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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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*Cover picture: Skilled eagle master. Western Mongolia, August 2011  
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*Top to the left: Seal of the Danish king Knud IV (late 11<sup>th</sup> century).  
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# Evidence of falconry on the European continent and in England, with an emphasis on the 5<sup>th</sup> to 9<sup>th</sup> centuries: historiography, hagiography, and letters

By Martina Giese

*Keywords:* Falconry in the Middle Ages, historiography, hagiography, letters

*Abstract:* The article is firstly intended to present a short summary of the research history concerning medieval falconry from a historical perspective. Secondly, it provides an overview of the different types of written sources actually available to be evaluated, with the focus on historiographical, hagiographical and epistolary texts on the European continent and in England. Finally, with concentration on the same three categories, the earliest written testimonies of falconry up to the 9<sup>th</sup> century are systematically selected, analysed and compared.

Among medieval (approximately AD 500–1500) textual sources about falconry (in the following I will use ‘falconry’ as a generalized term for all kinds of hunting with birds of prey, irrespective of the particular species of bird used), historiographical, hagiographical and epistolary evidence plays a particularly important role. Unfortunately, these types of sources usually do not offer any details about the hunting practice used (types of birds, hunting techniques, etc.), but they do provide information about the social status, age and gender of the falconers/hawkers and about temporal and regional differences in the distribution of falconry. They can also be used to illuminate individual preferences and differences regarding the evaluation of falconry in general.

This paper, therefore, has three aims: firstly, to summarize previous historical research on the topic of falconry, and, secondly, to discuss the historical value of the types of sources in question. With regard to the temporal dimension, the whole medieval period will be taken into account, but a special emphasis will be put on the Early and High Middle Ages, which is mainly due to the focus of previous research on the topic. Building on this in a third step, the earliest historiographical, hagiographical and epistolary evidence of falconry up to the 9<sup>th</sup> century will be presented, because such an overview was previously lacking.<sup>1</sup> Geographically, the focus will be continuously on England and continental Europe north of the Alps (i.e. the future France and Germany in particular).

## A TYPOLOGY OF TEXTUAL SOURCES

As a first step, it is necessary to quickly present the corpus of sources this study is based on. According to common typologies of written historical sources, narrative source texts can be divided into two major groups:

1. Historiography, in particular:

- 1.1. Annales (Latin *annus* = year; record events chronologically, year by year)
- 1.2. Chronicles (Latin *chronica* = time; represent accounts of local or distant events over a considerable period of time in chronological order)
- 1.3. Res gestae (Latin ‘things done’; i.e. deeds of a single person or deeds of successors in the same office, for example abbots or bishops)
- 1.4. Vitae (Latin *vita* = life; biographies including autobiographies of people not venerated as saints)
- 1.5. Exempla (collections of examples, providing historical role models and guidance on how to act morally correctly)

2. Hagiography (Greek ‘holy/saint’ and ‘to write’), in particular:

- 2.1. Vitae (Latin ‘lifes’; biographies of holy men/women)
- 2.2. Miracles (Latin ‘wonder’; miracles brought about by a saint)

Both types are often combined in so-called legends (Latin ‘things to be read’).

Historical poetry can be considered a special case, because, in this genre, a historiographical report is presented in poetic form. However, historical poetry only constitutes a separate genre with regard to form, not with regard to content.

Letters can be regarded as a separate type of source which comprises both the ‘private’ correspondence of individual people as well as treatises in the form of letters and so-called model letters.

Since this study focuses on historiographical, hagiographical and epistolary material, other written sources which provide ample information about falconry have to be excluded from the following discussion. This mainly concerns legal sources like charters (cf. for example OGGINS 2004, 39; [including wills<sup>2</sup>], and profane and ecclesiastical legislation<sup>3</sup> [from the Council of Agde held in 506 onwards; cf. esp. SZABÓ 1997, 177–178; LUTTERBACH 1998, 151; MENZEL 2014, 321]) and political treaties (for example mirrors of princes, important with respect to falconry as a tool for educating young men of noble birth; GIESE 2016, 100–105). Administrative as well as economic documents (e.g. inventories<sup>4</sup>, house and court regulations and invoices; cf. for example STÖRMER 1997, 307, 311–312; JENKINS 2000a; 2000b; OGGINS 2004, 40–42) are important for the courtly falconers and austringers as well as for economic aspects including the acquisition and trading of birds of prey, which can be found in England as early as the 12<sup>th</sup> century (starting with the earliest surviving pipe roll of 1129/30<sup>5</sup>, not to mention the famous Domesday Book of 1086 [cf. OGGINS 2004, esp. 39–40, 46–47, 50–53]), with no equivalent at the same time on the European continent, where, however, archbishop Hincmar of Reims (d. 882) in his ‘On the governance of the palace’ (*De ordine palatii*) briefly referred to falconers as part of the royal hunting staff.<sup>6</sup>

In order to form an overall picture of medieval falconry according to written sources, considering all these kinds of sources would of course be very important, as would including literary texts and didactic literature. Why a comprehensive approach is necessary, can be easily illustrated by a prominent example: based solely on historiographical sources, one of the greatest icons of medieval falconry would nearly disappear, because, from this perspective, we would know almost nothing about Emperor Frederick II’s (d. 1250) passion for falconry and his outstanding competence in this field (cf. recently GIESE 2014; and GIESE in this book).

## RESEARCH

A very basic problem that any scholar researching medieval falconry will encounter is the lack of any kind of solid comprehensive history of the subject based on historical source material and aimed at an academic audience with a background in historical studies. While there are a number of studies on literary texts and didactic literature (*Fachliteratur*),<sup>7</sup> an overview which adequately considers written

historical source material is severely lacking.<sup>8</sup> For example, Kurt LINDNER's monograph (1940), still a standard work for the Early Middle Ages, excludes falconry (a subsequent volume, which was supposed to be devoted exclusively to falconry, was never printed).<sup>9</sup> John Cummins' profound study, on the other hand, also deals with falconry, but is based almost solely on literary evidence and didactic literature on the subject (CUMMINS 1988). The same holds true for the unprinted dissertation by Benoist on falconry in 11<sup>th</sup>–14<sup>th</sup>-century Europe (BENOIST 1970/71, esp. III–XXIV). One special feature is the sourcebook the hobby-historian Seidenader published as a private print in three volumes in 2007 (SEIDENADER 2007). Only a few studies exist that deal especially with hagiography or letters (cf. for example OPPITZ-TROTMAN 2010; concerning letters cf. for example TANQUEREY 1939; LUPIS 1975, 13–15; HECKMANN 1999; MALACARNE 2004; TRESP 2007; GIESE 2013/14, and see below note 25). In contrast, the oldest written documents about falconry in Europe were repeatedly discussed (see below notes 26–27). As a consequence, the relevant historical sources still have to be laboriously collected before it is possible to use them to develop a better understanding of medieval falconry. Case studies about different countries (a prime example is Oggins detailed analysis of the English 'Kings and their Hawks') and individual figures (and their courts) or social or religious groups (cf. for example JACOBI 2013), often dealing with falconry as a special segment of hunting activities in general, and Gisela Hofmann's dissertation with its interdisciplinary outlook on falconry and the trade in falcons in northern Europe can also be used as a starting point in this process.<sup>10</sup> Older scientific literature, however, while still suitable as a quarry for possible material, firstly often lacks the annotations and citations from current editions of source texts which are needed in order to work with them efficiently, and secondly they are preponderantly based on the didactic tracts (cf. for example D'AUBUSSON 1879; DUNOYER DE NOIRMONT 1867; SCHLEGEL/VERSTER VAN WULVERHORST 1853; German translation SCHLEGEL/VERSTER VAN WULVERHORST 1999; PICARD 1880).

The amount of available, suitable source material continuously – and massively – grows from the Early Middle Ages onwards. However, editions of these sources are not as easily available and their distribution is fairly uneven: only up to approximately the 13<sup>th</sup> century have most of the relevant texts been published in modern editions. With regard to the 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> centuries, one regularly has to work with the handwritten originals, a method of access which is both methodically challenging and time-consuming. This currently rather uneven availability of editions of source texts has quite a number of consequences especially with regard to the source genre of letters, which are particularly important for documenting women's participation in falconry during the later Middle Ages. This kind of correspondence between single individuals (so-called private letters), which is particularly relevant with regard to falconry, has only been handed down in significant amounts from the Late Middle Ages onwards, but has rarely been edited as of yet (cf. recently TRESP 2007; GIESE 2013/14).

## THE SOURCES

Another basic problem lies in the historical and hagiographical source texts themselves. In them, falconry as a topic is only covered rarely and in usually short episodes. The same applies, incidentally, to hunting activities in general. Falconry thus is not at the centre of attention and only plays a minor role in the overall narrative structure of these reports. In addition to these quantitative considerations, in many historiographical source texts (and even more so in hagiographical ones) falconry is often used to present certain stereotypical modes of narration. Thus, the authors seldom discuss technical details or the conditions surrounding falconry in general (e.g. who hunted with whom, where, when and how). If such details can, on occasions, be found, they are often presented as curiosities.

Furthermore, the particular perspective of historiographical and hagiographical sources has to be considered a determining qualitative factor. On the one hand, these kinds of sources are usually

retrospective and very often have been written with a considerable temporal distance between the time of their creation and the events mentioned. On the other hand, a perspective ‘from the outside’ is usually prevalent, since it is a common feature of historiographical and hagiographical sources that their protagonists are described and (their behaviour) evaluated by a third party. Thus, we do not get an eyewitness account. In so-called ‘ego-documents’ like autobiographies and letters, however, the protagonists themselves get their say, which allows for more unaltered insights into their thoughts, emotions and actions. This is why letters in particular are very valuable as historical source texts. With regard to the social dimension, it is important to note that the sources generally pay greater attention to the upper classes of society and in many cases ignore the rural population (cf. for example GIESE 2007; 2010). Thus, falconry among the nobility is documented fairly well (cf. recently MENZEL 2014, 327–334, with examples concerning hunting and falconry), while there are hardly any reports about the participation of ‘common people’ in falconry. There are, however, numerous – and mostly critical – accounts of members of the clergy participating in falconry, which may be due to the fact that laws against the participation of the clergy in hunting of any kind had existed since the Early Middle Ages (cf. WILLARD 1947; independent from him SZABÓ 1997; THOMPSON 1997; LUTTERBACH 1998; HAYE 2005; GUYON 2006; MENZEL 2014, 320–323). Among all opinions on falconry during the Early and High Middle Ages, this negative perspective is especially prevalent, not surprising at all, because most of our authors were clerics.<sup>11</sup> It reached a peak with the *Policraticus* of John (d. 1180), the later bishop of Salisbury (cf. SZABÓ 1997, 189–206, concerning falconry 202; MARVIN 2006, 63–67; MENZEL 2014, 329–330), who was the first to articulate a fundamental critique of hunting also as an activity of lay people. He condemned falconry because, *inter alia*, here the women were superior to the men, a ‘fact’ which John considered to be a reversal of the divine world order.<sup>12</sup>

Another difficulty, this time with regard to the interpretation of the source texts, is the terminology used in the sources, which are (up to the 13<sup>th</sup> c. almost exclusively) in Latin (on this problem cf. most recently GIESE 2013a, esp. 38 and 49). The Latin noun *aucupium* (or *aucupatio*) and the verb *aucupare* can both either be translated as ‘falconry’ or ‘the catching of birds’ in general.<sup>13</sup> Similarly, the different terms for different kinds of birds of prey can be used interchangeably. The Latin *falco* or *capus* usually – but not exclusively – means a falcon; the term *nitus* usually, but not always, can be translated as ‘sparrowhawk’. Very often *accipiter/acceptor* is used in the source texts as meaning ‘bird of prey’, irrespective of the particular species used, but in some cases it can also mean ‘goshawk’.

#### TOPICS AND MOTIFS

Fairly neutral reports about the practice of falconry or the ownership of birds of prey (e.g. regarding the carrying of birds of prey in public) can usually be found in historiographical sources in particular.<sup>14</sup> This customarily concerns men belonging to the nobility, and proves how much time they actually must have spent on falconry and how widespread falconry was; similar reports about townspeople<sup>15</sup> or women<sup>16</sup> can normally only be found in late medieval sources. Occasional reports which claim that birds of prey have sometimes been taken along on military expeditions can be used as clues as to how popular and common falconry really was.<sup>17</sup>

Historiographical and hagiographical sources now and then report about accidents while hunting with birds of prey (including situations when the bird was injured or flew away [and the saint helps to cure the bird or helps to find the lost bird]).<sup>18</sup> Both types also offer ample material containing judgements and evaluations of the topic of falconry or the ownership of birds of prey by the lay nobility and the clergy. The same holds true for letters, which – especially from the Late Middle Ages onwards – show individual preferences and personal evaluations as well as rivalries with regard to falconry among the nobility (cf. recently GIESE 2013/14). While falconry is mostly considered a

desirable pastime among the lay nobility (as a source of joy, a mode of recreation, a prestigious form of expertise, as a sign of rank and a favourite pastime from adolescence onwards),<sup>19</sup> voices talking about the clergy are more critical. This kind of criticism can be divided into two aspects: a general condemnation of falconry as a pastime for members of the clergy on the one hand,<sup>20</sup> and criticism relating to, for example, a particular time, the situation in question,<sup>21</sup> or the intensity of the discussed passion for hunting.<sup>22</sup>

As a consequence of these different modes of evaluation, falconry is often used as a means of distinguishing socially between the lay nobility and the clergy.<sup>23</sup> Additionally, birds of prey (frequently in combination with horses and hunting dogs) often appear as stereotypical tokens of nobility and material wealth (cf. for example HOFMANN 1957/58, 119–120, 122, 132; OWEN-CROCKER 1991; OGGINS 2004, *passim*; SCHRÖDER 2004, esp. 349–350; GIESE 2008, esp. 152–153). Hagiographical sources sometimes also contain the image of a member of the lower classes who is unable to deal with birds of prey professionally,<sup>24</sup> a motif which is also taken up in amendments (cf. GUALTIERI 2005, 116). These accounts reveal hierarchical social visions, and at the same time intend to consolidate such ideas.

From the Early Middle Ages onwards, birds of prey are often mentioned as very popular presents (not seldom also explicitly requested like goods ordered by the recipient) among the upper classes to start or maintain relations – family ties, friendly relationships between individuals or in the field of diplomacy (see below with notes 36–37, and cf. HOFMANN 1957/58, 39–45; MALACARNE 2004, 161–195; OGGINS 2004, *passim*; SCHRÖDER 2004, 97, 102; GIESE 2011b, 666–667; OPPITZ-TROTMAN 2010, 78–79). This is best documented in letters (cf. MALACARNE 2004, 161–195; TRESP 2007; GIESE 2013/14), and the so-called *Falkenbriefe* demonstrate how the Teutonic Order systematically perfected this kind of gift giving as a political strategy in the later Middle Ages.<sup>25</sup>

In contrast to these rather commonplace descriptions, other aspects are scarce in historiographical and hagiographical sources: for example, the costs of falconry, legal issues, the courtly falconers/hawkers needed, places and time of the hunt, the kinds of game hunted for with birds of prey, hunting techniques, the bag and details of the training and manning of the birds and their acquisition are very seldom mentioned. These gaps can be partially filled by considering late medieval ‘private’ letters. For example, the participation of women in falconry is rarely mentioned in historiographical and hagiographical sources from the Early and High Middle Ages. Late medieval letters are, therefore, the most important source regarding female participation in falconry (cf. for example BARBARA GONZAGA, BRIEFE, 57). Explicit comparisons of hunting practices used in different European countries are scarce in the three types of sources analysed in this presentation.

#### THE EARLIEST TESTIMONIES

The question of the age and country of origin of falconry has occupied researchers up to the present.<sup>26</sup> The first person who may be described as a historiographer of falconry was Gottlieb Paul Christ (d. 1786). Between 1740 and 1741, he published, in the form of a series of essays presumably commissioned by Margrave Charles William Frederick of Brandenburg-Ansbach (d. 1757), a historical outline of falconry from antiquity to 1601, which was source-supported and which portrays probably the first systematic history of falconry, but nevertheless has hardly been received to date (CHRIST 1740/41; cf. LINDNER 1967, 54–67, esp. 59–64; forthcoming GIESE/PFEIFER 2018). Yet the oldest sources experienced intensive recognition from Christ, because he wanted to establish the great age of falconry as a cultural technique (CHRIST 1740/41, Erster Entwurff [!], 11. Mai 1740, 145–146), and yet he rated as suspicious a passage by Julius Firmicus Maternus (4<sup>th</sup> c.) which was first exposed as a humanistic fake in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century (CHRIST 1740/41, Dritter Entwurff [!], 25. Mai 1740, 162–163; cf. LINDNER 1967, 62; furthermore cf. EPSTEIN 1942/43, 505). Meanwhile, it is regarded as proven that falconry was

not practised in classical Greek and Roman antiquity (LINDNER 1973). The earliest written evidence has been known for a long time, dates from the 5<sup>th</sup> century and leads us to southern France.<sup>27</sup>

Around 459, when he was 83, Paulinus of Pella, a member of the so-called senator nobility and living in Marseille, looked back on his joyful childhood spent in Bordeaux in his autobiographical poem *Eucharisticos* ("Thanksgiving"). In order to show him the ropes, his father had taken up hunting again; he himself dropped his studies (PAULINUS OF PELLA, EUCHARISTICOS, v. 127–134; cf. HOFMANN 1953, 5; LINDNER 1973, 118). In the same breath, he recalls his youthful wish to possess, besides a horse, a swift dog and a splendid hawk (*'speciosus accipiter'*) (PAULINUS OF PELLA, EUCHARISTICOS, v. 143–145). The bishop of Clermont Sidonius Apollinaris (d. after 479) praises, in a letter from the year 472, the senator Vectius ('vir illustris', Vettius/Vectius) as a connoisseur of horses, dogs and birds of prey, second to none in these fields.<sup>28</sup> Two years later in another epistle he mentioned this trio of animals again and recommended the occupation with them as a favourite pastime for boys of noble birth, especially for Ecdicius (son of emperor Avitus).<sup>29</sup>

Kurt Lindner has expanded these three pieces of evidence by two more. First, he drew attention to the fact that pope Gregory I (590–604) must have been familiar with falconry because he described the moult of a hunting bird competently (GREGORY I, MORALIA IN IOB, l. XXXI, ch. 46, 92–93, p. 1613 l. 1–p. 1614 l. 50; cf. LINDNER 1973, 119; HÜNEMÖRDER 1971, 127–128). Second, Lindner referred to a sermon attributed to St Augustine (d. 430), bishop of Hippo Regius (today Annaba, Algeria), who studied at Carthage (Tunisia), in which owning horses (*equos velut miles in stabulo possidere*), nourishing hunting dogs (*canes pro venatione nutrire*), and keeping birds of prey (*'accipitres custodire'*) are mentioned as examples of a wrong-headed way of life (AUGUSTINUS, SERMONES AD FRATRES IN EREMO COMMORANTES, sermo 38, col. 1306A; cf. LINDNER 1973, 155). As Stefan Georges pointed out recently, this sermon seems to be based on older material, but dates only from the 12<sup>th</sup> century and is, therefore, very doubtful as early proof of falconry (GEORGES 2008, 17–18, against BOCCASSINI 2003, 38–39). In addition to these still open, text critical questions, it must be noted that one of the earliest mosaics with falconry scenes (5<sup>th</sup> c.) originates from a villa near Carthage (cf. LINDNER 1973, 121–136; BOCCASSINI 2003, 48; TROVABENE 2006; HURKA in this book), and a poem, with no attention paid to so far, points to the same city. The Roman poet Luxurius lived here, and between 500 and 534 he wrote a humoristic epigram, criticizing a keeper of birds of prey (*acceptorarius*) for his gluttony and neglect of duty. Because he himself is too corpulent (i.e. unable to act fast and agilely), birds cannot become effective for hunting activities because of their thinness.<sup>30</sup>

Turning the focus now to the Middle Ages: if we exclude later sources of the 10<sup>th</sup> century onwards, reporting with a considerable temporal distance between the time of their creation and the events mentioned, I count in total 15 sources of historiographical, hagiographical or epistolary character related to falconry written down in the time between the 6<sup>th</sup> and the 9<sup>th</sup> centuries and reporting about events that happened in the observed period.<sup>31</sup> All of them were Latin texts and none of them was decorated with illustrations.<sup>32</sup> Only three of the examples concern England. In addition to this first quantitative analysis (how many and what kind of sources are to be mentioned), we have to ask in the following what information about falconry these sources provide. These are in chronological order:

Gregory, bishop of Tours and the most important chronicler of the Merovingian Periods (d. before 594), presents falconry as a joyful pastime for Merowech II (d. 577), the son of king Chilperic I of Soissons (Neustria).<sup>33</sup> While his *Historiae* represent the only relevant source surviving from the 6<sup>th</sup> century, and the 7<sup>th</sup> century does not offer anything to our topic, no less than four letters date back to the middle of the 8<sup>th</sup> century. Between 747 and 752, the later archbishop of Mainz, named Lull(us) (d. 786), criticized the lavishness of the clergy in the direction of abbot Gregory of Utrecht, which included the owning of birds of prey ('hawks' and 'falcons').<sup>34</sup> Pope Zacharias I impressed upon a few noble Franks in 748 that they should make certain that no priest or bishop in their territory hunts

with birds of prey.<sup>35</sup> This admonition doubtlessly was intended to emphasize and underpin the existing ecclesiastical legislation.

The famous missionary Boniface (d. 754), later archbishop of Mainz and the direct predecessor of Lullus, of Anglo-Saxon origin and known as the ‘Apostle to the Germans’, wrote a letter from the European continent in 745/746 addressed to king Ethelbald of Mercia, sending him a hawk and two falcons ‘as a sign of our true love and devoted friendship’.<sup>36</sup> This highlights the prominent role of birds of prey as gifts as well as falconry as a popular pursuit for the nobility across the channel, and is accentuated by an epistle from another Anglo-Saxon ruler which Boniface received shortly after having sent the first one mentioned. King Ethelbert of Kent (748–762) wrote: ‘One thing in addition I wish you to procure for me – something (from what is told me) it will not be especially difficult for you to obtain: that is, **two falcons [faltones]**, whose particular skill and daring in their art it shall be to capture cranes, taking them eagerly, and, having caught them, to bring them down alone. We ask you to acquire such birds and send them to us for this reason – because it is clear that very few **birds [accipitres]** of this kind are to be found in our lands [sc. Kent], producing young sufficiently fine and agile, and bold enough in spirit, that they may be reared, and tamed, and trained to the skill mentioned above.’<sup>37</sup> Except for its rather unusual length, this passage is exceptional in several respects. Ethelbert not only asked Boniface to send him two falcons but also furthermore gave reasons for his request, and named the hunted quarry. It also reveals the unspecific use of terminology, because, within the same text, two different nouns refer doubtlessly to the same species of hunting bird. With these two letters, the correspondence of Boniface represents the earliest dated records of falconry in England. It underlines that falconry was practised by the Anglo-Saxon kings in the middle of the 8<sup>th</sup> century, that differences in the distribution of birds of prey between the European continent and England were extant or rather noticed, and that international relations were used to get specialized birds of prey into possession, which implies the (naval) transport of birds over longer distances.<sup>38</sup>

That falconry was a seasonal activity even in the 9<sup>th</sup> century is confirmed by a verse letter of Ermoldus Nigellus from 826/28 to Louis the Pious (d. 840),<sup>39</sup> recommending falconry as an adequate and joyful pastime in the winter. In another poem, dedicated to Louis’ son, Pepin I (king of Aquitaine, d. 838), Ermoldus pointed out that hunting and falconry were sources of joy, but should not mislead to a neglect of royal duties.<sup>40</sup>

According to the biography that the so-called Astronomus wrote about Louis the Pious in 840/841, this emperor had a falconer named Gerricus (*ASTRONOMUS, VITA HLUDOWICI*, ch. 20, p. 342 l. 2–14; cf. DEPREUX 1997, p. 215–216, no. 117; AIRLIE 2006, 101–106; DEUTINGER 2006, 54, note 2; GOLDBERG 2013b, 619, 636). In the middle of the 9<sup>th</sup> century, an anonymous treatise on food in the form of a letter addressed to an unnamed person of high rank, presumably Louis the German (d. 876), including lengthier and more detailed remarks on falconry, testifies that hunting with birds of prey not only must have been regularly practised at the Carolingian court, but was also esteemed for filling the larder and the subject of theological debates (*AD EPISTOLAS VARIORUM SUPPLEMENTUM*, no. 10, p. 633–635; cf. LINDNER 1940, 340; HOFMANN 1953, 14; GIESE 2011a, 266–267; 2013a, 48; 2013b, 499; independent from these GOLDBERG 2013a, 35–41). In 857, pope Benedict III criticized the lay abbot Hubert of Saint-Maurice d’Agaune (Valais) by letter for profaning the cloister with birds of prey he was keeping there.<sup>41</sup> Nicholas I took the same approach by writing to archbishop Aldwin of Salzburg in 865, rebuking his suffragan bishop Lantfried of Säben for practising falconry instead of performing his episcopal duties.<sup>42</sup> The pope attacks Lantfried for many reasons, e.g. playing dice, having sexual relationships with women and so on. In this lengthy catalogue of sins, falconry is only one facet among many others. The ‘Annals of Fulda’ (Hesse) tell us that in 870 falconry served as a pretext for Zwentibald, prince of Moravia (d. 894), to escape his murderers.<sup>43</sup> Heiric of Auxerre (d. after 875), in his collection of miracles, used a short episode to morally instruct his readers: Vivianus, lay abbot of St Martin at Tours, brought his birds of prey to the doors of a church he was visiting; when he

returned from mass, all the birds were dead (as a punishment for his sin against God).<sup>44</sup> The story serves as an ethical example to testify the negative consequences of a lay elitist behaviour, which seemed to be common practice and a thorn in the eyes of our ecclesiastical authors.

With the penultimate example, we return to England. Based on the model of Einhard's *Vita Karoli magni*, Asser created a biography of Alfred the Great, king of Wessex (871–899) in 893, claiming his hero, avoiding idleness and laziness, being a strong and attentive ruler, was so competent that he was able to give professional advice to the members of his hunting staff, which is interestingly divided into three categories: 'Meanwhile, therefore, the king, between wars and the frequent hindrances of the present life, as well as the attacks of the pagans and the daily illness of his body, did not leave off from presiding over the government of the kingdom; engaging in every art of hunting; instructing all his goldsmiths and craftsmen, falconers, hawk-handlers and dog-handlers [...].'<sup>45</sup> The conclusion is an addition to the information Einhard delivered and of course is due to the desire to praise Alfred as profound expert, but nevertheless reflects the staffing structure of the king's court.

Our last source to be mentioned is a poem called 'The battles about the city of Paris' (*De bella Parisiacae urbis*) written down a few years later by an eyewitness of this event named Abbo (monk of St-Germain-des-Prés, d. 921?). In 896 he reports that the twelve Frankish leaders defending Paris in 885/86 against the Vikings released the leashes of their birds of prey to prevent them from falling into the hands of the enemies.<sup>46</sup> In other words, these animal companions were too personal and too valued to lose them to an enemy.

## SUMMARY

Our overview of the research and the sources has shown various difficulties one has to face and that many desiderata need to be fulfilled. To recall the earliest medieval written sources up to the 9<sup>th</sup> century on the European continent and in England, we counted 15 different texts (see note 31; three of them concerning England). Letters played the most important role, two in England (followed by Asser's 'Vita of Alfred the Great') and five on the European continent (followed by three poems [two by Ermoldus and one by Abbo], one chronicle [by Gregory of Tours], one biography [by the so-called Astronomus], one annalistic text ['Annals of Fulda'], and one collection of miracles [by Heiric of Auxerre]). Therefore, the number and range of different types of sources are very limited in England. In contrast to the continent (where we found men of the lay nobility [including one king and two sons of kings/emperors, and two lay abbots] practising falconry ten times, furthermore one abbot, two bishops [in one case together with priests], and one falconer of the Carolingian court), in England only three kings, one of them together with his hawkers and falconers, occur as protagonists. Presumably twelve of our authors were clerics; none of these can be regarded as familiar with falconry thanks to their own practical experience.

The information we obtained was very one-sided. Predominantly, our continental sources deal with birds of prey as highly prized insignia of rank and falconry as an elitist pastime recommended to members of the lay nobility. Members of the clergy as well as lay abbots are often criticized (by popes, by bishops, and by monks) for owning birds of prey, for bringing these animals to sacred places, and for practising falconry; the critics consider this behaviour as inappropriate for men who should be '*pastores ovium, non avium*' (i.e. shepherds = pastoral workers, not keepers of birds; see above note 23), as an indicator of vanity, and as a pure waste of time. Falconry was practised at the Carolingian court (also to fill the larder), where the falconers had a respectable position. The main topics in the earliest historical written sources concerning England are: 1. Falconry as a favourite pastime for kings, who received and requested birds of prey as presents from the continent, and pointed out the lack of falcons to hunt cranes with in England. 2. Kings were interested and skilled

in falconry. 3. As early as the 9<sup>th</sup> century, the king's hunting staff was divided into falconers and hawkers (*falconarios et accipitrarios*). Generally not present is information about the specific hunting practice, the manning and healing.

Despite all the differences in quantity and quality, our continental and our 'English' sources up to the 9<sup>th</sup> century have one striking point in common: the total lack of women, of townspeople and of peasants. If we rely only on historiographical, hagiographical and epistolary sources, these three groups did not participate in falconry. Concerning women, we know from the early ecclesiastical legislation of the 8<sup>th</sup> century onwards, which prohibited abbots and abbesses from hunting with birds of prey, that women indeed must have practised falconry.<sup>47</sup> This example underlines why a holistic approach is necessary to form a comprehensive picture of medieval falconry.

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## ENDNOTES

- 1 More detailed information on this subject is provided by GIESE 2011c; BOCCASSINI 2003, 37–55; GEORGES 2008, 16–24, both gave an overview of the earliest (written) sources concerning falconry, but did not include all of the following listed.
- 2 E.g. the will of Count Eccardus (dated approx. January 876), which includes one sparrowhawk and two falcons. RECUEIL DES CHARTES DE L'ABBAYE DE SAINT-BENOIT-SUR-LOIRE, vol. 1, no. 25, pp. 59–67 (*Eleemosina Heccardi comitis*), esp. p. 66 *Theoderico aut Richardo filio suo, donate spada, spansiga et sigusios II; Therico filio Nivelongo, spada indica et sigusios II et tabulas saraciniscas; Ademaro, fratre suo, spundo I et cano et seugios II; Heccardo filio Heccardi tabulas corneas et pacto Saleco et sigusos II et sparvario I; Teutbergane, uxore Lotharii, cusuiles argenteas II, cuppa I et anapellus de marmora II, et medicinale libro I; Otgario, caballo I cum sella meliora et seugios IIII et dardo I et brancale I et bragaria aurea I, et pellicia meliora I; Fulcoino, caballo I et tapete I; Pedilono, caballo I cum sella; Warnegario, caballo I; Eriberto, scuto cum lancea, caballo; Gautberto, scuto cum lancea et saxia cum wanto et caballo I. Seniore nostro donate falcones II et seugios II; Rotardo donate mea brunia cum alsbergo.* Another will (from 973/87) listing two hawks is mentioned by OWEN-CROCKER 1991, 222; OGGINS 2004, 42.
- 3 Cf. SZABÓ 1997; THOMPSON 1997; LUTTERBACH 1998; GUYON 2006 (not always at the peak of research); recently GIESE 2013b; MENZEL 2014, 320–324. Cf. DUSIL in this volume.
- 4 As a curiosity, a list is referred to with 128 ‘nomi excellentissimi dellí falconi baptiçati della Maiesta del S. Re’ from the 15<sup>th</sup> century. Cf. LUPIS 1981, 92–93 (without notes); ed. LUPIS 1975, 81–83, with information about the manuscript, 27–30.
- 5 OGGINS 2004, 7–9, gives an overview of ‘governmental records’. Cf. SCHRÖDER 2004, 329 (index s.v. ‘Beizvögel’ [hunting birds]).
- 6 HINCMAR OF REIMS, DE ORDINE PALATII, ch. 4, p. 64 l. 275–p. 66 l. 287 *Post eos vero sacrum palatium per hos ministros disponebatur: per camerarium videlicet et comitem palatii, senescalcum, buticularium, comitem stabuli, mansionarium, venatores principales quatuor, falconarium unum. Et quamvis sub ipsis aut ex latere eorum alii ministeriales fuissent, ut ostiarius, sacellarius, dispensator, scapoardus, vel quorumcunque ex eis iuniores aut decani fuissent, vel etiam alii ex latere, sicut bersarii, veltrarii, beverarii, vel si qui adhuc supererant: veruntamen, quamvis et ipsi singuli iuxta suam qualitatem ad hoc intenti essent, non tamen ad eos, sicut ad ceteros principaliter, ut subter insertum est, totius regni confaederatio in maioribus vel minoribus singulis quibuscunque cottidianis necessitatibus occurrentibus cum palatio conglutinabantur.* HINCMAR OF REIMS, DE ORDINE PALATII, ch. 5, p. 76 l. 395–p. 78 l. 407 *Similiter quoque quatuor venatores et quintus falconarius cum eadem unanimitate secundum temporis qualitatem admonere studebant, qualiter ea, quae ad singulorum ministeriorum curam pertinebant, ut oportuno tempore et non tarde considerarentur, quando tanti vel quando tanti, quando toti et quando nulli aut in palatio retinerentur aut more solito foris nutriendi usque ad tempus mitterentur aut tempore congruo per denominata loca venandi causa pariter et nutriendi disponerentur. Sed et hoc et illud, id est et infra et extra palatum, ita semper cum mensura et ratione ordinaretur, ut, quantum prodesset, esset, et quantum non prodesset, non esset, quia in ipsis ministeriis non sic facile certus numerus aut hominum aut canum aut avium diffiniri potest, ideo in ipsorum arbitrio manebat, quanti et quales essent.* Cf. LINDNER 1940, 436–453, esp. 440–442; paraphrasing after that RÖSENER 2004, 100–102; furthermore FENSKE 1997, 91–92; ZOTZ 1997, 117–119; RÖSENER 2003, 455–456.
- 7 Cf. for example VAN DEN ABELE 1996; most recently concerning the illustrated ‘Fachliteratur’ (specialist literature) VAN DEN ABELE 2013, and DE SMET 2013, esp. 119–159, concerning the Renaissance. Cf. furthermore the relevant contributions in this volume.
- 8 Cf. SMETS/VAN DEN ABELE’s (2007) overview of the sources on falconry; the forthcoming print version of GIESE 2011c. – Falconry is also considered in overall representations of hunting in the Middle Ages, e.g. GALLONI 2000, 119–124; ALMOND 2003, esp. 39–47; RÖSENER 2004, esp. 150–164, concentrates on Frederick II (mostly repeating WALZ 1994); BORD/MUGG 2008, esp. 243–261.
- 9 LINDNER 1940. Cf. ROOSEN in this volume. – Since 2014, I have been grateful to the heirs of Kurt Lindner (d. 1987) for a fragmentary typewritten manuscript from Kurt Lindner’s estate based on the state of research in the 1950s. Evidently a preliminary study, believed to be lost up to then, for the planned monograph on the history of falconry is involved. In terms of content, the text deals not with the history of falconry but exclusively with the so called ‘Fachliteratur’ (specialist literature) on falconry from the Middle Ages up to the 19<sup>th</sup> c. I am planning to publish this study in revised form.
- 10 HOFMANN’s dissertation (1953) was only partly published as HOFMANN 1957/58. – Concerning England cf. OGGINS 2004; concerning the Norman county and kingdom of Sicily cf. CUOZZO 2014a and CUOZZO 2014b; concerning Burgundy cf. NIEDERMANN 1995; concerning Italy/the Neapolitan court in the 15<sup>th</sup> century cf. LUPIS/PANUNZIO 1992; concerning the Gonzaga family MALACARNE 2004; concerning the Carolingian aristocracy cf. JARNUT 1985; NELSON 1992; recently

GIESE 2011a; GIESE 2013c, 387–291; GOLDBERG 2013a; concerning France in the 16<sup>th</sup> c. cf. DE SMET 2013, 13–108. – A research desideratum represents an extensive study of the topic of the trade in falcons, to which GLESGEN 1996, vol. 1, 5 note 7, for example, referred. Cf. concerning northern Europe essentially HOFMANN 1953, esp. 24–26; HOFMANN 1957/58; recently OEHRL 2014; furthermore, concerning Malta MIFSUD 1917, who drew directly on the archive material without mentioning precise signatures, which makes today's verification of the information very difficult; FIORINI 2001; concerning Schleswig-Holstein ANDRESEN 1925; concerning Scandinavia TILLISCH 1949, MEHLER et al. and ORTEN LIE in this book; concerning the Netherlands, but unproductive concerning the Middle Ages VAN OORSCHOT 1974; concerning Sweden FRITZ/ODELMAN 1992; concerning the Alpine region MORENZONI 1997; concerning the Late Middle Ages evidence from the specialist treatise by Pero López de Ayala (1332–1407) cf. VAN DEN ABELE/DE MARCKEN DE MERCKEN 2001, esp. 71; concerning the Teutonic Order see below with note 25.

- 11 That also relates at times to the criticism of laymen by ecclesiastical authors. Around the year 1200, Lambert, priest of the church of Ardres and biographer of count Balduin II of Guines (d. 1206), for example, criticized Balduin for being more interested in hunting and falconry than attending services. LAMBERTI ARDENSI HISTORIA COMITUM GHISNENSIVM, ch. 88, p. 603 l. 5–9 *Emuli tamen eius et nostri, quasi verum dixerint, hoc ei improperant, quod rubescente aurora promptiori animo corniculum auscultat venatoris quam campanam sacerdotis, avidius vocem leporarii quam capellani vel eius vicarii, priusque a somno excitat aucupes quam templi custodes, et magis applaudit accipitri vel falconi aerem giranti et verberanti quam presbitero sermocinanti.* LAMBERT OF ARDRES, THE HISTORY OF THE COUNTS OF GUINES, ch. 88, p. 122 ‘Those who envy him and us, however, say this about him, as though they were telling the truth: that in the rosy dawn he listened with more attentive spirit to the hunter’s horn than the priest’s bell; that he heard the greyhound’s voice more eagerly than that of the chaplain or his vicar; that he roused his astringers from sleep earlier than the keepers of the temple; and that he applauded a hawk or a falcon circling and beating the air more than the priest giving a sermon.’ Cf. VERDON 1980, 79; RÖSENER 1997a, 16; RÖSENER 1997b, 133–134 (with partly incorrect translation); MENZEL 2014, 330.
- 12 JOHN OF SALISBURY, POLICRATICUS, I. I, ch. 4, p. 33 l. 120–122 *Quod uel ex eo mecum conicies quod deterior sexus in auium uenatione potior est.*
- 13 In this respect, some passages remain opaque in meaning, e.g. archbishop Agobard of Lyon’s (d. 840) exhortation to clerics and monks, in which he condemns *aucupationes* for amusement. AGOBARD OF LYON, DE MODO REGIMINIS ECCLESIASTICI, ch. 9, p. 330 l. 1–p. 331 l. 13 *Ergo quicumque praedicationis officium et locum regiminis suscepit, et neglegit in his summis rebus, quod est summum misericordie Dei, auocare animos fidelium, et querit consolationem et auocationem in diuiciis, in ornamentiis metallicis, in uenationibus, aucupationibus ac piscationibus, et, quod peius est, in commessionibus et ebrietatibus, et sonis musicis [...]: iste talis non est adiutor Dei [...], sed est destructor operis Dei ac per hoc adiutor Anti-christi. Et licet in oculis humanis sacerdos esse uideatur, in oculis tamen Dei non est [...].* On the dating cf. the introduction to the edition p. XLVI; on the content cf. SZABÓ 1997, 181; MENZEL 2014, 323.
- 14 During the legendary siege of the Thuringians in Scheidungen castle on the river Unstrut by the Saxons, the following is supposed to have happened according to WIDUKIND OF CORVEY, RES GESTAE SAXONICAE, I. I, ch. 10, p. 18 l. 3–6, writing in the 960s: *Interea urbe ex pace promissa securiore reddit, egressus est quidam cum accipitre victum quaeritans supra litus fluviij supradicti. Emisso vero volucre, quidam ex Saxonibus in ulteriore ripa illico eum suscepit.* The hunter betrayed the anti-Saxon war tactics in exchange for the return of his hunting bird. Cf. HOFMANN 1953, 7.
- 15 An early example is the description of London by William Fitz Stephen (d. 1191), according to which many citizens of London took delight in falconry. WILHELM FITZ STEPHEN, DESCRIPTIO NOBILISSIMAE CIVITATIS LONDONIAE, 12 *Plurimi civium delectantur, ludentes in avibus coeli, nisis, accipitribus, et hujusmodi, et in canibus militantibus in sylvis. Habentque cives suum jus venandi in Middlesexia, Hertfordsira, et tota Chiltra, et in Cantia usque ad aquam Crayae.* Cf. CARTER 1984, 151–152. Cf. furthermore concerning townspeople DASLER 2008, 119–120; the examples given by GIESE 2010, 286, concerning Milan and Lodi, and see below note 18.
- 16 The later pope Pius II (1458–1464) reports that Bianca Maria Visconti (1425–1468), wife of Francesco Sforza, and duchess of Milan, planned to murder her husband’s mistress while the mistress was hawking (*dum aucupatum cum accipitre pergit*). PICCOLOMINI, HISTORIA AUSTRIALIS 1, 1. Redaktion, p. 72 l. 19–p. 74 l. 9, esp. p. 73 l. 9.
- 17 Concerning the first crusade, William of Tyre (d. 1186) reports that the crusaders suffered from the heat on the way to Antiochia, particularly from lack of water and provisions. At the same time, he also deals with the animals in the entourage of the column, with horses, hunting dogs, and hunting birds. It can be deduced from the portrayal that taking along animal hunting helpers to the Middle East represented nothing unusual. William’s choices of wording make it clear that hunting dogs (*catuli quoque, naribus sagaces et apti venatibus, dominorum delicie*) as well as sparrowhawks, goshawks and falcons (*aves delicates, quorum preda et volatu solet recreari nobilitas, nisi videlicet, accipitres et herodii*) were not just regarded as valuable, but that their value resulted on the one hand from the possibility to allow them to take prey and on the other hand the observation of their hunting flights were welcomed by the nobility as recreation. WILLIAM OF TYRE, CHRONICON, I. III, ch. 17, p. 218 l. 21–35 *Nec solum homines his tantis erant subiecti periculis, verum et iumenta deputata*

*sarcinis et alia quelibet animantium genera, arefactis interioribus et vitalibus interclusis, sua negabant obsequia. Sed nec avibus delicatis, quorum preda et volatu solet recreari nobilitas, nisis videlicet, accipitribus et herodiis, proderat cura dominorum, quibus inter manus flatum vitalem exalabant, catuli quoque, naribus sagaces et apti venatibus, dominorum delicie, relictis dominis quibus fideliter adherere consueverant, anelantes et sitibundi passim per vias deficiebant. Quodque his omnibus longe erat periculosius, equi, fideles preliorum consortes et in quibus de propria salute dominis multa erat fiducia quique et calce et dentibus suam prius protestabantur superbiam, urgente sitis et caloris inmoderati periculo quasi vilia deficiebant subiugalia.* – Concerning the invasion of France by king Edward III of England (1327–1377) cf. CUMMINS 1988, 222.

- 18 Also rare evidence of a sparrowhawk as a bird of prey used for hunting is given around the year 1220 by CAESARIUS OF HEISTERBACH, DIALOGUS MIRACULORUM, distinctio VII, ch. 7, p. 1304 *Eadem vero die cum Wilhelmus [scil. William of Helpenstein] circa nemus spatiaretur, nisum portans super pugnum, a duobus servis Comitis Seynensis, qui hominem sui iuris captivum ducebant, quem ipse excutere nisus est, lancea transfossus, animam protinus exhalavit.* – A collection of miracles compiled after Thomas Becket's death (1170) and finished in 1174 includes a story about a citizen of Canterbury owning a sparrowhawk, whose fondness for hawking is called 'chivalrous vanity'. WILLIAM OF CANTERBURY, VITA ET PASSIO SANCTI THOMAE, l. VI, ch. 110, p. 502 *De cive Cantuariensi qui nisum amissum recuperavit. Manet juxta nos civis Cantuariae, qui, quamvis militiam non novit, militarem tamen vanitatem non contemnit. Hic nisum quem misit in caveam servandum tradidit uxori suae; qui avolavit, et custodiam evadens, custodem per diem et noctem tristem reliquit; nam virum timebat, qui, minus comis in uxorem, damnum suum inultum non dimitteret. Accidit autem, postquam mulier super amissione volucris martyrem Thomam interpellaverat, nisus revolavit in cryptam qua sancti corpus requiescit humatum, et scapulae mulieris ante martyrem orantis insedit, vicinae ejus mulieris quae volucrem perdiderat; a qua et ipsa ipsum recepit. Hoc autem factum est, ut notum fieret nutu martyris ipsum fuisse restitutum; ipse namque nisum restituit ad quem nisus revolavit.* Cf. with further examples OPPITZ-TROTMANN 2010, 83–88, who does not mention this miracle.
- 19 Cf., for example, what EKKEHARD IV OF ST. GALL, who died around 1060, CASUS SANCTI GALLI, ch. 135, p. 262, reports on abbot Notker's (971–975) contact with the sons of the beneficiaries of his monastery and his efforts to educate theses in a manner befitting their social status *Filios autem aliquorum, qui patrum beneficia habituri erant, ad se sumptos severe educaverat. Qui coram eo [scil. Nottero] interdum nudi tabulis luserant. Sed pro avibus captoriis et ceteris, quibus libertatis indoles exerceri decet, si deliquerint, a magistris exacti vapulabant.* Cf. ALTHAUS/LÜPS 1997, 25; GEORGES 2008, 19. Concerning the critical role that hunting and falconry played in the process of education cf. GIESE 2016.
- 20 As an early source (2<sup>nd</sup> quarter of the 9<sup>th</sup> century) cf. AGNELLUS OF RAVENNA, LIBER PONTIFICALIS ECCLESIAE RAVENNATIS, ch. 104, p. 272 l. 22–25 *Sunt nonnulli qui tali dono quondam ecclesiae concesso canes nutriunt, pauperes proiciunt, aucupes gubernant, accipitres fouent, et scuriles delectantur cantus.* The same source tells in the Vita of pope John III (561–574) of the abuse of church property by bishops, p. 273 l. 48–51 *Tu qui es? Melius es illo et illo episcopo? Ego uidi illum talem inspectorem dantem de sua mensa panem canibus, uidi talem currentem cum equo secus canes et leporem, uidi illum manibus suis tenentem accipitrem.* Cf. ANTI 1998, 84, 154.
- 21 Cf. from around the year 1078 the ANONYMUS HASERENSIS, DE GESTIS EPISCOPORUM EISTETENSIVM, ch. 21, p. 52, a valet (*unus ex camerariis*) of the Eichstätt bishop beats and reprimands a younger cleric who arrived by order of the bishop of Würzburg (named as Macelinus by the author, which must be based on an error, since bishop Henry I of Würzburg is meant [995/96–1018]), because he wants to behave in an unbecoming way, after he had taken from him the hunting bird he had brought with him *At ille apprehensum per liguras [i. q. ligaturas] accipitrem ter et quater in faciem clerici percussit. 'Furcifer', inquiens, 'quomodo ausus est ad episcopum uenire huiusmodi alitem ferens?' Confusus et dolens clericus ingreditur ad episcopum, non iam legationis causa, sed querelarum, minitans hanc se contumeliam domino suo lacrimabiliter conquesturum. Cui episcopus 'Immo ego', inquit, 'nisi patienter feratis, mandabo domino uestro, quam inurbane ad me uenistis, et non solum gratiam eius, sed et bona uestra et ipsum ordinem perdam uobis. Vos quidem stulte egistis; stulte egit et meus; condonate alterutrum, quod inuicem peccasti; et cauete de cetero, ne umquam ad me uel ad aliquem episcopum tam irregulariter ueniatis'.* Cf. LINDNER 1940, 418 note 1; HOFMANN 1953, 11, and 152–153; GEORGES 2008, 19.
- 22 Cf. from the beginning of the 11<sup>th</sup> century THIETMAR OF MERSEBURG, CHRONICON, l. VI, ch. 96–98, pp. 388–390, esp. l. VI, ch. 96, p. 388 l. 20–29 *Arnulfus antistes ad saltum Geronis a venerabili eiusdem loci abbatissa Hathawi ad festivitatem Christi martiris Ciriaci ad convivium invitatus venit; et in die sancto, cum post missam de aecclisia ambularet, vidit clericum accipitrem in manu sua tenentem; et zelo commotus hunc cum brachio suimet comprehendit ac secum duxit, non ut puniretur, sed sic verbis mediocribus corriperetur. Fama volans milites predictos congregat, quorum primus Hugal nomine ad episcopum veniens, cur seniorem suum sic inhonorare voluisse, interrogat.* Bishop Arnulf of Halberstadt spends St Cyriacus' day (16 March 1013), at the invitation of abbess Hadwig, in Gernrode, where he sees in die sancto a priest hunting with a hunting bird after mass and therefore confronts him, which leads to unrest among the milites (the vassals of margrave Gero), because the infringement of rights was at the same time interpreted as an insult to the count. Cf. LINDNER 1940, 417–418; HOFMANN 1953, 11; GEORGES 2008, 19.

- 23 One of the biographers of Thomas Becket relates that when Becket (according to the wishes of Henry II) was to be elected as archbishop of Canterbury, many of the local clergy doubted whether ‘a devotee of hounds and pastor of hawks’ could make an effective shepherd, i.e. church leader. Because, for sure, with such a man one would have to expect that with courtly greed and lupine gluttony he would disperse and efface the flock. HERBERT OF BOSHAM, VITA S. THOMAE, l. III, ch. 2, p. 183 [...] *et praeterea quod nimis foret absonum, et omni divino juri adversum, hominem militari potius cingulo quam clericali officio mancipatum, canum sectatorem et pastorem avium, ovium constituere pastorem; praesertim super tam sanctam monachorum conventum, et super tam grandem et tam numerosum, qui per totam Angliam diffunditur, Dominicum gregem: hunc profecto aulica cupiditate et voracitate quadam lupina totius gregis dissipatorem potius et voratorem quam pastorem certissime presumendum.* Cf. OPPITZ-TROTMANN 2010, 79.
- 24 E.g. around 962/63, a source from Trier describes this to underline the cruelty of a lord (*dominus*) to a peasant (*rusticus*). Finally the lord is punished for doing so. SIGEARD OF ST. MAXIMIN, MIRACULA S. MAXIMINI, ch. 14, p. 232 l. 40–p. 233 l. 18 *Est villa monasterii quae Wimari-ecclesia dicitur, quam saevissimum quidam, cuius nomen memoriae nostrae elapsum est, in beneficio habuit. Qui cum sancti familiam gravissime afflictaret, etiam non inveniens, quid eis, unde culpari possent, obiceret, uni eorum, qui agrestior ceteris videretur, accipitrem suum custodiendum commisit, sciens rusticum illius artis nullam habere pericium, ut dum ales neglecta deperiret, interitus culpam in rusticum retorqueret. Ille vero diu multumque reniti et impericiam excusare artis, cum tamen alitem demum compulsus est custodiendam suspicere. Quid autem ageret? Servavit interim vivam, sine esu in domo fumica cito moritaram. Qua mortua, plumas ei detraxit, ac sale conspersam domino servandam suspendit. Putabat enim stulta rusticitas, se astuciam callidi hominis evasuram, si ei vel cadaver avis tempore exactionis incorruptum valuerit exhibere. Cumque iam revoluto longi temporis spacio, immitis dominus accipitrem suum a rustico exegisset, ille protinus cadaver obtulit. Ibi nacta occasione saevit homo, et fera crudelior quasi contumeliam sibi a rustico factam sociis omnibus imputat, astruens, communi consilio illum ad audaciam facti fuisse animatum; cunctosque in crastinum ad placitum vocat, omni peculio spoliandos multisque insuper verberibus afficiendos.* Cf. HOFMANN 1953, 16.
- 25 Cf. VOIGT 1849; DAHMS 1904; KUMERLOEVE 1959; KNABE 1963; KNABE 1967, 64–66; KNABE 1969; SARROWSKY 1993, 144, 382–383, 682, 839–840; MILITZER 1997, esp. 359–361; HECKMANN 1999; PARAVICINI 2003, 564–572; KAESTNER 2014, esp. 75–89. Cf. the forthcoming edition of the so-called ‘Falkenbriefe’ (Falcon Letters) by Udo Arnold/Klaus Conrad (†), ‘Falken im Dienste der Politik des Deutschen Ordens’ (Falcons in the Service of the Teutonic Order’s Politics), which was announced some time ago.
- 26 Cf. concerning the beginnings of falconry in the Middle Ages in the light of the written sources HOFMANN 1953, esp. 5; BENOIST 1970/71, 1–9, esp. 4; LINDNER 1973, esp. 111–156; LINDNER 1976; BOCCASSINI 2003, 37–55; GEORGES 2008, 16–24. – Not satisfactory (anymore) for today’s requirements EPSTEIN 1942/43, whose purpose was (p. 497) ‘to collect and interpret all available material, translated into English, that pertains to the employment of birds of prey for hunting, from the earliest times up to about the 7<sup>th</sup> century A. D.’; WARBIE 1959; SPINDLER 1998, 11–15.
- 27 BOCCASSINI 2003, 40–45, has called into question the three subsequent sources of Paulinus of Pella and Sidonius Apollinaris as evidence of falconry with unconvincing arguments. She interpreted these merely as proof of keeping birds of prey as pure status symbols not used for hunting. This was not contradicted by GEORGES 2008, 17. – On the three sources above e.g. EPSTEIN 1942/43, 505.
- 28 SIDONIUS APOLLINARIS, EPISTULAE, l. I, Epistula 9, p. 60–61, here p. 61 l. 4–6, l. 11–13 [...] *in equis canibus accipitribus instituendis spectandis circumferendis nulli secundus; summus nitor in vestibus, cultus in cingulis, splendor in phaleris [...] ferarum carnibus abstinet, cursibus adquiescit: itaque occulte delicateque religiosus venatu utitur nec utitur venatione.* Cf. HOFMANN 1953, 5; AYMARD 1964; BENOIST 1970/71, 4; LINDNER 1973, 118; CARTER 1992, 23–24; WARLAND 2000, 183. On Sidonius cf. also GODMAN 1990; CARTER 1990, 228–231; WARLAND 2000, 185–186.
- 29 SIDONIUS APOLLINARIS, EPISTULAE, l. III Epistula 3, § 2, p. 41. Furthermore cf. SIDONIUS APOLLINARIS, CARMEN 2, v. 41–46, p. 175, and v. 138–155, p. 177; Carmen 5, v. 89–98, p. 190, and v. 152–154, p. 191; Carmen 7, v. 187–207. Cf. AYMARD 1964, 47–53; SIDONIUS APOLLINARIS, EPISTULAE, Köhler’s introduction, esp. 142.
- 30 Luxurius, Carmen 300, ed. HAPP 1986, vol. 1, 21 *In acceptorarium obesum et infelicem / pondere detracto miseras, Martine, fatigas / pressura crudelis ave, pinguedine tanta / ut tu sis, frustra maciem patiuntur iniquam. / debuerant, fateor, magis has tua pascere membra, / ut numqua possentieiuna morte perire.* Cf. overall the commentary by HAPP 1986, vol. 2, 132–137.
- 31 This number does not include the sources mentioned above in note 13 (Agobard of Lyon), note 20 (Agnellus of Ravenna), below in note 38 (BONIFATIUS, EPISTULAE, no. 78), and note 40 (THEODULF OF ORLÉANS, CARMEN 39).
- 32 Concerning the Anglo-Saxon literature, including ‘Beowulf’, which cannot be dated with any certainty, cf. OGGINS 2004, 43–44.

- 33 GREGORY OF TOURS, HISTORIAE, I. V, ch. 14, p. 211 l. 8–11 ‘*Ut quid hic quasi signes et timidi resedemus et ut hebetis circa basilicam occulimus? Veniant enim equi nostri, et acceptis accipitribus, cum canibus exerceamur venationem spectaculisque patulis iocundemur*’. Duke Gunthram (Boso) tries at the instigation of queen Fredegunde to induce Merowech to leave the church so that he can be killed. Cf. HOFMANN 1953, 7; BENOIST 1970/71, 6–7.
- 34 BONIFATIUS, EPISTULAE, no. 92, pp. 209–212, here p. 211 l. 6–11 *Vestimenta preciosa, caballos farre pastos, accipitros falconesque cum curvis unguibus, latrantes canes, scurrarum bacchatione, cibi potusque exquisitè dulcedinis sapores, argenti aurique rutulantis pondera spargantur, ut sit mollis culcite pausatio, molliaque cervicalia a viris potius exhibeantur quam a flammeis puellis.*
- 35 BONIFATIUS, EPISTULAE, no. 83, pp. 184–187, here p. 186 l. 14–19 *Detestabile est enim et iniquum opus clericum in ludis inveniri aut cum acceptoribus vel venationibus degere vitam tantisque scenicis causis sauciatum ad episcopatum aut presbiterium vel quodlibet sacerdotale officium accedere, non bonis, sed malis vitiis plenum. Scriptum namque est: ‘Qui diligitis Dominum, odite malum’.* Cf. LINDNER 1940, 413.
- 36 BONIFATIUS, EPISTULAE, no. 69, p. 142 l. 17–19 *Interea pro signo veri amoris et devote amicitiae direximus tibi accipitrem unum et duos falcones, duo scuta et duas lances. Quae rogamus, licet digna non sint, munuscula tamen pro caritate benedictionis suscipere digneris.*
- 37 BONIFATIUS, ÉPISTULAE, no. 105, pp. 229–231, here p. 231 l. 5–15 *His itaque breviter summatisque prelibatis unam rem preterea a vobis desidero mihi exhiberi, quam vobis adquirere valde difficile esse, iuxta quod mihi indicatum est, nullatenus reor: hoc est duos falcones, quorum ars et artis audacia sit grues velle libenter captando arripere et arripiendo consternare solo. Ob hanc etenim causam de harum acquisitione et transmittendarum ad nos avium vos rogamus, quia videlicet perpauci huius generis accipitres in nostris regionibus, hoc est in Cantia, repperiuntur, qui tam bonos producant fetus et ad supradictam artem animo agiles ac bellicosi educantur et edomantur ac doceantur.*
- 38 Cf. HOFMANN 1953, 11; HOFMANN 1957/58, 145; BENOIST 1970/71, 6; independent of these publications OWEN-CROCKER 1991, 221; furthermore cf. OGGINS 2004, 38; HACK 2007, vol. 2, 772–775, who sets about the correspondence of Boniface in detail, ibid., 744–780; GEORGES 2008, 18. – In another letter, BONIFATIUS, EPISTULAE, no. 78, pp. 161–170, here p. 163 l. 23–25, Boniface turned in 747 to archbishop Cuthbert of Canterbury (740–758), and informed him about the canons of a Frankish synod including the instruction *Servis Dei venationes et silvaticas vagationes cum canibus, et ut acceptores et uualcones non habeant, prohibimus*. That conforms with the resolutions of the Concilium Germanicum in Mainz in 742. Cf. PRINZ 1971, 23–26, 83–84; AIRLIE 1992, 392; SZABÓ 1997, 179; LUTTERBACH 1998, 152.
- 39 ERMOLDUS NIGELLUS, Carmen in honorem Hludowici, l. III, v. 1846–1847, p. 140 *Seu, glacie stringente solum sub tempore brumae, / Unguigeris volucres exagitare capis.* Translated by NOBLE 2009, 169: ‘When ice stiffened the ground in winter time, / He set his clawed falcons against birds.’ Cf. LINDNER 1940, 397; GODMAN 1990; GEORGES 2008, 18; GOLDBERG 2013b, 627–629, esp. 627–628.
- 40 ERMOLDUS NIGELLUS, Carmen in honorem Pippini II, v. 45–48, p. 220 *Utere nempe jocis silvestribus, utere ... [Pertz added campo] / Cum cane cumque capo ista vel illa cape: / Sitque statuta dies venaticis utier armis, / Sitque statuta dies utiliora sequi.* Translated by GOLDBERG 2013b, 627: ‘To be sure you should enjoy the joys of the woods [and fields] / Catch this or that animal with dog and falcon / One day should be reserved for the use of hunting weapons, / Another day for carrying out more important business.’ – In 814/818, bishop Theodulf of Orléans wrote a panegyric for Louis the Pious, in which the behaviour of falcons is metaphorical compared with the military capability of the emperor. This perhaps, but not necessarily, alludes to falconry. THEODULF OF ORLÉANS, CARMEN 39, p. 531 v. 7–12 *Ut premis ipse feras, reprimas sic barbara colla, / Hesperiam reprimas, ut premis ipse feras. / Ut tibi cedit aper, Maurus tibi cedat Arabsque, / Sarmata subcumbat, ut tibi cedit aper. / Colla superba teras, anates ut turba caporum, / Anserem ut accipiter, colla superba teras.* Cf. HOFMANN 1953, 11; GODMAN 1987, 96; GOLDBERG 2013b, 626.
- 41 EPISTOLAE SELECTAE SERGII II., LEONIS IV., BENEDICTI III., PONTIFICUM ROMANORUM, pp. 612–614, here p. 613 l. 11–14 [...] *tanta ferocitate pervasit, ut nullus iam prisca religionis in eo ordo servetur. Nam illa quæ Deo ibidem famulantibus ex ope ipsius ministrabantur, nunc meretricibus et canibus atque avibus, nequissimis necnon hominibus sua largiuntur praeceptione.* Cf. FELTEN 1980, 17, 30–31; NELSON 1992, 198.
- 42 NICOLAI I. PAPÆ EPISTOLAE 116, pp. 631–633, here p. 632 l. 24–25, and l. 1–11 *Quorundam relatione fidelium nostris auribus intimatum est, quod Lanfredus episcopus, qui et iuvenis esse dicitur, venationi sit deditus. Quod vitium plurimos etiam de clericali catalogo, genere dumtaxat Germanos et Gallos, irreverentes implicat. Verum iste, si ita est, ut audivimus, merito iuvenis dicitur, qui iuvenilibus desideriis occupatus nulla senem gravitate constringitur. O miseram vitam hominum et maxime sacerdotum, qui, dum lucrandis fidelibus debent insistere, venandis feris incumbunt et, quos capere oportet homines, captant aves et bestias. [...] Venatorum enim vita nihil praeter carnes capit, in qua, dum quisque permansit, numquam probatus est.* Cf. LINDNER 1940, 414–415; WILLARD 1947, 228–230, 243–248; independent of him SZABÓ 1997, 181, 186, 219, 222; WOLTER-VON DEM KNESEBECK 1997, 525.

- 43 ANNALS OF FULDA, ad annum 870, p. 70 *Zuentibald nepos Rastizi propriis utilitatibus consulens se Karlmanno una cum regno, quod tenebat, tradidit. Unde Rastiz vehementer iratus nepoti occulite ponit insidias et eum in convivio nihil mali suspicantem iugulare disponit; sed gratia Dei a periculo mortis liberatus est. Nam antequam illi, qui eum necaturi erant, domum intrarent, surrexit de loco convivii annuente sibi quodam eiusdem fraudis concilio et quasi cum falconibus ludum exercens praeparatas devitavit insidias. Rastiz autem videns denudatum consilium suum nepotem cum militibus quasi comprehensurus insequitur; sed iusto iudicio Dei captus est laqueo, quem tetendit: nam ab eodem nepote suo comprehenditur, ligatur et Karlmanno praesentatur; a quo sub militibus illum, ne laberetur, observantibus in Baioarium missus usque ad praesentiam regis servandus in ergastulum retruditur.* Cf. for example LUTTERBACH 1998, 152 with note 16; GALLONI 2000, 119; BOCCASSINI 2003, 52–54; independent of these GOLDBERG 2013b, 639.
- 44 HEIRIC OF AUXERRE, MIRACULA GERMANI, l. I, ch. 68, col. 1238C–D *Huc [sc. to the villa Cadriacus, unidentified, located in the pagus of Le Mans] vice quadam Vivianus princeps deveniens, qui tum eidem dominabatur fundo, instructum sessurus ad prandium, capos, quos vulgo faltones nuncupant, qui secum delati fuerant, per basilicae porticus componi praecepit. Hoc facto, convivio sese indulxit: a quo cum surrexisset, faltones universos mortuos reperit, iisdem, quibus implexi fuerant, pedicis dependentes. Temeritas principis punita damno gratissimae voluptatis, ipsi quidem tristitiam, reliquis intulit admirationem. Germanus sanctissimus suo reverentiam vindicans loco, quam sibi displicerit saeva rancitas, evidenter admonuit, cuius vitium etiam in avibus raptu vicitantibus tam districte persecutus est.* Cf. NELSON 1992, 69 note 72, and the index 348 s.v. ‘Vivian, chamberlain’.
- 45 ASSER, DE REBUS GESTIS AELFREDI, ch. 76, p. 59 l. 1–12 *Interea tamen rex, inter bella et praesentis vitae frequentia impedimenta, necnon paganorum infestationes et cotidianas corporis infirmitates, et regni gubernacula regere, et omnem venandi artem agere, aurifices et artifices suos omnes et falconarios et accipitirarios canicularios quoque docere, et aedificia supra omnem antecessorum suorum consuetudinem venerabiliora et pretiosiora nova sua machinatione facere, et Saxonicos libros recitare, et maxime carmina Saxonica memoriter discere, alii imperare, et solus assidue pro viribus studiosissime non desinebat.* ASSER, LIFE OF KING ALFRED, ch. 76, p. 34. Cf. LINDNER 1940, 408; HOFMANN 1953, 17; OGGINS 2004, 40; MARVIN 2006, 84–94, esp. 93; GEORGES 2008, 18–19.
- 46 ABBO OF SAINT-GERMAIN-DES-PRÉS, BELLA PARISIACAE URBIS, l. I, v. 537–538, p. 95 *Quisquis rogi proprios flatus ne clade perirent / Accipitres loris permisit abire solutis.* Cf. BENOIST 1970/71, 5–6; VERDON 1978, 821; OWEN-CROCKER 1991, 226.
- 47 CAPITULARIA REGUM FRANCORUM, no. 23 (23 March 789), pp. 62–64, here ch. 31, p. 64 l. 21–22 *Ut episcopi et abbates et abbatissae cappulas canum non habeant nec faltones nec accipitres nec ioculatores.* Cf. LINDNER 1940, 415 (with incorrect dating to 819), 410 (factually false blanket statements on the participation of women in hunting in the Early Middle Ages); SZABÓ 1997, 180 (with incorrect year ‘798’); concerning the source cf. LUTTERBACH 1998, 155 (without mentioning women); MENZEL 2014, 322. – A solid, specialist-historical, overall representation of hunting by women in the Middle Ages is lacking. The contributions from FIETZE 2005 and ALMOND 2009 are not convincing in a specialist-historical context.