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MEDIEVAL HUNTING AND FISHING PRACTICES
AND THE COURT EPICS

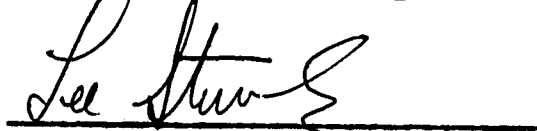
by

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Thesis Director's signature:

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Lee Sturges", is written over a horizontal line.

Houston, Texas

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Medieval Hunting and Fishing Practices and the Court Epics

I. Justification and Scope of Subject.

A check through the bibliographical material dealing with hunting in regard to both the courtly epics and the actual practice of the Middle Ages yields the somewhat surprising conclusion that no work has yet been done in which the two spheres of actual hunting procedure and literary portrayal of hunting practice are compared. Though there exist numerous treatments dealing with subjects in both these realms, the boundary between them is never crossed in any one work. Thus, in the area of actual practice, research can be found concerning hunting methods and treatises; animals and weapons employed; the role of the hunt in the lives of emperors, kings, and other nobles; and the laws which regulated medieval hunting procedure. On the other hand, in the realm of portrayal of the hunt in medieval courtly literature, there can be found such subjects as hunting procedures in general, animals in Middle High German literature, motifs in which hunting is prominent, hunting imagery, and treatments of a multitude of individual aspects of hunting as found in literature.

In the absence of any attempts to reconcile the two areas of reality and literature as far as hunting is concerned, it would seem that a valuable contribution could be made if these

two realms were compared. If this were done, there would be greater understanding of the significance which the descriptions of hunting in the medieval court epics had for the nobility of that time, for whom the epics were intended.

The generally accepted understanding of the nature of the court epic conditions what one would expect to be the result of such a comparison. Courtly literature, written about nobility for nobility by nobility, tended to project an idealized picture of how life ought to be, in the reflection of which the kings, princes, knights, and ladies could pattern their own lives. Just as the characters in the epics functioned in the very best type of society, they dressed in the very best clothes and owned the very best horses, hounds, and other belongings. Thus, in a comparison between literary and actual hunting practice, one would expect two different pictures: the ideal and the actual truth. One would expect idealized methods of hunting, idealized quarry, idealized conditions for the hunt, and idealized weapons and hunting animals. The real picture of hunting in the Middle Ages, however, would probably be anticipated as one of coarse and rough methods, and of less picturesque game, conditions, and settings.

Consider then, the surprised reaction which a reader with the above-described point of view would have to the affirmation of David Dalby that ignorance of actual hunting and falconry practice is rarely evident in medieval literature.¹ The

¹David Dalby, Lexicon of the Medieval German Hunt (Berlin, 1965), p. 76.

implication of this statement is that the descriptions found as accepted courtly hunting practice in literature can be generally considered to have been accepted and courtly in the medieval world of reality--and vice versa. Much of the research in Dalby's lexicon is based on this assumption. There is no section, however, in his work which treats this subject with thoroughness. Since it has been noted above that there is evidently no other research available, one assumes that Dalby's assumption is made on no established basis and must rest solely upon opinions from his own studies.

The result of the present comparison, therefore, will either tend to support or discredit the above assumption. It is this writer's opinion that Dalby is, indeed, correct in his belief. In the course of this study, it will be shown conclusively that the hunting episodes in the medieval court epics could have generally been just as validly placed in an accurate history text concerning the role of hunting in medieval aristocratic culture. Such a result will be all the more valuable since it is contrary to what one would ordinarily expect.

It is, of course, necessary to establish certain bounds in the case of chronology and subject matter, in order to avoid attempting to treat too immense a body of material. The time period involved here will generally coincide with that of the rise, golden age, and decline of the courtly Middle High German literature. As for subject matter, resource materials for

actual medieval hunting practice will include histories, law codes, historical documents such as grants of special privileges, and hunting treatises. The basis for the study of courtly literature will be the body of the court epics and also selected subjects from certain heroic epics which fall under the heading of "courtly". It has already been mentioned above what is understood by the term "courtly literature". The heroic epics, originating earlier than the court epics, naturally reflect the less refined age in which they were written. Many of these basically coarser pieces of literature were taken in hand by certain later poets of courtly tastes and given many idealized refinements, so that the finished epic would appeal to those used to more courtly fare. Thus, for the purposes of this study, material in such heroic epics as the Nibelungenlied, Biterolf, and Kudrun which has been treated so that it meets the ideal standards of life and culture to which the court epics were subject, will be considered fitting evidence.

II. Actual Hunting Practice in the Middle Ages.

A. Hunting as a Prerogative of the Nobility.

Hunting was not the prerogative of the aristocracy because the members of the lower classes simply chose not to hunt. They would gladly have availed themselves of the opportunity if they had been permitted and if all land had been unrestricted, as it once had been. The changes and developments which changed the status of the French and German land areas from free to restricted began long before the advent of the courtly period under consideration here. Royal hunting preserves, the bases for the noble hunting prerogative throughout the Middle Ages, were first established in France and Germany during the reign of the Carolingian rulers. At this time the custom of unrestricted hunting rights for free men on the land they occupied gradually disappeared by royal decree. Wide areas of land were placed under a ban on unauthorized hunting or trapping of all game (sometimes small game was excluded). The penalty for offenders came to be, in later times, forms of mutilation, perhaps because the earlier and milder penalties did not sufficiently discourage peasants from hunting. Although hunting preserves originally were generally intended for the pleasure of rulers and high ranking nobility, these potentates frequently found it necessary, by the 9th and 10th centuries, to bestow forest rights on local overlords, both secular and spiritual. The result was a rapidly increasing expansion of hunting preserves for the use of all

levels of the nobility during the 11th to 15th centuries. This meant, of course, the rapid decrease of any remaining hunting privileges of the free peasantry. Thus, the meat from wild game such as stag and roe-deer, hares, boars, bears and wild birds, which the nobility enjoyed at their meals in the Früh- and Hochmittelalter, was forbidden on the tables of the peasants because of preserve restrictions. Their lot was to be satisfied "...mit Pflanzenkost und Milchprodukten..., letzteres wo wenigstens Viehzucht betrieben wurde."²

The extremes to which the early rulers went in maintaining hunting exclusively for themselves are illustrated by the example of Charles the Bald, who in 877 forbade his son Louis the Stammerer the right to hunt in 15 important forests which he wanted reserved for himself. He did, however, make one concession: Louis could hunt in the limited area in which he had to travel to pass through these forests.³ Such restriction was, as noted above, greatly diminished by the time of the Middle High German golden age, when virtually all the nobility enjoyed the privilege of hunting in forest preserves.

²See Dalby, Lexicon, p. 10. Kurt Lindner discusses the development of hunting preserves in detail in his Die Jagd im frühen Mittelalter, Geschichte des deutschen Weidwerks, Vol. II, (Berlin, 1937-1940), pp. 152-233. See also Dietrich W. H. Schwarz, "Sachgüter des Mittelalters und der Neuzeit," Deutsche Philologie im Aufriss, ed. Wolfgang Stammeler (Berlin, 1957), III, Spalte 1194. References in this section are to these works except as noted.

³See Lindner, II, 179.

One gets a good idea as to the exact nature of the restrictions applying to forest preserves by examining the laws and documents of the times. The two examples presented here are especially valuable, since they date from the decline of the courtly period. They thus probably indicate regulations in effect during the zenith of the golden age.

From the Schwabenspiegel (197) (ca. 1270):

"Doch hânt die herren panforste: swer dâ inne iht tuot, dâ hânt si buoze ûf gesezet, als wir ernâch wol gesagen. Si hânt ouch über vogel pan gesezet. Allen tieren ist vride gesezet, âne wolven unde beren. Swer in panforsten wilt wundet oder vellet oder jaget der ist dem herren des es dâ ist schuldic ze geben driu phunt der lantphenninge. Swer durch den panforts rîtet, des boge unde des armbrust sol ungespannen sîn, unde sîn kocher sol versperret sîn. sîne winde unde sîne braken sullen ûf gevangen sîn, und sîne jagende hunde sullen gekopelt sîn...unde ist daz ein man ein tier wundet in sînem wiltpanne, unde daz fluihet in ein andern wiltpan...stirbet ez in dem wiltpanne ê daz der dar über kome, der ez dâ gejaget hât: des ist ez ze rehte. vindet erz lebende, er sol ez lâzen stên, unde ez ist jenes des der wiltpan ist. Ein ieglich wilt ist mit rehte ie des mannes, in des wiltpan ez danne ist."

A similar passage is found in the Sachsenspiegel (II, 61) (ca. 1225). In the above passage from the Schwabenspiegel, it is interesting to note that herren (i.e. lords in general, as opposed to one king) are in possession of forest preserves.

Thus, the point has been established that hunting in the Middle Ages, especially during the period in which the court epics were written, was indeed the exclusive privilege of the nobility.

Numerous important nobles are mentioned in medieval documents and histories as being hunters.⁴ The references go back as far as the time of the Merovingians, and the evidence shows a fairly consistent liking for the hunt down through the years. Thus, Clovis (481-511), the founder of the Frankish empire, as well as his sons Theoderich, Childebert and Clotacher, all had a passion for hunting and frequently engaged in the sport. Theodebert I (534-548), a grandson of the great Clovis, was fatally wounded by an Auerochs (a type of buffalo) while on the hunt. The royal chamberlain of King Guntram (a cousin of Theodebert), accused of felling game without the king's permission, was tied to a pillar and stoned to death. Chlotachar II, a nephew of Guntram, is the subject of many hunting stories, and his passion for hunting was often emphasized. One of his biographers praised him as educated, God-fearing, and charitable to the poor. The writer felt compelled to add, however: "Der Jagd war er mit Eifer ergeben."

Deaths, both accidental and intentional, are closely connected with the history of noble huntsmen in the Middle Ages. Especially prevalent in all ruling houses through the time of

⁴The following examples are from Lindner, pp. 385 ff.

the Carolingians, hunting deaths claimed the lives of such nobles as Childerich II (673); Dagobert II (678); Aufusius, the nephew of King Liutprant (711); King Aistulf (756); Karlmann, grandson of Charles the Bald (884); and the Emperor Lambert (898). One final incident of a death resulting from hunting is that of Emperor Henry III. In October of 1056, the emperor, along with Pope Victor II and other nobles, rode out to hunt from one of the imperial hunting castles. Henry, as a result of becoming overheated on the hunt and of eating too much fried stag liver in the subsequent feast, was taken ill. He died 17 days later at the age of 39.

If it was possible to outdo the passion for hunting of the Merovingians, the Carolingians did so. Numerous accounts of their hunting activities and experiences have been preserved, and such accounts have permitted historians to construct much of what is known about medieval courtly hunting practice. Thus there is much historical accuracy in the words which Einhard, a biographer of Charles the Great, wrote about his "der Jagd leidenschaftlich ergebener Kaiser": "'Beständig übte er sich im Reiten und Jagen, wie es die Sitte seines Landes war, denn man wird nicht leicht auf Erden ein Volk finden, das sich in dieser Kunst mit den Franken messen könnte.'" In fact, an unbroken line of inheritance and excellence in hunting can be traced from the early Celtic and Frankish dynasties to those of the Carolingian emperors and from here "zu dem durch die fürstliche Landeshoheit bestimmten Jagdwesen des hohen Mittelalters". This development was closely linked to that of the forest preserves mentioned above.

Charles the Great, then, can be seen as a median figure between the great early noble hunters and those of the Hochmittelalter. A zealous hunter from the time of his youth, Charles saw to it that his own sons, as soon as their tender years permitted it, were trained in the practice of weapons and hunting. It was his custom to spend the fall months in hunting, and even at the age of 72, shortly before his death, records show that he was hunting near Aachen in accordance with this habit.⁵ The entries in historical records of his various hunting activities are too numerous to mention fully. Among the emperor's favorite areas in which to hunt were the Ardennes, the Hirkanischer Wald and the Vosges Mountains. One noteworthy hunting episode in Charles' life took place when he had organized a hunt in honor of notable Persian ambassadors to Aachen. In an attempt to cut off the head of a wild beast with his sword, Charles nearly lost his life, but was saved by a courtier who was temporarily out of favor. Needless to say, this noble regained his old place. Also of interest, especially because of the mention of its location, is a royal hunt led by Charles in the Brühl near Aachen. The Brühl was a hunting park-preserve surrounded by walls. Included in the hunting party were a stately group of counts and other lords, as well as the Empress, Charles' sons, and six of his daughters. The hunt activities are reported to have lasted well past sunset. Such a hunt in an enclosed, exclusive park area

⁵Lindner, p. 391.

was already common at the imperial court in the age of the Carolingians. "Was uns hier entgegentritt, ist...Königsjagd in seiner reinsten und ausgeprägtesten Form."

Charles' descendants inherited his love of hunting. A description of a hunt in an enclosed park in the vicinity of the Rhine, in which his son Louis the Pious played the leading role, has also been preserved. Louis' son Charles (later known as the Bald) who, as we have seen above, was in his manhood evidently quite choosy about granting hunting rights, was only a small boy at his mother's side at the time of this park hunt. Yet, upon seeing a fawn, he gleefully called for his weapons and made his mother proud by felling the animal--held by court attendants--with a bow and arrow. Hunting zeal filled these nobles at an early age. At the conclusion of this hunt, the courtly party retired to "ein mit Leinentüchern bespanntes Jagdhaus aus Moos, Laub, Zweigen und Buchsbaum hergerichtet." Like his father, Louis was a very enthusiastic hunter, and mention cannot be made of all the numerous references to hunting episodes in his life. Often hunting for extended periods several times a year, the emperor is attested in documents in his woodman activities throughout the period 812-839. He, too, hunted right up to the time of his death. Other descendants of Charles documented as hunters were Lothar and Louis the German, who in 850 hunted together for an extended period and with limited retinue, in order to show their unity.

The evidence shows that all the members of the royal Carolingian dynasties were most enthusiastic hunters.

It can also be said that the Saxon and Salian emperors and their retinues were very fond of the hunt. Perhaps the most zealous of these was Henry I, who was described as being untiring on the hunt and for whom forty or more felled animals was the average on one hunt. Based either on direct mentions in historical sources or on studies of the places and dates of the traveling itineraries of the rulers, it can be assumed with certainty that all the Saxon and Salian emperors and the nobles of their court who were in their service or who visited them (with perhaps the one exception of Henry V, the last Salian ruler) were avid hunters. In fact, the type of game which was in season to hunt, and where such game was located, seem to have often been determining factors as to where the emperors and their followings would set up court and transact other business. The prospect of slipping away for a few hours' (or days') hunting evidently overshadowed the other activities of life of the German Emperors from Otto I to Henry IV. Of course, countless other nobles must have hunted with them.

Some of the interesting evidence derived from direct sources describing the activities of the Saxon and Salian rulers concerns their frequent sojourns at castles given over exclusively to the purposes of hunting. For example, Conrad II was fond of spending time at Falkenhof, a hunting château at Nymwegen established by Louis the Pious. Only a few kilometers

away was the Kranichburg. All the emperors from Henry I to Henry III used the Jagdschloss Bodfeld, probably located near Elbingerode, as headquarters for their hunting expeditions. Other hunting castles included Siptenfelde, Selkenfelde and Hasselfelde. Bodfeld, Hasselfelde, and probably Siptenfelde were located on the great highway which crossed the Harz region from west to east. The records show that individual rulers frequented many of these castles, often alternating among those in the Harz in various years. No doubt the Jagdschlösser were generally located in or near the numerous forest preserves mentioned above. Even at the ages of 12 and 15, Otto III is attested as combining business with pleasure, since he issued certain documents from Bodfeld at this time in his life (992 and 995).

Although the various personalities mentioned thus far may have had their differences politically and in other aspects of life, they were all united in their love of hunting. It is very clear, "dass kein oder nahezu kein Herrscher in den hier betrachteten sechs Jahrhunderten deutscher Geschichte auf dem Thron gesessen hat, der nicht zugleich Jäger war."⁶

With such a heritage behind them, it is not surprising that the emperors, kings, and other nobility living during the golden courtly age were themselves avid hunters. At this time

⁶Lindner, p. 407. For details and more examples of hunting in the lives of rulers and nobility from the time of the Merovingians to that of the Saxons, see Lindner, pp. 385-407.

also, hunting was a vital part of the young noble's early training. In regard to the early instruction a would-be knight received, by age 15 the young man had been extensively initiated into the rules of the court, of the chase, and of the tournament.⁷

Perhaps the best example of the medieval noble huntsman par excellence during the courtly age was that of Emperor Frederick II of Hohenstaufen. Frederick was such a passionate hunter (especially pursuing the art of falconry) that he once suffered a major setback in one series of campaigns in Italy because he and most of his court were out hawking. People were so accustomed to seeing the Emperor in hunting dress that green became the fashionable color among the Ghibelline partisans in Northern Italy.⁸ Reacting to the Emperor's habit, a papal chronicler of Frederick's time wrote mockingly: "'Frederick degrades his majestic title to huntsman's work, and instead of adorning himself with laws and weapons, he surrounds himself with panthers, hounds, and screeching birds, and converts the Emperor into a follower of the chase. He exchanges his illustrious sceptre for a spear and disputes with eagles their triumph in bird-slaying.'⁹ Furthermore, the imperial huntsman of Frederick had so many important duties that he needed numerous

⁷See Alwin Schultz, Das höfische Leben zur Zeit der Minnesinger (Leipzig, 1879) I, 120-149.

⁸See Ernst Kantorowicz, Frederick the Second 1194-1250, trans. E. O. Lorimer (London, 1931), p. 315.

⁹Ibid.

pages at hand, whom he kept fully employed. Perhaps Frederick inherited his love of hunting from his ancestors: for them, the chase had been a peacetime substitute for war; however, Frederick went beyond these bounds and, as shown above, apparently gloried more in hunting than in battle.¹⁰ It is estimated that the Emperor spent not less than one third of his time in the saddle; of that, fully one half was given over to hunting.¹¹

Although Frederick may have overdone things somewhat, his love of hunting was shared by most of the nobility in the courtly Middle Ages. This held true for France and England as well as Germany. William Stearns Davis has written about life on a typical thirteenth century barony of the period ca. 1220.¹² The customs mentioned generally apply for Germany, France, and England, and the date could as easily be 1100 or 1300 (see his "Preface"). In regard to hunting, if the baron received a noble guest, almost the first question would be how to divert the stranger.¹³ The "inevitable" program would then be to persuade the visitor to remain at least long enough to go hawking or ride in the chase. "It will be most 'ungentle' of him to refuse." The relative importance attached to the noble sport

¹⁰Kantorowicz, p. 359.

¹¹Ibid., p. 366.

¹²Life on a Medieval Barony: A Picture of a Typical Feudal Community in the Thirteenth Century (New York, 1923).

¹³Davis, p. 51.

of hunting versus other amusements is clearly established:
 "Chess, dice, and every other game indoors or outdoors pales before the pleasure of hawking or hunting. There is no peacetime sensation like the joy of feeling a fast horse whisk you over the verdant country, leaping fences, and crashing through thickets with some desperate quarry ahead. It is even a kind of substitute for the delights of war. If a visiting knight shows the least willingness, the baron will certainly urge him to tarry for a hunting party."¹⁴ And, just as the ladies of the court epics loved to participate as much as possible in the hunt activities, so also did they do so in real life, for the hunt was almost the closest they could come to martial pleasures.¹⁵ Iwein and other epic knights were not the only ones who verrittern sich (i.e. indulge in feats of valor to the extent that they neglect other responsibilities, such as those to wives or sweethearts). Although the average mail-clad cavalier was a man of strong passions, he was often more interested in war and the chase than in fair maidens.¹⁶ The medieval noble would, indeed, have been lost if he had been denied the hunt.

The discussion has thus far centered on nobles who pursued hunting only for sport and amusement. In addition to these, there existed a class of the aristocracy who were professional hunters and whose job it was to organize and execute court

¹⁴Davis, p. 57.

¹⁵Ibid., pp. 63-64.

¹⁶Ibid., p. 77.

hunting parties as well as to direct the activities of numerous employed peasants and other hunting servants in the menial tasks involved with hunting expeditions and also to secure sufficient wild game to stock the castle food larders. Going under the title of jegermeister, these nobles usually held positions of honor and of responsibility comparable to other noble and functional positions at court such as those of the chamberlain, the cup bearer and the stable master. In view of the zealous hunting activities of the medieval nobility noted above, the court jegermeister was probably a very busy man.

The records make plausible the assumption that, even in the time of the Merovingians there existed such hunters in the service of the king, of princes, and of other holders of extensive landed property. In a document dated 639, King Clovis II refers to an official who may have served as his oberster Jägermeister.¹⁷

The most extensive extant records which concern noble hunting personnel are those of the court of Charles the Great.¹⁸ These are especially significant for two reasons. First, from them can be deduced the type of hunting organization which existed at a royal court. Furthermore, it is certain that Charles' imperial hunting staff was a model for those of the rich and powerful dukes and counts, as well as the other

¹⁷See Lindner, p. 438.

¹⁸Ibid., pp. 439 ff.

Grossgrundbesitzer of the empire (perhaps on a somewhat smaller scale in some cases). Among the highest retainers of Charles' court were no less than four Oberjägermeister and an Oberfalkner. These men had charge of a great number of hunters and falconers who, as lesser court officials, served partially in direct contact with the emperor, and partially away on various royal estates. The number of nobility professionally involved with hunting must have been extensive, for all the Jagdbedienstete were ministeriales,¹⁹ and thus set apart in their social position from the menial and exhausting tasks of the many lower ranking hunting servants. The very fact that these ministeriales were directly responsible to top ranking court officials and that many of their duties placed them in close proximity to the emperor added to the relatively high esteem in which they were held. They were also sent by the Oberjägermeister or Oberfalkner at times to the estates or the royal forest preserves, in order to care for potential quarry or to make the necessary preparations for the great hunting parties.

Further evidence as to the nobility of both the chief huntsman and those serving beneath him is found in a document of the year 1057 detailing the organization of the forest

¹⁹Gero von Wilpert defines Ministerialen as "unfreie Dienstmannen der Fürsten, häufig als Kriegs- oder Verwaltungsbeamte, die sich durch Übernahme von Lehnsgütern zum Kriegsdienst verpflichteten und schliesslich im Rittertum aufgingen..." See Sachwörterbuch der Literatur, 4th ed. (Stuttgart, 1964), p. 420. Thus, serving in such a capacity was a popular manner of becoming a member of the (lower at least) nobility.

preserve at Saalfeld, which belonged to the Church at Cologne. The positions of Jäger were in many cases filled by ministeriales who received a fief in connection with this office. Upon the death of one of these men, the Jägermeister chose one of the surviving sons to succeed his father. If there were other sons, they received another office. Thus the position of Jäger in this case was inherited, just as the right to hold a landed fief.²⁰

The duties of the functioning Jägermeister (or in some cases, his noble assistants) were especially important for the classic form of the medieval hunt, the open stag chase (see below), which consisted of the pursuit of a stag with horses and hounds. (The duties performed in the case of a stag would probably have been similar to those carried out when boar and like game were to be hunted.) Before a stag chase actually began, it was necessary for the jegermeister to set out with a tracking hound or leit-hund (usually at dawn) and try to locate a suitable stag. He was able to determine the type of animal he wanted by its trail, and then attempted to locate it within a certain area so that the hunters would know where to return for the hunt. It was very important that these tasks be undertaken by the most experienced and senior of the huntsmen, "since the whole sport depended upon the selection of a worthy animal, one which would offer a good chase and would be worth-

²⁰For detailed information concerning noble professional hunters from the earliest traces to the time of the Saxon emperors, see Lindner, pp. 436-455.

while quarry when finally caught."²¹ After the master huntsman had found a suitable animal and located its position, he made a circuit of the area with his hound to be sure that the animal had not left it again. Then he returned to inform his lord, the hunters moved into position, and at this time the quarry was moved from cover: the chase began. It is at this point that most literary descriptions of the sport begin (see discussion below of the stag hunt in literature). The skill and training required to hold such a position must have indeed been extensive.

Certain isolated examples can be found, however, in which the title of Jägermeister was held only as an honorary position: the noble did not perform any special duties, although he no doubt participated on an equal basis with other members of the aristocracy in noble hunting parties.²² By the late 13th century, there did exist such a position under the Emperor; it was linked with the title of Herzog von Kärnten. A section of the Schwabenspiegel (Section 418), concerning the traditional installation ceremonies of the Herzog von Kärnten, is illuminating in regard to such a master huntsman:

"Wie ain hertzoug von kärndern hett sine Recht von dem lande vnd ouch dem Rich. Er ist ouch des Roemschen richs jäger maister. jn sol ouch nieman ze hertzouggen noch ze

²¹Dalby, Lexicon, p. xxxiv.

²²Ibid., p. 113.

heren han nach nemen denn die fryen lanttsaessen in dem land... So gautt ouch alles das land dar mitt gemain Rautt, arm vnd rich, vnd enpfachen in gar schoun vnd erlich, als sy ouch von rechtt sönd nach des landes gewonhaitt, vnd legend im ouch ainen grauwen rok an, vnd ainen Routten gürtell tuond sy im vnb, vnd dar an ain grouss routt täschen, als ainem jägermaister wol kuntt vnd fueglich ist, Dar in er leg sin kaess, sin brout vnd sin geraettlach; vnd gend im ouch ain jägerhorn wol geuasset mitt roten riemen, vnd legen im ouch an zwen Raut gebunden bunttschuech, vnd ouch ain grawen mantel lett man im über den röck an, vnd setzen im ouch ainen grauwen windischen huott uff mitt ainer grawen schnuor, vnd setzen in dann vff ain veldpfaertt, vnd fuerend jn denn zuo ainem stain..."

Even if he did little, at least the Herzog was well-dressed for the part. (With all that equipment, it is no wonder he performed no woodsmanlike skills.) The evidence notes further that, in 1350, the title of "des römischen reichs oberster jägermeister" was held by the Landgraf von Thüringen, and that it involved certain honorary privileges.²³

In view of the facts presented--largely because of the restriction of hunting rights--it is clear that members of the nobility, whether they were professionals or simply avid sportsmen, completely dominated the hunting scene throughout the greatest part (and certainly during the courtly period) of the Middle Ages.

²³Dalby, Lexicon, p. 113.

B. Animals Hunted by the Medieval Nobility.

As has been the case with hunting generally in all periods, there were, during the Middle Ages, certain animals which were considered by the nobles to be more favored and more suitable to hunt. Among these were stags, boars, and (unbelievable as it may at first seem) fish.

The Stag. As mentioned above, the open stag chase was the classic form of the medieval hunt. This was so not only during the courtly period of the Hochmittelalter. One reference to the hunting of stag by nobility is found for the year 711, when the Langobard King Liutprant organized a hunt on which stags were at least one type of quarry. The above-mentioned Aachener Brühl, hunting park of Charles the Great, was also a favorite of his son Louis, who hunted "Hirsche mit starken Geweihen" here. Reference has already been made to the young deer dispatched in this park by Louis' son Charles. Louis himself must have been most fond of the stag hunt, for the documents note various times when he engaged in such amusement. It is recorded that, in the year 864, Louis the German fell from his horse while chasing a stag and injured several ribs. The Saxon emperors were also fond of the stag chase. Their imperial forest preserve Waldgrafen, at Nymwegen, was noted for both its deer and boars. A source from the 12th century reports that Henry I liked to hunt Bären, Hirsche, und Rehe in Goslar (the site of one of the imperial castles). The above-mentioned document dealing with the forest preserve

of the Church at Cologne (1057) mentions that the members of the hunting staff were not allowed to hunt bears, wild boars, stags, or other deer without permission of the bishopric.²⁴

The popularity of stag as a quarry during the Hochmittelalter is attested by the numerous treatises written (probably by jegermeister and other hunting professionals) about the judgement and harboring of a stag, the procedure described in the previous section. De arte besandi, attributed to a Guicennas who wrote in the first half of the 13th century, is the only extant treatise concerning the stag which dates before 1400.²⁵ However, it is probable that many of the other later Middle High German treatises were based on earlier works. Furthermore, "It would be wrong...to consider this specialized terminology [in the treatises] as being a late medieval feature. The procedure of judging a stag before a stag chase will have been as old as the sport itself, and it is probable that some of these apparently late medieval terms will have had their origin in early Middle High German or even in Old High German."²⁶ Thus, if one begins in the late Middle Ages and looks back, there appears to be an unbroken line of stag hunting tradition reaching to the Old High German period. The early instances of the stag chase (beginning with the first part of the 8th century)

²⁴For the context of the above examples, see Lindner, pp. 389, 396-98, 400, 401, 403, 406, 447.

²⁵ed. Kurt Lindner, Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte der Jagd, Vol. I (Berlin, 1954).

²⁶See Dalby, Lexicon, pp. xxxiv-xxxv.

presented above raise the possibility that some of the terms may even extend to the early Old High German period.

The Boar. The references to wild boars being hunted by the nobility extend back even earlier than those for stag. Chlotachar II, son of Chilperich (died 584), is once reported to have been hunting a boar which sought refuge from him on the altar of a holy hermit. Another unusual hunting experience with a boar is attributed to Pipin, the father of Charles the Great. Charles himself, on the hunt in the Brühl mentioned above, led his party in hunting down countless wild boars. Several documents mention the hunting taste of Louis the Pious for Wildschwein. Karlman, one of the sons of Louis the Stammerer, died at the age of 18 in 884 while on the hunt, fatally wounded by a boar. Two examples from the 11th century of the Saxon emperors' wild boar hunts have been noted above in connection with stags.²⁷

Besides documents and law codes, the art of the Middle Ages can at times supply valuable information concerning the medieval hunt. Among the art work which has survived are found numerous representations of boar hunts. For example, an 11th century manuscript includes a depiction of two hunters with hounds who--having probably just dismounted--are making ready to attack a group of five wild boars. A portion of the sculpture of a 12th century hunting frieze on the Stiftskirche at Königsutter shows a hunting hound attacking a boar. Another 12th century

²⁷Lindner, pp. 388, 390, 394, 395, 397, 398, 400, 402, 406, 447.

sculpture, this time in the cloister of the Grossmünster at Zürich, again portrays large hunting hounds engaging a wild boar. A French calendar picture (for the month of January) dating from the middle of the 13th century, shows a noble in the act of dispatching an eber. One more example, this time from the late 13th century, is provided by a manuscript illumination portraying the moment of the kill in a boar hunt undertaken by two nobles (one of whom is still mounted) and a hunting servant.²⁸

There is additional evidence to substantiate the actual practice of boar hunting by nobility during the Hoch- and Spätmittelalter. In the Erec of Hartmann von Aue, a very realistic description of an aristocratic hunting preserve is found (lines 7130 ff). From this, "it must be assumed that the animals referred to are the types of game one would expect to have found in such a park, at that date (i.e. about 1190)."²⁹ This will have included bears and wild boars in the section devoted to swarzwilt.³⁰ Another writer of Middle High German court epics, Konrad von Würzburg, has included so much detailed material relating to wild boars and the hunting of these animals

²⁸See Lindner, Tafeln 94, 95 (Abbildung a), 102 (Abbildung b), and 105 (Abbildung a), opposite pp. 352, 353, 384, and 400 respectively.

²⁹See Dalby, Lexicon, p. 234.

³⁰Dalby, Lexicon, p. 234, explains that this term literally means "black game" and refers specifically to bear and wild boar in Hartmann's context.

that it has been suggested that Konrad himself may well have hunted boars.³¹

In a contemporary description of a typical hunt in France in the first quarter of the 13th century (thus the period of the golden courtly age), it is striking that the quarry is boar rather than stag or fowl (the latter would indicate falconry), which were also popular game during this period. Perhaps one reason why the boar hunt remained a favorite was the love of the nobility for boar meat as well as venison and fish (see below) as courtly foods. A boar's head larded with herb sauce takes its place with stag meat and fish in the courses of a lavish noble wedding feast typical of early 13th century France.³²

Documents which have survived show that boar hunting was still popular in the 15th century. For example, in the Österreichische Weistümer (VI, p. 231: St. Lambrecht), one reads "Item das rotwild und sweinen wildpret verpeut man ze jagen bei verliering der augen."³³ No doubt this game was meant for certain nobles. At least three other 15th century documents exist which state expressly that stag, roe deer and boars are reserved for the nobility.³⁴

³¹Dalby, Lexicon, p. xvii.

³²For these French references, see Davis, pp. 64-67 and 128.

³³The various "Weistümer" referred to in the course of this work are collections of legal documents.

³⁴See Deutsche Weistümer I, 573 (Sulzbach, 1408); II, 553 (Pronzfeld, 1476); and II, 242 (Remich, 1477?).

The Fish. It may seem unlikely at first that fishing was a sport indulged in by knights, kings, emperors, and other nobles. In fact--in contrast to such noble beasts as the stag, the boar, the falcon, and the hunting hound--the fish does not at all seem to have the qualities of a courtly animal. Therefore, in this section, the position of the fish in regard to courtly medieval society will be more thoroughly investigated than was the case above with the boar and stag. First, the courtliness and exclusiveness of the sport of fishing itself will be examined. In addition, to establish just how courtly an animal the fish was, its importance and popularity as an aristocratic food will be explained.

There is much evidence in historical documents and other such records which indicates fishing was, indeed, a courtly sport among the nobility. Not included among the evidence here are instances of people who made their living by fishing, or of members of classes lower than the nobility who fished (there were probably very few of this latter group at all, as will be shown below by the numerous restrictions of fishing rights to aristocrats, just as was the case with hunting rights). The criteria for admissible data must be (here as well as in the section discussing fishing in the court epics) that the person fishing was a noble, and that he did so purely for sport and amusement, i.e. kurzwile.

The fact is recorded that as early as the days of the Merovingian dynasty, on December 6, 558, Childebert I granted

in a written document the fishing rights in a portion of the Seine to the church of Saint-Germain-des-Prés. The term forestis, as used in this document and often elsewhere, had the meaning of hunting and fishing rights both implied. Thus, in the many examples of rights being given to hunt in a forest preserve, the fishing rights could generally also be obtained only by royal decree.³⁵

The frequency with which such documents appeared attests not only the widespread restriction of fishing privileges, but also the fact that they must have been much-coveted rights on the part of the nobility (both ecclesiastic and secular) to whom they were granted. The examples are, indeed, numerous. Thus, on June 27, 716, the Kloster Weissenburg was granted fishing privileges to go along with hunting rights already given in 713 in a particular forest. A document dated 774 and authorized by Charles the Great grants the Abbot Folrad of Saint-Denis a forest and therein the right to fish and to hunt birds. Louis the Pious gave the monks of Sainte-Colombe de Sens the fishing rights "de foreste regia." Dating from the reign of Charles the Bald are certificates for the monasteries St. Denis and St. Bénigne at Dijon, in which the concept of "forest" again encompasses both hunting and fishing privileges.³⁶ Other regulations from documents in this same period which grant

³⁵See Lindner, p. 161.

³⁶Lindner, p. 174: such phrases as "foresta piscationis atque venationis," "foresta piscationis," "foresta piscium in aqua," and "foresta aquatica" are used.

both hunting and fishing privileges, "zeigen, dass der König gelegentlich trotz des in seinen Forsten ihm allein zustehenden Jagdrechtes [this term includes fishing] einzelnen Günstlingen erlaubte, eine festgesetzte Anzahl von Wild dort zu erlegen."

It is understandable that fishing and hunting rights would be often understood in the term forestis, since they frequently were so closely related in that day: "...Fischfang, der sich sachlich der Jagd am nächsten verwandt erweist..."³⁷ Conrad I continued the tradition by bestowing in 912 upon the bishopric of the Bishop of Eichstätt the right to hunt a certain number of boars, stags, and other deer each year in the royal forest. Included in this concession was the right to catch a designated number of fish: "...omni anno tres porcos silvaticos, tres cervos, tres cerfas atque trecentos pisces ad usum Eistatensis ecclesiae episcopo...cum suis venatoribus atque piscatoribus infra forestum Feldun commanentibus aeternaliter in proprium concessimus."³⁸

Although the above examples may seem fairly numerous, actually only some years after the above mentioned document of Conrad I did the custom of granting fishing and hunting preserves and rights to favored members of the nobility really become common: "In den eineinhalb Jahrhunderten, die die zweite Hälfte des 10. und das 11. Jahrhundert umspannen, sahen

³⁷Lindner, p. 179.

³⁸For details of the above examples from the 8th through the 10th centuries, see Lindner, pp. 168, 171, 173-175, and 186.

sich die Ottonen und die nachfolgenden salischen Herrscher veranlasst, eine ungeheure Zahl von Forsten [=forests with all customary rights, including those of hunting and fishing], wie sie ursprünglich allein für die Könige gedacht waren und bis in die karolingische Zeit nur in verhältnismässig geringer Zahl vergeben worden waren, für die immer mächtiger werdenden Grossen des Reiches neu zu schaffen."³⁹ It is possible to pinpoint even more exactly the period in which the grants began to increase rapidly: "Mit Otto dem Grossen setzen die grossen Forstverleihungen an die Kirche und den Adel an."⁴⁰ More information as to the nature of these grants is given in the report of one to the monastery of St. Emmeram at Regensburg in 940, which received "Helfendorf mit einem Forst, den zugehörigen Förstern und dem königlichen Bann." Not only does the gift include certain rights, but also the men to enforce them. By the time of the golden courtly age, it had become frequent custom for members of the higher nobility to grant those of a noble rank a step or so lower than their own such rights as hunting and fishing.

Three other examples should be cited which begin to approach in chronology the early part of the age of chivalry. In 973, in a document of Otto II, the "erzbischöfliche Kirche" in Cologne was granted hunting and fishing rights. The year 1024 saw the establishment of a Bannforst in the area around Kloster Ellwagen,

³⁹Lindner, p. 186 f.

⁴⁰Lindner, p. 188.

in which both hunting and fishing privileges were included. and, in approximately 1030, the transfer of a royal grant to Bishop Eberhard of Bamberg is recorded, in which evidently a variety of rights ("Holzschlag, Schweinemast, Fischerei, und Bienenfang") were understood.⁴¹

Thus, there exist many early examples of the bestowal of fishing rights. But what about instances of actual nobles as fishermen? Of course, the numerous documents quoted above would be meaningless if the nobles had not wanted to fish, and these documents are proof that fishing was valued as a pastime among the nobility. But, in addition, information is available proving that no less a personage than his imperial majesty Louis the Pious was an ardent fisherman. It is certain also that he did not fish instead of chasing deer and other game, for he was "einer der jagdfreudigsten Herrscher aus dem karolingischen Haus." In regard to "[die] Liebe des Kaisers zur Fischerei," it is recorded that in 831 "trieb er 'Jagd und Fischerei' in der Nähe von Remiremont. ...Im Jahre 834 begab sich Ludwig... schon nach Pfingsten in die Ardennen und widmete sich der Jagd und dem Fischfang."⁴² Thus, not only is it known that many of the nobles liked to fish, but that at least one emperor also loved the sport. One final example relating to fishing concerns the duties of the hunting servants of Charles the Great to see that necessary equipment for "Jagd, Vogelfang und Fischerei"

⁴¹For more on these last three examples, see Lindner, pp. 191, 201, and 200 respectively.

⁴²Lindner, pp. 398-399.

were ready when needed.⁴³ From this it can be deduced that, at least, various nobles at the imperial court may have fished. Was this great emperor also a fisherman?

If Lindner's monumental work had been continued, he would, no doubt, have presented documented evidence for the continuation of the popularity of fishing rights in the period in which the classic court epics were written.⁴⁴ Nevertheless, documents from the Hochmittelalter are available which confirm that fishing was still a noble privilege granted to certain favored individuals during the 13th and 14th centuries. The statement of the Schwabenspiegel (Section 197) in this regard leaves no question in the matter: "Doch hânt die herren panforste: swer dâ inne iht tuot, dâ hânt si buoze ûf gesezet, als wir ernâch wol gesagen. Si hânt ouch über vische unde vogel pan gesezet." Even in the 14th century, there is reason to believe that fishing was restricted to nobility. In one of the Tirolische Weisthümer, the following statement is found: "Item, der rihter mag den wildpan und vischwaid verpieten, als von alter herkumen ist, ausgenomen, das ain ieglich schiltman mit vederspil gepaissen und mit dem angel fischen und mit winden hetzen mag."⁴⁵ Thus, a noble of the rank of schiltman is expressly granted the right to hawk and fish and to hunt with greyhounds: "The specific granting of this right to a member of the lower gentry indicates

⁴³Lindner, p. 444.

⁴⁴His manuscripts dealing with hunting in the Hochmittelalter and afterwards were lost in the course of World War II.

⁴⁵IV, p. 102: Passeier, end of 14th century.

that these sports were forbidden, at least in the area concerned, to any rank below the level of schiltman."⁴⁶ Furthermore, the phrase "als von alter herkommen ist" indicates that restricted fishing and hunting rights have existed as far back as the memory and documents of those in authority extend.

Further testimony in regard to the exclusive rights of nobility concerning fishing exists in the use of various words found in the Middle High German vocabulary. For instance, Benecke-Müller-Zarncke's dictionary defines the word banfisch as "Fisch, der dem Herrn abgeliefert werden muss." Then the Middle High German usage is illustrated as follows: "banfische die sol ein ieglicher fenger pflichtig sein zu lieberrn ^uff eins abts disch." The "abt" concerned was no doubt a member of the clerical nobility. This word owes its existence to the fact that certain fish were restricted for the pleasure of the nobles. Another such work from the same dictionary is vischenze, defined as "Ort wo gefischt wird, dann aber auch und vorzugsweise das Recht zu fischen." Usage given includes "binnen ^siner fischenzen und ^siner gerechtigkeit" and "der wiltban und alle vischenzen." The rights mentioned applied, no doubt, to the nobility. Another word, probably involving similar rights, is vronnetze, defined as "Das Recht, an bestimmten Stellen frei zu fischen."

This discussion has been generally limited to German medieval examples of fishing as a courtly sport. That the same as has been shown above was true in France is indicated by

⁴⁶See Dalby, Lexicon, p. xxi.

Davis (p. 43), who mentions that fishing was one of the limited items on the list which the baron could do for courtly diversion in times of peace.

It has been seen, then, that fishing was truly a noble sport and pastime, generally limited to and participated in by nobility only. If the number of examples presented seems a bit in excess, let it suffice to say that they were deemed necessary in view of the fact that fishing has never before (to this writer's knowledge) been examined as--or even considered to be--a sport limited to the nobility in the Middle Ages.

At this point the examination turns to whether or not fish was an enjoyable and courtly food with the nobility. This calls for careful evaluation, for fish was of necessity the food on certain occasions because of the rules of the church.⁴⁷ It will

⁴⁷Such traditions were in effect prior to the period under discussion here, and were intricately related to the rules concerning fasting. According to historical accounts, the early Christian church took over the custom of fasting from Judaism, which had observed Monday and Thursday as fast days, as well as other optional days. The Gentile-Christian church chose Wednesday and Friday as its own fast days. Sometime after Tertullian's (ca. 150-240) era, fast days became obligatory. Fasting itself was based on the suffering of Christ. The commemoration of the death of Jesus on Friday was a very old practice, perhaps dating from the origin of the church. Just as his resurrection was commemorated every Sunday, so was his death each Friday. Although other fast days were adopted and some dispensed with as time progressed, Friday remained the most important and solemn fast day. Fasting itself was generally understood to mean abstinence from all food till evening or one meal a day which was to be as simple as possible. In the first centuries, only bread, salt, and water were allowed. Afterward fruits and eggs, sometimes fish and even poultry were permitted, so that the fasting was finally limited to a prohibition of meat and wine. Thus, long before the Hochmittelalter, the custom of abstinence and eating fish on Friday and other fast days was firmly established. For more information, see H[ans] Achelis, "Fasting," The New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge, ed. Samuel Macauley Jackson (Grand Rapids, Michigan, 1963), IV, 281-284.

be necessary (both here and in the section below on the fish in court literature) to establish not only that fish was served, but also that it was enjoyed and was considered a favorite dish, rather than a course to which one had to resign oneself.

An interesting reference to the imperial food of Frederick II relates that, at his Apulian court, Frederick's court cook, Berard, was famous for his scapece, a dish consisting of fish boiled in salt water and sprinkled with saffron.⁴⁸ In view of the many differences of opinion which Frederick had with the popes of his day, one can logically assume that the emperor ate fish when it pleased him and because he liked it, not because of a church decree.

Davis (p. 117), writing about preparations for a wedding feast, mentions that such fish as salmon, barbel, eels, carp and trout are caught in the ponds, lakes, and rivers of the area surrounding the castle, in order to provide succulent dishes along with the meat from stags and boars. The feast described did not happen to fall on a fast day. Thus, it is certain that the use of the fish was because of the pure enjoyment they would bring the noble participants. However, if the feast had fallen on a day for which only fish was prescribed, the baron's cooks could still have prepared a meal which would have been relished by the banqueters and yet have kept within

⁴⁸See T. L. Kington, History of Frederick the Second, 2 vols. (Cambridge and London, 1862), I, 471.

the commands of the church. There would not only have been much fish, but also many vegetables. The courses of such a feast might have been somewhat as follows:

(1) Soup made of trout, herring, eels salted 24 hours, and salt whiting soaked 12 hours, almonds, ginger, saffron, and cinnamon powder.

(2) If possible to obtain from the ocean, there would be soles, congers, turbot and salmon--if not to be had fresh, they could be obtained salted.

(3) From the rivers would come pike (preferably with roe), carp, and bream.

(4) For side dishes there could be lampreys, mackerel, and shad served with juice of crab apples, rice, and fried almonds.⁴⁹

Fish, then, was indeed a popular courtly dish in its own right during the Middle Ages.

In view of the attempt in this section to show various references to the courtliness of fish in the lives of the medieval nobility, the following evidence relating to fish at the court of Frederick II is deemed of interest. Emperor Frederick seems to have had a liking for fish beyond its use as a courtly dish at table. At his pleasure resort of San Cusmano (one of the many belonging to the emperor) he had

⁴⁹See Davis, p. 129.

extensive fishponds.⁵⁰ Mention is also made of Frederick's "imperial fisheries," as well as parks and fishponds, to which the emperor managed to retire even in the midst of Lombard wars.⁵¹ Thus, fish seemed to have an attraction for him. In addition to his liking for parks and fishponds, the fisheries may have played a practical role for Frederick in supplying fish as food for his birds. When the emperor wrote concerning the training of sakers and other falcons to hunt herons, he mentioned that live herons could be raised and kept to be used in this training. As food for these captive herons, a piscine diet was recommended; in fact fish ought to comprise most of their food, according to Frederick.⁵² Generally speaking, it can be said that fish played an important role at the court of Frederick II.

The result of the section on the courtliness of fish and fishing has been to show that the sport of fishing was a noble prerogative as far back as the time of the Merovingians, continuing to be so throughout the course of the Middle Ages. Knights, emperors, and various other nobles were avid fishermen and guarded zealously their rights to this sport. In addition, fish was a welcome dish on courtly tables, enjoyed for its

⁵⁰See Cresswell Shearer, writing on "The Castles and Hunting Lodges of the Emperor Frederick II" in the introductory section of the English version of Frederick's treatise on falconry, The Art of Falconry, being the De arte venandi cum avibus of Frederick II of Hohenstaufen, trans. and ed. Casey A. Wood and F. Marjorie Fyfe (Boston, 1955), p. xcv.

⁵¹See Kington, I, 401 and 472.

⁵²See Friderici Romanorum Imperatoris Secundi, De arte venandi cum avibus, edidit Carolus Arnoldus Willemsen, 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1942), II, 124.

own merits and not simply imposed by church rules.

It has been seen, then, that three of the important types of quarry for the noble medieval hunter, game which was generally restricted to the nobility alone, were the stag, the boar, and fish.

C. Hunting Equipment and Weapons Used by the Medieval Nobility.

The animals commonly hunted in the Middle Ages, such as bears, boars, and stags, were formidable opponents and could easily kill a man and/or his hunting animals when brought to bay. In many cases this did, in fact, happen (see above, p. 8). Thus, in addition to the equipment necessary to hunting which was not in the class of weapons, it was wise to undertake a hunt well armed.

Certain weapons and equipment characterized the noble hunter of the Middle Ages. Five of these will be discussed in this section, including the horn, falcon, spear, sword and hunting knife.

The Horn. The Middle High German word horn meant both "animal horn" and "horn for blowing," the latter generally made from an animal's horn, for example that of the Büffel. The horn was definitely a courtly piece of equipment: it was a recognized symbol of nobility, a tradition established both in France and Germany.⁵³ Perhaps one reason for this was the rich appearance

⁵³Dalby, Lexicon, p. 104.

of such horns: "The only real luxury in hunting equipment is in the hunting horns, the great olifants whose piercing notes can ring a mile through the still forests. These horns are made of ivory, chased with gold, and swung from each important rider's neck by a cord of silk or fine leather."⁵⁴ In addition, such fine horns often featured intricate carvings and other courtly decorations such as jewels.

The horn had important functional aspects in the Middle Ages. For example, the duties of a royal Oberjägermeister of a court were partially defined in terms relating to his horn. His hound and horn were singled out as especially necessary to his job. The horn itself was worth "ein Pfund", thus a costly article. He needed only to swear by his horn and his dog's leash. Among the important booty from the hunt which was to be divided with the king were the animals' horns. A criminal could be taken and escorted in the safe keeping of the Jägermeister a distance equal to how far his horn could be heard from a given point.⁵⁵

During the course of the hunting party, the horn was functionally important for the non-professional noble hunter as well as for a Jägermeister. One of the original purposes of the hunting horn was to frighten or start up game.⁵⁶ This

⁵⁴Davis, p. 64. Although the French and German horns were much alike in appearance, the reader is referred to the discussion below of how the horn music of the French differed from that of the Germans.

⁵⁵See Lindner, pp. 451-453.

⁵⁶See Dalby, Lexicon, p. 104.

tendency of horn blasts to rouse game was well recognized by the editors of the various medieval law codes, and provisions against the blowing of horns by outsiders in restricted forest preserves were included in the codes. Section II, 61, of the Sachsenspiegel provides that a man whose hounds have chased game into a private preserve may follow his hounds on the proviso "...daz her nicht en blase, noch die hunde nicht en gruze..." The Schwabenspiegel (197), referring to a huntsman in the panforst, states: "Schriet aber er, oder hezet er die hunde an daz wilt, oder blaeset er sin horn: so ist er buoze schuldic." Not only to rouse quadrupeds are horns blown; horn blasts were also used to flush concealed wild fowl on falcon hunts.⁵⁷

Another original purpose of the horn was its use--after the release of the hounds--to encourage them to do their utmost. Such was the case on royal hunting parties of Charles the Great.⁵⁸

Finally, a hunter who had become lost from the main party could blow his horn to let the others know his position. Mention is made of the case in which a baron, after a long, elusive chase for a boar, had become separated from his party when he finally made the kill. He had to blow his horn many times before his party found him.⁵⁹

More evidence establishing the actual use of the type of

⁵⁷See Davis, p. 62.

⁵⁸See Lindner, p. 394, and Dalby, Lexicon, p. 104.

⁵⁹See Davis, p. 66.

horn under discussion by medieval noble hunters is found in the many illustrations of hunting scenes in which horns are pictured, as well as actual horns, both of which have survived since the Middle Ages. From these examples, the use of the hunting horn can be established from the 9th through the 13th centuries, and it is certain that the use continued beyond the 13th century. Mention of a few of the examples is made herein.

Dating from the 9th century and found in the Aachener Domschatz collection is an ivory Hifthorn which, according to tradition, belong to Charles the Great. Intricate abstract designs are carved at the front and also toward the mouth piece. The horn hangs from a wide (probably silk or leather) strap, which is also very intricately made with edging, lettering, designs, etc., and which is attached to the horn by finely engraved metal pieces.

A large ivory horn has survived from the 11th century. Again, it features various exquisitely carved designs: in addition to the figures of a man and (probably) a boar, the horn is covered with circular carvings of vines and leaves.

Also dating from the 11th century is a picture of a hunter with horn and lance. He wears his horn slung over his right shoulder, hanging down to the left hip on a long cord. The horn is short and appears to be elaborately made.

Another ivory horn, this time from the 12th century, has survived. Again covered with intricate designs of vine stalks with leaves and offshoots, the horn features raised, carved

figures of dogs--in the one case, a hound crouched ready to spring; in the other, two dogs fighting.

A picture dating from either the 12th or 13th century depicts a noble hunter blowing a decorated ivory horn with his right hand while holding with his left two hounds on a leash. When not in use, this horn hangs from the neck of its wearer by means of a rich looking embellished strap with designs on it. There is no doubt that this man is a noble, since he is richly dressed and wears a sword.

A final example portrays a noble rider of the 13th century who carries a large, short and thick horn which he is blowing. It is richly adorned and has a cord with a ring attached to it, which no doubt went around the neck of its owner. On foot at the side of this lord is perhaps one of his huntsmen, who is also blowing a horn of the same type and shape.⁶⁰

Thus, it has been shown that the hunting horn was most necessary to the medieval noble hunter.

The Falcon. Although not an inanimate object, a most important and popular "weapon" of the medieval nobility was the falcon. Falconry is most frequently attested during the zenith of the courtly age of literature. However, as will be seen here, its origins in Germany extend back at least into the very early Old High German period (even earlier in France), and its importance as a sport endured throughout the Middle Ages.

⁶⁰For the sources of the above examples, see Lindner, Tafeln 34, 33, 32, and 99 Abbildung a, opposite pp. 144, 129 and 369 respectively.

The early popularity of both hunting and falconry among the nobility can be traced through the various official stands which the church took against these sports and which were set down in dated decrees. Basically all forms of the hunt were supposed to be denied to the clergy on the grounds that the time spent and the money involved in training falcons and hounds could be better invested among the poor and in other more worthy projects. The earliest known document to this effect is the 55th section connected with the Concilium Agathense which met in 506 at Agde in southern Gaul. According to this section, bishops, priests, and deacons are forbidden to keep hunting hounds and falcons under penalty of three-, two-, and one-month sentences respectively of abstinence from communion and all other privileges of the church. The oldest specific prohibition of falconry on what is now German soil came at the first national Concilium Germanicum called by Karlmann for April 21 of the year 742. One of the main reasons for the calling of this council was found in the lamentations of Bonifatius to Pope Zacharias over the unworthiness of the clergy and especially concerning the hunting passion of numerous bishops. According to the second resolution of this council, "[wir] verbieten...allen Dienern Gottes die Jagd und das Umherschweifen in den Wäldern mit Hunden. Auch dürfen sie keine Habichte und Falken halten."⁶¹ Numerous similar decrees both preceded (in France) and followed (in France and Germany) this one. The fact that they had to be

⁶¹Lindner, pp. 413-414.

repeated so often testifies to the popularity of hunting and falconry among the nobles of the clergy and also to the fact that many refused to give up these pleasures. Although the Verbote were repeated every few years from the 8th century through at least the 13th century, their effect tended to be more and more weakened. The "unbeschwerte Freude der Geistlichkeit an Jagd und Falknerei" remained unchanged. Thus, messengers, sent by Emperor Otto the Great in 963 to summon Pope John XII to defend himself against charges of indulging publically in hunting, had to return home without delivering their message, since the pope had gone out in the country with his bow and quiver. An 11th-century chronicle (falconry was mentioned repeatedly in chronicles of the 11th century) mentions that a parish priest felt no embarrassment at being seen by his bishop, Arnulf von Halberstadt, with a falcon on his fist. Among the servants of Pope Gregory IX (1227-1241) were falconers. A color sketch of Pope Clemens V (1305-1314) shows him in his sacred garments on a white horse with his right hand raised in blessing and holding a falcon with his left.⁶²

The examples thus far have been only of the noble clergy. The records show that the lay nobility, too, were fond of falconry from the early Middle Ages on. For example, at the courts of the Carolingian emperors, falconry must have been an accepted practice. Just as Charles the Great had Oberjägermeister

⁶²For a more extensive treatment of the decrees against falconry, see Lindner, pp. 411-420.

and other Jäger under them (see above), so he also had an Oberfalkner with Falkner under his supervision. Among this staff were specialists in the training of birds of prey. Records show that Louis the Pious hunted with falcons in the Aachener Brühl hunting park, as well as engaging in this sport another year (817) in Nymwegen. The mentions of Louis hunting during the early part of the year seem to indicate uniformly that he was engaging in falconry at this time.

Not only can the season of the year serve as a guide as to what type of hunting was undertaken, but also the location in which the hunt took place. In the case of the Salian emperors, it is known that they liked to frequent the Jagdschloss near Nymwegen established by Louis the Pious. Because of the numerous birds of prey which were kept and trained at this castle, it was named Falkenhof. No doubt the nearby Kranichburg received its name from the cranes (a favorite prey of noble medieval falconers) which inhabited the area. The flat landscape and extensive water areas in the vicinity of these castles offered ideal conditions for the sport of falconry, and the German emperors probably engaged in this sport above all when they were in the area. The same thing can be said of the lowlands around Utrecht. Thus it was the habit of Conrad II to spend the first six months of the year (the off-season for most game) at Nymwegen, where he could practice falconry. The itinerary of Henry III was most similar to that of Conrad II. And Henry IV was such a zealous

hunter that it was his custom to carry birds of prey with him.⁶³

With mention of the Salian emperors, the advent of the golden courtly age, of which falconry was one of the most characteristic sports, is not far away. If it had not already become so earlier, falconry at the time of this golden age was a mark of a rich and hospitable court. Courts were judged by the quality of their falcons and hounds, and thus the falcon was a symbol of nobility.⁶⁴

The interest of the nobility in falconry during the courtly age is attested by the various surviving treatises on methods of falconry, some written by the expert professionals in the service of nobles, some written by nobles themselves.⁶⁵ That not only nobles, but even royalty might take an interest in the care of their birds in addition to hunting with them is indicated by the mammoth treatise of the most famous falconer of all, Frederick II: De arte venandi cum avibus. Perhaps the most passionate falconer of all time, Frederick imported birds and falconers from all the known world to increase his understanding of this sport, built numerous hunting castles to house his falcons and provide quarters for his hunting parties, and spent endless hours--to the detriment of his empire--engaged in this sport.

⁶³For the above, see Lindner, pp. 397-398, 400, 405-406, 440, and 444.

⁶⁴See Dalby, Lexicon, pp. xix-xx.

⁶⁵For a discussion of such treatises, see Dalby, Lexicon, pp. xxxvi-xxxviii.

The fact that falconry treatises were copied and re-copied throughout the later Middle Ages attests the continued popularity of this pastime.

The falcon, then, was a noble weapon in the hands of the medieval aristocracy, as well as a noble symbol.

The Spear. This was another weapon used by noble hunters to hunt noble game. The hunting spear was often (though not always) broad-headed with an iron cross bar fixed behind the head at right-angles to the shaft. The bar was to prevent a wild animal such as a boar from impaling his body too deeply on the shaft of the spear.⁶⁶

Mention of the use of the spear while hunting can be found concerning nobles living at virtually all periods of the Middle Ages. Thus, Charles the Great and Louis the Pious are documented as having carried spears on the court hunting parties, Frederick II mentions them (venabula) in his falconry treatise as one type of artificial instrument commonly used in the hunt, and a private letter of the year 1459 notes the exchange of various courtly hunting gifts, among them ein swinspies.⁶⁷

Documentations of the use of the hunting spear are most often found in connection with the types of animals it was used to kill. By far the most frequent quarry dispatched with

⁶⁶See Dalby, Lexicon, p. 214.

⁶⁷See Lindner, pp. 395-397; De arte venandi cum avibus, ed. Willemsen, I, 4; and Privatbriefe, p. 60.

the spear was the wild boar. The hunting party of Charles the Great mentioned above was devoted solely to boars, and these animals were among the principal quarry of Louis' party also. Several illustrations of hunting procedure in the Middle Ages, dating from the 11th through the 13th centuries, depict noble members of hunting parties who make use of their spears during boar hunts. One classic example from the 13th century shows a hunter who has evidently met the charge of a boar: he stands braced, on the ground, holding the spear out in front. The weapon has pierced the boar's chest as far as the crossbar. Not only in Germany, but also in France it was the courtly custom to hunt boars with spears. In fact, during the first quarter of the 13th century, the spear was noted as the favorite hunting instrument among the horns, bows and arrows, knives and other hunting equipment used by the French nobles. A French description of a boar hunt relates how a baron, holding his spear before him, is charged by his quarry; the point strikes its breast and goes out at the shoulder, killing the animal. The use of the spear against boars was a distinguishing feature in France (and no doubt in Germany too) between noblemen and peasants. The latter were forbidden, under heavy penalty, to use a spear in hunting.⁶⁸

Less frequently attested but often hunted with a spear also during the Middle Ages was the bear. This animal is

⁶⁸For details on the above information, see Lindner, Tafeln 94 and 95, opposite pp. 352 and 353 respectively. See also Davis, pp. 64-67.

portrayed as being hunted in this way in a 13th century illustration. Here the noble, on foot, has plunged his spear into a bear standing on its hind legs. The weapon has gone through the bear's left front chest and out the left side.

The Sword. One of the most important symbols of knighthood was the sword, which was carried at all times by the medieval nobility. Besides its use as a weapon in duels and in larger battles, however, this instrument found use at times on the hunt. Charles the Great, for example, attempted to impress foreign dignitaries on one of his hunting parties by killing a wild bull with his sword, an attempt which not only failed but which also nearly cost him his life. The emperor was more successful on another hunting party for boars, when he used his sword to make the first kill of the day: "[er] durchbohrt mit dem Schwert des Wilden Brust und taucht ihm den eisigen Stahl hinein in das Herz." Thus, when killing boar, it was evidently also acceptable to use the sword. Two illustrations of noble hunting parties from the 11th and 13th centuries also attest the use of the sword on a boar hunt. In the example from the 13th century, two noble hunters--one mounted and one on foot--are both plunging richly ornamented swords into the back of a boar who stands in front of the one noble's horse. The French example of a boar hunt mentioned above, in which the quarry is ultimately killed with a spear, came close to illustrating a kill by sword. In the earlier course of this hunt, when the baron's favorite hound had roused the boar from cover, the angry quarry attacked and killed the noble hound. Enraged at this turn of events, the baron ran up to the boar with a sword

in his hand, with the intent of dispatching it. He would have done so with this sword, had the boar not turned and fled into the brush. The records show that it was the prerogative of the French nobility (and, again, probably also German nobles) to use a sword against deer and boars; the peasants were forbidden the use of this weapon as well as the spear.⁶⁹

The examples above attest the use of the sword on at least three different types of game, and it is possible this weapon may have found even more diverse use in hunting as the need arose.

The Knife. A final example of a noble weapon is the hunting knife. As a hunting weapon, it was no doubt equally useful to both the German and French nobility. In the case of the latter, the evidence shows that a large knife was standard among the hunting equipment of a French knight.⁷⁰ Since the hunting customs of France included the noble's dressing and breaking up of the animal following the kill (see below), it is probable that these hunters may have required various knives for the different operations involved in the break-up.

Knives were not only necessary to those nobles who hunted quadrupeds. Frederick II states that the noble falconer needs a knife (cultello) to cut open prey caught by the falcon, so

⁶⁹For sources of the above material, see Lindner, pp. 392-395, also Tafeln 94 and 95, opposite pp. 352 and 353; and Davis, pp. 65-67.

⁷⁰See Davis, p. 64.

that the falcon can feed on part of its quarry and thus be rewarded and whetted for additional captures.⁷¹

Summary. The survey of hunting weapons and equipment of the medieval nobility concludes the second chapter of this examination, in which it was the purpose to study the actual noble hunting customs of the Middle Ages. Thus, it has been established that the sport of hunting was almost exclusively controlled and enjoyed by noble sportsmen and their noble professional hunters, that typical courtly game included stags, boars, and fish, and that the horn, falcon, spear, sword, and knife constituted some of the vital equipment and weapons used by the nobility on the hunt. Is the above picture true also in the depiction of the hunt as seen in Middle High German courtly literature? It will be the task of the third chapter to establish the nature of these literary hunting customs.

⁷¹See Willemsen's edition, II, 47.

III Hunting as a Pastime in the Courtly Literature.

The Middle High German courtly epics are filled with numerous aventure, many of which make reference to or consist entirely of hunting episodes. This chapter will present the picture of hunting as portrayed in the courtly literature in a manner similar to the above presentation of actual hunting practice.

A. Influence of the French Court Epic upon That of the Germans, and Differences between French and German Hunting Customs as Seen in Court Literature.

The evidence and examples of literary hunting practice used in this chapter will be drawn from both the French and German courtly works. Since this dissertation is dealing primarily with the German court epic, it follows that--to be valid in this study--any so-called "courtly" evidence taken from a French source should also be examined by the standards of German tradition. A summary should first be given, then, of the close relationship between the French and German courtly literature. To be completely objective and avoid error, it will also be necessary to review those differences in French and German hunting customs which make themselves evident in literature.

There are striking differences between the old German heroic sagas, exemplified by the Hildebrandslied or even the Waltharilied, and Middle High German court epics like Iwein and Parzival. In the first group, the emphasis was upon the virtues

of the warrior, manly loyalty, and untarnished honor, while the world of the second group revolved around the tanz, the tjost, triuwe, tugent, tumpheit, etc. What forces were involved in effecting the changes which led to the striking contrast between German literature of 900 and of 1200?

The cultural influence of France was instrumental in bringing about such changes:

"The innate French genius for ease and elegance of form could not but accelerate the German attempts, noticeable already in Notker, to make the German language richer, more flexible, and more expressive. More than that: French aristocracy had gradually abandoned the martial spirit of the originally Germanic chansons de geste of the type of the Song of Roland for the gentler, more civilized atmosphere of court life. Woman and love, which had been so completely neglected by the oldest German bards, now became the center of life and literature, thus reflecting a truly revolutionary change in man's way of thinking. Not battles, but love affairs and tournaments were now the main themes of literature; not bold external activity, but delicate analysis of hearts and souls was now important. The knight was no longer primarily a battling warrior, but a tender lover. The Christian spirit of mercy and humility at last fully possessed him, so that he was no longer a pagan in disguise, but a dauntless hero striving for a perfect synthesis of worldly activity and religious sincerity,

of chivalric adventure and Christian virtue."⁷²

Furthermore, this literary-cultural relationship between France and Germany came into existence at the beginning of the "courtly" Middle Ages and lasted throughout this period. "Der 'Einflussfaktor Frankreich' [erweist sich] wesentlich als jedweder eines anderen romanischen Landes. Diese vorherrschende Stellung bleibt Frankreich...erhalten, weil es nicht nur befruchtend eigenes Gut weitergibt, sondern als Mittler italienischer und spanischer Kultur bestimmend auftritt."⁷³

Thus, not only did France exert strong influence upon Germany by means of its own culture, but also by the transmission and adaptation of cultural elements from other countries. These facts are of great importance for the present studies, as will be explained. Although France has been mentioned above as a disseminator of culture from other romance language-speaking countries, she also played an influential role in disseminating culture between England and Germany. The concern here is with this role as it relates to the origin of the German Artusepik. About 1135, Geoffrey of Monmouth wrote his Historia Regum Britanniae, in part of which he incorporates Anglo-Celtic legends of King Arthur and some of the king's retainers who were to become well known in literary and folk tradition on the continent. This book was

⁷²See Werner P. Friederich, History of German Literature, 2nd ed. (New York, 1965), pp. 10-14.

⁷³See F. H. Oppenheim, "Der Einfluss der französischen Literatur auf die deutsche," Deutsche Philologie im Aufriss, ed. Wolfgang Stammeler (Berlin, 1957), III, Spalte 864.

translated into Cymric, Middle English, and French, and was widely read. It is known that a certain Wace composed a free translation of Geoffrey's work (in Anglo-Norman verse about 1155) which is called Roman de Brut. There were, in addition, other treatments and expansions of this material, notably the version of Layamon, which, in comparison with the relatively more courtly and elegant version of Wace, was closer to the older and coarser Heldendichtung.⁷⁴

Geoffrey's work, largely free invention, became tremendously popular, and was widely read and highly esteemed, in spite of the fact that some contemporaries already were claiming its contents to be totally false.⁷⁵ It is therefore not surprising that this work and the other literary renditions (and also the oral transmission which it no doubt generated) soon became known in near-by France. And it is in France that the basic elements of the Artusepik of the German courtly period were established. Moreover, French Arthurian tradition was in large part established by one man, Chrétien, who lived at the court of Champagne, Troyes. His encompassing role for Arthurian literature of the Middle Ages is summed up as follows: "Es ist in der Geschichte der Literaturen nicht selten, dass am Beginn einer literarischen Bewegung eine überragende Gestalt steht, die wie aus dem Nichts eine neue Welt erschafft und

⁷⁴See Karl Otto Brogsitter, Artusepik (Stuttgart, 1965), pp. 20 and 33-34.

⁷⁵Brogsitter, pp. 2 and 20.

gleichzeitig schon die Möglichkeiten einer neuen literarischen Gattung zum vollen auszuschöpfen scheint, mitunter schon ihre Grenzen und die Ansatzpunkte des späteren Verfalls andeutend. Für die Geschichte der Artusdichtung kommt eine solche Rolle Chrétien de Troyes zu."⁷⁶

To expand upon the above quotation, the following essential points concerning Chrétien's significance should be noted:

1. As alluded to above, Chrétien created the first true courtly epics and firmly established the renown of the Arthurian class of literature in its characteristic traits.

2. Although the poet of Troyes was definitely acquainted with Geoffrey's Historia and Wace's Brut, and although he therefore probably received important stimuli from these accounts in regard to his own literary efforts, that which is basically new in Chrétien's works is not influenced by these sources; instead, it corresponds completely with the refined guide lines of the new culture of knighthood and the court at the point to which it had evolved in France by the middle of the 12th century.

3. Thus, it was Chrétien who, on the basis of pseudo-historic material concerning Arthur, re-created such material to give birth to the magical world of the characteristic Arthurian literature. This meant, first of all, a basic change in the character of Arthur from the proud war lord of the past to "...das würdige Oberhaupt der Ritterschaft..., der sich mehr durch tadelfreies ritterliches Benehmen und die einem

⁷⁶Brogsitter, p. 40.

Grandseigneur anstehende Grosszügigkeit als durch den längst nicht mehr nötigen Beweis eigener kämpferischer Tapferkeit auszeichnet."⁷⁷ From now on, Arthur himself serves merely as a background for stories of the feats of other knights striving to be worthy of a place at his round table. The second basic change in the Arthurian material had to do with the composition of the lives of the various characters. As noted above, the stern, martial point of view was replaced by yearning for a gentler, more elegant and civilized way of life centering around Frauendienst and minne.

4. Chrétien utilized this world of phantasy to present, in functioning human relationships, the ideals of the new courtly society. Thus, if there were jousts and other conflicts, they did not occur for the sake of combat itself, but rather were inspired by some higher ideal, e.g. the rescue and love of a fair maiden.

5. There was a distinct purpose underlying the illustration of such ideals, and it went beyond entertainment, although this latter motive was also important. Since such embodiment of courtly ideals composed the essential message of Chrétien's epics, these works can be said to offer a mirror or an exhortative picture to the knightly class, as well as an attempt to justify the leadership qualifications of the idealized epic society.⁷⁸

⁷⁷ Brogsitter, p. 41.

⁷⁸ For the above points, see Brogsitter, pp. 2-3 and 41-49.

This, then, is the legacy of Chrétien to French Arthurian literature. Anyone familiar with the German Artusepik of the period 1180-1220 will recognize that the majority of what was mentioned above could also apply to a description of the German Arthurian epic. The French influence is so striking that it has been termed "für die Nachfolger das allein bestimmende Vorbild."⁷⁹

It is pertinent at this point to mention the influence of Chrétien upon the work of two of the most significant writers of the classical German Artusepik, Hartmann von Aue and Wolfram von Eschenbach, who are among those from whose epics evidence will be drawn below.⁸⁰

Hartmann von Aue is a key figure in German Arthurian tradition since his Erec was the first German Artusroman. Thus, he strongly contributed to the further development and the high tide of the German Artusepik. Hartmann himself names Chrétien's Erec as the source for his own work bearing the same name.⁸¹ Although Hartmann took many liberties with his source and by no means made a simple translation, the innere Problematik of the world of knighthood was already well established in Chrétien's

⁷⁹Brogsitter, p. 44.

⁸⁰The emphasis of French influence upon German courtly writers is by no means intended to minimize the unique and significant contributions of these native Germans. However, to expand upon such contributions is beyond the scope here.

⁸¹The Artusromane of Chrétien de Troyes include Erec, Cligès, Lancelot, Yvain, and Perceval (unfinished).

version. The fact that Hartmann chose the French Erec as the model for his own rendition is especially significant because of the classic form of the former, which constitutes the basic structure that became the model for the traditional Artusroman. This form included the departure from Arthur's court, a first series of aventure and successes of the hero, the establishment of the Problematik, the return to court at a critical point in the plot, a second chain of adventures in which the hero proves himself and which ends with the triumphant return to Arthur's court. The second Arthurian epic of Hartmann, Iwein, has been justifiably called the classical German Artusroman. For the inspiration for this classic, he turned once more to Chrétien's version Yvein. As was the case with the French Erec, Hartmann follows Yvein fairly closely, but shows such improvements over his own Erec as greater refinement and perfection in style. In both the French and German versions, the main conflict revolves around the relationship of the concept Minne-Ehre with other knightly ideals.⁸²

Very significant for this section is French influence upon Wolfram's Parzival, the zenith of the German Artusepik. There is no doubt that Wolfram went directly to Chrétien's Perceval for the main source of his own version. But Chrétien's influence upon Wolfram goes deeper than that of merely a source of subject matter. Looking back to Hartmann for a moment and

⁸²For Chrétien's influence upon Hartmann, see Brogsitter, pp. 51 and 71-74.

considering his four major works, one realizes that, in order for him to encompass in his deeply earnest and ethical productions both the secular and the spiritual aspects of man's strivings in the courtly world, it was necessary that he treat only one of the two spheres in any given work. Thus, Erec and Iwein relate to problems of the secular world, while Gregorius and Der arme Heinrich deal with moral conflicts of a more spiritual nature. It is known also that one of the greatest accomplishments of Wolfram was the effective combination of these two worlds into one homogeneous masterpiece. But the record also shows that, to some extent at least, Chrétien too was trying to reconcile the two spheres in a unified whole. There can be seen in Perceval a connection between the Artuswelt and the new ideals of religious currents of thought. To compare the contributions of Chrétien and Wolfram, the following can be said. It was the Frenchman who first pointed Arthurian courtly literature in a new, more serious and more religiously oriented direction. Wolfram, on the other hand, took this tendency, which had remained immature in the unfinished Perceval, and was able to master it: thus he combined religious Problematik and Arthurian courtliness into a mature, successful and unified fruition. One specific instance of this religious-mystic direction initiated by Chrétien is his introduction of the Holy Grail and its influence upon the phantasy-world of Artusepik.⁸³

⁸³For sources and more information concerning Chrétien, Wolfram and their religious-courtly contributions, see Brogsitter, pp. 3, 56, and 77.

French influence upon the two most important writers of Artusromane during the golden age of the German court epic has been seen above. One of the kleineren Geister of the period was the Swiss Ulrich von Zazikhofen, whose Arthurian epic of Lanzelet was the first treatment of the Lancelot-material on German soil. Since evidence will be drawn from German versions of the Lancelot cycle later in these studies, it is of value to describe briefly the French influence upon Zazikhofen's work, as well as upon other German versions. History indicates that hostages were provided as surety for the payment of the ransom of the imprisoned Richard I of England. One of the hostages, Hugo de Morville, who came to Switzerland, had brought with him a French romance of Lancelot. Upon his release in 1194, he left the romance behind. It was given to Ulrich, along with the request to translate it into German. The original is now lost, but Ulrich maintained that his version followed it faithfully. There exist two other important French sources of influence upon German Lancelot tradition. One is Chrétien's Lancelot, which he did not finish himself. Nevertheless, it is certain that this version was known to both Hartmann and Wolfram, although it was evidently never translated into German. The chief interest of the above-mentioned version of Ulrich is that it seems to preserve a version of the Lancelot story older than that of Chrétien. Another French source which influenced German literature is the enormous prose Lancelot, the authorship of which is

disputed, and which was the basis for the German prose Lancelot (author unknown). It is an interesting contrast that, although the great French prose Lancelot cycle was--after Chrétien--the fulfillment and high point of French Arthurian literature, none of the German Lancelot versions reach such heights.⁸⁴

Up to this point, the examination of French influence upon German courtly literature has been limited to discussion of French and German Artusepik, and for good reason: "Für die hochhöfische alemannisch-fränkische Epik (this includes the classic courtly literature of almost all the great court poets, who all came from one general geographical area) können wir als Leitwort nehmen: Artusepik. Nür dürfen wir auch dieses nicht starr fassen. Mit Gottfrieds Tristan und Konrad Flecks Floire sind Stoffe neu belebt, die wir schon im frühhöfischen Bezirk angetroffen haben. Aber durch Artus und seine Welt erhält diese Epik ihr Gepräge."⁸⁵ Thus, when one speaks of the golden age of German courtly literature, the Arthurian tradition is intricately interwoven into the period.

Because it is not, in the narrow sense, an Artusroman, the section above has omitted any mention of French influence

⁸⁴For information concerning French and German Lancelot versions, see the following sources: Helmut De Boor and Richard Newald, Geschichte der deutschen Literatur von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart, (München, 1949-), II, 63; M. O'C. Walshe, Medieval German Literature: A Survey (Cambridge, Mass., 1962), pp. 175-176; Brogsitter, pp. 3, 53, and 68.

⁸⁵De Boor, II, 63.

upon the Tristan und Isolde of Gottfried von Strassburg. Although the Tristan legend as treated by Gottfried is not Arthurian in the sense of dealing with Arthur, the round table and its knights and ladies, many of the courtly customs and motifs found in Gottfried's rendition are no different from those which are considered courtly in Artusepik in its restricted sense. Thus, all the German works mentioned here belong to a unified courtly world of literature. Since evidence will be drawn from both French and German versions of the Tristan legend, it is necessary to briefly review any French influence upon the German works.⁸⁶

The Tristan story, as it has been known since the Middle Ages, is an aggregate of many different motifs which have varied origins. It was no doubt someone living in 12th century France who gave it the form in which it is now known, since the Fabel is only conceivable against the background of the French and knightly culture of that century. It is on this first larger Tristan work, probably dated about 1165, that the essential features of the later stories of Tristan are dependent. The most significant and well known French treatment appeared sometime between 1172-1175, and was penned by the Anglo-Norman Thomas (Thomas von Britannien). This version is especially important for the purpose of the present

⁸⁶The only other German treatment of note besides that of Gottfried is the Tristrant of Eilhart von Oberg (about 1170), which is not considered, for various reasons, to be among the great court epics. As its date indicates, it preceded the epics of the German "golden age."

study, since it already shows the important refinements of courtly style and, above all, the attempt to motivate the love story better psychologically (cf. Gottfried's later work). In fact, the whole train of events composing the plot is much more logically constructed. And it is the treatment of Thomas that Gottfried expressly followed: the German writer's account names Thomas as the source of his own Tristan und Isolde, written in the first decade of the 13th century.⁸⁷

Looking back over these pages outlining the extensive French influence upon the German courtly epics, seeing the numerous examples in which customs, motifs and larger plots were assimilated from earlier French models into German counterparts, and realizing the close connection between what was considered "courtly" in both France and Germany during the golden age of courtly literature, one can feel justified, in the course of the following studies, in using from time to time "courtly" examples from French as well as German court literature.

Just as it has been reviewed how, in general, medieval French court traditions influenced those in Germany (both in actual practice and in the courtly literature), it is equally important--since this dissertation deals specifically with hunting--to summarize those French hunting customs which did not find general acceptance in Germany. French and German hunting practice, both actual and as described in literature,

⁸⁷For the development of the Tristan story, see Brogsitter, pp. 90-1-2.

differed from one another in regard to the points to be mentioned below. Thus, when French hunting evidence is presented to substantiate any point, care must be taken that such French evidence is not in conflict with the corresponding German custom.

Differences between French and German medieval hunting customs are to be found in four areas: terminology, the method of dressing meat after the kill, the use and type of the hunting horn, and the suitability of the fox as an animal worthy of being hunted.

In regard to the hunting terms used in medieval Germany, they did not form an exclusive linguistic entity understood only by elite professionals.⁸⁸ Generally, most people in Germany in the Middle Ages could discuss the aspects of hunting with each other. However, such was not the case in medieval France, where a conscious attempt was made to cultivate a "correct" hunting language. Originating in France, this artificial language tradition (along with other French hunting traditions) was introduced into England by the Normans, but did not have any widespread influence in medieval Germany.⁸⁹ "The terminology used by medieval German huntsmen and falconers was determined by practical considerations, and was not cultivated artificially. References to the correct usage of

⁸⁸ See Dalby, Lexicon, pp. xl ff.

⁸⁹ In the German post-medieval period, however, a cultivated, artificial language did begin to develop, and today expert German hunters use what must definitely be termed an elite "Weidmannsprache". See Dalby, Lexicon, pp. xl ff.

hunting terminology are consequently very rare in Middle High German sources, and it is significant that Gottfried's discussion of French hunting terms has been the only such reference noted before the beginning of the 15th century.⁹⁰ Even the 15th century references do not point to an artificial cultivation of hunting language."⁹¹

Gottfried's discussion of French hunting terms occurs at a point in Tristan und Isolde at which mention is made of another French hunting custom which differed from that of the Germans: the method of dressing the meat of a slain animal. In Germany, after the kill, the sport was regarded as concluded (see Dalby, p. xiii). It was not considered a noble pastime to "break up" the quarry (zerwürken), as the hunting terminology puts it. This job was left by the nobles to their hunt servants, and therefore was not usually mentioned in Middle High German literary descriptions of the chase. However, this attitude was in marked contrast to French and English traditions. In Tristan und Isolde (2810 ff) Gottfried describes the French method of breaking up the quarry, as opposed to the "cornūh" (=Cornish, i.e. the methods used by the hunters of King Mark's Cornwall) method, which "will almost certainly represent the German method of that period." Furthermore it is significant that Tristan, of noble birth, feels no shame, but rather obligation to perform

⁹⁰Cf. Gottfried's Tristan 2905 f: daz die da cimbrenennen, / die den bastlist erkennennt; 2953 f: diz heizent si furkie / in unser jegerie; and 3025 ff: als hat diu jegerie / den selben namen curie / von cuire vunden unde genommen.

⁹¹Dalby, Lexicon, p. xl.

this task which was left to servants in Germany. It may be that Gottfried's great interest in this episode represented an attempt to introduce these French hunting traditions to his German audience, just as Tristan introduced them to the Cornishmen: "That Gottfried did not succeed in arousing the interest of the German nobility in the ritual of breaking up the stag is indicated by the rarity of other medieval German references to the subject..."⁹²

This interest of the French noble hunters in correctly preparing the meat was felt mainly because of the symbolic aspects of the ritual: "the huntsman was clearly paying his last respects to his quarry, as well as personally rewarding his hounds. If a stag (or any other beast) was worthy sport for a nobleman, then it was considered fitting that it should receive the personal attention of a nobleman after its death, and be carried home with due honors."⁹³

One of these honors consisted of the blowing of a fanfare by the nobles taking part in the chase, and this brings up another French hunting tradition, hunting music, which also was evidently unknown in medieval Germany. Although the original purposes of the horn were to start up game, to encourage hounds, and to pass simple messages between huntsmen, French interest in the horn went beyond these bounds: hunting

⁹²Dalby, p. xiv. For more on the "break-up", see pp. xiii-xiv.

⁹³Dalby, Lexicon, p. xiv.

music was considered to be one of the great pleasures of the hunt, being cultivated not only during the Middle Ages but also afterwards. French influence carried the tradition to Norman England where it also became popular, though in a lesser degree than in France. But medieval Germany seems to have been unaffected by this tradition in spite of the influence there of numerous other French courtly traditions, at least throughout the Middle Ages. Horn music on the hunt did, however, become popular in Germany during the 17th and 18th centuries, when the French influence there was at its strongest. The nature of the so-called hunt music (termed corner) was not especially elaborate, at least as far as the range of notes was concerned, for medieval hunting horns were limited to only one fundamental note (i.e. with some overtones, as is the case with a bugle). But the music did include a large number of complicated horn signals. Each signal had its own meaning, and consisted of a particular series of short and long blasts.⁹⁴

Finally, mention should be made of the differences between French and German attitudes toward the hunting of foxes, one of the notable distinctions. In Germany, foxes (and wolves too) were considered to be vermin; therefore there were evidently no legal restrictions concerning their hunting or trapping. In medieval France, however (and also England), foxes were indeed considered suitable quarry for a noble huntsman.

⁹⁴For French and German horn traditions, see Dalby, Lexicon, pp. xiv-xv and 104.

The four variances in custom which have been discussed constitute the essential differences between medieval hunting customs in France and Germany. Aside from these, however, hunting practices as illuminated in medieval French courtly literature will be considered as being representative also of customs in Germany during the Middle Ages.

B. Hunting in the Court Epics as a Pastime and Prerogative of the Nobility.

It will be the goal of this section to show how hunting pervaded the lives of the medieval nobility as portrayed in courtly literature. Certain court epics show evidence of extensive interest in woodsmanship. Even metaphorical references and dreams are frequently concerned with hunting. In addition to these points, other aspects will be pointed out in which influence of the hunt in the lives of nobles, as shown in courtly epics, can be seen.

The significance of hunting for any study of medieval literature and society needs special emphasis. Since language centering around the hunt is the most extensive field of specialized terminology in Middle High German,⁹⁵ a clear understanding of medieval hunting is "a necessary and important background to a study of medieval literature and society."⁹⁶

⁹⁵This does not contradict what was said on pp. 58 f. concerning the lack of an elite language in Middle High German understood only by medieval German hunters. For the majority of the German people of the day understood German hunting terms, as opposed to only a select few in France and England. The emphasis in the phrase "exclusive linguistic entity" on p. 58 is on exclusive.

⁹⁶See Dalby, Lexicon, pp. i and x.

Hunting is extremely well documented in works throughout the Middle High German period. Thus, one frequently finds narrative descriptions of such hunting activities as the chase of a stag on horseback, hunting with bows, and falconry, as well as allegorical and metaphorical references to these subjects.

An example of the extensiveness of the Middle High German hunting vocabulary may be seen in the following words, all of which can be used to describe a noble huntsman at one time or another: birsaere, birsender, geselle, jaget-geselle, jeger, jegerie (with a plural meaning, i.e. huntsmen in general, the hunting community), jegerîn, jeger-meister, schütze, weide-geselle, and weide-geverte. Contrary to French and English usage, each of the above terms did not necessarily indicate a different type of hunter; many could be used interchangeably for the same noble hunter, i.e. geselle, jeger, jaget-geselle, weide-geselle, and weide-geverte.

Many of the French court epics which were to influence later German counterparts already contained extensive hunting interludes. Among those showing partiality towards the hunt by their authors were Tristan (by Thomas de Bretagne), Perceval and Erec et Enide (both by Chrétien de Troyes); and Li romans de Fergus.⁹⁷

Not only the French epic writers, but also German medieval authors delighted in incorporating pictures of hunting in their works. Several Middle High German works present outstanding

⁹⁷See Ernst Bormann, Die Jagd in den altfranzösischen Artus- und Abenteuer-Romanen, Ausgaben und Abhandlungen aus dem Gebiete der romanischen Philologie, No. 68 (Marburg, 1887).

examples of courtly hunting procedure.⁹⁸

Eneit (Heinrich von Veldeke): This epic contains a very valuable account of hunting deer "with bows and stable," (lines 4542 ff) in which game was driven past hunters stationed at fixed points (stables) with long- or cross-bows. In this hunt, Askanjus slays by mistake a tame stag, thus motivating trouble between the Trojans and Latins.

Nibelungenlied: Hagen, Gunther, and their retainers use the hunt as a subterfuge to lure Siegfried away from the court and make him vulnerable to be killed by them. There is a lengthy description of this hunt in the epic (See Str. 911-1002).

Parzival (Wolfram): Young Parzival, growing up in the woods, is adept at hunting stags. While out hunting, he has his first encounter with knights (See Strophen 120 and 121). (The young hero of Chrétien's Perceval has a similar experience.) Although there are no extremely lengthy hunting adventures in Wolfram's Parzival, Titirel, and Willehalm, this noble poet does, however, refer to hawking or the hunt on at least 50 different occasions in these three works.⁹⁹

⁹⁸This should not be interpreted to mean the chief subject of the works is hunting; rather, hunting episodes are generally infused because they were such an inbred part of noble life; furthermore, such events are often useful vehicles in moving the story forward.

⁹⁹See A. T. Hatto, "Poetry and the Hunt in Medieval Germany," Journal of the Australasian Universities Language and Literature Association, No. 25, May, 1966, p. 47.

Tristan (Gottfried): Tristan, set down on the Cornish coast by Norwegian merchants, comes upon the conclusion of a stag hunt and is able to show the huntsmen remarkable new hunting techniques; furthermore, noteworthy descriptions of the open chase of the stag appear in Tristan.¹⁰⁰

Partonopier und Meliur (Konrad von Würzburg): A detailed description of a boar-hunt, perhaps the most valuable account of such a hunt in medieval German literature,¹⁰¹ precedes the hero's losing his way in the forest and eventually arriving in the palace of a young lady who, by enchantments, has contrived this way of meeting him (See lines 324 ff).

Various other works and examples could be noted; but the above selections are typical.

But not only is Middle High German courtly poetry replete with examples of nobles engaging in hunting as a pastime. As mentioned above, there are also numerous metaphorical references to this sport. Thus, the hunt was related to all sorts of events in medieval life which in reality had nothing to do with it. Presented here are a few examples of several categories:

The Hunter. It is significant that Gottfried and Wolfram, who sometimes taunted one another about style, penned their jibes in the form of hunting imagery. Gottfried accuses Wolfram

¹⁰⁰For references to hunting in Tristan, see lines 248 ff, 839 ff, 2203 ff, 4927, 6855 ff, 10994 ff, 11798 ff, 11904, 11985, 13803, 17100 ff, 18890 f.

¹⁰¹See Dalby, p. xvi.

of being a 'hired hunter after tales': "vindaere wilder maere, / der maere wildenaere..." (Tristan, 4665 ff). He has also compared Wolfram to a friend of the hare who skips around on the heath of poetry (4638 ff). In answer to Gottfried, Wolfram notes that his parable of the magpie, with which he begins the very first book of Parzival, is too fleet of wing for the ignorant. Then he changes the image, picking up the word "hare" used by Gottfried: "wand ez [the magpie parable] kan vor in wenken rehte alsam ein schellec hase" (1, 18-19). This is a reference to coursing, a medieval form of the hunt, in which the nobles rode after hares which were chased by greyhounds.¹⁰² Thus, in Wolfram's metaphor above, the ignorant person is the hunter who cannot keep up with the hare.

Gottfried included various other metaphorical plays on the hunter. Most ingenious are his various references to the Liebesjagd. For example, after Tristan and Isolde have drunk the love potion and become attracted to one another, they are compared to a hunter and huntress, laying traps for each other: "der minnen wildenaere / leiten ein ander dicke / ir netze unde ir stricke" (11930 ff). Minne is also compared by Gottfried to a huntress, Isolde to the falcon of the huntress: "Der Minnen vederspil Isot" (11985); cf also 10896 ff: "(young

¹⁰²The hare, another popular quarry of medieval noble huntsmen, both in reality and in literature, was not discussed above in the section on noble game since the treatment here is selective and not intended to be exhaustive.

Isolde was) gestellet in der waete, als si diu Minne draechte / ir selber zeinem vederspil." In other places, Tristan and Isolde are the captured game of the huntress Minne: "(Diu Minne) treit...einen sac, in dems ir diube und ir bejac / ir selbes munde verseit / und ez ze straze veile treit" (12294 ff); "da was amie unde amis /...in der minnen bejage" (12973 ff).

Hunting Hounds. The trained hounds used in the hunt are frequent subjects of metaphors. In Konrad von Würzburg's Trojanerkrieg (31532 ff) Menesteus, defending himself, is described as a boar brought to bay by hounds: "...als vor den jagehunden / ein eber stât ze bîle, / sus werte der (Menesteus) bî der wîle / lîp unde guot..." Konrad had used this same comparison earlier (5040 ff) for Hector. Wolfram uses the popular, spaniel-type bracke in imagery as Arnalt speaks to his brother Willehalm, (Willehalm: 119, 23), whom he had at first not recognized: "mir was dîn kunft versweiget, / als ein bracke am seile." Another reference to the bracke is made by Heinrich von dem Türlin in his Diu Crône, as a description of "ein wildes wîp" is given (9378 ff): "Als einem leitbracken / Hiengen ir diu ôren ze tal..."

Falcons. "The valke was used repeatedly in literary metaphor and symbolism throughout the Middle High German period, and by the 15th century had become a hackneyed motif, especially in the love-allegory of the lost falcon. The earliest medieval examples of the motif are of great literary interest, however..."¹⁰³

¹⁰³Dalby, Lexicon, p. 253.

Falcon imagery is employed, for example, in Wolfram's Parzival 487, 9, where the poet compares himself to a modestly fed hawk, and 191, 13, when the bürgaere of Pelrapeire are compared to starving hawks. (Cf. also the references in Gottfried's Tristan above to Isolt as "Der Minnen vederspil.") In Tristan (10996 ff.), Gottfried again compares Isolt to a falcon: "si liez ir ougen umbe gan als der valke uf dem aste..." A hero is compared to a falcon in the Wilhelm von Orlens of Rudolf von Ems, as he describes Wilhelm in battle: "Die ellenthaften ritterschaft / stôbete der herre guot / rehte als ein gervalke tuot / vil clainer vogelline."

The Wild Boar. Since the eber was such a popular quarry with the medieval nobility, it is logical, then, that this animal should also be represented often in hunting metaphors. Konrad von Würzburg, in his Trojanerkrieg (4220 ff) compares knights in a dangerous situation to boars brought to bay: "si (die ritter) giengen dâ ze bîle / sam die wilden ebere tuont: / wan ez in umb daz legen stuont." This author, by the way, seemed quite fond of this metaphor: cf. the two references above from the Trojanerkrieg (31532 ff and 5043) to similar situations. Gottfried, in Tristan, uses boar imagery several times. In 13516 ff, Marjodo's dream portrays Tristan as an eber. Later (18890 ff), warriors in battle are compared to boars: "si riten houwend under in / als eber under schafen." Two other examples in which knights about to do battle are compared to wilde eberswin are found in Lohengrin (5650) and Konrad's Partonopier und Meliur (5928).

The Stag. Another popular classic quarry was the stag. Dalby (Lexicon, pp. 230 and 231), shows most convincingly that Tristan is being likened to a stag as he softly steals through the night to Isolde (see Gottfried's Tristan, 13487 ff). Marjodo, who follows his trail across the snow, is likened to a hound. This does not conflict with the earlier comparison of Tristan to a boar in Marjodo's dream (13512 ff): "Tristan is once again symbolized by a wild animal [boar in dream], but whose ferocious attack contrasts vividly with the picture of a stag moving cautiously along its path. The beauty of the lovers' relationship is seen through the eyes of the poet in terms of a gentle animal on its way to pasture, but the adultery of the same relationship is seen in Marjodo's dream in terms of a wild and dangerous beast. Note also...17147 ff..., where there is an implicit comparison between the lovers and deer, moving to and from their pasture."¹⁰⁴ In conclusion, two metaphorical references to a stag in Wolfram's Willehalm should be mentioned. At 326, 23 ff, a play is made upon the clicking of the stag's hooves as it jumps from cover: "wir suln ouch hoeren klingen / den wⁱⁿ vom zaphen springen, / als den hircz von ruore." Somewhat later, Wolfram also compares Christians in battle to a noble tracking hound who doesn't give up the chase easily, even when the pursued stag has taken to water (435, 10 ff).

¹⁰⁴Dalby, Lexicon, p. 231.

The Fish. Just as the chase, falconry, coursing hares, etc., influenced the speech habits (and, in particular, the metaphors and similes) employed by the nobility, so did the sport of fishing. The following examples attest the frequency of fishing imagery in the French and Middle High German courtly epics.

In the case of the French epics, "Fische treten einige Male in Vergleichen auf. Wie die Geliebte mit einem Wilde verglichen wird, so wird 'ein Mädchen gewinnen' versinnbildlicht durch 'fischen,' 'einen guten Fisch fangen.'"¹⁰⁵

The German examples appear often. Benecke-Müller-Zarncke's dictionary presents usage in a vein quite opposite to the French example quoted above: "der wirt von ir gevangen also der visch am angen." In Wolfram's Willehalm (174, 19 ff.) a marcrâve uses a fishing metaphor to express his sorrow: "mit zuht der marcrâve sprach / 'vroelîch gewant und guot gemach, / des wil ich haben mangel, / die wîl diu sorge ir angel / in mîn herze hât geschoben." Gottfried, in his Tristan (15059), again uses the word angel in expressing his distaste for false friendship such as Melot and Marjodo showed for Tristan: "der vriunde vriundes bilde treit / und in dem herzen vint ist, / daz ist ein vreislich mitewist; wan der treit alle stunde / daz honec in dem munde, / daz eiter, da der angel lit..." Konrad, too, makes use of angel in a metaphor in his

¹⁰⁵See Bormann, p. 71.

Engelhart (657): "er was der êren querder und lobes gar ein angel." This imagery contains both the bait and the hook.

There are three examples of fishing imagery in the Crône of Heinrich von dem Tuerlîn. As Arthur and his court sit at dinner, talking of this and that, and all wishing for âventiure, a strange knight dismounts before the castle. Somewhat later, the troublesome Kei begins to make fun of the visitor and his customs (1698 f.): "Als er [Kei] nû die rede gesprach, / Ein angel da ze vâre stach..." The angel here is, of course, Kei. But before the pesky truhsaez can complete his jibe, he is interrupted by Arthur, who puts him in his place with a few well-chosen epithets (1733 ff.): "[Kei is like] Ein scorpenangel, ein slangenzagel, / Ein vor ungewarter hagel, / Ein zwisch reizel unde ein klobe, / Ein beswîch an allem lobe, / Ein korde und ein angelsnuor." Thus, the strange knight's antagonist is referred to in terms of fishing imagery. The final example from Diu Crône concerns the beauty of a noble lady as bait (10915 ff.): "Gînôver mit ir meiden / Wart dar an den hof geladen, / Daz muoste manegem herzen schaden, / Daz von ir schoene geangelt wart, / Daz tougen blicke niene spart, / Wan kumber gebirt ougen gart." Just as the fish is sorry when it feels the hook after it has made a pass at a tasty morsel, so the quarry, heart, is often caught on a painful hook by the bait, beauty. This is perhaps the most popular expression of fishing imagery in Middle High German. Besides the examples already noted above, it is found also in Albrecht's

Jüngere Titurel (253): "Durch himel honges svezze wolt er nv tragen disen angel sovren;" and later in Strophe 5352: "Wan wip im wurfen angel mit koder wol gevidert." Furthermore, similar examples are to be found in Reinfried von Braunschweig, where he who would understand "rechte minne" must be prepared to feel "leides angel" (twice: 2399 and 6325), "untriuwen angel" (3703), and "sürer sorgen angel" (6365). Thus, the Middle High German poets considered fishing imagery suitable to describe the refined and exquisite nuances of feeling involved in minne found, minne lost, and minne unattainable. Certainly these poets would not have used these terms, or any of the other metaphorical references to the sport of fishing, if they had felt them to be unfamiliar to their audience or uncourtly, and therefore unworthy of a place in their noble literature. Thus, all the examples of fishing imagery presented here can be regarded as additional evidence for the popularity of fishing terminology in the language of the nobility, which in turn indicates that these courtly people were indulgers in the courtly sport of fishing--just as the frequent use of the terms relating to the chase and falconry betrayed the speakers' participation and interest in these noble sports.

Very similar to the metaphorical use of animate and inanimate objects in everyday situations is the symbolism used in many of the dreams found in Middle High German literature. Yet this specialized situation should be classified by itself. It is again a sign of the important role which the hunt played

in the lives of the medieval nobility that hunting symbolism is often used in such dreams. As examples in the Middle High German epics, mention could first be made of the dream of Marjodo already referred to above, in which Tristan is symbolized as a wild boar.

Two dreams of this sort, both dreamt by Kriemhilde, appear in the Nibelungenlied. They are prophetic and serve as guidelines in regard to future events of the story.¹⁰⁶ Kriemhilde's first dream occurs early in the course of the narrative, in Str. 13: "(Ez) troumte Kriemhilde, / wie si züge einen valken, starc scoen' und wilde, den ir zwene arn erkrummen." Unable to discern the significance of this dream, Kriemhilde receives the following interpretation from her mother Uote (Str. 14, 3-4): "'der valke den du ziuhest, daz ist ein del man. / in welle got behüeten, du muost in sciene vlören hân.'" Although Kriemhilde vows at this time to never love nor marry, in order to avoid the consequences of this dream, the narrator hints strongly that the conditions of the dream will be fulfilled (Str. 18, 4; 19, 1): "sît wart si mit êren eins vil kûenen recken wîp. / Der was der selbe valke, den si in ir troume sach..." Once more the noble hero-lover is symbolized by a falcon. The imagery

¹⁰⁶Although the prophetic dream is not a feature unique only in court literature, the contents of her two dreams, i.e. the raising of falcons and hunting of boars, can certainly qualify as courtly pastimes and therefore as courtly features in the Nibelungenlied. Cf. also comments in the introduction to this thesis, p. 4.

of the falcon being endangered by eagles is valid as far as realistic noble hunting practice of the day is concerned. Emperor Frederick II, writing on falconry, makes numerous references to the falcon's fear of eagles, to how falcons may be irretrievably lost through this fear, and to how the appearance of eagles can ruin the hunt.¹⁰⁷

As a result of Kriemhilde's second dream, Siegfried, about to depart for the hunt which Hagen and Gunther have treacherously planned as a means of slaying the noble hero, is warned by his queen not to go on this hunt (Str. 921): "Sie sprach zuo dem recken: 'lât iuwer jagen sîn. / mir troumte hînaht leide, wie iuch zwei wildiu swîn / jageten über heide, dâ wurden bluomen rôt. / daz ich sô sêre weine, des gêt mir waerlîche nôt.'" Although she does not know of the treachery, she fears Siegfried's death is intimated in this dream.

Dreams with hunting symbolism were not limited, however, to Middle High German literature. This is a frequent theme also in the French epics.¹⁰⁸ For example, the Chanson des Saxons (II, p. 169) includes the following dream: the hero dreams that his court hunter is out chasing wild boars. The

¹⁰⁷For examples of Frederick's references, see the Wood-Fyfe translation of his Art of Falconry, pp. 109, 137, 238, 278, 293-295, 336-340, 368, 384, 387-391, 397-399, 402, and 409.

¹⁰⁸See Richard Mentz, Die Träume in den altfranzösischen Karls- und Artus-Epen, Ausgaben und Abhandlungen aus dem Gebiete der romanischen Philologie, No. 73 (Marburg, 1888).

boars, however, led by one enormous member of the group, make a stand against the hounds. The interpretation of this dream is: the large boar represents Salorez and the others are his army of Saracens who have besieged a city.¹⁰⁹ The theme of being attacked by boars while on the hunt is a popular one.¹¹⁰ In regard to dreams in the French epics in which wild animals appear (this is the most popular type of dream--see Mentz p. 29), the following holds true: "Die Tiere...kommen selten, so zu sagen, in den Traum hineingeschneit. Fast immer wird die Traumperson als im Walde jagend geschildert; wo sie dann von den Tieren angegriffen wird."¹¹¹

From the various examples presented in these pages, it should now be readily apparent that hunting episodes and imagery are important ingredients of the Middle High German (and also the French) courtly epics.

The emphasis thus far has been upon the importance of hunting adventures and hunting imagery for the court epics themselves. It can also be shown that hunting, as portrayed in these works, played an important role in the lives of individual members of the nobility, and that it was one of their most favored pastimes.

¹⁰⁹See Mentz, p. 80.

¹¹⁰For two similar examples, see Mentz, p. 35.

¹¹¹Mentz, p. 45.

The picture of the noble in literature, as viewed in the French epics, leaves no doubt as to the importance of hunting in his life: "Die Jagd ist in erster Linie die beliebteste Vergnügungsart der Vornehmen, sie ist das Vergnügen par excellence."¹¹² The important noble characters in French literature are able to perform magnificent feats during the hunt. Perceval, for example, participating in a royal hunt organized by King Arthur, "[wird] als der tüchtigste Jäger der Jagdgesellschaft verherrlicht; alle anderen ermattet weit hinter sich zurücklassend, erlegt er endlich den weissen Hirsch und gewinnt den von Artus ausgesetzten Jagdpreis" (Li Romans de Fergus, 46-301). King Arthur, as head of the round table, is also, of course, an excellent hunter, and distinguishes himself in a hunt described in Erec et Enide (269 ff), in which he wins the prize. Perhaps the most famous master hunter in French medieval literature is Tristan, who is repeatedly referred to as a model of hunting prowess by other noble hunters.¹¹³

Hunting, as portrayed in the French epics, permeated all phases of the lives of the aristocracy. One might speak of an "allgemeiner Jagdeifer: Ein intensiver Jagdeifer beherrscht die Ritterwelt. Um nicht in Untätigkeit zu erschlaffen, wird die Jagd besonders in Friedenszeiten mit Eifer betrieben."¹¹⁴

¹¹²Bormann, p. 27.

¹¹³Bormann, pp. 16 f.

¹¹⁴See Bormann, p. 17; cf. Perceval, 12, 519.

Often a guest is honored by the arrangement of a hunt, as happens when Perceval is the guest of King Alardin (Perceval, 15, 564). Frequently providing excuses for a hunt are the periods of great celebrations and festivities: "so, wenn um Pfingsten die Ritter und Damen des Landes zu den Hoffesten des Königs Artus versammelt sind, aber auch bei Gelegenheit von Hochzeiten und Schwertleiten"¹¹⁵ (see Erec et Enide, 27). Sometimes the enthusiasm for the hunt turns into a consuming passion, as in the case of King Merian: among the kings of Britain, he is pictured as an especially passionate hunter, who neglects all other responsibilities for the hunt (see Li Roman de Brut, 3739 ff.).

The noble knights are not the only ones who may gain pleasure from the hunt in the literature of France, however. The ladies of the court often accompany their lords on the hunt: "so zieht die Gemahlin des Artus gern mit hinaus auf die Jagd, begleitet von ihren Hofdamen; dem eigentlichen Jagdgetümmel bleiben die Damen jedoch fern."¹¹⁶ Thus the noble is seen to take the dominant role in the hunting activities of French literature. As pointed out earlier in this chapter, with the exception of the practices noted there, French courtly customs in literature can generally also be described as similar to those in German literature.

¹¹⁵Bormann, p. 18.

¹¹⁶Bormann, p. 21.

Does this picture hold true in the Middle High German epics? There is no doubt that it does. One of the important distinctions of the noble class was that only they, relieved of farming by serfs and castle responsibilities by servants (apart from top-level supervisory duties), had much leisure time. And the hunt, as described in the Middle High German epics, was most important as a leisure activity of the nobles: "Together with other courtly pastimes, including falconry, the chase is described frequently as kurzwîle...Provision for the chase and falconry is regarded as the mark of a rich and hospitable court, and here again the term kurzwîle is regularly used.¹¹⁷ It has already been noted above that a court was judged by the quality of its hounds and hawks, and that hounds and hawks were seen as symbols of nobility. Thus, even the very outward signs betokening nobility were often directly related to hunting. The picture of the well-rounded medieval German noble was incomplete without the color which hunting lent to it.

Helping to complete the impression of the medieval German aristocrat's love of the hunt, as shown in the court epics, are the activities of the nobility centering around hunting chateaus and forest preserves, castles and forests established and maintained solely for the purpose of hunting. The Middle High German terms for these chateaus included jage-hûs (or jeit-, jaget-hûs), jeit-hof (or gejeit-hof), and weide-hûs.

¹¹⁷Dalby, pp. xix-xx.

The restricted hunting land was usually known as a ban-vorst.¹¹⁸ The descriptions of activities taking place at such castles and forests shed additional light upon the picture of hunting in the lives of the Germans of the Middle Ages. Even in Eilhard von Oberge's Tristrant (5177; see also 5145 and 5169); the narrative relates that "...der herz lîf als her solde: / man treib in von dem jagehûs." Hartmann's Erec contains a description of Guivreiz' jagehûs, Penefrec, which was located on an island with a panoramic view of his hunting estate (see Erec, 7155 ff): "ouch hete der wirt der hunde / die smannes willen râten / diz jagehûs wol berâtin...wer solde im aber daz enblanden / swenne er möhte mit den vrouwen / abe dem hûse schouwen / loufen die hunde?... (7187 f) hie was diu kurzwîle guot / Penefrec was diz hûs genant." As mentioned above in the chapter dealing with actual forest preserves in the Middle Ages, Guivreiz' hunting lodge was surrounded by a ban-vorst. The description of this forest is detailed enough to throw light upon how a hunting party of Guivreiz and noble guests might have hunted (see Erec, 7130 ff): "dar zuo was dâ das beste jaget / dâ von uns ie wart gesaget. / ez het der kûnec umbe den sê / wol zwô mîle oder mê / des waldes in gevangen / und mit mûre umbevangen: / dar in engienc dehein tor mê / niuwan ûz gegen dem sê. / mit mûre was der selbe kreiz...gelîche endriu gescheiden. / daz ein teil von den beiden / hâte rôtwildes gnuoc: / swarzwilt daz ander teil truoc. / in dem dritten teile dâ bî...niuwan kleiniu kunder, / vühse hasen und diu gelîche. / ez was et vil vollecliche / erziuget dirre wiltban." This preserve

¹¹⁸ See above references on pp. 7 and 26 ff.

was not only surrounded by walls, but was also divided internally into three parts.

Two different situations involving a hunting chateau occur in Parzival. As Kiot and Manphiliot ride off, having promised to send food and wine to Condwiramurs and her people, their destination is mentioned (190, 21): "se nâmen urloup unde riten dâ bî ze ir weiderhûsen." Somewhat later (206, 8), Kingrûn, searching for Arthur "...vant den künic Artus / in Brizljan zem weidehûs: / daz was geheizen Karminâl." Another reference to Arthur and a weide-hûs is found in Der Jüngere Titurel (H., 4372).

The epic Biterolf und Dietlieb (ca. 1250), which, according to Walshe (p. 246), "is composed in courtly couplets, and attempts to imitate the style of the court epics in contents and form," contains very descriptive references to a jeithof which was apparently a castle in the wooded hills of Styria (where the poem was written).¹¹⁹ Here royalty or nobility could come and live during the hunting season. Cf. Biterolf 13, 277 and 13, 298 ff; the latter passage is quoted here: "...nie gejeithof alsô rîchen / gap deheines küneges hant... 'ez lît ze kurzwîle hie / baz danne lant ie noch gelac ze ritterspil. / hie ist weide und waldes vil, / diu wazzer habent vische genuoc...beidiu ûf unde ze tal: wilt zam und vederspil, / des mac man hie haben vil. / ...zwischen der Elbe und dem mer / stênt ninder bezzer burcstal."

¹¹⁹Dalby, p. 115.

The above discussion has shown how vital a role hunting played in the court epics and the lives of the noble characters in these epics. The question of whether or not hunting was presented in courtly literature as a prerogative of the nobility is answered by the definition of courtly literature in the introduction: namely, that it was customarily written by nobility about nobility for nobility.¹²⁰ The refined aristocrats of the day certainly had no interest in reading about the tumpheit of the bumbling peasant's attempts to hunt. A glance over the numerous literary hunting references in courtly literature reveals that they relate almost exclusively to members of the aristocracy.

C. Specific Hunting Motifs in Middle High German Courtly Literature.

The two motifs of friendship with a noble jegermeister and of the use of hunting skill to gain favor and acceptance are represented in Middle High German literature. In some cases they are related, but they can also occur individually.

The friendship motif is to be noted in Gottfried's Tristan, which is representative in so many ways of medieval hunting, and in the later Meleranz (ca. 1250-1280) of Der Pleier, who lived in the area of Salzburg.

The passage in Tristan (2759 ff) takes place after the Norwegian seamen, who have abducted Tristan, set him ashore in the kingdom of Cornwall. Coming upon a royal hunting party

¹²⁰Gottfried von Strassburg is the notable non-aristocratic exception.

led by the king's master huntsman, Tristan gives a demonstration of breaking up a stag (which the party has just felled) according to the custom of Tristan's homeland. The skill which the young boy exhibits is amazing to the members of the hunting party, especially to the royal chief huntsman. Tristan is able to win the master's admiration and friendship, as well as the respect and honor of the entire group of hunters. But it is not simply skill which wins the master hunter over to Tristan, for it is possible that, if presented in the wrong way, the prowess of Tristan could have aroused jealousy and fear for his own status on the part of the huntsman. But Tristan's extreme politeness and humility serve to dispel any such feelings. There is something about Tristan's appearance and bearing that makes him attractive to all.

The extent to which Tristan wins the friendship of the jegermeister and his party is exemplified by the course of events following the break-up procedure. Tristan, who was a complete stranger to the party only a short time before, is offered a horse and begged to come along with the hunters to Tintagel so that he can conduct the affair completely to an end. During the ride to court, the interest of those in the party for Tristan is evidenced by a stream of questions--previously kept in check--which is judiciously directed to the newcomer: where he comes from, what his affairs may be, how he happened to come to Cornwall. As the citadel comes into sight, Tristan breaks two garlands from a linde, placing

the smaller of the two on his own head and giving the larger one to the master huntsman. As a final gesture, Tristan organizes a grand entry into the courtyard of the castle. King Mark, favorably impressed by the boy, summons his royal huntsman for an explanation. The report which the hunter gives reflects the great admiration and love which he has for his new young friend, and the utter delight at learning such refinements of dressing game (see lines 3277 ff.): "' a herre, ez [Tristan] ist...so wunderlichen curtois / und also rehte tugentsam / daz ichz an kinde nie vernam...'" It is indeed a remarkable friendship which Tristan makes with the master huntsman of King Mark.

The motif of friendship with a hunter is also found, as noted above, in Der Pleier's Meleranz (2015 ff). In this case, the young hero is on his way to see his uncle, King Arthur. He is disguised, however, so that no one will recognize him. (cf. the similarities here to Tristan's story above). On his way he meets a jegermeister who turns out to be the king's royal hunter on a mission to find a stag for King Arthur to hunt. In answer to the huntsman's questions as to his purpose and his home, Meleranz says that he desires very much to be taken into the king's service, since he has heard so many remarkable stories about the knights and ladies. They strike up a friendship, and the huntsman asks Meleranz to join in the chase. Meleranz gladly accepts. After the stag is sighted and the hounds set after it, Meleranz, who is better mounted

than the royal hunter, is the first to catch up with the animal; he does not take advantage of this opportunity to fell the animal, but waits for the huntsman, whom he asks for permission to capture the stag alive and to bring it before the king. Believing this to be impossible, the hunter nevertheless gives his new friend the chance to try this marvelous feat. Meleranz does indeed succeed. When Arthur and his court, who have camped out on the plain to witness the sport ("durch kurzwil": 2102), hear that a young man is leading a stag by the horns, they all turn out to witness this remarkable arrival. Like Tristan, Meleranz is extremely respectful and courteous to the older jägermeister, addressing him as meister, her meister, vil lieber meister, etc.

It will be noted that the phrase "noble jegermeister" was included in the first motif of hunting friendship. There is, in fact, evidence pointing to the fact that the two master huntsmen in the above examples from Tristan and Meleranz were at least members of the lower nobility.

In the case of the master huntsman conducting the stag hunt when Tristan comes on the scene, Gottfried (2832 ff) speaks of him as a well-bred man: "...wan er was selbe ein höfscher man / und erkante al die vuoge wol, / die guot man erkennen sol..." Furthermore, the fact that this man was the king's master hunter enhances the possibility that he was noble, for it is probable that a jegermeister serving under royalty or high ranking nobility would hold some rank on the ladder of medieval aristocracy.

More insight concerning the nature of the post of royal jegermeister in Cornwall is gained from the subsequent course of events in the story, for King Mark appoints Tristan as his master hunter in place of the native huntsman. Not only because of Tristan's foreign skills does Mark do him such high honor; there is reason to believe he is considered by Mark and his court to be more than worthy of being a noble, if not in fact a born aristocrat: "Technically, Marke did not know of Tristan's noble birth at this point, but the position is clearly one which does honor to the young Tristan: his appointment may in fact be compared to the honorary post of the Emperor's jegermeister (although Marke does expect Tristan to take command of the hunt in the field)..."¹²¹ Mark does, indeed, expect Tristan to fulfill many duties (cf. lines 3420 ff): he orders Tristan to take charge of placing the hounds and hunting servants correctly in the field, and--after the kill--Tristan personally performs the same rites of dressing the stag which he has carried out for the earlier hunting party.

Numerous other references indicate the feeling of Mark and his court concerning Tristan's possible nobility. Even at the very beginning of his contact with the first hunting party, these hunters feel he is certainly no peasant, and even too worthy to be of middle-class rank. The longer they are around the boy, the more noble he seems, so that "[si] in ir herzen

¹²¹Dalby, Lexicon, p. 113.

jahen, / sîn dinc waer allez edelich" (lines 2856 f). They commend him as performing the feats like a master and know he is willing to demonstrate further because of his "hövescheit" (2969). They can hardly believe he is the son of a merchant: "'ez was an dir ein edeler muot [which prompted him to travel] ...alle die künege, die nu sint / dien erzügen alle ein kint niht baz..."¹²² They refer to his father as "höfsch" (3135). After the arrival at Tintagel, Mark has the boy ceremoniously conducted by pages into his royal presence ("ouch kunde er [Tristan] selbe schône gan:" 3331). As the king regards the boy, he sees "sîn gewant...daz was mit grôzer höfscheit / nach sînem lîbe gesniten. / an gebaerde unde an schoenen siten / was ime so rehte wol geschehen, / daz man in gerne mohte sehen."¹²³ In short, he looked and acted like the perfect figure of a noble youth (which he was). There is no doubt: this appointment is based upon much more than skill alone.

Mark follows up naming Tristan to this important position by commanding all in his court to be kind and gracious to the youth and not to keep their company or conversation from him: "des warens alle samet bereit / mit willecllichem muote."¹²⁴ Mark comes to love his new royal retainer and the two are seen together constantly. He holds Tristan in high favor. In fact, when it is time for the hunt in which Mark wishes to test

¹²²3125, 3132 f.

¹²³3345 ff.

¹²⁴3392 f.

Tristan's skills, the king has his own fine hunting horse given to his jegermeister. After his second skillful demonstration, given on this hunt, Tristan becomes even more beloved among the members of Mark's court, ("ein lieber hoveman under in:" 3487). He is, indeed, treated in every respect as befits a noble.

The noble treatment which Tristan receives as royal huntsman is probably in part due to his own likeable personality. But, in addition it is no doubt also due to the fact that the position of jegermeister at Mark's court is a noble one, worthy of an aristocrat. All this makes it seem more likely that the jegermeister whom Tristan meets in the hunting party and whom he later replaces, is also of noble blood.

In regard to the master huntsman in the above-mentioned example of the friendship motif from Meleranz, it is likewise probable that he is at least a member of the lower nobility. He is in complete control of the hunt preparations, while the king and his retinue await the result. Evidently Arthur and his court are waiting for the jegermeister's men to find them a suitable stag to hunt, but Meleranz changes their plans by bringing in the stag alive. The superiority of the jegermeister during the period of seeking out the stag is shown by the fact that his men seem to be doing all the actual searching. The master rides leisurely around the area, conversing with Meleranz, and, as they come upon some of the employed hunters, the chief huntsman asks about the progress of the search:

"Sus riten si mit ein ander dan, / der jäger und der junge man,
 / dâ der jäger sîn knehte vant / und sîn ruorhunde, zehant /
 frägt er sîn knehte maere / ob kein hircz ervarn waere. / der
 jägerknehte einer sprach / 'den groesten hircz den ich ie gesach,
 / meister, den hân ich ervarn.'"¹²⁵ Now the master hunter and
 Meleranz take over: the huntsman orders the hounds loosed and
 the two riders (i.e. the jegermeister and Meleranz), probably
 accompanied, at least at first, by the jägerknehte, set out in
 pursuit. The narrative tells only, however, of Meleranz and
 then the jegermeister actually approaching the animal. At the
 point when the stag is located and before it is driven from
 cover by the hounds, one might expect Arthur and his court to
 be notified to come and begin the chase, if this really is
 their intent as stated by the royal huntsman just after he
 meets Meleranz (1960 ff): "...mîn herre der wil rîten jagen,
 / daz ist mir wol zerechte kunt. / ich reit von im an der
 stunt / und wil einn hircz lâzen zuo.'" However, no one is sent
 to notify Arthur. He is first informed much later by one of
 his own knights at the royal encampment who notices Meleranz
 attempting to bring the live stag before the court (2128 ff).
 Why does the jegermeister change the plans? Does he decide
 to hunt the stag himself? If this is the case, he must be of
 noble rank to dare to change the plans of his king. (Another
 explanation would be that Der Pleier forgot to pick up or
 ignored this thread of the story). It has already been men-

tioned above how Meleranz, continually during this hunting episode, addresses the meister with the utmost courtesy and respect.

Thus, in view of the foregoing evidence, one may assume that the two jegermeister involved in the examples of the motif of friendship with a hunter in Tristan and Meleranz were both of noble blood.

The second motif noted previously was that of hunting skill being used to gain favor and acceptance. Since the two above examples of the theme of friendship with a hunter are also subsequently followed by this second motif, they will be discussed first.

In the case of Tristan, he was summoned into the presence of King Mark after the latter had listened with close attention to the glowing praise of Tristan in the report of the royal huntsman: "'...seht, dise niuwe meisterschaft, / ...wâ wart ie list so wol bedaht?...diz unde daz, / daz wart schoner unde baz ze hove geprisantet nie....in vernam von jegerie / wolher liste nie niht mê.' ...sus begunde er sînem herren dagen / von ende sîniu maere, / wie vollekomen er waere / an höfscher jegerie..."¹²⁶ After speaking with Tristan briefly and becoming even more impressed with the boy's courtliness, the king asks him to grant one wish, to which the young hunter agrees: "'du solt mîn jegermeister sîn!'"¹²⁷ Tristan promises

¹²⁶Lines 3290 ff.

¹²⁷3370.

to become the king's huntsman and liege and to serve to the best of his ability. He thus becomes greatly favored at the court. Mark makes a special point of asking the members of his hovegesinde to be friendly and gracious to Tristan, which they gladly do. He soon becomes beloved of the king, and is his constant companion wherever he goes.

Tristan secures his position even more firmly as he accompanies Mark on a hunt soon after his arrival at Tintagel. Riding Mark's own hunting horse (jagephert), Tristan rides out with the king and his party so that Mark can study the skills of his new jegermeister in woodsmanship. He performs much the same as the first time. "do si die [Tristan's arts] begunden sehen, / si begunden eines mundes jehen, / daz nieman von dem liste / niht bezzers enwiste / noch niemer kunde ervinden."¹²⁸ From this time on, Tristan was one of the favorite retainers of the court, well loved by everyone.

If Tristan's knowledge of refined methods for dressing game earned him favor, so also did the feat of Meleranz--bringing back a live stag--ingratiate him with Arthur. Bringing the stag into the king's presence, Meleranz presents it as a gift to Arthur, who thanks him and says that anything Meleranz desires will be granted him in return. The young man asks then, of course, to be taken into Arthur's service ("...lât mich iuwarn kneht sîn:" 2169). "der kûnc nam in ze gesinde dô. / des was diu massenîe frô. / er wart empfangen minneclîch / von der

küneginne rîch / und von den frowen allen."¹²⁹ For a long time Meleranz serves Arthur well incognito.

Not only in the German court epics are there examples to be found of the motif of hunting skill bringing one into courtly favor. The French epic Guillaume de Palerne (762 f.) contains such a theme: "Durch seine Kenntniss in der Jägerei erwirbt sich der junge Guillaume so sehr die Liebe des Königs von Rom, dass er von diesem wie ein junger Sohn gehalten wird."¹³⁰

It could be argued that the two motifs we have discussed, those of the friendship with a hunter and the use of hunting skill to gain acceptance and favor, are specific themes which both come under the heading of a broader motif concerning hunting in general leading to adventure or other connection with the court. If the French and German court epics are examined for evidence of such a theme, various examples can be found. The French romance of Tyolet pictures the young hero pursuing a stag. This animal is changed into a knight who initiates the boy into the world of chivalry. The title character of Chrétien's Perceval meets knights for the first time in his life while on the way to the area where he hunts, and they give him the first accounts of the chivalric life. Wolfram, picking up this theme in his own Parzival, reinforces the background of hunting leading to the boy's first encounter

¹²⁹2195 ff.

¹³⁰See Bormann, p. 16.

with knights. In this case, Parzival has just plucked a leaf to make a decoy call, in order to lure a stag, when he hears approaching horses. Their riders, who he first thinks are gods, turn out to be knights, and the boy learns something of King Arthur and chivalry. Another example is found in Konrad's Partonopier (lines 324 ff). Partonopier, the nephew of a king, sets out with his uncle to hunt boars. He hunts down and slays one boar, letting his hounds taste the fresh meat. This causes them to set out after another boar. Partonopier tries to stop them but soon becomes lost in the woods. Finally, by means of a ship, he is brought to a palace by the magic of a young lady who had picked him as the man of her choice.

It has been seen, then, that literary motifs dealing with hunting, notably those involving friendship with a noble jegermeister and the use of hunting skill to ingratiate oneself at court, are prominent in some court epics.

D. Animals Hunted in the Court Epics by the Nobility.

Not only do special hunting themes stand out in Middle High German literature. It can also be said that types of game were especially noteworthy as quarry for the noble hunters of the epic. The discussion here will focus on stags, boars, and fish.

The Stag. The most frequently mentioned form of game in Middle High German literature is the deer.¹³¹ The male of the species seemed to be the most popular (and dangerous), at least

¹³¹See Dalby, Lexicon, p. 239.

in the court epics, for most of the references in them to the hunting of deer refer to a stag as the quarry.

In the French court epics, for example, a characteristic hunting activity was the chase of a white stag. Perceval fells such an animal in Li Romans de Fergus (lines 46-301). Deer are also mentioned as quarry in Perceval and Tyolet.

Some of the numerous examples of the stag hunt in German courtly literature have already been mentioned above in connection with other contexts, i.e. Heinrich von Veldeke's Eneit (lines 4600 ff), where there is a good description of the stag hunt by "bows and stable;"¹³² Gottfried's Tristan, containing no less than three different descriptions of the stag chase and/or kill (lines 2759 ff., 3408 ff., and 17283 ff.); and der Pleier's Meleranz (lines 1960 ff), in which the preparations for a stag chase for Artûs and his court are described. Other Middle High German epics mentioning and describing (sometimes at length) stag hunting include Eilhart's Tristrant (5170 ff.); Erec, where the chase of a white stag (1107 ff. and 1754) and other stags as one form of game in Guivreiz's forest preserve (7143) are featured; Gregorius, in which the title character's habit was to ride out to the forest to hunt with bows and stable (2472); the Lanzelet of Ulrich von Zatzikhoven, mentioning stag as quarry in Iwert's hunting preserve (3992) and describing a white stag chase (6673 ff.); the prose Lancelot, in which two different stag chases are illustrated (9v and 47r); Konrad's

¹³²See above, p. 71.

Partonopier (2546 ff); Der jüngere Titurel of Albrecht, where there is again mention of two separate stag hunts (1466 and 4801); Demantin (3213 ff); Heinrich's Tristan (2391); and Wolfdietrich (D: Holtzmann, 623 ff.)

The Boar. Although it was perhaps not quite as popular as the stag in the court epics, the boar is well represented in courtly hunting descriptions ranging before, throughout and after the golden age of the Middle High German period. The stag chase could be quite dangerous, but even more bravery was required to face an enraged boar: thus, knightly prowess and daring could be described to special advantage if a boar hunt were included in an epic.

French courtly literature offers various descriptions of boar hunting. Perceval, for example (15426 ff.) contains a long and detailed account of such a hunt, as well as other references to boars as game of noble hunters (28896 ff, 34510 f and 34607). The latter two references are made as Perceval, riding through the forest, meets four of King Amfortas' hunters who are stalking boar. They show the young hero the way to their lord's castle. Guingamor, hero of the Lai de Guingamor, is challenged to hunt down a white boar by the queen. He is successful in his attempt and brings home the head of the animal as a trophy (see 214 ff, 313 f, 575 f, 673). Other French epics in which boars are a popular quarry include Tristan (I 680 and 4338; III 84, 27) and Partonopeus de Blois (525, 1842). Perhaps the hunters of the French epics

were motivated to hunt boars for culinary purposes as well as sheer adventure: in Perceval (16762 and 16826) and Flore et Blanceflore (1463) the meat of these formidable animals (especially from the back and the head) is praised as a culinary delicacy.

Noble hunters in the Middle High German courtly literature are also stalkers of wild boars. In Erec, fully one third of Guivreiz' banvorst is given over to swarzwilt, i.e. bears and boars (7143). The tragic hunt in the Nibelungenlied begins with plans to pursue wild boar, among other game (Str. 911 and 916); during the course of this expedition, Siegfried shows his skill by slaying einen eber grôzen. The hunting of boars is also referred to in the version of Albrecht von Halberstadt of Ovid's Metamorphoses (XVII, 10 ff; and XIX, 336-454) and in Ulrich's Lanzelet (3993), in the latter of which swîn constitute one form of game to be hunted in Iweret's forest preserve. As mentioned above in the section on hunting as a courtly pastime, probably the most valuable and detailed description of a boar hunt in a Middle High German court epic is contained in the Partonopier of Konrad von Würzburg. The narrative of the first episode (340-460) vividly recounts the chase, noting the duties and feats of not only Partonopier but also of his horse and hounds and the use of his hunting weapons and equipment. After this boar has been killed, the hounds catch the scent of another and set off after it. Partonopier, pursuing, becomes lost, which leads him to other adventures. A second and shorter

account of a boar hunt, carried out in the same manner as the first, occurs later in the course of the story (2648-2665).

The Fish. The evidence from courtly literature speaks favorably, as will be shown, for the assumption that the fish, as well as stags and boars, was an animal deemed worthy of noble attention. To show more fully the courtly popularity which this animal is described as enjoying, the discussion will focus on the fish as a quarry for the aristocracy, as a courtly food, and as used for courtly decoration on clothing and other objects. As was the case in the examination of the courtliness of the fish in actual medieval life, no evidence will be included which concerns people who made their living by fishing or members of classes lower than the nobility who fished:¹³³ only instances concerning nobles fishing purely for sport and amusement (kurzwîle) will be considered. And, as was the case above, the portion discussing fish as a courtly food will mention only those examples in which fish seems to be described because it was enjoyable and desirable, not because church law ordered its use.

Perhaps the most extensive episode of a noble fishing in a Middle High German court epic is found in Wolfram's Titurel. Sigûne, Schônatulander, and the ladies-in-waiting of the

¹³³Because of the extensive restrictions mentioned previously, it is doubtful that many members of the lower classes fished at all. Exceptions may have been those living near and fishing in the oceans (thus water not surrounded by a ban-vorst). Cf. the fishermen in Gregorius, lines 946 ff and 2771 ff.

herzogin are pictured not far from a brook, where their tent has been pitched. While Sigune learns of the story of Clauditte and Ehkunaht, Schionatulander fishes (154):

"Schionatulander mit einem vederangel / vienc äschen unde vörhen, die wil si las..." Meanwhile, since Sigune has loosened the leash of the hound Gardeviaz "durch die schrift ûz ze lesenne an dem seile" (154), Gardeviaz is able to break loose and streak into the woods when he catches the scent of some game. Schionatulander is not aware of this at first, and continues to fish (159 f): "Schionatulander die grôzen und die kleinen / vische mit dem angel vienc, dâ er stuont ûf blôzen blanken beinen / durch die küele in lûtersnellem bache. / nu erhört er Gardeviazes stimme: diu erhal im ze ungemache. / Er warf den angel ûz der hant, mit snelheit er gâhte / über ronen und ouch durch brâmen [trying to catch the hound]..." This is a clear example of a young nobleman engaging in the sport of fishing entirely for amusement.

Another example from the epics should be mentioned. In Biterolf (13272 ff), King Etzel gives the hero Biterolf and his son a royal hunting chateau in the wooded hills of Styria. "nie gejeithof also rîchen / gap deheines küneges hant" (13298 f). But the most interesting point for this portion of the study is found in the description of Biterolf to his son of courtly pastimes in which one could engage at this hunting estate (13303 ff): "'ez lît ze kurzwîle hie / baz danne lant ie / noch gelac ze ritterspil. / hie ist weide und waldes vil, / diu wazzer habent vische genuoc...ze guotem gewinne / lît

daz lant über al, / beidiu ûf unde ze tal: wilt zam und veder-
 spil, / des mac man hie haben vil...zwischen der Elbe und dem
 mer / stent ninder bezzer burcstal.'" Among the pleasures of
 the hunt and falconry is mentioned (neither with more nor less
 emphasis) the fact that the lakes and rivers abound in fish.
 This seems to be a direct reference to the fact that one would
 expect to fish there as a courtly pastime, just as one would go
 on the chase after stag or fly falcons after fowl.

Thus, there is, indeed, evidence in the epics indicating
 that fishing was a noble and courtly pastime among the nobility.

Just as was the case with venison and boar meat, fish is
 considered an enjoyable and courtly food in the epic literature.
 Already in Erec there is mention of fish that does seem to be a
 delicacy. In the description of Penefrec, Hartmann extolls the
 fish in its lake (7124 ff): "ez stuont enmitten in einem sê: /
 der gap im genuoc und dannoch mê / der aller besten vische / die
 ie ze küneges tische / dehein man gebrâhte, / swelher hande man
 gedâhte."¹³⁴ Again, fish is mentioned among the rich articles
 of fare to be had at the noble table of this château (7189 ff):
 "vische unde wiltbrât, / beide semeln unde wîn. / swaz dâ mêre
 solde sîn, / vil lützel des dâ gebrast." This food must be
 especially good, for the text goes on to say that Guivreiz has

¹³⁴This passage could also have been used above as evidence
 for nobles fishing. It seems to refer not only to fine fish being
 served at table, but also to the fact that the opportunity existed
 here to catch the finest fish ever caught. This inference is
 strengthened by the fact that the very next lines (7130 f) men-
 tion that here also was found the very best hunting on land which
 ever existed. Thus the best of all game, both on land and in
 water, was to be found at Penefrec.

brought Erec here to recover his strength, with hopes that the food at Penefrec would be helpful.

Another mention of nobles and fish occurs in Gregorius (3275 ff) as the two noblemen are in search of the successor to the pope, of whom they have been told in dreams. In their search, they come to the house of the same fisherman who, 17 years before, had taken Gregorius to his rocky cliff and chained him there, throwing the key into the sea. The fisherman, seeing that these two men are noble men of means, decides they would pay well for the best fish he had in his catch; it was, indeed, long and heavy, and they quickly buy it, evidently anticipating a good meal. (This, of course, is the fish which has swallowed the key to Gregorius' chains.)

Iwein, when he finds the 300 noble ladies who are captives in the castle and condemned to sew and weave, notes their worn clothing and haggard bodies. They had not eaten noble food ("daz vleisch zuo den vischen")¹³⁵ for a long time.

When Gunther, Hagen, and their noble hunting party set out for the extended trip of several days, one of the items for which provision must be made is food to take along. Among the foods sent ahead for the noble party is fish: "Geladen vil der rosse kom vor in über Rîn, di den jagetgesellen truogen brôt unde wîn, / vleisc mit den vischen, und ander manigen rât..."¹³⁶

¹³⁵Iwein, line 6217.

¹³⁶Nibelungenlied, Str. 927.

One notices that the phrase "vleisch zuo / mit den vischen" seems to repeat itself in Middle High German literature (see reference above to Iwein.) Perhaps the serving of meat and fish together on the medieval noble table was so common that this phrase became standardized. The fact that meat from game and fish were served at the same time indicates that the fish was not there simply because meat could not be eaten (otherwise no meat would be served), but because it, too, formed an enjoyable portion of the noble diet.

Again, in Parzival, there is mention of fish with other meat at a courtly meal in the description of Gahmuret's supper at the castle of Queen Belacane: "Ich muoz iu von ir spîse sagen. / diu wart mit zûhten für getragen: / man diende in rîterlîche. / diu kûneginne rîche / kom stolzlic für sînen tisch. / hie stuont der reiger, dort der visch."¹³⁷ Another noble repast is described later in the story, as Gawan and Kingrimursel dine with King Vergulaht's queen and her ladies: "diu naht kom: dô was ezzens zît. / môraz, wîn, lûtertranc, / brâhten juncfrowen dâ mitten kranc, / und ander guote spîse, / fasân, pardrîse, / guote vische und blankiu wastel."¹³⁸ Once more, fish has equal place with other courtly delicacies. Among the noble foods which the pious Trevrizent has forsaken are "môraz, wîn...prôt...vische noch fleisch."¹³⁹ Thus, fish here is

¹³⁷32, 29 ff.

¹³⁸423, 16 ff.

¹³⁹452, 19 ff.

treated as one of the luxuries of court life which the hermit feels he must renounce. Wolfram makes one more mention of the "vische und vleisch" combination, this time in his Willehalm (133, 14) with reference to some of the fine food served to a marcrâve by his noble host Wimâr.

In the Pleier's Tandareis und Flordibel (9706 f), fish is included in the queen's menu: "bî der kûnegîn ob dem tische / wilpraet und vische...des truoc man gar den vollen dar." A passage from the Tristan of Ulrich von Türheim (2586) mentions "huon" and "visch" served together.

It is probable that accounts of courtly meals continued to be much the same in the literature of the period following the golden age. Two 14th-century examples confirm this assumption: Friedrich von Schwaben (97 f) has the following description of a meal: "vil gûtter speisz lobesan vand er stan ob dem tisch: / wiltprät, wein, brot und fisch." Johann ûz dem Virgiere (2086 f) relates: "man braht im wiltpreht unde vische / und den aller besten win."

Although the discussion has dealt thus far with typical German examples, the situation was much the same in the French epics: "Neben Brot und Wein bestehen die Gerichte der vornehmen Tafel aus Wildpret, Geflügel und Fisch."¹⁴⁰ Fish is mentioned as one of these three main types of food in Perceval (1825, 7795, 18515, 26373, 26840, 27467, and 44777) and also in

¹⁴⁰Bormann, p. 74.

Erec et Enide (4244). The relative popularity of fish as compared to other types of food is significant for this survey: "Fisch scheint also, da er namentlich auch bei Festmählern nicht fehlt, sehr beliebt zu sein und als eine der feinsten Speisen zu gelten."¹⁴¹

If the German epics have a representative in Gregorius of nobles buying a large fish for their table, so the French epics have their counterpart in Richars li Biaus: "Einen ungewöhnlich grossen Fisch hat der Seneschal [a noble retainer] für den König für 'xx livres' erstanden."¹⁴²

It was also considered courtly during the Middle Ages to wear clothing and use articles which were embellished with costly multi-colored skins of fish. To describe this noble decoration, the adjective vischîn and the noun schînât were used. The latter term is defined by Lexer as "eine kostbare Fischhaut von dunkler oder blauglänzender Farbe, mit der Gewänder besetzt und verbrämt wurden."

The epics contain various references to such courtly clothing. In the Nibelungenlied (343 ff), as Gunther, Siegfried and a few other choice knights are preparing to set out for Islande in order to win Brunhild, they enlist Kriemhilde and her ladies to prepare for them the most dazzling and noble clothing ever worn. In addition to costly Arabian silks and

¹⁴¹Bormann, p. 74.

¹⁴²Lines 4577 f. See Bormann, p. 79.

stones, rare fish skins are utilized: "Von vremder vische
hiuten bezoc wol getan / ze sehene vremden liuten, swaz man
der gewan, / die dahten si mit sîden, sô si si solden tragen..."¹⁴³
The courtly use and value of fish skin is especially enhanced
here, since these clothes are to be the finest in all the land.

As Biterolf and his knights, all dressed in the best
clothing ever seen, approach the court of King Etzel, Biterolf
is described as wearing "wât von Abalîn, / dar under hiute
vischîn / ze bezoge wâren wol genât..."¹⁴⁴

Ulrich von Zatzikhofen, describing part of Lanzelet's
marvellous tent, notes that "von wîzem visches hâre was daz
vierde ende..."¹⁴⁵ Even a tent can be made more noble with
material of fish skin.

No less than three different references to courtly clothing
decorated with fish covering are found in Konrad's Trojanerkrieg.
The rich clothes of Paris, described at length, contain many
marvellous features; among these, "bestellet und gebraement /
mit schînâte was daz cleit, / den man ûz einer hiute sneit, /
die truoc ein visch von wilder art..."¹⁴⁶ The colors radiating
from the fish skin are rare and varied. As a complement to
Paris' garments, a lengthy description (20055-20281) of Helen's
raiment is given. She has figures of fish on her clothing

¹⁴³Str. 363.

¹⁴⁴Biterolf, 1155 ff.

¹⁴⁵Lanzelet, 4838.

¹⁴⁶2982 ff.

(20104 ff), as well as schînât decoration on the borders of her kleit. The latter comes from a rare fish living in the waters of paradise, the skin of which emits a blue and gold radiance (see 20238 ff). The adoring description given by Konrad of this wonderful, noble fish skin, applied to the garment "mit hovelicher fuoge," gives some idea of the luxury and magnificence such decoration presumably evidenced in the medieval court life. The final example of schînât in the Trojanerkrieg relates to its use in portraying heraldic animals. King Hûpolt has on his wapenkleit "von schînâte ein swarzer wider" (31792). The apparent fondness of Konrad to refer to schînât while describing noble and luxurious objects carried over to Das Turnier von Nantes, where the magnificent shield of a count from Britanje has one area "swarz geверwet... alsam ein schînât unde ein kol..." (593 f).

Other parts of the fish in addition to its skin were used for embellishment of courtly articles, however. There is "ein aus Fischbein gefertigter Sattel und Sattelbogen" attested in the epic of Flore et Blanceflore (969).¹⁴⁷

The fish as described in the courtly literature of the Middle Ages has thus been established not only as suitable game for noble sportsmen, but also (like venison and boar meat) as a popular and courtly food, and finally as an animal which was in demand for decorative clothing and other articles which were desirable in court life. The rather extensive (in contrast to

¹⁴⁷See Bormann, p. 81.

that of the stag and boar as objects of interest of the nobility) discussion concerning the fish as a courtly animal in literature was felt to be necessary since almost nothing has been written elsewhere to substantiate such a claim.

This section has shown, then, that--as described in medieval courtly literature--the stag, the boar, and the fish were popular among the aristocracy as courtly animals, and especially so as potential quarry of the noble hunter.

E. Weapons and Equipment Used by Nobles in the Court Epics.

The dangerous hunting situations in courtly literature motivated the use of various weapons and equipment. There was, in fact, a popular medieval literary motif of blaming the deliberate murder of a noble upon a wild animal. In the Nibelungenlied, for example, Hagen attributes Siegfried's death to his being gored by an enraged boar. The intent of the following section will be to explore the courtly use of the hunting horn, falcons, the spear, the sword, and the knife as they are described in hunting contexts in the medieval court epics.

The Horn. In general, one would not think of a hunt without horns, and--since hunting was such an integral part of the epic court life--the horn is mentioned often. The author of the prose Lancelot (27r) describes a scene at the court of King Arthur, where a hunting horn hangs from a pair of antlers on the wall: "Key lieff hinweg und ergreyff ein horn an eim

hirczhorn da es hing, und bliesz..." Also in Gottfried's Tristan, the horn is constantly associated with the hunt. Mark equips Tristan as his jegermeister by giving him his royal sword, spurs, bow, and "min guldin horn" (3738). When Tristan and Isolde are banned by Mark, the few possessions taken by Tristan indicate that he has hunting plans for the period of exile (16642 ff): "dar zuo so brahte man im dar, / des er zer verte haete gert: / sine harphen und sine swert, / sin pirsarmbrust und sin horn." Later while living in the lovers' cave, Tristan and Isolde hear the sounds of the hunt for the strange maned stag. The predominant sounds they hear, which tell them that a hunt is in progress, are the "schal... von gehürne und ouch von hunden" (17320 f). The vital connection of the hunt and the horn are sounded in Konrad's Partonopier (2553 ff): "'wilt du ze walde rîten / durch hessen, fürste hochgeborn, / so sende ich dir ein jagehorn..."

As described in the epics, the horn itself was often of ivory with carvings and other courtly decorations (such as gold and jewels), and could be hung from the neck by a cord of silk or fine leather. An idealized (and perhaps somewhat overdone) courtly hunting horn is described in Partonopier as being brought to the hero before the hunt (2607 ff): "dô kam dort her ein jagehorn / so rîlich und als uz erkorn,...dâ lac gezierde ein wunder an / von golde und von gesteine. / der borte ûz sîden was gebriten, / dar an ez gehenket was." (The importance of horns in Partonopier is evidenced by the frequent references to

them: cf. 350, 408, 428, 2556, and 2620.) Other nobles mentioned in Middle High German literature who also had magnificent horns include (1) Siegfried (Nibel 951: "von vil rōtem golde fuort' der herre [Siegfried] ein schoene horn"); (2) King Mark in Gottfried's Tristan: cf. above the gift of his "guldin horn" which he gave to Tristan; (3) Arthur's jegermeister in Pleier's Meleranz (cf. lines 1924 ff: "...ouch hienc an dem halse sîn / ein vil schoenez jagehorn. / daz was von golde beslagen vorn").

French medieval literary tradition paints a similar picture, attesting expensive and much-valued horns of ivory with costly wood carvings (cf. Perceval 28487, 31745). Among the valuable instruments mentioned in the French epics were an ivory horn with golden rings, a horn strap interwoven with gold (Perceval 21969), and also a strap of green silk.¹⁴⁸

The importance of the hunting horn to the authors of French courtly literature was such that they even used this instrument for integral functions in their epic plot structure: "Neben der kostbaren Beschaffenheit und dem ausgezeichneten Klang des Hornes wird, wie bereits aus dem vorhergehenden zu ersehen, auch mehrfach die Geschicklichkeit es zu blasen hervorgehoben, wodurch sich der Bläser auszeichnet (cf. Perceval 5587). Hierin klingt wohl die Reminiscenz an die Sage von Roland und seinem berühmten Horn nach. Ein Ritter ist solange gezwungen in einem 'vergier' zuzubringen, bis es jemandem gelingt, ein darin befindliches Horn zu blasen; Held Erec

¹⁴⁸ See Bormann, p. 35.

bläst dies Horn zur Freude und Bewunderung der Hörer und befreit somit den Ritter (cf. Erec et Enide 6096 f)." Another horn which has marvellous attributes is described in Geoffrey Gaimar and the Lai d'Havelok. This Wunderhorn is part of the treasure of the royal Danish court, and only a justified heir to the Danish throne is capable of blowing it (cf. Arthur and his sword "Escalibor"). Havelock successfully undergoes this test and is thus recognized as the true crown prince who has previously been forced to flee the kingdom. The prince regains his ancestral throne.¹⁴⁹

The various references to the horn in the French and German literature can be pieced together to show a total picture of the specific functions of the horn in an epic hunt. Even at the very beginning of the hunt, the horn sounds to call the teams of dogs to the front, as the procession of nobles and servants is forming.¹⁵⁰ After the group rides out, this wind instrument can also be most useful if the members of the party desire to frighten or start up game. For example, in the Rolandslied (6088) there is reference to the use of a horn in the coursing of hares. A blast of the horn could start up the hares, so that they could be coursed by the greyhounds. In the hunt portrayed in the Nibelungenlied (Str. 946), "si ersprancten mit ir scalle [i.e. the sound of the horns] ein tier vil gremilich, / daz was ein ber wilde..." Partonopier (cf. Konrad's Partonopier, 355 ff.

¹⁴⁹Cf. Lai d'Havelok 881 f. and Geoffrey Gaimar 672 f. See also Bormann, p. 38, Anmerkung I.

¹⁵⁰Bormann, p. 87.

and 424 ff), who is hunting wild boars, blows a mighty blast on his horn which rouses an eberswîn. After this first boar has been dispatched, the hounds of Partonopier set off eagerly to chase another eber which "...von dem horngeschelle erstoubet was und uf getrieben." As soon as a suitable quarry has been roused, the horn again sounds to notify the members of the hunt of this fact.¹⁵¹

Additional blasts on the horn are sounded during the chase --after the hounds have been released--in order to encourage them to do their utmost. References to this are found in the Eneit (4664 f) and again in Partonopier (350 ff), where the young hero rides after the boar he has roused, encouraging his hounds with calls on his hunting horn: "...die hunde mante er unde blies..."

When the quarry is brought down and killed, it is again customary to sound the horn. The regular phrase to express this was "ze valle / gevelle blâsen (hürnen), i.e. to blow the 'mort!'"¹⁵² Two examples are found in the French epic Li Romans de Fergus (233, 247 f). This custom is also part of the hunt as described in the German court epics. In Gottfried's Tristan (2770 ff), as Tristan sees Mark's hunting party in the first hunt episode, the author notes that "nu waren ouch die jegere komen / mit michelem geschelle / hürnende zuo gevelle" (after the stag is killed). Similarly, in the prose Lancelot (47r)

¹⁵¹Cf. Li Romans de Fergus, 82; see also Bormann, p. 38.

¹⁵²See Dalby, Lexicon, p. 252.

the hunters "...bliesen zu valle das der hircæ gefangen were."

Boars receive similar attention in Partonopier (407 f): "nu daz der eber tût geleit / wart...ze valle blies er [Partonopier] in daz horn."

Another important purpose of the horn was the passing of simple messages between the huntsmen. Although some of the above examples may be considered as such instances, there were also times when horn signals were used which did not directly relate to game itself. A lost person or animal could be signaled to return to the main party by the use of a horn,^{or} or a lost hunter could blow his horn to let the others know his position. For example in Li Romans de Fergus (III) dogs who have lost the scent of game and are wandering aimlessly in the woods are called back by horn blasts and placed on the correct trail again. In Perceval (28933 and 34525), lost hunters blow horn calls.

Horn signals could also be used to call off the hunt. When the hunt had run its course and the hunters were thinking of food and rest, then, evidently, the lord in charge of the hunt (probably the jegermeister) or the noble of highest rank in the party gave the signal to break off the hunt with his horn.¹⁵³ Thus, in the Nibelungenlied (944), it is King Gunther who gives or has the signal given. It probably consisted of a long, drawn out note ("dô wart vil lûte ein horn / zeiner stunt

¹⁵³See Oskar Hartung, Die deutschen Altertümer des Nibelungenliedes und der Kudrun (Cöthen, 1894), p. 233.

geblâsen..."). If the party was spread out over a large area so that the initial signal couldn't be heard by all, then it was taken up by the nearest hunting group, answered, and passed on until finally the most distant hunters heard it (cf.

Nibelungenlied 945: "Dô sprach ein Sîfrits jägere: 'herre, ich hân vernomen / von eines hornes duzze daz wir nu suln komen / zuo den herbergen: antwurten ich des wil.' / dô wart nâch den gesellen gevrâget blâsende vil.").

After a successful hunt, there were no doubt many horn blasts by the proud hunters on their way home to let people know of their success. In Perceval 28608 and 31897, there are accounts of the hunting party returning to the castle. At this time, the nobles and servants who have remained behind are roused by horn signals, at which time they come running into the court yard to welcome the triumphant party.

The various examples above of the mention and use of hunting horns show conclusively the courtly function and importance of this instrument for noble hunters in both French and German medieval courtly literature.

The Falcon. The court poets were fond of describing, in the literature, hunting activities of the nobility which were especially suited to kurzwîle. Besides the chase and the coursing of hares, the use of falcons to hunt game was high on the list of favorite courtly activities of the aristocracy which are enumerated in medieval literature. Just as the richest and most

hospitable courts of epic literature always had a place for dancing, jousting, tournaments, and hunting with hounds, provision for falconry was also a necessary appendage to such a court. The vital role of the falcon in court activities is indicated in Pleier's Garel vom blühenden Tal (2595 ff): "swaz des mannes herze gert / von kurzewîle, des ist gewert. / si habent kurzewîle vil / mit hunden oder mit vederspîl, / tanzen, buhudieren / etewenn turnieren..." Similar descriptions are found in Heinrich von dem Türlin's Krone (635 ff), the Wilhelm von Orlens of Rudolf von Ems (10063 f), and Konrad's Partonopier (1990 ff). The importance of falcons at court even in early courtly literature is attested by the list of gifts sent to Charles the Great by King Marsilie and his princes in the Rolandslied (743 ff): "si bietent schaz ane zale, / der besten marhe die wale, / uorloufte uñ uederspîl..."

The types of falcons and hawks used in literary hunting scenes were determined according to both the noble rank of the hunter and also the suitability of the bird for the sport. The most valuable species was the peregrine-falcon (referred to in the literature as pilgerîn or often simply valke), which was regularly associated with higher nobility. In Parzival this bird is used by King Arthur's falconers and also by King Vergulaht.¹⁵⁴ Other mentions of the peregrine are found in Lohengrin (3402: the emperor's favorite bird), Konrad's Partonopier (2570 ff), and Gottfried's Tristan (2203 ff).

¹⁵⁴See 281, 26 and 400, 21 ff respectively.

The merlin (smirlîn or sprinzeln), one of the smallest of the true falcons, was often associated with noble children and youths (cf. Parzival, 430, 14; Wolfram's Willehalm, 67, 11; Rudolf's Wilhelm von Orlens, 3827; and Reinfried von Braunschweig, 641.) This bird is also sometimes linked with adult noblemen who lack manly prowess, as is the case with the knight-ferryman Flipalinot in Parzival (544, 3; 550, 28; 662, 13) and the old man in Pleier's Garel (793).

The habech or goshawk was used mainly by the lower classes for food and sport but by some noblemen, too, as in Erec (2031 ff), Iwein (284), and Biterolf (6971 ff). In the last example, the bird is offered as a noble gift.

One other species associated with the nobility was the sparrow-hawk (sperwaere or male sprinze--the females of falcons and hawks generally were used as the best hunters). The sparrow-hawk did not fly as skillfully as the falcons and was not as good a hunter as the goshawk, but it nevertheless had an important role in literature--often being linked with ladies and also being carried on occasions by noblemen. In addition to its hunting uses (cf. Eilhart's Tristrant [7194 ff], for example, where Tristrant rides out to hunt with a sperwaere), the sparrow-hawk could serve as a tournament prize or as a noble gift. It is also attested in Erec (1966 ff) and Biterolf (7035 ff).

At least some of the noble characters in courtly literature were such passionate falconers that they themselves devoted time to training and caring for their birds. Such is the case in Konrad's Engelhard (3212 ff: Ritschier von Engellant), Lohengrin (3420: the emperor feeds his favorite peregrine himself after

it has brought down a heron), and Reinfried von Braunschweig (13521).

Medieval literary mentions or descriptions of the actual sport of flying hawks at quarry are numerous and span the entire period (rise, golden age, and decline) of courtly literature. Some of the more noteworthy and explicit passages are found in Eilhart's Tristrant (7193 ff), Erec (2034 ff), Parzival (281, 23 ff; 400, 2 ff; 721, 18 ff), Ulrich's Lanzelet (290; 475 ff), Konrad's Partonopier (2546 ff; 2680 f; 1990 ff), Rudolf's Wilhelm von Orlens (3829 f; 10063 ff), Biterolf (2269 ff; 6971 ff; 13198 ff), Lohengrin (3366 f; 3387 ff: this latter is a very detailed description), and Reinfried von Braunschweig (12512 ff).

Perhaps one reason for the overwhelming popularity which hunting with hawks and falcons enjoyed among the nobility of court literature is the fact that falconry, more than any other hunting sport, was one in which ladies could indulge, and "this advantage will have added greatly to its importance as a courtly pastime."¹⁵⁵ Furthermore, the fact that ladies could be present meant that the court poets could easily continue to develop most plots using falconry--in which all necessary characters might be readily involved--as a vehicle. An excellent example of the interest shown for this sport by noble ladies in literature is found in Biterolf (13194 ff), where Queen Helche tells Rüedeger:

¹⁵⁵Dalby, Lexicon, p. xxviii.

"du solt mich / mit dir beizen rîten lân. / sô mîn herre und sîne man, / Etzele der maere / und sîne valkenaere, / wellen kurzwîle hân. / sô sullen ouch wir niht lân. / wir suln ir beizen schouwen, / ich und mîne frouwen." A large number of other literary passages portray ladies who are associated with this sport, especially with sparrow-hawks (cf. above).¹⁵⁶

As the above discussion has made very clear, the falcon--as a hunting "weapon" in medieval epic literature--is most courtly and finds extensive use among the nobility. This bird is probably second to no other weapon in importance in the hunting episodes of the court epics.

The Spear. Although one often thinks of the spear being thrown, no noble hunter in medieval German literature who was well trained in courtly hunting graces ever threw a spear at game. Instead, the spear was generally braced against some object by the hunter as the animal charged, and the hunter attempted to impale his quarry with the weapon.

The use of the spear for hunting is common to many epic heroes. For example, the Trojan nobles in the Eneit take with them "swert, bogen ende spere" (4683) on their adventure in

¹⁵⁶See Dalby's footnote 114 in his Lexicon, p. xxviii, in which he gives such references as the Lanzelet of Ulrich (7174), the Krone of Heinrich von dem Türlin (14460) Berthold's Demantîn (206 ff, 922 ff, 3768 ff, 4377 ff), Biterolf (7035 ff, 13194 ff), Parzival (605, 6), Nibelungenlied (13), and Reinfried von Braunschweig (13520). For more references to all phases of hunting with hawks and falcons in medieval courtly literature, see Dalby, Lexicon, pp. xxvi-xxxiii, the references under the terms beizen, valke, and valkenaere, and elsewhere throughout this work.

the forest.¹⁵⁷ In Erec, Hartmann describes Guivreiz' hunting preserve at Penefrec. One part of this preserve is devoted to swarz-wilt (i.e. wild boar and bears): there is a mention of hunting spears which are kept at Penefrec for the knights to use when they hunt these animals (7174 ff): "...und swes muot begunde gern / jagen swîn oder bern, / der vant ze dem genieze / vil starke breite spieze..."

When Siegfried, Gunther, Hagen and others set out on their famous hunt in the Nibelungenlied, Siegfried has, among his weapons, a mighty spear (951, 2): "sîn gâr was vil michel, starc unde breit." When the bear wreaks havoc on the hunting camp, it becomes clear that many other heroes also have hunting spears (961, 1): "mit bogen und mit spiezen niht langer man daz lie..." Even when Gunther and Hagen first suggested the hunting expedition, spears were mentioned (916): "Gunther und Hagene, die recken vil balt, / lobten mit untriuwen ein pirsen in den walt. / mit ir scharpfen geren si wolden jagen swîn, / bern unde wisende: waz möhte küeners gesîn?" Also of interest in this epic is one killing of a boar symbolizing one of the heroes with a spear. In Kriemhild's dream (Str. 921), which she interprets as a bad omen for her husband, he is seen as a boar who is killed on the hunt. Although the narrative does not state whether or not the dream depicted the manner of the

¹⁵⁷The fact that the heroes in this and certain other epics are characters from antiquity is immaterial for the purposes of this work. Their authors portrayed them living in and acting out medieval situations and customs.

boar's death, it is known that Siegfried, on the hunt with Gunther and Hagen, is killed with his own hunting spear.¹⁵⁸ Thus, the "boar" is dispatched according to correct hunting custom.

Two hunting episodes occur in Konrad's Partonopier. Early in the epic (340-460), the young hero rides after boar with his hounds: "ein horn, und einen jagespiez / der ellentrîche fuorte..."¹⁵⁹ Having brought a boar to bay, Partonopier, his spear held in position in front of him, and the boar charge one another. The boar impales itself on the spear and is killed. As previously noted, in the second, shorter boar hunt which occurs later (see lines 2648-2665), the kill takes place in the same manner. Konrad must have loved to describe hunting scenes involving the use of a spear, for there is, among the graces and customs of the court taught to the young Achilles by his courtly master Schÿron (Trojaner-krieg), mention of skill with a spear (6200 f): "mit sînem spieze enphâhen / muost er diu kûenen eberswîn..."

These examples serve to illustrate the use of the spear by noble hunters in medieval courtly literature. As the references indicate, the spear is described as being especially useful when the quarry is boars or bears.

The Sword. There is no more courtly weapon in medieval literature than the sword, "die edelste Waffe des mittelalter-

¹⁵⁸See Str. 980 and 981.

¹⁵⁹352-353.

lichen Ritters."¹⁶⁰ In regard to weapons, the relationship between knight and sword which was pictured in courtly literature was indeed unique: "Das Schwert ist der treueste Freund und Begleiter des mittelalterlichen Ritters. Von ihm trennte er sich niemals, auch nicht, wenn er in friedlichen Zeiten alle anderen Waffen ablegte."¹⁶¹

Several examples from the French court epics can well illustrate the above relationship. In Li Romans de Durmart le Galois (13013 ff), Arthur forbids the knights of his court to bear arms as they witness the duel between Koi and Durmart. Nevertheless, all appear with their swords on, "als wäre es selbstverständlich, dass sich das Verbot nicht auch auf das Tragen des Schwertes erstreckte."¹⁶² It is even made clear what a knight does with his sword at night: in Perceval (40697), the sword is placed beside the bed within easy reaching distance. Thus, it is not surprising that the sword was even taken along on hunting trips, when such weapons as bows and arrows and spears were often used.¹⁶³ However, as will be shown, the sword also served as a hunting weapon.

There are various courtly examples in the epics to confirm this supposition. Heinrich tells of swords decorated "mit

¹⁶⁰ See Volkmar Bach, Die Angriffswaffen in den altfranzösischen Artus- und Abenteuer-Romanen, Ausgaben und Abhandlungen aus dem Gebiete der romanischen Philologie, No. 70 (Marburg, 1887), p. 5.

¹⁶¹ Bach, p. 18.

¹⁶² Bach, p. 18.

¹⁶³ Bach, p. 18.

schönen mâlen" taken by the Trojan nobles in the Eneit on the hunt (4530 ff). The fact that the swords are mentioned in the middle of the list of hunting weapons and animals which were taken along tends to suggest a hunting connotation for the swords too: "dô solde Ascânjûs...eins tages birsen rîten ...si [Ascânjûs and his party] fûrden kocher unde bogen / und vil scharphe strâlen / und swert mit schönen mâlen / und braken vile gûte..." In connection with the same hunt, the sword is again mentioned in a list of hunting weapons which once more gives the hunting connotation (4681 ff): "in dat hûs sî weder giêngen. / her wâpen sî geviengen, / swert, bogen ende spere." Still another example of a sword being mentioned right in the midst of a number of items of hunting equipment is found in Eneit 6110 ff., as Êvander recalls the hospitality of Anchîses: "her gab mir ein vil gût horen, / daz beste daz ich ie gewan. / dar zû gab mir der edele man / ein gûten brakken und ein swert / und gesteines maneges phundes wert, / unde einen gûten bogen...und einen kocher wol beslagen / mit rôteme golde."

Mighty Siegfried, on the fatal hunting expedition in the Nibelungenlied, also takes his famous sword, among his other hunting weapons. He uses it to kill a boar (Str. 939), a bear (Str. 962) and "ein vil starkez halpful," which was probably a type of wild boar (Str. 935). Two similar situations occur in Gottfried's Tristan. When Mark appoints Tristan as his master of the hunt, he gives the youth suitable equipment to use when

he fulfills this office on hunting trips (3737 ff): "sich, min swert und mine sporn, / min armbrust und min guldin horn, / geselle, daz bevilhe ich dir." Another listing of a sword with other hunting weapons occurs after Mark has banned Tristan and Isolde. Tristan left most of his possessions behind, but did request a few precious articles, including his harp, sword, crossbow, and horn (1644 ff). He evidently planned to hunt while in exile. It is also mentioned in the Pleier's Meleranz that the young hero has a sword with him. After ingratiating himself with Arthur's jegermeister and being invited to join the hunt, Meleranz and the master hunter soon find themselves riding after a stag. The young hero outdistances the hunter and is the first to get close to the animal (2078 ff): "Meleranz flügeling erreit / den hirz, wan er des gerte / daz er in mit dem swerte / het ervalt swenn er wolde." But he decides to await the jegermeister, perhaps thinking partly of his plan to bring the stag in alive, perhaps partly because it was not courtly to kill another man's quarry.

The above illustrations strongly imply that the sword was used frequently as a hunting weapon by noble hunters in medieval courtly literature.

The Knife. As in actual life in the Middle Ages, the knife, as mentioned and utilized in the court epics, was undoubtedly used for purposes in addition to those of hunting (i.e. defense). Lexer, for example, has noted various references to the use of the knife in Middle High German court epics which are in non-

hunting connotations.¹⁶⁴ Nevertheless, his interpretation of "Jagdmesser" for such instances "appears to be justified, since it is far more probable that a huntsman's knife would be worn as a weapon, than that a butcher's knife would serve such a purpose."¹⁶⁵

The presentation of the following evidence concerning use of the hunting knife in court literature is based on the idea that the epic poets and their courtly readers both probably assumed that the noble hunters in the court epics generally carried knives.

To justify these assumptions, one must understand the two basic methods of hunting deer which were employed by the medieval nobility. One of these, already mentioned above, was referred to as hunting "with bows and stable," a form which was not destined to survive the Middle Ages. Basically, such hunts often were described as taking place in parks in which hunters were stationed with bows at certain stands (i.e. "stables"). Game was then driven past these stands, and the hunters took aim and shot at it. When the quarry was only wounded and escaped into the woods, it was followed by a bracke, a spaniel-like tracking hound. Thus, in this type of hunting, the principal weapon was the bow and arrow.

The second form, "the classic form of the medieval hunt,"

¹⁶⁴Handwörterbuch I, col. 2130.

¹⁶⁵See Dalby, Lexicon, p. 297.

was the so-called "open stag chase," which meant that the animal was chased with horses and hounds, but without the use of bows. The descriptions of hunting episodes indicate that a powerful stag could keep the party in pursuit throughout the whole day, often performing great feats of cunning such as doubling back on its trail and cutting through bodies of water. But when the quarry was finally brought to bay, it was killed with a hunting knife.¹⁶⁶ This means that, even when not mentioned as part of the equipment taken by a noble hunter on the chase (and both actual and literary mentions are indeed rare), the knife must be assumed to be a necessary item which would not be omitted, since the crowning event of the day, the dispatching of the quarry, was carried out with the knife. The knife gains further in importance when it is noted that this form of the hunt was the "classic" (i.e. most popular) medieval method.

To locate those instances in hunting episodes where use of the knife was probably assumed, it is necessary to look for descriptions of the open chase without bows and arrows. At the conclusion of such a chase, when the animal is brought to bay and killed, the noble medieval readers of court literature no doubt assumed the use of a knife, even if it was not mentioned. In fact, the place where a stag is brought to bay or bil[^] has been defined as "where it turns to face the hounds and huntsmen,

¹⁶⁶See Hatto, p. 39.

and is killed with a knife."¹⁶⁷ Such references are numerous in literary sources. Several will be presented at this time.

It is exactly such an instance that Tristan, traveling with the pilgrims after being set ashore in Cornwall by the seamen, observes (Gottfried's Tristan, 2760 ff): "die (die hunde) haeten zuo dem male...einen zitegan hirt gejaget / zuo der straze nahen. / da liez er sich ergahen / und stuont alda ze bile...nu waren ouch die jegere [King Mark's men] komen mit michelem geschelle / hürnende zuo gevelle. / Tristan...den bil ersach...Nu daz der hirt gevellet wart, / der da jegermeister was, / der stracte in nider uf daz gras..." Probably the jegermeister, who--as has been seen above--was a courtly man and conceivably of noble blood, was the one who killed the animal with his knife. A similar scene was no doubt repeated, this time with Tristan in charge, when King Mark ordered a hunt, to personally test Tristan's skill, shortly after appointing him as the royal jegermeister (3449 ff): "do erliefen in (den hirt) die hunde. / und an der selben stunde / kam Marke und sin Tristan / und mit in zwein manc hoveman / gerant ze dem gevelle ...Nu si den hirt gevalten, ir meister si dar stalten...und baten, daz er si den bast / von ende zende lieze sehen." Of course, the French hunting customs of breaking up game, which Tristan then proceeded to demonstrate for the second time, also involved use of the hunting knife. Since this breaking-up

¹⁶⁷Dalby, Lexicon, p. xiii.

procedure was not common in Germany, however, it cannot be used for evidence here.

In the prose Lancelot (47r), the story tells of Gawan, Brun von der Dolorosen Garden, and zwo jungfrauen, all of whom are riding together through the forest. Towards evening, when they begin to think about shelter, they come upon the final stages of a stag hunt (had the stag been chased all day, perhaps?): "Sie sahen wo hunde kamen gelauffen mit eim hircze und erfolgeten yn in dem wasser. Ein ritter kam darnach rytende und hett ein horn an dem hals, und ein jeger kam mit im. Sie bliesen zu valle das der hircz gefangen were."

Immediately after this, as Gawan and his party approach, the strange knight who has been hunting greets them and offers them not only lodging, but the stag as well. Here again, it is not stated expressly that the stag was killed with a knife, but since this account deals with the open chase (horse, hounds, etc.), courtly readers probably assumed this to be so.

In Wolfdietrich (D) (624), where a stag chase is described, the narrative relates only: "Dennoch jagte Wolfdietrich und ander sine man / und falten den hirz schöne..." The same assumption must be made as in the case of the example from Lancelot above.

Thus, in the epic descriptions of the bringing down of stags, the court poets took for granted the implication that the kill was made by means of a knife. They took this for granted just as they did with so many other details of courtly

life with which their audience, the aristocracy of the period, was sure to be familiar and which therefore needed no explanation.

Summary. It has been the intent of this third chapter to explore various aspects of hunting as part of the medieval courtly literary tradition. The place of hunting, both in the epics themselves and in the lives of individual epic characters, has been examined, even to the extent in which seemingly non-related aspects of life as described in the epics were affected by this sport (for example, general language and dreams). It was shown that certain hunting motifs were incorporated in the epic plot structure, that certain animals were prominent as popular quarry of noble hunters in literature, and that several basic weapons and pieces of equipment were favored instruments employed by these hunters. The final major chapter will attempt to compare medieval hunting practice as it was in actuality and as described in courtly literature.

IV Comparison of Actual Medieval Hunting Practice with that of Courtly Literature.

The comparisons in this section are grouped under three basic themes: hunting as a pastime and prerogative of the nobility, quarry of the aristocracy, and weapons and equipment employed by the nobles on the hunt.

A. Hunting as a Noble Pastime and Prerogative.

The hunting activities described above in regard to nobles who actually lived and those in the epics are essentially the same. In both cases, numerous examples abound of emperors, kings, and other nobles who were most enthusiastic about hunting and the pleasures derived from it. If Charles the Great and Louis the Pious--along with their courts--were often found on hunting holidays in open forests or enclosed hunting parks, so also, in literature, did Arthur and his retainers celebrate many a festive season which featured a chase on horseback in the woods. If Charles and Henry I were both celebrated for the game they felled, so also were Arthur and Perceval able to win various hunting prizes of their own. In short, the descriptions of the hunting activities of the historical and literary figures could generally be interchanged without affecting the established images of their personalities.

The figure of Emperor Frederick II seems to transcend reality as far as his hunting activity is concerned. The accounts

of all the courtiers dressed in hunting green, the construction of numerous hunting lodges and the leisurely trips between them, the long and adventure-filled sojourns within their confines completely isolated from the world, the ardor for hunting which prompted an early-morning hunting expedition during war-time resulting in defeat of imperial forces and loss of the headquarters, the throne and the treasury--all these events could be taken from the pages of a court epic. The passionate hunter Frederick does indeed have a literary counterpart in the person of King Merian of Britain, who neglected all his other responsibilities for the hunt (cf. Li Roman de Brut, 3739 ff).¹⁶⁸

¹⁶⁸ Although not exclusively linked with hunting alone, there are other interesting parallels in Frederick's life to events in the court epics. For instance, Constance, his mother and of Norman descent, did not want her son to take the German crown, for she feared and hated what would probably be in store for him: continuous perils and struggles. Thus, she had him crowned King of Sicily in 1198 at age four, desiring that he would rule only over the "southern land of dreams" and that he would quietly forget the imperial ideas of his fathers. "He was to be, body and soul, the son of the Sicilian Constance only, and to be kept from all fatal, unknown consequences in which the dangerous Hohenstaufen blood of his father might involve him." How similar such motherly feelings seem to those of Herzeloyde

Many similar instances could be cited in which the line between history and fiction becomes blurred. After all, the central figure of Arthurian literature, Arthur, was a

for the young Parzival. Seeing the perils and grief in the life of her own husband caused by his knightly yearnings, she determined to raise her son apart from such influence. To the Germans in the north, the Sicilian kingdom in which Frederick grew up and spent most of his life was a distant land of wonders. When Frederick did come to Germany, he brought with him exotic possessions and a traveling menagerie made up of all kinds of rare birds and beasts. He must have seemed like a character stepping directly out of the pages of the epics. It is said that the wonderful and fantastic pictures which the Germans had of the Sicilian kingdom caused Wolfram to choose it as the site of his magic castle of Klingsor. Finally, it is known that Frederick's court was a very chivalrous one in which Minnesang was composed and which kept in touch with the world of French and Provençal culture. From his youth, Frederick knew both the French and Provençal languages, was acquainted with their literature, and thus most assuredly would have read the novels which were familiar to his court: Tristan, Lancelot, and the rest. It seems probable that influence was exerted both by Frederick and his surroundings upon court literature and by court literature upon Frederick and his surroundings. For the source of the above evidence, see Kantorowicz, pp. 15-16, 21, and 323-24.

historical figure. Is it stranger for Tristan to return to the minnegrotte after a hunting foray or for Louis the Pious and his party, at the conclusion of a hunt, to retire to a "Jagdhaus aus Moos, Laub, Zweigen und Buchsbaum"? The list of names of historical emperors, kings, and other nobles who loved hunting and falconry is just as long as that of the literary counterparts who indulged in these sports (cf. the appropriate sections above).

The ladies' interest in the hunt is also well represented both in reality and in literature. The hunt episode near Aachen when Charles was accompanied by his wife and daughters, as well as other historical mentions above, can be compared with literary hunting expeditions in which the aristocrats were accompanied by such noble ladies as Arthur's Queen Guinevere and her Hofdamen and Attila's Queen Helche and her frouwen.

The tragedy of death--either accidental or deliberate--is also found both in historical records and in reality. Just as history names numerous nobles who died while on the hunt, (in some cases a murder was concealed by attributing death to the attack of an animal), similar examples are found in literature, such as the murder of Siegfried: Hagen later tells Kriemhilde that a wild boar was the culprit.

As noted above, professional noble hunters were frequently in the service of such historical figures as Clovis II, Charles the Great, Frederick II, numerous dukes, counts and other nobles, and such institutions as the Church at Cologne. Very

similar to the manner in which these hunters organized and led court hunting parties and fulfilled related hunting responsibilities was the manner of operation of various noble jegermeister in the service of literary rulers and other nobles. Especially vivid are the accounts in Gottfried's Tristan of how King Mark's jegermeister (and later Tristan himself, serving in this capacity) conducts the course of the hunt, and also the description in Meleranz showing Arthur's royal hunter making preparations for a hunting party. Just as in reality, these literary figures enjoy positions of honor and prestige at court (this is pointed out especially well in the case of Tristan). Just as in reality, great skill and knowledge of hunting techniques is required.

Another point of similarity between actual and literary practice is found in the frequent preference of the nobility to hunt in restricted forest preserves and headquarter in various hunting chateaus built exclusively for this purpose. Hunting activity in both realms often features such castles and forests. Thus the banforst in which Charles the Bald forbids his son Louis to hunt has a counterpart in the hunting preserve of Guivreiz in Hartmann's Erec. The Jagdschlösser to which such nobles as Louis the Pious, most of the Salian and Saxon emperors, Frederick II, and other historical figures liked to retreat, are matched by the structures mentioned or described in Eilhart's Tristrant, Erec, Parzival, Der Jüngere Titurel, and Biterolf und Dietlieb. Heading the list of literary figures

such as Erec, Guivreiz, Kiot, Manphilot, Kingrun, and Biterolf, who spend time at hunting chateaus, is the august person of Arthur himself, noted as having a weidehûs named Karminâl in Brizljan.

The question of noble prerogative remains to be discussed. Again both history and literature agree, although perhaps for different reasons. The historical documents and other records tell of hunting as a popular sport only among the nobility because of the restrictions regarding those who might hunt which were imposed rigidly from the days of the Carolingians. Although, as time passed, the right to hunt passed to successively lower levels of the nobility because of multiple enfeoffment (i.e. a lower noble is invested with land by a higher noble who himself was invested with this land by a king, etc.), hunting privileges nevertheless were still enjoyed only by a closed aristocratic society during the Hochmittelalter. In the case of literary descriptions of the hunt, it has already been mentioned that courtly literature--being written about nobility for nobility--would necessarily treat only nobles in its hunting episodes, for only such adventures would interest the aristocratic readers for whom the epics were written. Of course, since in reality only nobles did hunt, the only resource material available to the epic poets--besides their own imagination and other literature--would be the actual experiences of the aristocratic hunters of their day. It is no doubt probable that many of the epic poets, most of whom were of noble birth, were

hunters themselves. Convincing arguments have been put forth which suggest that Wolfram, Konrad von Würzburg, and Gottfried were so familiar with hunting descriptions and terminology that they must have been hunters themselves. In the case of Gottfried, he is said to have possessed "seine eigene Jagd-leidenschaft" and to have been "ein ausserordentlich guter Jäger."¹⁶⁹ If the medieval poets were themselves hunters, this enhances the possibility that they included in their epics hunting descriptions from their own experience.

The fact remains that, both in the literature and in the reality of the Middle Ages, the hunting practices and enthusiasm were identical and limited to the nobility only.

B. Animals Hunted by the Nobility.¹⁷⁰

As the general pictures of hunting habits and privilege in reality and literature have been seen above to be essentially the same, so is the case in regard to quarry sought by noble hunters.

If King Liutprant, Louis the Pious, Louis the German, Henry I, and other nobles delighted in forming parties to include a stag chase, so did Perceval, Tristan, King Mark,

¹⁶⁹For more information concerning the court poets as hunters, see Frederik Mosselman, Der Wortschatz Gottfrieds von Strassburg (s'-Gravenhage, 1953), p. 26; see also D. Dalby and A.T. Hatto, "The Historian of the Hunt in Germany," German Life and Letters, 18 (1965), 192; cf. also Dalby, Lexicon, pp. xvii and 125-126.

¹⁷⁰It should be noted here and also in the following section concerning noble weapons and equipment, that the intent of this thesis has been to give examples typical of medieval quarry and hunting equipment. However, the examples cited are not intended to be exhaustive. Thus, for example, the hare (as quarry) and the bow and arrow (as a hunting weapon) have not been treated in this study.

Meleranz, King Arthur, Erec, Gregorius, and other fictional rulers and aristocrats of various rank. No doubt deer was the most popular quarry in Middle High German courtly literature because it was also often hunted in reality.

But the similarity between fiction and actuality goes beyond the fact that a stag was popular game in both realms. Even the methods of the hunt were alike. In regard to the open stag chase, the hunting treatises written by expert professional hunters relate that the jegermeister needed to first locate a suitable stag, make sure it stayed in a designated area until the hunt began, and return to lead the noble hunting party in the actual chase, which could last all day, being climaxed with the kill. Although many literary descriptions begin with the chase itself, the epic descriptions of these preliminaries which do exist make it probable that such tasks by the jegermeister were assumed by noble poets and readers to have occurred before the onset of the chase even if not specifically described. Thus, when Tristan, the newly-appointed jegermeister of King Mark, rides out with the king and his noble hunting party to prove himself, the king gives Tristan orders that preliminary tasks such as placing dogs and positioning huntsmen to isolate the quarry be carried out before the chase itself begins. Even more detailed is the description of preparations made for the chase in Meleranz by the jegermeister of King Arthur. This man, along with his hunting servants, is searching through the forest to locate a worthy stag. He rides continuously

through the region under surveillance, keeping a sharp look himself and periodically checking with his men who are stationed in various areas, some of whom finally sight a large stag. The hunter and Meleranz ride to check out the animal. If Meleranz had not brought the stag in alive, it is conceivable that Arthur and his party, encamped nearby awaiting the outcome of the preliminaries, would have been notified and the chase itself begun.

It is also revealing to compare literary and historical descriptions of the art of hunting stag from fixed positions, i.e. "with bows and stable." Although this sport is mentioned with varying degrees of detail in Eilhart's Tristrant (3068 f), Gregorius (2471 f), Nibelungenlied (Str. 916 and 967),¹⁷¹ Gottfried's Tristan (13102 f. and 17244 ff) and other courtly material, perhaps the best literary description is found in Heinrich's account of the Trojan hunters in the Eneit (4600 ff):

"dô Ascânjûs birsen reit,...dô was der hirz hin ûz komen /
ze anderen tieren / mit wilden hirzen vieren / eines
morgenes frû. / dô reit Ascânjûs dar zû / mit sînen
weidegesellen. / die bogen hiezer stellen / dâ si daz
wilt funden. / die dâ schiezen kunden, / die giengen zû
den boumen stân. / Ascânjûs der Troiân / bî eime boume er

¹⁷¹Besides the references to birsen, i.e. hunting with bows and stable, in the extant forms of this epic, Dalby makes a very convincing case that the present version of the hunt which is often mere fantasy--Siegfried slays or captures a large number and variety of animals single-handed--replaced an earlier version which "may have described a realistic hunt, including the hunting of red deer with bows and stable, and that this earlier version may have been overlaid in the surviving poem by a tale of fantasy, glorifying the hero." See Lexicon, p. 26.

stênde bleib / und schûf daz man daz wilt treib...dô
 quam zû ime gegân / der hîrz der dâ was zam. / and alser
 im sô nahen quam, / daz in selben dohte, / daz hern
 schiezen mohte, / dô râmder im der sîten. / daz wilt daz
 schiet sich wîten, / daz dâ freislîchen flôch. / den
 bogen her manlîchen zôch...dô her den hîrz hete gewunt,
 / die braken liez er sâ zestunt / und schuftes an die
 vart..."

This full description of the sport found in a court epic is almost exactly the same as that explained by Guicennas in his 13th-century treatise, De arte besandi, mentioned above (p. 23). According to this source, the stag was moved or unharbored by a hound (braccetus) which also was used to track down wounded quarry if necessary later in the course of the hunt. Usually six, four or two hunters participated. Half of the party waited at a fixed point with bows, while the game was driven toward them by the others. The only difference in the above two descriptions is one of size. Ascânjûs takes 20 men on his party; this could mean the above operation was carried out by several smaller groups simultaneously. In any case, the close similarities between the literary and historical accounts of both the open stag chase and hunting with bows and stable are striking and strongly support the assumption that the hunts for stag mentioned in courtly literature were simply descriptions of medieval practice.

Although--as far as is known--the procedure for hunting boars was not as elaborate, the evidence shows that the practices in literature and reality were most similar. Thus Guingamor, the hunters of King Amfortas, those hunting in Iwert's forest preserve, and other epic characters hunted boars just as did Clotacher II, Pipin, Louis the Pious, Karlmann, the Saxon emperors, and similar medieval historical figures. The best descriptions for comparison available may be those of the hunting party of Charles the Great in his hunting park near Aachen and of Partonopier and his uncle, the King of France, found in Konrad's Partonopier. In both cases, the parties, with much shouting and horn calls, preceded by hounds routing and chasing the quarry, must ride for some time before the elusive animals are brought down.

Perhaps the easiest quarry to bag--as far as procedure and preparation are concerned--was the fish. All that was necessary was knowledge of where the fishing was good (as well as, of course, being of noble rank). The nobles, both clerical and secular, of the Merovingian, Carolingian, and later dynasties besought such rulers as Childebert I, Charles the Great, Louis the Pious, Charles the Bald, Conrad I, and Otto II to grant them fishing rights. The noble fishermen attested in historical medieval documents through the 14th century, among whom Louis the Pious was perhaps the most famous, no doubt fished very similarly to those of the courtly literature, such as Schionatulander and the nobles who visited such hunting

preserves and sanctuaries as King Etzel's royal hunting chateau in Styria and Guivreiz' banvorst and jagehûs Penefrec.

Although the excitement and adventure of the hunt made this sport attractive both to historical figures and authors and readers of courtly literature, no doubt one of the most important benefits of the hunt--which thus also made it desirable--was the supply of choice and courtly food which it supplied for the table. History relates that the lords and ladies of reality could probably have lived well enough on domestic crops and animals, but that their expensive tastes demanded the more elegant and harder-to-obtain wild game. Since such foods were a delight in real life, it no doubt gave the court poets and noble readers pleasure to see descriptions of such noble delicacies included in literature. Thus, accounts of venison and boar meat as featured dishes are to be found in both literature and historical accounts. A passion for the meat of stag proved to be fatal for Henry III, who ate too much fried stag liver. Venison and a boar's head are highlights of a lavish noble wedding feast typical of the early 13th century. In literary notations, these animals are featured in meals served at Penefrec, on the hunt in the Nibelungenlied, to Trevrizent in Parzival, to a marcrâve in Willehalm, to a queen in Tandareis und Flordibel, and to other nobles in Friedrich von Schwaben, Johann uz dem Virgiere, Perceval, and Erec et Enide.

The evidence has shown, too, that fish was a courtly dish in its own right--beyond being required by the church at times--in both reality and courtly literature. It was popular with Frederick II and the nobles of his court. It was popular for feasts of celebration. In the wedding feast mentioned above, fish shared the limelight with boar meat and venison. But for feasts which fall on fast days, court cooks had many clever ways to make various fish dishes especially delicious and appealing. The fact that fish enjoyed equal popularity with meat from stags and boars in literature is attested by the fact that, in each of the instances from courtly literature mentioned above where venison and boar meat were served, fish was included (with neither more nor less emphasis). In addition to these examples, fish is relished at table by nobles in Gregorius, Iwein, Parzival (Gahmuret, Gawan, Kingrimursel, the queen of King Vergulaht and her ladies), the Tristan of Ulrich von T rheim, and Richars li Biaus.

The result of this section is to show, then, that stag, boars and fish were suitable quarry for medieval hunters both in reality and in courtly literature. In the case of the stag and the boar, even the methods and procedure to hunt these animals were the same. Furthermore, these three animals were valued after being caught as noble food for the tables of historical noble figures and the aristocracy of the epics. In both realms, these animals were, in every respect, courtly.

C. Weapons and Equipment Used on the Hunt by the Nobility.

Both historical and literary descriptions of the hunt show that, although it was generally stimulating and exciting, it could also be a most dangerous and exhausting experience. Weapons and equipment were a necessity in real life, and their use was justifiably motivated in hunting scenes of the epics.

For example, the horn, both in use and appearance, played very similar roles in both real life and literature. As symbols of nobility, historical horns--some of which still survive and others of which are preserved in medieval pictures --were generally very rich in appearance: made of ivory, embellished with intricate abstract and realistic hand carvings, jewels, and gold, and hung from the neck by a decorated cord of silk or fine leather. How similar such horns are to those of the heroes of courtly literature. It will be remembered that Partonopier's marvellous horn was of ivory, decorated with carvings, gold, and rich stones, and worn with a silken cord. Very much like Partonopier's instrument were the golden, embellished horns of Siegfried, King Mark, and Arthur's jegermeister in Meleranz.

The uses of the horn on the hunt, as noted in historical references and literature, were the same. The tendency of horn blasts to rouse game, as recognized by the compilers of

the Sachsenspiegel and Schwabenspiegel, was put to good use by nobles in Rolandslied (hares), Nibelungenlied (a bear) and Partonopier (boars). If horn calls served to encourage the hounds of hunting parties of Charles the Great, they served the same function in the Eneit and Partonopier. Just as historical noble figures, lost or separated from their party while on the hunt, could make use of their horns to send messages and call for help, similar situations are described in Li Romans de Fergus (for lost hounds) and Perceval (lost hunters). Since the above uses from reality and the epics coincided exactly, it is feasible that additional uses of the horn noted in literature were no doubt also customary among historical hunters. Such examples include horn calls to notify the nobles, servants and dogs to assemble for the processions to and from the forest at the beginning and end of the hunt (cf. Nibelungenlied), to announce the felling of game (Fergus, Gottfried's Tristan, prose Lancelot and Partonopier), and for the passing of various other messages. The many uses of the horn in courtly literature suggest that it was blowing a good deal of time during a hunting party. Since the description of the hunting expedition of Charles the Great and his court mentions horn calls repeatedly during all phases, it is indeed probable that the instances from the epic hunts where a horn was used were taken directly from the author's own experience of witnessing or participating in courtly hunting parties.

Another symbol of nobility common to actual medieval aristocratic hunting and the descriptions of this sport in literature was the falcon, one of the most popular weapons in both realms. In both cases, there were several basic types of falcons and hawks which were commonly used by and associated with nobility. The actual use of the peregrine, the merlin, the goshawk and the sparrow-hawk--all frequently mentioned in the falconry episodes of courtly literature--is confirmed by Frederick II in his treatise on hawking, which associates all these birds with falconry as practiced by the nobility. As is the case with the merlin in literature, Frederick describes this falcon as being used rarely for hunting itself; it was for amusement, often associated with children.

Frederick, who was a specialist, accordingly mentions also the gerfalcon, the saker, the lanner, and the "true noble" falcon as being used for hunting by the nobility. If any of these birds were referred to in literature by simply the term "valke" (which could most easily be the case with "true noble" falcon), there would be no way to identify them. The gerfalcon, lanner and saker are all mentioned (but only rarely) in courtly literature; the latter two birds appear to have been unpopular among actual medieval falconers, and this would explain the infrequency with which they are attested in the epics. The blue-footed lanner (thus Middle High German blâ-vuoz)

is compared in Demantin (5793 ff) to the troops of the King of Greece by his Queen, Modassine. The blâ-vuoz (king's troops) is not of sufficient quality to dispatch the "crane" (Demantin's numerically weaker army). The lesser value of the lanner in reality was carried over to literary contexts in the adverse connotation connected with the term blâ-vuoz. The saker (Middle High German sacker) seems also to have had a bad reputation in Germany and is described disdainfully by the court poet Oswald von Wolkenstein in the same vein as the lanner. Even Frederick II commented on its very uncertain nature. The reason for its lack of popularity may have been that it was not a native of Germany (therefore relatively unknown and adversely affected by the northern European climate and terrain) and that the few specimens which were imported were of inferior quality. Although the gêrvalke is seldom attested in courtly literature (for example, in the Wilhelm von Orlens of Rudolf von Ems, where the title hero's scattering of knights in battle is compared to the swooping of a gerfalcon), Frederick mentions this bird fairly often in his treatise and devotes most of the fourth book ("Crane Hawking with Gerfalcons and other Falcons") to comment on the use of the gêrvalke. At least as far as Frederick was concerned, it was a popular bird. Thus, except for this one apparent discrepancy, the popularity of the various types of hawks and falcons as seen in historical and literary descriptions was about the same.¹⁷²

¹⁷²For more on the various species, see the Wood-Fyfe translation of Frederick's treatise, passim; and Dalby, Lexicon, pp. 31-32, 63, 185, and 253-255.

The popularity of falconry, as a sport, was tremendous in both reality and literature. Many nobles at the court of Charles the Great must have enjoyed falconry (the emperor's staff consisted of an Oberfalkner--equal in rank to a chamberlain or marshall--and numerous lower-ranking Falkner among whom were experts in the training of birds of prey). Besides this example and those of emperors such as Louis the Pious, Conrad II, Henry III, Henry IV, and Frederick II, all of whom are attested as being passionate falconers, another fact speaks for the love which numerous unnamed historical figures of the medieval nobility must have had for this sport. That is the fact mentioned above in detail that the noble clergy throughout the entire Middle Ages had to be repeatedly reminded in countless decrees of the tabu on falconry for princes of the church. Yet they continued zealously in this sport. Their enthusiasm no doubt matched that of the secular nobles to whom there was no denial of such hunting rights. Probably the zeal of the secular nobility for falconry continued to nourish that of the clergy.

To these historical figures courtly literature matches such falconers as the fictional Charles the Great, King Arthur, King Vergulaht, the emperor in Lohengrin, Tristrant, King Etzel and Queen Helche, and various nobles in the courts described in in Garel, Krone, Wilhelm von Orlens, Partonopier, Gottfried's Tristan, Wolfram's Willehalm, Reinfried von Braunschweig,

Erec, Iwein, Biterolf, Engelhard, Lanzelet, and Demantín.

Falconry as described in courtly literature seems to be a direct reflection of the sport as practiced by the nobility of medieval history.

The spear is attested as a noble hunting weapon both historically and in the epics. From the evidence available, it was most frequently used against wild boars. Among the various mentions of the spear in documents (by Charles the Great, Louis the Pious, nobles known to Frederick II, and gentry of the 14th century) and in literature (by noble hunters in the Eneit, in Erec at Penefrec, in the Nibelungenlied, and the hero of Partonopier), perhaps the similarity of the practices of reality and literature are best summarized in a comparison of the historical account of a French baron's encounter with a boar and Partonopier's adventure with the same animal. In both cases, the nobleman--after having given chase to the boar--dismounts with spear in hand, braces the weapon in a position in front of him approximately parallel to the ground, and awaits the enraged boar's charge. The animal runs toward the hunter, impales itself on the spear, and is killed (if the hunter is fortunate, as he is in these examples). The two accounts are identical, although one is historical and the other literary.

The sword was a noble weapon in reality and in literature. In both spheres, it accompanied its owner everywhere, and thus

was always available for use on the hunt. It was not designed for use on any special animal (as was perhaps the case with the spear) and the examples from history and courtly literature show that it found use against various types of game. Charles the Great and other nobles are attested as using the sword to kill boars. Siegfried used the same weapon against the same quarry on the hunt in the Nibelungenlied. Other historical aristocrats used swords to dispatch deer. To this can be compared the hunting scene in the Eneit, where the purpose of the hunt is expressly birsen, i.e. hunting deer with bows and stable. Yet the noble hunters of the Eneit take their swords as well as other weapons. Perhaps one reason the use of the sword was motivated in this instance was that the stag--which could seriously wound or kill a hunter with its horns--was probably sometimes also dispatched by German hunters with a sword when their initial attempts with other weapons failed. Another literary example indicating the custom of killing a stag by means of a sword is found in Meleranz, when the hero decides not to use his sword but to bring the animal alive before King Arthur. The use of the sword against various animals is further substantiated by examples of a wild bull (history) and a bear (literature). Thus, the use of the sword as a noble hunting weapon was generally the same both historically and in literary descriptions.

The use of the knife in similar hunting situations, both in reality and literature, will be somewhat harder to establish

since there is no direct evidence from the court epics, only that which is based on assumption. As explained above, the frequent use of the hunting knife at the end of the open stag chase to dispatch the quarry is firmly established as a custom of the noble medieval hunters of reality. In the case of the court epics, there are many descriptions of various phases of the open stag chase, some of which are quite detailed. But all are silent as to the actual manner in which the stag was killed. The assumption noted above is that since the other events of literary descriptions of the chase are like those of actual stag hunts, and since the noble audience of the period was well familiar with such events from personal experience, the court poets felt no need to expressly describe the kill, taking it for granted that the audience assumed the use of a knife at the end of the chase. If this was true, then the assumption of the use of a knife in literature would naturally coincide with the custom of reality.

Basically, with perhaps the exceptions of the use of the hunting knife and the popularity of the gerfalcon historically but not in literature, the evidence presented in this chapter of hunting procedure and customs, taken from historical descriptions and from courtly literature, has shown conclusively that there was practically no difference between actual medieval hunting practice and what was described in hunting scenes in the literature of the time. In regard to the love of

hunting of the nobility, the way it pervaded each aristocrat's life, the elaborate provisions which were made for hunting sport, the types of game hunted, and the various weapons and equipment deemed necessary, the descriptions of historians could be exchanged for those of courtly poets--and vice versa --with no damage to the context from which they would be taken.

V. Conclusions and Results

The basic intent of this study has been to determine if the hunting practice as described in French and German courtly epics was similar to the techniques and customs of the nobility of medieval history. Several factors made the research appealing. First, there has been little or no scholarly work done previously regarding this subject. And second, the result which seemed most likely--that the hunting scenes in the epics were probably idealized and therefore quite different from actual hunting practice--did not appear to be valid. Therefore it was necessary to examine extensively the sport of hunting as practiced in both the realm of reality and that of courtly literature. In both spheres, it was seen that hunting was pursued with a passion by the nobility, that it penetrated all phases of their lives (including their legal business, their speech habits and their dreams), and that it was a sport reserved exclusively for their own pleasure. Furthermore, both historical and literary figures loved to seek such quarry as stags, boars, and fish, and to do so they made use of such equipment and weapons as the horn, falcon, spear, sword, and hunting knife. The final section comparing the practices of reality and as described in literature established conclusively that, in all areas examined, hunting as enjoyed by nobles in both realms was essentially the same in all respects. There is no difference between literary and actual medieval hunting

practice. These results raise an interesting question for further research. Are there other areas in which so-called idealized courtly literary usage and practice were indeed no different from that of reality? Perhaps additional scholarly work can shed light on this question.

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