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Dog thefts in eighteenth-century Wrocław

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A KIDNAPPED WHIPPET

On 23 October 1769 the most popular Silesian newspaper, *Schlesische Privilegirte Zeitung*, published an advertisement concerning the theft of a whippet. A white bitch with brown spots had disappeared three days earlier and its owner was in no doubt that her disappearance was not an escape but a daring theft. That is why he appealed to everyone who could give information about the dog's whereabouts to report to the newspaper, promising a financial reward. However, the perpetrator must have covered up his traces quite well, if the owner of the dog paid for the announcement to be repeated in the following issue of *Schlesische Privilegirte Zeitung*.

The spread of fashion for pet dogs in the eighteenth century led to a considerable expansion of the canine population. The growth seems to have been particularly rapid in large cities.² The number of pets increased with the arrival of military garrisons in cities, because dog ownership was at that time a permanent element of the habitus of officers. Students were another group that kept a substantial number of pets. According to a contemporary account, in the second half of the eighteenth century there were apparently several thousand dogs in Göttingen, with some young men keeping whole pack.³ Dogs became inseparable companions of their owners during their walks and the popularity of this pastime was another factor boosting the num-

¹ "Ein englisch weisses Windspiel, welches 3 braune Flecke auf den Rücken, einen fast ganz braunen Kopf mit einer Blesse, einen etwas dicken und dem Kropf ähnlichen Hals, und den Schwanz halb braun halb weiß hat, und eine Hündin ist, welche den 20 Oct. gegen Abend diebischer weise entwendet worden. Wer davon Nachricht geben kan, beliebe es in der Zeitungsexpedition gegen einen Recompence zu melden," *Schlesische Privilegierte Zeitung (SPZ)*, 23 October 1769, no. 125, p. 1378. Repeated announcement: *SPZ*, 1 November 1769, no. 129, p. 1426.

² STEINBRECHER 2008, pp. 45–59; STEINBRECHER 2009, pp. 26–40. Cf. also LAICHMANN 1998, pp. 1–19.

³ BRÜDERMANN 1990, pp. 84–85. On the keeping of dogs by students, see also KRUG-RICH-TER 2007, pp. 77–104; AUERBACH 2009, pp. 41–51.

ber of the animals. The four-legged friends, no longer tied to buildings and constantly present in the urban space, got much more easily lost and, as we can see in the above example, stolen. Yet people who lost their dogs were no longer limited to just having to look for them on their own, as they could take advantage of a new medium, namely city periodicals, which were published regularly at the time. Possibilities offered by this type of sources to canine studies have been noted by Piotr Paluchowski in his analysis of announcements published in the Gdańsk periodical Danziger Erfarhrungen in the eighteenth century. In 1740–1793 the newspaper published over five hundred announcements concerning missing dogs. They have made it possible to determine the dog breeds present in Gdańsk as well as the amount of rewards paid.⁴ However, the Gdańsk historian's survey practically leaves out the question of dog theft and dognapping. Yet there can be no doubt that the increase in the number of animals in large cities made them an attractive target for the local criminals. A rapid rise in the number of dog thefts in England prompted George III to issue in 1769 a special edict, "An Act for preventing the Stealing of Dogs". The act provided for high fines for the first offence, commutable, in the case of insolvency, to half a year in a house of correction. Repeated offences were even more severely punished — the offender was to go to prison for at least twelve months. By that time problem of dog theft did not concern just Europe. Similar problems had to be faced by people living in cities in the English colonies in America.⁶

Dognapping is undoubtedly a phenomenon with a lasting presence in modern metropolises, but hitherto practically unexplored. I would like to base my preliminary discussion of the subject on press sources from Silesia. Wrocław periodicals contain quite a lot of material dealing with the problem of dog thefts, making it possible to provide at least outlines of the phenomenon. Since it has not yet been subject of a separate study, the present article is only an introductory and exploratory sketch.

DOG ADVERTISEMENTS IN THE EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY WROCŁAW PRESS

The earliest examples of private announcements printed in periodicals can be found in the 1620s, although they are limited only to the biggest cities in Western Europe.⁷ The notifications focused mainly on newly published books, but quite soon the first

⁴ PALUCHOWSKI 2013, pp. 218–240. A short article devoted to lost dogs in Warsaw at the turn of the nineteenth century was published by Łukasz Kozak on the National Library website. Announcements from the old Warsaw newspapers were also included in a popular publication: FORELLE, SZU-SZKIEWICZOWA 1976, pp. 204–208. A later period is discussed by Łukasz Szymański in his BA dissertation defended at the Faculty of History, University of Warsaw, SZYMAŃSKI 2018, pp. 13–23. I would like to thank Prof. Małgorzata Karpińska for drawing my attention to it.

⁵ Statutes 1769, Cap. XIII, pp. 295–297.

⁶ Cf. MEACHAM 2011, pp. 521–532.

⁷ BARRÈS-BAKER 2006, pp. 6–9; WALKER 1973, pp. 112–130.

announcements concerning missing animals began to appear as well. In most cases they referred to lost horses, but it is worth noting that the London press from the mid-seventeenth century does feature one advertisement mentioning a dog. A unique group is made up of advertisements associated with a wave of thefts from Charles II's kennel. As early as at the beginning of June 1660 royal servants were looking for a white greyhound bitch. Towards the end of that month another animal that went missing was a medium-sized black dog, one of the king's favourites. The first advertisement concerning the case was placed by a servant of the king in *Mercurius Publicus*, the most important informational periodical in London at the time. As the advertisement proved unsuccessful, the following issue of the periodical featured an extremely emotional appeal, believed by scholars to have been written by the king himself:

We must call upon you again for a Black Dog, between a Greyhound and a Spaniel, no white about him, onely a streak on his Brest, and his Tayl a little bobbed. It is His Majesties own Dog, and doubtless was stoln, for the Dog was not born nor bred in England, and would never forsake His Master. Whosoever findes him may acquaint any at Whitehal, for the Dog was better known at Court, than those who stole him. Will they never leave robbing His Majesty? must He not keep a Dog? This Dogs place (though better then some imagine) is the only place which no body offers to beg. 10

This was not the last missing dog from the court kennel within this short period—barely a month later a search was launched for another dog, this time a white spaniel belonging to the Duke of Albermarle. However, it is difficult to say whether we are dealing in this case with common thefts or with a campaign against the king, whose favours shown to his canine friends were cause for widespread scandal. Undoubtedly the examples indicated above are some of the earliest pieces of evidence of dognapping in early modern cities. Most importantly from the point of view of the present study, they exemplify a unique genre—stolen dog advertisement.

In Silesia press advertisements appeared in the late seventeenth century and, like in Western Europe, they initially concerned only books. ¹² An intensification on the advertisement market occurred towards the end of the 1730s, when a publisher,

⁸ McELLIGOTT 2019, p. 479. By the last quarter of the seventeenth century missing dog advertisements in the English press became so popular that they were used as models for a lampoon against the royal Surveyor of the Imprimery Roger L'Estrange, PIERCE 2010, pp. 237–254.

⁹ "A White Greyhound Bitch, belonging to his Excellency, was lately lost from the Cockpit. If any one bring her thither, he shall be well rewarded for his pains," *Mercurius Publicus*, no. 24, 7–14 June 1660, p. 381.

¹⁰ *Mercurius Publicus*, no. 27, 28 June–5 July 1660, p. 428. Cf. FIRTH 1889, pp. 25–26. On Charles II's dogs: MacDONOGH 1999, pp. 86–92.

¹¹ *Mercurius Publicus*, no. 32, 2–9 August 1660, p. 505.

¹² SCHIERSE 1902, pp. 57–59.

Johann Jakob Korn, obtained a privilege in Vienna to open an advertisement office. In 1737 inserts began to be added to *Schlesischer Nouvellen Courier*, also featuring lost object advertisements.¹³ In the 20 October 1737 issue they included a notice concerning a lost pug dog:

Last Thursday, that is 17 October, towards the evening, a medium-sized, rather fat pug went missing from a well-off house in Junckern Gasse. The animal has a short nose, wrinkly muzzle, two black protrusions on each side of the head, the tongue dangling slightly from the muzzle, black hair above the eyes, whiteish chin and coat hanging below it [...]. Whoever finds the pug or can provide information about his current whereabouts, can report to the newspaper's office, for which a substantial reward will be waiting for him.¹⁴

Advertisement offices were a key institution in the development of classified advertisements towards the end of the early modern period. In Austria the first such office was opened in Vienna in 1707 and from the 1720s some of its advertisements began to appear in the press. ¹⁵ In the 1720s in Prussia a whole system of state monopolies, the so-called *Intelligenzblatt*, was created and was given priority in publishing inserts. That is why the authorities initiated the creation of advertisement offices in other cities. ¹⁶ The capturing of Wrocław by Prussia during the First Silesian War caused some lasting changes on the press market. In 1742 a privilege was issued for the running of an advertisement office. It was combined with a duty to publish a newspaper featuring advertisements. November 1742 was marked by the launch of the periodical *Wöchentliche Breslauische auf das Intereße der Commercien der Schlesischen Lande eingerichtete Frag- und Anzeigungs-Nachrichten*. ¹⁷ Under Frederick II's decree, state institutions were obliged to pay a subscription to it.

¹³ Ibidem, pp. 120–124.

¹⁴ "Am abgewichnen Donnerstage als am 17. Octobr. gegen Abend ist aus einem vornehmen Hause auf der Junckern=Gasse ein mittelmässiger etwas dicker Mops=Hund verlohren worden. Derselbe hat eine kurtze Nase, eine faldichte Schnautze, auf jeder Seithe am Kopffe 2. Schwartze Wurtzeln, die Zunge lässet er ein wenig aus dem Maule hencken, über den Augen hat er schwartze Haare, das Unter=Maul fängt schon an weißlich zu werden, und unter demselben hängt ihm das Fell, [...] herunter. Wer solchen Mops gefunden hat, oder was von seinem itzigen Auffenthalt anzugeben weiß, kann sich in der Zeitungs=Expedition melden, und einer ansehnlichen Belohnung gewärtig seyn," *Schlesischer Nouvellen Courier*, 7 October 1737, no. 157.

¹⁵ TANTNER 2015, pp. 84–85.

¹⁶ KLAWITTER 1921, pp. 46–47.

¹⁷ Full title: Wöchentliche Breslauische auf das Intereße der Commercien der Schlesischen Lande eingerichtete Frag- und Anzeigungs-Nachrichten, Von Sachen, welche sowohl inn- als außerhalb der Stadt zu verkaufen, zu verpachten, zu verauctioniren, zu miethen, zu vermiethen sind, ingleichen Citationes Creditorum Edictales, wie auch verlornen, gefundenen und gestohlenen Sachen. Von Geldern so jemand leihen will, oder zu verleihen hat. Von Personen, so ihre Dienste antragen, oder Dienste zu vergeben haben, ec. die von jeder Woche getaufte, copulirte und gestorbene Personen. Nicht weniger der wöchentliche Markt-Preiß vom Getreide, item monatl. Brod- Bier- und Fleisch-Taxe, wie auch ein

The duty to buy the newspaper was also imposed on public establishments — cafes and inns — despite protests of their owners, who considered this to be a burdensome additional tax. Despite institutional support, some of its circulation was not sold and was recycled. In the last three decades of the eighteenth century the circulation of *Wöchentliche Fragnachrichten* ranged between 450 and 500 copies, with the exception of a brief rise to 775 copies. Owing to the mandatory publication of private announcements, the periodical is the basic source for the study of the Silesian press advertisement market. Unfortunately, we have at our disposal only its incomplete series. Until 1939 almost all complete annual volumes of the periodical were kept in Wrocław, but only a part of the collection survived the Second World War. The Wrocław University Library has only indivdual volumes from the 1740s and annual volumes from 1788–1799 available for perusal. In the last their owners, who considered this to be a burdensome additional tax.

Another, just as important place for publishing advertisements was the already mentioned Silesia's most popular paper, *Schlesische Privilegirte Zeitung*. Founded in 1742, it immediately became the most important informational periodical in Wrocław, replacing *Schlesischer Nouvellen Courier*, the publisher of which did not get an prolongation of his licence from the Prussian authorities.²² From the very first issues the new periodical published commercial advertisements. However, owing to the above mentioned monopoly of the advertisement office, the editorial board could accept announcement only from people who had presented proof of obligatory payment.²³ Yet a comparison of inserts from both newspapers from the 1780s and 1790s shows that these regulations were not fully respected.²⁴ Of crucial importance to the advertisers was undoubtedly the fact that *Schlesische Privilegirte Zeitung* was published three times a week, making it possible to reach the intended target faster. In addition, its circulation was markedly higher and in 1800 reached 1200–1300 cop-

besonderer Anhang von ökonomischen Sachen (WBF). The publication of the first issue on 27 November 1742 was announced in Schlesische Privilegirte Zeitung.

¹⁸ KLAWITTER 1921, pp. 49–50.

¹⁹ SPZ, 25 October 1784, no. 126, p. 1263. Repeated: SPZ, 27 October 1784, no. 127, p. 1270.

²⁰ KLAWITTER 1930, p. 26.

²¹ Before 1945 the Staats- und Universtätsbibliothek in Wrocław had the following annual volumes: 1745, 1747, 1749–1759, 1761–1762, 1765–1767, 1769–1770, 1772–1774, 1776–1779, 1784, 1786–1790. They were complemented by volumes kept in the Stadtbibliothek: 1748, 1788–1799, 1801–1816, as well as an unspecified set from the Staatsarchiv (rep. 199), KLAWITTER 1930, no. 18, p. 26. Among these collections, only the volumes from the Stadtbibliothek have survived and are currently kept in the Wrocław University Library, cf. *Periodyki* 2008, p. 80. Individual issues are scattered among libraries in Poland and Germany, e.g. the Łódź University Library has two issues from 1788 (nos. 16 and 18). The Deutsches Historisches Museum has in its collection issue 34 from 1787 (DHM, no. Do 54/144).

²² WEIGELT 1892, p. 16–22.

²³ KLAWITTER 1921, p. 55.

²⁴ E.g. the issue of 15 March 1788 featured two announcements about lost dogs — a white dog with a black head and a white Italian greyhound — none of which found its way to the pages of *Wöchentliche Fragnachrichten*, cf. *SPZ*, 15 March 1788, no. 32, p. 328.

ies.²⁵ In this case, too, we do not have all complete annual volumes, but the gaps are not as acute as in the case of *Wöchentliche Fragnachrichten*.²⁶ Both periodicals were supralocal in nature and featured inserts from all over Silesia; nevertheless, residents of Wrocław predominated among private advertisers. In *Wöchentliche Fragnachrichten* advertisements were arranged in separate thematic sections. Those concerning dogs were usually placed in the "Lost objects" ("Sachen, so verlohren worden") section, also when the owner suspected theft. However, in some cases they went straight for the "Stolen objects" ("Sachen, so gestohlen worden") section.²⁷ In London, where the press market was well developed, notices of stolen objects were often published in newspapers intended for the lower strata of society, with the hope of reaching potential informers.²⁸ However, Silesian eighteenth-century sources do not make it possible to observe such patterns.

In the 1740s lost dogs announcements were still quite sporadic. In its first year *Schlesische Privilegirte Zeitung* published just one such notice; it concerned a pointer bitch, which got lost when a column of carts passed through Wrocław's New Market.²⁹ Until the 1750s the number of advertisements did not exceed ten per year, which corresponds to the figures available for Gdańsk.³⁰ However, already in this early period we come across explicitly phrased suspicions that the animals were stolen. In an announcement from March 1748 concerning two large hunting dogs from Kąty Wrocławskie we can read that "they have been stolen or have got lost otherwise."³¹ Similar phrases appeared in many subsequent advertisements. An owner of a pointer of the best breed announced that his dog had got lost or had been caught. Significantly, he did not promise a reward to the person who would bring the dog back, but only to the person who "knows how to find it."³² Thus it was more

²⁵ KLAWITTER 1930, p. 25.

²⁶ Before 1945 all issues of the periodical could be found in various collections in Wrocław, KLA-WITTER 1930, no. 17, p. 25.

²⁷ E.g. WBF, 20 February 1804, p. 469.

²⁸ WALKER 1973, p. 121.

²⁹ "Vom 6ten bis zum 7. Nov. ist einer Herrschafft, so mit drey Pack=Wagen durch Neumarck paßiret, eine Hüner=Hindin, welche gantz weiß mit braunen Ohren und einer braunen Schnautze, (welche junge hat) davon verlohren, diese Hindin auch eine ziemliche Grösse hat; wem solche vorkommet, beliebe es zu Breßlau dem Baron Riedelischen Haus-Meister gegen einem Ducaten Recompens anzuzeigen," *SPZ*, 24 November 1742, no. 139, p. 648.

³⁰ PALUCHOWSKI 2013, pp. 222–223.

³¹ "In der Stadt Cant sind zwey Jagd=Hunde weggekommen, der eine Schwartz mit einem gebrandten Maul und kurtzen Schwantz, der andere wolffsharig, beyde grosse und starcke Hunde, wer hiervon Nachricht zu geben Weiss, ob. solche gestohlen, oder sich sonst verlauffen haben, der kan solches bey dem Raths=Verwandten Herrn Artel in Cant melden, und einen Recompens vor seine Mühe haben", *WBF*, 18 March 1748, no. 12, p. 265/6. Similarly, in August 1758 a search was going on for a dachshund bitch, from one of the local landed estates, which "has got lost or has been stolen," *SPZ*, 16 August 1758, no. 96, p. 514.

³² SPZ, 18 July 1767, no. 83, p. 808.

of an appeal to the neighbours of the perpetrator, who might notice the dog in question nearby. This way of constructing the advertisement is significant for advertisers who were convinced that they had lost their dogs as a result of theft. The owner of a small hunting bitch expected only confidential information (1786)³³ as did a wigmaker named Sperling, who had lost a purebred pointer (1781).³⁴ An additional encouragement for potential informers came in the form of open declarations that their anonymity would be fully preserved.³⁵

While in most cases the owners only suspected they were victims of theft, some were absolutely certain that a crime had been committed. Let us look at an announcement placed by Counsellor Stoeckel in June 1767. He was in no doubt that his whippet had been caught by somebody. This was suggested, in his opinion, by the fact that the search was undertaken immediately after the dog had gone missing and that the animal knew how to find his way home. That is why the announcement was not targeted at the "finder", but at persons who might recognise the animal kept by someone or at those who might receive an offer to buy the dog. ³⁶ A lot of details can be found in a description of the disappearance of two sighthounds from the Biskupice Manor in late spring 1785:

On 18 June 1785 a pair of sighthounds, just over one year old, went missing from the Biskupice Manor, District of Wiązów. On the 19th of June the male retuned home with a rope round his neck, but the bitch remained missing. As we now have clear reasons to believe that the dogs were stolen, but the male managed to escape, and a man walking at night can swear he encountered near Strzelin two men dressed in the manner of butchers with one of the sighthounds [...], anyone who has been given an offer to buy the bitch in question or will be given such an offer, is kindly asked to quickly inform the Oberamtmann in the District of Wiązów.³⁷

Even more dramatic was the theft of an English dogo in September 1782. The thief was spotted and an attempt was made to catch him, but despite a horseback chase, he managed to mislead the chasers:

On 22 September at noon a despicable villain in Pracze Widawskie dared to steal a very large English dogo, light grey in colour, with just his paws at the bottom and tail at the end slightly white, with some white also round his neck, and with clipped ears; the thief was chased on horseback, but managed to escape. If the dog were to be offered for sale or somehow managed to escape from the thief and wandered up to someone, that person is humbly asked to keep the animal and give

³³ SPZ, 6 September 1786, no. 105, p. 1023. Repeated: SPZ, 9 September 1786, no. 106, p. 1035.

³⁴ SPZ, 12 September 1781, no. 108, p. 1078.

³⁵ E.g. SPZ, 24 February 1779, no. 24, p. 192. Also: SPZ, 12 September 1781, no. 108, p. 1078.

³⁶ SPZ, 13 June 1767, no. 68, p. 670.

³⁷ SPZ, 2 July 1785, no. 76, pp. 759–760.

information about him to Pracze, or if someone brings the dog back, he may expect a reasonable reward.³⁸

Worthy of note is the fact that the advertisement contains insults aimed at the perpetrator. The author used the most defamatory terms. The thief was described as despicable ("niederträchtiger") villain ("Bösewicht"). Strong emotions associated with dog theft have already been encountered in the above notice concerning Charles II's dog. Unabashed anger also appeared in inserts placed by victims of other common crimes, but in the case of dog thefts we a dealing with a special case. The loss of a pet dog was not just a material loss but, above all, an emotional blow. In the Enlightenment period we have evidence of numerous cordial and sentimental relationships between owners and their pets. That group was particularly keen on getting their faithful animals back. Nevertheless, this required special strategies, different from those used in the case of ordinary thefts.

They included showing considerable leniency to the offenders. An owner of a lost pointer asked the person who had the dog, "regardless of how this happened" to return him in exchange of a reimbursement of costs and monetary reward. The form of the advertisement indicates that there the owner had no intention of investigating how the dog was "found." All kinds of courtship of the thieves are well illustrated by later advertisements as well. The best example seems to be an announcement published in the 1840s in *Kurier Warszawski* in which the owner suggested that his dog had been captured... by mistake:

An unknown gentleman, getting into a coach as he exited Variety Theatre, called to him a bulldog bitch, striped all over with a white breast and neck, and a white spot on the nose, leather collar lined with black cloth and with a small brass padlock; the unknown gentleman is requested to... return the animal voluntarily, if he had mistaken her for his own dog, but if he is a man who likes to keep dogs that are not his own, he is warned that when the bitch is found, he will have to face the responsibility in court. 41

³⁸ "Den 22 Sept. Mittags hat sich ein niederträchtiger Bösewicht zu Polnisch Protsch erfrechet, einen sehr großen Hund von Englischer Doggenart, Aschgrau von Farbe, nur die Füße unten ein wenig weis, und der Schwanz an der Spitze, ingleichen um den Hals etwas weis die Ohren verschnitten, zu stehlen; es ist zwar dem Diebe zu Pferde nachgesetzt worden, aber man hat ihn nicht attrapiret. Solte der Hund jemanden zu Kauf gebracht werden, oder dem Diebe etwa wieder entlauffen und zu jemand andern zugelauffen kommen, so wird ergebenst ersucht, solchen anzuhalten und davon in Protsch Nachricht zu geben, oder wer solchen wieder liefert, hat einen raisonablen Recompens zu erwarten," *SPZ*, 25 September 1782, no. 113, p. 1036.

³⁹ An announcement concerning the theft of a small dog from the Krasowice estate near Namysłów featured the term "villainous man" ("ein liederlicher Mensch"), *WBF*, 23 October 1797, no. 43, p. 1330.

⁴⁰ WBF, 20 April 1801, no. 16, p. 703.

⁴¹ FORELLE, SZUSZKIEWICZOWA 1976, pp. 205–206.

A conciliatory tone could also be found in an announcement concerning a threeyear-old sighthound, which in 1776 was stolen from Rogów near Sobótka. Its owner promised a reward not only for a person who would provide him with information, but also to the person who would deliver the animal to Rogów. 42 Was it an appeal to the thief to be satisfied with the reward? Or did the owner hope that an honest person would buy back the dog and deliver the animal home in exchange for the reward? In the context of other cases the latter also seems likely. The appeal of Counsellor Stoeckel quoted above was addressed both to informers and to people who might be approached with an offer to buy the dog. In this case the counsellor asked for the dog to be retained and delivered to him in exchange for full reimbursement of the costs. 43 Similarly, the owner of a black-eared poodle hoped that the person to whom the thief would try to sell the dog would keep the animal and inform him about the attempt. 44 Some owners took into account the possibility that their dog had already been placed on the market. In such a case they promised to reimburse the unfortunate buyer all the costs. 45 Sometimes the buyers themselves became suspicious that they were offered someone else's property. In 1764 an announcement was published about a pointer whose new owner began to suspect that the animal had escaped from someone else earlier. So he offered to give the dog back to the person who would be able to prove it, in exchange for only a reimbursement of the cost of purchase and feed. 46 The cases described above give rise to several conclusions concerning the marketing of stolen animals. They suggest that at least some of the perpetrators tried to quickly get rid of their booty. None of the cases suggests that the animals were stolen for reproductive purposes and that the thieves planned to set up their own illicit kennel. It is hard to say whether the disappearance of at least a dozen or so bitches about to pup resulted from the fact that they were particularly valuable.⁴⁷ On the other hand we can see that dealing in stolen animals was not subject to any

⁴² "Den 8 September ist aus Rogau bei Zobten ein grau 3jährig Windspiel von mittler Größe vermuthlich gestohlen, und verlohren gegangen. Wer davon Nachricht geben kan, und diesen Hund nach Rogau bringt hat einen Recompens von 1 Ducaten zu erwarten. Rogau den 12 September 1776," *SPZ*, 18 September 1776, no. 110.

⁴³ SPZ, 13 June 1767, no. 68, p. 670.

⁴⁴ WBF, 17 February 1806, no. 7, p. 313.

⁴⁵ E.g. SPZ, 23 July 1764, no. 86, p. 544; SPZ, 21 February 1789, no. 22, p. 244. Similarly: WBF, 12 January 1801, no. 1, p. 64: "Es ist am Dienstag den 30. Dec. auf dem Neumarkt ein kleiner Hund verlohren gegangen; er ist weiß hat gelbe etwas hängende Ohren und auf dem Rücken einige gelbe Flecken, ist glatthärig, nur vorne am Hals etwas kraus und trägt einen langhärigen Schwanz. Der, zu dem sich dieser Hund etwa verlaufen oder ihn käuflich an sich gebracht, wird sehr gebeten, ihn auf der Kupferschmidt=Gasse im Feigenbaum abzugeben. Erstattung der Kosten und dem Überbringer ein gutes Findegeld wird gern gegeben werden."

⁴⁶ SPZ, 13 October 1764, no. 121, p. 740.

⁴⁷ E.g. SPZ, 7 July 1784, no. 79, p. 823; WBF, 29 February 1796, no. 9, p. 299.

penalties. Nor did the purchase of a stolen dog entail any risk, if the rightful owners were willing to cover the cost of the purchase and of the feed.

However, there is no doubt that appropriation of someone else's dog was a criminal offence and as such could land the perpetrator in court. Some owners resorted to this means of persuasion, threatening the perpetrators with legal action. An overt threat was included in an advertisement of 26 October 1761 concerning a young pointer. The owner demanded that the person currently holding the dog return it to the newspaper's office, and if he failed to comply and the dog was recognised, he would be treated as guilty of theft. 48 Legal sanctions were invoked particularly frequently by members of the officers' corps. Captain von Wedell, who in 1786 lost a black poodle, promised a reward of one thaler for his delivery. However, if the dog were to be hidden, then after its discovery the perpetrator had to realise he would be treated with all severity ("nach aller Strenge"). 49 Similarly, another member of the military who lost a large white poodle in the same year provided an encouragement for his speedy return in the form of a substantial reward. At the same time, however, he threatened that a failure to return the dog would be treated as common theft.⁵⁰ In other announcements, too, we can read that if the animal is not quickly returned and the owner recognises it in the street, he will seek justice in court.⁵¹

But was this, in fact, a real threat? In the Early Modern period thefts (including thefts of animals) were one of the offences most often dealt with by courts. Keeping

⁴⁸ "Es ist ein junger Hünnerhund gesprenkelt mit braun eingefaßten Ohren einen braunen Fleck auf dem Rücken lang gestutzt, verlohren gegangen; wer selbigen an sich genommen, beliebe es in der Zeitungsexpedition zu melden, widrigenfals und bey Verschweigung wenn man selbigen ausfündig macht wird man selbigen als gestohlen ansehen, der Anzeiger hat einen Recompens zu erhalten," *SPZ*, 26 October 1761, no. 126, p. 684.

⁴⁹ "Ein schwarzer Pudel, ohne weiteres Zeichen, mit einem messingnen Halsband, worauf die Buchstaben *F. R. v. W.* und dergleichen Schloße, ist vorgestern bey der Staubsaule entwendet worden. Wer denselben in des Herrn Capitain von Wedell Quartier auf der Reuschen Brücke bey der Wittwe Humbergin wiederbringt, erhält 1 Rthl. Douceur. Solte derselbe aber verborgen gehalten und dennoch entdeckt werden, so wird es nach aller Strenge geahndet werden," *SPZ*, 11 November 1786, no. 133, p. 1336. Repeated: *SPZ*, 13 November 1786, no. 134, p. 1347 and 15 November 1786, no. 135, p. 1359.

⁵⁰ "Es ist den 18ten dieses ein grosser weisser Pudel, mit brauner Abzeichnung, langen krausen Haar, kurzen Ruthe, und gelben Halsband mit *O. v. W.* bezeichnet, verlohren gegangen. Wer diesen Hund retradirt, erhält 1 Rthl. Douceur, widrigenfalls diese Entwendung bei Entdeckung als ein Diebstahl betrachtet werden wird. L. v. Wiedebach, Regim. v. Wendessen," *SPZ*, 23 December 1786, no. 151, p. 1519. Repeated: *SPZ*, 27 December 1786, no. 152, p. 1527 and *SPZ*, 30 December 1786, no. 153, p. 1535.

si E.g. "Ein kleiner weisser Bologneser Hund ist abhanden gekommen, wer ihn hat oder anzeigen wird, verspricht man einen Recompens, bey dem Hrn. Nothnagel in der Nadlergasse, allenfalls wird man ihn als gestohlen erkennen, sollte er heut oder morgen zum Vorschein kommen," *SPZ*, 16 September 1761, no. 109, p. 592. An owner of a young pointer called on a man seen with his dog to return him voluntarily, otherwise he would force him to do so with the help of the authorities ("mit obrigkeitlicher Hülfe"), *WBF*, 7 May 1798, no. 19, p. 568.

a stray animal and not trying to find its owner was also considered to be an instance of theft. Yet a preliminary survey of the literature on the subject suggests that only in exceptional cases did appropriation of a dog end in court.⁵² The cases I have encountered concerned primarily the special situation of catching someone else's dog during a hunt.⁵³ In order to make the matter clear, it would be necessary to conduct a survey of municipal court archives. This is impossible in the case of Wrocław, as court records from that period were lost in 1945. Nevertheless, it seems that such trials were incidental. The threats in the advertisements should be treated rather as rhetorical figures and element of pressure in the owners' efforts to bring their pets back. This is also suggested by the form of the threats, which rather than to judicial measures, refer to some vague "trouble" in which the persons found with someone else's dogs would find themselves.⁵⁴

This does not mean, however, that all victims intended to let the perpetrators get away with the thefts. It seems that some owners sought first of all to punish the thief and thus satisfy their sense of justice. This is evidenced by promises of a special reward for indicating the thief. For example — in 1782 the owner of a small English scent hound bitch offered one thaler for her return, and if the dog had already been sold, a reimbursement of the full amount and "one more thaler for proving who sold it." The practice is even more evident in an announcement from 1797. It prom-

⁵² Cf. KACZOR 2005, pp. 55–59; KAMLER 2010, pp. 86–91; BEHRINGER 1991, pp. 95–97. Generally on thefts of animals: JANSSEN 1970.

⁵³ ŁOZIŃSKI 2006, pp. 200–201. Cf. also FORELLE, SZUSZKIEWICZOWA 1976, pp. 87–89.

⁵⁴ SPZ, 14 April 1781, no. 45, p. 462: "Den 30 März v. M. ist ein Hünerhund verlohren worden, welcher von starker Mittelgröße, weisser Couleur, einen braunen Kopf und braun Behänge, auf der linken Seite am Halse einen braunen Fleck, desgleichen auf dem Kreutz, und etwas kurz gestutzt. Wer diesen Hund bringet, oder sichere Nachricht giebt, hat in des Hrn. Wilh. Gottlieb Korns Buchhandlung 2 Rthl. Douceur zu bekommen. Widrigenfalls, wenn der Hund bey jemanden gefunden wird, so hat Inhaber dessen Unannehmlichkeit zu gewärtigen. Breslau d. 6 April 1781." Similarly: SPZ, 29 August 1781, no. 102, p. 1027: "Nachdem vom 17. zum 18 Julii a. c. von Saabor bey Grünberg eine Englische Docke verlohren gegangen, und ihren Weg von Saabor aus nach Wartenberg genommen, allwo sie von verschiedenen Leuten gesehen worden: eine Hündin, trächtig gut gewachsen. Semmelfarbe die Couleur zwey weisse Vorder und 1 weissen Hinterfuß verschnittene Ohren, unten die Brust weis und die Spitze am Schwanze weis und an der Habhaftwerdung dieses Hundes dem Eigenthümer gelegen; als werden alle besonders Jäger und Förster ersuchet, falls sich diese vorbeschriebene Hündin irgendwo sehen ließe, oder von jemanden angehalten worden wäre, solche gegen ein gutes Douceur an den Amts erwalter Krahmer zu Saabor zu verabfolgen, widrigenfals aber gewarniget, sich nicht in Unannehmlichkeiten dieserhalb zu versetzen. Saabor den 24 Aug. 1781."

⁵⁵ SPZ, 3 April 1782, no. 39, p. 345. Repeated: SPZ, 5 April 1782, no. 40, p. 353 and SPZ, 8 April 1782, no. 41, p. 362: "Eine Hündin von der Raçe der sogenannten kleinen englischen Jagdhunde, mit langen glatten weissen Haaren, einen braunen Kopf, und drey schwarzen Flecken über dem Rücken, ist den 30. März a. c. aufgegriffen worden. Wer diesen Hund in der Zeitungsexpedition abliefert oder nachweiset, erhält 1 Rthl. Recompence, und im Fall er erkauft seyn sollte, wird nicht allein das Kaufpretium restituiret, sondern auch außerdem noch 1 Rthl. vergütiget, wenn der Verkäufer nachgewießen werden kan."

ised four thalers for the return of the dog and six thalers for indicating the thief.⁵⁶ We do not know, however, whether the owners intended to bring the perpetrators to court or whether they were planning some informal retaliation measures. It is worth noting in this context a case included in the material from the 1840s analysed by Ł. Szymański. The perpetrator was threatened not only with criminal prosecution, but also with some unspecified sanctions on the part of hunters, if he dared to appear with the stolen animal during a hunt. Thus the owners also invoked unwritten norms condemning those who liked to keep other people's dogs.⁵⁷

Another rhetorical device was to appeal to the finder's sense of law and order. In an extensive announcement concerning a missing Italian greyhound bitch we can read that if the person in whose hands the dog now finds herself wants to act in accordance with the law, he will take the owner's request into consideration and return the animal to him. Many owners did not make threats of legal sanctions, but appealed to the finders' personal ethos, primarily their integrity. For example, the owner of a Bolognese bitch asked: "if someone found her and was decent enough to return the dog to the Leuckart and Co bookshop in the market square." Such a manoeuvre was developed further in an advertisement of August 1785 concerning a small black and white sighthound. Despite a search undertaken after his disappearance, the dog was not found, which suggested that he had been stolen. Nevertheless, the owner also believed that hr might find himself in the hands of "honest people", and hoped that they "would not keep the dog, which is someone else's property, all

⁵⁶ "Es ist unterm 29ten vorigen Monaths ein großer Hund Kastanienbrauner Farbe, abgeschnittue Ohren, langen Schwanz, weiße Füsse verlohren oder entwendet worden; der Wiederbringer des Hundes erhält 4 Rth. oder der Entdecker 6 Rth. bey dem Wirth im goldnen Zepter," *WBF*, 6 November 1797, no. 45, p. 1387. Similarly, an announcement in eighteenth-century Baltimore offered half a pistole for the animal to be returned and twice as much for information about the person who had stolen it, ME-ACHAM 2011, p. 532.

⁵⁷ "On 27 August this year was stolen from pups from the house at No. 28 in Freta Street a pointer bitch, of the Courland breed, white with chestnut ears and spots, anyone who has the dog is warned not to keep her but immediately release her, for otherwise the owner shall use all means to trace her and the person keeping her, as someone else's property, will undoubtedly bring unpleasant consequences upon himself. If the person keeping the bitch is met with her at a hunt, he will be dealt with in such manner as is common among hunters in such cases. Anyone bringing the dog back to the house indicated above, will receive a decent remuneration from the owner," SZYMAŃSKI 2018, pp. 15–16.

⁵⁸ "Es hat sich am vergangnen Sonnabend ein Windspiel, und zwar eine Hündin, verlaufen, welches außer einem ganz weissen Halse und Füssen, daran kenntlich, daß es blaue Augen und über der Nase einen weissen Streifen hat, der Kopf und Rücken sind bräunlich und wie Kothflecken marmorirt, der Unterleib ist Haarlos. Will derjenige, in dessen Händen sich dieser Hund jezt befindet, rechtschaffen handeln, so wird er die Bitte des Eigenthümers statt finden lassen, und ihn zurückgeben, wogegen man, da die Hündin belegt ist, zu seinerzeit ein Junges abzugeben, auch gleich jezt zu einiger Erkenntlichkeit einen Rthlr. Douceur an denjenigen zu bezahlen verspricht, der das nähere in der Zeitungsexpedition anzeigen wird," *SPZ*, 7 July 1784, no. 79, p. 823.

⁵⁹ SPZ, 9 August 1783, no. 93, p. 962. Similarly: SPZ, 6 September 1783, no. 105, p. 1072.

the more so that he is easily recognisable, and so his finder is kindly asked to inform the newspaper about the fact." The quote clearly shows that the belief in other people's integrity had its limits and that it was useful to encourage people to act lawfully with a threat that dog appropriation would not go unpunished.

Mixing threats and entreaties was a method used relatively often in the analysed material. Owners also tried to use commonsensical arguments. In particular, they liked to use the argument, quoted earlier, that the dog was easily recognisable. The owner of a large white poodle said publicly he would not pay a penny as a "reward", because the dog was so unique that if the thief appeared with him in the street, he would be immediately exposed anyway. Another strategy intended to persuade people to return the animals was to stress their limited usefulness. The owner of a lost pug dog wrote openly that the animal was absolutely useless and that he was looking for it "out of pure affection" ("aus blossen Affect"). A pointer was described as old and completely unfit, and as such useless during hunts. On the other hand, in case of stolen puppy, it was argued that its return would help the new owner to avoid inconveniences of its upbringing.

Nineteenth-century announcements also featured arguments that the missing dogs were strongly attached to their previous owner, which apparently would result in the animals "pining away." In addition, the advertisers appealed to the perpetra-

⁶⁰ SPZ, 25 July 1785, no. 86, p. 855: "Es hat sich der den 13ten Julius verlohme vnd den 16. *ejusd*. bekannt gemachte kleine Windhund, männlichen Geschlechts, von schwarzer Farbe, weißer Brust und weißen Füssen, an der Stirn ein kleines weißes Pläßgen, und an dem Schwanz eine weiße Spitze habend, nicht wieder eingefunden, und ist also wahrscheinlich gestohlen worden; ist er auf eine oder andre Art in die Hände ehrlicher Leute gekommen, so wird gehoffet daß derjenige in dessen Händen er sich befindet, den Hund als ein fremdes Guth nicht behalten werden um so weniger als er sehr kennbar ist, und wird in diesem Fall der Inhaber gebeten, der Zeitungsexpedition gefälligst Nachricht zu geben. Demjenigen aber, der den Dieb des Hundes angeben kan, dessen Eigenthümer in der Zeitungsexpedition zu erfahren ist, wird die Verschwiegenheit seines Nahmens versichert; in allen Fällen aber wird ein gutes Douceur gegeben, und die Kosten erstattet werden."

⁶¹ SPZ, 12 March 1800, no. 31, p. 457. A similar advertisement concerned a sighthound bitch lost in Kuźnicza Street. Although the announcement was placed in the lost objects section, it featured a significant warning: "Auf jeden Fall würde es dem gegenwärtigen Besitzer schwer werden, sie zu erhalten, da sie sehr kenntlich ist" ("In any case her present owner will find it hard to keep her, because it she very easily recognisable"), WBF, 9 April 1804, no. 15, p. 882.

⁶² SPZ, 13 July 1765, no. 81, p. 494.

⁶³ SPZ, 22 February 1766, no. 23, p. 158. An exception is an appeal by the royal forester from Łubniany near Opole. Writing about the loss of a two-year-old limer, he appealed for help especially to all forest officials "who are well aware of how essential a good limer is in big game hunting," WBF, 6 May 1799, no. 18, p. 612.

⁶⁴ SPZ, 13 October 1800, no. 121, p. 1210.

⁶⁵ "The unlawful owner is warned that he would have no pleasure in her, as she is too attached to her mistress and will certainly die longing for her"; "No one will find the dog useful, as, aged 15 and very attached to his mistress, he will certainly die, pining away for her", SZYMAŃSKI 2018, p. 15. Simi-

tors' feelings, resorting to the highest emotional registers. For example, a poodle that got lost during a fireworks display in Warsaw in 1821 was apparently a "gift from a dying son to his anguished father." In turn the recovery of a stolen spitz was to be an essential condition for "restoring domestic peace and protecting a wretched maid from suffering." By comparison, Enlightenment era advertisers seem still quite restrained in showing their feelings towards their animals. One of the few examples of an appeal to compassion is an announcement, originating towards the end of the analysed period, concerning a lapdog whose loss apparently greatly saddened his little owner. But it does not feature the concept of a "faithful dog pining away for his owner", as it would not become popular until the nineteenth century.

A separate category in the analysed material is made up of inserts announcing the finding of animals. We cannot be certain whether in their case the intentions of the advertisers were always pure. Nineteenth-century thieves specialised in stealing dogs to obtain a ransom and through newspapers looked for the desperate owners of the animals.⁶⁹ We do not know, however, to what extent the criminals used the medium as early as in the eighteenth century. Significantly, some advertisers warned that they would keep the animal only for a specific period and then would sell it. For example, the finder of a purebred pointer declared he would wait only eleven days and if no one contacted him, he would treat the dog as his property. The publication of such advertisements seems to be associated with legal norms requiring finders to make efforts to find the owner of a stray animal. By paying for such an announcement, the finder was able to prove his willingness to act in accordance with the law and then sell the dog with a clear conscience. Another significant announcement was placed by the wife of a low-ranking officer from the von Wendessen Regiment. The woman openly announces in it that she expects not just a reimbursement of the cost of feed for a pointer she had found, but also a special reward.⁷¹

larly in an advertisement from 1858, "As the bitch, past her 14th year, is not destined to live long in a strange house, the kind finder is asked to send her back home, formerly of Dr Malcz," FORELLE, SZUSZKIEWICZOWA 1976, p. 208.

⁶⁶ FORELLE, SZUSZKIEWICZOWA 1976, p. 205.

⁶⁷ WBF, 28 May 1798, no. 22, p. 676: "Am Himmelfartstage hat sich aus dem Hause No. 1363 auf der Catharinenstrasse ein Stubenhund von mitler Größe, weiß mit schwarzen Flecken und langen Haaren, verlohren. Das kleine Mädchen das über den Verlust ihres so treuen Thieres traurig ist, bittet dem eine Belohnung an, der es ihr wieder bringt." Similar: SPZ, 26 June 1800, no. 74, p. 1210.

More on the subject: KETE 1994, pp. 22–38.

⁶⁹ VELTEN 2013, p. 189.

⁷⁰ WBF, 9 April 1804, no. 15, p. 887: "Der rechtmäßige Eigenthümer wird ersucht, solchen gegen Erstattung der Kosten bis zum 20. April abzuholen, weil nach der Zeit ich über ihn, als mein Eigenthum disponiren werde." On the other hand the owner of a Bolognese dog found in February 1792 was to pick up his pet within eight days at the latest, WBF, 6 February 1792, no. 6, p. 180. Similar advertisements could also be found in Gdańsk, cf. PALUCHOWSKI 2013, p. 239.

⁷¹ SPZ, 10 June 1793, no. 23, p. 635.

TWO MALES DRESSED IN THE MANNER OF BUTCHERS— THE PERPETRATORS AND CIRCUMSTANCES OF THE THEFTS

I have not yet raised a key issue — who were the perpetrators of the thefts? By their very nature press materials do not provide numerous details about them. Many advertisers were not even sure whether a crime had been committed or whether their dog had simply got lost. Only in few cases did they manage to observe the moment of the theft or establish it thanks to information from eyewitnesses. Let us gather the data that appeared in the advertisements published in Wrocław. In 1780 a young whippet ran out of a house in New Market and was caught by an unknown youth in a long blue apron. 72 I have already described two incidents which occurred outside Wrocław. A young sighthound bitch was stolen from the Biskupice Manor and was subsequently seen led by two men "dressed in the manner of butchers." In 1782 a large English dogo was captured in Pracze near Wrocław in front of the residents. However, the advertisement tells us only that this was done by a "despicable villain" and nothing about his appearance or social background. The most detailed description was included in an advertisement about a lost pointer from October 1790. According to a witness, the pointer was taken by a man with a hunting gun and bag, probably "a townsman from a small town or a hunter from the countryside." Theft by a "passing hunter" is mentioned explicitly by an announcement from 1788, perhaps also based on eyewitnesses' accounts.74 A three-month-old pointer pup was said to have been taken by an unknown "man in green attire." A touch of slapstick comedy emergences from a description of the disappearance of a white spitz which belonged to the director of the Wrocław theatre company "Kalte Asche", Maria Barbara Wäser. The dog got lost, but was quickly found by her assistant, a man named Lemonier. "He had the best intentions to deliver him to her house; but as it was transported there, the dog kept barking fiercely. So in order not to make a spectacle of himself with the barking dog, he handed the animal to some unknown soldier who

⁷² SPZ, 1 April 1780, no. 39, p. 474: "Es ist am Donnerstag Mittag aus einem Hause auf dem Neumarkt ein junges kleines englisches Windspiel ganz von Isabell Farbe verlohren gegangen, und nach eingezogener Nachricht ist selbiges von einem unbekannten Burschen in einem langen blauen Rock auf dem Neumarkt aufgefangen worden, welcher mit davon gegangen. Wenn jemand davon Nachricht zu geben weiß; so wird gebeten solches gegen eine billige Belohnung in der Zeitungs=Expedition anzuzeigen."

⁷³ SPZ, 9 October 1790, no. 119, p. 1346.

⁷⁴ SPZ, 30 August 1788, no. 102, p. 1076. Repeated: SPZ, 3 September 1788, no. 104, p. 1092: "Es ist am 27ten dieses ein ganz brauner Englischer Hund, mit weisser Stirne, weisser Brust und drey weissen Füßen und besonders an den starken und langen Ohrvehängen kenntlich, abhanden gekommen, und aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach von einem reisenden Jäger gestohlen worden. Solle jemand einige Nachricht hievon an den Gräflich von Redenschen Jäger auf der Taschengaße geben können, wohin derselbe gebracht oder verkauft worden, hat einen Douceur zu gewärtigen."

⁷⁵ WBF, 7 May 1798, no. 19, p. 568. Similarly, the two dachshunds thief was described as "man in green camisole," SPZ, 29 October 1800, no. 128, p. 2044.

was to have carried him to the building." However, the soldier disappeared without a trace — as Mr Lemonier trustingly conjectured, he must have "forgotten" where he was to have delivered the director's dog. Without determining the matter, we can, however, guess that the accidental helper took the opportunity to make some money by selling the animal so carelessly entrusted to him. A special case among all the analysed incidents is the disappearance of a mixed-breed sighthound from the Jezierzyce Małe estate near Niemcza. Its owner suspected that the dog had been taken by one of his servants and then sold through intermediaries to another kennel. We would, therefore, be dealing in this case with a so-called "home thief." According to studies of urban crime in the eighteenth century, one-fifth of offences against property were committed by servants and household members.

On the basis of this small group of accounts we can make only rather general observations concerning dog thieves. In all the examples described above they are all men. In two cases they seem to be linked to the craftsmen community: the young boy in work clothes or the alleged butchers. Nineteenth-century accounts confirm that dog theft was a practice involving primarily men. ⁷⁹ Only in exceptional cases were the perpetrators women, for example in Gdańsk, when a local female beggar allegedly committed the theft. ⁸⁰

Nor can we say much, on the basis of the material collected, about the methods and techniques of theft from the period. In the cases concerning landed estates, planning is very much in evidence. The perpetrators are prepared (they have a rope to tie the dog) and the theft is committed on private premises. The situation is different in the urban space. There are no examples of dogs being stolen from private homes; thefts are committed in public places. In the examples referred to earlier, the perpetrators caught dogs that had strayed from their owners, perhaps only taking advantage of an opportunity without planning the crime in advance. Among early modern period thieves there were many who stole "whatever they could lay their hands on."

This does not mean that there were no "dog specialists" who would watch the most frequented places in order to take advantage of any opportunity that might arise. There are repeated references in the papers to several locations where dogs get lost particularly frequently, locations like Albrechtsgasse (today Wit Stwosz Street), but we cannot be certain whether this was connected with the activities of dog thieves. Albrechtsgasse was an elegant street off the Market Square and a place popular with

⁷⁶ WBF, 10 November 1788, p. 1473.

⁷⁷ WBF, 5 December 1796, no. 49, p. 1632: "Klein Jeseritz bey Rothschloß. Es ist von dem Hofe allhier, ein Sola=Windhund den 19ten Nov. diebischer Weise weg, und aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach von ein heimischen Menschen durch die 2te=oder 3te Hand an eine Herrschaft gebracht worden."

⁷⁸ Cf. EIBACH 2003, pp. 336–354.

⁷⁹ Cf. examples collected by SZYMAŃSKI 2018, pp. 17–18.

⁸⁰ PALUCHOWSKI 2013, p. 234.

⁸¹ Similar observations about the criminal underworld in the early nineteenth century, cf. KARPIŃSKA 1999, p. 127.

strollers (cf. Fig. 1). Usually, the perpetrators acted alone, although as we can see in the case of the plan to steal two dogs, sometimes collective action was necessary. We do not yet come across examples of deliberate animal abuse in the period. However, the press material from Warsaw from the 1830s does feature a description of the capturing of a sighthound lured by a piece of cheese. 82

Another question that needs to be asked is as follows: were such thefts profitable? How much could a dog thief earn? This is hard to determine, because we have a rather limited knowledge of dog trade in eighteenth-century Europe. In both analysed Silesian newspapers announcements of a sale are rare. They suggest that the purpose was to get rid of the animal because the estate was being auctioned or the owner was leaving. A considerable portion of such advertisements were placed by landowners. This suggests that in the city trade in dogs still took place on market squares at the time. However, the number of announcements grew with each decade. Already from the 1760s the Wrocław press published announcements placed by people looking for purebred dogs. In 1767 a person with a young English dogo for sale was guaranteed good business.83 In 1791 a resident wanted to buy a "handsome white spitz" and a "genuine poodle." In other cities the use of the press in animal trading seemed to develop more rapidly. For example, in Gdańsk pups for sale were advertised as early as from the mid-eighteenth century. 85 In the 1780s it was possible to find a seller offering various breeds, that is, clearly specialising in this type of merchandise. 86 The problem is that only in exceptional cases are prices of the animals offered for sale given. Announcements concerning hunting dogs usually encourage potential buyers to try them out on site and ask for the price there. Only one advertisement, concerning two "very good" hunting dogs and placed in April 1791, informs us that the animals can be bought for four ducats.⁸⁷ However, as they were available to be picked up in a forest hamlet near Sulechów, the price may not have reflected the reality in Wrocław.

Another measure we can use is the amount of the reward for finding a missing dog. The source is not entirely reliable, because the amount given not always corresponded to the animal's market valuation. Owners who were particularly strongly attached to their dogs were willing to pay rates far above their true value. When the first advertisement failed to bring a result, some were even prepared to double the reward. Despite these reservations, the amounts offered do provide us with some insight into how much dogs were worth at the time and how the princes differed for

⁸² SZYMAŃSKI 2018, p. 17.

⁸³ SPZ, 11 July 1767, p. 776. Repeated: SPZ, 13 July 1767, p. 784.

⁸⁴ SPZ, 14 March 1791, no. 32, p. 358.

⁸⁵ PALUCHOWSKI 2013, pp. 239–240.

⁸⁶ PALUCHOWSKI 2013, p. 240.

⁸⁷ SPZ, 23 April 1791, no. 49, p. 554. Repeated: SPZ, 27 April 1791, no. 50, p. 570 and SPZ, 30 April 1791, no. 51, p. 582.

the various breeds. The most highly valued dogs undoubtedly included hunting dogs. The smallest reward for finding a lost pointer was two thalers and could even be as high as two ducats. One ducat was usually a reward for a sighthound. There was a greater variety in rewards for returning a pointer. The basic rate was around two thalers or one ducat, but there were cases when only one thaler was offered and, on the other hand, there were exorbitant rewards of ten thalers. Such sums should probably not be treated as printing errors, because, as we known, some well-trained hunting dogs were the object of admiration and a source of pride for their owners, with hunters competing to get the most valuable animals. 88 This is the context in which we should consider the astronomical amount promised in 1790 by General Friedrich von Usedom for the return of a white hunting bitch. The well-connected landowner could afford to offer a reward of thirty thalers. 89 Smaller amounts were offered for small scent hounds. The reward for a dachshund was usually one ducat, while an advertisement concerning a basset mentioned a reward of one thaler. Half a ducat or one thaler was the reward for the return of a spitz, with the exception of a dog with exceptionally fine hair, for which five thalers were offered. 90 The reward for the favourite lapdogs, Bolognese dogs, was sometimes higher than for a purebred sighthound. In 1767 the reward for information about the fate of a curly-haired Bolognese dog with cream-coloured ears was two ducats. 91 The least valuable were small lapdogs of unspecified breed. The reward offered for them was usually one thaler. In one case — of a "small black dog" — only eight silver groschen were offered. 92

The amounts offered seem quite substantial in comparison with the prices of the basic goods. In 1764 it was possible to buy one fathom of oakwood or sixteen geese for two thalers. One thaler was the price for making a pair of booties. This shows that trading in dogs may have been quite a substantial source of income. A fashion for dogs and informal rules of their sale — as we remember, some potential buyers advertised themselves — made trading in stolen animals easier. Another source of income may have been the rewards. The spread of a sentimental approach to dogs resulted in people becoming more willing to pay even an exorbitant ransom. The most telling evidence of this is the cases when the reward increased with each successive advertisement. For example, the owner of a small Bolognese bitch, which became lost near a tobacco factory in 1767, initially promised a "good remuneration", only to raise the stakes to a "very considerable" reward. As a last resort, if a thief

⁸⁸ E.g. FORELLE, SZUSZKIEWICZOWA 1976, pp. 87–88. In Gdańsk, too, the highest rewards were offered for hunting dogs. One man offered thirty florins for the return of a pointer, PALUCHOW-SKI 2018, p. 235.

⁸⁹ SPZ, 4 October 1790, no. 117, p. 1318.

⁹⁰ WBF, 19 May 1806, no. 20, p. 1227.

⁹¹ SPZ, 19 December 1767, no. 149, p. 1484.

⁹² SPZ, 28 February 1784, no. 25, p. 227.

⁹³ SPZ, 1 August 1767, no. 89, p. 864. Repeated: SPZ, 5 August 1767, no. 91, p. 883.

was unable to sell the animal, he could sell its skin to glove makers. ⁹⁴ Accessories made of canine leather were very popular in the eighteenth century. ⁹⁵ Nevertheless, given the dog catchers' monopoly on trading in dog leather, the profits of criminals on this market seem rather problematic.

WAYS OF SECURING ANIMALS

One of the ways of protecting animals against theft was marking them very clearly. The simplest solutions included a collar with the owner's identification marks. The analysed material features several dozen descriptions of dog collars or other ornaments carried by dogs round their necks. The objects in question differed considerably in terms of the material of which they were made — the collars were made of both precious fabrics (saffian, silk, satin, velvet and taffeta), leather as well as metal (brass, iron). The collar was usually made to match the dog's breed. Small pets were adorned most with expensive collars made of various fabrics, usually with many little bells. Such collars only sporadically had ownership marks.

On the other hand collars for dogs usually accompanying their owners during walks across the city were different. They were mostly made of metal, primarily of brass. Such collars were not always without ornaments, which is well illustrated by an advertisement from 1762. The lost grey poodle mentioned in it had a silver-plated brass collar with the letters J. H. M. R. as well as two yellow shells pierced in the middle and a brass plaque with a single bell. 6 Larger hunting and guard dogs usually had sturdy collars made of leather, less often of metal; in both cases they carried initials and were secured by a padlock. For example, an English dogo belonging to a military man stationed in Wrocław carried a black collar with brass letters. There is plenty of evidence of metal collars with letters in early modern iconography. 98 They were usually quite wide and covered most of the dog's neck. In order to facilitate putting them on, they had hinges and the locking part usually had several holes making it easier to adjust it to the width of the neck (cf. Fig. 2). Metal collars were secured with small padlocks, usually made of brass, less often of steel. The padlocks could have various shapes; the advertisements mention elongated, oval and round padlocks. The owners' initials were also placed on leather collars. The letters may have been made of brass, like in the above mentioned advertisement concerning an English dogo. A similar collar was worn by the massive dog belonging to Count von Haugwitz. 99 Major von Franckenberg, on the other hand, decided to order

⁹⁴ Cf. VELTEN 2013, p. 189.

⁹⁵ Cf. KLUK 1779, p. 301.

⁹⁶ SPZ, 3 May 1762, no. 52, p. 298.

⁹⁷ SPZ, 20 October 1790, no. 124, p. 1400.

⁹⁸ MACDONOGH 1999, pp. 129–132; POKORA 2012, pp. 87–88.

⁹⁹ SPZ, 2 October 1782, no. 116, p. 1064.

less expensive letters made of tin. 100 In the case of tin collars, it was possible to paint the initials on them. 101 One announcement mentions letters being etched in metal. 102

Initials placed on dog collars usually referred to the name and title of the owner. This is well illustrated by a portrait of Princess Philippine Charlotte of Brunswick from ca 1780 (Fig. 3). The little sighthound climbing onto the princess' knees has a metal collar with the embossed letters P. C. H. Z., that is P[hilippine] C[harlotte] H[erzogin] Z[u] [Braunschweig]. There is usually a clear correlation between the letters and the animal owner's name in the Wrocław advertisements. For example, Prince Friedrich Hohenlohe's dog wore a collar with the initials F. L. P. z. H., which should be read as: Friedrich Ludwig Prinz zu Hohenlohe. Thanks to such collars we can in some cases establish the identity of the owner. One of the Counts von Haugwitz was looking for a sand-coloured mastiff which carried a leather collar with the letters I. W. v H. making it possible to link the animal to Johann Wenzel von Haugwitz, the future Wrocław *Landrat*. On the other hand entire names were rarely put on the collars. Such cases were more frequent at the turn of the nineteenth century — for example, one of the missing dogs had a brass collar with the name Hoffmann.

The common custom of attaching padlocks to collars, which hampered their quick removal, may have potentially led to the thief being caught in the fact. Yet they were not problematic enough as an obstacle to provide lasting protection for the owner. Some owners openly asked for a return of their dog "irrespective of whether he has a collar on or not", clearly taking into account the possibility that the padlock may have been broken and the collar taken off.

A more durable method of marking the animals was to place an ownership mark on their bodies. Marking domestic animals in this way was a common practice in various European and non-European cultures. ¹⁰⁷ In Europe branding was used mostly on cattle and horses. However, there is evidence of cases of marking of other animal groups, for example swans in England. ¹⁰⁸ In Prussia in the eighteenth century attempts were made to impose top-down regulations of the ownership mark system, which was associated with the emergency fight against cattle pest. Under Frederick William II's ordinance of 1716, after an animal had been inspected with regard to its health status, the ruler monogram was to be branded on its side, while a butcher was

¹⁰⁰ SPZ, 20 October 1790, no. 124, p. 1400.

¹⁰¹ SPZ, 23 July 1764, no. 86, p. 544.

¹⁰² WBF, 2 June 1806, no. 22, p. 1430.

Other iconographic examples: POKORA 2013, pp. 87–88.

¹⁰⁴ E.g. SPZ, 24 August 1757, no. 99; SPZ, 26 March 1765, no. 36, p. 200.

Johann Wenzel v. Haugwitz's biographical note: STAUBEL 2009, p. 388.

¹⁰⁶ WBF, 28 March 1803, no. 13, p. 628.

¹⁰⁷ Generally on animal marking: WOLSKI 1964, pp. 312–325; BLANCOU 2001, pp. 420–425.

¹⁰⁸ MacGREGOR 1996, pp. 39-68.

to place his mark after the purchase on the left horn. ¹⁰⁹ At the turn of the nineteenth century several systems for marking domestic cattle were used in Silesia. The best example is the animal that got lost in October 1802 on the outskirts of Wrocław. The missing ox had the letters K. J. branded on its left horn, letter S in a circle made in tar and, in addition, letter S cut on its left hip. These last two marks undoubtedly referred to its current owner, a butcher named Stroinski, who paid for an announcement published in *Wöchentliche Fragnachrichten*. ¹¹⁰ As we can see, even in the case of one animal three different marking techniques may have been used — branding, marking with tar and cutting.

In the case of dogs the most frequent method of marking was hair cutting. It was particularly popular in large kennels belonging to rulers' families. In 1762 Karl Friedrich von Brandenburg-Schwedt, who was stationed in Wrocław, was looking for a light grey sighthound with the letters M. C. on its side. 111 The letters, undoubtedly standing for "Markgraf Carl", were cut ("sind angeschnitten") with, as other accounts would suggest, scissors. A good idea of how such marking looked is provided by a photograph by Henry Tournier from 1863 (cf. Fig. 4). 112 It shows that letters may have taken up nearly the entire length of a dog's side, which made it possible to recognise the animal from a considerable distance. The method was often used on his dogs by Prince Hohenlohe. The Prussian general Fredrich Ludwig Hohenlohe (1746–1818) often visited the Silesian capital, occasionally serving as the commander of the local garrison. He had numerous dogs, several of which went missing and the general looked for them by means of advertisements in the Wrocław press. In 1783 he lost a white curly-haired sighthound (probably a Russian wolfhound, borzoi, a breed popular at the time). The animal apparently had the letter H cut on his right side. 113 An identical method was used to mark other dogs belonging to the prince — a white pointer bitch (1788), 114 a spotted pointer (1789), a large mastiff (1789) and a Sauhund (1790). 115 After some time the marking method was modi-

¹⁰⁹ *Corporis constitutionum* 1740, vol. 5, no. 13, pp. 439–442; no. 29, pp. 477–478. Cf. TORNER 1927, pp. 345–346.

¹¹⁰ WBF, 18 October 1802, no. 42, p. 2064.

SPZ, 24 May 1762, no. 61, p. 350: "Es ist den 22ten May, Ein, Sr. Königl. Hoheit dem Prinzen und Marggrafen Carl gehöriger Windhund verlohren gegangen, es ist selbiger Aschgrauer Couleur, und mit sehr vielen schwarzen Flecken gesprenkelt, an der linken Seite sind ihm die Buchstaben M. C. angeschnitten, wer selbigen nachzuweisen weiß, wird dienstlichst ersucht, solches in Sr. Königl. Höheit Quartier au der Antonien Gasse in dem von Gerbhardschen Hause zu melden."

¹¹² The dog 2000, p. 52.

[&]quot;Ein weisser flockhärigter Windhund, mit schwarzen Kopf und dergleichen Fleck auf dem Rücken, auf der rechten Seite ein *H.* ausgeschnitten, wird seit 3 Tagen vermißt. Wer ihn an sich genommen, oder davon Nachricht zu geben weiß, wird ersucht, dem Jäger des Prinzen von Hohenlohe davon Nachricht zu geben, und einen Recompens zu gewärtigen," *SPZ*, 9 April 1783, no. 43, p. 440.

¹¹⁴ SPZ, 26 March 1788, p. 372.

¹¹⁵ SPZ, 27 January 1790, no. 12, p. 115. Repeated: SPZ, 30 January 1790, no. 13, p. 123.

fied and the dogs began to carry the initials F. H. Such letters were cut on the right sides of two bitches which the prince's servants searched for in 1803. ¹¹⁶ The change of marking was probably associated with a desire to make the prince's dogs different from those belonging to other people, for example, animals belonging to the Hochberg family. The Hochberg dogs could be identified by the letters v. H. on their left sides. ¹¹⁷ It is possible, however, that the additional initials were used to distinguish dogs belonging to different members of the Hohenlohe family. Another man marking his dogs in this fashion was the commander of the local cuirassier regiment, General Dietrich Goswin von Bockum-Dolffs. ¹¹⁸ A red sighthound of the Wallachian variety, rarely seen in Silesia, was marked with the letters M. R. ¹¹⁹ An advertisement placed by the *Landrat* Christian Wilhelm von Teichman shows that cutting was practised also in the case of small hunting dogs. Von Teichman's dachshund-like dog had its hair cut on the side in the form of the letters V. T. ¹²⁰ Incidentally, the owners of marked dogs also included a representative of the Silesian clergy — the scholaster from the cathedral chapter, Franz Nikolaus Troilo. ¹²¹

The examples presented above suggest that the practice of marking dogs by cutting their hair in a specific manner was by no means rare, although it was limited to the royal family, aristocracy, Church elites and high-ranking representa-

¹¹⁶ WBF, 25 April 1803, no. 17, p. 839.

¹¹⁷ SPZ, 6 September 1786, no. 105, p. 1023. Repeated: SPZ, 9 September 1786, no. 106, p. 1035: "Es ist dem Herrn v. Hocke von Aslau, eine kleine Jagdhündin gestohlen werden, auf dem Nacken schwarzlich, der Unterleib nebst den Beinen lichtegelb über der Nase weiß, die Vorderfüße, auch weiß, auf der linken Seite der Name v. H. Wer hiervon einige Nachricht entweder nach Aslau ober an die Zeitungsexpedition nach Breslau giebt, soll einen Ducaten zum Douceur erhalten."

For more on General von Dolffs, cf. DORN 2016.

¹¹⁹ WBF, 23 February 1801, no. 8, pp. 314–315: "Breslau. Den 10ten hat sich ein rother wallachischer Windhund verlaufen, hat ein schwarzes Halsband, ist zu kennen an den 2 ausgeschnittenen Buchstaben an der Seite M. R. Sollte diesen Windhund jemand an sich genommen haben, so bittet man, solchen bey Sr. Excellenz des Herrn Generallieutenant v. Dolffs gegen ein Douceur abzugeben."

^{120 &}quot;Es hat ein liederlicher Mensch den 25ten Sept. a. c. einen Jagdhund aus Kraschen Wartenbergschen Creyses aufgefangen, und diebischer Weise entwendet; es ist ein kleiner dachsartiger Hund, auf dem Rücken schwarz, sonst braun, mit einer kleinen weissen Kehle und Schnuppe, und auf der einen Seite durch Ausschneidung der Haare *V. T.* gezeichnet. Sollte dieser Hund irgendwo verkauft worden seyn, so wird sehr ersucht, mir solchen wieder zuzustellen, dafür ich 6 Rthl. offerire, auch der gewisse Anzeige macht, wo der Hund ist, soll ein gutes Douceur erhalten. Rittmeister von Teichmann," *WBF*, 23 October 1797, no. 43, p. 1330. Biographical data on *Landrat* von Teichman: STAUBEL 2009, pp. 1005–1006.

[&]quot;Den 3. August ist ein großer Hünerhund verlohren gegangen, welchen tiegrich, braun behängt, auf dem Rücken 3 braune Flecke, und auf der rechten Seite einen kleinen, wo daneben *V. T.* ausgeschnitten ist. Wer davon Nachricht zu geben weiß, wird ersucht solche bey dem Herrn Prälaten von Troilo auf dem Dohm gegen ein Douceur anzuzeigen," *WBF*, 22 August 1796, no. 34, p. 1188. Reverend Troilo certainly had another dog, a young flushing dog which he lost in 1794, *WBF*, 25 August 1794, no. 34, p. 992. The animal may have been the same as the animal the prelate lost in February 1796, was prelate, cf. PATER 1998, p. 243.

tives of the military. The groups usually had at their disposal entire packs of dogs and a uniform marking system facilitated supervision and control. The available data clearly indicate that only hunting dogs had the owners' marks cut. Thanks to highly visible letters the animals could be recognised from a great distance, which was important during hunts, when dogs of various owners got mixed up. This type of marking was also useful as a theft preventing measure, because until the hair grew back it was easy to identify the dog.

No advertisement published in the Wrocław press mentions the owner's initials being branded on the dog's body. However, the practice did occur in European kennels. Examples include the dogs belonging to King Charles II Stuart. In January 1665 the king's servants were looking for a black and white bitch with letters C.R. burnt above its left ear. Earlier announcements do not mention such branding of dogs, so the ruler may have been prompted to resort to such a radical measure by repeated thefts of his animals.

I COULD ADVERTISE FOR A HUNDRED YEARS THAT I LOST MY DOG. TWO-HUNDRED YEARS! THREE HUNDRED YEARS!

Dog theft, traces of which can be found in the second half of the eighteenth century, grew and spread in the following century. In the first half of the nineteenth century there were specialised gangs of thieves operating in London, including gangs stealing dogs to demand a ransom. The famous spaniel belonging to the poet Elizabeth Barrett-Browning, immortalised by Virginia Woolf in a biography (*Flush. A Biography*), was stolen three times in the early 1840s. His owner had to pay a total of twenty pounds and personally negotiate with the leader of the gang. Barrett-Browning's voluminous correspondence enables us to precisely reconstruct the circumstances of the dognapping and the efforts to recover the animal. A vivid description of the events by Woolf — not entirely true to the facts from these sources — has the unquestionable merit of presenting the theft through the eyes of the dog. This unique approach brings in the animal perspective, advocated in contemporary humanities but unavailable in early modern sources.

Dog thieves found a permanent place in the history of literature primarily thanks to Jaroslav Hašek. The writer touched upon the theme in his humorous sketch *Můj obchod se psy*¹²⁴ and then developed it in the novel *The Fateful Adventures of the Good Soldier Švejk*. The story of the theft of Colonel Kraus von Zillergut's pin-

[&]quot;Lost on the 6th instant a black and white Bitch (one of his Majesties Hounds). She has a cross on the right shoulder and a C. R. burnt upon her left ear, behind her right ear upon her neck (which is white) she has a black spot about the breadth of a silver crown. Whoever shall bring or send her to the back stairs at Whitehall shall be well rewarded for his pains," FIRTH 1889, p. 26.

¹²³ WOOLF 1998, chapt. 4.

¹²⁴ HAŠEK 1924, pp. 10–24.

scher is an important element of the plot and the description of the preparations for the dognapping demonstrates various techniques and tricks used by thieves. ¹²⁵ In this case, we can look at the whole phenomenon through the eyes of the opposite side — the perpetrators themselves. Hašek used some of his own experience of dog trading, in which he dabbled in the early twentieth century. His familiarity with the so-called dog specialists — a special category of thieves distinguished by the police services at the beginning of that century — shed light on this little known milieu. ¹²⁶ The scale of dog theft is grotesquely exaggerated in the novel: "Fifty percent of the dogs that you pass in the street have changed masters several times. Often, years later, you'll buy back a dog that was stolen from you as a puppy, when you'd taken it out for a walk" nevertheless, the circumstances of the theft are presented realistically. Colonel von Zillergut's first step after losing his dog is to place advertisements in two popular Prague dailies, *Bohemia* and *Prager Tagblatt*. The advertisements prove to be of no avail, but the matter ends happily for the officer — Fox the pinscher is recognised during a walk and is reunited with his owner.

The very fact of resorting to the help of the press seems very symptomatic in this case. In spite of everything, it was still the most effective medium making it possible to recover stolen animals, especially during the period of mass readership of daily newspapers. In the nineteenth century the editorial team of *Kurier Warszawski* would receive letters of gratitude from owners who had recovered their dogs thanks to them. There are reasons to believe that the analysed advertisement from the Wrocław press were useful in the search for lost dogs as well.

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Dog thefts in eighteenth-century Wrocław

The spread of fashion for pet dogs in the eighteenth century led to a considerable expansion of the canine population, especially in large cities. The animals, no longer tied to buildings and constantly present in the urban space, got much more easily lost and stolen. The increase in the number of animals made them an attractive target for local criminals. Dognapping is undoubtedly a phenomenon with a lasting presence in modern metropolises, but hitherto practically unexplored. The preliminary research is based on an analysis of dog theft announcements published in the Silesian press. The author uses advertisements from two main Silesian papers publishing advertisements: *Wöchentliche Fragnachrichten* and *Schlesische Privilegirte Zeitung*, from 1742–1800. The earliest known dog theft announcements in Silesia come from the second half of the 1740s. The author has managed to distinguish three different types of appropriation: deliberately planned theft from a household, catching someone's dog during a walk, keeping a stray animal. The Silesian sources mention only men as the thieves, but owing to the specificity of the sources, the data are not entirely reliable.

The author of the article also analyses methods of securing dogs against theft. They included dog collars with the owner's initials. The common custom of attaching padlocks to collars, which hampered their quick removal, may have potentially led to the thief being caught in the act. Yet the padlocks were not problematic enough as an obstacle to provide lasting protection for the owner. A more durable method of marking the animals was to place an ownership mark on their bodies. In the case of dogs, them marks were cut. The available data clearly indicate that only hunting dogs had the owners' marks cut. Thanks to highly visible letters the animals could be recognised from a great distance, which was important during hunts, when dogs of various owners got mixed up. This type of marking was also useful as a theft preventing measure, because until the hair grew back it was easy to identify the dog. No advertisement published in the Wrocław press mentions the owner's initials being branded on the dog's body, although we know that such a practice did occur in European kennels.



Fig. 1. F.B. Werner, Wrocław, Albrechtsgasse, ca. 1735, BUWr, sign. 494813.

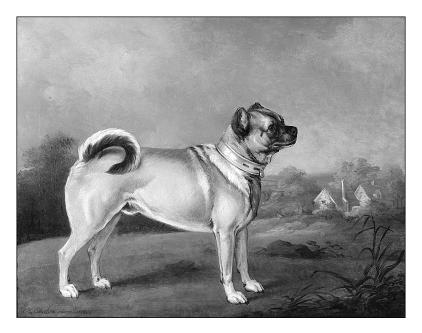


Fig. 2. Henry Bernard Chalon, A favorite pug, 1802 (Public Domain).



Fig. 3. Anna Rosina de Gasc (Lisiewska), Philippine Charlotte Herzogin zu Braunschweig, (copy), Muzeum Narodowe w Warszawie, Inv. Nr. 187211.

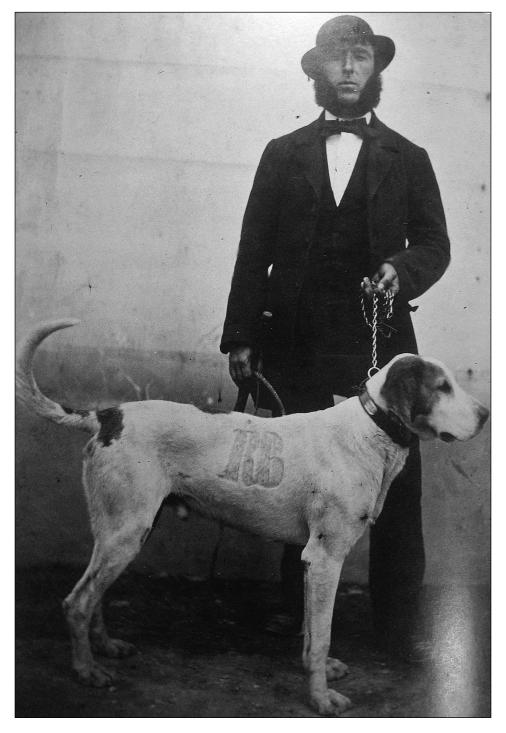


Fig. 4. Henry Tournier, 1863, after: The dog 2000, p. 52.