part in the hunt itself, as other individuals can be seen bearing the weaponry and horn that indicate their role in guiding the procedure of the hunt and performing the kill.

Before we return to the wider scene, various conclusions follow from this representation. First, in understanding depictions of the hunt and of the ritual of the unmaking of the deer, different possible interpretations should always be considered. An immediately obvious interpretation may not be the right one. Thus, what is often understood as a scene of clear male domination – when after a successful kill the aristocratic hunter, overcome with passion on his killing of the deer, applies his lust in amorous advances and so debases himself and sullies another's marital relationship (Woolley 2002: 69) – need not represent the true situation. As we have seen in the specific case above, it is by no means certain that the aristocrat was himself the actual hunter. Furthermore, there is no contemporary evidence that suggests that the depicted females in question were actually married women or indeed what their relationship was; the ascription of such a status appears rather to depend on the clothing they are seen to have worn.

In the unmaking procedure, on the successful dispatch of the deer, it was the hunter who not only initiated the ritual but who continued to guide others through the proceedings, whilst remaining socially removed from the ritual itself (Klemettilä 2015: 49-51). This common occurrence across unmaking texts perhaps suggests that it was necessary for the hunter, in his masculine supremacy, to avoid being soiled and spoilt by the carcass; nor could he be drawn away from his duties lest he soil and spoil the carcass - as well as future hunts (Klemettilä 2015: 51). Forms of aversion shown in the procedures of the unmaking are not unusual in similar rituals of the hunt in other cultures, where the hunter himself becomes removed from the proceedings, so acting to structure and enforce the ritual rather than taking a role as recipient (Douglas 1957; Serpell 1996; Ingold 1998). This is thought in part to protect the hunter or to absolve the impact of the kill on the natural world and for the hunter, ostensibly on a

'cosmological' plane (Serpell 1996: 185), but it also has been observed as significant in forming social structures between participants and even the species involved (Douglas 1957; 1969). Certainly, non-human animals were welcomed and even invited to join the unmaking in various capacities, be they hound or scavenger. Whilst others, human or otherwise, were invited to enjoy the proceedings, the hunter himself being regularly expected to stand aside for the ritual to take place, it was another and normally the person of highest status or claim (whether the most senior member of the hunt or the owner of the emparkment) who actually began the ritual of unmaking by opening the flesh of the deer (Grössinger 2002: 5). He then inspected the carcass to decide if it would be consumed and, if so, who would receive the various portions, in this case regardless of position or participation in the hunt (Turbervile [1576] 1908: 132-134; Klemettilä 2015: 171).

According to both text and image, it seems that these unmaking rituals did not actively exclude or prohibit women from participation in, or even leading, the unmaking's proceedings. Accompanied by such a description of the opening and then breaking of the deer in Turbervile's *Booke of Hunting* ([1576] 1908: 133) an engraving of an unmaking ritual demonstrates this on the regal level (Figure 5:2). Elizabeth I in a conical dress is shown receiving the sword from the kneeling hunter who had brought the animal down. She appears about to deliver the slice that would show the quality of the flesh, as described in the accompanying text (Turbervile [1576] 1908: 132-135). Whilst it is clear that the hunt has reached its culmination, there is no indication that Elizabeth participated until this point. This demonstrates that display of position and the deference to which this gave rise, rather than any actual participation in the hunt, was significant for such a role in the ritual (Almond 2009; Klemettilä 2015: 171). Indeed, many of the accounts of the queen's involvement in the chase are focussed upon her role in its closure, often in butchery practices. In her later years, as already noted, her involvement in drive hunts rather than the chase were extensive. Perhaps, as suggested by others, it was unseemly to describe the Virgin Queen as participating in the chase; nevertheless, the nature and importance of the practices still necessitated her participation (Griffin 2007: 78-79). Certainly, female involvement in the ritual was not unknown but, as Almond (2009) repeatedly avers, depictions of this in the medieval and Elizabethan era are relatively

rare with a few ‘maverick’ women appearing in the iconography of the hunt itself (Figures 5:1a-b; Rizzo 2002: 90-91; Almond 2009: f14-15).

Initiation rites in hunting and emparkment practices

An important, albeit ambiguous, caveat to the interpretation of the importance of the unmaking ritual in England was that of social hierarchy which allowed such laborious deconstruction to be largely, if not entirely, conducted by another, more usually a subordinate. Richard Almond (2003: 80) considers this to be a demonstration of the English habit of not placing importance on unnecessary ceremony and an aversion to the ‘chore’. However, as is discussed in Chapter 4, perhaps this provides further evidence for the role that deer had in the social hierarchy and the conduct of duty carried out on behalf of the sovereign. Such duties, as performances of sovereignty, would be gifted to individuals and ultimately would incorporate and place their recipients within the social hierarchy. Although some authors have found certain elements of the sequences to be illogical or superstitious, particularly those relating to the raven’s portion[43], such elements indicate that the social inclusivity which the whole event provided went beyond normal human and cultural practices. Unmaking rituals, as displayed by the manuals, were not necessarily exclusive; all willing participants were provided with both a role and a position within the rituals, even if these positions were only symbolic, and it is clear that involvement was voluntary and not demonstrative of aristocratic domination and subjugation (Judkins 2013: 79-80). In a wide range of sacrificial and hunting rituals, similar portions can be found provided to the natural world to mitigate dangers and other predation, or the rituals were otherwise conducted so as to prevent nature from being corrupted and to allow for its regeneration (Ingold 1986: 243-276; King 2002b).

We can learn perhaps from practices elsewhere. Across the world and across centuries, hunting and butchery that is connected to acts of hunting have been, as is attested amongst hunter-gatherer tribes for example, often undertaken as a rite of

[43] Almond (2003: 81) names this, somewhat dismissively, as being artificially superstitious, introduced ‘in order to add mystery and exclusive veracity to the whole ritual’.

passage and often in the movement of a boy into manhood (Jacobs 1958: 7; Marshall 1976: 177, 270; Siskind 1975: 95-96; Shostak 1990: 85). Within such rituals, the animal is also implicitly regarded as "giving itself" - a notable discussion of which is presented by Mary Douglas (1957; 1969) regarding the Lele people's ritualistic interactions with the Pangolin (see also Ingold 1988; Marvin 2006a; Nadasdy 2007). Likewise, the hart when dispatched at the hands of a nobleman was regarded as a 'social equal' and the hunter was obligated to properly deconstruct the animal (Almond 2003: 79-80). Pressure was keenly felt to properly dispatch the animal as a demonstration of one's fair morality, and within the emparkment, conditions were particularly favourable for the tuition of the young.

Ambiguity seems central to this division of sovereignty,[44] and particularly centred around the original bequeathment which the park-owner or hunter was obliged to reciprocate (Heal 2014). Such obligations apparently underpinned these 'unmakings', particularly in relation to others. This is seen in *The Boke of Hyntyng*, *The Tretyse off Huntyng* and in *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*, where the hunter or overseer of the ritual is himself directly assigned a portion of the carcass that they divide, whilst the protagonists' role in announcing the successful capture or slaying of the deer and their supervision of its unmaking takes precedence over any enjoyment they might derive (Klemettilä 2015). Although these accounts are exceptionally specific in contextual terms, that all three documents share most key-points and a chronology of events, despite their extremely varied provenances and formats, points to a singular ritual that was widespread and understood across the centuries and across European cultures (Rooney 1993: 169).

The role of venison, however, was perhaps never symbolically powerful in and of itself, but it held significance when a connection with venery, ritual or sovereignty could be demonstrated. Venison derived not solely from deer. Without doubt, even the role of venison within medieval cosmology and gastronomy was rather vague,

[44] The divisions of the monarch's sovereignty through emparkment and forestry rights were nearly always permitted, as discussed in Chapter 4.

with the word venison originating from the Old Norman or Anglo-Norman noun, ‘venesoun’ - indeed a generic noun, in that it referred to any meat rendered through the hunt (Sykes 2006b: 174). Rather than being independently valued inasmuch as it was economically viable, venison was not merely evidence of the chase or the dispatch of the deer, but it could be (as described by Almond 2003: 151-152) part and package of reinforcing and representing the hierarchy through performance. This was particularly demonstrated in the presentations and associations made between the hoof’s slot and female genitalia, in positioning women in medieval and Elizabethan society. Despite the apparently alienating nature of the butchery process (Kopytoff 1986), where meat was frequently identified with the female body, there was not always commodification on an individual basis, but instead the association would appear through tropes, to act in packaging the female into a form of generic category (Lien 2004: 181).

Many have suggested that food remains a particularly good medium for representing ‘the other’, with cuisine made by others as an excellent paradigm or metaphor for ‘the other’ and for ethnicity itself (cf. van den Berghe 1984; Levenstein 1985; Appadurai 1988; Lien 1997). Associations between the flesh of the female and the female deer are frequent. The bodies of women and the material of meat often appeared linguistically interchangeable, and by the 1400s many phrases directly equated women’s bodies with meat (Mills 1989: 155). Here it seems that the connection between male consumption and the bodies of females, alongside carnal desires, found analogies in the flesh of animals; sexual practices too might find analogies in butchery practices. Butchery practices, where animal flesh is transformed into meat, "invariably" implies a process of commodification of flesh (Kopytoff 1986; Lien 2004: 181) and this easily transfers to the implication of the female body’s use in prostitution. Meanwhile, the male was the hunter or predator, again leading to analogies particularly relating to and driven by the dichotomy of the gender alongside the nature/culture divide (Ardener 1975: 14; Birke 1986: 107; Fiddes 1992: 151-2). Yet such associations and commodification, although cited as widely illustrative of gender relations, remain greatly bounded contextually to cultural practice. The common factor seems the depictive use of demonstrations and tropes, wherein it appears that in both performance and origin "meat is the food of those who control the natural environment" (Fiddes 1992: 159). Following the analyses of taboo and purity

by Douglas (1969; 1970; 1972) and Lévi-Strauss (1964; 1966), Fiddes (1992: 159) notes that the invalid's diet is usually carefully controlled to avoid "stronger" foods, perhaps as a manifestation of their perceived chaos in apparent lack of normal mental control. Indeed, such control might be seen in a discussion of analogies between sexuality and meat. Adams (1990: 26) notes that Henry VIII's portraits depict the male monarch eagerly consuming meat products, especially steak, whereas his wives are shown consuming only fruit. Venison in particular seems to have been a focus for virility (Birkhan 1995: 84, 94; Albala 2003: 64), and ladies of the highest rank were not to be seen to consume 'the sternest stuff'. Simultaneously, the deer themselves were representatives of chastity and longevity (Grössinger 1997: 81; Bath 1992: 25-28).

Thus, Elizabeth I's association with the goddess of the hunt also centred upon the chastity and 'longevity' of them both, and the effect of this association was keenly felt throughout Elizabethan England. This queen's frequenting the many parks of Tudor England had encouraged the creation of grander structures, and her sovereign powers seemingly granted her an intrinsic right over the violence done to the deer, whether generically through social structuring within the deer park or the individual ritual practised there. As such, the associations between Elizabeth and Diana can be understood in the rarefication of power through such imagery. These powers go beyond the ordinary and are circular, with performances allowing "the king as thing, the embodiment of an idea" (Feeley-Harnik 1985: 279). The unusual stature, mise-en-scène or framing within depictions of Elizabeth I is often unrealistic, becoming as it did representative of her overarching powers over a vast geographic and political realm; it was, however, without origin – her power was intrinsic. Depictions of this sort are discussed in post-colonial theoretical studies as being a critical component in the creation of sovereignty. Thus, even where satirical, depictions of the performance of the sovereign reinforces the power, and this sovereignty is pure performance (Turner 1967). The Virgin Queen became Gloriana.

Poaching the fallow deer and park-breaking

'*Now you've given me permission it won't be half as much fun*' (in Christian 1961: xxi).

The carcass was not the only element that could be deeply sexualised, as throughout the medieval era the hunt itself could be equated to a sexual endeavour. In particular, the methods of deer-management and subversion could be equated with cuckoldry, but chiefly with a husband's infidelity (Williams 1994: 377). Metaphors for breaking into a park were employed in relation to adultery in prose and poetry, where the physical emparkments were portrayed as equivalents for the marriage bonds. The secrecy of the poacher's entrance into the park was apparently summoned up when describing the secrecy of the successful adulterer, in the greater success that the man could have by taking another's deer than by properly managing them for himself (Beaumont and Fletcher [1626] 1778: 393; Shirley [1631] 1833: 238; D'Urfey 1720: 197). Likewise, in such analogies of adultery, the ability of the park-keeper and of the deer-stealers were apparently interchangeable: the 'practice' of taking another's deer or wife would allow a gentleman to protect his own (cf. Chaucer [1390] 1974: 414; Tilley [1623] in Williams 1994: 377; Butler 1759: 374).

In a few accounts, it is the male who is seen as acting in the manner of a deer (see William 2001: 377). This is exemplified in Shakespeare's *Comedy of Errors* (2.1 of c. 1592) in Adriana's analogy for the suspicious behaviour of her husband: "But, too unruly deer, he breaks the pale, And feeds from home." Such an equivalence is set upon the masculine agency here. Rather than being the recipient of poaching's rewards, the rowdy husband is described as an unruly deer seeking to break his confines and 'feed' his desires outside. As in similar metaphors, the maleness is the acting party in the subversion, rather than acting as a recipient or reward of the behaviour.

Among the far more frequent metaphors for the female, the wild red deer might best epitomise a particularly worthwhile female for pursuit, a woman regarded as wild and free-willed (cf. Middleton [c. 1616] 1810: 496). The fallow deer, however, was more apposite in reference to marriage (cf. Chappell [c. 1676] 1871: 557). Such reduction of the female to an animal has interesting implications for the female's agency, particularly when a poacher is caught: a deer will not tell a deer park-owner that she has been poached. Instead, her body or bond between park-owner and deer will betray her 'liaison'. Rather than being wilful and agentive, her cowed nature instead leads her to engage in the 'affair', or else her proclivity for flightiness protects her (Anon

[1677] in Williams 1994: 377). In both regards, her natural behaviour is not agentive – it is not her fault that she engages in or flees the relation; it is simply her nature, her innate being.

Such ideas concerning the female body were to be seen in the case of Anne Boleyn described earlier in this chapter. In becoming the quarry for King Henry VIII's advances, she also became analogously involved in scenarios of the chase and of poaching for some of Henry's entourage. In being courted by the King, she was assimilated with the deer, as shown in Sir Thomas Wyatt's poem comparing her with a hind and her pursuers, likewise, with poachers (in Starkey 2006: 270-271; Almond 2009: 143). Here, the King's claim on her is seemingly synonymous with the King's claim upon the deer of the land. Testing such a bond was to demonstrate one's own power and daring amongst one's fellows.

Poaching of deer in reality, as explained by Hanawalt (1998: 142-157), could be seen as a game, a particularly masculinised pursuit that engages with all the elements of play (Huizenga 1955) on a variety of fields, by various means and with various participants. Although formally an illegal act, poaching appears to follow many of the legitimate deer-management practices, with two important exceptions: in the need to outwit and outmanoeuvre the forester and quarry alike, and in the near-absence of females in the act (Marvin 2006c: 387). Thus, as a game to be played, and akin to the near-absence of females in everyday medieval hunting imagery (Almond 2009), the absence of female poachers indicates the impetus for poaching, namely a specifically cultural expression rather than an economic urgency. Although many examples of poaching apparently show it conducted for economic reasons, whether the outcome of poverty or chance, it is striking that such actions are frequently pursued under other laws or indeed forgiven (Rackham 1986: 136-138). In law, poaching was recognised only in the act of the illegal deer-kill, and many prosecutions of poachers centre on the admission of guilt, when individuals were caught in the act, or else upon proof of weaponry or other tools employed to kill a deer. Once the deer was killed, due in part to the secrecy required in such illegal acts the body of the deer remained associated with the original action rather than with the agents involved. Whilst the body could be disposed of through sale and alienation through the market, the economic rewards of doing so did not apparently necessitate this (Hanawalt 1998: 143). Instead of

economic pursuit, displays of masculinity were manifested, especially in the narratives and language of the poacher, and these were often set against a female target. That this body would be the site of a claim by the sovereign, and the devision of sovereignty, would add further potency to interactions with the deer, whether legitimate or otherwise.

Contestations of sovereignty and the deer

'Ay, here's a deer whose skin's a keeper's fee:
This is the quondam king; let's seize upon him.'

The integral involvement of deer with contestations of sovereignty, and indeed the monarchy, is reflected in the above scene from Shakespeare's *Henry VI, Part 3* (3.1), in whose covert two gamekeepers make their stand, aiming with their crossbow at "culling the principal of all the deer." The principal that they seize upon is, however, the hounded and feeble King Henry VI, formerly the sovereign power and monarch, but here seen a gentle figure with his prayer-book.

In the landscape, the power that was especially visible from the Norman Conquest until as late as the 18th century, was the role of sovereignty in regard to emparkment (Munsche 1981: 14; Manning 1988: 25). From the beginning of the emparkment system, as Fletcher (2006: 124) notes, the monarch's rights to permit another to create a hunting reserve or emparkment always revolved to some degree around the suspension of the natural forest law for those individuals.

Sovereignty has been long understood as the status of the 'body' of persons able to remain exceptional from conventional laws (Schmitt 1922: 13; see Chapter 4). As such, the exceptional grant of emparkment rights represented both the act of a sovereign and the installation of sovereignty over and in the landscape. That this exceptionalism revolved around the ability to interfere with and commit violence on the deer within (namely, the emparked animal) may be seen as central to such sovereignty: a manifestation and demonstration of the exception. Ritualised 'confirmations' of 'royal violence' are commonly considered the source of sovereignty (Derrida 2002; Runciman 2003), being "types of actions that… affirmed the status of the sovereign power as indivisible, transcendent and self-referring"

(Hansen and Stepputat 2005: 7).[45] Indeed, hunting has been described as setting up "a performance space in which aristocracy mimes its own myth of itself" (Crane 2008: 69), and the emparkment was long thought to be an act of both performance and segregation (see Richardson 2012: 260-261). Thus, as noted one of the powers particularly evident and important throughout the period from the Norman Conquest until as late as the 18th century, was the monarch's ability to grant emparkment rights and suspend forest laws, and the role that it played in British society.

Whilst exclusive privileges over emparked lands were entrusted to a family, who were permitted to lease the land for grazing and sell the park's resources, the recipients were never granted 'sovereignty' over the deer themselves but, it seems, only over actions towards them (White 2012: 62). Each person designated a park's warden could act beyond the given law, in collusion with the appointments and regulation of the local law itself. However, the privilege granted ultimately centred on the death of a deer, and this could represent the type of sovereign violence discussed by Runciman (2003: 28). Here at the site of the deer's destruction, demonstrations of biopower and gift-giving went almost literally hand-in-hand as the carcass was divided according to a hierarchy where, even the dogs and ravens had a place (Rooney 1993: 160-169; Sykes 2007a: 51; Sykes 2007b). However, as much as this death resulted from the action of the sovereign unfettered by the laws of the land, when observed in terms of Foucauldian power relations (see Glossary), it also represented a site where sovereignty was contested, since resistance might be directed at the sovereign's performance, particularly in his interference with the deer. Many acts of deer-poaching, park-breaking, or the illegal capture of deer appear to have centred on the disruption of power relations and the sovereign's exceptionability. Clear incidents of poaching against the monarch are witnessed frequently, whether at the hand of

[45] For 'the state is not the reality which stands behind the mask of political practice. *It is itself the mask* which prevents our seeing political practice as it is' (Abrams 1988: 82 [my emphasis]). Furthermore, the existence of sovereignty when defined in such a way as merely 'a performance', remains 'an ontologically empty category organized around a mythical act of foundational violence' (Hansen and Stepputat 2005: 7). Resistance to such sovereignty has been shown in European contexts to particularly be the reworking of practices of power through imitation and slippage, to make such sovereignty vulnerable (Strang 1996; Guha 1999: 9-10; Hansen and Stepputat 2005).

economically and culturally endowed individuals, or of those from more meagre backgrounds (Birrell 1982). In terms of economics, the perceived dangers of poaching might make little sense of the concept of poaching, especially as there was no market for distribution, whether legal or otherwise; it is considered that in the medieval period the "production of deer for the market would have devalued an important aspect of the aristocratic way of life and privilege" (Birrell 1992: 115; Fletcher 2006: 126). Yet, since poaching was so common that even those charged with the protection of deer could, and on occasion did, engage in acts of destruction, most acts of successful poaching presumably went unrecorded (Manning 1993: 152; Mileson 2009: 177). John Aberth (2013: 192) has demonstrated that, whilst deer in England might number as many as 500,000, poaching culled less than 1% of this figure, whilst "legitimate" culling reduced the population by around 9% per annum. The reasons for poaching were various, and not every incident of poaching will have been an act of ideology or intended treason. On the other hand, deer poaching may on occasion have manifested an element in the contestations of sovereignty.

Barbara Hanawalt (1998: 142) has particularly argued that poaching was always driven by resistance linked to a performance of masculinity, rather than being an act of the economically desperate, 'for a poor man can put meat on the table by other means and can express class hostility through other avenues'. While sometimes this 'masculinity' could represent an act of resistance, Roger Manning (1993: 55) proposes that, especially during the reign of Elizabeth I, the 'excusable naughtiness' and masculinised bravado of poaching was for a large part tolerated out of "a necessity of keeping alive the martial spirit among her nobility." In contrast to such an apparently masculinised practice, the park's enclosure provided, or appeared to provide, or even, were intended to have the appearance to provide safer terrain for its owner and for women (Sykes 2007a: 55; Richardson 2012: 266; White 2012: 47). Monarchs, including Elizabeth I herself, were noted for their preference for the privacy of hunting with crossbows in smaller enclosures (Fletcher 2011: 86). Only the occasional 'gentlewoman' (*sic*) were known to have been prosecuted for any act of poaching, and these were fewer than local vagabonds and the unemployed (Aberth 2013: 193). This may confirm Hanawalt's (1998: 143) assertion that whilst women might, on occasion, participate in forestry and also poaching, they would never be recognised as legitimate poachers or foresters. Although females in the medieval

period were occasionally convicted of poaching or of working in households in the role of foresters, usually a male relative or spouse was registered in their stead as the employee or criminal (Whitlock 1979: 20, 41; Almond 2009: 117-118). Overtly at least, a female seemingly could not act on her own behalf when engaging in such crime or in the everyday tasks of deer-management.

However, further consideration, especially of architecture and imagery, reveals that it was not solely the predilection of Queen Elizabeth I but, more generically, female involvement in the processes of the hunt was regular (cf. Richardson 2012). Despite the popularity of narratives that apparently promote the role of masculinity in hunting, and despite those who argue in support of such a proposition (Fiddes 1992), the involvement of women in the same realm cannot be gainsaid. Yet, in the context of the park, it is in the associations with femininity and the poacher's association with masculinity (Hanawalt 1998; Sykes 2009; Aberth 2013), that these two contrasting narratives are seen to interact. Perhaps it was in the nocturnal opportunity for the 'macho' poacher to penetrate the terrain where young women would in daytime freely move, in order to kill fallow deer (deer being considered to have associations with femininity and domesticity), that parallels in the feminist critique of hunting are best found. Such invasion can be seen perhaps in an example explored by Richardson (2012: 161), where the park-owner, Margaret of France, found her land repeatedly broken into during the early 14th century especially during her courtship and later widowing (cf. Rowe 2009: 62). Furthermore, in other incidents from the 14th century it seems that not only were these linked with the lives of noblewomen, but that the failures of male relatives could also lead to greater incidents of park-breaking of those parks held by females (Crawford 1994: 76; Richardson 2012: 262-263).

Concording with feminist critique, this exclusively male aggressiveness in hunting is exhibited here in contrast to the domesticity of the female (Tanner and Zihlman 1976), and a potential avenue for future research alongside corpus linguistic

techniques[46]. Indeed, the fact that poaching in the forests and emparkments of fallow deer was more frequent than in those inhabited by red deer, might indicate a concern to violate the emblematic inhabitants of the park rather than a reflection of the fortune of the hunter (Aberth 2013: 197-198). Although, as described by Whitehead (1964: 329), the ease of hunting, monitoring and gathering emparked fallow deer compared with the situation of the red deer, as well as the proximity that the fallow had to deer-managers, will have led to greater numbers of fallow deer being recorded during the medieval era and thus contemporary records of their poaching will appear more numerous. Clearly, adequate data on both species and reliable statistical analysis are needed. Accounts of poaching certainly indicate that the breaching of the territory held by another was a powerful motivator for the poacher. Nevertheless, amongst other causes poaching retains an element of socio-economic motivation, as Manning has acknowledged (1993: 209-212). During James I's reign, a particular increase in incidents of poaching may have been a response to "a crisis of the aristocracy" (Stone 1965), a reaction to the restrictions of the Jacobean game-laws, or perhaps the result of more vigorous law-enforcement by the courts. Similarly, some poaching which destroyed all the deer from some deer parks, or included particularly aggressive acts, seems to have been motivated by ideology and religion (Cox 1905: 101, 144; Bellamy 1989: 35; Manning 1993: 220- 225; Liddiard 2005: 118; Mileson 2009: 155-157). Those acts where the breaking of the park's structure appears restricted to particularly aggressive disputes as to sovereignty and the status quo, were often performed with intent to damage, rather than for mere enjoyment of poaching.

Acts of poaching, whatever the motivation, resemble a game in which all involved are participants, according to William Perry Marvin (1999: 225). Following this argument, any attempt to reserve rights over this so-called game "in a patriarchal world was an act bound to generate, indeed invite, resistance; for hunting is evocative

[46] This could be used to analyse the associations of gender with deer at various stages of transfer and interactions, and then to compare this with the model developed in Marilyn Strathern's (1988; 1999) publications of gender-switching in humans and animals in the Papua New Guinea islanders' exchanges. There, whoever and whatever receives is feminised, and whoever and whatever gives is masculinised, in a process of supplementation.

of the deeds of ancestors, and therewith also of ancestral liberties" (ibid. 225). In this 'game', whatever the motivating factor or ideology, the geographical physicality of the deer park became an obvious target, and the deer could easily be transformed and transported, a factor which made these animals the ideal focus for expressions of local disputes (Mileson 2009: 157). In accord with the Foucauldian understanding of power relations, the forest- and park-enforcers were to a large extent merely reactionary to the acts of the poachers and indeed to their motives: thus, fines were adjusted according to social standing, a flexibility which Rackham (1986: 136-138) describes as "adjusting the fines so as not to dry up the supply… though they might oppress the nobility, [they] usually respected scrupulously the rights of their humbler subjects". As in all issues of sovereignty relating to deer, such resistance to structures of power may be considered as part of constant renegotiation of power relations and contestation, but also as inseparable and co-dependent forces that frame the other (cf. Foucault 1978a).

Actions taken by the poachers also seem to resemble and imitate the actions of the foresters themselves. Thus, seasonal choices related to the gender of the deer, whereby does were killed in summer and bucks in the autumn, continued to be practiced by the poachers (Cox 1905: 192-193; Whitehead 1964: 327). Furthermore, some of the endeavours of poachers, such as the usual presentations of venison (see Chapter 4), do appear as though they were providing gifts, since poaching by guests seems to have been common entertainment for a weary traveller and the opportunity to provide an evening gift for the host (Hanawalt 1998: 150). Venison did not cease to be venison, and continued as symbolically powerful whatever the method that rendered it, and certainly amongst peasants was gifted (Birrell 1996: 84-85; Heal 2014: 42). Whilst aristocratic hunting activities have been explained as having a monopoly on a form of medieval networking through social structures (Keen 1990: 186; Almond 2003: 27; Heal 2014: 40-41) as in many such gift-giving networks (cf. Lévi-Strauss 1987; Mauss 1990), nevertheless comparison must also be made with those gifts wrought illegally. Whilst these illegally wrought and sought gifts are described by theorists as ostensibly 'sordid', they can ultimately become a compelling obligatory force by way of trust and secrecy. As an old adage from the 17th century admonishes, 'Never inquire whence the venison comes' (Tilley 1950: 696), implying that any disclosure or indiscretion would damage both the relationship and the

individuals involved (Carrier 1995: 147; Derrida 1992: 85). Often in acts of poaching, the carcass and any remains were taken away by the poacher for safe distribution. It was a rare and foolish act that saw the poacher leave any form of evidence (Aberth 2013: 197). Unmistakably, for successful poaching to occur, camaraderie was necessary between any poaching party, but also any party involved in receipt. This reciprocal trust could allow the development of relations as can perhaps best be seen in the jovial attitude displayed among poachers, which Manning (1993: 160) has encapsulated as being due to those oaths made mutually which were "sometimes reinforced with an exchange of bonds". Regardless of such an exchange, when an individual was caught poaching, the fact that oaths were mutually made still often failed to prevent an individual poacher from boasting of his own prowess, even when faced with disciplinary actions (Manning 1993: 159-161).

Thus, the original, rather simplistic Foucauldian model of an all-encompassing power-relationship appears exemplified or, when seen chronologically, at the very least anticipated here. The perceived acts of resistance in this relationship may be interpreted as ameliorated through the reactions of the judicial system and the poachers, whilst being self-contextualised by those engaging in the resistance. In his later work Foucault, regarding the power-resistance argument (1982a: 789-790) as tautologous and incomplete, presented a new model that saw reactionary structuring as governance. Following this reasoning, acts of resistance continue to appear to resemble the systems already in place, but this is because the reactionary interpretation (in which, power reacts) structures and potentially guides the supposedly autonomous forms of rebellion (Thompson 2003: 132). In this new conception, resistance is not a mere imitation of the performances of power; instead, although guided by cultural constructions, the individual’s autonomy allows the forms of resistance to become creative. Similarly, Anna Tsing (2005: 6) criticises the earlier

Foucauldian hierarchical model of power-resistance[47], instead positing that the interactions, reactions and actions of individuals or bodies which come into conflict should be understood as though they were frictional forces, whose interactions are always creative. It may be suggested that it is this creativity which is attested in the actions of the poachers: we may observe, for example, the mounting of deer's heads, "invoking its powers to confound the land's guardians, seeking to oust the authority of an intolerable lord – [that] suggests a cultural reflex on the level of homology" (Marvin 2006b: 80). Meanwhile, we also find that any gentleman or lord was expected to have been correctly instructed in the art of venery from a very early age - and the parks provided a good opportunity for children to practise all the necessary skills including that of self-restraint (MacGregor 2012: 109).

Whilst peasants snared and trapped the deer of the forests, the self-contained unit of the park might not have yielded so many opportunities; the upper classes in contrast could display their prowess and their dogs in a park (Hanawalt 1998: 147). Similarly, fines and punishments appear to reveal the standing of those who were caught in parks, as 'the wealthy paid heavily and the very poor were excused' (ibid. 145). However, given that the justices met only every seven years, it was also "common for the suspect to die or procure a pardon before the justices arrived" (ibid: 145). For the owner, parks might have been too small and seemed pointless in which to hunt, but for the poacher the dangers and the skills required made such experiences appear worthwhile. Unlike the legally mandated deer-manager, for the poacher there was, and is, significant danger to himself, and to any that he might meet. Also unlike the legal hunts that the sovereign engaged in – 'hunts' that were theatrical and dramatized

[47] As for resistance to such hierarchical structuring, this can be found in the industry of bureaucracy and the corruption that can swiftly follow. Akhil Gupta (1995: 375) has postulated that in the unexceptional actions of the bureaucrat, where resistance particularly occurs, this jointly implicates bureaucracy and the state 'in the minute texture of everyday life'. As noted elsewhere amongst constructions of geography, landscape and subjectivity, through the bureaucracy and industry of the deer park, and through its physicality, geography and the deer themselves, gift-giving produced the mechanisms to present, 'the effect of the state as a reified, unitary actor with an ontological presence' (Yeh 2013: 267). Through the process of giving, the donor becomes present by way of their representations in materials and narratives, rather than the gift remaining metaphysical and insubstantial.

or extremely artificial displays (Manning 1993: 196-201) – accounts of the poacher's experiences in contrast involved a much 'purer' display of prowess, combat and mastery of nature (in Hanawalt 1998: 148-149).

When participation in a 'game' involves a risk which might seem too great a burden to be advantageous to the player, yet nevertheless participants continue to go to great lengths to involve themselves, the activity has been termed "deep play" by the anthropologist Clifford Geertz (1973: 433). In his much lauded 'interpretation' of the Balinesian cockfight, akin to what seems the same case for the deer poacher, the illegality in no way dissuades participants from the heavily masculinised performance as play. A driving force in such 'play' is the fact that the individual's status is at stake, balanced by the prestige that could be gained if successful. Thus, the more danger a skilled hunter engaged in, the more he would seem to gain, even if materially he might appear to lose or even risk imprisonment. Here, it is the participation in the hunt that mattered, as explained by Almond (2003: 131), and "whether the hunting was lawful or unlawful was, one suspects, often irrelevant to the deed". However, it appears that for the participation of the enforcers, namely the verderers, foresters and park workers, there was always a choice for them as agents of reactionary power, the choice whether to engage the poachers directly, or to rely on their later identification (Manning 1993: 34). In one late 17th century incident, the outcome of a pitched battle with poachers was notable for the injuries sustained by several forest guardians; whilst the poachers were more readily remembered for their military origins, the enforcers were noted only for their numerous casualties (Whitehead 1964: 285-286). Such incidents between poachers and foresters could, and did, escalate in the course of the 17th century, particularly between households with grievances, where both sides on occasion would don military armour and equipment to engage primarily in 'battle', but would poach if the foresters declined to engage (Manning 1993: 201-209; Kalof 2007: 84-85).

Where a poacher sought to create his own holding of deer through deer-stealing and illegal emparkation, a creative act of resistance that also imitates and subverts normal power-relations, this would indeed result in especially heavy penalties imposed on those caught (Vincent 1992: 192-193). Most practices of the poacher appear to have been guided through deer-park practices, but where acts occasionally fell outside the

norm for park practice, such as the stealing of deer, the heavy punitive measures could be attempts to resituate the incidents. Such a response might involve the arrest or even execution of the guilty party, but on other occasions there were attempts through power structures to reincorporate into society those individuals who offended. For instance, deer-stealers according to a 16th century proverb, would make the best park-keepers (Tilley 1950: 148). In the correct circumstances, they could return the deer to see charges dropped (Manning 1993: 174), whilst illegal emparkments could still apply for emparkment rights despite their quite obvious prior existence (Mileson 2009: 133).

One example of non-conformist resistance is notable for its conflicting accounts and interpretations based around a relatively minor detail: the gender of some illegally poached fallow deer. In this infamous encounter, the deer were killed in the enclosures of Rockingham in Northamptonshire in 1272 by a group of poachers led by one Simon Tuluse, and the decapitation and mounting of the deer heads was interpreted as a subversion and "in great contempt of the lord king and of his foresters" (Cox 1905: 245; see also Whitehead 1964: 310). Although the woodsmen who discovered the deer described them as bucks, later verderers disputed this, claiming them as being does, perhaps to render the transgressors' crimes less incendiary while still castigating their actions (Marvin 2006b: 75). This heinous act was interpreted in the immediate aftermath as an ideologically motivated hunt. In attempting a form of propaganda, this hunt employed both the site of execution and the animal body to subvert the ritualised presentation of sovereignty that the park represented. This practice as exploitation and propaganda is what William Marvin (2006b: 79-80) gave as an example of 'bricolage' (see Glossary), that shamed the guardians of the deer and therefore required transformation. Marvin (2006b: 80) cites this example as specifically proving the homogeneity of the sovereignty and its

association with deer, in that the immediacy of the interpretation or understanding could be seen as reflexive rather than cognitive[48].

However, this homogeneity was not long-lived. As the monarch lost a monopoly over the emparkment process and over the deer themselves, so too did the actions of poaching follow the movement of the changing socio-economic cosmology into alienation and distance manifested in all walks of life in the 17th-18th century (Carrier 1995: 75-77). Even in the lead-up to the Civil War, emparkment rights were increasingly proliferated with no direct relation to the sovereign, but were instead acquired by wealth alone. Munsche (1981: 5) has argued that, as the idea of emparkment as property proliferated, encouraged by the Game Acts of the 17th century, deer-park owners began for the first time 'to view game as property – and poachers as thieves'. Hunting became increasingly restricted to the wealthy and powerful, whilst ownership of the various tools required to hunt or poach a deer were made illegal (Munsche 1981; Manning 1993). Actions of the poachers, if understood as forms of resistance, were no longer ambiguous forms of resistance against the sovereign, but were newly understood to be against the deer park-owner or gentry, and as such were heavily criminalised. Similarly, where once the daring of the illegal emparkment and deer-stealer could be interpreted as an act of sovereignty, these now became depraved actions of the low-born (in Lascelles 1915). Nevertheless, as the poaching trade expanded, the relationships changed also: the poachers, were increasingly organised, profit driven and anonymous, even amongst themselves (Munsche 1981: 67).

Fallow deer as carcass in depiction

The relationship between femininity and fallow deer makes a notable appearance amongst 'still life' or 'rhopography' of market and kitchen paintings of the 16th century. Frequently the carcass of a fallow deer takes centre-stage amongst a vast array of ingredients, with all other elements of such scenes arranged around it, be they

[48] Such reflexivity in recognition can be demonstrated and proven in the powerful experiences witnesses can have with a mediator such as artwork in certain contexts (Stengs 2008: 164).

human, vegetal or fruit. Later, around the onset of the 17th century, we shall see another artistic movement featuring the carcass of a fallow deer came to prominence in the 'game-pieces' of Europe, these being distinct displays of venery where those females and any femininity represented in earlier still-life depictions appear to have become supplanted by male hunters and masculinity (see Figures 5:9-5:12).

Aesthetic illustrations of food in the 1500s found in many countries of Europe are claimed as an apparent testament to the increasing commodification of the animal (Kalof 2007: 99; Salisbury 1994). There followed the painting of dead animals in the kitchen and market, and in the later 'game-pieces' (e.g. Figure 5:9). The animal carcass, whilst regarded as aesthetically beautiful and certainly of lesser importance living than was the human body, appears to have accurately reflected the paradoxical appreciation and exploitation of nature of the period (Wolloch 1999). Furthermore, the animal body was one format that survived various artistic purges in Europe throughout the late medieval period. Because of various religious and political movements, painters throughout Europe found themselves censored and in danger, but art survived the Reformation in the Netherlands with its depiction of unobjectionable scenes of nature adapting those of economically successful Denmark (Salt 1892: 16-17; Lansbury 1985; Bryson 1990: 96-100; Kalof 2007: 101). Such adaptations of Danish artwork are reflected in the later depiction of venery, and this became a practice in which the worth of the newly empowered aristocracy might be proven. This was particularly so in Britain, where the hunting Game Acts removed royal sovereignty from emparkment in the 17th century (Sullivan 1984; see Chapter 4). Thus, the medium of still life became aesthetically rewarding for an artist who could circumvent both legal and moral stricture. A few decades later, he would be financially rewarded by the upwardly mobile for his skills in venery depiction. Yet again, as seen in earlier chapters, depiction of the species of deer appears influenced by the animals' presence: whilst in the Netherlands the roe buck is prominent in still-life depictions, elsewhere the fallow buck replaces the roe where fallow deer were to be found.

A prominent example of the fallow deer in still-life painting can be seen in Figure 5:9, "Cookmaid with Still Life of Game" by Suffolk painter Nathaniel Bacon, c.1620-1625. Here, the carcass of an antlered buck can be witnessed in a kitchen scene, where

a young and fecund woman is present, seemingly resting from preparing food (Hearn 1996: 220; Hearn 2005). The buck lies across the table, throat partially slit below the skull, gently hanging over the table, leaving its head and de-velveted antlers in clear profile and indeed dominating the entire image. The buck is joined by a mute swan, and an array of birds: ducks, yellow-hammers, bullfinches, chaffinches and pigeons. All of them are carefully detailed, all are common to other still-life depictions, and they reflect the aristocratic element in their displacement of the mundane kitchen environment in the paintings (Kalof 2007: 102).

The woman here stares towards the viewer epitomising, allegedly, "a perfect Venus" and holding the only living animal in the picture, a chicken. On the opposite side of the antlers, a male can be seen in the shadows peering at the woman; identified as possibly being the old gamekeeper responsible for presenting the meat (Dugdale 1819: 36; Montagu 1834: Note C). This is one of a set of three paintings of cooking maids with their ingredients; yet the male presence in the scenes only appears alongside hunted ingredients, such as the venison or birds. Where the bountiful displays are of vegetables and fruit rendered from the field, no masculine presence seems required, and this theme recurs commonly across still-life depictions.

The use of the dead deer in these depictions of stillness, a stillness which is frequent and central to rhopography, does not merely reflect the stillness of the carcass in order to allow a more accurate representation (Bryson 1990: 146). In fact, rather than selecting the most attainable still form, by obtaining the carcass of a deer, which was a strict non-commodity even as late as the 19th century (Whitehead 1964), the artist is clearly seeking to engage in a variation of symbolism. On the most evident functional level, these depictions serve to display access to the carcass of the deer, whether it be by way of the artist, the proprietor or those depicted alongside. Such presence of deer is even more apparent in later 'game-pieces' where, in the works of European artists, such as the Dutch Jean Baptist Weenix and Flemish Frans Snyders, the animals reflect the artist's growing access to wild deer contemporaneously with the growing prestige of art (Wallert 1999: 90). Given the reliance on local deer for such imagery, it comes as no surprise that Dutch or Flemish artists depict the roe buck, whereas in contemporary English art, the fallow buck is predominant. Rather than being an attempt to accurately depict the species as a motive that would perhaps be seen in

earlier eras (cf. Chapter 2-3), it would seem that the accuracy itself would be the motive behind such paintings.

In Dutch still life, the emphasis was apparently one of near-scientific description of the inanimate, where 'literally nothing distracts from the objectifying representation of mere objects' (Grootenboer 2005: 6). Such a scientific collection of knowledge, reminiscent of the earlier, Roman encyclopaedic trend (see Chapter 3), was epitomised in the natural theology of the early-modern period. This is exemplified in an early zoological tome, *The History of Four-Footed Beasts and Serpents*, first published in 1608 (Topsell 1658: 89). This illustrated opus sought to expand further upon the works of Pliny (see Chapter 3) so as to know better the Christian God through his creation, with the understanding that the formations of nature are manifestations of God's work, making it a 'privilege and duty of man to contemplate' (Altran 1993: 141). Led by philosophers and physicians such as Andrea Cesalpino (1519-1603) and William Harvey (1578-1657), such formations of nature were to be understood by studying the primary forms and by recalling the work of Aristotle on the often-geometric manifestations of a "Divine Geometrician". By means of a comprehensive knowledge of their structures through such 'classical' cataloguing, these academics, botanists and artists sought progressively the reduction of natural forms in order to find the underlying essence (Altran 1993: 139-148).

During the medieval period, animals seem to have been increasingly erased from western social experience and removed into their own cosmology in 'Nature', where interactions could be carefully mediated (Giddens 1991; Lee 1992; Novak 2012; Stibbe 2012). In this period, the symbolic connection between deer and human, discussed at length in other chapters, was a crucial factor in social hierarchy and sovereignty. However, the use of the fallow deer also implied *per se* the presence of the emparkment and thus of wealth also. The symbolism invoked by this animal undergoing transformation into venison, from animal to meat, has further connotations, particularly when considered in juxtaposition with femininity and the non-masculine territory of domesticity. Through the implied processes of corruption, or transformation into meat, such lineal moments appear symbolically powerful and dangerous in both social and biological terms (Lévi-Strauss 1964; Douglas 1972; Fiddes 1992: 150-160). Failure to act correctly in these moments might be to court

danger and corruption, but being capable of proceeding through the observances provides a pure and edible source of food. This process frequently removes the former symbolic ties to the natural world through its various practices, thus creating a socialised object. This is exemplified specifically and distinctly in the linguistic difference in European languages of the medieval period, where meat[49] became immediately separated from the animal (Clark 1993; Sealey and Charles 2013), whatever its gender.[50]

In medieval society, it has been argued that femininity could only be expressed within specially mandated spaces or times, whilst masculinity, its counterpart, was publicly performed (Gilchrist 1999)[51]. As we have seen, medieval deer parks, like other interior spaces, provided a level of privacy that allowed females to act freely. Nevertheless, the chase remained an intrinsically public and frequently masculinised performance even where females participated (Sykes 2009; Richardson 2012). It comes as no surprise that this mediation between the natural and cultural world is carried over into still life, with the female acting as recipient of the male's enterprise and her role within the natural world acting through her fertility. Indeed, such depictions in and subjects of the paintings appear to be centred on femininity and the meat, through both perspective and orientation, and they tie together the carnal desires to which both give rise (Grootenboer 2005; Kalof 2007: 79-84). That this combination is to be later consumed, intimates the processes of digestion and sexuality inherent in these depictions by associating the 'lower functions of the body… with the bodies of animals' (Bryson 1990: 149).

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[49] Viz. English: "beef", "veal" "mutton", "pork", from Old Norman/Old French origins; cf. "cow", "calf", "sheep", "swine" and "pig" from Old English/Anglo-Saxon origins (Cook 2015).

[50] Thus, the Anglo-Norman "venisoun" separated from the Old English/Anglo-Saxon "deer" (whether "fallow" and "buck", or "hart" and the Old Norse "stag") and the perhaps Celtic "doe" (Hough 2001).

[51] Comparison may be made with the spaces allowed for free, rebellious expression by women in Zulu rituals honouring the Nomkubulwana goddess, with any complaints of the subservient women incorporated into the production of food (Gluckman 1963: 127).

Given that the ontological demarcation between human and animal was carefully maintained throughout the Middle Ages (Cartmill 1993: 76; Salisbury 1994: 16-18), such implied transgressions in these lineal moments may have served to heighten the importance of the procedure. Such procedures, discussed by Mary Douglas (1969) as ritualistic, become particularly powerful and engaging where dangers or ambiguity is perceived and force those involved to take them seriously. Focussing primarily on the roles of purity and pollution within social and cultural rituals, Douglas (1969) discusses at length how the strict suppression or avoidance of certain meats and the conspicuous concealment of femininity in some cultures is a result of external pressures to mediate negative internal outcomes, often through acts of suppression and abstention of sex and food. Food could be instead regarded as a system of encoding, in the deep ties between the social and the biological, where there is always an underlying analogous connection to sexual relations (Douglas 1972).

Indeed, Bryson (1990: 149) later noted that not only is such meat consumption inter-related with sexuality in still-life depictions, but it always seems used in reference to positions within the social hierarchy, whether implied or not in regard to the presence of the peasant amongst the aristocrats - an especially common theme in Dutch still life. That such interactions are shown to occur across genders, ties together a cavalcade of sexual, biological, cultural and hierarchical demarcations, but also apparently implicitly threatens them (Bryson 1990: 150). Such consumption would apparently intimate the potential crossing of these boundaries, yet through artwork remain imaginary and therefore deniable.

In respect to culture, Richard Almond (2009: 154-156) in noting again the odd dichotomy of the infrequent descriptions of female participation in acts of hunting contrasted with the frequency of their depictions, argues that this factor is a reflection partly of the patriarchal society, but also of an aesthetic enjoyment of the female form, in essence revealing the beauty of the female whilst marginalising them through naturalising the aesthetic enjoyment. Whilst Almond (2009) was primarily concerned with women's participation in hunting, the parallel in the paintings of still-life is unavoidable, especially given the roles that the participants played. Whilst the males in the paintings were contemporarily described by their position or their employment, the female was regarded with a generic appreciation of the female form. In Nathanial

Bacon's three cook-wives in particular (e.g. Figure 5:9), the character of the cook-wife has been described as a facsimile for the artist's own mother (Dugdale 1819: 36; Montagu 1834: Note C), being an apparently unquestionable representative of fertility and purity for the artist. Meanwhile, the male of the depiction is described by the produce that he has provided for the female - by the role which he has performed. Rather than his fertile nature, his endeavours proven in produce are celebrated.

Again, amongst other depictions and descriptions certain females do emerge as individuals, but their occurrence frequently supports the notion of femininity in being exceptional – seen when discussing "Bodies of Women" - perhaps mavericks, and duly surpassing their own gender enough for recognition (Rizzo 2002: 90-91) - when, as individuals, such 'unconventional behaviour in public did not advance the social restrictions of middle-class women' (Almond 2009: 7). Whilst masculinity at this time was tied to ideas of performance, femininity was tied to ideals of nature, with female bodies seen to resemble the bodies of animals, capable apparently of eliciting primal urges of consumption in men (Birke 1986: 109-111; Fiddes 1992: 150-152). It seems that nature was typically considered in this era (and indeed in contemporary societies) as being feminine and women's bodies were also regarded, through their biology and reproductive cycles, as inescapably part of nature (Ortner 1974: 77; Rosaldo and Atkinson 1975: 63; Birke 1986: 107; Kirksey et al. 2014: 189).

Women's roles when depicted in the hunt may allude to their child-bearing and rearing, with women often shown as onlookers to the hunt, as on Figure 5:12 below: their presence seemed influential in providing the occasional guiding hand of the maternal spirit (Marvin 2006c: 386-387). Hawking, however, was much more acceptable a sport in which to depict women, perhaps partly because it provided an allusion to the sexual dimorphism of most birds of prey, the female being superior in size (Marvin 2006c; Almond 2009). Similarly, those instances where a female was not accompanied by another animal, such as a hound or hawk, that 'performs' the kill were indeed rare (Almond 2003: 160-165). This ambiguity as to who performed the kill would apparently protect the notion of the female's purity and chastity, again allowing the denial of any untoward behaviour. Perhaps related to this, the additional role of the female as cook was another area of careful and again ambiguous

mediation, in which management of the humours was involved – a renewal in this period of the classical belief in the humours (see Chapter 3).

Meanwhile, the transmission of cookery knowledge and skill was also intentionally ambiguous, and recipe literature was frequently filled with vagueness through the omission of vital information (Carrol 2009). Such ambiguity was also present in considerations of venison: as discussed in Chapter 4, 'venison' as an ingredient until early modern times referred to the process of its capture rather than the animal from which it came (Albala 2003: 64). For the most part, venison instead reflected the status of the individual involved. This category of 'performance' was given physical form which supports the intrinsic strength of the categories of food; the performances themselves were deeply encoding, at the same time as they were encoded by social events (Douglas 1972).

The consumption of venison was indeed as eagerly pursued by medieval individuals as one would expect, given the widespread diffusion of deer parks throughout Britain and abroad (chapter 4). Parts of the deer that are not consumed so regularly in modern times were then well-regarded, including the brain, blood, ears, lips and nose; boiled antler too was notable for its inherent aphrodisiac qualities in "antler soups" (Birkhan 1995: 84, 94; Albala 2003: 64). Furthermore, continuing the snake-deer conflict from prior Roman, Byzantine and early Christian eras (see Chapters 3-4), any drink containing hartshorn, originally derived from antler, would not only strengthen the heart but also repel worms from the body (Adamson 2004: 36). Any product derived from the deer was, when consumed, deemed important in building a good constitution and mind amongst the young, but could prove dangerous for the adult whose blood might become thick and 'melancholic' (Topsell 1658: 90; Adamson 2005: 36). Meanwhile, the dung could be used for increasing hair and the fat could be rubbed against the head so as to increase the memory (Topsell 1658: 90). As we saw above, hunting in Graeco-Roman times was seen as helping young males to develop suitable physical and moral qualities for adulthood beyond the practice of skill, but also constitutionally through consuming the produce of the hunt (Chapter 2-3; Mangan and McKenzie 2009). Participation in the chase for the medieval aristocracy would distract from the seven deadly sins, but it would also demonstrate to each participant

the enjoyment of the pure act and, by extension, prepare for the purity of the afterlife (Woolley 2002: 25-26).

In contrast, for the female body, the consumption of venison could ostensibly prove dangerous. According to medical texts, venison eaten by women could lead to corruption and loss of all restraint, and for any woman even requesting it could indicate a seemingly underlying aggression and insatiability (Brumberg 1997: 169). This problem seemed to affect the female body exclusively. For even those males most chaste of all, those in the priesthood, the consumption of venison and any promiscuity was apparently not an issue: this is reflected both in the zooarchaeological record and in the records of deer parks held by religious institutions (Whitehead 2001: 229; Sykes 2006b: 168). Whilst the meat could lead a woman astray, the deer as a living entity itself appeared to symbolise faithfulness (Grössinger 1997: 81). Moreover, this connection of femininity with the living deer was epitomised in the continued, or renewed, recognition of the virginal huntress Diana, as was referred to by Raleigh (Richardson 2012: 253). For the medieval and Elizabethan audience, her form and the idealisation of the environment and of chastity were aesthetically pleasing rather than a subject for further deistic worship (Fietze 2005; Almond 2009). The natural forms of the deer appear to have been regarded as purified, whereas the meat rendered from the hunt was carnal - and 'corrupting'.

A parallel may be found in the many cultural acts related to food taboo, an act of conscious or premeditated avoidance (see Glossary), and particularly important in the maintenance of the purity of a social or ethnic group (cf. Douglas 1969; Lien 2004). In the case of venison, for a female to consume it would endanger her chastity, by awakening her carnal desires, and thus seemingly endangering and corrupting her surroundings. The effects of such taboos are intimate and important. Defining such an animal as unsuitable for a certain group, has been argued to be a particularly powerful method of redefining and reiterating reality, as the intimacy and incorporation of food stretches far beyond the mere materiality of the foodstuff (Lupton 1996). Such processes and classifications are not the result, or the cause, of behaviours but are instead a form of "ontological politics" where reality neither pre-exists nor is it produced, but instead is continually "shaped" within practice (Mol 1999: 74-75).

Given that these still-life paintings apparently flirt with what was previously prohibited and strictly controlled, namely femininity and venison, their contemporary depiction together cannot be coincidental. Within this period, Europe saw the rise of the Renaissance, in which the traditional modes of thought and practice were particularly challenged. Indeed, medieval views of the humours and also of defects in the environment, in fodder and in mood of the beast, were particularly being challenged through the collection of knowledge (Albala 2003: 221-222). Previously, where the cook was the careful mediator of the humours, an ambiguous process, careful study and documentation sought to reduce any ambiguity (O'Hara-May 1977; Scully 1995). Such challenges can be seen in knowledge regarding the consumption of deer: scepticism was expressed by a 16th-17th century physician in Antwerp that anyone might perceive consuming deer as able to transfer longevity, whilst others questioned whether the tough constitution of venison was truly suitable for frequent consumption (Nonnius 1627: 190; Albala 2002: 169, 206).

Furthermore, the cultural and social freedoms that the Renaissance provided might go some distance towards explaining the depictions of fallow deer in the following, 17th, century in the 'game-pieces', as discussed above. Whilst the emotive images of still-life had subsided somewhat, the practice of displaying the carcass in masculinised displays of hunting prowess, wealth and social standing had emerged instead (Kalof 2007: 80-83). Some of these images indeed recreated the still-life of the previous century, albeit with fewer female elements and more focus on the viscera of the game. Alternatively, other game-pieces are typified by a male figure standing above the fallen carcass of a recently slain animal, but one whose wounds and damage caused by the hunt are hidden or almost imperceptible. We saw above that the former depiction was a popular type amongst Dutch and Flemish artists. Their careful and colourful depiction of the viscera in all their complexity was said to invoke the otherwise absent sense of smell. As a form of aesthetic distancing (Korsmeyer 1999: 174), this was seen as an attempt to challenge the phenomenological stance that the viewer and artist usually take and, as discussed earlier, through the subject and commissioner it was largely restricted to wilder game such as roe and red deer. Until the 18-19th centuries these species were most frequently encountered in the wilder areas, and their hunting was largely restricted to the gentry. Whilst fallow deer were relatively infrequent outside emparked areas before the English Civil War, the display

of fallow deer did not often include depictions of hunting; red deer and indeed 'the hart' proving more valuable symbolically in this case (Bath 1992). However, it is in the later form of the 'game-piece' that the fallow deer once more made a conspicuous appearance in depictions of hunting.

Game Pieces and the Stuarts

In examining one such depiction (Figure 5:10), part of a series of paintings made between 1603-1606 by Robert Peake of the 'lost Prince' Henry Stuart (Webster and Lambourne 1974), the young prince apparently sheaths, or perhaps draws, his sword alongside a young companion, who has removed his cap, kneels at the head of a fallow buck and holds the antlers upright. The prince has apparently engaged, or is about to engage, in a specific ritual described in *The Booke of Hunting* (Turbervile [1576] 1908: 134), where a ceremonial blow is delivered to the deer's neck to reveal the quality of the meat by the most superior member of the hunt; here the head is held by the kneeling lead-huntsman prior to it being severed and presented to the hounds (Baetjer 2009: 11-12). A refined, pale hunting-dog sits behind the King, obediently waiting as are both the horse and an attending adult holding the reins. Proper deference is shown by the young gentleman to the future monarch, who has clearly proven his skill in venery, whilst the adult hidden in the background holds the reins as the prince takes up his position. His hunting partner, in removing his cap and kneeling before the future monarch, also presents himself as a humble retainer. However, as the Prince is sheathing, or perhaps unsheathing, his sword, this may contain an allusion to knighthood (Webster and Lambourne 1974). Further evidence of symbolism and heraldry is distributed throughout the painting, indicative of the positions and the families to which the characters belong. It is, however, the comparison of the different images of the same scene that proves most rewarding.

In the two known examples surviving from this series, the others having been lost or destroyed following Henry Stuart's premature death and the Civil War, the layout of the paintings is the same, but both the kneeling boy holding the antlers and the background differ significantly. In the first painting, from 1603, the prince is shown dismounted, whether about to provide, or having just provided, the *coup de grâce* to a buck held by John Harington in what appears to be a forest. In the second, from 1606,

Robert Devereux, future Earl of Essex, kneels beside the prince in a deer park (Strong 1969b: 234-235; Webster and Lambourne 1974; Barroll 1991: 205-206). Clearly, the similarities in the arrangement of the scenes were not coincidental, and it is likely that both were the product of the same workshop (Macleod et al. 2012: 35-39). Whilst the Prince's partners changed from one who belonged to the royal household to the youthful heir to an Earldom, so too did the location change from a royal forest to a private deer park. These changes suggest that the images were either commissioned by or elicited for multiple partners. The situation is much as that for the earlier and far more famous painting of the young prince's namesake Henry VIII; in that case, variations of the original painting by Hans Holbein the Younger can be found in the possession of various estates and show only minor adaptation to his attire. Such variations usually were performed to create a connection between the monarch and the owning family (Brooke and Crombie 2003).

The allusion to the Tudor King Henry VIII in Peake's portraits of the later Prince Henry is not alone in its implied associations. A concurrent portrait of the Prince's sister, Elizabeth, similarly recalls her Tudor predecessor and namesake (Quarm 1991: 106-107; Baetjer 2009: 14). Such association between the Princess and the former Queen being so overwhelming that the painting was mistakenly labelled on the canvas as being a depiction of the Tudor Queen, a presumption that remained the case until the late 1990s (Baetjer 2009: 16). That portrait of the Princess dated 1603 (Figure 5:12) again situates her within the deer park, displaying fallow deer and hunting scenes; these are in the background, however, while the Princess is located in a heavily landscaped area, with the males hunting within an enclosure. Watching over both hunters and Princess are mature women seated on a hill, whilst another male stands to one side of the hunt. Interestingly, the clothing worn by the three participants in the hunt, their comparative heights, their steeds and the hunting dogs, are identical to those in her brother's portrait (Hearn 1996: 185-187). Their distinct positions are distinctive, however. The young Elizabeth is set apart from the hunt, and her portrait also features her brother, soon to be regent, as well as her custodians. Her brother's portraiture does not correspondingly feature his sister, and the role of his warden is down-played, probably hiding him as attendant to the horse behind.

Both paintings of Prince Henry are notable in following German and Dutch artists in the placement of an individual into a landscape in the middle of an action, a development described by Strong (1986: 114), as 'a quite unprecedented innovation in royal portraiture'. Further examples and variations of the paintings might have survived had the prince finally ascended the throne. In the decades following his death, however, the later Civil War and competing claims to the throne rendered such images less important and occasionally dangerous to the owners (Smith 2001: 61-68; Baetjer 2009: 11-12). The 1603 portraits of both Prince Henry and Princess Elizabeth are thought to be the first images of the Stuart Royal Family in England (Quarm 1991: 106-107), and the prominence of the fallow deer and the park in these images indicates the importance of the hunting culture of the court (Hadfield 2004: 201). Furthermore, it cannot be mere chance that this same Henry Prince of Wales also led the final royal hunt in England. After that deer, support for the monarchs and the monarchs themselves were in too short a supply (Whitehead 1964: 335). Yet portrayals of the feats a young monarch accomplished alongside the next heir to the earldom served also as evidence of the social standing of both. So, too, did many other depictions of game-pieces across Europe (Sullivan 1984: 40-41; Kalof 2007: 101). However, unlike the Dutch game-pieces in particular, where eager display of the carcass is central to the picture and viscera were purposefully employed to focus attention, the carcass of the buck became the site for some interesting British variations.

Besides small variations likely to have been rendered in the process of creating the copies, a few further negligible differences are discernible, particularly in the body of the fallow buck. One such small but compelling difference is the antlers of the fallow buck: in the 1606 version set in the park, the antler's palmation is larger and symmetrical. Modifications to the antlers might be in recognition of the correlations observed between the size of the palmation of the antler and interbreeding populations; poor palmation was certainly recognised in the 16th century as an outcome of poor deer-management (Plot 1705: 190, 212; Masseti 2002: 141-142). A second subtle difference in the body of the deer is the lessening of the mutilation shown in the 1606 painting; furthermore, the damage done to the body is hardly perceptible even in the first image. Nevertheless, both images lack the viscera associated with the animal, if already a carcass, as in other game-piece imagery -

perhaps because the deer was newly killed or yet-to-be-finished, but also perhaps so as to not to besmirch a future king by any association with rhopography. Instead, the buck appears to have been chased to the point of collapse and thus capitulated to the Prince; the latter has dispatched, or is about to dispatch, his fallen and antlered foe cleanly. Indeed, the position in which animals are set in similar pictures has been described as human-like and combative, particularly in the work of Synders. Discussions of the roles of prey and deer as both opponent and partner are numerous and extensive in the anthropological literature (see Ingold 1988; Marvin 2006a; Nadasdy 2007). In other examples, several of the regents depicted in the hunt are shown in the very process of cleanly dispatching the fallen deer. As both a sovereign performance and a duty, the 'cleanness' in the dispatch being a skill (Fiddes 1992: 74-75; Mangan and McKenzie 2009: 133) that apparently came naturally to the monarchs in such depictions[52]. In stark contrast to other depictions of game-pieces, the Prince in Peake's portraits takes the central position usually occupied by the animal's carcass. Instead, his is the body that aggrandises the imagery: nearly all depicted face the monarch and await his agency. Only the displaced buck faces away, and thus represents a truly worthy opponent of those depicted. This is a facet described as the necessary 'other' required to self-fashion oneself in the aristocratic culture of the English Renaissance: the opposition faced that had to be demonstrated in commissioned art and literature (Greenblatt 2012: 9).

The young boys' success in overcoming this opponent, particularly one outside of culture, demonstrates their suitable control of themselves, within the controlled circumstances of a deer park with the guidance of attentive and partially hidden adults. Meanwhile, the role expected of the sister was that of the chastity and success that Elizabeth enjoyed; perhaps she later retired to the hill to watch over her brother, along with the mature ladies. In contrast, for the Prince there are no greater figures present than himself. Both were expected to practise self-restraint and to know the proper behaviour expected of them; the controlled environment provided by the park

[52] Although Linda Kalof (2007: 103-104) notes that the lack of viscera might follow the assertion of a developing disgust of the brutality of the animal killing (Schneider 1999: 52-53).

was thought to provide relevant experience through their wildness, whilst protecting the children from external factors during their maturation (Creighton 2009: 149; MacGregor 2012: 109).

The end of life for a deer was a good site for development into adulthood, and the park here has acted as a framework for a rite of passage. That both Henry and Elizabeth appear to embody their Tudor namesakes in clothing, stance and practices, clearly indicates the continuity that they were expected to exemplify, namely that of the long reigns of their predecessors and their habits. As for hunting amongst the upper classes, the skills, methodology and practices of the court, the hunt and the park as a whole were deeply symbiotic and well-nigh intractable (Rooney 1993: 194; Almond 2003). That these rites of passage formed a composite image of the roles that these children would take on, directly relying upon previous symbolic associations and systems matured by the Tudors, indicated the importance of the deer park in the life of medieval and Elizabethan society.

Conclusions

In considering the role of fallow deer in gender relations and using as primary source material the evidence of literature, linguistics and, especially, painting, with support from the anthropological viewpoint this role was found primarily to have been a symbolic one. The symbolism proved to differ substantially for men and for women and, in several respects, it changed significantly over time. A contrast between different species of deer – especially red deer and fallow deer – was found to be a further key element.

Symbolism in this period was complex and convoluted, and the evidence as a whole requires summarising in an overview. We are now able to pick out some of the apparently disconnected strands and see them threaded together in a meshwork. In exploring the role of the fallow deer in regard to gender, the relation between fallow deer and female was illuminated. The fallow deer themselves appeared irregularly symbolic. Whilst fallow bucks were physiologically similar to red deer stags, they did not attract their own individual symbolism, as Richardson (2012: 257-258) has indicated. Certainly, the division between the species proved stark, with even the

genders dividing the species of deer. We saw that it was apparently the method of hunting that partitioned the species. Nevertheless, where the fallow deer emerged as a separate entity, this deer does seem self-evident in its associations.

Few Classical themes involving fallow deer witnessed iconographically in Chapters 2-3 survived the downfall of the Roman Empire, with a notable exception being that of Diana. Intertwined with this representation, associations between gender relations and fallow deer had already manifested themselves in the Greek and Roman periods, but the association of Elizabeth I with the goddess of the hunt and of the moon was remarkably pronounced, with the Virgin Queen depicted in art and literature as Diana personified (cf. Hibbert 1992; Almond 2009; Richardson 2012). However, a marked shift was found to have occurred over time. We saw in Chapter 4 the proliferation and standardisation of the emparkment systems, and with them fallow deer becoming the central, emparked animal. In this chapter, we observed the changing role of species in these narratives, reflecting which deer was to be found in the wild and chased, and which was to be emparked and semi-domesticated and we then found evidence of the divergence between the actual engagements with this deer and the associations made with it.

Depictions of fallow deer appear to be more frequent and prominent in the post-Elizabethan and early modern periods, taking the forefront in paintings of portraiture, rhopography and landscape (see Chapter 6). This may suggest that during the medieval era the fallow deer was less prominent. It may largely be attributed to the generic depictions of deer in most medieval art, but it also reflects attention given to the chase, where red deer were more regularly depicted. Nevertheless, fallow deer were shown as present in medieval deer parks and they are represented in artistic tropes and metaphors. Rather than being the recipient and victim of pursuit (Bath 1992; Cartmill 1993: 68-75), it seems that for the fallow deer their connection with the emparkment formed an underlying trope and influential symbolic link.

Just as control over the landscape and hunting rights are thought to have been important to the competing claims of power and sovereignty (Marvin 2006b: 46-74), so too were these spaces, skills and rights important in positioning an individual within society. This chapter took us further with another thread that had run through

preceding periods and themes. Whilst the hunt was normally considered a masculine sphere, the role of the male must be discussed alongside the female. The associations made with fallow deer and marriage by way of the emparked deer and the emparkment itself also found correspondence in the freedom such parks provided for women (Gilchrist 1999: 139-145; Sykes 2007a: 56-58). Meanwhile, the corresponding systems for males proved important in enculturing and developing the skills expected of manhood, whilst maintaining a degree of protection that could not be offered in the chase.

Whilst the issue of the hunt has been seen by some as solely one of masculinised power demonstrated through hunting abilities (Fiddes 1992), this largely overlooks the symbolic functions of many hunting acts. On examining the evidence of cultural depictions, female engagement in hunting activities was found to be substantial and substantiated, particularly in the deer park, and specifically in relation to the fallow deer. Importantly, the perspective of deer and deer-management in association with gender, well demonstrates a perspective that has become axiomatic in the field of ecological anthropological research, where inter-species interactions not only express, or are modelled after relationships between different human groups but can also anchor and reinforce them against cultural changes (Marks 1991; Descola 1992; Mullin 1999; Knight 2000; Boglioli 2009).

Questions that addressed here included whether women in this period were allowed to hunt or seen to do so. An answer may be that apart from the manifest background roles, if allowed to hunt, perhaps they were as mavericks. Overtly at least, a female could not act solely on her own behalf in poaching. In contrast, a legend of Shakespeare's deer-stealing at Charlecote at least reflects this as a fairly typical 'male' pursuit in parkland. It is noteworthy that, actions taken by the poachers were found to resemble the actions of foresters themselves, with seasonal choices of action relating to the gender of the deer.

Explored in depth here, was the symbolism and the symbolic implications of any such 'gendering', relating to the representation of both femininity and masculinity, and self-aggrandisement. The 'gendering' theme included marital and coital imagery that was most obvious in the works of Shakespeare and his contemporaries. Self-

aggrandisement certainly played a part in the rise of the classical Prodigy House in the parks of the aristocracy. This was directly attributable to their need to impress the ultimate sovereign of the park and to Elizabeth's fondness for hunting and the culture of hunting. That self-aggrandisement invoked particularly the masculine, but not exclusively so, seemed evident in the representation of the Virgin Queen as Diana the chaste, but also the huntress. The Virgin Queen, decrying 'the body of a weak and feeble woman' in the face of the Armada and avowing 'the heart and stomach' of a king – and a true huntsman - was to emerge indomitably as Gloriana.

The relationship between femininity and fallow deer made a notable appearance amongst 'still life' or 'rhopography' in the 16th century, with a fallow deer carcass taking centre-stage amongst an array of ingredients. This became a practice in which the newly empowered aristocracy could prove its worth, particularly in Britain where the hunting Game Acts removed royal sovereignty from emparkment in the 17th century. However, it was to be in the later form of the 'game-piece' that the fallow deer was to make a conspicuous appearance, in depictions of hunting. At the onset of the 17th century, the fallow deer carcass became prominent in the 'game-pieces' of Europe in displays of venery, with any femininity represented in earlier still-life depictions supplanted by male hunters and masculinity. A series of very early-17th century paintings of Prince Henry Stuart was examined and compared with a concurrent portrait of his sister, Elizabeth, recalling her Tudor predecessor and namesake.

However, as the monarch lost monopoly over the emparkment process and over the deer themselves, so too did the actions of poaching follow the movement of the changing socio-economic cosmology into alienation and distance in all walks of life in the 17th-18th century. Hunting became increasingly restricted to the wealthy and powerful, whilst ownership of tools required to hunt or poach a deer were made illegal. No longer was poaching harmless masculine bravado on the part of those imitating the 'young bucks' (Scheindlin 1999: 8).

As for hunting amongst the upper classes in general, the skills, methodology and practices of the court, the hunt and the park as a whole were found to be deeply symbiotic and well-nigh inseparable. That such rites of passage as practised in the

hunt and represented in cultural depiction formed a composite image of the roles which aristocratic children were to take on, and which we have found were reliant on previous symbolic associations, indicated the importance of this deer and the deer park in the life of medieval and Elizabethan society – for both genders.

Women as represented in culture, research and visual depictions are frequently held to be the subject of a mundane exoticism, an objectification where the female body and experience is generalised and often mythologised (Elshtain 1981: 283; Augé 1982: 112; Strathern 1988: 36-38). Such generalisation and mundane exoticism seems to be what particularly Almond (2009) claimed to be at work in depictions of medieval women engaged in the hunt. Although some would posit that the examples are in some way fictional and using the generalised female form to make the iconography more enjoyable (Oggins 2010), there is no indication in this chapter that this was the case. Given the fact that the many depictions were regularly of fallow deer, rather than red deer, seems to lend credence to Almond's claims. As an emparked animal, the fallow deer was readily accessible to women - much more so than were hunting rights (cf. Manning 1993; Sykes 2009; Aberth 2013).

Chapter 6 - Fallow deer and the landscape

Introduction

In Chapter 5, we saw that during the medieval era the fallow deer was less prominent. In this Chapter we will now see how, as their depictions became more prominent in the post-Elizabethan and early modern periods, the fallow deer took the forefront in paintings in portraiture and particularly both within, but also as a form of landscape. Such are the sources which form the basis for discussion, as we move forward in both theme and time. The first question to be addressed is the relevance of the deer park landscapes to the overall thesis. My argument here is that the deer in the deer park, the deer in the landscape and the 'deer-scape' itself are not only integral, but of intrinsic importance to the central theme of research – deer as cultural depiction.

Numerous questions arose during the research, and it is hoped that the results presented will produce discussion that is of interest both to the central theme of cultural, visual and material representation of the fallow deer in the landscape, but also to my main subject, the fallow deer itself. Primary sources of evidence which take us forward into the Stuart period and beyond, range from illustrated manuscripts, to personal accounts, and to landscape art and portraiture, and touch on functional documents (cartography) and functional artefacts (including religious materials). These themes emerging in landscape art, might be influential in see the transformation of the landscape of the park, as well as some correlations with the possible incorporation of the fallow deer themselves into the park's architecture, such as in the post-medieval practice of knucklebone floors (Ward et al. 2017 in press).

The significance of this line of research is immediately evident. While Fletcher (2011) has considered the artwork extensively and Richardson (2007) has studied cartography, little work has previously been done on the overlap between the two, and the social cultural impacts of the imagery itself. Consequently, few questions have previously been asked – and few answers are available. Data is as yet insufficient to analyse this material in statistical terms, and this brief chapter will therefore be unavoidably general in scope. It will thus peruse the background material from a wider angle. It is hoped that future work will open up the potential to analyse the

material more intensively from specific angles that will become apparent in the course of this chapter. Here, the aim is to bring this little-known subject, the cultural, visual and material representation of deer in the landscape, into the public domain.

Deer Park Landscapes

"Lanscape is nothing but Deceptive visions, a kind of cousning or cheating your owne Eyes, by our owne consent and assistance, and by a plot of your owne contriving" (Edward Norgate, 1658-1660, in Walsham 2011: 17).

The landscape of the medieval deer park is a subject that has been thoroughly considered from a variety of viewpoints, from functional considerations by historians (Cantor and Hatherly 1979; Birrell 1992; Fletcher 2011) and archaeologists (Crawford 1953; Platt 1978; Stamper 1988; Pluskowski 2007a; Creighton 2009), to aesthetic analysis by architectural historians and art historians (Almond 2009, 2014). Deer parks themselves have long been recognised as status symbols (Mileson 2007: 11), and often the deer within them kept as a form of conspicuous consumption (Platt 1978: 47; Stamper 1988: 146; Kuchta 2002: 19; Fletcher 2011; MacGregor 2012: 108); both aspects imply a certain competitiveness between park-owners.

Whilst research into the aesthetics of the landscape considers the role of representations and agency (Howes 2002: 204; Grusin 2004: 52-53), the animals within have been largely neglected. Similarly, whilst archaeological and historical discussions feature the deer, the decorative elements of medieval enclosures, whether they be architectural or animal, have been largely overlooked in favour of the more quantifiable produces of the deer park (cf. Liddiard 2007: 201-202). Surely, the representation of the deer in the medieval landscape, and the role and perception such representations might embody is important to any consideration of the eponymous 'deer park'. Particularly in the late-medieval and Renaissance era, the role of such representations and the use of the deer are a form of what has been labelled 'self-fashioning', where artwork was used to create and affirm oneself and one's position in society (Greenblatt 2012). Certainly, such self-fashioning efforts have been considered a major motif in the landscape design seen in deer parks of the post-medieval period (Lowenthal 1975: 24; Baker 2003: 148-155), but again in such

reviews the deer and other animals present have not been considered. Clearly as shown by the seal of John de Warenne the 8th Earl of Surrey (Figure 6:1), as early as the 13th century, the emparkation of fallow deer amongst other animals could be important to a family's heraldry (Heslop 1987: 117; Pluskowski 2007a: 69-70).

Recent debate has also questioned whether the ideal of the landscape became its reality, whether parks were actually designed intentionally (Liddiard 2005: 119; Richardson 2007: 31). Furthermore, a division between the symbolic and functional assertions of the park system has been questioned; the park, it is argued, cannot be reduced into a single function or symbolic cause (Johnson 2002: 44, Mileson 2009). Indeed, within something that has traditionally been regarded as primarily structural, the physical barriers that enclose the park, whilst often apparently functional (Birrell 1992), were deeply aesthetic. Whilst the entire structure of the park ostensibly revolved around keeping the animals within it by means of fencing, ditches and embankments, it was also seemingly necessary to keep the deer visible to the visitor, all whilst hiding the mechanisms that kept this arrangement going (Calkins 1986: 166; Ševčenko 2002: 83; Richardson 2007: 43). Whilst provisions appeared to be made to allow the deer to escape from view, within diverse trees, keeping the deer potentially within sight through sight-lines appears to have been a common aspiration of the park builder (Calkins 1986: 173; Cummins 2002: 42-43). Rather than enjoyed all at once from a specific vantage point and perspective, the park would be enjoyed sequentially as, like the deer, the viewer was present and moved within it (Howes 2002: 193; Richardson 2007: 43).

These carefully controlled spaces that guaranteed the access of their owners to the animals within, also provided a certain 'mystique' to the workings of the medieval courts of Europe. Collections of animals from far-flung lands were often on display there (Thomas 1983: 277). In this period, the beasts that were confined not only were enjoyed through their mystique, but might also become religiously significant. This features prominently on tapestries and paintings, although these representations were often purely symbolic and somewhat anatomically inaccurate or vague (Bath 1992: 10-15; Pearsall and Salter 1973: 111-113; Rooney 1993: 29-19; Creighton 2009: 100-102).

Oddly, within this same timeframe the parks overall lacked much of the pleasing aesthetic value seen in later deer parks, as in the Elizabethan period and beyond; the deer appear to have been used extensively merely as a source of meat (Crawford 1953: 189; Birrell 1992; Partida 2007: 59). Deer parks did not necessarily include permanent residential structures for the owners; the emparkment itself was frequently distant and separate from the main house (Johnson 2002: 39-45; Mileson 2005: 24). Instead of areas of natural beauty, the private nature of these areas was apparently important in establishing the 'superpredatorial' role of the human, rather than any fondness shown towards animals. Whereas some families associated themselves through heraldry with more powerful carnivores (Pastoureau 1993: 133-154), others, as already noted (Figure 6:1), associated themselves with the deer park and the fallow deer (Heslop 1987: 117; Pluskowski 2007a: 69-70). Furthermore, the fallow were raced and chased across the park in displays of lordly prowess, as the 16th century Spanish King Charles V proudly displayed: Figure 6:2 (see Masseti and Vernesi 2014: 18). Here the demonstration of man's domination over animal was regarded as placing him within society (Serpell and Paul 1994 Pluskowski 2002; Creighton 2009); others have asserted that this was an ideology created in the Victorian era, been applied retrospectively (Knight et al 2005). At the same time came a prohibition of pet-keeping, which was taboo in and around the 13th century (Serpell and Paul 1994: 132-134; Pluskowski 2002; Creighton 2009: 102).

Artwork can be seen to reflect this odd relationship, where even some of the best descriptive sources of the period, Queen Mary's and Gorleston Psalters, despite being highly stylised and detailed in other respects, tell little if anything about the actual environment and animals involved (Rooney 1993: 18-19; Fudge 2008; Creighton 2009: 149). In Queen Mary's Psalter, the capture of a deer is shown (f153[53] – Figure 6:3), whilst some have said this is a fallow buck based upon the methods used (Pluskowski 2007: 71), others have noted that this Psalter does not apparently make any effort to differentiate species of deer (Twiti 1977: 21). It is, however, apparent

[53] Frequently incorrectly listed as f.193v.

that the technique and equipment is far more precisely depicted than is the deer (Creighton 2009: 149). In contrast with the more naturalistic representations depicted in contemporary arts and crafts, in the more extreme mythological examples of animals, such as the dragon, depictions of creatures were rarely believed to attempt accuracy or even reality. It was their interpreted meaning, rather than their physicality, that gave them a palatable presence, which allowed for their embodiment (Ingold 2013).

For depictions of the deer, the art-historian Bath (1992) makes a similar point: in medieval culture and art the deer does not necessarily relate to a specific physicality. It is rather its depiction that embodies a variety of values, ranging from immortality to fidelity, which in turn rely upon the single value of the 'swiftness' of the deer. Swiftness protects the dignity of the doe and hind, allowing her to be chaste, and the swiftness of the buck and stag allows it to achieve an unmatched longevity in medieval cosmology; ultimately the features defer to this core characteristic or meaning of the deer (Bath 1992). The physical presence of the deer within the deer park and its demonstrable 'swiftness' would serve as evidence of other perceived values and attributes of the deer, expressly in relation to and comparison with other animals (Bath 1992: 283-286). This swiftness, Bath (ibid. 278) finds, seems to underlie many narratives and myths that focuses upon other qualities, such as longevity, prudence and even hearing, where the speed of the deer protects the animal.

Deer-related myths[54], some examined here and the in previous chapter (Chapter 5), are founded on a weave of tropes that usually and indeed eventually rely upon the 'swiftness' inherent in the deer (Bath 1979). Beyond this common feature, Bath (1992: 10) finds depictions of the deer species outside of narratives to be regularly unsure and generic in form, but also frequently to lack specific symbolic or allegorical content. Previous work has indicated that by the late medieval and post-medieval period in England, the landscapes, animals such as deer, and their depictions had lost

[54] e.g. Domneva's domesticated deer, St. Augustine's stag and Caesar's deer. Cf. Bath 1979 and Fletcher 2013: 123-4, for legends of golden-collared deer including Alexander's in antiquity.

much of their erstwhile ‘mystique’, and became a rarer feature in religious iconography examples in differing media include deer eating snakes on the Queen Mary Psalter and on an Ely Cathedral misericord, a theme first noted in Chapter 3 (cf. Hardwick 2011: 94-98).

Meanwhile, the parks' functional and productive roles appear to have decreased (cf. Veblen [1899] 2007: 90, 257; Cantor and Hatherly 1979: 80-81; Manning 1988: 25; Birrell 1992; Mileson 2009: 121-128). Increasingly they became romantic arenas (Saunders 1993: 2-3), filled with mysterious structures (Barnwell 2007: 30-31) and liminal spaces (Creighton 2009: 150). The ‘artifice of the aesthetic’ became all-important, with efforts made to manipulate viewpoints and vistas through mechanisms of landscape design and environmental control (Strong 1979: 126; Sutton 2004: 52; Richardson 2007: 43; Davis 2013: 232-233). A part of this was the creation of structures which specifically served to aggrandise the owner through some age-old mystical origin, especially in the follies and grottoes which developed in the 17th century. Animals within the park were no exception to this artifice, with even the imagined and symbolic animals of prior, mid-medieval periods being realised occasionally through mechanical creatures (Creighton 2009: 149). From the Tudor period onwards, country houses for permanent residence were increasingly created within these parks, in order to allow the family to remain in the park and to host their guests (Cantor and Hatherly 1979: 79; Rackham 1986: 128-129; Johnson 2002: 39-45; Mileson 2009: 121-128). Such structures, follies and grand houses within the park may serve to recall similar constructions described as assertions of rights in the landscape (Bender 1993; Hirsch 1995), but also the re-fashioning of heritage that can be particularly creative for the re-fashioning of oneself (Lowenthal 1975: 24; Baker 2003: 148-155). For the park-owners, the appearance of the park seems to have been all-important, and this was realised in and reflected by the realism of landscape artwork.

The landscape art-form had prominently emerged in Europe in the late Middle Ages, in the midst of the Renaissance, and is commonly thought to be a format where nature could be displayed as a “canvas of human activity” (Clark 1979). Such paintings featured wide vistas and vast differences in perspective afforded by the terrain, with the foreground usually serving as the focal point. Until the mid-16th century, this

style of landscape painting did not feature an aggregate image, formed of various component parts (Clark 1979: 34-37). Instead, the landscape was usually relegated to the background, glimpsed out of windows and over walls; this was in part a result of lighting and perspective issues preventing a smooth transition between foreground and background. Later, the development in painting of the non-human form, as too the ability to cast a more complete spectrum of landscapes, might explain the noticeable movement of the deer into the foreground of the 18th century Romanticist landscape paintings of deer parks (Hunt 1992: 361; Höglund and Alatalo 1995: 155; Kalof 2007: 72-78).

The deer park makes a few notable appearances amongst the portraiture of the Tudors: for example, behind Prince Edward VI (1537-1553) an open window reveals the vista of the park beyond (Otnes and Maclaran 2015: 172 – see figure 6:4). Here, fallow deer, minute but obvious, can be seen frolicking amongst the parkland of Hundson House, and certainly the young prince was known to enjoy coursing park deer regularly (Roberts 1997: 137). The deer are not prominent in this series of paintings and the conditions of the originals has deteriorated severely. In engravings, however, and copies of the original artwork the deer are much better defined. They appear to stand before the house and a fence, with their antlers very clearly palmated (Markham 1907: 216). Their significance here was great enough that the animal had been studied and detail was considered worthwhile.

Similar representation can be found to accompany portraiture and artwork depicting other notable figures of late-medieval society, including the Tudor Queen Elizabeth I, and in the following century it apparently inspired depictions of Prince Henry Stuart, his sister Elizabeth Stuart, and Elizabeth Charlotte, Princess Palatine of Orleans (Evans 1998: 25; see Chapter 5 - Figure 5:10). As discussed in Chapter 5, in the 17th century adult males and females of all ages were less frequently shown as active within the park when compared with the adolescent male, who is often shown hunting or equipped for the hunt. In all, the deer are visible. Occasionally they are in the foreground; more usually they are to be seen distantly within the landscape.

Despite being primarily instigated and patronised by self-aggrandising landed gentry, landscape artwork, according to many art historians and geographers, made a

significant contribution to the creation of the modern concept of the landscape as a whole (Cosgrove 1984; Olwig 1993; Bender 1993; Hirsch 1995). That these artwork landscapes were created by a seemingly disengaged observer of the scene, who in effect created a macrocosm of an environment from the practices and depictions of the whole, is one that serves to compress the past and future also (Bender 1993: 1-2). Central to this vision of the landscape were the Renaissance ideals of the objectivity of observation, but also the rarefied process of the role of surveillance in social control and power (cf. Foucault 1977). In the depictions under discussion, all participants, be they human or animal, are placed within the landscape according to their role, with only a few, such as the landed gentry, appearing separate from any action. As seen in Chapter 5, these few sit in the pictures apparently between actions, often gazing directly towards the observer, where others' attention is elsewhere.

A prime example of a deer park depicted amongst the Romantic and picturesque movement is the 17th-18th century landscape painting of Charlecote Park (Figure 6:5 - Willes 1996: 4). In this painting, the grounds of the park are shown in their entirety from a vantage point, with the family depicted frolicking in the foreground of the image. Behind them, servants can be seen attending to their various duties in the grounds; one can be seen firing into a multi-coloured deer herd. The perspective of the piece forces the viewer to recognise the gentry at the forefront, whilst the individuals tending to the estate are somewhat anonymous, unrecognisable except from their duties and dwarfed by the scale of the structures. Clearly, such landscape paintings are attempts to demonstrate the aesthetic of the traditional deer park and the traditional hierarchy overall. Furthermore, as Bell (1999: 99) has indicated, a certain compression of perspective through landscape design had begun to provide direct perspectives as shown in the new format of the landscape painting. Not only were landscapes designed to provide such perspectives and artwork, but the artwork apparently served to inspire modification of the landscape and architecture themselves, a position described (by Mitchell 1994) where in western societies the conception of the landscape is made to pre-exist both through nature and through its potential.

Such conceptualisations of the landscape, particularly when rendered in artwork, have been subject to extensive theoretical research; they are seen as builders of identity and

dispute (Bender 1995: 3; Tilley 2006; Egoz 2013: 273), but also of morality and correct behaviour (Cresswell 2006: 31). Where human identities are associated with the landscape, the symbolism is found to be powerful in that specifically semiotic sense, given that nature is regularly constituted in western cosmologies as, in the final analysis, greater than and beyond all human measure (Macnaghten and Urry 1998; Jacobsen 2004: 65). Finally, where the vegetation and terrain have a more established and anchored ecological presence, any animal within these landscapes becomes important in its own right. Animals, being capable of movement but nonetheless reliant on the ecology, frequently come to represent the more transient elements of the landscape, and indeed often become its 'embodiments' according to archaeologists and anthropologists alike (Jones 1998; Snæbjörnsdóttir and Wilson 2014: 188-190). With regard to the humours, the ideology of Rome's (see Chapter 3) continuation into the medieval period often saw the animal's constitution and engagement with the environment as being necessary to accurately understand and employ the animal (see O'Hara-May 1977; Scully 1995; Albala 2003: 221-222; Sykes 2014: 17-20).

Whilst the associations made between the human and the animal-inhabited landscape could indeed be symbolically powerful, they could also be perceived as dangerous to the individual. Examples where nature threatens to overcome that individual are many, and they focus particularly on sexual contexts, of being overwrought with desire and of ensuing punishment. This can be most obviously seen in the popularity and re-invention of various myths in the medieval period including those of wild men (White 1972; Husband and Gilmore-House 1980). This is particularly evident in the re-emergence of the classical myth of Actaeon in the Renaissance (Almond 2009). Revived from its Roman interpretation (see Chapter 3), Actaeon may be employed to demonstrate how over-stepping the boundary of proper conduct in the hunt - and thus in managing the deer and their landscape - elicited metaphors for the beastly nature of man and a failure of morality. The pursuit of deer by poachers and hunters in an ostensibly protected environment may be seen as representing a configuration of male-female pursuit (Hanawalt 1998; Almond 2003), just as the breaking of another's marriage vows were analogous with the 'breaking' of the park (Shirley [1631] 1833: 238). Landscape was manifestly the underlying trope of the arrangement, as where, for instance, the improper or out-of-control behaviour of an individual deer could evoke the metaphor of a man consumed by lust (Williams 1994: 377). None of these

examples, reliant upon metaphor or mythology and occasionally mere invention, were directly believed (Husband and Gilmore-House 1980: 1-5). Notwithstanding this, these themes were recognised and widespread. By way of the deer one could find oneself entangled in the landscape.

Demonstrating an ability to properly structure oneself amongst the potentially dangerous semiotics of nature, apparently demonstrated in the strength of the individual a moral integrity expected of an upstanding member of the gentry (Mangan and McKenzie 2009). Depictions of deer parks and their deer are frequent if seemingly insignificant in the portraiture of the period, and attention to detail is often described by art historians as the outcome of the attempt to capture the realism and later the picturesque within the scene as a whole (Bermingham 1989: 85). Notably absent, or anonymous in most of the artwork here also is the artist or the artists themselves, who are often described in general terms of workshop. Specific attributions have occurred only in modern times and in recent years through the work of art historians (Baetjer 2009: 11-12). Clearly, the artwork was not to be regarded in terms of the creator or of the creation, but in terms of whom and what it depicted, together with the relationships embodied. The subject, both human and environmental with the animal set in its landscape back-drop, was all-important.

Deer parks allowed for social norms of particularly sheltered groups, be they women, children, or members of religious groups, to be safely challenged (Creighton 2009: 148-149; Sykes 2007a: 56-58), and through engagement with the deer, proper conduct could be taught to the young and displayed by the adult (see Chapter 5). This was not the case with the chase and the hunt, where strict rules and law permitted the hunt to a prescribed few, who could only engage in certain practices at certain times of year (Munsche 1981: 14-17: Fletcher 2011). A few human individuals were able to transcend the limitations of their gender, age or affiliations and join the chase, but as noted by Almond (2009: 7), these individuals, such as 17th century Althorpe hunter Lady Spencer, are best understood as mavericks and not representative of the abilities of all (cf. Rizzo 2002: 90-91). Yet, the permission to hunt was not guaranteed to some individuals even if of the correct status; its permission could not be inherited separately from all other considerations, which often required an inheritance of titles or lands (Mileson 2009: 122-128). Emparkments, on the other hand, were inherited

automatically unless the rights or lands were seized or sold to another, and within the emparkment the owner could do with the land as he wished (Rackham 1986: 125; Pluskowski 2007a: 77). Aside from its serving as a source of raw resources (Crawford 1953: 189; Cantor and Hatherly 1979; Birrell 1992; Partida 2007: 59), the owner in the creation of the emparkment was granted a suspension of the laws of the forest (Fletcher 2006: 124), thus emplacing an individual as sovereign and limited only by the area (Dyer 1988: 24; cf. Chapter 4).

Similarly, the importance of emparkment in forming familial relations has been a subject for discussion, particularly given recent research into medieval cosmology and kinship. Historians and philosophers have suggested that ideals of lineage and kinship were not necessarily self-evident concepts until the 17th century; progeny were identified as merely "logical" relations proven by social structures, rather than self-manifested in modern “familial” relations (Hornaday 1996; Strathern in Haraway 2015: 161-162). Such theoretical propositions might go some way towards explaining the popularity of the emparkment in medieval Britain, particularly in structuring kinship relations; relationships had continually to be proved and proven through social structures, such as inheritance of the sovereignty over the landscape, a system that would be seen emerging to a lesser extent elsewhere in northern Europe (Mileson 2009; see Chapter 4). Instead, much as the sovereign is thought always to be set apart - to be located geographically in an “otherness” or to be found in an “other place” where sovereign power would be unaffected by the everyday (Lefort 1986: 282-306; Yurchak 2015), so too would the familial relation be located: the landscape itself made ancestry self-evident and recast through association and parallels between the two. Interestingly, during the 17th century as emparkment rights became more readily available following the Civil War (Munsche 1981: 17-18), an interest in hunting by those most invested in lineage, especially royalty, appeared to wane (James 1981: 119). James I, also James VI of Scotland, had been the only monarch known to have engaged in chasing (Gilbert 1979: 221; Liddiard 2007: 151) and indeed the last royal hunt was led in 1609 by his son, Prince Henry Stuart, he who had featured a few years earlier, in the series of paintings depicting him in a park with a buck (Chapter 5, Figure 5:10; cf. Whitehead 1964: 335; Baetjer 2009: 11-12).

From historical anthropological research, it seems that in any kinship group where claims of ancestral power need to survive inter-generational changes, this power requires clear demonstration (Gluckman 1963: 127-129; Helms 1993). Much like examples of conspicuous consumption (as proposed by Veblen [1899] 2007, and discussed previously in Chapter 1), these qualifications and 'worths' were again to be physically manifested through depiction and knowledge. In ancestral claims, a part of the distance of these worths would seem to be historical, based upon rights previously granted. However, such worths become ahistorical by constantly bringing a demonstration of a pre-existing and preordained worthiness into the present, an enterprise that will reward those who attempt its demonstration. Inasmuch as such inherited power is behavioural rather than substantive, the practice of power requires a link to traditions in rituals and culture; one such example can be seen particularly demonstrated in art (Helms 1993: 212). These demonstrations function to show qualities supposedly required of and by the elite, and central to this is the need for these qualities to appear to prove the elite's worth to society. This is to be performed by way of their "outside involvement" amongst other physical or conceptual terrains that are heavily tabooed or distant, terrains which include hunting (Helms 1993: 212-213). Central to these claims of ancestry and societal worth is the theoretical 'distance' of this terrain, be it a geographic or cultural distance through physical barriers or cultural taboos; only those individuals uniquely qualified and worthy are able to traverse these distant terrains. For hunting, this 'distance' can be seen in the many prerequisite skills of the hunter, including a mastery of butchery as well as of geographical distance, physical barriers and sovereign permission (Helms 1993: 213), as discussed in Chapter 4. Similarly, for the original theorist on conspicuous consumption, Thorsten Veblen ([1899] 2007: 90),[55] the deer park as a landscape and system acted as an archetypal model for his grand theory, a true wastage.

[55] Others followed his lead (Platt 1978: 47; Stamper 1988: 146; Kuchta 2002: 19; Fletcher 2011; MacGregor 2012: 108), although perhaps some inadvertently: neither Platt nor Stamper reference the original theorist.

One of the most obvious displays of conspicuous consumption, according to Veblen ([1899] 2007) and many of our contemporary theorists (e.g. Pickover 2005: 19; Brower 2005), was the taking of antlers and trophy heads by western hunters. These displays have been claimed to represent a meeting between memory, skill and material souvenir, with an autobiographical agency tied to the life of the hunter, an agency which is frequently lost with the hunter's life (Marvin 2011). However, the well-documented practice of trophy-taking appears relatively recent. Fletcher (2011: 235-242) notes this as originating in 17th century Germanic hunting which spread through a close-to-nature forestry practice. This practice became vogue across Europe in the late 19th century alongside the development of taxidermy and the mounting of trophy heads (cf. Kalof 2007: 148-149; Bürgi 2015). Although the mounting of trophies has been thought to have been performed in early medieval contexts (Pluskowski 2007b), and even apparently in Pompeii (King 2002a: 417), no such cultural movement seems widespread in early-modern England. Some mounting of antlers did occur in Britain before the 18th century, as for instance at Hampton Court in the 16th century (Evelyn 1662: 359; Worsley and Souden 2005: 51), but this never seemed to involve any individual claim by a hunter, which was central to the trophy-taking (Marvin 2012). Indeed, where claims over the killing of deer were eagerly announced during the medieval period, as seen for instance in the knuckle-bone floors regularly found in deer parks of England and Wales which clearly made use of the fallow deer (see Figure 6:13a; Figure 6:13b), no effort was made to elicit any self-evident connection between the deer's remains and the hunter's kill. In the floors, the masses of bones hide any single relationship. Instead, the relationship between the emparked deer and human were more nuanced, and often overlooked and overwhelmed by the modern practice of stalking.

The seeming lack of trophy-taking and all the inter-species association that came with it for the medieval park-keeper and hunter might be juxtaposed against the aesthetic developments of the deer park. Rather than acting as markers of individual achievement, with the products of the deer park a driving factor in their popularity and continued maintenance (Crawford 1953: 189; Cantor and Hatherly 1979; Birrell 1992; Partida 2007: 59), many argue, on the other hand, that it was the management of the estate and the performance of the deer park that led to their proliferation: thus, the economic methods and uses of the park supported and maintained the practices

rather than propagated them (Veblen [1899] 2007; Mileson 2009: 182). This is witnessed especially in the lack of depictions of deer amongst the more functional media of the period, and particularly amongst the documents provided for deer-management and park maintenance.

Cartography and mythology

It is especially rare to find any practical accuracy in any of the documents that refer to the care of the park and its inhabitants, as is noted by Rooney (1993) and Creighton (2009: 148-150). Instead, as already noted (cf. Queen Mary's and Gorleston Psalters - Figure 6:2 above), despite the comprehensive terminology, the animals are at best generalised: their forms do not apparently matter for inter-species actions, but the tools and skills depicted are always intricately detailed.

Similarly, it is rare to find much in the way of species classification in the records of deer-managers and closed-rolls. Frequently these documents describe only quantities of input in feeding and in terrain, and of output of venison, alongside actions to be taken; the deer themselves seem somewhat absent from the arrangement. The role of the deer in such liminal spaces itself seems liminal. Despite documentation of the period where they were regularly described as 'wild', deer were neither domesticated nor truly wild; yet the methods of deer-management regularly exceeded mere environmental control (Birrell 1992: 116-119; Salisbury 1994: 50-51; Mileson 2005: 25-26; Creighton 2009: 149). And, as discussed in Chapter 5, the deer, their behaviour and actions are frequently present in prose, language, narratives and metaphor, often standing in place of and sometimes deriding human behaviour. Where functional accounts, however infrequently or irregularly, featured the deer, the emotive impact of the deer and its behaviour seems to have found some prominence and acceptance in culture.

The landscape paintings in which the deer feature might reflect a large part of the power structures that are recognised as present in the cartographic processes of the period, but they do not necessarily 'desocialise' the representational territory in the way that functional depictions like maps are considered to do (Harley 1988). Rather than fostering a notion of an empty space in order to create a reductive political and

hierarchical landscape, the depictions of landscape art served to foster a notion of spaces replete with engagement and emotion. In contrast with the notable lack of deer in certain cartographic records of the medieval period, it is their overt presence in others that might indicate the role of the deer in the landscape.

Although many landscape paintings before the 17th century have in fact survived, they display varying degrees of detail in their depictions. Cartographic representations of the landscape of deer parks, in contrast, are rare before the 17th century (as discussed by Richardson 2007: 47). Nevertheless a few do survive. Investigation, therefore, of cartographic representations together with imagery that employs cartographic effects and functional documents in the historical record is relevant to our enquiry.

Following the 17th century, cartographic representations of the park become fairly frequent in historical records, probably resulting from various specific landscape and legislative requirements, such as taxation and parish divisions. For the most part the deer are absent from such large-scale projects but in a few specific contexts they do appear. For example, deer can be found graphically represented amongst functional documents from at least the 17th century, as in a few examples from Benefield in Rockingham Forest (de Belin 2011: 79-80), Windsor Little Park (Figure 6:6 - Richardson 2007: 40) or the 13th and 15th century maps of the Isle of Thanet (Figure 6:7 - in Rollason 1982: 10; Hiatt 2000: 869). Some would appear to be attempts to depict the fallow deer (Figure 6:6), whilst others are more formative and vague (Figure 6:7). In all these locations, however, the context is apparently a significant consideration as to why these documents depict deer.

In two maps from the 13th and 15th century, showing the Isle of Thanet, a deer can be seen wandering through the map (Figure 6:7 - Hiatt 2000). This alludes to the myth of the 7th century ‘English’ Princess Domneva and her tame deer, which was let loose in order to define an inheritance of land, divided along the trail of its movement. In such specific depictions of deer within a landscape, their presence is symbolic rather than realistic, relying heavily on foreknowledge of the legend (Rollason 1982: 10-11).

Many variations of this legend exist; they diverge on issues of agency and trickery of those involved. A competing claimant who attempted to impede the deer was

swallowed by the ground in one version, and in another the close bond between deer and Domneva ensured her claim. Common to all versions, however, is an idealised agency of the natural world itself acting and informing the familial division of land, and in doing so confirming the contemporary medieval communities' connection to the landscape (Hiatt 2000: 879; Davies 2015). In the early medieval period, this legend served to confirm repeatedly the property rights of St. Augustine's Abbey throughout the medieval period: the deer served as a recognisable vehicle for Divine Will and chaste purity by way of its swift movement across the landscape, founding the conditions that the abbey later relied upon (Davies 2015: 497-499). Whilst Sykes and Carden (2011: 153) suggest that in this instance the deer is unlikely to be a fallow, given the extinction of fallow deer in England following the collapse of the Roman occupation, on the other hand, the later popularity of the legend specifically amongst the residents of Thanet makes a retrospective association more likely. Given that there were numerous parks within reach, at least three of them noted as early as the Domesday Survey (Shirley 1867: 69-72; Whitehead 1964; Brandon and Short 1990: 70), park-keeping and fallow deer would certainly have been familiar to the residents of Thanet. Since at the time of the map-drawing, these deer were believed to have been continually resident in many parks after their Roman introduction (Whitaker 1892: 7) and since the law relied on assertions which evoked and continued Roman traditions (Marvin 2006b: 63), it is not impossible that Domneva's doe was indeed a fallow deer.

Here, the record of the landscape transformed by the apparent movement of a deer would have elicited a deep social and emotional transformation. Seemingly, it was through the deer and its association with emotion and the landscape, that such a transformation could be made. In the narrative itself the semi-domesticated deer offers an apparently impartial judge of the landscape, either as knowing participant in the division of assets or merely as an utterly unbiased agent with no axe to grind (Hiatt 2000; Davies 2015). Yet it is the narrative itself that must also be considered, in that this acts as a foundational myth to the then contemporary understanding of the landscape. Rather than employing metaphors or metonyms (see Glossary), the myth apparently makes use of a number of tropes, as interconnected connotative elements that provide performative consequence both inside the myth and outside (Fernandez 1972: 42; Condit et al. 2002: 303; Jacobsen 2004: 59-60). The role of such tropes

within historical power structures has been regarded as elemental and interwoven within societal hierarchy and claims (Foucault 1974: 117), but it can also be the site of much formation and contestation (Mol 1999: 75). Claims as to the reality through tropes are common in history; they are particularly useful when in reference to animals and food production they act in the best interests of an animal. They are useful, too, when following an animal's actions: where connected to natural dispositions, such as the deer's chasteness, they indicate a "purified" action (Bath 1992). Again, in many of the narratives, it is the swiftness of this particular deer that protects it from suffering interference from an aggrieved relative, as noted before and discussed by Bath (1992) at length: the movement of the deer is the certainty around which other features develop. In the case of Domneva, rather than metaphorical, metonymic or merely symbolic, the trope provides a better model for understanding the meaning of the narrative, where the order of the world is informed by a contextual and self-referential morality.

Yet for the most part, although frequently depicted, no form of animal takes the forefront in designs or cartographic records of parks: Domneva's deer is unique and specific to its geographic context, holding a direct connection with the division of the landscape, through a narrative. Instead, many of the medieval cartographies of deer parks are functional, displaying the structures of the park – areas of trees and buildings – rather than any emotive terrain. These maps were primarily for the use of those tasked with maintaining the structure of the park for future generations, as in the plantation of trees (cf. Blomefield [c.1730s] 1810: vol.1, 95; Liddiard 2010; de Belin 2011: 79-81). A few examples do depict the deer within the landscape, but in these examples the audience were primarily visitors to the park: the maps are guides to provide fore-knowledge of a park's layout of the park, rather than purely functional documents (de Belin 2013: 51). That the deer do not remain static might also discourage their depiction in record. On the other hand, in the legend of Princess Domneva, it is the very movement of the deer that defines the cartographic structure directly. In other cultures, such systems of wild animal management informing kinship relations and inheritance in landscape are certainly common (cf. Leach 1992: 79-80; Richards 1996: 307), but it is rarely an individual animal that informs such relations. Yet, the individual deer's relation to the herd and its species, particularly in

terms of behaviour, is often inescapable, only apparently emerging through unusual interactions and recognition (Haraway 2008: 88).

If we are to assume that where individuals do emerge from the herd, they are defined and recognised only by their behaviour or actions, an interesting feature emerges: the forms of the depictions of deer in such cartographic records are at best vague. Whether or not these deer were fallow is hard to ascertain, but this perhaps belies an important fact: the depictions do not intend to indicate the species of deer with any accuracy. Clearly the map-makers depicting deer make no attempt to depict the species accurately, even though they occasionally place the deer within the actual structure of the park and would themselves have been able to differentiate the species. Especially compared with coeval landscape artwork, where species forms are readily recognisable, it is certain that the cartographic record did not attempt anything near the same level of realism.

In both the cartographic record and landscape painting, as we have seen, the deer themselves are rarely the subject and the few exceptions have proved noteworthy here, but it was not until the 18th century with works by master landscape artists, such as Turner's painting of Petworth, that deer take a significant position in paintings (Figure 6:8; Schulz 1985: 201). Where once human activity took a forefront in the imagery, for the great 'landscapers' including Turner and Brown, whilst "deer, cows and sheep still figure as part of the landscape… people are diminished and isolated by the bald immensities" of a "latter-day Eden of nature-perfected into a pure paradisal abstraction" (Schulz 1985: 37). Capturing nature for these romanticists meant the removal of man's corrupting influences and attempts to harmonise cultivation and constructions within nature. Certainly the litany of the biblical Garden of Eden appears to have been influential (cf. Schulz 1985; Fletcher 2011).

Even though the deer rarely appear in the foreground of these images, and in many cases are close to being unseen to the observer, their presence and emphasis of movement emphasises a living landscape. Anthropologist Tim Ingold (2011: 232) argues that, for the artist, "the landscape presents itself not as a multitude of particulars but as a variegated phenomenal field, at once continuous and coherent". These landscapes as fields, Ingold (1993: 156-162; 2011) previously explained, are

not filled with complexity or historical arrangements, but they are rather a pattern of activities and movements ‘collapsed’ into a totality of phenomena – a landscape, frequently emerging through moments such as the medium of artwork. Thus, the pattern as weave forms the picture, but it exists - and can be only fully realised - through the medium of artwork and depiction.

In regard to more functional uses of the park in an agricultural sense, the deer park can never be claimed as the most efficient use of fertile land. Much more efficient land-management techniques existed to obtain the same materials from within a much smaller area (Mileson 2009: 79). In this respect, the documents considered pertinent to the functional nature of the park (cf. Blomefield [c.1730s] 1810: vol.1, 95; Liddiard 2010; de Belin 2011: 79-81), could instead be integral to the aesthetic role of the park, particularly considering that they were frequently displayed or originally placed within the very parks they depict.

Rather than acting like maps, where symbolism of the geographic other or imperialistic ideal is achieved through pre-existing and overarching aesthetic understandings (Mitchell 1994; Daniels 1994), the artwork of the landscape serves to explain the landscape to the viewer and to place the observer within it. Mitchell (1994: 14) in particular explains that through western conceptions of landscape, nature becomes enlisted into legitimising imperialism and modernity in landscape; ‘landscape is already artifice in the moment of its beholding, long before it becomes the subject of pictorial representation’.

The necessity of the fallow deer in these images and the definitive movement and patterns of behaviour depicted, are not merely the realism of the landscape painting but are, rather, a part of the cohesion of an idealised landscape. In this, the fallow deer are an element of the naturalised balance; their presence is only to be perceived within the visual field of such emotive and motive examples (Ingold 1993: 156-162; Creighton 2009: 149). If one were to regard the deer park as a geographical inter-species arrangement, it becomes easier to understand such landscape paintings as well as the late-medieval aesthetic development of the park.

Designing and depicting the landscape

Beyond the landscape painting, it is worth considering the landscape itself in terms of the deer. For the most part, the design of the park from the Tudor period onward apparently focused on the creation of the "picturesque" and appreciation of the "sublime", particularly by the use of footpaths and carriage drives to create viewpoints (Bell 1999: 99; Fletcher 2011: 172-173). Techniques for tending of woods, by exploiting and promoting specific flora and fauna, rather than relying on what grew naturally, became a widespread practice amongst foresters around this time (Kirby and Watkins 2015: 46-48). Other elements of the park's structure were similarly manipulated, such as the positioning of openings and fencing so as to allow residential buildings to witness and display the driving of the deer and the chase (Creighton 2009: 152). Whilst not purely invented in the 16th century, this method of park-building and coursing was popularised during the Tudor reign by Henry VIII, as shown in the original designs of Hampton Court Palace (Fretwell 1995: 136; Griffin 2007: 67-77). In such emparkments, being able to see the deer would not necessarily provide a functional advantage in hunting practices, but it provided a more gratifying environment.

Likewise, despite the claims that the role of deer in the medieval deer park was largely functional (Crawford 1953: 189; Cantor and Hatherly 1979; Birrell 1992; Partida 2007: 59; Mileson 2009: 106), an aesthetic arrangement of the park around the deer, provide the best perspective for viewing, whilst not popularised before the Tudor period, was still the ideal. This can be seen, in the instructions of the 13th century Bolognian horticulturalist and writer Piere de' Crescenzi: the development of any medieval park should have the trees, buildings and fencing carefully placed so that game such as deer "should run from the palace to the grove but not crosswise, so that one can see easily from the palace whatever the animals do in the garden" (in Calkins 1986: 166; also Ševčenko 2002: 83). Rather than purely functional instigation (Mileson 1993: 79), the medieval park, instead, seemed to be an assemblage revolving around the outcomes with sovereignty granted in maintaining the emparkment (see Chapter 4); yet the perspective of deer within the park was always sought.

Later, in the mid-17th century, such landscape visions were apparently understood as deeply deceptive but also internalised and co-opting. This co-opting of nature into careful cultural constructions has long been the subject of landscape studies. Some go as far as to say that the more natural scenes and geographies seem, the more they are culturally contrived (Ogden 2011: 27; Krauss 2013: 79). Indeed the notion of landscape, as an environment, is one that has always denoted a level of entanglement between nature and culture (Ingold 2000).

The fallow deer itself and its unique behaviour and biology may have also informed the development and layout of deer parks. Fallow bucks have been described as particularly showy and vocal in courtship compared to other species of deer, holding territory, apparently called leks, rather than competing for females directly; the does choose the territory on which they are mated (Schaal 1986; Mehlitz 1989; Geist 1998: 95). Unlike the red deer, for the fallow buck it is the best territory that is fought over rather than the does themselves - a trait considered honourable of the bucks in the 17th century (Flemming [1749] 1971). Such behaviour also appears stable across the centuries, and predicting locations and creating vantage points allows for a greater observation of the fallow deer, so long as the terrain itself is not entered by humans (Griffith 2011: 107-108). Thus the protection of traditional landscape features is important for the continuity of the fallow deer themselves, but also through exploiting the landscape the deer may be observed.

In the case of landscape destruction too, compared to the red deer, the fallow deer appears favourable. Whilst the buck may create scrapes in the earth, it does not do so as often or on the scale of their larger cousins; they are only rarely reported to wallow in them (Chapman and Chapman 1975). Besides lower generic habitat destruction (de Nahlik 1987: 5-6), fallow deer breeding tends to be better synchronized with higher neo-natal investment than for other species of deer (Geist 1998: 95, 346-347); versatile phenomics allows rapid adaption to new environments (Fletcher 2011: 98, 103), and apparently the fallow require culling at opportune times in winter, as otherwise higher post-rut mortality rates would wreck the herd (Griffith 2011: 108). Meanwhile, vocalisations of the fallow deer were certainly seen as appropriate for the environment (Chapman and Chapman 1975; Fletcher 2011: 101), but also their pedal glands, unique amongst emparked deer, has been linked to their path-like use of the

landscape, and their habit to congregate is regarded as fortunate for the deer-manager (Chapman 1975: 78-81; Geist 1998: 95). However, it seems that such behaviour did not make them worthy adversaries for hunting; instead they were overlooked, especially when red deer were present, and were therefore deemed more suitable for enclosure. This might be indicated by historical records, where fallow deer were usually only hunted in the wild or in forests when the red could not be so easily found (Rooney 1993: 3; Aberth 2013: 197-198), but their viability in enclosures also explains their often-sudden spread across Europe (Rackham 1986: 122; Murphy and O'Conor 2006).

The advantages of the fallow deer for emparking over the indigenous species appear to be numerous, but as some have indicated, perhaps this is the result of careful husbandry millennia ago, a similar process as that which has allowed the recent emparkation of the red and roe deer (Fletcher 2011: 98; Masseti 2002). Whilst claims by modern historians and biologists that the emparked red and roe deer might be a new sub-species probably overstate the position, nevertheless the introduction of the red and roe deer into smaller parks appears most irregular until the 19th century; neither species would stay within an enclosure for long (Robinson 1987: 292; Fawcett 1997: 3; Yalden 1999: 153; Fletcher 2000). Indeed, the belief held by many that deer are primarily grass-feeders, and therefore of the same category as farmyard animals, may have wrongly influenced much prior study of the deer-park system as being directly equivalent to farming other domesticated ungulates (cf. Cantor and Hatherly 1979).

As suggested by Fletcher (2000; 2011: 96-100), perhaps, given the ease to which all species of deer can vacate confinement when motivated, the fallow deer had to be encouraged to stay within their confinements over several generations, much as red deer appear to have done in the last century. In all this their behaviour and observability serves the deer-manager well and perhaps, as Fletcher (2000; 2011) indicates, a form of interspecies contract has occurred. Certainly, allowances within the landscape of the park are regularly made, with areas cordoned off for the fallow deer to retreat to (Liddiard 2007; Griffith 2011: 107-108) and deer leaps are created to allow the animals to return to the park should they escape (Shirley 1867: 14; Whitehead 1950: 22-23). Further, contemporary deer-managers clearly go beyond

attempts to manage the landscape, or increase output from their management in venison, placing the disposition of the deer of all importance and central to all engagements (Whitehead 1950; de Nahlik 1987; Fletcher 2000; Griffith 2011). Although some theorists have regarded such relationships in terms of the actor network theory applied between species (cf. Callon 1991: 153; Martin 1995: 226-267; Woods 2000), one key factor that emerged in the 17th century for fallow deer might indicate an alternative direction for understanding the relationship: that of ethnicity and coat colouration.

Coat Colour and Purity in Fallow Deer

As described particularly by Jean Birrell (1992; cf. Crawford 1953: 189; Partida 2007: 59), the deer parks of the medieval period apparently operated primarily as producers of venison, or rather the access to it (see Chapter 4); they also served to provide various materials and alternate agriculture for the owner and the nation (cf. Bise 1978; Cantor and Hatherly 1979; James and Masters 2009: 5). For a considerable proportion of the medieval period, the management of deer was performed largely by the park-manager culling the does to provide venison in winter; this also regulated the population of the next generation, as fallow deer does only produce one fawn per breeding season (Plot 1686: 258). Meanwhile, the bucks served to provide good sport for the estate during the summer, when the killing of a buck was seen as a particularly good experience amongst the park-owners but also for a visitor to the park (Almond 2003: 62). During this period, and as shown by its conspicuous absence, is the issue of coat colouration of the fallow deer. Particularly when compared with the 'breeds' and perceived sub-species of modern fallow deer populations of the forests and deer parks of Europe (cf. Whitehead 1964: 454-455), there is a notable disparity between management methods of the contemporary and the pre-16th century deer park. Central to new breeding methods is careful control of the deer's 'purity' by way of the culling program.

In the medieval period, mentions of coat-colouration or indeed antler-formation traits of fallow deer within the park were apparently few; they were rarely commented on or depicted (Whitehead 1964: 27). The meagre accounts that were made were those of foreign diplomats who, unfamiliar with the deer and fascinated by them, described

them in great detail (in Leland [c. 1545] 1993). Thus, we know that not only was a broad range of colours apparent in many parks; in Windsor Park, for instance (Harting 1883: 13), and in Lincolnshire (Leland [c. 1545] 1993) there was a significant number of darker fallow deer while herds of mono-coloured deer are shown in the artwork of Prince Edward VI (Otnes and Maclaran 2015: 172 – see figure 6:4). In local accounts, however, such descriptions of traits in a herd appeared neither necessary nor noteworthy (Whitehead 1964: 27). Such traits do not emerge on their own, and modern deer-managers frequently apply very selective culling to ensure the 'maintenance' of the herd and the continuity of the breed; left to their own devices and unmolested by predation, the deer are likely to return to a wider range of colours and antler variations (Whitehead 1950: 45-49; Masseti 2002: 116; see Chapter 1 – figure 1:2). Although commonly a chestnut colour dappled with white, variations in coat colours are typically found in four main hues, and where overly apparent, as in singular coloured herds, are assumed to be a consequence of human involvement in breeding patterns (Masseti 2002: 116-117; Whitehead 1964: 454-455).

However, we should not conclude that such practices were performed by managers aware of the artificial and precarious position of 'breeds' of fallow deer, as is attested by many modern deer-managers (Whitehead 1950: 42-48; de Nahlik 1987: 33; Fletcher 2011; Griffiths 2011). It seems more likely that the emergence of unsought features were more often understood as directly caused by human failures and environmental issues in the landscape of the park.

Emergence of coat colouration in Deer Parks

Although accounts of red deer with coat-colouration have survived, such as King Richard II's chase of white stags (Bath 1992), coat-colouration in fallow deer is much rarer. An awareness of the heritage and ethnicity of fallow deer first emerged in mainstream consciousness in the 17th century, where the end of the Tudor reign and lineage saw the invitation of incumbent King of Scotland, James VI, to become the monarch of England also. With James I's ascension to the throne, a darker breed of fallow deer from Norway was introduced and settled primarily in Enfield and Epping forests (Shirley 1867: 5-10). These new fallow deer were considered darker because of their inherent wildness, a trait that had been lost by the emparked fallow deer,

which had become lighter and mottled in their domesticity. This understanding was still in vogue into the 19th century (Knight 1841: 105; Bell 1874: 359). With the insights of later developing scientific movements of modernity, notably Darwinism, these conceptions were bolstered in popular media: the darker fallow deer were indigenous to Norway, whilst their lighter 'cousins' were said to be the result of warmer climes (Goldsmith 1829: 44). Some more recent deer-managers consider this introduction of the darker fallow deer to have been an attempt to protect and improve their herds (Whitehead 1964: 27). However, given the accounts of the period (cf. Plot 1686; 1705), it seems that something akin to ownership, albeit by way of protecting the herd's purity, was developing.

Despite the introduction of the darker deer, Windsor Park appeared to stock black and darker fallow deer more than 150 years before the supposed Norwegian introduction to Scotland (Harting 1883: 13; Whitehead 1964). Indeed, Whitehead (1950; 1964), a notable scholar in the history of deer-management and a deer-manager himself, expresses more than a little scepticism towards the idea of the continuity of a darker fallow deer. Instead he proposes that the darker strain was only introduced to justify an improvement in the national stock and to encourage the deer park-managers to better protect their deer. Nevertheless, he agrees that the darker strain is more dominant genetically and, given the roam of the land, "would soon assert itself and in due course eliminate any lighter strain" (ibid. 1964: 27). Although critical of previous deer-management for being ridden with anachronistic ethnic sentiments, elsewhere this manager advocates the requirement for parks to "specialise" in both a uniformity in coat-colouration (Whitehead 1950:48-49) and antler formation (ibid: 45). Few modern deer-managers appear to accept that there are "genetic strengths" to coat colouration, but the ethnic features of a deer herd would still seem to represent a continuity, potentially from the natural origin of the fallow deer themselves.

The introduction of the darker 'wilder' deer by James I, did not merely introduce a new quality to be perceived in the deer, but it also changed the perception of deer stocks present within the deer parks. In response to this new introduction, deer already present amongst the forests were suddenly assessed for similar qualities. Alongside an association of the coat colouration with 'wild' strength, the paler deer to the 17th

century deer-manager were apparently associated with weaknesses.[56] Coincident, as noted by the 17th century natural historian and chemist Robert Plot (1686: 258), white fallow deer are usually an imperfect outcome of a physical defect in the specific herd, such as the shorter lower jaw resulting in an inability for the fawn to suckle or eat adequately, preventing the development of the hardy qualities that result in the darker tones. Meanwhile, the occasional paler individuals amongst a herd are named 'accidents', requiring the attention of the park-owner to rectify the situation and prevent their continuation in the herd (Plot 1686: 259). Similarly, other concurring natural historians note that the dappling and eventually paler qualities of a herd are the result of the too unchallenging conditions of a deer park on the herd (Knight 1841: 105; Bell 1874: 359). For all, the accepted narrative would be that which follows James I - darker deer are hardier and 'truer' examples of the fallow deer; whilst the lighter characteristics are the negative results of domesticity that occur from being held in the park.

In another instance, the origin of the fallow of the New Forest was supported by the purity of their colours; a late 17th century deer-manager noted a continuous population of "pure old English" fallow deer, demonstrated in their coat-colouration, that since the Roman introduction[57] "have always run perfectly wild in the forest and adjoining woods, and the stock has never been quite extinct" (Lascelles in Whitaker 1892: 7). Immediately, this manager notes a series of encounters with the wrong coloured deer born within the herd that frequently had to be removed to maintain the continuity of the herd. Furthermore, it did not matter that the purported Roman origin and continuity were ostensibly untrue. It now appears that fallow deer were introduced in Britain sometime in the 10th century (Sykes et al. 2016)[58], and the New Forest deer indeed required continuous renewal and supplementation of stock

[56] Unlike the predominant mystique of 'the white hart' amongst red deer (Bath 1992).

[57] The Romans were frequently credited with their introduction (Knight 1841), although proof of the presence of fallow deer in Roman Britain was not discovered until recently (see Sykes et al. 2016).

[58] Yet, as archaeological research has very effectively shown, though introduced by the Romans they appear not to have formed a continual presence, and no substantial evidence from contemporary culture has shown them as present until the 10th century.

(Whitehead 1964: 1-19; Putnam 2010: 132). None of this prevented the origin of the deer being mystified – the physicality of the deer herd was evidence enough. This physicality required protection from pollution by deer and humans alike. Both apparently irked this New Forest deer-manager and, a parallel was drawn in terms of ethnicity between both deer and "gypsie" humans, labelled semi-savages, living in the forest - animality (in Lascelles 1915 – see Glossary). The clear indication from this deer-manager is that the failure to remove the polluting factors, be they human or wrong-coloured deer, would doom the herd and therefore the emparkment. Moreover, just as he describes an ahistorical and rarified herd, and then immediately proves this through accounts based upon temporal encounters with individual deer (Lascelles in Whitaker 1892: 6-8), so too is this an explanation common to many accounts (cf. Plot 1686: 258-259; 1705: 190, 212; Whitehead 1950: 44-45). Yet, in all of these verbal accounts the purity of the herd cannot be directly experienced within the temporal moment, nor through a singular deer; it is rather a manifestation of previous practices and the future potential of the herd.

Dangers to the herd are usually described through their potential pollution, either through actions such as an unsuitable deer breaking into or breeding within the park, or conversely through the emergence of dangerous factors in individual deer with injuries or visible differences, both of which are usually regarded as having been caused externally of the herd itself (Scrope 1839: 24; Lascelles in Whitaker 1892: 7). For deer-managers, from the 17th century to the present day, some individuals apparently stand out from the herd through their flaws, and are recognised as presenting behaviours, actions and even feelings (Plot 1686: 258-259; 1705: 190, 212; Whitehead 1950: 44-45; Boglioli 2009). Unlike the western stalker and hunter who will engage with the strongest individuals and attempt to improve the strength of game, in order to seek a form of combat with a suitable non-human opponent (Dahles 1993; Marvin 2006a; Marvin 2010), the deer-manager, it seems, will rarely engage with the strongest amongst the herd. Instead the park-manager will seek to reduce the various pressures upon the herd, without threatening the combative rut, but sometimes attempting to match bucks evenly so as to improve the stock (Whitehead 1950; de Nahlik 1987: 25). Meanwhile, individuals that are recognisable within the herd for their positive qualities, such as the master-buck, are rarely described through their actions, but rather through their features and qualities in relation to their herd. The

best in the herd would be regarded as somewhat temporal, ahistorical and outside of the actual individual deer, embodying the features of the herd that have been sought and are to be propagated, so representing the success of prior efforts and the future (Griffiths 2011). It seems to have been accepted that this was only a temporal state for an individual deer lasting for just a few years (Mansfield [1665] 1717: 48-49).

The prime concern in the case of a specific deer would be the impact on the herd of those factors that set it apart: would they lead to pollution or propagation? Not only would good deer-management result in the successful continuation of the herd, but through the purity of the deer would also reference the original act of emparkment. However, many parks did not engage in specific coat-colourations, as is clearly shown in the paintings of Charlecote Park (Figure 6:5) and Lord Berkeley's New House and a 1730 landscape painting of Combermere Abbey (Figure 6:9), both of the 17th-18th century; many colour variations can be seen in the herds depicted. That these deer are eagerly displayed with a variety of colours indicates that not all deer parks subscribed to the same views on coat-colouration as did others. It seems rather that the introduction of coat-colouration might be the outcome or perhaps a catalyst in a greater transformation of deer park-management and culling techniques during the course of the 17th century.

Culling methods, and natural death in the deer park

Coinciding with new conceptions of fallow deer purity by way of coat colouration came a change in culling methods that still stands to this day. Bucks became subject to a pre-rut cull (Chapman and Chapman 1975; Fletcher 2006: 128). The reason for this cull has always been clear: to remove negative factors that the deer display before they could pass these on by further breeding (Plot 1705: 190, 212; Whitehead 1950: 42; Masseti 2002: 141-142; Langbein 2003: 8-11). Certainly, in modern deer-management, the recognition and curtailing of traits are prominent in the management of deer herds; the consistency of the herd as a naturalised balance is of more importance than their numbers (Whitehead 1950: 42-48; de Nahlik 1987: 33; Griffith 2011: 108). With the removal of predation, however, this naturalised balance is no longer present in the ecosystem of the park; and so "the purpose of deer-management is to emulate natural predation, and simply remove that representative slice from the

population" (Griffith 2011: 28). Young deer of both genders that display traits that are not sought, nor considered part of the herd's 'nature', are regarded as natural targets for predation (Leopold 1987: 129-133; Fletcher 2000: 12). Here implicitly, the emergence of traits unsuitable for the herd are treated as unnatural, resulting from the absence of predators; their continuation and potential propagation threatens the independence of the herd as 'wild'. Instead, the enclosure acted as an "ecological ark"; the "suspension of the laws of the forest", an unspoken contract between nature and culture of which the emparkment is a culmination (Vera 2000; Fletcher 2006: 124; 2011). For the modern deer park-manager, instruction cannot be clearer, the continuity of the herd is paramount; individuals which diverge from this threaten the heritage and future of the herd (Plot 1705: 190, 212; de Nahlik 1987: 33; Masseti 2002: 141-142; Langbein and Chapman 2003: 8-11; Griffith 2011: 108). Thus, ensuring the continuity of the deer herd ensures the continuity of the heritage and vice versa; the park resists development through an ancestral pact between nature and culture.

This apparently pre-existing factor of the deer as wild, perfectly accords with the second notion of nature as described by Macnaghten and Urry (1998: 1 – see Glossary), that of environmental idealism. Here, nature is regarded not as an object, as with other notions, but as a subject, one that is somewhat superior to or sovereign over humanity, which is frequently seen as a source of corruption or enculturation. Notably, in this notion of the environment, nature is considered to be beyond the ability of humans to measure (Jacobsen 2004: 65), ultimately situated beyond the localised knowledge of culture[59]. Interactions with such a conception of nature, where activities and their outcomes are appraised upon their continuity and as is found amongst traditional generational freeholders, eventually exceeds the single human life and can create community, what Macnaghten and Urry (1998) term "glacial time". For those holding this perspective of nature, nature is embodied through practices, be

[59] Although Latour (1987: 232, 251) argues that there is no separation between epistemic universal truths and local knowledge, as all knowledge is created within the local, great effort has nevertheless been made to remove nature from culture.

they apparently ritualistic or more familiar to farmers or hunters, but never at the expense of knowledge development (Franklin 2002). Thus, technological developments, discoveries and techniques are not ignored, nor are they central in this conception, but are incorporated and exploited without displacing traditional values. Rather than the production of the domesticated animal, often guided by temporal short-term concerns (Ingold 2000), these practices and interactions attempt eventually to direct the environment; they also serve to create a community committed to continuing the direction (Macnaghten and Urry 1998: 159). Given the continuation of deer-management ideals, such as those of ethnicity and continuity beyond causation, and besides technological and scientific developments, truly deer parks could be regarded as a form of environmental idealism as guided by glacial time principles.

Certainly, the continuity of the deer was important for the post-medieval park-owner and was apparently represented in the coat-colouration where the removal of the "off colour" deer was always necessary to maintain the "truth" of the colour (Whitaker 1892: 16-17; Lascelles 1915: 69). Such consistency in the herd is still sought by recent and present-day deer-managers (de Nahlik 1987: 33; Griffiths 2011: 108). Amongst deer park-owners, the continuation of the herd beyond the individual's lifespan, would seemingly entrust the estate and the position it provided to their descendants. This entrusted protection of the deer would lead to some interesting human-deer engagements where the herd would be tied to the health of the deer keeper's lineage, such as that at Charlborough Tower and Levens Park, where the maturation of a white buck was said to indicate a good male heir for the Drax and the Levens family respectively (Headley and Meulenkamp 1999: 209; Whitehead 1950: 153). This association in Levens Park was so persuasive and outside of any individual's control that in the 1850s, after a deer keeper refused to kill a white buck despite being ordered to do so by the Lord himself, the eventual death of the said buck was said to have cursed the house for many years to come and ended the residency of the family (Whitehead 1950: 153).

Like the conceptual development of inferiority of undeveloped cattle in the early 17th century (Ritvo 1987: 65), the designations of weaknesses or impurities through perceived qualities, would apparently tie the keeper to his herd. Where herds of cattle were subjected to the manipulation to create a superior stock (Ritvo 1987: 45-81)

including encouraging coat-colouration, for deer similar practices of selection were conducted, albeit through a different approach to preserve a "naturalness" (Fletcher 2011). This ideal of naturalness through the deer herd was also exported around the world, particularly through the British colonial movement to Australia, North America and Barbuda, where approximations of the English deer park were carefully and expensively built and stocked with fallow deer (Gunton 1996: 18; Fletcher 2011: 36-37; Baker et al. forthcoming).

Unlike with cattle, these sought qualities of the deer herd did not indicate direct ownership, but rather an entrusted protection over the deer. Improper care, or too great a care, would apparently lead to individuals exhibiting weaknesses and physical alterations, eventually risking the health of the entire herd. By necessity, deer-managers instead 'get to know' the generic form of the deer herd from a distance, but engage with the individual, an interactively discrete relationship similar to those found amongst hunters, where the individual only exists so long as does the engagement (Knight 2005: 5; 2012)[60]. For managers of the last few centuries, the emergence or recognition of an individual within the deer herd has had to be immediately assessed for its potential impact, or as a marker of underlying factors (Whitehead 1950: 42-49). Some such individuals amongst the herd were in places named "rascall", "raskell" or "raskall", with the same connotation of a cheeky behaviour and level of affection involved in the modern word "rascal", but in reference primarily to their inappropriateness for hunting due to their age or condition (James 1981: 36). Furthermore, the herd was regarded as complicit in some instances in rejecting "bad" individuals from the herd. They might on occasion drive individuals that threatened the herd towards the cullers; other times "bad" deer were said to have "presented" or "given" themselves over to the hunter (Scrope 1839: 24; Carne 1969).

[60] An interesting counterpoint to this is shown in the development of deer farms, where individual engagement is promoted heavily (Blaxter et al. 1988; Fletcher 2000), in a similar manner to herding cultures that existed until recently (Linnaeus [1732] 1811: 314; Beach 1981; Lindquist 2000: 178).

Such interspecies relationship on a temporal and individual basis and its role in apparently structuring ancestry are succinctly shown in one unusual painting from the early 17th century, "Colonel Smith grasping the hind legs of a stag" (Figure 6:10) where the Colonel of the Wroth family, is being dragged along the ground by a fallow buck (Ellis and Roe 2008: 60). The painting apparently depicted an event that befell the 16th century Colonel Sir William Smith when a "stag" broke into his garden as memorialised in a mock-heroic Latin poem by a descendent Robert Wroth. The Colonel quickly chased the deer away but both fell into a stag hole; as Smith grabbed the "stag" by its hind legs the terrified animal dragged both out of the hole. Once out of the hole the Colonel held on and was dragged a great distance along the ground. Finally, he overcame the animal "with a fist to its head" and tied its legs together with his garters. That the myth and associated poetry frequently refer to a "stag" and therefore a red deer stag, while the painting itself (Figure 6:10) depicts a fallow deer buck, cannot be happenstance. Besides the self-evident features of a fallow deer in both antler form and dappled coat, no margin for error can be found in the proportions between the man and the animal: clearly the deer in the painting was meant to be fallow. The painting was actually based on an earlier one, lost during the English Civil War; it features the colonel in 17th century dress, rather than the 16th century clothing that would be expected (Hannay 2010: 163). That those who commissioned the painting not only held a deer park containing only fallow deer, but also displayed this painting within, might indicate the relationships being sought and reconditioned coevally; particularly for the Wroth family their fond memorial to the narrative was to display "a delightful kinde of wildeness" to please the king (Hannay 2015: 28). Interactions of this sort between human and individual animal are frequently described as the site of transforming and challenging inter-species relations, particularly when conducted through hindsight (Leopold 1987: 129-133; Nadasdy 2007; Boglioli 2009). In summoning the myth of a man who showed the quick wits and tenacity to overcome the deer in such an unusual manner whilst remaining dignified, would apparently remain important to family identity for many years following; yet the species changed to fulfil a new criterion.

Coat-colouration was just one development visible in deer parks at the end of the medieval era, when increasingly parks became decorative and were placed in closer proximity to the residence (Williamson 1995: 22-24; de Belin 2013: 48-50). But to

reiterate a suggestion by Liddiard (2007: 201-202), the aesthetic and decorative elements amongst medieval enclosures, architectural or animal, which are often qualitative elements, have been largely ignored in academic research seeking quantifiable data. Nevertheless, these same perceived economic factors and the functional "emptiness" that Veblen described in the deer park in his treatise on conspicuous consumption ([1899] 2007: 90), would seem to indicate how important was the lack of quantifiable functions in demonstrating a family's position in society. Demonstrating the ability to host deer parks, despite the vast expenditure involved, would for Veblen ([1899] 2007: 90-91) be perfectly epitomised in the proud presence of the emparked deer – an archetype of conspicuous consumption. Making the deer intrinsic and inalienable to their confines, particularly by demonstrating their managers as entrusted with the continuation of a breed, creates successful incorporation and protection for both, thus creating a primordial and hybridised structure of nature-culture.

Skilled practice, inalienable deer and the commodification of venison

Throughout the Tudor period, deer parks had taken a greater importance in society, particularly during the reigns of Henry VIII and Elizabeth I. For the former, the closure of the monasteries granted the monarch much land to reward his subjects with (Griffin 2007: 69). In both cases, their enthusiasm for hunting met with bodily restrictions also; Henry's later frailty led to his reliance on the park, whilst Elizabeth's femininity and later physical decline gradually restricted her performance in the chase (Almond 2009: 90; Fletcher 2011: 168). Since the park system allowed these monarchs to hunt comfortably, given their restrictions, it seems that their subjects sought favour through their deer parks and their deer. And given the pressures on wild deer populations, the deer parks were also used increasingly to provide the hunting experience (Dean 1996: 181-182). However, in the period that followed these monarchs, such spectacles and the new construction of buildings immediately declined (Smuts 1999: 66; Davies 2013: 231-234). Comparable practices would later re-emerge in the aesthetic arrangement of parks, particularly as discussed in later in the knucklebone floors.

Under Elizabeth I there developed a conception of natural wildness and conservation in the parks but this largely seems to be an unintended outcome of the emparkment and the venison that was sought (Creighton 2009: 147-148). James I, in his introduction of his wilder deer, coincided with the developing natural idealist movement of the European Renaissance, where the human world was seen as corrupting while the natural world was considered pure and often divine (Latour 1993: 33). We may also note the argument made by Müller-Wille and Rheinberger (2007: 4-7) that, for the most part, medieval Europeans recognised neither the existence of generational traits nor the division between nature and nurture. Amongst humans, this would appear also to be the case in this period, with the formation of kinship groups not guaranteed unless socially demonstrable (Haraway 2015: 161-162). As the biosocialists and historians (Latour 1993; Müller-Wille and Rheinberger 2007; Palsson 2013) have proposed, the division between nature and culture, and the purified epistemological space (epistemic space) was not recognised until the emergence of modernism in the Renaissance; it was later continued through the works of Charles Darwin and Francis Galton. Notably, the development of modernism and epistemology, besides the separation of nature and culture, also saw the replacement of previously ontologically ambiguous metaphors of alchemy and art, markedly through and by science (Palsson 2013: 22-33). Efforts to classify the deer, as indeed other animals, can be seen in the move away from ambiguous depictions in art (Creighton 2009: 100-102) and in attempts by early scientists to understand the causes of death and flaws in the deer herd (Plot 1686); and all these efforts relied on depiction. Furthermore, as on other occasions, where the changing and challenging conceptions of nature are apparent and where pressure is exerted, interesting insights can be found not only in socio-cultural systems (see Glossary), but also in law (Douglas 1969; Tsing 2005; Boglioli 2009: 112-127).

Whilst the functional uses of the deer as the driving and only factor in the popularity of the deer park have largely been refuted here, that is not to say that the deer were not entirely without economic value. As with the less apparent change in the conception of breeds, there are some more obvious outcomes in the 17th century on not only those with access to the deer. Where previously functioning as an unwritten taboo, the sale of deer and venison became increasingly restricted in national edict and legislation (Mileson 2009). For the first time in British history, the sale of venison

was outlawed in 1606, whilst the permission to hunt deer became increasingly restricted throughout the 17th century (Fletcher 2011: 142; Manning 1993: 193, 209-213). Where previously, except as an act of rebellion, poaching had been largely tolerated, there was now a need to legislate against such acts (see Chapter 4), outlawing any who engaged or supported them. Although many have cited this as the direct result of too great a pressure on the wild deer stocks requiring a greater reliance on the emparked fallow deer (Whitehead 1964: 27; Munsche 1986; Dean 1996: 181-182; Griffin 2007: 108-109), few have examined why the stocks had become so overwhelmed prior to the Civil War that poaching became such a problem. It seems indeed that the emergence of the market system particularly with its effects on alienable and inalienable bonds (Thomas 1991; Weiner 1992; Carrier 1995; Graeber 2011), and the Renaissance contemplation of nature might have important roles in such a transformation in the conception of deer. Renaissance conceptions of nature would become increasingly classification-focused, with the collection of knowledge taking the forefront by means of artistic rendering. This can be seen in the work of Pisanello, where great effort was made to depict the fallow deer correctly and in great detail (Figure 6:11), before the representation was finally made (Figure 6:12), an endeavour common to animal artwork of the Renaissance (Kalof 2007: 72-77; Fletcher 2011: 124).

Concurrently with Renaissance developments in the conception of nature, significant effort was made to understand the cause of deer deaths in the 16th century. Where previously deer were described as dying from 'murraine', a generic description of any cause of death in deer or other ruminants apart from violence, efforts were now made fully to understand the causes of death (Cox 1905: 120; Whitehead 1950: 69; Whitehead 1964: 23; Birrell 1992: 122). Even though instances of 'murraine' in the medieval period were well recorded, the aim appears to have been to monitor stock and to keep a track of the numbers to be culled, rather than to determine the quality of the herd (Whitehead 1964: 24; Birrell 1992: 121). Meanwhile classifications of deer by age and gender (Cox 1905: 27; James 1981: 36-37), were apparently used increasingly to aid the selection of deer for the duration of the cull (see Table 6:1). That eight of the eleven categories employed (Table 6:1) represent males at various stages of development, based primarily on antler development, whereas the female category represents the fertility of an animal indicates the role that these categories

played (Wilkins 1668: 157; Cox 1905: 27). This remains the case today, if not more so: although many of the categories used were replaced simply by an age-estimate for the buck, the female more accurately remains a doe past her second year (James 1981: 35-36). The medieval variant of "rascal" already discussed is now lost to modern deer-managers. Indeed, the genders of the deer is thought to be regarded as more regularly forming a greater division than do species differences between red and fallow deer.

Table 6.1 - Fallow deer classification

	Male fallow deer			Female fallow deer	
Year	Book of St. Albans (1486)	New Forest c. 1880	Modern	Book of St. Albans (1486)	Modern
1st	Fawn	Fawn	Fawn	Fawn	Fawn
2nd	Pricket	Pricket	Pricket	Pricket's sister or tegg	Doe
3rd	Sore	Sorel or Sorrell	3-year-old	Doe	Doe
4th	Sore	Sore or soar	4-year-old	Doe	Doe
5th	Buck	Bare buck	5-year-old	Doe	Doe
6th	Buck or great buck	Buck	6-year-old	Doe	Doe

7th	Great buck	Great Buck or master buck	Great buck	Doe	Doe
(Mansfield [1665] 1717; Cox 1905: 27; James 1981: 36)					

Similar efforts are documented in the 16th and 17th centuries for ascertaining the age of a deer, based on other qualities – through teeth, antler development or quality of the coat. This appears to follow the rediscovery of methods detailed by Aristotle and Pliny (cf. Browne 1658: 101), and discussed along with Galen in Chapter 3. These methods of classifying both living and dead deer were not necessarily new; they are to be found already in the 14th-15th century work "Master of Game" (Baillie-Grohman and Baillie-Grohman 1909: 282-298), though here great attention is paid to the classification of the hound and to the method of hunting the deer, rather than to the deer itself. Classification schemes necessarily proliferated in deer parks, and indeed largely pre-dating those applied to nature in the 18th century (e.g. von Linnaeus [1756] 1786).

For early scientists such as the chemist Robert Plot (1686; 1705), environmental causes and human changes to natural conditions were to be sought and confronted so as better to reflect the 'natural' and 'correct' state of the deer. Particularly in the case of coat colouration, Plot (1686: 207; 258) explains that the colours of fallow deer might vary according to the ability of the fawn to suckle; this, he deduced, was a morphological issue of malformed jaws. Coat-colouration was thus an outcome of a physical aberration, but in his view there existed "a colour of imperfection in Animals as well as Plants" and physical differences in nature needed to be prevented by their removal as soon as they became apparent in order to protect the natural order (Plot 1686: 258-259). Any number of aberrations in antler formation and morphology might be understood as physical deformities; these might be attributed to improper use and practices in the deer parks, ranging from intensive rabbit rearing to allowing the homeless to settle (Plot 1705: 190, 212). Similarly, many other park-keepers and builders ascribed value to the study of the deer park in both conceiving a better notion

of nature, and in ameliorating man's effect upon the natural world (Markham 1616: xix in Harting 1883: 6; Eaton in Wake and Webster 1971). Clearly, here the natural world, including the fallow deer, is seen to be an amalgamated epistemic system of actions and reactions, in which deer are certainly influenced spontaneously by their environs, and remain inalienable from the structure of the park.

Ideals of the inalienability of the deer might have an interesting converse effect, in creating an alienable market of venison as a commodity, particularly seen with the growth of the poaching trade. During the Stuarts' rule, the prior unseen market for poached deer often flourished quite openly in urban areas, which in turn encouraged further poaching (Manning 1993: 160-163). Although the trade of illegal venison existed from the Norman period onwards (Birrell 1992: 114-115), this was largely ad-hoc and often organised through personal relationships rather than a market (Munsche 1981: 5; Manning 1993: 152; Mileson 2009: 177) – see Chapter 4-5. Previously, if not ignored, poaching would on the whole have been irregular and tolerated; later the profitability, and more importantly the development of a commodified market, encouraged individuals and gangs to poach (Munsche 1983: 5-6; Manning 1993: 209-212). Elsewhere, as detailed in Chapter 4, venison was also used to gain entry to prestigious societies, such as the then newly-founded Royal Society. As described at length in journals of the 17th century fellow of the Royal Society Samuel Pepys (Fletcher 2006), venison was particularly enjoyed by those who had access to it, and yet the provenance of the venison did not appear to matter much; it was rather the ability to donate that mattered.

Clearly, the ability of an individual to demonstrate their worth either through correct deer-management, or by a proxy such as venison and coat colouration, was important for establishing oneself in Stuart society (Rackham 1986: 126). Nevertheless, it appears that through poaching, the market trade and changes in deer-management, it became somewhat easier to engage in such practices. Meanwhile, deer park-owners apparently made great efforts to call upon mythology and ancestry to 'establish' the heritage of a family dynasty, even where such efforts were entirely fictional (Mileson 2009). As already discussed (see Chapter 4), the role of gift-giving in the creation of inalienable bonds between objects, mythologies and peoples, is in stark contrast to the alienation created within the market-commodity relationship (Weiner 1992: 37). It

cannot be purely circumstantial that, with the severance of the sovereignty of the forestry law following quite soon after the need to outlaw the sale of poached venison, this commodification occurred alongside the sudden emergence of the ethnicity of the deer.

A unifying mythology of ancestry has been seen as important to the creation of national movements, sovereignties and dynasties, but it also allows their redefinition (Smith 1984: 94-95; Doane 1996: 183; Allahar 2006). Through the creation of the mythology of the darker wilder deer, it seems that King James I's role within the traditional structure of forestry law could be justified through practice rather than technicality. Certainly, following the end of the Tudor dynasty which provided no heirs apparent, King James' claim to the throne was precarious. His political sovereignty was a concern for Parliament (Stroud 1999: 27-30) given his previous dominion of Scotland and, as the son of Mary Queen as Scots, he was often derided for his Scottish origins (Stone 2002: 89). Previous monarchs, as discussed in Chapter 4, had been able to engage in the vast system of forest law, in emparkment and venison gift-giving - largely by the 'sovereign body' owning sovereignty over the violent death of the deer. However, this had indeed proved an extremely indefinite system based on unsystematic debts and unsystematic generosity. With improvements in the stock of deer and the introduction of new techniques of deer-management in a post-Tudor society heavily invested in deer parks, King James may have been attempting to integrate and ingratiate himself. The role was also one that his son, the more popular Henry Frederick Stuart, was depicted as enjoying (see Chapter 5).

Alongside the introduction of the darker fallow deer, James I promoted various correct hunting practices. He is attributed with importing Scottish deer hounds and he requisitioned a huntsman from France to impart correct methods of hunting to the English (Fletcher 2011: 116). It was necessary to do so, due to the disgust which he felt for the methods of his Tudor predecessors' park-managers: the monarch explained in letters that where he had seen park deer corralled into smaller pens before being killed by crossbow or firearm – methods ill-befitting the nobility of the deer (Strutt 1801: 5). A few years after ascending the throne, James I demonstrated the success of the methods he had espoused. In presenting the King of France with pied deer (Shirley 1867: 9), he was following the practice of monarchs of previous centuries in

gift-gifting deer. His son, however, was to lead the last Royal Hunt (Whitehead 1964: 335; see Chapter 5). And less than 40 years later, when Charles I attempted to exploit the forestry laws to control his subjects and took land to create deer parks, this catalysed more of the discontent that led towards Civil War (Jones 1972: 4; Manning 1993: 233; Fletcher 2011: 174). Clearly, the measures were not entirely successful. Yet where forestry law would ultimately fail, and the gift-giving system of emparkment and deer would collapse, the conception of herd ethnicity survived[61].

Fallow Deer in knuckle-bone floors

Around the time of the collapse of the forestry law, another interesting practice emerges in the deer parks of England: their emplacement and integration within architecture. In this case, it took the form of setting animal, more specifically deer, metapodial bones into the ground so as to create a floor surface or of placing them elsewhere within structures in the deer parks (Hall 2012: 14; Ward et al. in press; Figure 6:13a; Figure 6:13b). Although knuckle-bone floors within deer parks come at the end of, and continue beyond, the time-frame set for this research, they nevertheless demonstrate many of the themes discussed in previous chapters, ranging from the historical to the mythological, from gift-giving to symbolism, and from market-forces to landscape and the aesthetic. In the light of their considerable relevance to the present research, they may therefore be given some consideration here.

Collating various datasets and historical documents, a total of fifty British knuckle-bone floors from urban and rural locations was compiled during this research [Table 6:2 and Map 6:1]. There were sixteen further sites for which information could not be obtained because the floors had been destroyed without detailed record, and many other passing references could not be verified. Of the 50 recorded examples that could be substantiated, not all provided the full suite of information – location, site type

[61] With more recent examples of deer ethnicities imported by bucks, to Woburn from Denmark and from Ancrum to Windsor in the early 20th centuries, apparently establishing, or justifying, a predominance in the herd towards the paler fallow deer at both (Whitehead 1950: 153).

(urban or elite), skeletal elements, species composition and date – but the available data do indicate both a temporal distribution of knuckle-bone floors according to site type (Figure 6:14), and also present diachronic variations in their taxa composition (Figure 6:15).

The practice of setting metapodial (knuckle) bones into the ground to create a floor surface apparently began in urban locations but was later employed on elite sites, and particularly in deer parks from the mid-17th until the 19th century (see Figure 6:14). In the earlier post-medieval period, the occurrence of numerous knuckle-bone floors at urban sites comprised primarily from sheep-goat has been attributed to the by-products of nearby tanneries, but they disappeared abruptly from British cities after c. 1750. As shown by archaeologists in previous surveys of medieval knuckle-bone floors (Armitage 1989; Serjeantson 1989; Vann and Grim 2010: 1532), such floors became widespread, especially in urban areas in the 16th and 17th centuries.

It would appear that two diverse practices of making knuckle-bone floors differ according to their urban or elite extra-urban (i.e. park) context. The later occurrence of floors within deer parks has, however, resulted in their being far better preserved in comparison with their long-hidden, but recently excavated ancestors: many 19th century examples of such floors in deer parks have survived up to the present day. Comparison between these two practices is somewhat problematic, given the greater resources required in later (extra-urban) examples (see Armitage 1989: 157); nevertheless, comparison between the two may reveal the reason that deer were used in this way.

Previous researchers into the construction of such floors have generally regarded them as an example of "convenient practice", where the ‘owners of buildings with simple earth floors would consolidate and protect them from wear as well as producing a pleasing decorative effect - by driving animal bones into the surface’ (Armitage 1989: 157). Functional uses have also been suggested, such as the use of the floor as a non-slip surface in butchery and possibly in cock-fighting arenas (Lewis 2011). However, with recent excavations bringing to light numerous examples of knuckle-bone floors at deer parks such as Belton House at Grantham in Lincolnshire, Whystie House in Worcester and Calke Abbey in Derbyshire, and given the effort that must have been

applied in their construction, perhaps the model of a “convenient practice" does not apply in these cases.

The recent work on knuckle-bone floors presented above resulted from the chance discovery of an 18th century knuckle-bone floor at Belton House, Grantham, which prompted a review of all known post-medieval knuckle-bone floors in Britain in order to examine their date, context of creation and species composition. At Belton, fallow deer-bones were used to repair a sheep knuckle-bone floor (Hall 2012: 14; Ward et al. forthcoming [Figure 6:13a; Figure 6:13b]). DNA analysis (cf. figure 3:31) could possibly link the emplaced fallow deer with the local herd and wider populations, but results are still pending.

What is however clear is that, although the occasional use of deer metapodials is found in urban medieval knucklebone floors (cf. Taunt 1907; Divers et al. 2002: 73; Armitage 1989: 203), the deer feature far more prominently in the knuckle-bone floors of the shams and follies found constructed in deer parks of the 17th and 18th centuries. In an urban context, the extensive use of sheep-goat metapodials in floors occurs where sheep were available through the tannery trade (Armitage 1989; Serjeantson 1989: 136-137; Sykes 2007c). There would seem, therefore, to be a clear correlation between the knuckle-bone floors, their location, and the supply of bones (Divers et al. 2002; Vann and Grimm 2010: 1532). Armitage (1989: 158) has suggested that this transformation could be linked to the increasing use of bone-meal as an agricultural fertiliser; bones might be considerably more valuable for making meal than for use as floor materials.

Within the 18th century other changes were underway in society, changes which have been identified by Carrier (1995: 76) as the rise of the intermediary and the separation of economy and society, whereby consumption was increasingly effectuated via impersonal exchange. This itself has been attributed to many factors including the geographic and population growth of cities alongside technological advances (Shaw 1985: 293), and the “enclosure” acts that forced many from rural areas to rely upon the burgeoning retail trade (Blackman 1967). Urban markets were supplanted by shops and itinerant traders, and the previously unacceptable economic practices prevented by moral and legal edict (such as unmodified resale) became commonplace.

As this retailing culture grew, and the relations between the retailer and consumer changed, the places in which these newly anonymous and impersonal trades occurred changed physically also, displaying 'a growing differentiation of the shop from the household, which made the shop less of an embodiment of personal, familial relations than it had been' (Carrier 1995: 77). Similarly, the separation between commercial and residential areas became pronounced in the 18th century, but the separation between shop-owners and their shops was only found at these formative stages amongst the wealthier spheres of urban life.

However, the creation of knuckle-bone floors did not cease completely at this point; it appears simply to have changed its social context, with later floors being constructed overwhelmingly on elite sites (Figure 6:14). Rather than featuring as components of internal household or industrial spaces, as was the case with the earlier urban examples, later knuckle-bone floors are more commonly found in the grottoes and follies in the gardens of large estates. Alongside this shift in site type, the range of species represented within the floors becomes more varied and complex, with deer bones figuring more commonly: they are incorporated into around 40% of floors which post-date the mid-18th century.

Especially following the Civil War but also earlier, during the reign of Elizabeth I, the deer parks appear to have been transformed towards a certain aesthetic (Summerson 1993: 58); they also saw the creation of many residential structures within the park (Johnson 2002: 39-45; Mileson 2005: 24). This would seem to be a reversal from events in the 15th century, when many parks had fallen into a state of disrepair, and the inhabiting deer had escaped into the surrounding countryside (Peterken 1981: 14). This resurgence did not follow the pre-established path of the pre-15th century parks which often seemed synonymous with farms (Birrell 1992); it appeared a different arrangement. This new aesthetic appears to many historians to involve merely superfluous displays of status (cf. Veblen [1899] 2007; Platt 1978: 47; Stamper 1988: 146; Kuchta 2002: 19; Mileson 2007: 11; Fletcher 2011; MacGregor 2012: 108). Nonetheless, the efforts made would have been extensive and often seem an attempt to create a ruinous aesthetic of which the knuckle-bone floor appear a part.

Situated in parks within structures, knuckle-bone floors appear to have involved an effort to espouse a ruinous aesthetic in order to create and establish a heritage of family dynasty through mythology as well as through ancestry (Mileson 2009). As constructed ruins, they appear more than merely an addition to the elegance of the park by its owner; they were an unspecific act to 'suggest the ancient lineage of his family – perhaps even its descent from a signatory of the Magna Carta' (Jackson-Stops 1989: 16). Aptly named 'shams' and 'follies', the buildings in which they are found apparently served little purpose or practical use beyond a certain aesthetic role (Lasdun 1991: 105). Their prominence in architectural design can be traced in a mid-18th century brochure put out by a London architect (Wrighte 1767). In this catalogue, only the hermitage designated as the "summer" variant carries with it instructions to pave 'with sheep marrow-bones placed upright'; it was to be a thatched, circular structure of over 15 foot in size, located amongst thick wood or far from any other building, with couches and seating for retiring upon (see Figure 6:16).

In this ruinous aesthetic, as shown by this architectural brochure (figure 6:16), the erection of similar constructions might be tied to the growth of the now pervasive market-system (Thomas 1991; Weiner 1992; Carrier 1995: 75-77; Graeber 2011). Such structures appear to have emerged at the end of the Tudor reign and with the ascension of the Stuarts (Munsche 1981; Manning 1993; Mileson 2009), but they may also have been influenced by the development of the commodity-market and the access it provided to new goods. Where once the deer were accessible only through the generosity of the monarch or by illegitimate means (see Chapter 4), now deer parks, the deer and even their body parts were increasingly fungible.

According to the evidence of recorded history and architecture, the narratives of structures featuring knuckle-bones are also of interest. On one occasion we find that a Canadian bear was apparently imprisoned on a knuckle-bone floor within a hermitage at Killerton (Acland 1983: 18-19); on another, various of the Arundel marbles, including a panel with giants taken in the 17th century from the Pergamon Altar, were stored in a folly at Fawley Court under a domed roof with a decorative frieze of deer metapodials. Many of these follies containing knuckle-bone floors were apparently built as gifts between estate-owners who married and families in celebration; they were often used to store further gifts and menageries (Headley and Meulenkamp 1990: 129,

353; Headley and Meulenkamp 1999: 196; Baird 2007: 58; Campbell 2013). That these "shams" would seem frequently to represent the landmark of a marriage and the bringing together of families through and within architecture, has many precedents in cultural practices (cf. Prussin 1995; Bloch 2006). Further it lends a physicality to a relationship and therefore proves especially useful in kinship analysis (Carsten and Hugh-Jones 1995), usually such relationships between marriage and house are discussed by Gillespie (2007: 36) as being "rather invisible archaeologically", especially when compared to funerary rites. The fact that the structures were purposely built in a ruinous or archaic fashion, besides displaying the allure of the medieval world, might serve to tie the whole gift-relationship to the representation aimed for in the act of construction.

Nonetheless, use of bone became a marker of prestige, gracing the 'follies' of the ostentatious – structures that were built largely for lack of use, being primarily ornamental even when they would outwardly appear as though functional, such as barn, stables, dairies, cowsheds and cart-sheds (Wall 2006: 9; Headley and Meulenkamp 1990: 144, 220). As the Black Act of the early-17th century British Parliament restored execution for stealing deer and the Game Act of 1671 strengthened the elite's ownership (with very few allowed to hunt, although all Members of Parliament and every Lord were automatically qualified), such legislation enforced the social norms and hierarchy required to hunt and to own deer also (Griffin 2007: 108, 112-113). Such fashions as performances can "trickle-down" the social hierarchy through mimicry, as Veblen ([1899] 2007) and later Georg Simmel (1904) have outlined; this may to some degree account for these later examples of "bone-houses".

This vast consumption, or destruction, of wealth, be it the folly-owner's herd or imports from urban areas, also effectively preserved the act in a display. Walking on bones could not have gone unnoticed by visitors to these outstanding structures. Moreover, the sheer weight of numbers patterned into the earth hides any individual animal, and aesthetically the whole serves to draw the mind's eye along (cf. Gell 1996; 1998: 86-90). If these structures represented the presumably painstakingly slow task in and following the deaths of thousands of the estate's own herds, but also resulted from the relations between families and the hierarchies of which they were

part, a comparison could here be made with the practice of the potlatch in the Pacific Northwest of America (Barnett 1938). There the introduction of manufactured goods into a society that regularly engaged in a contest-based reciprocal practice appears to have resulted in the goods being incinerated in order to prove who had the greatest wealth to waste. Such competitive acts can indeed reinforce or topple hierarchy within the leader's own ranks, as may be visible also in the Siuai "Big Man" feast-giving association of the Solomon Islanders (Moore 1998: 265-267). In the Siuai practice, hierarchy is formed by whomsoever is able to organise their feasts and compete successfully against other chiefs. Despite the destruction of great wealth in these feasts, the leaders successfully corral their subjects into greater and greater acts of giving, binding their wills and their successes closer together through what has been created. Whilst it is unlikely that such a high level of competition or risk of failure occurred between British estate-owners of the 18th century, this might nevertheless go some way towards explaining the popularity of the peculiar structures and their knuckle-bone floors. At least two estates can be found on the outskirts of 18th century Henley-on-Thames and two in early 19th century Devon, both pairs within ten miles and thirty years of each other, where it was decided to create knuckle-bone floors from deer metapodials. Here, too, it would be hard to imagine that their creators had not seen another such novelty whilst visiting a neighbour. These floors not only represented access to and patience in accumulating the materials required, but they also embodied the possession of the deer in their very destruction, a memory much like the souvenir trophies of the modern hunters (Marvin 2011). In this case, such a use of the corpse embodies an experiential plurality through the herd and the floor rather than an individuality of hunter and prey.

Although only one facet of a larger movement towards aesthetic waste, the floors' survival to the present day and the excesses to which they testify might also be attributed in part to this conspicuous, and rather invidious, consumption of "prestige" products that communicate and maintain social standing (Page 1992). The original theorist of conspicuous consumption, Thorstein Veblen ([1899] 2007), only accounted for the "trickle down" of fashions from the top of the hierarchy. But why then would the upper classes wish to replicate a practice that seems previously to have been associated with thriftiness? Perhaps, it is in Andrew Trigg's (2001: 113) critique of Veblen's thesis that the answer lies: according to this, Bourdieu's theories of Capital

(1984) can account for fashions being taken by those at the top from ‘those at the bottom of the social ladder’, so as to ‘outflank members of the aspiring middle class who find it difficult to compete due to insufficient stocks of cultural capital.’ The estate owners, slowly seeing themselves outmanoeuvred by a new class with their potential greater economic capital, could have looked to that which the shopkeeper and the factory-owner had not: their cultural capital in the form of their own deer herds.

Nevertheless, the impact of Britain’s growing empire is reflected in Killerton’s supposed importation of a Canadian bear already noted above (Campbell 2013: 135-136) and is seen in Werribee Mansion deer park in Australia (Gunton 1996: 12), and in similar floors allegedly created across Europe (van Leeuwen, pers comms. 2015). This might betray their use as an idealised cultural performance in the colonial project, whereby the correct and aesthetically pleasing land-use was and continued to be displayed. These floors not only represent the patience and access to the materials required across periods and across landscapes, but they embody the possession of the deer and therefore the landscape in which they roamed, in their destruction.

Despite their practicality and robustness, this floor-laying practice did not meet with universal approval: amongst Britain’s elite, at least some commentators registered their disgust at the practice of employing bones in any form of construction (Parkinson in Armitage 1989: 157). This specific incident of revulsion may have been motivated by the growing intelligentsia, including philosophers, of the 17th century, who were disgusted at the unnecessary mistreatment of God’s animals and would later criticise the nobility's keenness also to hunt (Cartmill 1993: 102-107).

Conclusions

Conceptions of the deer, emerging in the 17th century and exhibited in landscape painting acting to mediate knowledge, not only encouraged careful categorisation but also the depiction of an idealised form of the animal. Much as the introduction of concepts such as ethnic identity and measurement have been accused of stagnating and fixing human practices whilst supposedly epistemically pre-existing their discovery (Latour 2007), so too could the same be said of the mediums of knowledge

developed in the Renaissance concerning the composition of nature. Animals kept within the park demonstrated and embodied these conceptions of nature: they simply needed to partake in the nature of the park and be seen in their correct context to be considered objects of great beauty (Gilpin 1794: 188). Transgressors, be they human or animal, not only threatened the park itself but were further regarded with a distinct level of distrust, sometimes bordering on clear disgust.

In the medieval period, deer-managers recognised that the spaces that kept deer were not merely venison-producing farms, but were potentially representative of nature. They were thus placed in an interesting collusion with the natural world (Creighton 2009: 122-166). Where "wildlife" was supposedly a creation of two categories of horizontal competition and vertical predation (Knight 2000: 3), in the cleansed emparkment humans held not only a super-predatorial role (Pluskowski 2002) but also a role as protector of the natural order (Marvin 2006b: 127-129). Where some family dynasties associated themselves with powerful carnivores, others associated themselves with the control of fallow deer. As such an idealism of nature emerged, so too did attempts to create an inalienable association with deer, their wildness, and the entrusted position of their management.

Perhaps this was mirrored in the movement and reinvention of the knuckle-bone floors in towns to countries and the concomitant application into them of such species as deer, and other ideals of the "wild" and heritage. The sudden enthusiasm amongst estate-owners to fashion in their deer parks new buildings that attempted to evoke an archaic and ruinous aesthetic, could have been an unspecific act aimed at implying ancient lineage (Jackson-Stops 1989: 19).

Whilst many medieval emparkments and their deer were mere game-larders for lordly practices (Crawford 1953: 189; Dyer 1988: 24; Partida 2007: 59), it would be wrong to say that aesthetic enjoyment of the park was newly discovered in the Tudor period (Creighton 2009: 149). However, it is with the development of the Renaissance artistic movements that the structures as well as the landscape of the park were transformed for appearance's sake. Culminating in the landscape painting of the realist artistic movement, this format is notable in appearing to create and transform the very realism that it sought to capture, in essential and primordial harmony with the

environment (Bell 1999: 99). Such was this engagement that it is clear why the paintings were often kept within the very parks they depicted; they had become as much a part of the aesthetic of the park as the deer themselves. In this regard, perhaps the park itself and its depictions, like the deer herds (Haraway 2008: 88), should be regarded as a giant assemblage of associations based upon the varied perspectives held within the park. That these associations could be tailored to fit an aesthetic ideal, simultaneously realised and foretold through depiction, landscape and inter-species relations, did not apparently work to demean any of these relationships within the deer park.

Conclusion

This thesis has revealed the manifest importance of considering not merely the material representation of the fallow deer, but also their cultural heritage role. The significance of the historical sections of this study lies primarily in the fact that the conception of species and the role of species classifications throughout history can only be understood by accommodating both cultural depiction and social representation. Whilst clearly more research could be performed on any of the contexts and time-periods of this thesis, the collation of data and following of trends here have revealed some interesting arrangements of strands interwoven not into a cohesive web, but rather a meshwork of strands that required disentangling (cf. Geertz 1973: 5; Foucault 1977; Ingold 2006; Ingold 2011: 63-90; Broz and Willerslev 2012: 85).

Fallow deer depiction and presence

It appears that, for a large part, the role of the fallow deer in culture and depiction followed the physical presence of the species. This coincides with evidence from zooarchaeological research in the same project on their distribution and time of introduction to Northern Europe. In the Greek world, as discussed in Chapter 2, many depictions from all its periods confirm the "phenotypic congruence" of the fallow deer (Yannouli and Trantalidou 1999: 260), especially in regard to the common characteristics of this deer. The importance of their recognition, especially in comparison with other ‘wild’ animals, has been seen possibly to indicate the fallow deer's role in demonstrating mankind's position in, and domination of, the natural world.

The presence of this deer within the Greek zooarchaeological record is now well established (Yannouli and Trantalidou 1999) alongside other species such as the red deer (Trantalidou and Masseti 2014), but the iconography and material culture related to this animal is of particular importance in understanding any differences. Especially in the case of the fallow deer, when contrasted with the wilder species employed in the hunt, the study of iconography and material culture is significant, inasmuch as

semi-domestication of deer is not necessarily detectable osteologically (Clutton-Brock 1981: 134; Yannouli and Trantalidou 1999: 262-263).

Future research into fallow deer in the material culture of this region is advocated; each aspect could form the basis of research in its own right. One specific avenue for further research would be through ceramic representations of European deer. As we saw in Chapter 2, the first evidence in Greece for deer depictions on pots was in Mycenaean times, when their depiction is sometimes thought to have owed much to the 'Deer Frieze' at Tiryns. It was on Bronze Age Greece, therefore, that this research first focused. Later, the animal appeared frequently on vases from Rhodes, but less so further north in mainland Greece. Yannouli and Trantalidou (1999: 256) demonstrated that early archaic deer appeared mostly in silhouette before becoming more naturalistic in the 6th century B.C.E. More scholarly research on Greek vases, including those by the Black and Red Figure painters of Athens, is still needed.[62]

Nonetheless, scholars appear to concur that the vast majority of representations of deer in Greek and Anatolian art are, at best, too ambiguous in form to depict species distinctly enough for reliable identification. Many depictions of deer have been considered unrealistic and others are thought to be influenced by Persian and Near Eastern representations rather than depicting fallow deer. However, a combination of features not characteristic of other deer in the region, such as the dappled coat, the palmated antlers and the penile brush, are characteristic enough to allow for a tentative designation of the species (Yannouli and Trantalidou 1999: 261). These characteristics may have been exaggerated in some depictions, but even when dappling can be seen across the bodies of the deer where unusually formatted, this dappling should surely not be dismissed in all cases as simply generic or merely decorative.

[62] Study of ceramic depictions of deer in the classical world might extend chronologically and geographically westwards, to the edges of Roman Empire with Gallo-Roman *sigillata* (Chapter 3, footnote 25) and Romano-British pottery (Webster 1989: 1-4, 8, 13, 22-23).

The focus in Chapter 2 turned finally upon a single format, drinking and libation vessels with their remarkable clarity and definition of the species of fallow deer: consequently, the unambiguity in form and in cultural associations in the case of the Black Sea *rhyta* had much to reveal. In that specific case-study, it was apparent both that the fallow deer were recognised at that time and that they were culturally important. Whether the *rhyta* were artefacts of some wealthy political leader or a mechanism of a secretive cult is not clear. At the very least, the careful rendition of the fallow deer's form was all the more unambiguous when accompanied by the careful captioning of the mythology depicted. The general conclusion in respect of these *rhyta* was that the associations of the deer were not only sought, but these associations were for wider dissemination.

We saw in both Chapters 2 and 3 how the influence of ancient mythology of deer and deity was to continue and pervade contemporary thinking. Depictions of stag-hunts in 5th-4th century Thrace have long been understood as causing the hunter unexpectedly to undergo a transformation in the course of and, in some ways as a result of, the unsuccessful hunt: the buck itself in such scenes was seen as acting as a catalyst and a mediator, chased but never caught (Marazov 1998: 214). This seems the likely basis for the Greek metamorphosis myths such as Actaeon and Cyparissus, which were adopted enthusiastically both by Roman writers, artists and artisans, and by much later generations. Yet in the case of the fallow deer, the mythology depicted does not relate to scenes directly of hunting, but instead they appear framed more within the general geography of mythology – where the demi-gods or heroes such as Herakles and Theseus are seen in combat with animals belonging to or associated with the gods. It is not in the hunt, but in the association with the divine and semi-divine, whether the Greek Artemis and Herakles (Roman Diana and Hercules) or the long-lasting cultic mythology of Orpheus, that the fallow deer played its most prominent part.

It was particularly in this era that the association rendered in depictions between Artemis/Diana and the deer is clear. Within areas where the fallow deer was pervasive, the association that the overall deer family (*cervi*) had with this Greek goddess is most apparent. However, it is in their association outside contexts where either the Greek theogony or the species itself was indigenous that the strength of the

association is most obvious. One manifestation was seen in Chapter 2 in those *rhyta* from specific Black Sea regions. The association between deer and deity was also to accompany the spread of the cult of Artemis, reimagined under Rome as the cult of Diana, 'her' deer was never abandoned. So, too, we found deer-related myths such as that of Iphigeneia being distributed westwards with the rise of Rome.

Under the Roman Empire, the distribution of fallow deer seemingly reached across its length and breadth. Once again the accompanying depictions helped to reveal and confirm contemporary developments. Here lies a contrast with the fallow deer in Greek antiquity where, due largely to, through perhaps over-representing, their physical presence, they appeared in many media the choice of species to depict. The interest displayed by the Romans in this specific deer is striking. By supplementing zooarchaeological findings with cultural representation, we have found literary evidence for Roman deer emparkment in Italy and also pointers to similar game-preserves or parks in Transalpine Gaul (largely, modern France). Literary evidence for deer in Roman Britain, however, is more obscure and was not amongst the firmer evidence considered in this thesis.[63]

It seems clear, both from previous zooarchaeological efforts and from this present research, that the fallow deer was moved around Europe, but also that this species was recognised in antiquity as distinctly separate from other deer. The emparkments that enclosed them across the Empire were undertakings performed at great individual expense. Contrasted with the earlier representations of fallow deer in Greek culture, where this species was widespread in the wild, the fallow deer's Roman representation was found to be of greater significance to culture. The material found as available for investigation was sufficiently large to require its tabulation in Chapter 3.

[63] The 4th century *Historia Augusta, Gordiani Tres,* 3.7, describes an antique picture in Rome in a house formerly of the Emperor Gordian I and so of 3rd century or earlier date: the forest-scene apparently included fallow amongst the deer: 200 *dammae* but 200 *cervi palmati* together with British deer – *mixtis Britannis* - of unspecified type but perhaps also *palmati.*

The influence of the age-old mythology of this deer, and especially its association with Diana, pervaded the Roman world from east to the far north-western limit of the empire in Britain. The focus of these chapters accordingly was on the originally Greek but, later, Romanised mythology in narrative and material representation, in which the fallow deer prominently appears. Explanations that attention was especially directed towards this deer because of the species link with regions that heavily invested in the goddess of the hunt (so Yannouli and Trantalidou 1999; Sykes et al. 2013), or that the nature of this attention was similar to that shown to the wider animal kingdom as part of the larger imperial project (Kalof 2007: 27-29; Fletcher 2011: 67), are not mutually exclusive. Great effort was directed towards the keeping of these deer by elite individuals, as is suggested in Roman Britain and, for instance, Fishbourne Palace, but this seemingly formed part of the Imperial project. In Chapter 3, it was the cultural associations and social ties between the deer, geography, medicine and mythology that were, as they must be, recognised as important to understanding why the deer was subjected to such attention.

This research has taken into account that most ancient animal translocations may be associated with new social perceptions and religious beliefs. The evidence for the religious, magic and medicinal associations of the fallow deer in the Roman period was addressed. This deer was also shown to have become emblematic of the imperialism, identity and ideology at the heart of the Roman world-view (Miller et al. 2014). The veneration of Diana and 'her' deer fitted well with Roman ideology. The dichotomy of Diana as protector but also hunter of wild beasts appealed to Roman ideals. Her cult was linked to the control of the wild, as was evident at sanctuaries sacred to her like, that with its ancient and 'oriental' links at Nemi near Aricia.[64] Such a control of the wild seems imitated in parks, like that at Fishbourne, with animals portrayed as peacefully communing under human and divine beneficence in the Pax Romana.

[64] Where, despite the cultic 'orientalism', "The wild animals become tame, and deer herd with wolves, and they allow the people to approach and caress them, and any that are pursued by dogs are no longer pursued when they have taken refuge here" Strabo (5.1.9).

When considering the medico-religious aspects of the deer, first evident in the Greek tradition where Artemis played a part in healing alongside the more scientific methods of Hippocrates and his successor Galen, the links between Artemis / Diana and medicine and between fallow deer and medicine became apparent. The cult at Nemi owed part of its wide appeal to the goddess's role as a healer. Medicinal methods thus continued and were to bridge religion, magic, science and arcane practices in everyday life. There it would appear that the veneration of Diana, the association of the goddess with the fallow deer and the use of its body parts were interlinked in the spheres of religious, magic and medicinal practice. These spheres of influence saw their apparently separate strands intertwined through the practice of humoral theory (Miller et al. 2016). Fallow deer body-parts and related medical practices appear to have been traded across the Roman Empire – along with the mythology and cultural associations represented in the developing iconography. Furthermore, these cultural associations were to extend over centuries, during and indeed long after the Classical period**.**

Following the end of the Roman Empire, the many associations and representations did not cease with the end of Imperial culture, but instead were transformed into a more monotheistic and specifically Christian aesthetic. Such an association was, however, seemingly held for most species of wild deer (Bath 1992). But, as with the Greeks centuries before, the fallow deer appears depicted in such religious imagery solely in those areas where they were prevalent in the wild. In this way, with the rise of the Byzantine and Holy Roman Empire, the depictions and indeed the importation of fallow deer around Europe subsided, but they did not entirely disappear. Messianic associations, based on ancient knowledge of fallow deer and their behaviour, emerged; we saw in Chapter 3 how the deer and the snake were entwined in ancient legend and encyclopaedism and now became specifically emblematic of Christian struggles. A few connections with classical mythology also continued in the early Christian era, and these were increasingly alluded to. For instance, a cypress tree stood in place of Cyparissus and a bow-and-quiver was substituted for Diana, alongside a fallow buck. The ancient tradition of the nobility's creation of game-preserves continued under the Byzantine elite, stocking their parks with the European fallow deer. These reserves borrowed methods and ideologies from both Sicilian and Islamic parks including, significantly, included those in Palermo, Sicily, that were

later held by the Norman kings in the 12th century (Ševčenko 2002: 74-75). Ancient reserves like these may provide a context and an inspiration for the large-scale spread of emparkments also in the north-western Norman world.

Certainly, the Knights of St. John, later the Hospitallers, as discussed in Chapter 4, were heavily associated with these deer and are often cited as having introduced them to various islands of the eastern Mediterranean (Spiteri 2001: 212; Masseti 2002: 54; Masseti 2009: 191; Masseti 2012: 148-149). However, the Ottoman Empire's eradication of fallow deer across Anatolia, Rhodes and the Greek mainland in the 16th century has been thought of as religiously motivated rather than as a mere resource destruction (Masseti 2002; Langbein and Chapman 2003). The associations between religion, specifically Christianity, and the European fallow deer might thus have seemed a strong enough motivator for the wholesale destruction of a species.

On the other hand, there seems to have been continuity in forms and representations of fallow deer into the medieval period and beyond. Rather than new political and social forces displacing the fallow deer from socio-cultural awareness, the representations appear to have interwoven and then amalgamated and incorporated the new ideas and ideologies. That some ideologies, as previously seen in the encyclopaedism of Pliny, continued far into the medieval era and beyond was perhaps due in part to the evidential physicality of the fallow deer itself. Thus, this research into the iconographic and narrative evidence ties in with conclusions as to the apparent waves, over centuries, of fallow deer dispersal, contraction and reintroduction which have been drawn on the basis of zooarchaeology and genetics (Miller et al. 2016).

Despite long being regarded as wild (Plot 1686; 1705), it is clear that in the medieval period the fallow deer were rarely in their own natural habitat – even if their original provenance was not then correctly identified. For many centuries, the Romans were attributed with the introduction of fallow deer across northern Europe. Indeed, many deer park-owners continued to claim an unbroken continuity of the fallow deer and their herds from Roman times – perhaps espousing the romantic view of imperial Rome (Lascelles in Whitaker 1892: 7).

Whilst it was recently through to be the Normans who introduced the European fallow deer to Britain as a subject of emparkment, fresh research has revealed that their introduction is likely to have taken place shortly before the Norman invasion (Sykes et al. 2016; Chapter 4). Sykes and Carden (2011: 241-2) have pointed out that such a possibility is supported by the suggestion that parks were then present in Britain's landscape; place-name research may indicate their presence in the Anglo-Saxon period (Hough 2001; 2008). It is now apparent from zooarchaeology that the species was introduced to Western Europe from the Balkans and that this was due to what may now be seen as its innate suitability for enclosure. It will be important in future to take this evidence into account in order to amplify our knowledge of the 'British' deer – and of the cultural impact of the Norman Conquest.

After 1066, the importance placed upon the skills of deer-management and butchery in the period make it likely that the Normans were attempting a form of cultural hegemony through the deer in forming a new 'mythology', much as they are considered to have operated in regard to other cultural practices (Davies 1976; Salisbury [trans. Pike] 1938: 16). For, by means of nature and the emparkment methods seen in Sicily and their other Mediterranean territories, the Normans may have sought to transplant history and culture also (Davis 1976; Sykes 2010a: 57), creating a form of skilled 'habitus' by which to navigate social norms and hierarchy (Bourdieu 1984).

From the 11th to the 17th centuries, emparkment rights in Britain were granted by the monarch, often in tandem with hunting rights in the forests.[65] However, unlike forestry rights and duties, the ownership of deer parks could be inherited; it was the family or social group that was usually awarded the park. With an emparkment right, deer-meat itself was readily available, and the park-owners too were granted participation in the vast practice of the gift-giving of venison (see Chapter 4). Thus,

[65] There is potential for further research into medieval forest hunting (on lines suggested for Wessex forests by Amanda Richardson's research). For instance, the forest pleas in Cheshire Forest Eyre Roll for 1357 list deer that have been killed, and as roe deer had been demoted from forest status by that time; 'buck' and 'doe' here must certainly refer to fallow deer (pers comm. Booth).

the ‘unmaking’ or ‘breaking’ of the deer was valuable for whomsoever hunted or hosted the hunt, showing their beneficence, but it also structured relations and demonstrated hierarchical positions (Marvin 2006b: 32). Whilst park-holding families never owned the monarch’s deer, the successful maintenance of the herd, accompanied by these demonstrations of generosity, allowed this reciprocal arrangement to continue over generations.

These areas, the landscape, architecture and the deer within the parks, also became resplendent in symbolism during the medieval period. As Chapter 5 reveals, rather than metaphorical victims (Bath 1992; Cartmill 1993: 68-75) the fallow deer, through their connection with the emparkment, once again began to take on a range of different symbolic functions, particularly relating to gender. Where women are represented in culture, research and visual depictions, they are frequently held to be the subject of a mundane exoticism, an objectification whereby the female body and experience is generalised and often mythologised (Elshtain 1981: 283; Augé 1982: 112; Strathern 1988: 36-38). Such generalisation and mundane exoticism seem to be what Almond (2009) claimed to be at work in depictions of medieval women engaged in the hunt, and this is supported by the fact that depictions were regularly of fallow rather than of red deer.

Within this exoticism or ‘orientalism’ as well as gender-based symbolism, perhaps the longest and the strongest thread trailing across the centuries was the association of fallow deer and Artemis/Diana. This thread was observed weaving between cultures from the Greek and Roman periods to the Renaissance and beyond. Elizabeth, as Virgin Queen and ‘huntress’ became the personification of the classical goddess, a ‘cult’ whose mythology across the ages entangled even Alexander with Diana and Elizabeth in its meshwork (see Richardson 2012, 253). Their associations can be understood in the rarefication of power presented through such imagery, with the developing symbolism particularly entwined with fallow deer, the methods of their management, and the female symbolism connected with them. But these deer were also used, albeit to a lesser extent, to depict masculinity and male dominance. They became popular also in their use as metaphors and tropes for marriage and kinship. The park had seemingly become an area of privacy that allowed for a range of female practices. It was also one which could be employed, as in previous eras, to educate the

young. Particularly for the monarchy, and future monarchs, the deer parks could be, and were, employed to reveal the character of their monarchs.

Whilst not explored here, the use of a particularly rewarding avenue of research could be to employ corpus linguistics techniques in order to analyse the associations of gender with deer at various stages of transfer and interactions. This technique would reveal the word associations and cadences of texts, which then could be used to compare to various gender and animal modalities and theories. One such comparison could be with the model developed in Marilyn Strathern's (1988; 1999) publications of gender-switching in humans and animals in the Papua New Guinea islanders' exchanges. There, whoever and whatever receives is feminised, and whoever and whatever gives is masculinised, in a process of supplementation through the association with animals, rather than a continuously linear subjugation.

The landscapes themselves also became a form of cultural representation, in which the fallow deer demonstrated and embodied certain conceptions of nature (Chapter 6). The pre-existing purity of the landscape was apparently guarded by those who were entrusted with the deer park and were thus placed into a collusion with the natural world (Creighton 2009: 122-125). Landscape painting developing in the late medieval period became a demonstration of this, but also an instigator for designing the very landscapes that they depicted. Similarly, cartographic records, whilst regarded in social theory as reductive and de-socialising (Harley 1988), frequently employed the fallow deer to indicate not only the terrain, but often the aesthetic and social role of the landscape through the animal as well. Even though many deer parks might appear to merely provide venison for their lords and despite the large quantity of literature elaborating the quantitative values of deer park ownership (cf. Crawford 1953: 189; Dyer 1988: 24; Partida 2007: 59), this was not a park's only function; aesthetics were, and still need to be, considered in the case of a park.

In most of the cartographic records studied here, the artist attempted to paint as seen from a distance, providing a near map-like diagram of park grounds in their entirety. These panoramic views of the park, if understood as a parallel for the diagram and plan, raise issues of power-relations in geographic knowledge (Foucault 1980; Rabinow 1984: 239-256). The fallow deer's position in such depictions is especially

pertinent to our understanding of these dynamics. For, in some examples, the fallow deer are so diminutive as to escape observation, being almost invisible when displayed at a distance. Nevertheless, it was seemingly necessary to depict the park in its entirety, deer included. Rather than through maps removed 'from the realm of immediate face-to-face contacts' (Harley 1988: 303), the attempted capture of liveliness and beauty in such representations might rather indicate a moral and emotive relationship with the landscape and the park's infrastructure. Thus, this cartography, despite its reductive appearance, displayed the aestheticism of the deer park through depicting the intended design. Nor did the deer themselves escape this designed aesthetic. Furthermore, we saw them becoming increasingly managed through factors such as coat-colouration and antler formation to create a 'better' form of nature.

Following on from the symbolism of the medieval period, it seems that the 17th century Stuarts, like the Normans several centuries before, again sought to create a new 'mythology' concerning the deer, one developed specifically through the coat-colouration of fallow deer. The importation or perceived importation of a darker breed of fallow deer by the first Stuart monarch has been regarded as an attempt to strengthen the weakened stock of the British deer parks. Equally, the methods of deer park-managers were heavily criticised by the new monarch and his court as too brutish and as overly domesticating the deer.

With a shortage of wild deer and monarchs for the hunt after the end of the Tudor dynasty and particularly after the Civil War, ideals of the deer's 'true form' appear to have reversed previous culling practices. Now quality was to be achieved through pre-rut culling of the males, where qualities and flaws could be selected out of the herd in the next generation simply by killing "unsuitable" bucks (Plot 1686: 258). Instead of venison production and therefore quantity being the guiding principle as it had been in the medieval deer park, the quality of the herd indeed became the focus of the capable manager. Later and particularly with the emergence of the market system, the emparkment as the locus of the vast gift-giving system appeared to disintegrate, as was observed in Chapter 4.

With this disintegration, a new archetype of deer park emerged, with aesthetic considerations of nature being manifestly important alongside those of more archaic symbolism. During the medieval period, quantity had been the focus of these parks, with venison from the park serving as a substitute for rarer opportunities to chase deer in the wild. In Elizabethan times, there already appears to have been a major shift in the use of the deer park. Whilst this is not to say that the aesthetics of the park did not predate the Tudors (Liddiard 2007: 201-202), the overall cultural shift makes it seem that the conception of the park itself changed. Where once the deer park was the sole terrain of the sovereign monarch and where, as we saw in Chapter 4, the deer and venison were exchanged in the gift-giving network (Mileson 2009), the emparkment and the deer became symbols of status instead.

The fact that fallow deer depictions appeared more frequent and prominent in the post-Elizabethan and early-modern periods (Chapter 6), suggested simply that their lower profile in the medieval period was perhaps attributable largely to the generic depictions of deer in most medieval art (cf. Chapters 4-5). It was also seen, however, to particularly to reflect medieval and masculine attention to the chase, where red deer were more regularly depicted. The relationship between femininity and fallow deer recurred in the 16th century amongst still life's rhopography, with the carcass taking centre-stage. This was a practice in which the newly empowered aristocracy could 'prove' its worth and so it did in 17th century Britain after the hunting Game Acts removed royal sovereignty from emparkment. However, it was in later 'game-pieces' that the fallow deer was even more conspicuous, reappearing in hunting depictions: from *c.*1600 its carcass became prominent in European 'game-pieces', with the female representations of earlier still-life depictions supplanted by masculinity and male hunters. A contemporary series of paintings of Prince Henry Stuart was examined and compared with a concurrent portrait of his sister, Elizabeth, recalling her Tudor predecessor and namesake. Such game-pieces depicting venery provide considerable insight into those depicted. Moreover, these later game-pieces recall studies of trophy-taking as forms of souvenir (Marvin 2011: 209, 216), which acts as a memory-cue in providing a lingering reminder tied together within objects. When the narrative of the memory has been lost, it becomes merely representative of generic historical formations: thus we saw the loss of a prince - and the rediscovery of this lost Prince's paintings.

In such ways, a family's visible heritage within the deer park became an important marker of status. To this end, 'ancient' ruins were frequently constructed within the park (see Chapter 6 and especially Chapter 7). In terms of the deer, the concept of coat colouration and of varying breeds not only arose but dominated perceptions as the emparkment system was ending. Furthermore, landscaping and control of both fauna and flora were intended to perfect the environment into an idealised naturalness. Visitors were welcomed to the deer parks, semi-agricultural functions disappeared and, by the 19th century, English deer parks and their keepers formed archetypes for conspicuous consumption at least for the economist Veblen ([2007]1899: 90, 257). That such a status symbol could increasingly be bought through the market, as shown in the brochure for knuckle-bone floors (Chapter 6; figure 6:16), and that there was often failure to maintain such floors, might indicate a more fungible role that the park had performed in its role as a status symbol for the elite. Finally, this 'sought' wilderness and the removal of many aspects of sovereignty over the deer appears to have culminated in the emparkment of the red and roe deer also. Earlier these deer were hunted, but now with careful husbandry they were semi-domesticated - at least according to some (Fletcher 2011: 98).

Throughout the periods and cultures covered a common thread appears to emerge: that the use of the fallow deer, especially in the format of depiction, would be referential and particularly laden with history. It appears that the fallow deer would frequently refer back to previous practices and peoples, and through their presence would bring this heritage factor into the present – even where this referred to a pre-human natural state. The depiction, classification, and understandings that people had of this species does much to reveal the interwoven threads that were both sought after and invigorated throughout the period covered here. Whilst the red deer has, in the last century, become the subject of semi-domestication and resides in the now numerous deer-farms of the world (Fletcher 2011), the fallow in contrast would appear on the whole to be presented as still permeated and interlaced with their history. Particularly it would seem that in comparison to the red deer, whose narratives would frequently treat the animal as an individual with agency (cf. Bath 1992), throughout the fallow deer was treated generically as herd or form, usually as a vehicle of heritage.

Perspectives and Perspectivism

Recently, the park has shifted again, particularly in moving from private to public ownership (Fletcher 2011; Sykes et al. 2016; Ward et al. forthcoming). Although many deer parks have ceased to exist, many can still be found. Modern deer parks demonstrate the culmination of all the developments charted in Chapters 2–6. While these modern deer parks are not farms, neither are they truly wild terrain. Where farms would seem to be centred upon the venison productive capacity of the deer and the herd, under the same criteria deer parks would be seemingly wasteful (Blaxter 1988 et al; Green 2010; Fletcher 2011). Their purpose is not to provide for game-shooting. They represent, rather, a careful meeting between "natural beauty" and heritage, embodied in part by the continuity of emparked, yet 'wild', deer. Whilst the red and roe deer have been subjected to new hunting methods, in Europe the fallow rarely appears as the subject of the game-shoot or stalking (Griffiths 2011).

The 'wildness', in which the deer are considered to partake, is attributed to the original emparkment, a mythologised event when the area was fenced in, and the human world was kept out; this is a version that was repeatedly mentioned, even during the medieval era (cf. Lascelles in Whitaker 1892: 7). Thus, ensuring the continuity of the deer-herd has assured and goes on assuring the continuation of the heritage, and vice versa. The historic park indeed resists development through an ancestral pact between nature and culture. To maintain such continuity, the deer herd is carefully managed, largely by way of annual culling, whilst the environment that surrounds it is continually rearranged to alleviate pressures both natural and man-made.

We have seen in the course of this study that, while scholars ranging across the centuries from Aristotle to Pliny, Galen and Linnaeus accumulated detailed faunal data, knowledge of deer and thus their cultural depictions have long been subjective. As cultural depictions and symbolism are not only held to express important components of social and moral orders, they also lend an empirical reality to such "social facts", and in turn they may instigate social action (Turner 1967; Csordas 1994). With hunting particularly, attempts to understand its function through the production of protein and resources bely the importance of the activity, which solely

"lies in its symbolism, not its economics" (Cartmill 1993: 28-30). Hence the practical importance of the present research. This may be a means to increase understanding of the role that fallow deer have played throughout the periods of human society. It also shows how potentially that role may be enhanced in the future by means of a greater understanding.

This research-work has highlighted the importance of the study of the cultural depiction of this species in the time-frame adopted and, from this perspective, has also suggested potential topics for future work. Much more comprehensive surveys of cultural representation, and specifically material and iconographic depictions such as that suggested here and undertaken in Chapters 2, 3 and 6, could be attempted in considerably greater depth and in more detail with this one species as the subject. Furthermore, the investigation of the role that the conception of 'heritage' plays in the modern deer park, alongside the way in which the deer as herd appears an ahistorical link to this, could prove to be an equally rewarding avenue for future research. That no new deer park emerges devoid of a claim of 'heritage' to the site, without being classified as a farm or a zoological collection, reveals the interesting and perhaps precarious arrangement of the fallow deer within the park of the modern era. Given the slow, but steady growth of the wild-meat market in Britain, and its slow inclusion of the 'heritage' produce of the modern deer park, the fact that the deer become legally recognised and classified as farm-stock could once again transform and possibly threaten these parks, as the deer within would no longer be regarded as legally wild (Green 2010; Green 2015). Elsewhere, modern practices of management of deer introduced by colonial settlers, as for example the legalised "poaching" practices[66] of Barbuda (McCormas 2013: 126; Baker et al. forthcoming) and the "good keen men" of New Zealand (Figgins 2008), have not yet been investigated in depth, especially with regard to the heritage and historical factors which seem to be at work.

[66] Whilst a cultural depiction in itself and therefore simulacra, this practice is contemporary and seemingly based upon a celebration of acts of rebellion and emancipation from the former colonialists that has become a patriotic act.

A potential area of research in relation to deer-management lies in promoting discussion of 'Perspectivism' in western cosmology. Where the perspective threatens to physically transform the body of the hunter in some societies such as the Siberian Yukaghir - much as was seen in the transformations of Chapter 3 – this supposed bodily transformation is rarely accounted, if not unheard of, amongst western hunters (Willerslev 2004). This has been attributed by anthropologists, including Willerslev (2004: 642; 2013), as being due to the egocentric western concept of perspective, where for the most part "seeing does not intersect with those of others". Yet it may be that some animistic element continues, as is represented in some of the stories of hunters and in accounts of game-keepers and deer-managers concerning some transformative threat to their outward perception and their ability to manage the deer, as individual and herd, should they become too close to the deer (cf. Scrope 1839: 24; Jefferies 1889: 16-17, 216; Carne 1969; Griffith 2011: 14-19).

Indeed, y Gasset (1995: 139) has noted through "imitating the perpetual alertness of the wild animal" the western hunter's vision can be broadened and heightened yet still remains egocentric: he "sees everything and sees each thing functioning." That the importance of this perception and visual surveillance of the deer commonly permeates both the deer's life and the manager's career from their start to their end and beyond - surely could raise issues of the unexpected effects and entanglements of such a pervasive perception (Foucault 1977; Ingold 2006; Ingold 2011: 63-90; Broz and Willerslev 2012: 85). Can this perspective be as much a threat to the individual as seen amongst the Yukaghir, albeit internally rather than externally transformative?

Afterword

This thesis has not been able to elaborate on the modern methods and social forces observed to be at work in the management of deer; yet these remain distinctly important both here and in the case of the European fallow deer. This specific species is, and always was, very heavily understood in terms of heritage and its mythologised associations. This indicates the need for investigation into the cultural depiction of the fallow deer. Indeed, investigating the ever-changing conception of the species, and species classifications as a whole, is necessary in order both to discuss and to challenge contemporary beliefs. For although interspecies relations have regularly been reduced and downplayed by academics as being merely mimetic (mere reflections of societal functions) or reduced to quantitative values, the reality most probably lies somewhere in between. Studies of material and cultural representations, combined with the aid of anthropology, can support and amplify the results of zooarchaeological analysis concerning the distribution and 'domestication' of deer. And that has been the main aim of this thesis.

Figures

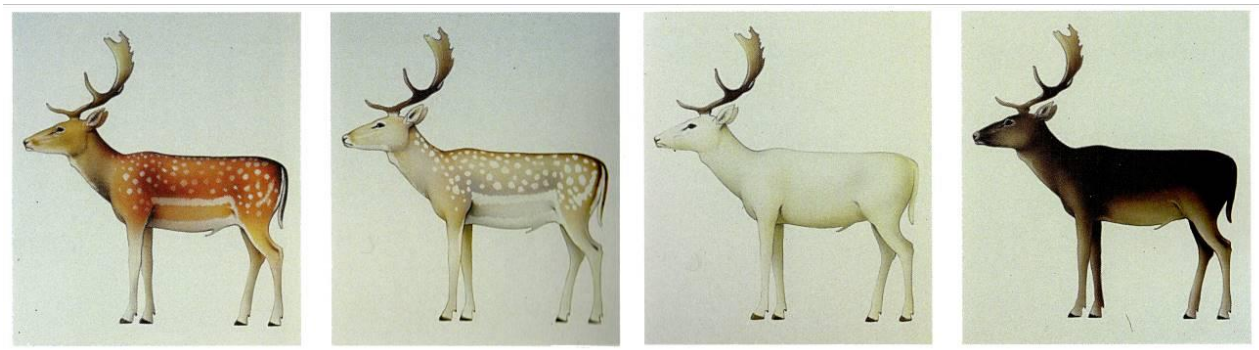


Figure 1:1 – European fallow deer and standard colour ranges (see Masseti 2002: 116-117).

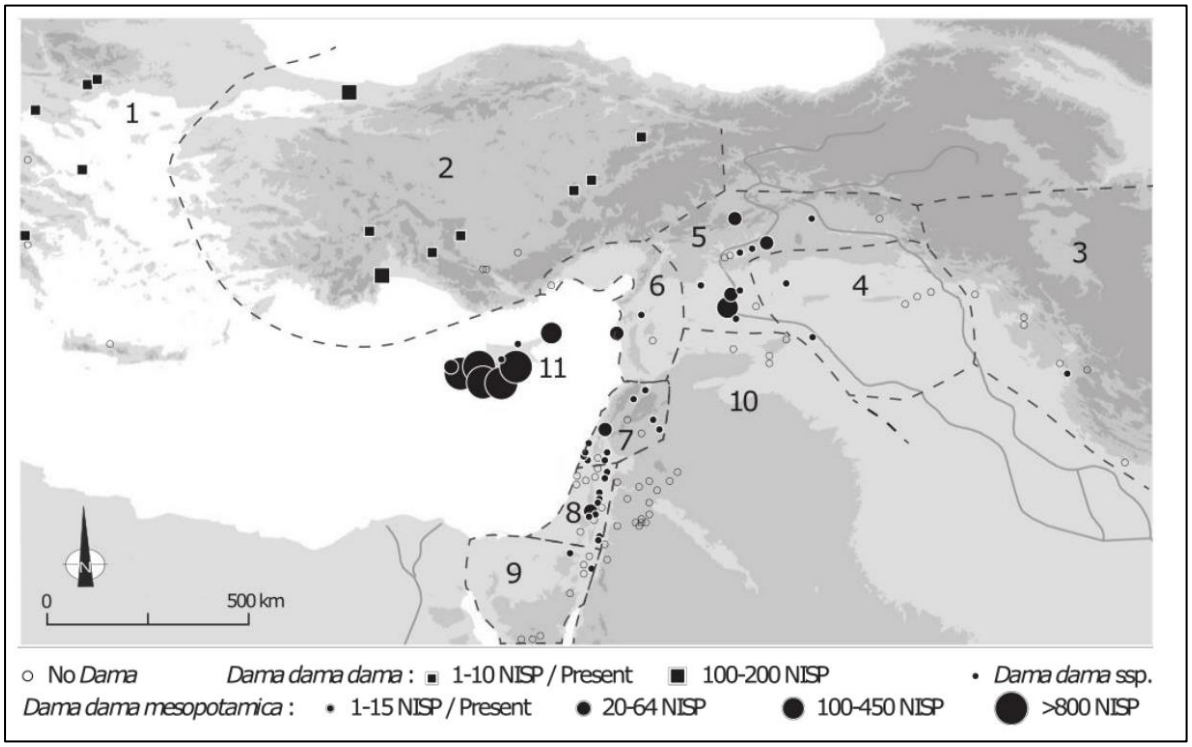


Figure 1:2 – The native and early-translocated distribution of the European and Mesopotamian fallow deer - early Holocene (from Vigne et al. 2015).

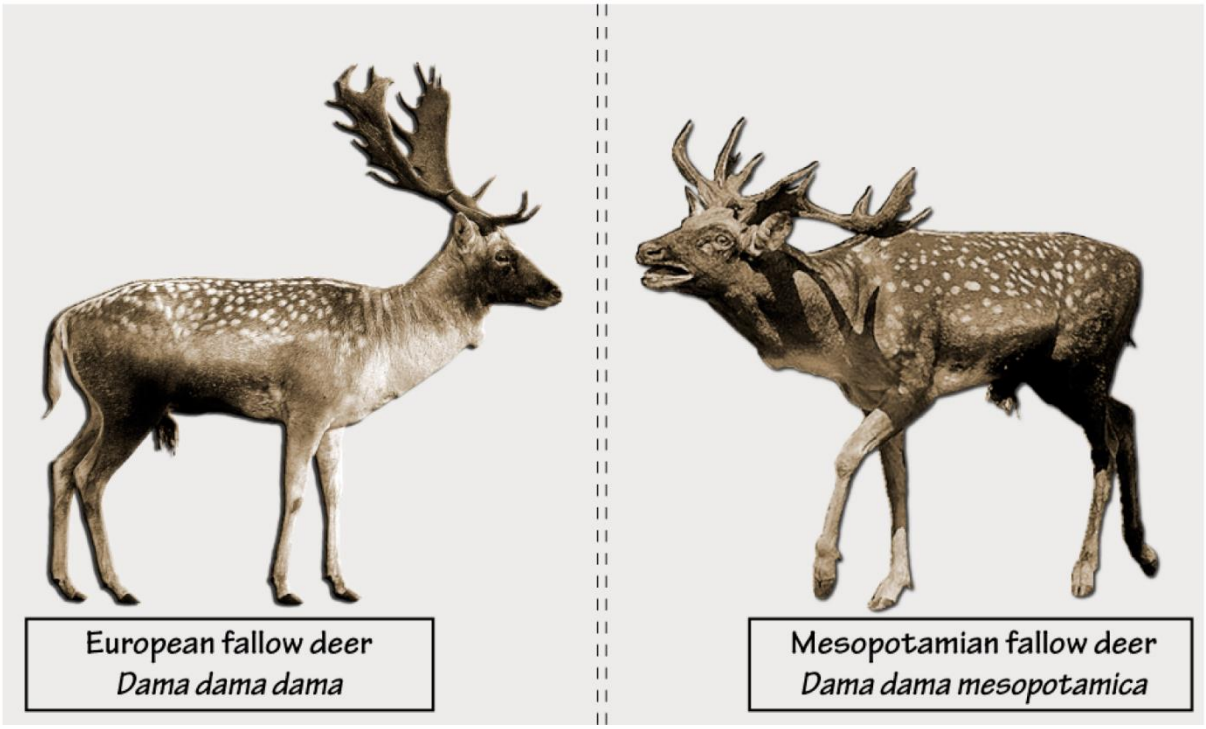


Figure 1:3 – A comparison between the bucks of the European and the Mesopotamian fallow deer (from Daujat 2013).



Figure 1:4 – A comparison of fallow deer antlers – European fallow deer (Dama dama dama) on the left; and Mesopotamian fallow deer (Dama dama Mesopotamica) on the right (Masseti 2002: 108).



Figure 1:5 – A relief found in the palace of Ashurnasirpal II at Nimrud c. 883-859 B.C.E. - the exact species of buck is disputed, but it is likely to be a Mesopotamian fallow deer (Chapman and Chapman 1975: 216).

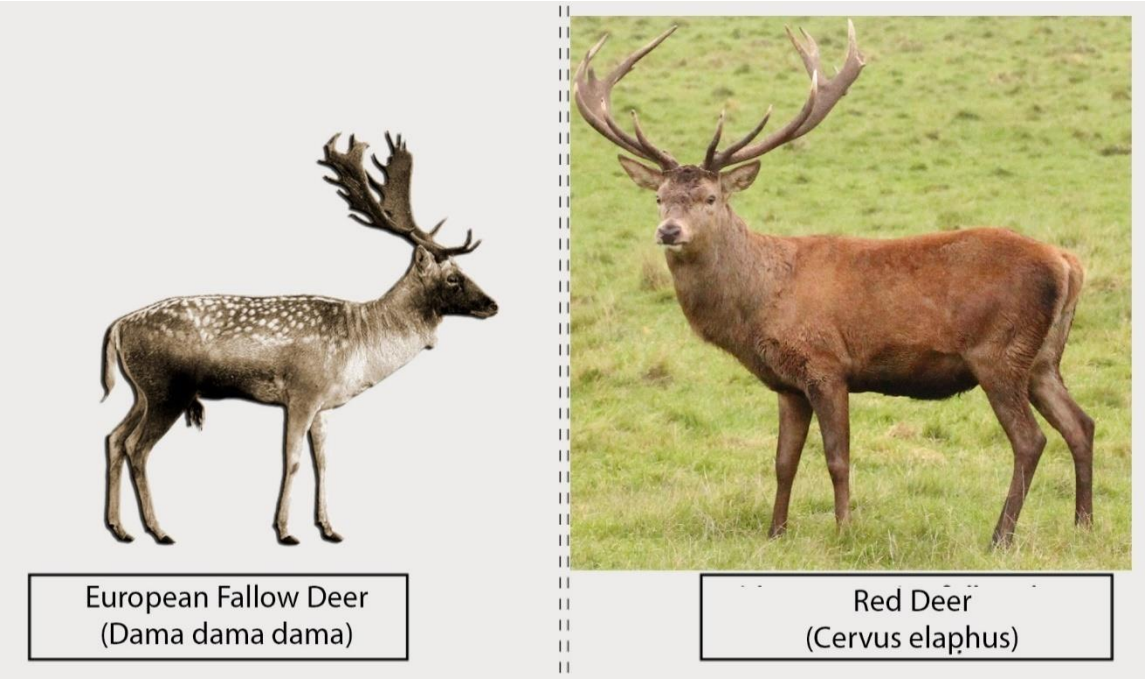


Figure 2:1 – A comparison between the European fallow deer Buck and Red Deer Stag – (Daujat 2013).

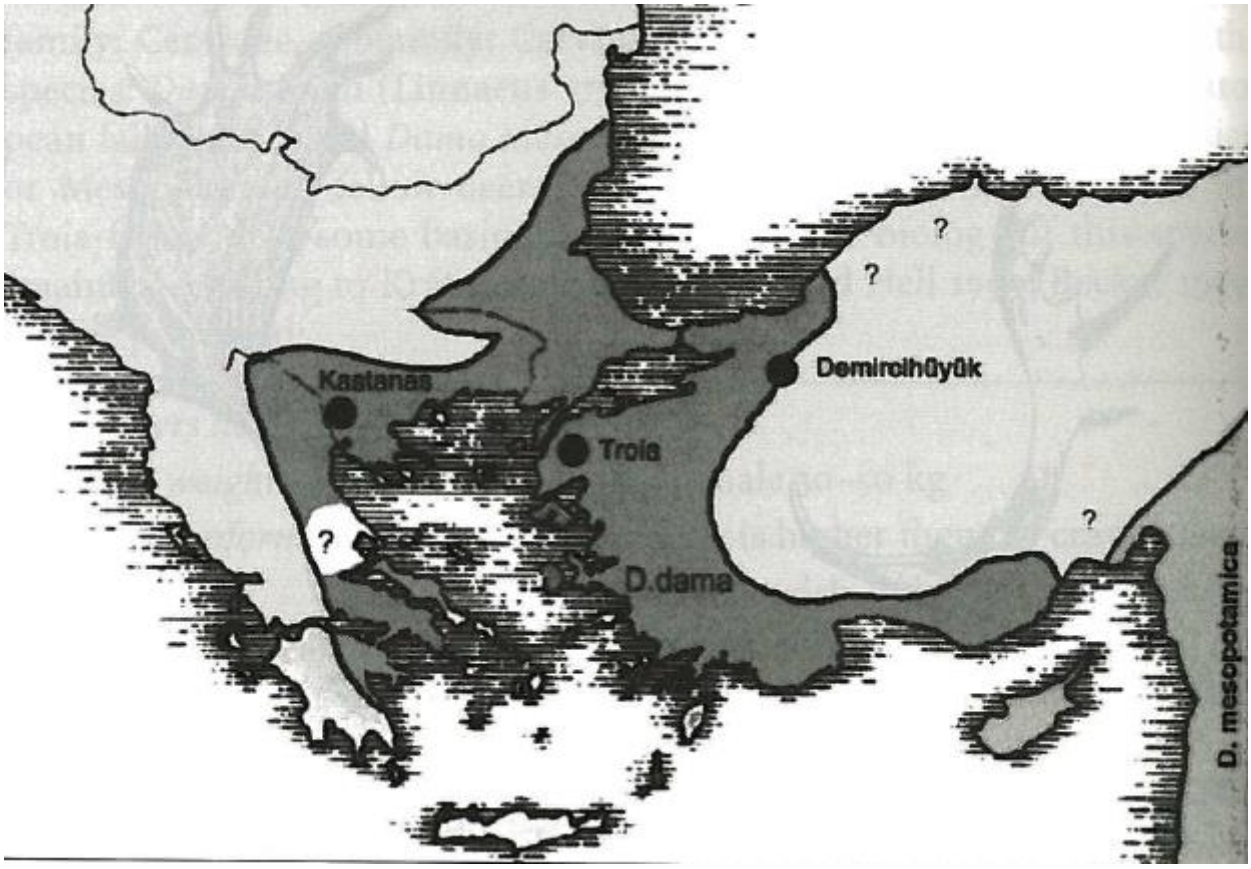


Figure 2.2 - Map of the ancient distribution of the European fallow deer (darker area) and the Mesopotamian fallow deer (lighter shaded area) – (adapted from Uerpmann 1987; Becker 1999; Fabiš 2003: 266).



Figure 2:3 - Wooden hexagonal pyxis with gold plated – depicting lions chasing deer and an antelope – Grave Circle A, Grave V, Mycenae – 16th century B.C.E.



Figure 2:4 - Gold finger Ring from Shaft Crave IV, Mycenae – Late Helladic I (Harris 2014: 84).

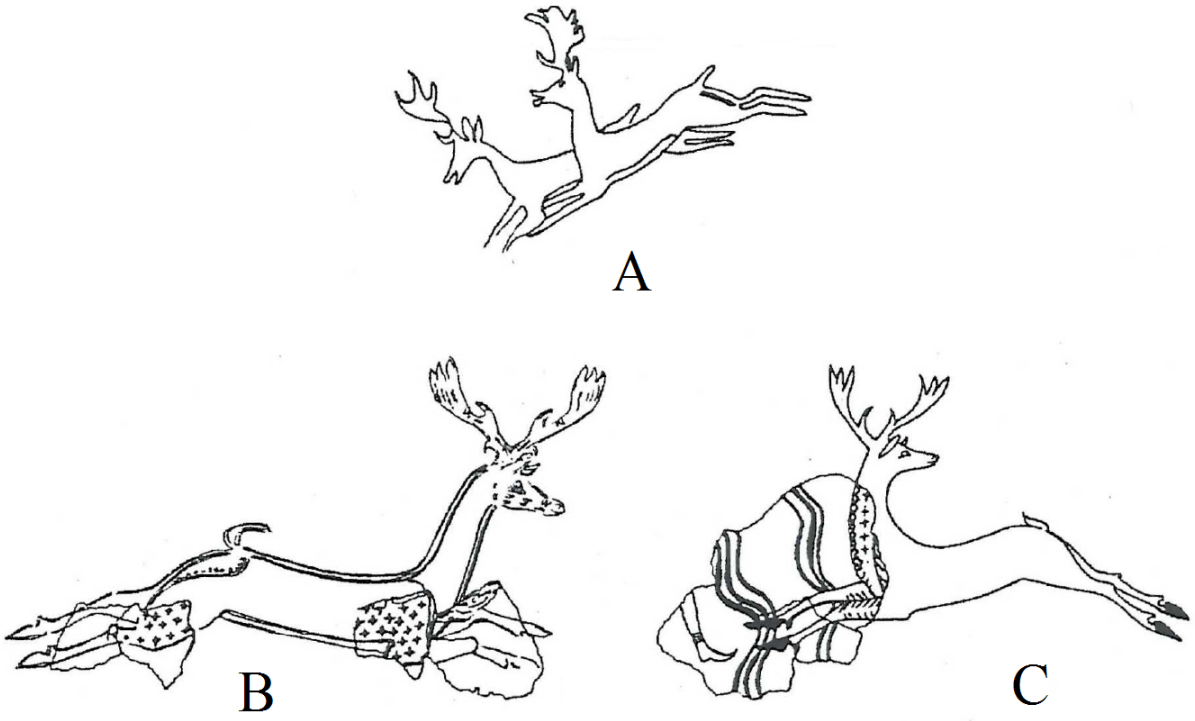


Figure 2:5 - Forms found in frescoes from Mycenaean palaces (Yannouli and Trantalidou 1999: fig 5a-c).

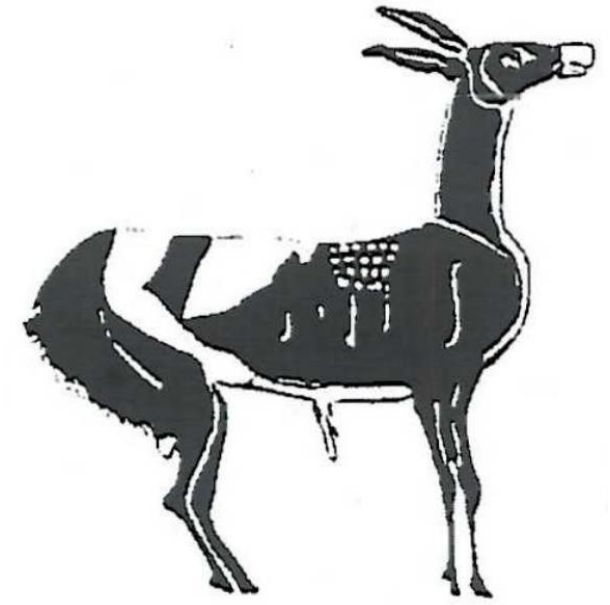


Figure 2:6 - Form from an attic Black Figure cup - a buck lacking antlers but with the species characteristic penis sheath – in a sexual scene with a satyr (Johns 1982: pl. 26).

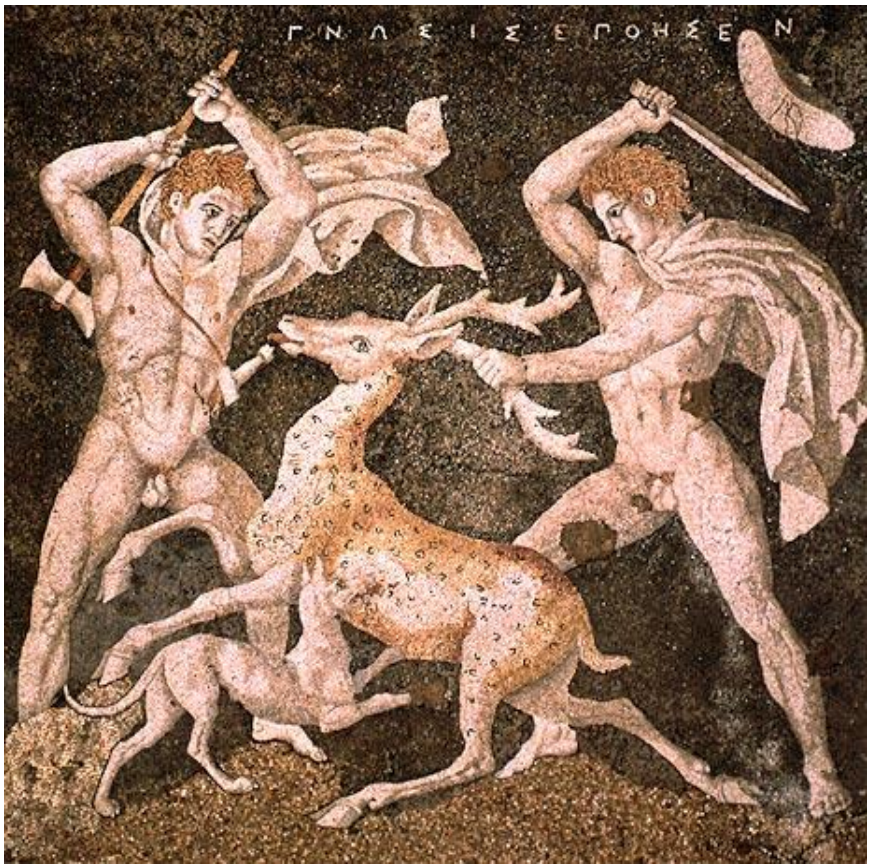


Figure 2:7 - Stag Hunt mosaic at Pella, by Gnosis – c. 300 B.C.E.



Figure 2:8 - Red Figure kylix, stag hunt c. 440-430 B.C.E - Cohen 2010: 33



Figure 2:9 – ‘Alexander Sarcophagus’ - fallow deer – c. 350-300 B.C.E. (Yannouli and Trantalidou 1999: 259-7p; Ridgeway 2001: 42).



Figure 2:10 - Amazon hunter on horseback hunting a fallow deer c.425-400 B.C.E. (Beazley and Boardman 2002: no. 054). Gold intaglio from a ring. Bought in Athens; provenance unknown.



Figure 2:11 - Coin from Ephesus c.258-202 B.C.E. – (Breitenstein and Schwabacher 1981: 9042).

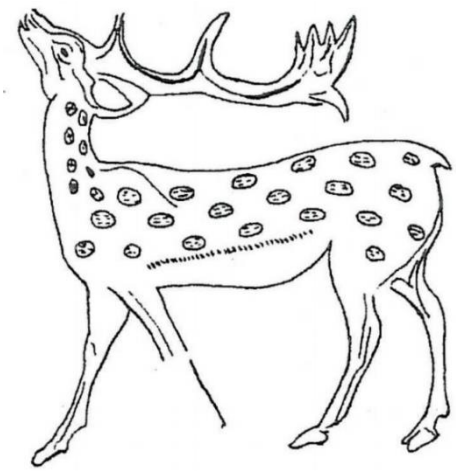


Figure 2:12 – Depiction of a fallow deer taken from a 6th century B.C.E. gold plate at Delphi (Yannouli and Trantalidou 1999: 258-fig. 6d).



Figure 2:13 – Stag/buck *rhyton* with Herakles and Theseus from Panagyurishte c. 400 B.C.E. (Marazov 1998: 147).



Figure 2:14 – Hittite *rhyton* 14-13th century B.C.E.; Metropolitan Museum of Art, Catalogue no 1989.281.10.



Figure 2:15 – Attic *rhyton* 480-470B.C.E. (British Museum Catalogue - 4 III Ic pl. 41, 1)



Figure 2:16 – Stag/buck protome *rhyton* 6th-5th century B.C. allegedly from Iran (O'Neill 1996: 41).



Figure 2:17 – Stag/buck *rhyton* allegedly from Sinope c. 400 B.C.E. (George Ortiz collection: no. 152; cf. Manassero 2007: 123-4).

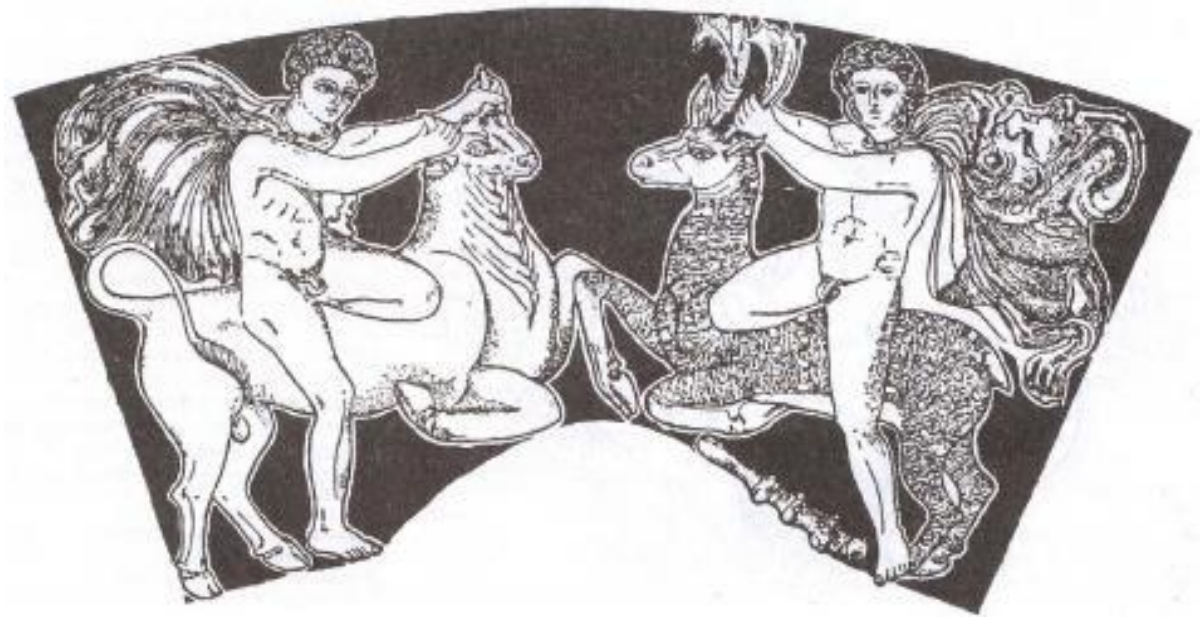


Figure 2:18 – Frieze depicting Theseus with the Marathon bull and Herakles grappling an antlered deer (Рабаджиев 1997: 71).





Figure 2:19 + 2:20 – Parthian silver-gilt horn-shaped *rhyton* (11) and Aramaic inscription (12) dedicating the vessel to Artemis; 50 B.C.E. – 50 C.E. (The J. Paul Getty Museum item 86.AM.753; Laptin and Wight 2010: 97)



Figure 2:21 – Deity employing a *rhyton* in the form of a horse (Manassero 2007: 139).



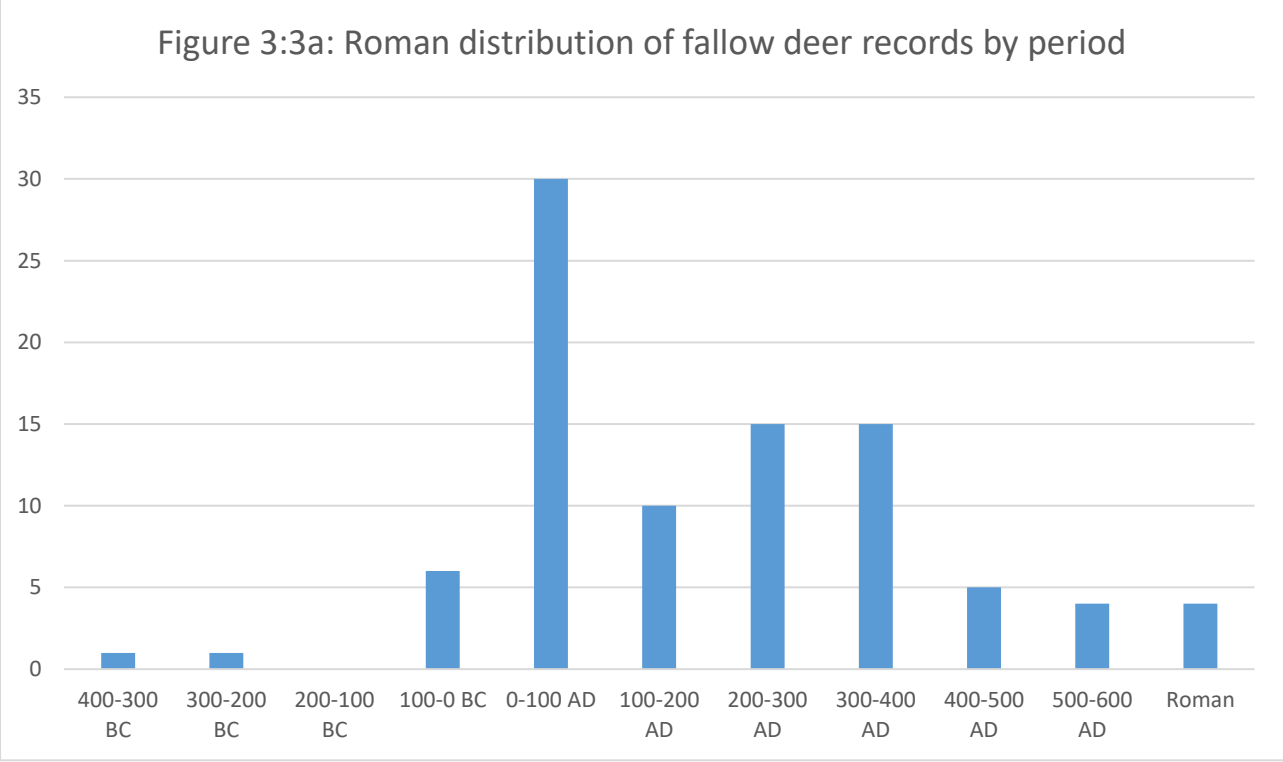
Figure 2.22 – Athenian krater, again with a *rhyton* in horse-form (Stewart 2008: 245).



Figure 3:1 - Apulia rhyton fallow deer, 4th century B.C.E. - Manassero 2007: 126.



Figure 3:2 - Zooarchaeological representation of European fallow deer 200 B.C.E.-600 C.E. (Miller and Ward 2016: fig.6).



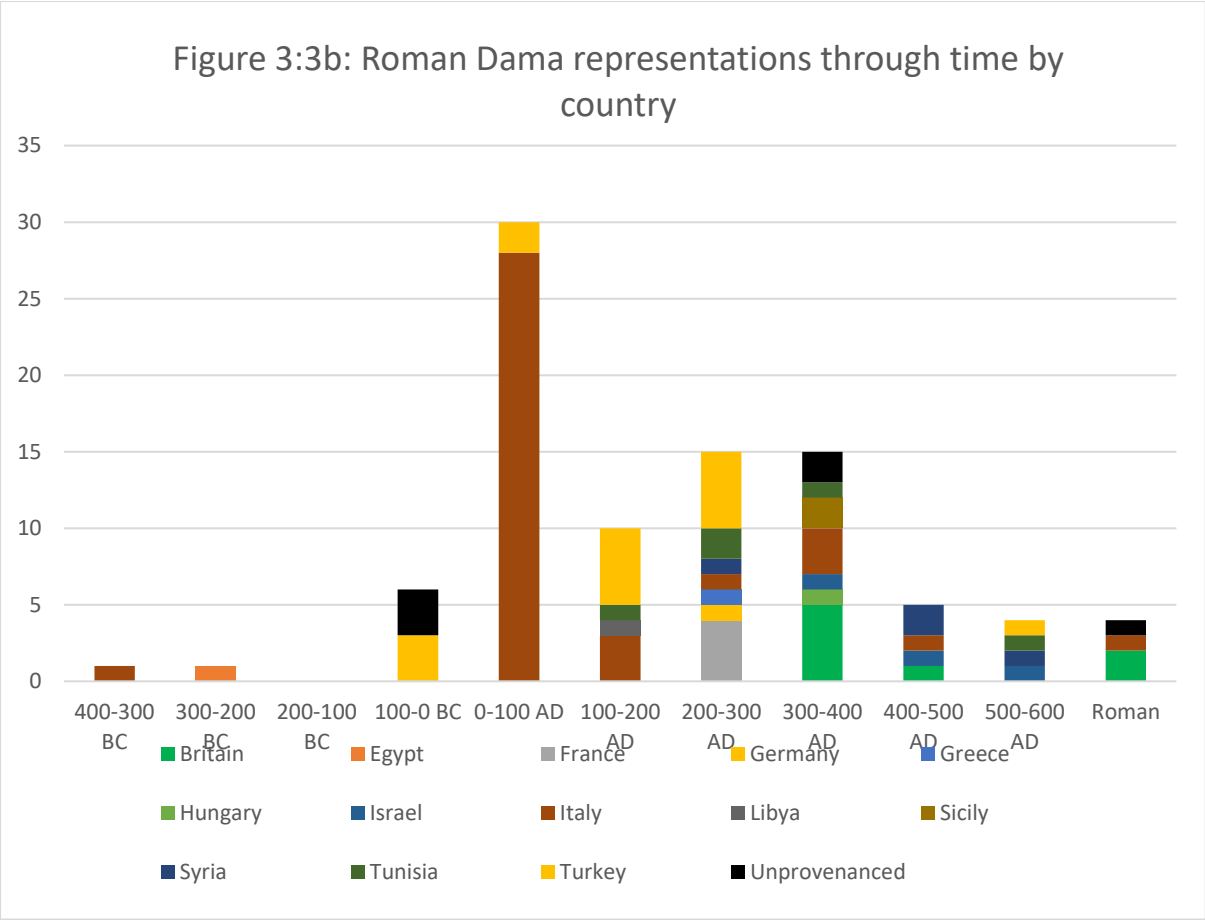




Figure 3:4 - Augustus & Livia, buck on back - penile brush 27 B.C.E- 14. C.E. (F21)



Figure 3:5 - An Etruscan Stanmos – Artumes in biga with bucks – 350-325 B.C.E. (F26)



Figure 3:6 - Mosaic from Alexandria, Egypt showing dappled buck and erotes (F02)

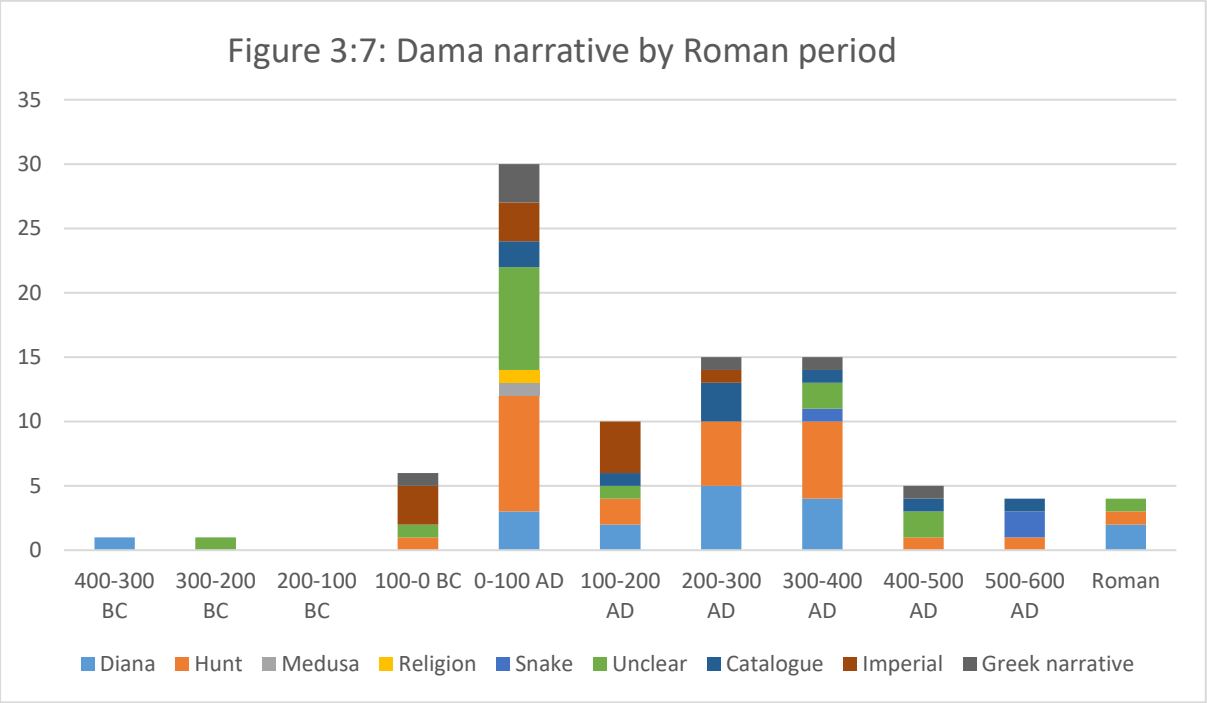




Figure 3:8 - F91 – Zliten mosaic, Libya – 100-200 CE – Fallow deer in gladiatorial combat.



Figure 3:9 - F37 – Lake Balaton, Hungary – 300-400 CE – Sevso - Hunting plate - Two fallow bucks can be seen chased into netting, followed by the evisceration process below.



Figure 3:10 - F73 – Roman Europe – 50-0 BCE – Naked man eviscerates a hare/buck.



Figure 3:11 - Lamp showing a deer being disembowelled by older man, 200-250 C.E. (D32).



Figure 3:12 - D28, D29 – House of Stags, Herculaneum, Italy – 0-79 CE – Garden pieces showing hounds attacking a deer.



Figure 3:13 - Mosaic from Henchir el Fawr, Tunisia - Dappled buck with Achilles being educated in the hunt 550-650 C.E. (F29).



Figure 3:14 - F54 – Pompeii, Italy – 0-79 CE – Buck stares away.



Figure 3:15 - F30 – Basilica of Herculaneum, Italy – 0-79 CE – Telephus and a dappled doe, Hercules stares into the distance.

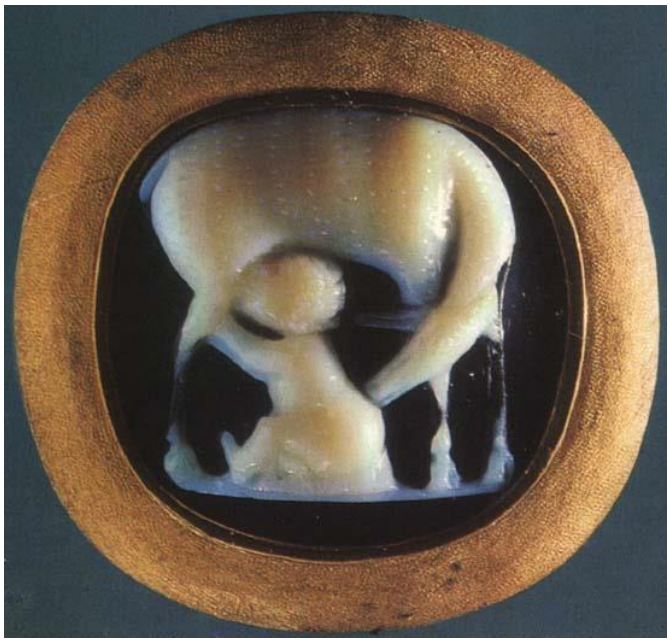


Figure 3:16 - Cameo depicting a speckled doe with Telephus suckling, 100-0 B.C.E (F76).

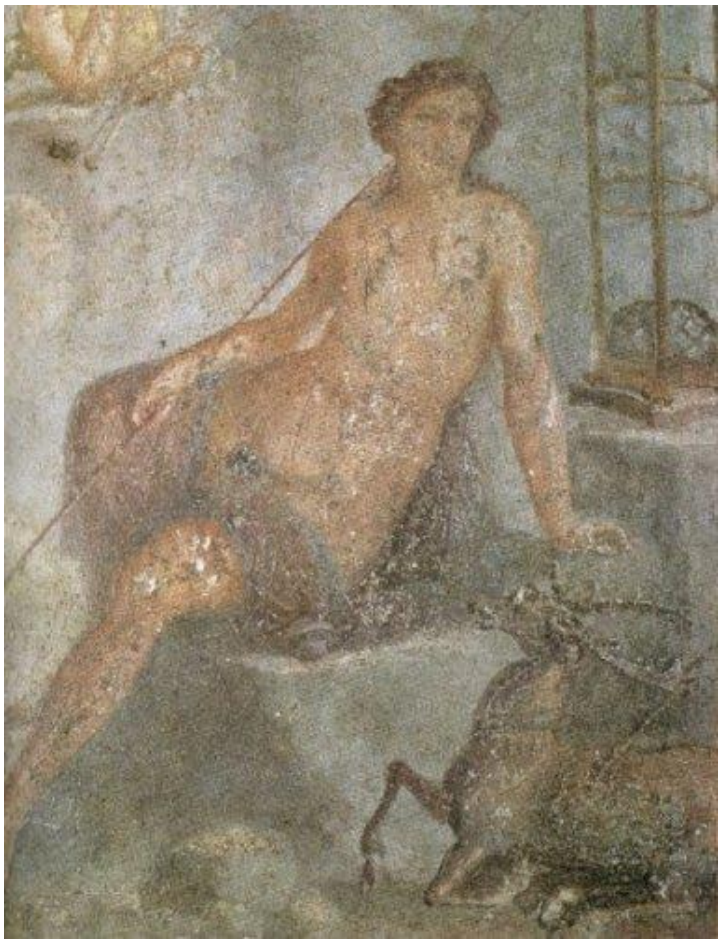


Figure 3:17 - F49 – House of the Vettii, Pompeii, Italy – 0-79 CE – Cyparissus alongside his fallow buck.



Figure 3:18 - F83 – Shahba, Syria – 250 CE – Artemis bathing witnessed by Actaeon.



Figure 3:19 - F52 – Herculaneum, Italy – 0-79 CE – Iphigenia spirited away by Diana-Artemis.



Figure 3:20 - F79 – Rome – 300-400 CE - Hercules and the Ceryneian hind on gold-glass.



Figure 3:21 - F13 – Ephesus, Greece – 138-161 CE – Antoninus Pius opposite a fallow deer buck.



Figure 3:22 - F11 – Ephesus, Greece – 169 CE – Fallow chariot - Monument to Emperor Lucius Verus and the End of the Parthian War, where Artemis can be seen in a chariot, accompanied by Hesperos, Nyx and Thalassa.

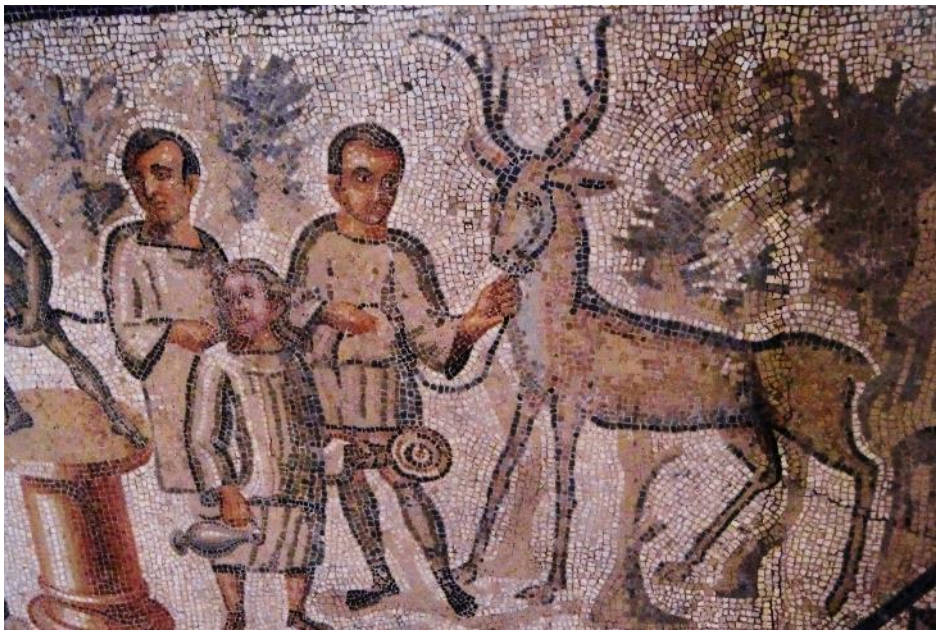


Figure. 3:23 - D38 – Lillebonne, France – 250-350 CE – Tamed deer used to aid a sacrifice to Diana.



Figure 3:24 - D30 – Hinton, Dorset, UK – 350 CE – Deer flees a hound – the ‘brush’ suggests fallow deer, but antlers are not palmate.



Figure 3:25 - F78 – Ipogeo di via Livenza, Rome – 350-400 CE – Artemis-Diana with a buck and doe.



Figure 3:26 - F46 – Mildenhall, UK – 300-400 CE – Doe approaches a snake.



Figure 3:27 - F28 – Great Byzantine Palace, Istanbul – 500-600 CE - Fallow deer seen eating a snake beneath a Cypress Tree.



Figure 3:28 - F42 – Villa de Pesquero, Mérida, Italy – 300-400 CE – Orphic catalogue of wild animals.



Figure 3:29 - Brooch from Britain depicting some form of deer, 100-200 C.E. (D8).



Figure 3:30 - Mosaic from Galla Placidia, Ravenna depicting dappled deer approaching water, 400-500 C.E. (F70).

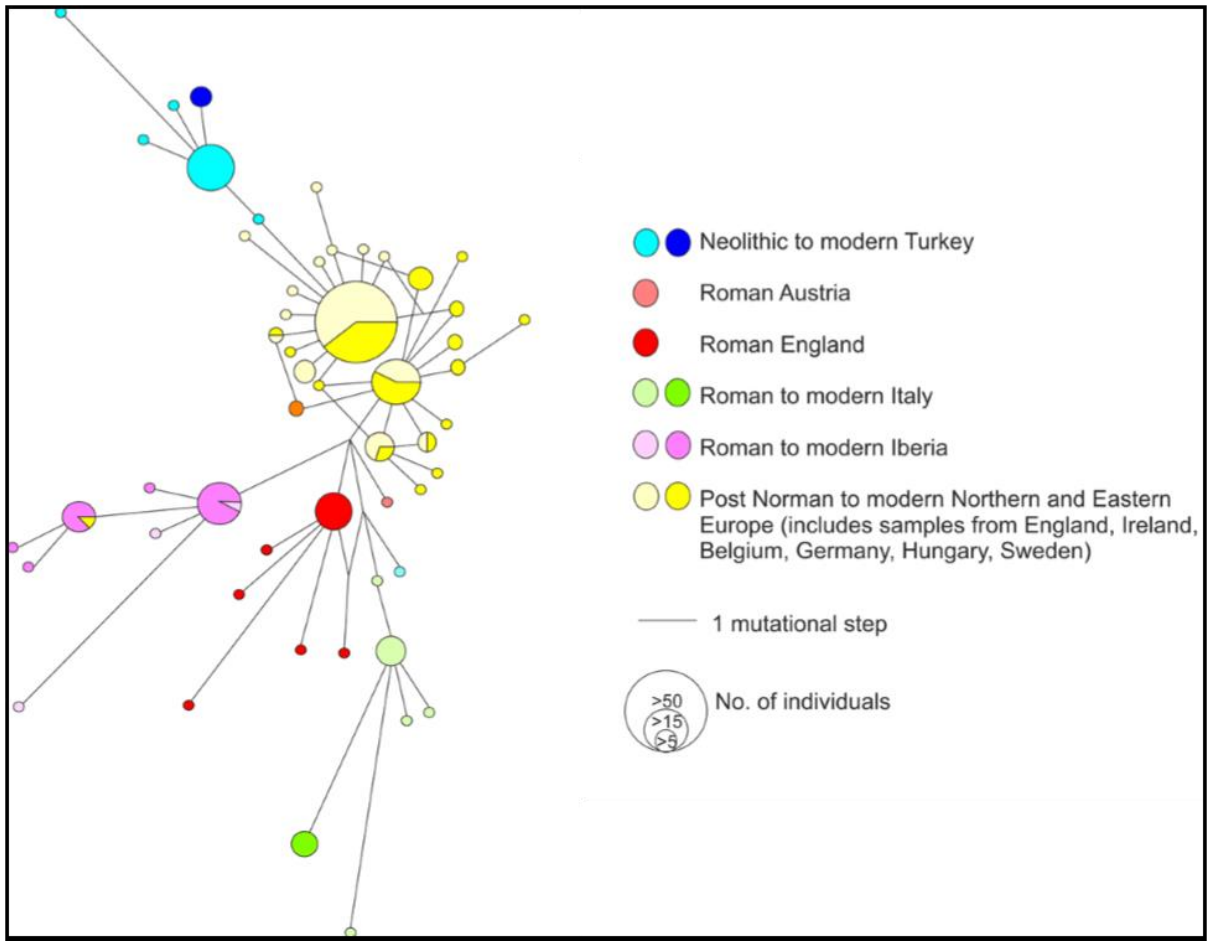


Figure 3:31 - Historic genetic evidence of fallow deer (Baker pers comms. 2016).

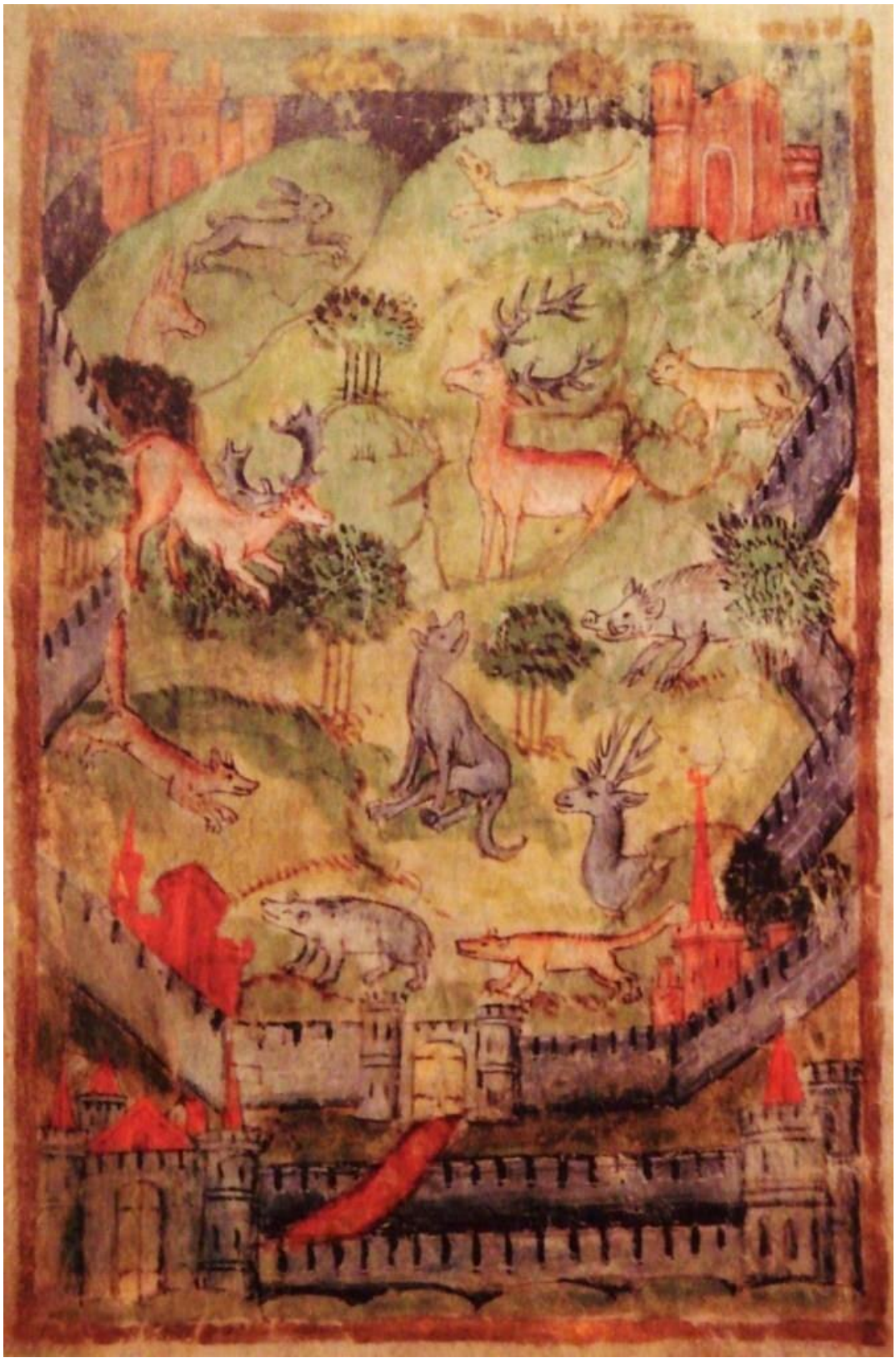


Figure 4:1 – A medieval Emparkment including a wide collection of beasts – from Master of Game in (Pluskowski 2007a: 72).



Figure 4:2 - Bayeux Tapestry - a stag being shown brought down by dogs (Musset 2005: 98).

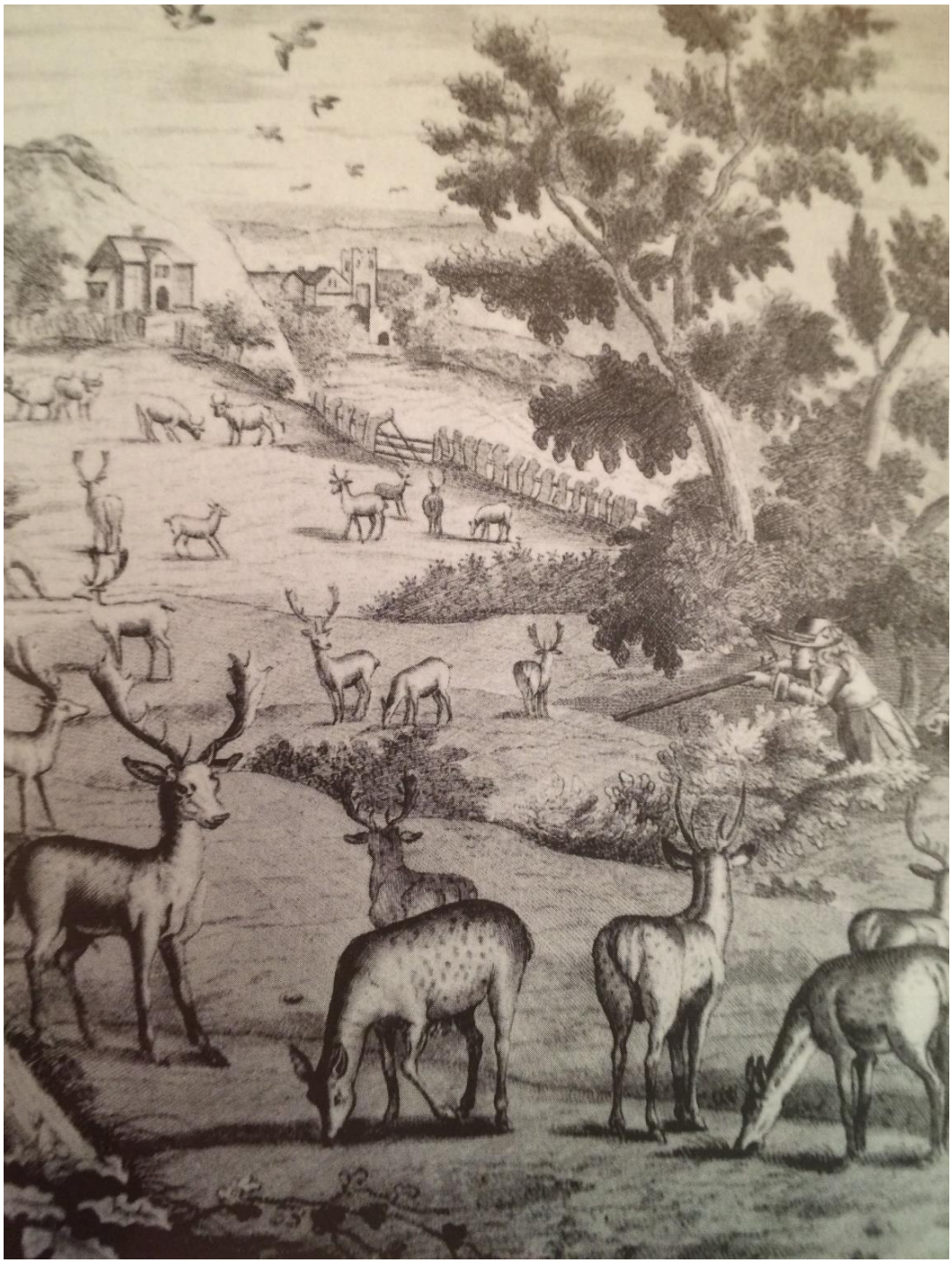


Figure 4:3 – Engraving of a deer-manager wounding a fallow Buck in the 17th century (in Fletcher 2011: 181).



Figure 5:1a – Ladies on foot “hart-hunt” (c. 1338) – Romance of Alexander fol.77r – (Almond 2009: f14).



Figure 5:1b – Mounted lady hunting a hart with hounds (c. 1338) – Romance of Alexander fol.112v – (Almond 2009: f15).



Figure 5:2 - c. 1575. Elizabeth I slitting the throat of a deer, from the *Book of Hunting* (Turbervile [1576] 1908: 133).



Figure 5:3 - The Vision of St. Eustace – Pisanello – 14th century – Bridgeman Art Library.



Figure 5:4 – Hounds pursue a buck by a man on foot - Le Livre du Roy Modus – c.1354 (Taylor-Page 1962: 7).



Figure 5:5 - 1896 copy of Queen Elizabeth I as Diana by Cornelius Vroom - c.1600.



Figure 5:6 - Elizabeth as Diana is seated as judge above Pope Gregory XIII (Almond 2009: 90, 172).



Figure 5:7 - 17th century. Elizabeth Charlotte Palatine Duchesse d'Orleans (later Princess Palatine Elizabeth Charlotte) personifying Artemis-Diana within a deer park; a buck is pursued in the background.



Figure 5:8 - c. 1430-1450 - Devonshire Tapestries – showing the deer unmaking ritual.



Figure 5:9 - Cookmaid with Still Life of Game - Nathaniel Bacon c.1620-1625.



Figure 5:10 - c. 1603 Prince Henry Stuart accompanied by John Harington - Robert Peake the Elder (Baetjer 2011: 13).



Figure 5:11 - c. 1606 Prince Henry Stuart accompanied by Robert Devereux - Robert Peake the Elder (Baetjer 2011: 13).



Figure 5:12 - c. 1603-1606 – Princess Elizabeth Stuart – in the background her brother Prince Henry Stuart hunts the buck of Figure 5:10-5:11 - by Robert Peake the Elder (Baetjer 2011: 14).



Figure 6:1 – Warenne the 8th Earl of Surrey– 13th century (Heslop 1987: 117).



Figure 6:2 – “Hunting on a stage” - coursing at Arajuez with Charles V – 16th century - by Juan Bautista del Mazo (Fletcher 2011: 115).

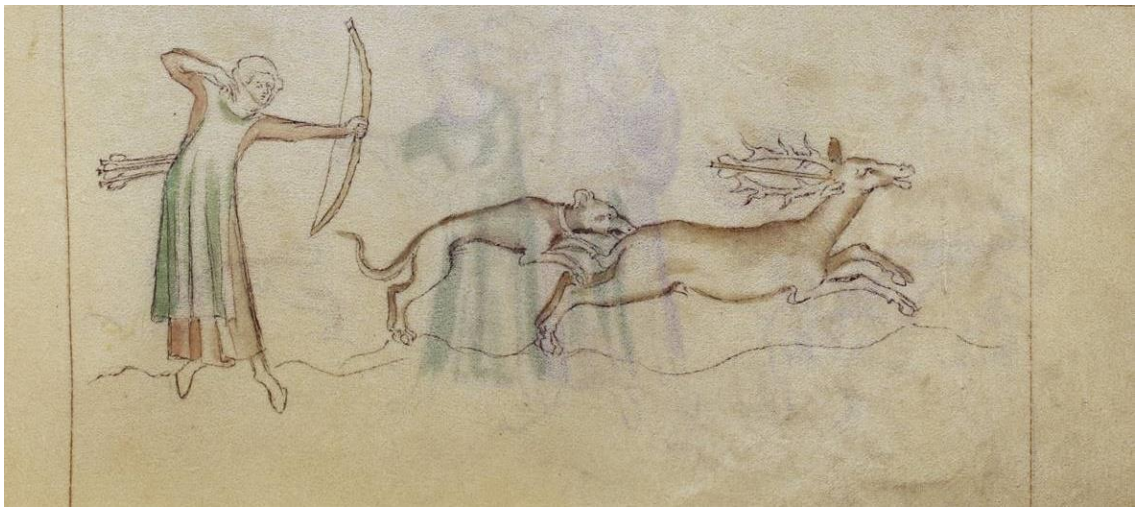


Figure 6:3 – 1553 - Queen Mary’s Psalter (f. 153).



Figure 6:4 - Prince Edward VI engraving showing palmated monochrome deer in the background of Windsor park (Otnes and Maclaran 2015: 172).



Figure 6:5 – Charlecote Park – 17th-18th century painting (Willes 1996: 4) - anon

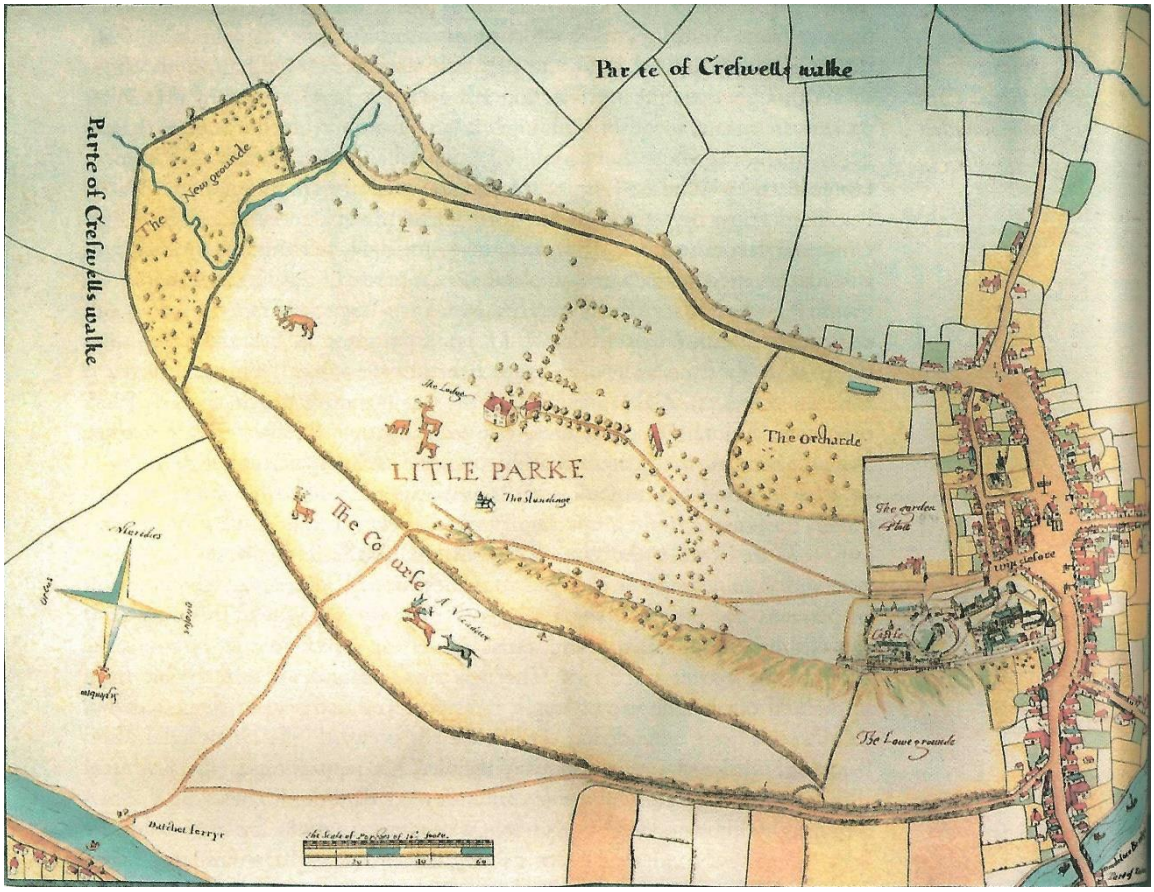


Figure 6:6 – Windsor Little Park – 1607 – John Norden (Richardson 2007: 40).

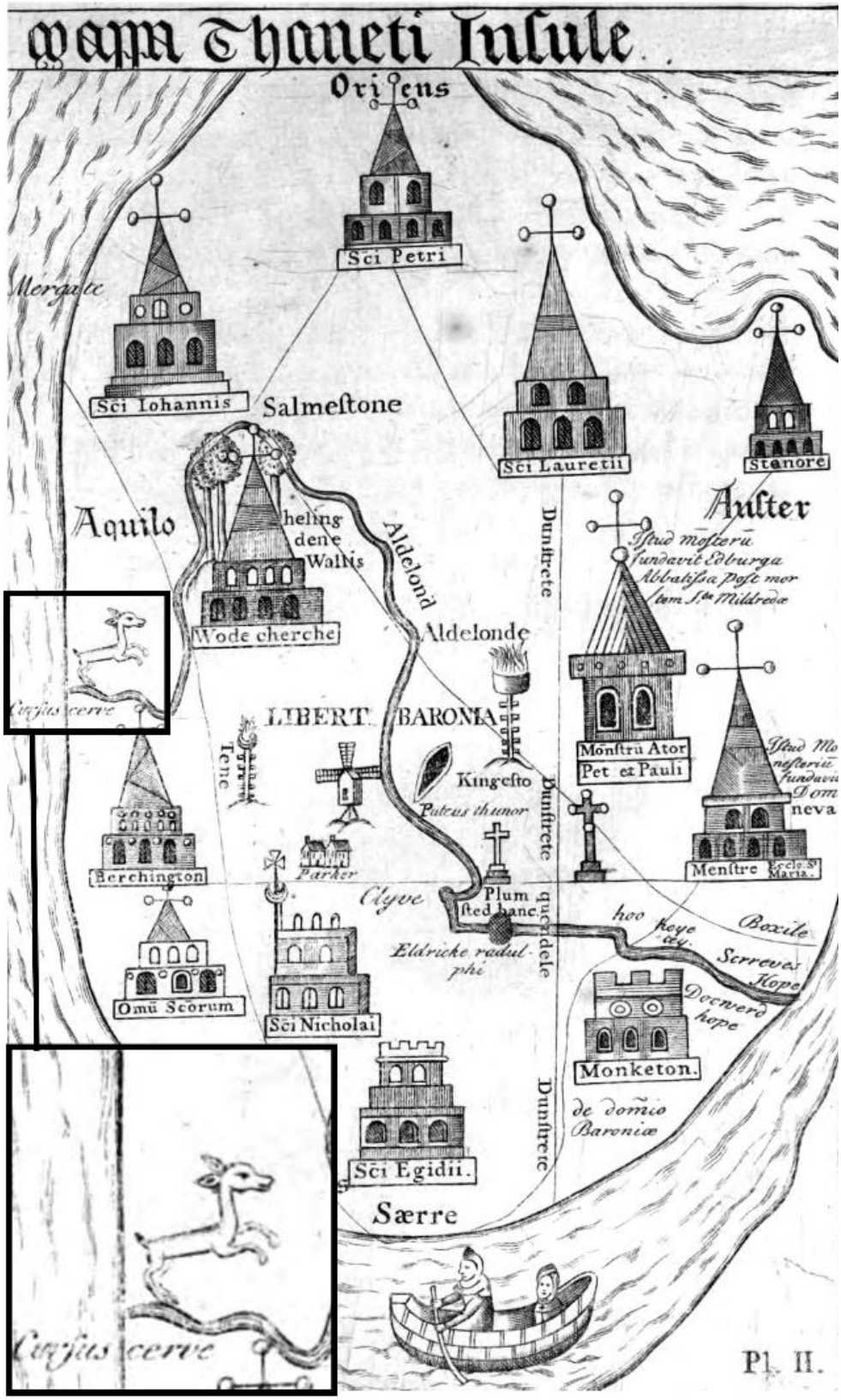


Figure 6:7 – Isle of Thanet (Hiatt 2000). Inset: *Cursus cerv[a]e* - 'the course of the doe'.



Figure 6:8 – Turner (1775-1851), painting of Petworth (Schulz 1985: 201).



Figure 6:9 – Combermere Abbey – c.1730.



Figure 6:10 – Colonel Smith grasping the hind legs of a “stag” (Ellis and Roe 2008: 60).

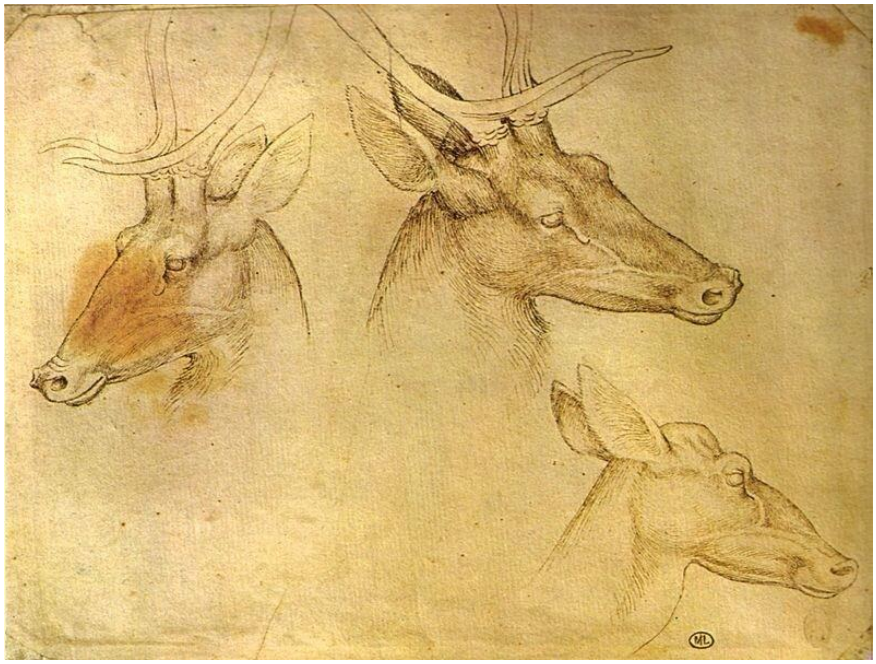


Figure 6:11 – Pisanello c.1440 - Draft of the fallow deer (Fletcher 2011: 124).



Figure 6:12 – Pisanello c.1440 – Vision of St. Eustace (Fletcher 2011: 124).



Figure 6:13a – Belton House's knuckle-bone floor.



Figure 6:13b – Area patched with fallow deer foot-bones.

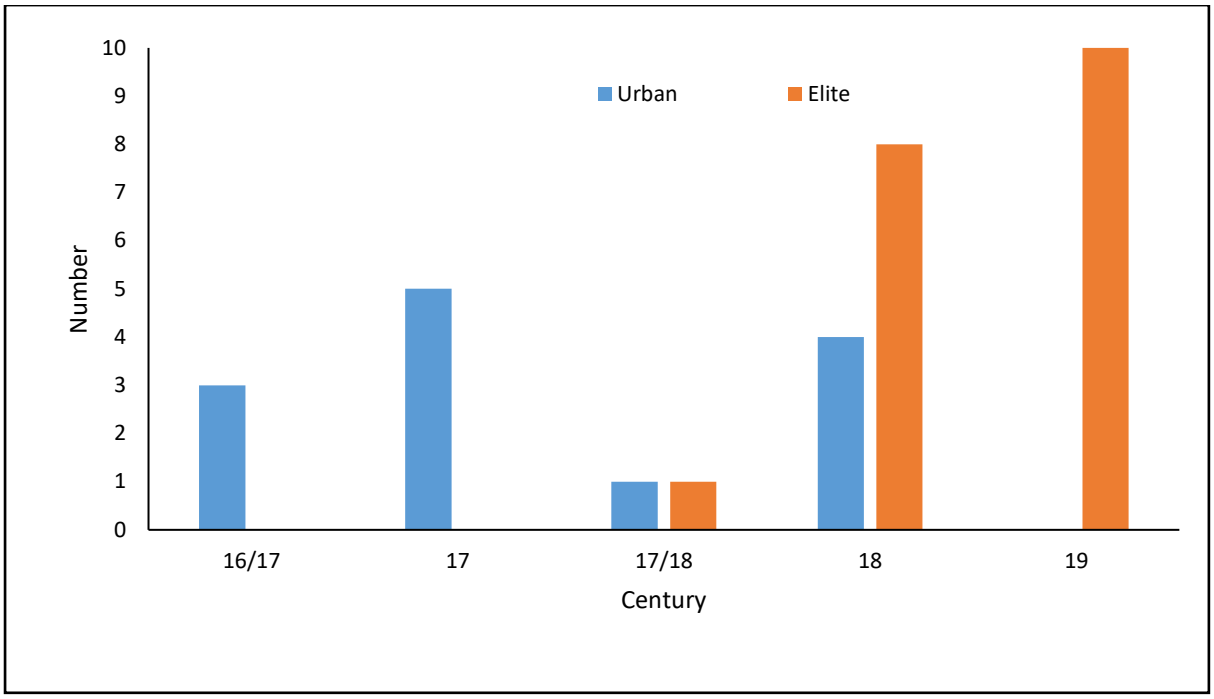


Figure 6:14: Temporal distribution of knuckle-bone floors by site-type (urban and elite)

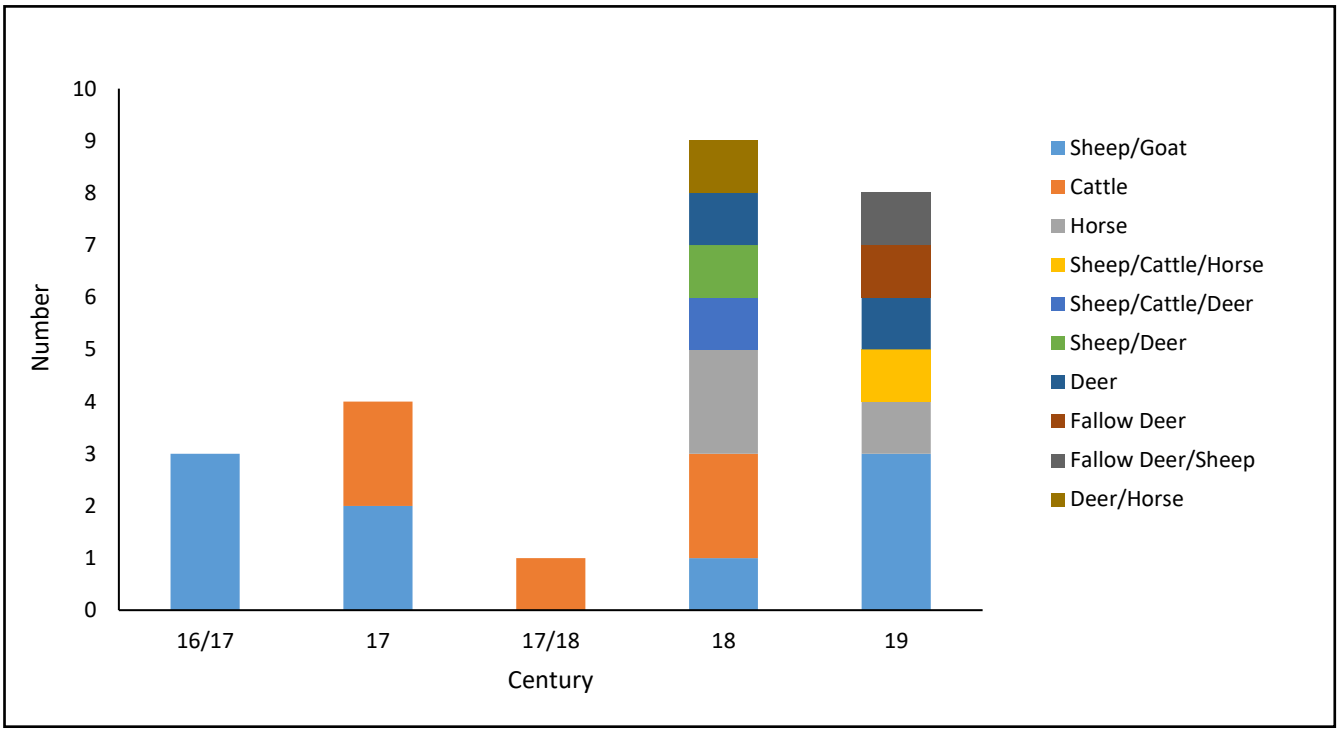


Figure 6:15: Temporal distribution of knuckle-bone floors by taxa composition

-

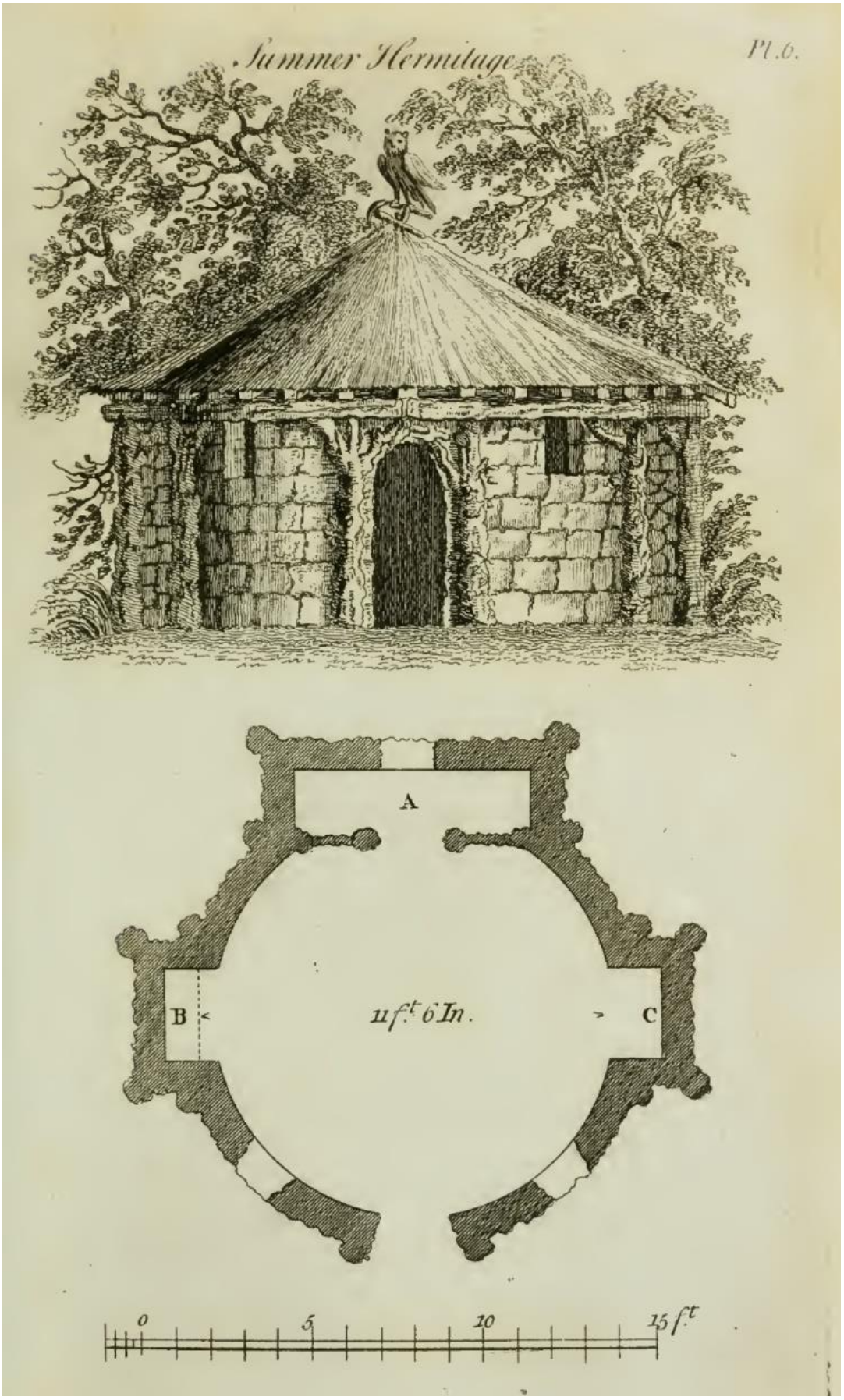
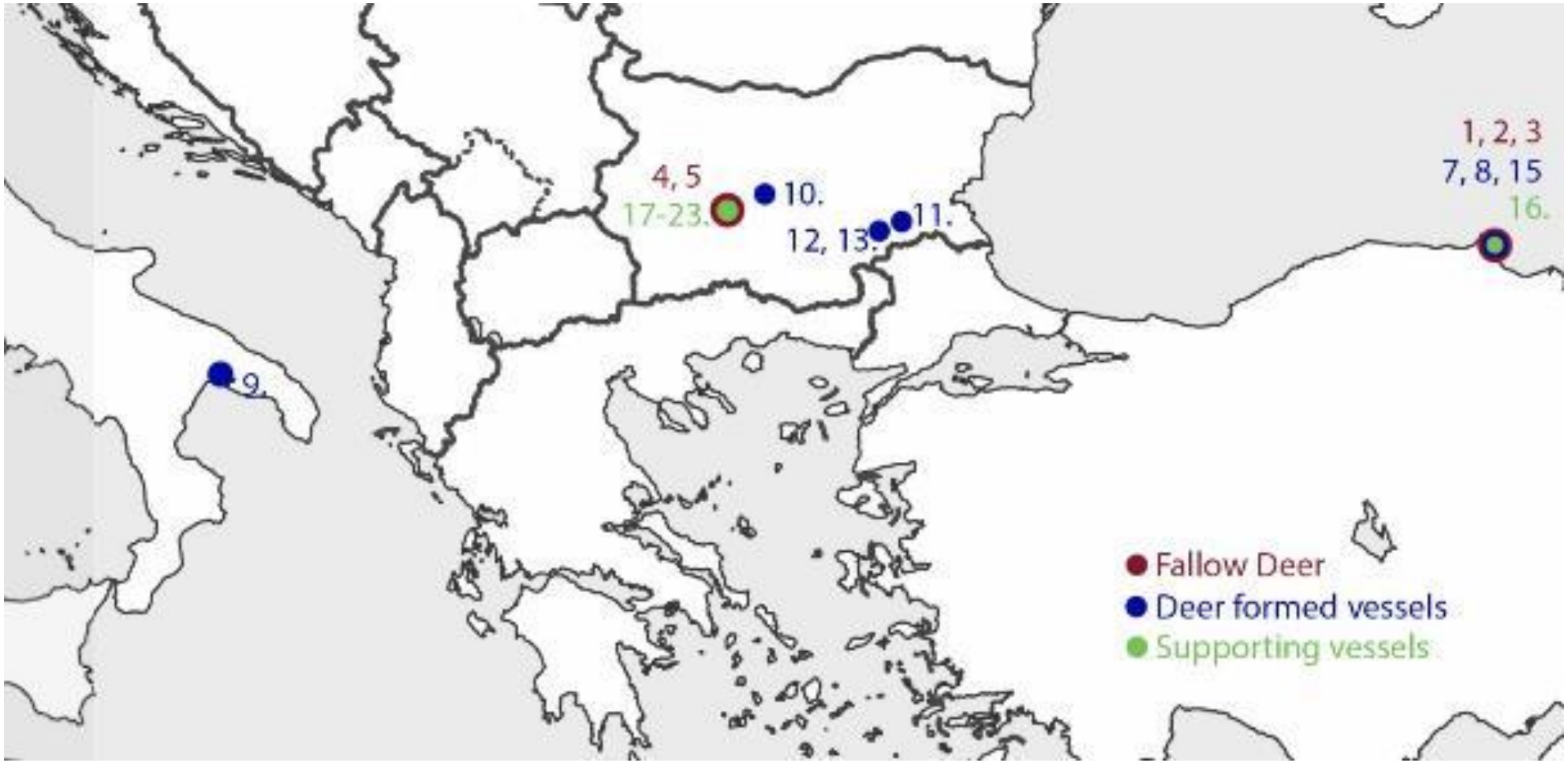


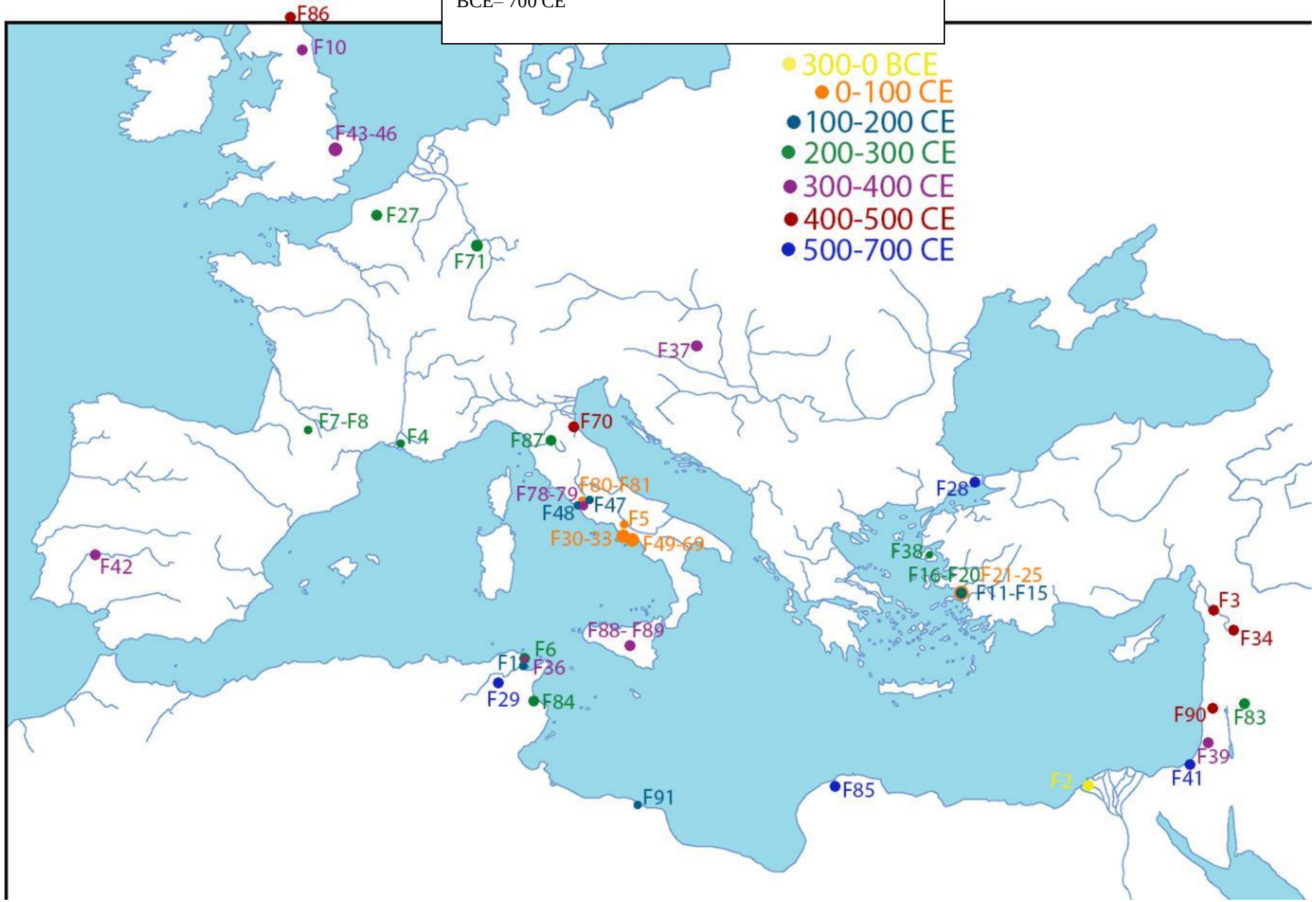
Figure 6:16 – An architectural design of a Summer Hermitage (Wrighte 1767: 34).

Maps



Map 2:1 – Map of provenances of Black Sea rhyta depicting fallow deer.

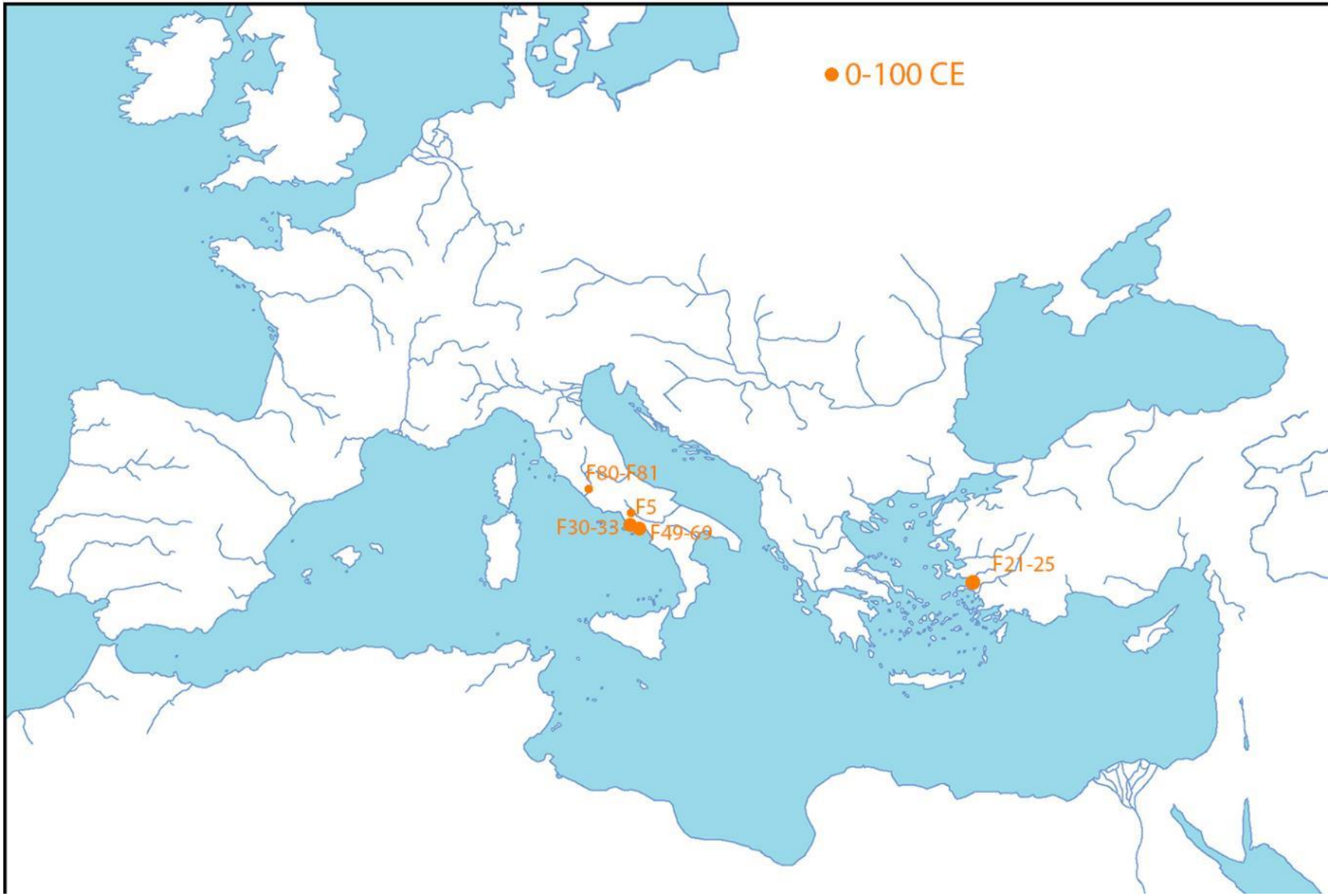
Map 3:1 – Depictions of fallow deer of Roman origin 300 BCE– 700 CE



Map 3:2 – Depictions of fallow deer of Roman origin
300 – 0 BCE



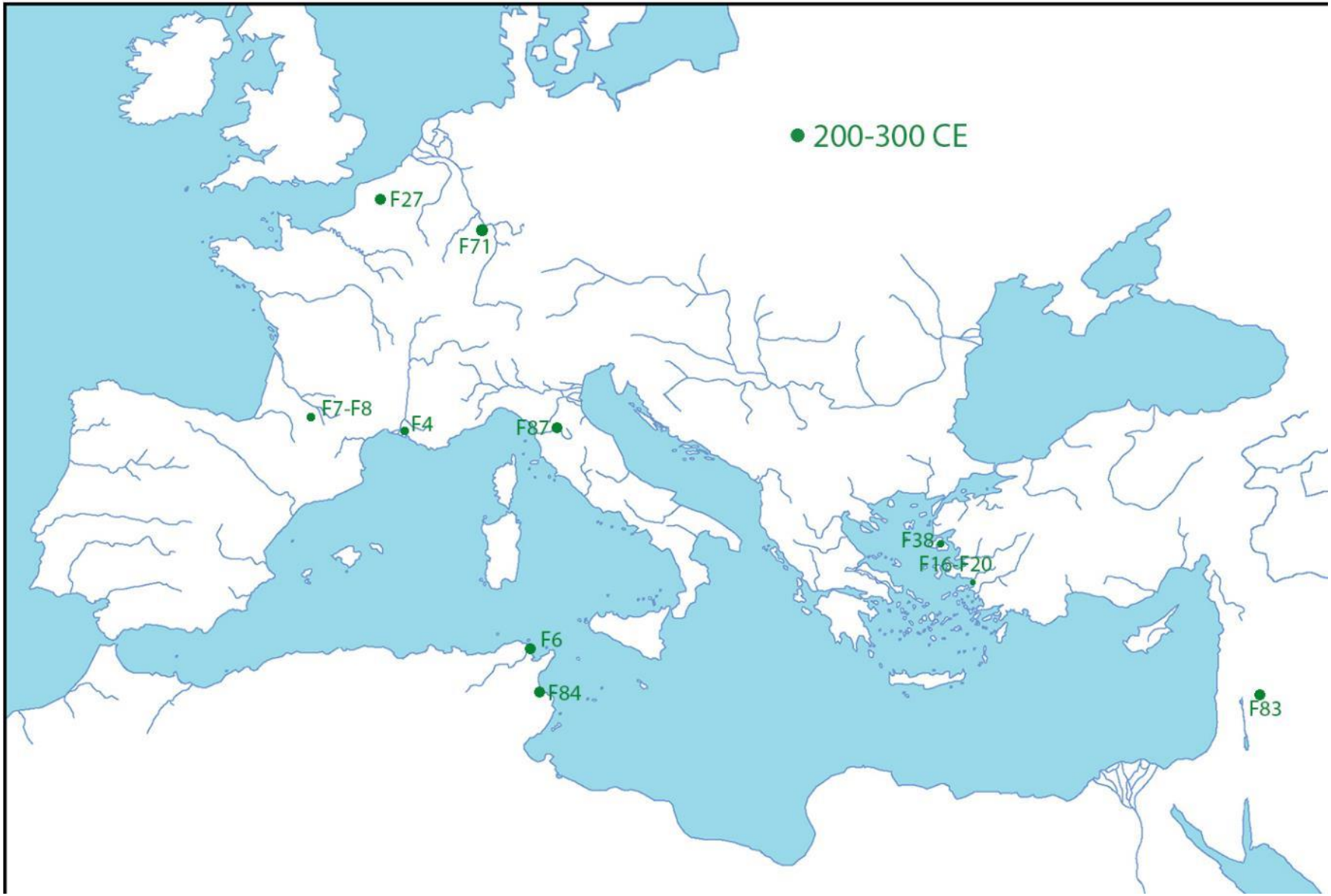
Map 3:3 – Depictions of fallow deer of Roman origin
0 – 100 CE



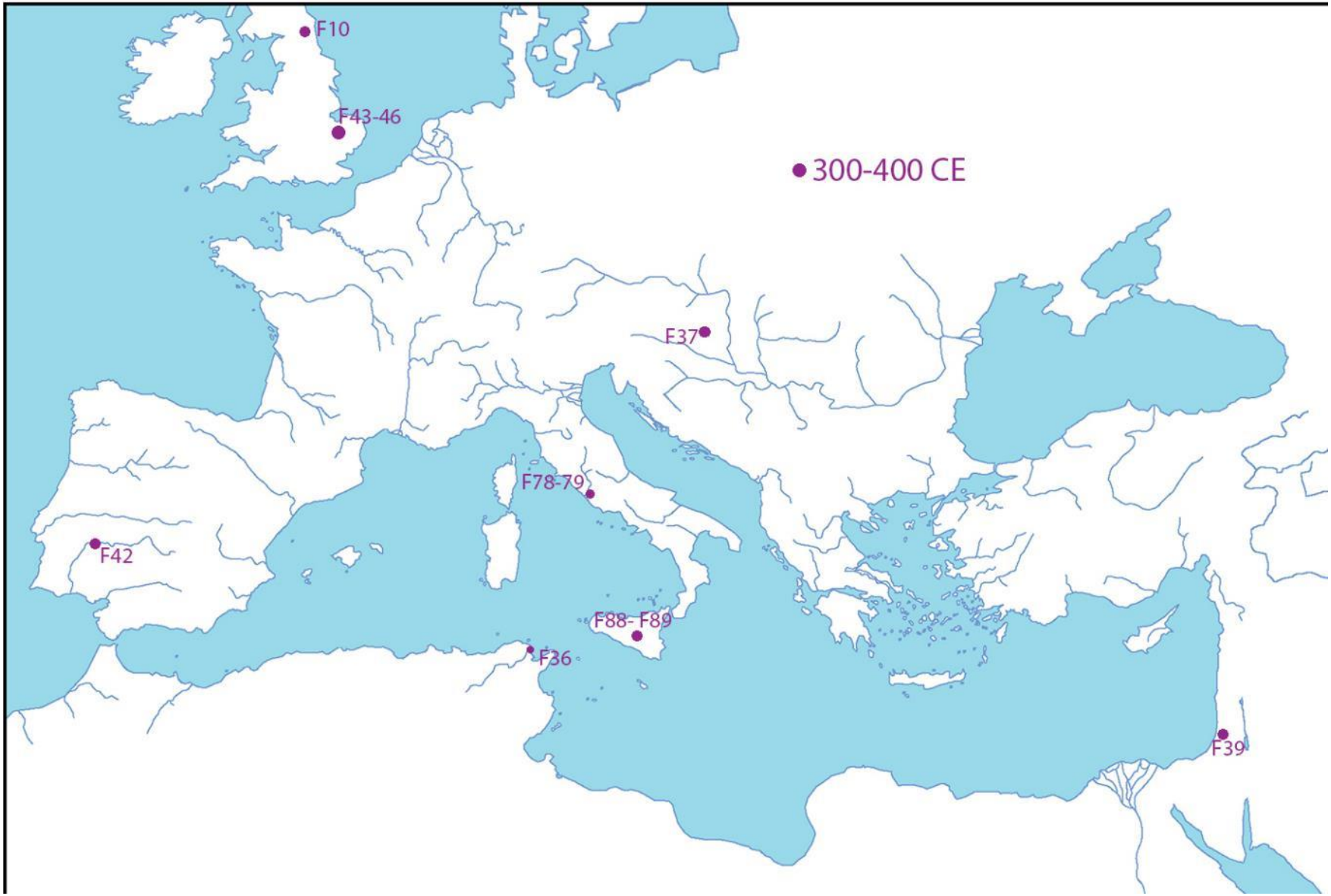
Map 3:4 – Depictions of fallow deer of Roman origin
100 – 200 CE



Map 3:5 – Depictions of fallow deer of Roman origin
200 – 300 CE



Map 3:6 – Depictions of fallow deer of Roman origin
300 – 400 CE

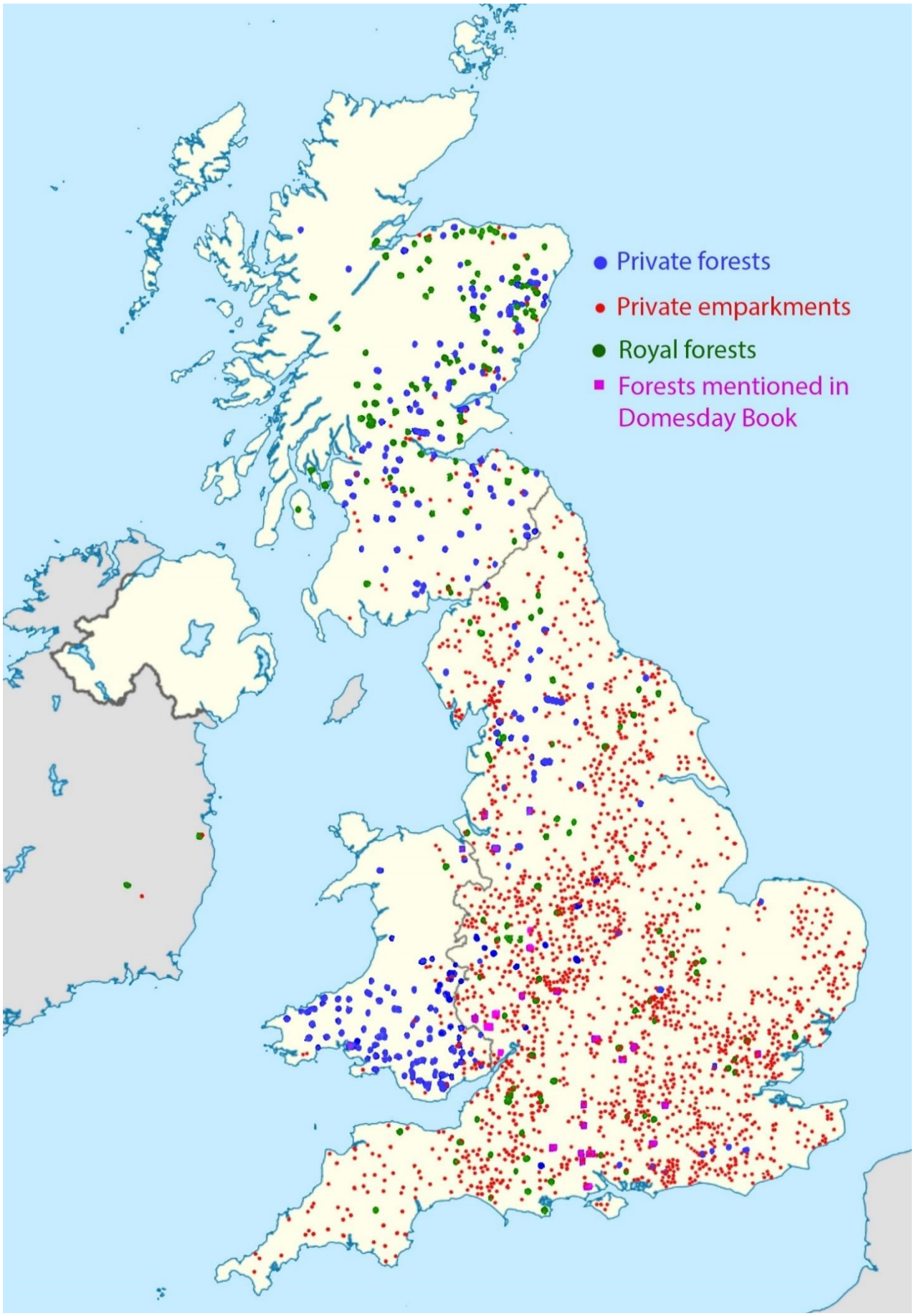


Map 3:7 – Depictions of fallow deer 400 – 500 CE

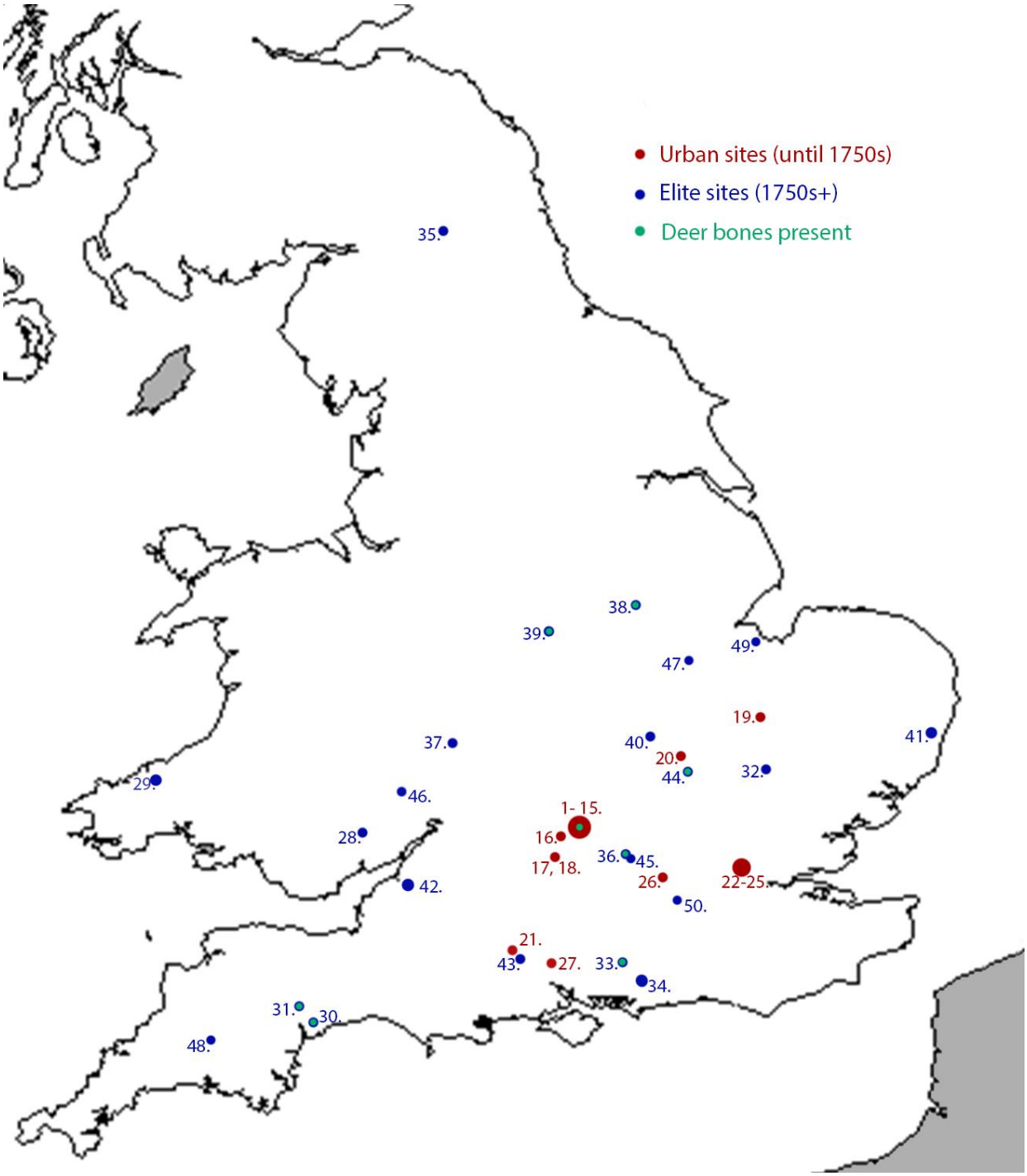


Map 3:8 – Depictions of fallow deer 500 – 700 CE





Map 4.1: Deer parks and forests that existed throughout the medieval period – compiled from Cox 1905; Rees 1933; Whitehead 1950; Whitehead 1964; Anderson 1967; Cantor and Hatherly 1979; Gilbert 1979; Rackham 1980; Linnard 1982; Rackham 1986: 124, 132; Mileson 2009: 124-133.



Map 6:1– Locations of knuckle-bone floors in the UK (see table 1 for details)

Tables

Table 2:1 – Fallow Deer depictions in Black Sea rhyta.

Fallow deer formed vessels

Map	Type	Species	Age	Location	Associations	Material	Gender	Anatomy	Collection	References
1	Rhyton	Fallow	before 400 B.C.E.	Sinope/Black Sea (allegedly)	Greek influence	Partially gilt Silver	Male	Head	George Ortiz	Manassero 2007:124
2	Rhyton	Fallow	500-400 B.C.E.	Sinope/Black Sea (allegedly)	Greek, Near East influence?	Partially gilt Silver	?	Forepart Emerging	?	Manassero 2007:126
3	Rhyton	Fallow	500-400 B.C.E.	Sinope/Black Sea (allegedly)	Achaemenid?	Gold foil inlay	Male	Forepart Emerging	Miho Museum	Inagaki and Green 2002 no.117; Manassero 2007:126
4	Rhyton	Fallow	300 B.C.E.?	Panagyurishte	Persian body/Greek Friezes	Gold	Male	Head	Panagyurishte	Vendikov 1976:75[363]; Manassero 2007:118
5	Rhyton	Fallow	300 B.C.E.?	Panagyurishte	Persian body/Greek Friezes	Gold	Male	Head	Panagyurishte	Vendikov 1976:75[364]; Manassero 2007:120

6	Rhyton	Fallow	350 B.C.E.	?	?	Silver	Male	Forepart Emerging	Bojkov	Marazov 2011: 174 fig XVII

Deer formed vessels

Map	Type	Species	Age	Location	Associations	Material	Gender	Anatomy	Collection	References
7	Rhyton	Deer	400 B.C.E.	Black Sea (allegedly)	Greek.	Gilt silver	Female	Head	Miho Museum	
8	Rhyton	Deer	ca after 400 B.C.E.	Sinope/Black Sea (allegedly)	Greek influence	Partially gilt Silver	Male	Head	George Ortiz	Manassero 2007:123
9	Rhyton	Deer	420 B.C.E.	Tarentum, Trieste	Thrace and Athens.	Gilt silver?	Female	Head	Triest Museum	Manassero 2007:126
10	Rhyton	Deer	400 B.C.E.	Rozovet, Karkova	?	Silver	Female	Head	Rozovec	Venedikov 1976:67-68; Marazov 1998: 140-141
11	Rhyton	Deer	ca 350 B.C.E.	Golyamata Mogila,Yambol Region	?	Gilt silver	Female	Head	Golyamata Mogila	Filow 1934
12	Rhyton	Deer	400-300 B.C.E.	Zlatinitsa	Funerary goods	Silver and Gold	Female	Head	Zlatinitsa	Stoyanov (2010) 415-416
13	Rhyton	Deer	400-300 B.C.E.	Zlatinitsa	Funerary goods	Silver and Gold	Female	Head	Zlatinitsa	Stoyanov (2010) 415-416

14	Rhyton	Meso.	50 B.C.E. - 50 C.E.	Eastern Mediterranean	Parthian (Greek)	Gilt silver, garnet, glass.	Male	Forepart Emerging	J. Paul Getty Museum	Laptin and Wight 2010:97
15	Rhyton	Deer?	?	Sinope/Black Sea (allegedly)	?	?	?	?	Private…	Manassero 2007:123

Supporting vessels

Map	Type	Species	Age	Location	Associations	Material	Gender	Anatomy	Collection	References
16	Janiform	N/A	500-400 B.C.E.	Sinope/Black Sea (allegedly)	Greek, Achaemenian and Egyptian.	Partially gilt Silver	M & F	Heads	George Ortiz	Manassero 2007:125
17	Amphora-rhyton	N/A	300 B.C.E. ?	Panagyurishte	Persian body/Greek Friezes	Gold			Panagyurishte	Vendikov 1976:73[360]; Manassero 2007:116
18	Phiale mesomphalos	N/A	300 B.C.E. ?	Panagyurishte	Persian body/Greek Friezes	Gold			Panagyurishte	Vendikov 1976:75[361]; Manassero 2007:117
19	Rhyton	Ram	300 B.C.E. ?	Panagyurishte	Persian body/Greek Friezes	Gold	Male	Head	Panagyurishte	Vendikov 1976:75[365]; Manassero 2007:120
20	Rhyton	Goat	300 B.C.E. ?	Panagyurishte	Persian body/Greek Friezes	Gold	Male	Forepart Emerging	Panagyurishte	Vendikov 1976:75[362]; Manassero 2007:121
21	Oinochoai	Human	300 B.C.E. ?	Panagyurishte	Greek gods/Amazons	Gold?	Female	Head	Panagyurishte	Vendikov 1976:77[367-368]; Manassero 2007:121

22	Oinochoai	Human	300 B.C.E. ?	Panagyurishte	Greek gods/Amazons	Gold?	Female	Head	Panagyurishte	Vendikov 1976:77[367-368]; Manassero 2007:121
23	Oinochoai	Human	300 B.C.E. ?	Panagyurishte	Greek gods/Amazons	Gold?	F/M?	Head	Panagyurishte	Vendikov 1976:76[366]; Manassero 2007:121

Table 3:1: Depictions of Fallow Deer from Roman Europe, and related material

Clear depictions of European fallow deer

ID	Location	Type	Date	Association	Deer	Reference
F1	House of Asinius Rufininus, Acholla, Tunisia	Mosaic	184 CE	Buck in centre of oval	Buck	Lavin 1963: 210 -fig. 25
F2 [Figure 3:6]	Alexandria, Egypt	Mosaic	300-200 BCE	Dappled buck and erotes - similar to Pella	Buck	Ling 1998: 1; Dunbabin 1999: 24
F3	House of the Stag, Apamea, Syria	Mosaic	450-550 CE	Stag? as central piece - penile brush	Buck	Donnay-Rocmans & Donnay 1984
F4	Arles, France	Sarcophagus	200-300 CE	Hunt - dogs and men grab	Bucks	Walker 2006: 316
F5	Capua Amphitheatre, Italy	Sculpture	0-79 CE	Deer with bear - palmated antlers?	Buck	Appleton 1987: 340, fig. 10
F6	Carthage, Tunisia	Mosaic	250-300 CE	Buck - penile brush - Animal catalogue	Buck	Lavin 1963: fig. 82
F7	Caubiac, France	Silver Dish	200-300 CE	Caubiac Treasure	Buck	Walters 1921: 35
F8	Caubiac, France	Silver dish	200-300 CE	Caubiac Treasure	Buck	Walters 1921: 37
F9	Chester, UK	Gravestone	43-410 CE	Buck pursued	Buck?	Wright 1955: 52 [plate 142]

F10	Corbridge, UK	Lanx	300-400 CE	Apollo + Artemis/Diana (with hound) + Athena	Buck?	Henig 1995: 144 [plate 86]
F11	Ephesus, Greece	Statue	169 CE+	Fallow chariot - Monument to Emperor Lucius Verus and the End of the Parthian War. Artemis-Silene in a Chariot, accompanied by Hesperos, Nyx and Thalassa	Buck	Price 1984: 158-159
F12	Ephesus, Greece	Coin	98-117 CE	Trajan - Fallow Buck on reverse	Buck	Mathiesen 1986: 385
F13	Ephesus, Greece	Coin	138-161 CE	Antoninus Pius - Buck on reverse	Buck	Karwiese 1995: 240
F14	Ephesus, Greece	Coin	161-180 CE	Marcus Aurelius - deer on reverse	Buck	Mathiesen 1986: 401
F15	Ephesus, Greece	Coin	117-138 CE	Hadrian - Artemis seizes buck/stag	Buck	Klose 1995: 129
F16	Ephesus, Greece	Coin	253-268 CE	Gallienus - Artemis kneeling on Buck	Buck	Konuk 2002: 5; Head 1892: 370
F17	Ephesus, Greece	Coin	241-244 CE	Tranquillina - Artemis riding a Buck	Buck	Spoerri 2006: 395
F18	Ephesus, Greece	Coin	238-244 CE	Gordian III - Artemis kneeling on buck	Buck	Mionnet 1833: 683
F19	Ephesus, Greece	Coin	235-238 CE	Maximinus I Thrax - Buck on back	Buck	Konuk 2002: 168; Neustadt et al. 2000: 611
F20	Ephesus, Greece	Coin	198-209 CE	Geta - Artemis on chariot drawn by bucks	Bucks	Klose 1995: 169-170
F21	Ephesus, Greece	Coin	27 BCE-14 CE	Augustus & Livia, buck on back - penile brush	Buck	Burnett et al. 1992: 2585
F22	Ionia, Ephesus, Greece	Coin	28 BCE-14 CE	Augustus & Livia - buck/stag + quiver	Stag/buck	Burnett et al. 1992: 2605.2; von Aulock and Kleiner 1957: 1876
F23	Ionia, Ephesus, Greece	Coin	27 BCE-14 CE	Augustus & Livia - buck/stag + quiver	Stag/buck	Burnett et al. 1992: 2610; Mathiesen 1986: 366

F24	Ionia, Ephesus, Greece	Coin	41 CE - 54 CE	Claudius, Agrippa Jnr - buck/stag	Stag/buck	Burnett et al. 1992: 2624; Mathiesen 1986: 373-4; Head 1892: 205-6
F25	Ionia, Ephesus, Greece	Coin	42 CE - 54 CE	Claudius, Agrippa Jnr - buck/stag	Stag/buck	Burnett et al. 1992: 2624; Mathiesen 1986: 373
F26 [Figure 3:5]	Etruscan	Stanmos	350-325 BCE	Artumes in biga with bucks	Bucks	Del Chiaro (1974: 29-33)
F27	Graincourt-lès Havrincourt, Pas-de-Calais, France	Silver plate	200-300 CE	Outer rim - deer chased in one scene - horde - Leda and swan in centre	Buck	Giroire and Roger 2007: 167
F28 [Figure 3:27]	Great Byzantine Palace, Istanbul	Mosaic	501-600 CE	Deer eats snake - cypress tree - a woman, babe and dog watch on	Buck + snake	Toynbee 1973: 145; Cimok 2005: 17-18 fig. 11
F29 [Figure 3:13]	Henchir el Fawr, Tunisia	Mosaic	550-650 CE	Dappling - Achilles education hunting	Buck?	Dunbabin 1978: 249
F30 [Figure 3:15]	Basilica of Herculaneum	Frieze	0-79 CE	Telephus, Herakles reproduction of Pergamum-150 BCE	Doe	Grant 1971: 155; de Carolis 2001: 64
F31	House of Neptune and Amphitrite, Herculaneum	Mosaic-façade	0-79 CE	Hounds purse a buck - Summer triclinium	Buck	Dunbabin 1999: 244; Smith 1983: 136; Roberts 2013: 151
F32	House of the Deer, Herculaneum	Fresco	0-79 CE	Cupid hunting a dappled deer	Fallow?	Blake 2016: 355
F33	Villa of the Papyri, Herculaneum	Fresco	0-79 CE	Game relaxing deer on bench	Fawns - roe	Moorman 2010: 68

F34	Homs, Syria	Mosaic	450-462 CE	Cock, pheasant, Bull and Deer	Buck?	Elvehjem Art Center 1974: 59
F35	Italy	Silver plate	100-200 CE	Outer rim - does chased speckled?	Does	Giroire and Roger 2007: 167-168
F36	Khéreddine, Carthage	Mosaic	300-400 CE	Apollo and Diana Hunt - dappled buck	Buck	Lavin 1963: 239 - fig. 94; Lozinski 1995: 138
F37	Lake Balaton, Hungary	Silver plate	300-400 CE	Sevso - Hunting plate - Two fallow bucks chased into netting	Bucks	Bennett & Mango 1994: 62
F38	Mytilene, Lesbos, Greece	Mosaic	200-300 CE	Orpheus octagon mosaic	Fallow	Dodwell & Graham 2000: 13
F39	Lod, Israel	Mosaic	300-400 CE	Lion leaping a stag? - penile brush	Buck	Avissar 1996
F40	Bloomberg Place, London	Lamp	43-410 CE	Stag/buck centre of lamp's oval	Stag/Buck?	Pers. comms. Sadie Watson
F41	Ma'on, Nirim, Israel	Mosaic	500-550 CE	Ma'on-Nirim Synagogue vines buck	Buck	Dunbabin 1999: 193
F42 [Figure 3:28]	Villa de Pesquero, Mérida	Mosaic	300-400 CE	Mosaic de el Pesquero - Orpheus - dappled	Buck	Alvarez-Martinez 1994: fig. 8.
F43	Mildenhall, UK	Silver bowl	300-400 CE	Buck and doe flee wolf	Buck and doe	Painter 1977
F44	Mildenhall, UK	Silver bowl	300-400 CE	Doe on the outer edge of bowl	Doe?	Painter 1977
F45	Mildenhall, UK	Silver plate	300-400 CE	Oceanus dish Riding a palmated antlered deer.	Buck	Cleere 1976: 128-129
F46 [Figure 3:26]	Mildenhall, UK	Silver plate	300-400 CE	Satyr and Nymph – snake and doe	Doe? + snake	Painter 1977: 26
F47	Nemi/Tivoli	Statue	100-200 CE	"Diana of Versailles" Roman copy of Greek Artemis/Diana by Leochares -325 BCE	Buck/Stag	Poulsen 2009: 414

F48	Baths of Neptune, Ostia	Mosaic	140 CE	Marine animals - buck and (?)Doe. Neptune	Buck and doe	Ling 1998: 42-43 fig. 27; Ramage and Ramage 2009: 234
F49 [Figure 3:17]	House of the Vettii, Pompeii	Frieze	0-79 CE	Cyparissus	Buck	Balch 2008: 117
F50	Villa of the Papyri, Pompeii	Statue	0-79 CE	Turning to the right (pair)	Buck	Deiss 1985: 68; Mattusch 2005: 327 fig.5.281
F51	Villa of the Papyri, Pompeii	Statue	0-79 CE	Turning to the left (pair)	Buck	Deiss 1985: 69; Mattusch 2005: 327 fig. 5.280
F52	Tragic Poet, Pompeii	Fresco	0-79 CE	Iphigenia, Artemis; Timanthus	Buck	Balch 2008; Gurd 2005
F53	Gardens of Sallust, Pompeii	Statue	0-79 CE	Iphigenia's deer (Iphigenia, Artemis)	Buck	Hartswick 2004: 85-87
F54	House of M. Lucretius Fronto, Pompeii	Mosaic	0-79 CE	Buck - similar to Vesonius Primus (F65)	Buck	Appleton 1987: 392 fig. 96; Pappalardo 2009: 149-150
F55	Pompeii	Rhyton - clay	0-79 CE	Trieste treasure - clay	Buck	Adam and Boyd 1835: 398
F56	House of Meleager, Pompeii	Fresco	0-79 CE	Telephus, Herakles	Doe?	Bragantini 1983: 187
F57	House of Marinaio, Pompeii	Fresco	0-79 CE	Spotted deer stands on a pedestal - Apollo + Artemis kill children of Niobe	Buck	Bragantini 2009: 270 fig. 115
F58	Pompeii	Mosaic	0-79 CE	Cupid hunting a dappled deer	Buck	Petra et al. 1897: 25
F59	Pompeii	Mosaic	0-79 CE	Cupid hunting a dappled deer	Buck	Petra et al. 1897: 25
F60	Casa delle Quadrighe, Pompeii	Fresco	0-79 CE	Deer being caught by leopard	Buck?	Richardson 2000: 152

F61	Domus of C. Giulio Polibio, Pompeii	Fresco	0-79 CE	Deer on medallion - west wall	Buck	Pappalardo 2009: 26-28
F62	Casa dei Gladiatori, Pompeii	Fresco	0-79 CE	Boar faces off against a dog whilst a deer flees	Buck?	Garcia y Garcia 2006: 63-66
F63	Atrium, House of Menander, Pompeii	Fresco	0-79 CE	Buck and doe chased by hound - landscape + buildings seen	Buck and doe	Ling 2003:41; Guillaud et al. 1990
F64	Room 23, Casa delle Nozze d'Argento, Pompeii	Fresco	0-79 CE	Buck panel	Stag/buck?	Archer 1994
F65	House of Vesonius Primus, Pompeii	Fresco	0-79 CE	Orpheus - wildlife	Buck	von Stackelberg 2009: 30
F66	Lararium niche, Casa della Medusa, Pompeii	Fresco	0-79 CE	Buck and doe - Medusa, crescent moon, garland.	Buck and doe	Fröhlich 1991: T4
F67	House of the Ceii, Pompeii	Fresco	0-79 CE	Scene of a landscape - wild beasts	Buck and doe	Roberts 2013: 153
F68	House of Citarista, Pompeii	Figurine	0-79 CE	Leaping bronze buck	Buck	Appleton 1987: 23-24
F69	House of Caccia Antica, Pompeii	Fresco	0-79 CE	Ancient hunting Lion chases buck and doe; scenes	Buck	Appleton 1987: 389 fig. 92
F70 [Figure 3:30]	Galla Placidia, Ravenna	Mosaic	400-500 CE	Dappled deer approach water - shepherd - several depictions	Buck and doe?	Werness 2006: 391
F71	Rheinland-Pfalz	Mosaic	200-300 CE	Gladiator mosaic	Buck	Reinken 1997: 267
F72	Roman Europe	Cameo	100 BCE-100 CE	Artemis/Diana	Buck	Neverov 1971: 87, pl. 61.

F73	Roman Europe	Gem - Ring	50-0 BCE	Naked man eviscerating a hare/buck - VESSEL COLLECTS BLOOD	Hare/buck	Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien - ANSA_Ixb_856
F74	Roman Europe	Mosaic	300-400 CE	Slightly dappled male deer and female chased by tiger	Buck and doe?	Christies 2000: 9380
F75	Roman Europe	Small statue	100-0 BCE	Bronze dancing lar - doe rhyton being poured	Doe	Giroire and Roger 2007: 234
F76 [Figure 3:16]	Roman Europe	Cameo	100-0 BCE	Speckled doe Telephus suckling	Doe	Neverov 1971: 83, pl. 40.
F77	Roman Europe	Silver dish	300-400 CE	Diana rides a buck	Buck	Toynbee 1973: 143
F78 [Figure 3:25]	Ipogeo di via Livenza, Rome	Frieze	350-400 CE	Artemis	Buck and doe	Portella 2000
F79	Rome	Gold-glass	300-400 CE	Hercules and the Ceryneian “hind” - pagan burial	Buck?	Walker 2014: 71
F80	Rome	Altar	0-100 CE	Buck seen on side of destroyed altar	Buck	Zuchtriegel 2011
F81	Rome	Statue	0-100 CE	Augustus of Prima Porta - Diana rides a buck on breast plate	Buck?	Edmondson 2009: 304
F82	Rome	Statue	0-400 CE	Maenad or Diana carries a fallow deer	Fallow	Sturgeon 2014: 284
F83	Shahba, Philippopolis, Syria	Mosaic	250 CE	Greek depictions especially - Artemis (bathing) and Actaeon (buck antlers?)	Buck	Millar 1993:523
F84	House of the Arsenal, Sousse, Tunisia	Mosaic	200-250 CE	Dappled and penile brush - Ganymede medallion	Buck	Kondoleon 1995: 144 fig. 87
F85	Theodarias, Byzantine	Mosaic	539-540 CE	Qasr Deer and snake ; others collared	Buck and snake	Oden 2011: 233

F86	Traprain Law, UK	Silver bowl	410-425 CE	Hercules plate - dappled deer on outside	Bucks and does	Kaufmann-Heinimann 2013: 250
F87	Villa di Pratolino, Vaglia, Italy	Sarcophagus	200-300 CE	Twelve labours of Hercules - performed by others	Buck	Saladino and Berti 1983: 26
F88	Villa Romana del Casale, Sicily	Mosaic	300-330 CE	Hunters pursue bucks into a net - Penile brushes.	Bucks	Poulsen 2009: 409
F89	Villa Romana del Casale, Sicily	Mosaic	300-330 CE	Alongside cattle used in fields, elephants loaded onto ships…	Stag/buck	Stanley-Price 1997:65
F90	Nile House, Zippori, Israel	Mosaic	400-500 CE	Spotted deer lion leaping	Stags/bucks	Netzer and Weiss 1994: 29-40
F91 [Figure 3:8]	Zliten, Libya	Mosaic	100-200 CE	Multiple panels display the Hunt	Buck	Kondoleon 1995: 280 fig. 176; Coarelli and Gabucci 2001: 48

Non-identifiable deer and non-fallow deer

ID	Location	Type	Date	Association	Deer	Reference
D1	Ampurias, Catalonia	Mosaic	1-100 CE	Iphigenia	Stag	Lancha 1997: 146-151
D2	Megalopsychia Hunt, Antioch	Mosaic	450-500 CE	Stag - being caught by a lion	Stag	Lavin 1963: fig. 6, 7
D3	Antakya, Antioch	Mosaic	?	"Worcester Hunt" Red deer - stag and hind? In hunting scene	Red Deer	Lavin 1963: fig. 2
D4	Daphne, Antioch	Mosaic	450-520 CE	Hunting scene - animals chased	Deer	Cimok 2005: 316; Rousseau 2005: 151
D5	Quatrefoil church, Antioch	Mosaic	450-500 CE	Animal carpet - church - creation	Deer	Dunbabin 1999: 181
D6	Apamea, Triclinos building, Syria	Mosaic	450-550 CE	Vast hunt - lion pinning stag	Stag	Dunbabin 1999: 183

D7	Large Basilica, Heraclea, Bitola, Macedonia	Mosaic	400-500 CE	Fountain of life - Male and female deer approach	Deer	Vasilevski 1967
D8 [Figure 3:29]	Britain	Brooch	100-200 CE	Copper-alloy enamel	Stag	Hattatt 1982: 166
D9	Caesarea Maritima, Israel	Mosaic	400-500 CE	Ibex/ Trees Mosaic	Deer	Patrich 2011:137 - Fig. 71; Neguer and Alef 2008: 196
D10	Caesarea Maritima, Israel	Mosaic	400-600 CE	Kantharos Mosaic Deer/antelope - straight antlers	Deer/antelope	Spiro 1992
D11	Carthage, Tuis, Tunisia	Mosaic	450-600 CE	Byzantine- Hunters rope a deer	Stag	MLA 1860.10-2.129 BM - Mosaics 57a
D12	Bir Ftouha, Carthage	Mosaic	500-600 CE	Deer drinking from water of life	Deer	Baratte and Duval 1978: 79-80 fig. 39
D13	Via Labicana, Casilina, Rome	Sarcophagus	125-130 CE	Myth of Actaeon - roe marine deer caught above?	Roe buck	Giroire and Roger 2007: 251
D14	Cherchell, Algeria	Mosaic	200-250 CE	Stag - hunting scene	Stag	Lavin 1963: fig. 89
D15	Cupola Mosaic, Centcelles Villa, Spain	Mosaic	350-400 CE	Deer being chased - netting - Christian theme	Stags, Hinds	Lavin 1963: fig. 124-125
D16	Djemila, Algeria	Mosaic	400 CE	Hunting Pavement - predators + prey	Stag	Lavin 1963: fig. 87
D17	East Coker, Britain	Mosaic	350-400 CE	Influenced by African mosaics	Deer	Henig 1995: 120
D18	Eastern Empire	Ivory Venatio	248-500 CE	Elephant-ivory - Leaf of Diptych - Elks - keepers hide behind the cages after release	Elks	Toynbee 1973: 145
D19	Thysdrus, Tunisia	Mosaic	150 CE	Dionysiac Procession	Deer	Dunbabin 1999: 109
D20	Ephesus, Greece	Mosaic	400 CE	Hound and stag	Stag	Ling 1998: 17 fig. 7

D21	Ephesus, Greece	Coin	139-161 CE	Marcus Aurelius - deer between Artemis	Deer	Klose 1995: 139
D22	Ephesus, Greece	Coin	180-192 CE	Commodus	Stag	Aulock and Kleiner 1957: 7868
D23	Ephesus, Greece	Coin	193-211 CE	Septimius Severus	Stag	Mathiesen 1986: 413
D24	Ephesus, Greece	Coin	198-209 CE	Geta - Stag on back	Stag	Mathiesen 1986: 428
D25	Ephesus, Greece	Coin	198-209 CE	Geta - Stag on back	Stag	Mathiesen 1986: 429
D26	Great Palace Istanbul	Mosaic	501-600 CE	Winged Gryphon attacks a dappled Hind	Hind	Cimok 2005: 32 fig. 28
D27	Heraclea Lincestis, Bitola, Macedonia	Mosaic	400-500 CE	Fountain of life - Male and female deer approach	Red deer	Vasilevski 1967
D28	House of Stags, Herculaneum	Statue	0-79 CE	Hounds attack a deer	Deer	Merrill 2012: 202
D29	House of Stags, Herculaneum	Statue	0-79 CE	Deer	Deer	Merrill 2012: 203
D30 [Figure 3:24]	Hinton St. Mary, Dorset	Mosaic	350 CE	Jesus centre - Hunter - deer everywhere	Red deer	Dunbabin 1999: 96 fig. 95
D31	Housesteads, Hadrians Wall, UK	Block	?	Stag and snare	Stag	Bowman 1994: 75
D32 [Figure 3:11]	Italy	Lamp	200-250 CE	Deer(?) being disembowelled	Deer	Giroire and Roger 2007: 164 -fig. 94
D33	Henchir M'Rira, Kairouan, Tunisia	Mosaic	250-350 CE	Diana surrounded by the hunt	Deer	Lavin 1963: 238 - fig. 91
D34	Konya, Turkey	Sarcophagus	21-250 CE	Labours of Hercules - Ceryneian	Roe buck?	Ramage and Ramage 2009: 245
D35	Lake Balaton, Hungary	Amphora	300-400 CE	Sevso - Silver amphora	Stag	Bennett & Mango 1994: 219

D36	Larino Larinum, Italy	Mosaic	200-300 CE	Shepherds discovering she-wolf - deer around	Stag	Malraux and Parrot 1970: 6-7
D37	Leicester, UK	Mosaic	300-400 CE	Cyparissus	Deer	Henig 2002: 177
D38 [Figure 3:23]	Lillebonne, France	Mosaic	250-350 CE	Diana - use of a tame deer sacrifice for Diana	Stags	Lavin 1963: fig. 129; Smith 1983:133 Plate 13; Ling 1998: 132 fig. 93
D39	Llíria, Valencia, Spain	Mosaic	200-250 CE	Ceryneian Hind	Stag	Stafford 2013
D40	Naples Cathedral, Italy	Mosaic	300-400 CE	Good shepherd - drinking from the water of life	Stags	Wilpert 1916: Tafel 36a
D41	Ostia, Porta Marina, Italy	Opus sectile - glass	350-450 CE	Lion attacking stag	Stag	Dunbabin 1999: 266
D42	House of Laberii, Oudna	Mosaic	200-300 CE	Stag caught by wolf - animal named	Stag	Kondoleon 1995: 287 fi 180
D43	House of the Citharist, Pompeii	Oscillum - offering	0-79 CE	Hunter and bow - firing at emerging stag	Stag	Bowe 2004: 38
D44	House of the Ephebe, Pompeii	Fresco	0-79 CE	Drinking in a hunt	Stag-Buck	King 2002a: 417
D45	Villa delle Colonne a Mosaico, Pompeii	Mosaic	0-79 CE	Stag chase	Deer	Kockel and Weber 1983: 65-81; Pappalardo and Ciardiello 2012: 200 fig. 156
D46	Casa dei Vettii, Pompeii	Fresco	63-79 CE	Libation antelope-deer rhyton - snakes of fertility of the earth	Deer	Fröhlich 1991: T7; Ramage and Ramage 2009: 201
D47	House of Menander, Pompeii	Fresco	0-79 CE	Deer floats above Actaeon as hounds attack	Deer	Clarke 1991: 182-184

D48	House of Sallust, Pompeii	Fresco	0-79 CE	Diana and Actaeon - no deer - little antlers	No deer	Mazois 1824: plate 39, 1
D49	Villa of Mysteries, Pompeii	Fresco	0-79 CE	Fawn/goat suckling on female pan (panisk) - sexualised poetry?	Deer?	Hunt 2008: 154; Harden 2014: 38
D50	House of Sallust, Pompeii	Fountain	0-79 CE	Bronze Hercules and Ceryneian	Stag?	Appleton 1987: 24-25
D51	House of M. Lucrezio Frontone, Pompeii	Fresco	0-79 CE	White hind flees in the background - bull stalking	Hind?	Appleton 1987: 190
D52	Casa Lucrum Gaudium, Pompeii - destroyed by lava/weather	Frescos	0-79 CE	Cyparissus, hunting	Deer	Presuhn, E., 1882: 6
D53	House of the Centenary, Pompeii	Frescos	0-79 CE	Diana/Artemis deer in hand	Deer	Bragantini 1986: 513
D54	House of Vettii, Pompeii	Murals	0-79 CE	Chariots and cherubs - Diana and sacrifice?	Deer	Niccolini 1896
D55	Atrium, House of Menander, Pompeii	Fresco	0-79 CE	Bust of a deer-head	Stag	Guillaud et al. 1990
D56	Tomb of Lucius Caltilius Pamphilus and his wife Servilia, Pompeii	Ring	0-79 CE	Agate +sapphire on gold Urn of the tomb	Stag	de Clarac 1813: plate 6 - number 28
D57	Villa of Diomedes, Pompeii	Fresco	0-79 CE	Deer and chariot - symbols of Artemis?	Red deer	Helbig 1868: 247-248
D58	Context lost - Pompeii	Fresco	0-79 CE	Women feed goat/deer fawn	Deer?	Pomarède et al. 2006: 60 fig. 50.
D59	Pompeii	Antler	0-79 CE	Not roe - red antler - mounted trophy	Stag	King 2002a: 417

D60	Ravenna, Italy	Throne	500-600 CE	Maximian - Deer on side of throne amongst vines	Deer	Deliyannis 2010: 215
D61	Roman Europe	Statue	0-100 CE	Disembowelling deer - L'écorcheur rustique	Deer	Landon 1807:103
D62	Roman Europe	Cameo	100 BCE-100 CE	Orpheus - wildlife	Deer	Neverov 1971: 87, pl. 60.
D63	Roman Europe	Mosaic	100-200 CE	Leopard, deer and birds	Stags	11640 - Edgar Lowen (private collector)
D64	Roman Europe	Relief panel	1-100 CE	Female (not Diana) presenting an offering to Deer	Stag	Lemmer-Webber 2013
D65	Rome	Altar	100-150 CE	Diana - side	Stag	Locchi & Vistoli 2012: 239
D66	Rome	Statue	100 BCE-100 CE	Diana/Artemis	Deer	Mattusch 1996: 274
D67	Venus pavement, Rudston	Mosaic	350-400 CE	Stag - "Lacking skill"	Stag	Ling 1998: 131 fig. 92; Dunbabin 1999: 100
D68	House of the Ostriges, Sousse, Tunisia	Mosaic	250 CE	Catalogue Antelope, deer (penile brushes)	Deer	Ling 1998: 88 fig. 62
D69	Stara Zagora, Bulgaria	Mosaic	300-400 CE	Originally pagan burial -reused by Christians	Deer	Popova 1974: 74-76
D70	House of Protomes, Thurbo, Tunisia	Mosaic	300-350 CE	Stag protome amongst other wild animals	Stag	Khader & Abed 2006: 68 fig. 4.16
D71	Traplain Law, UK	Iron antler	0-400 CE	Fitted into something - religious	Deer	Burley 1956: 186
D72	Traprain Law, UK	Silver dish	410-425 CE	Dish 88 - dappling?	Deer	Martin 2013: 272 fig. 16.11
D73	Utica, Tunis	Mosaic	200-250 CE	Artemis/Diana - olive tree	Deer	Spatharakis 2004: 71
D74	Valence, France	Silver dish	0-400 CE	Comarmond collection - Cabiac forms	Red deer	Walters 1921: 20

D75	Villa Armira, Bulgaria	Mosaic	0-100 CE	Animals and plants - natural history; portraits elsewhere	Red stag	Urbánková 2013
D76	Villa Romana del Casale, Sicily	Mosaic	300-330 CE	Protomes of many animals	Stag	Bejor 1992
D77	Villa Sillin, Libya	Mosaic	100-200 CE	Hunting border to bath - predators + prey	Stag	Dunbabin 1978: 160 pl. 159
D78	Villelaure, France	Mosaic	200-300 CE	Deer running into spear - nets - Diana and Calisto	Deer	Lavin 1963: fig. 130
D79	Woodchester, Britain	Mosaic	300-320 CE	Orpheus and beasts - stag	Stag	Dunbabin 1999: 93-94
D80	Wroxeter, UK	Brooch	43-410 CE	Bronze - enamel inlay	Horse/buck	Shrewsbury Museums Service - SHYMS A/2004/051

Table 6:2 – Table of known knuckle-bone floors in the UK.

Map	Locale	Location	Bone	Species	Age	Preservation	Source
1	19 Hollywell	Oxford	Metapodial	Sheep; Deer; Cattle	1701-1702	Recorded - demolished 19th century	Armitage 1989: 203
2	The Lion Brewery, St. Thomas' Street	Oxford	Metapodial	Sheep	16th -17th century	Excavated	Hull 1999; Moore 2006
3	67-69 St. Thomas' Street	Oxford	Metapodial	Sheep/goat	17th century	Excavated	Norton 2006
4	9 Ship Street	Oxford	?	?	Undated	Excavated	Beckley & Radford 2011: 19
5	Beef Lane	Oxford	?	?	?	Recorded	Beckley & Radford 2011: 19
6	The Hamel	Oxford	?	?	?	Recorded - demolished 19th century	Armitage 1989: 204

7	Holybush Row	Oxford	?	?	?	Recorded	Beckley & Radford 2011: 19
8	Logic Lane	Oxford	?	?	?	Recorded - demolished 19th century	Armitage 1989: 204; Hurst 1894
9	Ashmolean Museum, Broad Street	Oxford	?	?	17th century	Excavated - replaced with stone	Armitage 1989: 204; Hurst 1894
10	59 George Street	Oxford	?	?	?	Recorded - demolished 19th century	Armitage 1989: 204; Hurst 1894
11	Black Swan, 12 George Street	Oxford	?	?	?	Recorded	Beckley & Radford 2011: 19
12	Littlegate Street	Oxford	?	?	?	Excavated	Beckley & Radford 2011: 19
13	22 St. Michael's Street	Oxford	?	?	?	Excavated	Beckley & Radford 2011: 19
14	65 St. Aldates	Oxford	Metapodials	Cattle	18th century	Excavated	Armitage 1989: 204

15	Broad Street	Oxford	Metapodial	Sheep/cattle	?	Recorded in 1869	Armitage 1989: 203
16	Bear and Ragged Staff	Cumnor, Oxford	?	?	?	Recorded in 1894	Armitage 1989: 204; Hurst 1894: 12
17	Stile's Almshouses	Wantage, Berkshire	Metapodial	Sheep	c. 1680	Survives	Hallet 2004: 29
18	Grammar School	Wantage, Berkshire	?	?	?	Recorded - demolished 19th century	Armitage 1989: 205; Hurst 1894
19	Fulborn	Cambridge	Metapodial	Sheep	?	Recorded	Evans 1966
20	Elstow	Bedford	?	?	?	?	Armitage 1989: 205
21	41-43 New Street	Salisbury	Metapodial	Cattle	18th century	Excavated	Armitage 1989: 205
22	Curtain Theatre Foundations	Shoreditch, London	Metapodial	?Sheep?	1577-1622	Buried	Hilts 2012
23	8 Tyers Gate	Bermondsey, London	Metapodial	Sheep	c. 1730?	Bricked over after c. 1784	Divers et al. 2002

24	48 High Street	Eton	Metapodial	Sheep	c. 1550? c. 1660?	Survives?	Lewis 2011
25	King John's House	Romsey, Hampshire	Metapodial	Cattle	17th -18th century	?	Armitage 1989: 205-207; Hurst 1894; Allen 1999
26	Pontypool Park	South Wales	Metapodial	Sheep	1836-1844	Survives	Headley & Meulenkamp 1990: 154; Jones 1974: 184-186
27	Cilwendeg Shell House	Pembrokeshire	Metapodial/Vertebrae/Teeth	Sheep, oxen / horse	1826	Survives	Headley & Meulenkamp 1990: 144; Jones 1974: 412
28	Bicton House	Devon	Metapodial	Fallow deer	1839	Active	Headley & Meulenkamp 1990: 19-20; Fletcher 2011: 230
29	Killerton	Devon	Metapodial	Deer?	1808	Active	Allen 1999: 88; Headley & Meulenkamp 1999: 196
30	Audley End House	Essex	?	?	1700-1750	?	Norfolk Broads Guide 2008

31	Uppark	Sussex	Metapodial	Deer	?	Survives	pers comms. Serjeantson 2012
32	Goodwood	Chichester, Sussex	Teeth	Horse	c.1747	Survives	Headley & Meulenkamp 1990: 129 (1999: 510); Baird 2007
33	Allen Banks Summerhouse	Beltingham, Northumberland	Metapodial	Sheep	?	Exposed ruin	Dillon 1991: 159
34	Fawley Court	Fawley, Buckinghamshire	Metapodial	?	1731-1760	Sham survives	Headley & Meulenkamp 1990: 220; Jones 1974: 293
35	Whystie House, Sandwell	Worcester	Metapodial	?	after 1650	?	Garrett 2011
36	Belton	Grantham	Metapodial	Sheep; Deer	c. 1750s?	Buried	Hall 2012: 14
37	Calke Abbey	Derbyshire	Rock/Metapodial	Deer or Horse	c.1700s	?	Philip 1985: 121
38	Knucklebone Arbour, Castle Ashby	Northamptonshire	Rock/Metapodial	Sheep and pebbles	1850+	Survives	Jones 1974: 189-190; Headley & Meulenkamp 1999: 374

39	Darsham House	Saxmundham, Suffolk	Cheek-teeth	Horse	1812-1820	Exposed	Armitage 1989: 209
40	Blaise Castle	Bristol	Teeth	Horse	?	Destroyed	Armitage 1989: 210
41	Moot House	Downton, Wiltshire	Metapodial	?	18th century	Survives	Armitage 1989: 208
42	Wrest Park	Bedfordshire	Rock/Metapodial	Deer and pebbles	c. 1763	Survives	Armitage 1989: 208
43	Park Place grotto	Remenham Hill, Berkshire	Metapodial	?	18th century	Survives	Jones 1974: 289
44	Ross-on-Wye, folly	Worcestershire	Teeth	Horse	18th century	Survives	Jones 1974: 342
45	Hermitage finch, Burley on the Hill	Leicestershire	Metapodial	?	1807	Destroyed	Jones 1974: 182
46	Endsleigh Cottage, Tavistock	Devonshire	Metapodial	?	19th century	Survives	Jones 1974: 315

47	Avenue Farm, Sutton Bridge	Avenue Farm, Sutton Bridge	Metapodial	Sheep	1823-1828	Exposed ruin	Jackson and Jakes 1994: 21
48	Chertsey tea house	Surrey	?	?	1794	Disrepair	Jones 1974: 395
49	Whalebone House	Cley, Norfolk	Metapodial	Sheep, cattle, horse	after c.1630?	Survives	Armitage 1989: 202
50	Bone House	Haddenham, Buckinghamshire	Metapodial	Sheep	1807	Survives	Headley & Meulenkamp 1990: 222; Jones 1974: 294
	Werribee Mansion/ Deer Park	Australia	Metapodial	?Sheep?	c.1850-1877	Survives	Gunton 1996: 18

Glossary

Actor network theory –

Bruno Latour (1990; 1994; 2005) particularly employs this theory in reference to animals' nature and culture – where agency and actions are referenced against other points creating a network in which society and culture exists.

Animality –

Often sees societies employing animals in order to categorise humans through conceptions of difference both favourably and unfavourably (Noske 1997; Mullin 1999).

Bricolage –

Claude Lévi-Strauss (1974: 16-17) defines bricolage as being a multi-faceted reconfiguration of an object, system or practice by 'someone who works with his hands and uses devious means compared to those of a craftsman'. Importantly, where actions the observer/creator will tend to make 'his way out of or go beyond the constraints imposed by a particular state of civilization', the bricoleur 'by inclination or necessity always remains within them' (Lévi-Strauss 1974: 22).

Cargo cults –

A practice witnessed amongst Melanesian societies whereby attempts were made by indigenous populations to recreate the technology of the westerners, particularly aircraft so as to attract goods that these vehicles held. It was previously suggested that cargo cults were the result of superstition and perceived worship of a technologically advanced society caused a "madness" (Williams 1976 [1934]) and was so employed to endorse and justify colonial management (Stephen 1997). More recently such performances have been described as analogous to an unrequited love or desire, whereby an attempt is made by people to tempt a relationship out of a metaphysical or social institution instead of individual attempt through an initial material exchange (Lindstrom 1993: 198; Otto 2009). In this framework, the failure by the colonising Europeans to reciprocate, or correctly recognise, the behaviour encouraged greater

attempts by the indigenous people, causing the original diagnosis of "madness" (Burridge 1960; 1969).

Commodification –

A configuration of transfer to allow for fungible alienation, an outcome of the market systems (Thomas 1991; Carrier 1995), often seen as the opposite of the gift which is intrinsically embedded and inalienable (Gregory 1982).

Conspicuous consumption –

Thorstein Veblen ([1899] 2007) theorised that societal hierarchies relied on a system whereby certain products allocate or maintain a social standing of those who "consume" them. Such consumption required a certain futility and wastefulness to the actions.

Generic and experiential familiarity –

Hunters are recognised to 'acquire a generic familiarity with the patterns of behaviour associated with the kind of animal in question'. However, upon 'the spatial restriction or enclosure of domestic animals… animals can be encountered in the same place on a regular basis, making for a high level of experiential familiarity' (Knight 2005: 5).

Gift-giving –

Anthropology has long been preoccupied with the notion of the Gift, in part to seek or disprove the existence of altruism. Frequently the gift will create a debt, labelled an "obligation" by Marcel Mauss in his seminal work on the Gift (1990: 29), one which holds indissoluble ramifications for the relationship. The philosopher Jacques Derrida (1992: 16) has therefore stipulated that the "truly free" gift can only occur through a complete forgetting by all the parties involved, 'a forgetting that also absolves, that unbinds absolutely and infinitely more, therefore, than excuse, forgiveness, or acquittal.' Gift-giving is thought by some to be the origins of human society – being a universal and a precursor of many social interactions (Lévi-Strauss 1987: 25-30; Mauss 1990; Graeber 2011).

Epistemology –

An understanding of the universe as relying upon underlying laws and universals that exist beyond any given context or circumstance (Palsson 2013: 22-33).

Food Taboo and Avoidances –

As noted by Lien (2004: 180-181), "food avoidance" is an all-encompassing label of any factor that leads to non-consumption, only becoming symbolically a "food taboo" when it is premeditated and conscious effort of something that confronts the ego.

Liminal states –

Victor Turner (1967: 97) defines liminal states as being a transitionary state between two transformations: a liminal period always 'are at the very least "betwixt and between" all the recognized fixed points in space-time of structural classification.'

Metaphor and metonyms –

Metaphors in social theory are understood as being employed to structure thought, action and comprehend phenomena through reference to something else; through leaps in alternative conceptual domains (Lakoff and Johnson 1980: 5). Through these leaps, a surplus of meaning is created which is used to further explore a phenomenon or scenario (Heradstveit 1992: 74). Metonyms are usually where a direct connection appears between the signifier and the signified (Heradstveit 1992: 39).

Notions of Nature –

Macnaghten and Urry (1998) describe nature as being understood as three common notions: firstly, environmental realism where rationalised science leads to concepts; secondly, environmental idealism where nature as subject, superior and separate to corrupted humanity; and, thirdly, environmental instrumentalism where models and calculations are made to ascertain the engagements with the environment (Macnaghten and Urry 1998).

Ontology –

Eduardo Viveiros de Castro (1998; 2004) discusses this in particular relation to animal as where reality is to be understood as primarily in each perspective and each mind at the very moment of contextual realisation (de Castro 1998; 2004).

Physiognomy –

A well ascribed theory amongst ancient Graeco-Roman philosophers that the outward appearance is deeply tied to behaviour and demeanour and vice versa (Gilhus 2006: 64-77; Favreau 2012).

Power and Resistance –

Where power and resistance are understood to be inextricably intertwined, and also causal, as defined by Foucault's (1978: 95) notorious statement, that 'where there is power there is resistance, and yet, or rather consequently, this resistance is never in a position of exteriority in relation to power.' Nevertheless, as Foucault (1982: 789-790) later explains, some navigation is possible within the field between power and resistance and such creativity can eventually transform the power relation.

Rite of Passage –

Arnold van Gennep (1960: 11) postulated "rites of passage" to be "a complete scheme" that "theoretically includes preliminal rites [rites of separation], liminal rites [rites of transition], and postliminal rites [rites of incorporation]."

Self-fashioning –

The "self-conscious fashioning of human identity and the ability to fashion oneself" where artwork was used to create and affirm oneself and their position in society (Greenblatt 2012: 9). This also being a resisting act of self-exclusion and alienation from the wider society, in order to create and assert oneself as an individual, which was seen to be important socially structuring forces in antiquity and the renaissance (Greenblatt 2012).

Simulacra –

Jean Baudrillard (1994) conceived as a scenario where symbols, through simulating the real, can eventually become hyperreal with no reference to actual reality - a system of representations in which the representation lacks any substance symbolically, becoming real through simulation and representation alone.

Sovereignty and exclusion –

Sovereignty in its modern understanding is the complex performance of exception, where the sovereign state 'needs constant exclusions: Those who are excluded are included through their exclusion' (Aretxaga 2003: 407). Thus sovereignty may ultimately find its singular agent – the sovereign, whilst governmentality is the administrative apparatuses that regulate. It is worth noting Michel Foucault's (1978b [2001]: 216-217) explanation of their supposed incompatibility: 'In contrast to sovereignty, government has as its purpose not the act of government itself, but the welfare of the population, the improvement of its condition, the increase of its wealth, longevity, health and so on; and the means the government uses to attain these ends are themselves all, in some sense, immanent to the population'.

System –

In reference to socio-cultural systems is to be understood here not in terms of functionalism or structuralism as earlier, but rather as a metaphor to describe the everyday socio-cultural interactions whilst keeping the caveats that "system" invokes.

Trickster myth –

In trickster myths, the travails of a powerful but amorphous agent are employed to explain or scrutinise a specific biological, social or cultural formation attested in the present. Thus, rather than being a "selfish" character, endangering culture and society through its constant attempts to gratify insatiable desires (Radin 1972: 165), the trickster exists prior to or outside of such cultural and social framework (Carroll 1981: 309-310). Furthermore, their apparent ubiquity has led Jung (1970) to label it one of the four underlying psychological archetypes common to all humans, a position that is strongly refuted (Carrol 1984).These narratives held particular relevance in the pre-

modern world, where there was an unremarkable acceptance of an anthropomorphised non-human world prior to the progressive disenchantment with the world of the enlightenment (Weber 1968: 46-66; Maley 2004).

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