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Raptor and human –
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1/4

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Karl-Heinz Gersmann and Oliver Grimm

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Evidence of falconry on the European continent and in England, with an emphasis on the 5th to 9th 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 9th 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 9th century will be presented, because such an overview was previously lacking. 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 consider-
able 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’ correspon-
dence 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?], and profane and ecclesiastical legislation [from the Council of Agde held in 506 onwards;
cf. esp. SZABÓ 1997, 177–178; LUttETBACH 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,1
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 astringers 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 12th century (starting with the earliest surviving pipe roll of 1129/30, 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.6

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),7 an overview which adequately considers written

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historical source material is severely lacking. 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). 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 11th-14th-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 Tanqueray 1939; Lupert 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 Oggin's 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. 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 13th century have most of the relevant texts been published in modern editions. With regard to the 14th and 15th 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 Szabo 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.14 It reached a peak with the Polycraticus of John (d. 1180), the later bishop of Salisbury (cf. Szabo 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.15

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 13th c. almost exclusively) in Latin (on this problem cf. most recently Giese 2013a, esp. 38 and 49). The Latin noun avis or avis patro is and the verb avispare can both either be translated as ‘falconry’ or ‘the catching of birds’ in general.16 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 visus 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.17 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 townspeople18 or women19 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.19

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]).18 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), 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, and criticism relating to, for example, a particular time, the situation in question, or the intensity of the discussed passion for hunting.

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. 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, 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.

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. 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/Pfeiffer 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 Entwurf [1], 11. Mai 1740, 145–146), and yet he rated as suspicious a passage by Julius Firmicus Maternus (4th c.) which was first exposed as a humanistic fake in the early 20th century (Christ 1740/41, Dritter Entwurf [1], 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 5th century and leads us to southern France.27

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.28 Two years later in another epistle he mentioned this trio of animals again and recommended the occupation with them as a favourable pastime for boys of noble birth, especially for Ecdicius (son of emperor Avitus).29

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 Job, 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 [carnes pro venatone 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, sermon 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 12th 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 (5th 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 humorous 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.30

Turning the focus now to the Middle Ages: if we exclude later sources of the 10th 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 6th and the 9th centuries and reporting about events that happened in the observed period.31 All of them were Latin texts and none of them was decorated with illustrations.32 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 Merovech II (d. 577), the son of king Chilperic I of Soissons (Neustria).33 While his Historiae represent the only relevant source surviving from the 6th century, and the 7th century does not offer anything to our topic, no less than four letters date back to the middle of the 8th 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').34 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. 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’. 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 [falcones], 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.’ 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 8th 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.

That falconry was a seasonal activity even in the 9th century is confirmed by a verse letter of Ermoldus Nigellus from 826/28 to Louis the Pious (d. 840), 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.

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 Hludovicci, ch. 20, p. 342 l. 2–14; cf. Defreux 1997, p. 215–216, no. 117; Airlie 2006, 101–106; Deuttinger 2006, 54, note 2; Goldberg 2013b, 619, 636). In the middle of the 9th 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 larger and the subject of theological debates (Ad epistolam varias ad suplementum, 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. 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. 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. 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).\textsuperscript{44} 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 \textit{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, falcons, hawk-handlers and dog-handlers [...]'.\textsuperscript{45} 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' (\textit{De bella Parisiaceae 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.\textsuperscript{46} In other words, these animal companions were too personal and too valued to lose them to an enemy.

\section*{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\textsuperscript{th} 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 \textit{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 '\textit{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 9th century, the king's hunting staff was divided into falconers and hawks (falconarios et accipitarios). 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 9th 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 8th century onwards, which prohibited abbots and abbesses from hunting with birds of prey, that women indeed have had to practise falconry. 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 Giesl 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 Ecardus (dated approx. January 876), which includes one sparrowhawk and two falcons. Recueil des chartes de l’abbaye de Saint-Benoît-sur-Loire, vol. I, no. 25, pp. 59–67 (Elenomina Hecardii comitis), esp. p. 66. Thedericus ant Richardo filio suo, donato spada, spangia et signis II; Thébroco filio Nivelongu, spada indica et signis II et tabulas sacrasincis; Adamaro, fratre suo, spenu I et cano et seugius II; Hecardii filio Hecardii tabulas corneas et pacto Saleco et signis II et spavoratario I; Thueberganu, usore Lotharii, ciasileres argentae II, cuppa I et anapello de marmore II, et medicinale libro I; Osgario, caballo I cum sella meloria et seugius IIII et dato I et brancale I et frugaria arrea I, et pellicia meloria I; Fulcoino, caballo I et tapete I; Pedilono, caballo I cum sella; Warnegue, caballo I; Eriberto, scuto cum lancea, caballo; Gautherto, scuto cum lancea et saxia cum isanto et caballo I; Seniore nostro donato falconis II et seugius II; Rotardo donata mea brania cum alsberger. Another will (from 973/87) listing two hawks is mentioned by Owen-Crocker 1991, 222; Oggins 2004, 42.

3 Cf. Szabó 1997; Thompson 1997; Lüttichau 1998; guyon 2006 (not always at the peak of research); recently Giesl 2013b; Menzel 2014, 320–324. Cf. Dusil in this volume.

4 As a curiosity, a list is referred to with 128 'nomi excellensissimi dell anti falconarii di della Maiesta del S. Re' from the 15th century. Cf. Lupis 1891, 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. Schöneder 2004, 329 (index s.v. 'Beizwölfe' ['hunting birds']).


7 Cf. for example Van den Abeele 1996; most recently concerning the illustrated 'Fachliteratur' (specialist literature) Van den Abeele 2013, and de Smet 2013, exp. 119–159, concerning the Renaissance. Cf. furthermore the relevant contributions in this volume.


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 19th.c. I am planning to publish this study in revised form.

Concerning France in the 16th c. cf. de SMET 2013, 13–108. – A research desideratum represents an extensive study of the topic of the trade in falcons, to which GLESSGEN 1996, vol. 1, 5 note 7, for example, referred. Cf. concerning northern Europe essentially HOFMANN 1953, esp. 24–26; HOFMANN 1957/58; recently OEBEL 2014; furthermore, concerning Malta MIPRUD 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 TILUSCH 1949, MEHLER et al. and ORTEN LIE in this book; concerning the Netherlands, but unproductive concerning the Middle Ages VAN OORSCHOT 1974; concerning Sweden FRIITZ/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 ABEELE/DE MARCKEN DE MERCEN 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 Baldwin II of Guines (d. 1206), for example, criticized Baldwin for being more interested in hunting and falconry than attending services. LAMBERT ARDENSI HISTORIA COMITUM GHSINENSUM, ch. 88, p. 603.1.5–9 Emuli tamen eius et nostri, quasi verum dixerint, hoc ei improverant, quod rubescente aurora promptiori animo corniculum auscultat venatoris quam campanam sacerdotis, avidius vocem leporinis quam capellani vel eis vicaris, priasque a somno excitat aegupites quam templi custodes, et magis applaudit accipitri vel falconi aerem ginanti et verberanti quam presbytero servominanti. LAMBERT OF ARDES, 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 austringers 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; ROSENBER 1997a, 16; ROSENBER 1997b, 133–134 (with partly incorrect translation); MENZ 2014, 330.

12 JOHN OF SALISBURY, POLITICRATICS, l. 1, ch. 4, p. 33 l. 120–122 Quod vel ex eo mecum conicides quod deterior sexus in asium venatione 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 accupationes for amusement. A GOBARD OF LYON, DE MODO REGIMINIS ECCLESIASTICI, ch. 9, p. 330 l. 1–p. 331 l. 13 Ergo quicumque praedicationem officium et locum regiminis suscipit, et neglectis in his summis rebus, quod est sumnum misericordiae Dei, avocare animos fideliem, et quirit confessionem et associationem in diuiciis, in ornamenti metallicis, in venationibus, accupationibus ac piscationibus, et, quod peius est, in commessionibus et ebrietatis, et sonis musicis [...]; iste talis non est adulator Dei [...], sed est destructor operis Dei ac per hoc adulator Anti-christi. Et licet in oculis humanis sacros esse wideatur, in oculis tamen Dei non est [...]. On the dating cf. the introduction to the edition p. XLVI; on the content cf. SZABÓ 1997, 181; MENZ 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, l. 1, ch. 10, p. 18 l. 3–6, writing in the 960s: Interea urbe ex pacem promissa secutiore reddita, egressus est quidam cum accipitri victum quaerens supra litoris fluvii subpradicti. Emiso vero volucere, quidam ex Saxonibus in ulteriori ripa ilico eum susciper. The hunter betrayed the anti-Saxon war tactics in exchange for the return of his hunting bird. Cf. HOFMANN 1953, 7.


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 (dam accupatum cum accipitri perigit). PICCOLOMINI, HISTORIA AUSTRIALIS I, 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 (captiv quoque, nartibus saeclae et apt venatori, dominorurn delicio) as well as sparrowhawks, goshawks and falcons (aves delicetes, quorum praeed et volata solet recreari nobilitas, nisi videlicet, accipitres et herodis) 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, l. III, ch. 17, p. 218 l. 21–35 Nec ictum homines his tanis erat subiecti periculos, verum et iumenta deputata

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 [sic] William of Helpenstein/circa nemus spatiaretum, nisiis portans super pugnam, a duobus servis Comitis Seynensis, qui hominem sui iuris captivum ducabant, quem ipse excitare nisiis est, lancea transfixit, animam propter exalavit. – 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, I, VI, ch. 110, p. 502 De ictu Cantuariensi qui nisi amissum recuperavit. Manet juncta nos civis Cantuariae, qui, quamvis militiam non novit, militarem tamem tantatem non contemnit. Hic nisiis quem misit in cecavem servandum tradidit uxorvis isae qui avolavit, et custodem eundem, custodem per diem et noctem tristem reliquit; nam vitam timebat, qui, minus comis in uxorvis, damnum suum inutilis non dimittebat. Accidit autem, postquam mulier super amissione martyrum Thomam interpellaverat, nisiis revolavit in cryptam quae sancti corpus requiescit humanum, et scaphae mulieris ante martyrum orantis insidi, viciniae ejus mulieris quae volucrum perderidas; a qua et ipsa ipsam recepit. Hoc autem factum est, ut nonum fieret matris martyris ipsum fuisset restitutum; ipse namque nisiis restituit ad quem nisiis revolavit. Cf. with further examples Oppitz-Trotmann 2010, 83–88, who does not mention this miracle.


21 Cf. from around the year 1078 the Anonymous Haseken, De gestis episcoporum Esetetensium, ch. 21, p. 52, a valet (nun ex camaristis) 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 [959/96–1018]), because he wants to behave in an unbecoming way, after he had taken him from the hunting bird he had brought with him At ille apprehensum per fuguras [i. q. ligaturas] acceptivem ter et quater in faciem clerici percussit. Forcifer, inquiens, quemodo avus est ad episcopum venire hannismodi aliter ferent? Confusa et dolens clericus ingreditur ad episcopum, non tam legationis causa, sed quererarum, munitas hanc se contumelas domino suo lacrimabiliter conquestuum. Cui episcopus 'Inno ego', inquit, nisi patienter feratis, mandabo domino nostro, quam inurbae ad me sensitis, et non solam gratiam eius, sed et bona seestra et ipsum ordinem perdam nobis. Vos quidem stilte egisti; stilte egit et meus; condonate alternum, quod inimicam peccatis; et canete de cetero, ne unquam ad me usel ad aliquam episcopum tam irregulariter seniatis'. Cf. Lindner 1940, 418 note 1; Hofmann 1953, 11, and 152–153; Geiges 2008, 19. 18, 20

22 Cf. from the beginning of the 11th century Trietmar of Merseburg, Chronicon, I, VI, ch. 96–98, pp. 388–390, esp. I, VI, ch. 96, p. 388 l. 20–29 Arnulfus ansistes ad saltem Goronis a venerabili eiusdem loci abbatisa Hathawi ad festivitatem Christi mortis Ciriaci ad convivium invitator venit; et in die sancto, cum post missam de seclasio ambularet, vidit clericum acceptivam in mansa sua tenement; et zelo commutatis hunc cum brachio suino comprehendit ac secum duxit, non ut prniteret, sed sic verbis mediocribus corripieret. Fama volans milites predictos congregat, quorum primum Hugul nomine ad episcopum veniens, cum seniorem suam sic inbornare voluisset, 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; Geiges 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. Thomas, l. III, ch. 2, p. 183 [...]. et praeterea quod nimis foret absurum, et omni dolvo puri adoeptum, hominum militari potius cingulo quam clericali officio mancipiatum, canum sectoriis et pastorem avium, ovium constitutere pastorem; praeterim super tam sanctam monachorum conventum, et super tam grandi et tam numerousum, qui per tolam Angliam diffunditur, Dominicum gregem: hoc profecto anlica cupiditate et voracitate quodam lupina totius gregis dissipatorem potius et vore-atorem quam pastorem certissime praesumendum. Cf. Oppitz-Trottman 2010, 79.

24 E.g., around 962/63, a source from 'r'ier describes this to underline the cruelty of a lord (dominus) to a peasant (rusticus). Finally the lord is punished for doing so. Sieghard of St. Maximin, Miraclae s. Maximini, ch. 14, p. 232 l. 40–p. 233 l. 18 Est sita monasterii quae Wimari ecclesia dicitur, quam saevissimus quidam, cuus nomen memoriae nostrae elapsum est, in beneficio habuit. Qui cum sancti familiae gewovisse afflicterat, etiam non inveniens, quid eis, unde culperi possent, obiceret, uni eorum, qui agrestior ceteris sigeretur, accipitrem suum custodiendum commissi, scitis rusticum illius artis nullam habere pericisiam, ut dum ales neglecta deperivet, interius culpam in rusticum retorqueret. Ille vero diu multumque renitit et impericiam excusare artis, cum tamen alitem denunium consulpus est custodiendum suscipere. Quid autem aget? Seruavit interim vivam, sine ess in domo funica cito mortituram. Qua mortua, plumas ei detraxit, ac sale conspersam domino servandam suspendit. Putabat enim stulta rusticitas, se astuciam caldus hominis evasum, si ei vel cadaver avis tempore expressis incorruptum valuisse exhiberet. Cumque tam revolu longi temporis spacio, immittis dominus accipitrem suum a rustic o exigisset, ille protinus cadaver obtulit. Ibi nacta occasione saevit domo, et feru crudelior quasi consumellum sita a rustic faciam sociis omnibus imputat, astruens, communis consiulio illam ad adaciam facti suisse animatum; conscutusque in castrensis ad placatam vocat, omni pecalto spoliando multisque insuper verberibus afficiend. Cf. Hofmann 1953, 16.


26 Cf. concerning the beginnings of falconry in the Middle Ages in the light of the written sources Hofmann 1953, esp. 5; Bensost 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 7th century A. D,’ Warmbier 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.


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 (Boniatius, Epistolae, 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.
Gregory of Tours, Histories, I, ch. 14, p. 211 l. 8–11 'Ut quid bic quasi signes et timidi resedemus et ut hebetis circa basilicam occulmur? Veniant enim equi nostri, et acceptis accepiitibus, cum canibus exercerarer venationem spectaculisque patulis icundemur'. Duke Gunthram (Boso) tries at the instigation of queen Frederunge to induce Merovech to leave the church so that he can be killed. Cf. Hofmann 1953, 7; Benoist 1970/71, 6–7.

Bonifatius, Epistulae, no. 92, pp. 209–212, here p. 211 l. 6–11 Vestimenta preciosa, caballos farve pasto, accipitros falconesque cum curris anguibus, latrantes canes, scurrarum bacchataes, cibi potusque exquisite dulcendis sapores, argentii aurei rotundati pondera spargantur, ut sit mollis culcute passato, mollisque cervicula a viris potius exhibeantur quam a fiammeis puellis.

Bonifatius, Epistulae, no. 83, pp. 184–187, here p. 186 l. 14–19 Detestabile est enim et iniquum opus clericum in ludis inveneri aut cum acceptoribus vel venationibus degere vitam tantisque scenicius causis sanctitatis ad episcopatum aut presbyterium vel quodlibet sacerdotale officium accedere, non bonus, sed malis vitis plenum. Scriptum namque est: 'Qui diligitis Domini, odite malum'. Cf. Lindner 1940, 413.

Bonifatius, Epistulae, no. 69, p. 142 l. 17–19 Interea pro signo veri amoris et devote amiciciae diximus tibi accipitem unam et duas falces, duo scuta et duas lances. Quae rogamus, licet digna non sint, manuvisca tamen pro caritate benedictionis suscipere digneris.

Bonifatius, Epistulae, no. 105, pp. 229–231, here p. 231 l. 5–15 His itaque breviter summatimque prelibatis unam rem preterea a mihi exhiberi, quam vos adquirete valde difficile esse, iuxta quod mihi indicatum est, nullatenus reor: hoc est duos falces, quorum ars et artis audatia sit grus velles velle libenter captando arripere et arripiendo consenire solo. Ob hanc etenim causam de harum adquisitione et transmittendarum ad nos aevum vos rogamus, quia videlicet perpauci huius generis accipitris in nostris regionibus, hoc est in Cantia, reperiantur, qui tam bonus producunt fetus et ad supradictam artem animo agiles ac bellicos educantur et edomantur ac docentur.


Ermoldus Nigellus, Carmen in honorem Pippini II, v. 45–48, p. 220 Utere nempe jocis silvestris, utere ... [Pertz added campo] / Cum cane cumque capi ista vel illa cape / Sicque statuta dies venationis uter armis / Sicque statuta dies utilia sequi. Translated by Goldberg 2013b, 627: 'To be sure you should enjoy the joys of the woods [and field] / 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 Orleans, Carmen 39, p. 531 v. 7–12 Ut premis ipe feras, reprimas sic barbaro cola / Hesperiam reprimas, ut premis ipe feras / Ut ubi cedit aper, Maurus tibi cedit Arabische / Sarmata subcubat, 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.


43 Annals of Fulda, ad annum 870, p. 70 Zuentibuld nepos Rastizi proprii utilitatisbus consilens se Carlmanno una cum regno, quod tenebat, tradidit. Unde Rastiz oebemerent iratus nepoti occulter potit insidias et eum in convicn nihil mali suspicantem inguisse disponi; sed gratia Dei a periculo mortis liberatus est. Nam antequam illi, qui eum necaturi erant, domum intraret, surrexit de loco convici annuente sibi quodam eiusdem fraudus conscio et quas cum falconibus ludam exerceret praeparatam devotissimis insidiae. Rastiz autem videns denudatum consilium suum nepotem cum militibus quasi comprehensurus insequitur; sed iusto indicio Dei captus est laqueo, quem tetendit: nam ab eodem nepote suo comprehenditur, ligatur et Carlmanno praesentatur; a quo sub militibus illum, ne labetur, observantibus in Baiarius miscus usque ad praeventiam regis servandus in ergastulum reductur. Cf. for example Lutterbach 1998, 152 with note 16; Galloni 2000, 119; Boccassi 2003, 52-54; independent of these Goldberg 2013b, 639.


47 Captularia regum Francorum, no. 23 (23 March 789), pp. 62–64, here ch. 31, p. 64 l. 21–22 Ut episcopi et abbatess et abbatissae cupellas canem non habeant nec falcones nec accipitres nec ioculatoris. Cf. Lindner 1940, 415 (with incorrect dating to 819), 410 (factually false blanket statement on the participation of women in hunting in the Early Middle Ages); Szabo 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.