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Karl-Heinz Gersmann · Oliver Grimm (eds.)

Raptor and human – falconry and bird symbolism throughout the millennia on a global scale

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Raptor and human – falconry and bird symbolism throughout the millennia on a global scale

1/4

Edited by
Karl-Heinz Gersmann and Oliver Grimm

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*Top to the left: Seal of the Danish king Knud IV (late 11th century).
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The “*De arte venandi cum avibus*” of Emperor Frederick II

By Martina Giese

Keywords: Frederick II, “*De arte venandi cum avibus*”, Moamin, falconry in the High Middle Ages (c. 10th century to 1250), tracts on falconry

Abstract: Frederick II, Holy Roman Emperor, King of Sicily and Jerusalem (d. 1250), was the first medieval king who wrote a treatise on falconry. With his comprehensive tract, “On the Art of Hunting with Birds”, Frederick aimed to establish a new tradition, based equally on practical experience and theoretical considerations. Although, in addition to copies of the lost original manuscript, his son Manfred commissioned an abbreviated version of the text decorated with hundreds of miniatures, Frederick’s scientific life’s work fell into oblivion in the pre-modern period. It is today regarded as the most innovative and best contribution to this area. The article illustrates the aim, method, aspiration, genesis, content, early tradition, and reception of this masterpiece.

The Holy Roman Emperor Frederick II (d. 1250) can be regarded as one of the most famous hunters of the Middle Ages (cf. most recently GIESE 2014; MARTIN 2011). This posthumous fame rests primarily on his textbook “On the Art of Hunting with Birds” (*De arte venandi cum avibus*), which undoubtedly occupies the top position among all medieval tracts on falconry.¹ Frederick’s portrayal clearly differentiates itself in matters of quantity, quality and aspiration as well as in the range and arrangement of material from the rest of western specialist literature of its epoch on this subject and, furthermore, as a European king for the first time, he started to compose a specialist work about hunting (GIESE 2011a). While the technical literature of the Early (c. 6th–9th c.) and High Middle Ages (c. 10th c.–1250) related to hawking/falconry primarily covers the medical treatment of birds of prey and specifies only a few types of remedy (cf. the overview of VAN DEN ABEELE 1994b; 1996, esp. 34–40; CUOZZO 2014), Frederick’s voluminous treatise does not only feature an enormous wealth of precise ornithological and technical information on hunting, but also constitutes a very rich source of terminology (GIESE 2013b, 49f.). The phenomenology, the anatomy, the nutrition and behaviour of individual bird species including bird migration (VAN DEN ABEELE 2004b, 67; 74f.) as well as habitats

1 Literature on the falconry book is extensive. Subsequently, only the more recent titles are mentioned from conscious choice. Special focus on Frederick’s *Ars venandi* cf. the following monographs by BOCCASSINI 2003 (not always at an expert historian’s level of research); CAIOLA 2009 (without sufficient connection with the international state of research); along with the following essays: LAMMERS 1981; CARDINI 1986; COPPOLA 1991/92; VAN DEN ABEELE 1994a; WALZ 1994a; partly repeated as WALZ 1994b; VAN DEN ABEELE 1995; SERRICCHIO 1998; DE ASÚA 1999; ZAHLTEN 2000; MENZEL 2003; CENTORE 2003; CAPACCIONI 2006; BURLIGA 2009; FIŠEROVÁ 2010; CUOZZO 2012; VOSKOBOYNIKOV 2013. – As lexicon articles cf. most recently TROMBETTI BUDRIESI 2005; MALM 2014. – The exhibition catalogue FANSA/RITZAU 2008 was designed for wider audience, within it HEWICKER 2008; KINZELBACH 2008; MENZEL 2008; MÖLLER 2008a; 2008b. – Important are the introductions of the more recent editions by TROMBETTI BUDRIESI 2000, IX–CXLVII; VAN DEN ABEELE 2000.

were comprehensively dealt with.² To this extent, the *Ars venandi* is both an exceptional textbook on falconry and a cornerstone in ornithology. The miniatures planned by Frederick as being complementary to the text represent an innovative feature, because the older handbooks on falconry used illustrations only sparingly or were not illustrated at all (VAN DEN ABEELE 2004a; 2013).

AIM, METHOD AND ASPIRATION

Frederick described himself as “researcher and lover of wisdom” (*vir inquisitor et sapientiae amator*).³ His aspiration, formulated programmatically in the prologue, consisted of “representing things which are as they are”.⁴ With this, he committed himself to the precise description and exact observation of nature; he did not want to recapitulate knowledge from books without double-checking, but rather wanted to verify handed-down knowledge through empirical methods and to correct it, if necessary. This basic attitude is symptomatic of how Frederick confidently pushed aside the authority of Aristotle, on the basis that he had no practical experience in falconry himself; however, Frederick engaged with this subject in both theory and practice throughout his life (*raro namque aut nunquam venationes avium exercuit, set Nos semper dileximus et exercuimus [...] fidesque certa non provenit ex auditu*).⁵ In this respect, the emperor pursued really modern gains in knowledge that were supposed to secure the status of an *ars* (an “art” on a scientific basis) for falconry (cf. NITSCHKE 1962; esp. MENZEL 2003; GIESE 2007, 293f.; MENZEL 2014, 327). Moreover, falconry was not only supposed to fulfil a double social benefit regarding class (as an aristocratic pastime and as a safeguard for the subsistence of the court hunting staff),⁶ but it was also supposed to be a model and a universal key to the domination of nature (cf. esp. MENZEL 2003). Frederick gave reasons why falconry was incomparably suitable for this:⁷ although hunting could be exercised with the aid of nets and traps or with quadrupeds such as dogs or ferrets, hunting with falcons was the hardest and noblest of all methods (*et ars est, et ceteris venationibus nobilior et dignior, et ideo prior*).⁸ It demanded more expertise, more knowledge and wider experience than the training of dogs, which are inherently close to humans. In contrast, “the look of humans is profoundly loathsome” to birds of prey; in addition, raptors could fly off in order to evade humans.⁹ Consequently, birds of prey could be subjugated to the will of man not through force but only through astuteness (*ingenium*).¹⁰ The main value of falconry for Frederick lay in its quality as an intellectual challenge with a high aesthetic aspect, and therefore he distanced

2 Cf. fundamental KINZELBACH 2008; popular-scientific EGERTON 2003. – On the interest in ornithology in a wider context now MANDALÀ 2011. – On animal husbandry at Frederick’s court cf. GIESE 2008b.

3 TROMBETTI BUDRIESI 2000, Prologus I, 5, p. 6 l. 8. Cf. BOCCASSINI 2003, esp. 103–119 and 181–220; FRIED 2003, esp. 179–191.

4 TROMBETTI BUDRIESI 2000, Prologus I, 3, p. 4 l. 29–32 *De intentione. Intentio vero Nostra est manifestare in hoc libro de venatione avium ea, que sunt, sicut sunt, et ad artis certitudinem redigere, quorum nullus scientiam habuit hactenus neque artem.* – WOOD/FYFE 1943, General Prologue, p. 4 “[...] Our purpose is to present the facts as we find them [...]”.

5 TROMBETTI BUDRIESI 2000, Prologus I, 1, p. 2 l. 26 and p. 4 l. 1–8, esp. l. 4–8. The end of the quotation is clearly consciously directed against the Bible (Rm. 10, 17). Cf. WILLEMSEN 1970, 13; VAN DEN ABEELE 1999b, 245; WALZ 1994a, 174; VAN DEN ABEELE 2003, esp. 96f., 102; GIESE 2007, esp. 19–22.

6 TROMBETTI BUDRIESI 2000, Prologus I, 6, p. 6 l. 11–16. Cf. BOCCASSINI 2003, 201f.; GIESE 2010, 283.

7 TROMBETTI BUDRIESI 2000, Prologus I, 9, p. 8 l. 4–I, 16, p. 14 l. 16.

8 TROMBETTI BUDRIESI 2000, Prologus I, 18, p. 14 l. 12f.

9 TROMBETTI BUDRIESI 2000, Prologus I, 17, p. 12 l. 22–26 *Amplius aves rapaces et faciem hominis et conversari cum homine naturaliter abhorrent, set per hanc artem docentur facere ad opus hominum, quod operabantur per se et ad opus suum, et conversari cum homine, quem naturaliter fugiebant.* TROMBETTI BUDRIESI 2000, Prologus I, 17, p. 15 l. 22 – p. 12 l. 15.

10 TROMBETTI BUDRIESI 2000, Prologus I, 15, p. 10 l. 22–31 and p. 12 l. 1–15, esp. l. 10–15 *Ideo quadrupedia plus possunt subici potestati hominum quam aves, et possunt capi per vim aut aliis modis, cum desuper terram ambulent. Aves vero, cum per aerem volent, non possunt capi vi, set solo ingenio hominum et capi possunt et doceri. Propter hoc hec ars venandi difficilior est ceteris venationibus et dignior.*

himself completely from economic considerations. From this perspective, falconry attains the quality of a symbol of rule and a means of power (BOCCASSINI 2003, 181–196; GIESE 2014, 294f.). Complementary to that, Frederick rated falconry as a comprehensive school of character. Regardless of his social origin, every falconer had to satisfy the highest physical, mental and moral demands according to his standards.¹¹ Nevertheless, in spite of all discipline and sober objectivity, Frederick did not neglect the emotional side of the art of hunting, and emphasized the necessity of intrinsic motivation far more as a prerequisite for this activity (*quod totum procedit / procedet ex amore*) up to old age.¹² By stylizing himself as predominant expert in all falconry matters, Frederick immortalized himself far beyond the realm of hunting and biology, as *De arte venandi cum avibus* served as a means of representing rulership.

THE GENESIS OF THE WORK

The monumental textbook about falconry was undoubtedly a “lifelong project” for the emperor. He assures us in the prologue that with his writing he has realized a plan that he has cherished for almost 30 years.¹³ In the same breath, he rejects possible criticism that his focus on this project led to the neglect of the business of government.¹⁴ On the one hand, Frederick’s lasting interest in falconry resulted in his recruiting of experts to his court in order to acquire practical knowledge from this international circle of specialists. By exchanging information beyond cultural and religious boundaries he learnt about, for example, the falcon’s hood (*capellum*), which was used in the Arab world as an aid for hunting. Frederick optimized it himself through air holes and introduced it to the Latin western world.¹⁵ On the other hand, Frederick also stimulated an intensive theoretical debate on falconry in his milieu and took part in this transfer of knowledge himself.¹⁶ At first, relevant older short tracts in Latin on the subject were collected (*Dancus rex* and *Guillelmus falconarius*, complemented by the *Ars bersandi* by Guicennas on the technique of hunting deer with a [cross]bow and with the help of a brachet); secondly, translations into Latin were prepared. This process of adaptation particularly affected the *Zoology* of Aristotle in the translation by Michael Scotus and the translation of the so-called *Moamin* (an Arabic compilation about falcons [Books I–III] and dogs [Books IV–V]) by Theodore of Antioch (cf. VAN DEN ABEELE 1999a, 310f.; 1999b; AKASOY 2008; GEORGES 2008a, 11–13, 27, 299–343; GIESE 2011b, 65–71; ESPOSITO 2012, 99–102, 115–117). Frederick corrected the Latin *Moamin* personally in 1240/41, most likely while he was already working on accomplishing his own *Ars venandi* at the same time.¹⁷ Thus, Frederick II was a central as well as a productive player in the network of scholarly culture of his time and was not just a client, devotee or reader of textbooks on hunting. Therefore, although written templates were available to Frederick, he actively promoted their procurement, which led to the fact that his falconry book possesses a thoroughly independent

11 TROMBETTI BUDRIESI 2000, I. II, c. 62–78, p. 346 l. 13–p. 354 l. 13. Cf. LAMMERS 1981; NITSCHKE 1962; ZAHLTEN 2000; independent from these BOCCASSINI 2003, 189–196; besides, MENZEL 2003, 356; in the future GIESE 2016. – CAIOLA 2009, 79–97, offers scarcely more than a summary, in terms of content, on the basis of the translation by TROMBETTI BUDRIESI 2000.

12 TROMBETTI BUDRIESI 2000, I. II, c. 64, p. 348 l. 7–10, with variant h. Cf. WILLEMSSEN 1970, 17f.

13 TROMBETTI BUDRIESI 2000, Prologus, I, 1, p. 2 l. 10–15.

14 TROMBETTI BUDRIESI 2000, Prologus I, 1, p. 2 l. 23–26. Cf. WILLEMSSEN 1970, 13; VAN DEN ABEELE 1999b, 245; BOCCASSINI 2003, 103; GIESE 2010, 287; 2014, 293.

15 TROMBETTI BUDRIESI 2000, I. II, 255–257, p. 522 l. 15 – p. 526 l. 12. Cf. VAN DEN ABEELE 1993, 281–285; 1995, 380f.; AKASOY 2007, 55f.; GIESE 2007, 27; GEORGES 2008a, 28f.

16 For the intellectual milieu at Frederick’s court at a glance cf. BOCCASSINI 2003, esp. 96–119 and 181–220 (with a literary and philosophical-historical approach); FRIED 2003; GREBNER/FRIED 2008.

17 GEORGES 2008a, the edition [*Moamin*, Prologus] p. 121 n. 45.

character. That the composition of the *Ars venandi* followed the entreaty of a *vir clarissimus* ('very famous man'), which has not been conclusively identified via research yet,¹⁸ alters nothing of this content-related evaluation.

CONTENT AND EARLY TRADITION

Frederick divided his treatise into a prologue and six books. In addition, he intended to discuss the hawk and the sparrowhawk as well as diseases in falcons in particular, but this part has either been lost or remained in the planning stage.¹⁹ The components still preserved represent only a torso in comparison to the ambitious overall concept. Its contents can be outlined as follows:

- Book I: complete ornithological outline focusing on those types of birds that represent the prey of individual types of raptors.
- Book II: introduction of the different types of falcons including their acquisition, keeping and training.
- Book III: methods of training falcons and explanation of the utensils involved in the process; in particular, the fake quarry of the so-called lure is acknowledged extensively as an aid for training. Books IV–VI are dedicated to the most important hunting methods with falcons, whereby a specific hunting technique together with a specific spectrum of prey is attributed to every type of falcon.
- Book IV: hunting cranes with gyrfalcons.
- Book V: hunting herons with saker falcons.
- Book VI: hunting ducks and other wildfowl with peregrine falcons. This book remains incomplete.²⁰

An index essential for actual use is missing – this is also an indication of the incomplete state of what Frederick has left behind (VAN DEN ABEELE 2000, 22, 32–36).

Frederick's notes, over whose scope and content can only be speculated, are lost (cf. most recently on this aspect OROFINO 2011). Only one partial copy of the original editorial work and five complete copies from the period up to the 16th century exist today.²¹ In addition, there is one incomplete duplicate from 1845.²² The oldest and also best record dates back to the end of the 13th century (Bologna, Biblioteca universitaria, lat. 717). We know from the letter – preserved in original form – of a Milan merchant by the name of Guillelmus Bottatius from 1264/65 to Charles of Anjou that, in the Battle of Victoria on 12 February 1248, not only Frederick's royal treasure but also a book about birds and dogs (*Liber de avibus et canibus*), richly illustrated in the margins of its pages (*in margine libri*

18 TROMBETTI BUDRIESI 2000, Prologus I, 1, p. 2 l. 5f. Cf. WILLEMSSEN 1970, 10–12; FRIED 1996a, 126f.; TROMBETTI BUDRIESI 2000, LXXIV and LXXXI; rightly correcting VAN DEN ABEELE 2000, 22–24.

19 TROMBETTI BUDRIESI 2000, Prologus I, 18, p. 14 l. 14–16; Prologus II, 3, p. 280 l. 6–11; II, 3, p. 290 l. 20–22; l. II, 114, p. 384 l. 30. Cf. WILLEMSSEN 1970, 6–8; VAN DEN ABEELE 2000, 22.

20 TROMBETTI BUDRIESI 2000, l. VI, 141, p. 1094 l. 7 – p. 1096 l. 5. Cf. VAN DEN ABEELE 2000, 22.

21 Bologna, Biblioteca universitaria, lat. 717; Oxford, Bodleian Library, Digby 152, fol. 42r–54v (14th century, extract of l. IV); Nantes, Musée Dobrée, ms 19, fol. 14r–220v (15th c., complete digital representation via the Bibliothèque virtuelle des manuscrits médiévaux [BVMM] accessible online under <http://bvmm.irht.cnrs.fr/consult/consult.php?reproductionId=4325> [12.6.2014]); Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, ms 3716 (15th c., digital representations of the illustrated pages online, cf. <http://www.calames.abes.fr/pub/#details?id=MAZC11481> [12.6.2014]); Rennes, Bibliothèque municipale, ms 227 (16th c., complete digital representation via the Bibliothèque virtuelle des manuscrits médiévaux [BVMM] accessible online under <http://bvmm.irht.cnrs.fr/consult/consult.php?reproductionId=18008> [12.6.2014]); Valencia, Universitat de València, Biblioteca Històrica Ms. 601, fol. 1r–238r (15th c., complete digital reproduction via the project "Europeana regia" accessible online under <http://www.europeanaregia.eu/de/handschriften/valencia-universitat-valencia-biblioteca-historica-bh-ms-601/de> [9.12.2011]). Cf. WILLEMSSEN 1970, 69–79, esp. 69f., 77f.; VAN DEN ABEELE 1994b, 26–28; TROMBETTI BUDRIESI 2000, esp. LXIXf.; VAN DEN ABEELE 2000, 14f.; GEORGES 2008a, 60f., 69–72; ESPOSITO 2012, 99f.

22 Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, Cod. Don. 832, is an incomplete duplicate from Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, ms 3716, prepared for the scholar Joseph of Laßberg (d. 1855). Cf. WALZ 1994b, 28.

ingeniosissime depicti sunt canes et aves), was taken from his possessions.²³ This evidence has been unhesitatingly applied by earlier researchers to *De arte venandi cum avibus*. However, in more recent times a controversy arose over the content the elaborate and now missing manuscript described by Bottatius might have contained. Johannes Fried and Stefan Georges argued in favour of a compilation (consisting of: *Moamin* Books I–III, *Dancus rex*, *Guillelmus falconarius*, *Moamin* Books IV–V and the *Ars bersandi* of Guicennas), which they designated as the “second falconry book by Frederick II”.²⁴ Martin Dietrich Glessgen and Baudouin Van den Abeele conceded that the description by Bottatius alone does not match *De arte venandi cum avibus*, in which dogs and diseases are hardly mentioned at all (GLESSGEN 2001; GLESSGEN/VAN DEN ABEELE 2008; VAN DEN ABEELE 2000, 19, 21f., 44–51; 2013, 26–28). According to them, the extensive codex extolled by Bottatius embraced both the *Moamin* and Frederick’s *Ars venandi*. Consequently, these illustrations to which Bottatius referred to in particular, served Glessgen and Van den Abeele as a central and convincing argument, for we know of no continuous illustrations in the *Moamin* (VAN DEN ABEELE 1994c; 2004a, 3–6; 2013, esp. 39–46), but we are (very) well aware of them in the manuscript tradition of the *Ars venandi*.

The oldest codex of Frederick’s *Ars venandi*, namely the one that is kept in the Vatican Library in Rome (Codex Vaticanus Palatinus latinus 1071) today, reveals an opulent decoration with miniatures of exceptional quality. It is among the most famous manuscripts of the Middle Ages and is Europe’s oldest illustrated hunting book.²⁵ Being part of the Heidelberg Bibliotheca Palatina, it came to Rome in 1623 among other spoils of war and has recently become available online as a complete digital copy via the homepage of the “Universitätsbibliothek Heidelberg”.²⁶ The codex, which emerged in southern Italy in the direct surroundings and certainly in the lifetime of Frederick’s illegitimate son Manfred (d. 26 Feb. 1266), represents the text in a version limited to the first two books (the so-called Manfred editorial work). Changes to the text and additions marked with “king” (*rex*) document first, that the son must have personally revised his father’s work and, second, that this must have happened after his ascension to the throne of Sicily on 10 August 1258.²⁷ The illustrations in the manuscript, nearly all in colour, attest to the accuracy of the underlying observation of birds and fascinate scientists and amateurs alike up to now (cf. YAPP 1983; KINZELBACH 2008). Nothing comparable has been handed down from the Middle Ages. According to the systematic analysis of the zoologist, Ragnar Kinzelbach, the number of depicted birds amounts to 915 and comprises over 130 different types of birds (from sparrow [*passer*] to ostrich [*struthio*]) (KINZELBACH 2008, esp. 63f. and in detail 68–125, on the sparrow 104, on the ostrich 105–108). In addition, at the beginning (fol. 1v), two images of rulers (cf. MEIER 2005, 517; POESCHKE 2008; cf. ~~portraying~~ ^{H) (}presumably Frederick II and his son) as well as about 160 portrayals of falconers can be found.

23 Marseille, Archives Départementales des Bouches-du-Rhône, B 365. WILLEMSSEN 1970, pl. VIII, edition p. 230f.; TROMBETTI BUDRIESI 2000, edition p. XLVIII.

24 FRIED 1996a; 1996b; 2008; GEORGES 2008a, esp. 321–323 pleads 323 for a compilation of *Ghatrif*, *Moamin l. I–III*, *Dancus rex*, *Guillelmus falconarius* and *Moamin l. IV–V*; GEORGES 2008b. Fried summarizing TROMBETTI BUDRIESI 2000, XLIV–L and LXV–LXVIII.

25 Cf. VAN DEN ABEELE 2004, 7f.; OROFINO 2011; VAN DEN ABEELE 2013, 25–32. – Cf. also for details ŁAWRYNOWICZ/NOWAKOWSKI 2009, 86 (not at the level of research); PERRICCIOLI SAGGESE 2014, esp. 96–101.

26 Vatikan, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Cod. Pal. lat. 1071, online under http://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/bav_pal_lat_1071 (12.3.2014). Cf. GIESE 2008a, esp. 210. Most recently on the manuscript VAN DEN ABEELE 2013, 26–32; VOSKOBOYNIKOV 2013. – The following facsimile editions exist: WILLEMSSEN 1969; 1980; WALZ/WILLEMSSEN 2000. – An inaccurate and incomplete copy of the Cod. Vat. Pal. lat. 1071 from the late 16th c. is in Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 10948. Cf. WILLEMSSEN 1970, 79.

27 Ed. by WILLEMSSEN 1970, the edition p. 201–209, and TROMBETTI BUDRIESI 2000, Appendix II, 1134–1149. On the additions by King Manfred cf. the important references by VAN DEN ABEELE 2000, 24f.

Frederick's programmatically formulated hope of being able to found a new tradition with his treatise, which would be taken up by future generations and might be continuously improved,²⁸ has not been fulfilled in terms of a contemporary critical examination of the text. As his *Ars venandi* provoked neither strong resonance among his contemporaries nor in the later Middle Ages;²⁹ presumably because it is so elaborate and extensive, Kurt Lindner spoke of a "tragedy of monumentality".³⁰ This extremely restrained echo is reflected primarily in the small number of transcripts passed down.³¹ Remarkably, however, a French translation was soon produced. Begun as a commissioned work for the French aristocrat Jean II, Lord of Dampierre and Saint-Dizier (d. 1307), it was completed in 1310 for his son William.³² The magnificent codex of the Manfred version in two books, now in the Vatican (Cod. Vat. Pal. lat. 1071), served as a template from which the miniatures were also faithfully taken on this occasion. This early translation into French (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, ms. fr. 12400) was the starting point for three copies from the 15th century.³³ Moreover, a partial French translation from around 1480, which omitted the illustrations and limited itself to the second book, was based on Cod. Vat. Pal. lat. 1071.³⁴

Serious consideration of Frederick's work did not start until the modern era. Firstly, Cod. Vat. Pal. lat. 1071 came, under unknown circumstances, into the possession of the French scholar Jacques Dalechamps (d. 1599), who lent it to the German humanist Joachim Camerarius the Younger in 1586 (VAN DEN ABEELE 2002, esp. 34; 2013, 34–36, who first draw attention to Jacques Dalechamps). Camerarius kept the borrowed item and, in 1594, passed it on to Markus Welser, who based his printing of the *Editio princeps* on it in 1596.³⁵ The German translation by Eberhard Pacius, which was published in 1756 and carried out as a commissioned work for the Margrave Charles William Frederick of Brandenburg-Ansbach (d. 1757), made the text known to a wider public (PACIUS 1756; cf. LINDNER 1967, 79–86; SCHWENK 2001; 2006; GIESE 2007, p. 58 n. 195). Carl Arnold Willemsen published the

28 TROMBETTI BUDRIESI 2000, Prologus I, 1, p. 2 l. 9f. Therefore, Frederick wrote his account of falconry, [...] *ut relinqueremus posteris artificiosam traditionem de materia huius libri*. His aim was to have his treatise on falconry read critically, corrected and expanded by others rather than to provide for the comprehensive instruction of future generations. TROMBETTI BUDRIESI 2000, Prologus I, 1, p. 4 l. 11–13 *Et dicimus, quod aliqui nobiles minus negotiosi Nobis, si huic arti attente operam exhibebunt, cum adiutorio huius libri poterunt meliorem componere* [...]. Cf. GIESE 2007, 57f.

29 Only a historiographical reference to Frederick's work by the so-called Nicolaus de Jamsilla is to be mentioned, ed. DEL RE 1868, p. 106 l. 48–52. Cf. GIESE 2014, 290. – A direct reception of Frederick's *Ars venandi* in medieval specialist literature is not provable. FRADEJAS RUEDA 2005 maintained the opposite with rather unconvincing arguments.

30 LINDNER 1976/77. On the reasons for the missing medieval response to Frederick's *Ars venandi* cf. VAN DEN ABEELE 2000, 43f.; GIESE 2007, 47f.

31 Cf. above note 13f. and after note 25.

32 MINERVINI/TOUBERT 1995. Cf. HOLMÉR 1987; SMETS/VAN DEN ABEELE 1998, 345f.; TOUBERT 1999; SMETS 2004–2005, 303f.; SMETS/TOULAN 2008; MIDDIONE 2010; VAN DEN ABEELE 2013, 33–36; VOSKOBOYNIKOV 2013.

33 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, ms. fr. 12400, served as a model for Cambridge (Mass), Harvard University, Houghton Library, Typ. 129 (dated to 1486), and for Geneva, Bibliothèque de Genève, fr. 170 (around 1480–1485, cf. HOCHULI DUBUIS 2013, and the digital representation <http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/de/bge/fr0170> [12.3.2014]). The Geneva manuscript was a model for Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, HB XI 34a (around 1485–1490, cf. the digital representation <http://digital.wlb-stuttgart.de/purl/bsz345775171> [12.3.2014]). Cf. VAN DEN ABEELE 2013, 36–38; 118–121. HOLMÉR 1960 presented a critical edition of the second book of this transmission branch.

34 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, ms. fr. 1296 (around 1480). Cf. FERRARI 1999 [not accessible to me]; TOULAN 2004; TOULAN GRANDVAL 2005 [not accessible to me]; VAN DEN ABEELE 2013, 37 (the manuscript is missing in the appendix p. 118). Cf. on the older literature BRUN/SMETS 2014.

35 FRIDERICUS 1596 = Verzeichnis der im deutschen Sprachbereich erschienenen Drucke des 16. Jahrhunderts [List of the prints from the 16th c. that appeared in the German-speaking area] (VD 16), Nr. F 2826. Cf. online under <http://gateway-bayern.de/VD16+F+2826> (13.7.2013) with inventory and link to the complete digital representation. A reprint in two volumes was published as FRIDERICUS 1788/89. Cf. WILLEMSSEN 1970, 85–87 and appendix IV, 232–238; WALZ 1994b, 29; TROMBETTI BUDRIESI 2000, LXXf.

original version in six books, from the oldest manuscript (Bologna, Biblioteca universitaria, lat. 717), for the first time in 1942 and a German translation followed in 1964 as well as a volume of commentary in 1970 (WILLEMSSEN 1942; WILLEMSSEN/ODENTHAL 1964; WILLEMSSEN 1970). Anna Laura Trombetti Budriesi presented an edition of the version in six books (also from the Bologna manuscript) and the Manfred editorial work in two books (from the Cod. Vat. Pal. Lat. 1071) in 2000, accompanied by a modern Italian translation, after a translation of the version in six books into English had already appeared in 1943.³⁶ Baudouin Van den Abeele contributed improvements to the current editions in his introduction to the translation of the version in six books into modern French, which he jointly published with Anne Paulus in 2000 (PAULUS/VAN DEN ABEELE 2000).

Frederick's masterpiece continues to be the object of scientific interest and can be regarded as unrivalled as a practical manual for learning falconry up to the present day. When the "Deutscher Falkenorden" (German Order of Falcons), the oldest falconry association in the world, which was founded in 1921, envisaged the revival of the practice of falconry in Germany, they based it substantially on both the terminology and content of the first German translation of the *Ars venandi* by Erhard Pacius (PACIUS 1756; HEWICKER 2008, 144–146, 148f.). In 2014, falconry was included in the national list of Intangible Cultural Heritage in Germany.³⁷ Frederick's tract played an important role in the justification of the application (GIESE 2013a, 2). In this respect, the wish of the author that his contribution might inspire future generations in the theoretical analysis and practical exercise of falconry can, in the long run, however, be regarded as being fulfilled.

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36 TROMBETTI BUDRIESI 2000; WOOD/FYFE 1943. On the partial translations into Italian and the critique of the translation by Wood/Fyfe cf. VAN DEN ABEELE 2000, 17f.

37 Cf. online under <https://www.unesco.de/kultur/immateriellen-kulturerbe/bundesweites-verzeichnis/eintrag/falknerei.html> (13.2.2016), and <http://d-f-o.de/geschichte-der-falknerei.html> (13.2.2016). There are also references to the history of the German Order of Falcons on the same homepage. Cf. Hewicker's article in this book about the inclusion of German falconry into the Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity by The Intergovernmental Committee for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage (UNESCO) in 2016.

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