

ILLUMINATING THE MEDIEVAL HUNT

April 18 through August 10, 2008

LABELS

Hunting was an important part of medieval life; kings and noblemen were expected to excel and take pleasure in the pursuit. Some famous hunters wrote books on the subject, whereas others collected and commissioned them. Three of the most popular French treatises were written during the fourteenth century, but others were also written in Spanish, English, and German. Gace de la Buigne, King John II's chaplain, began his *Roman des déduis* (Pleasures of Hunting) in 1359, dedicating it to the king's fourth son, Philip the Bold. Hunting, he said, helped a young man to overcome idleness and develop good habits. Gace's work continued over a dozen years and was influenced by a second treatise, Henry de Ferrières's highly moralizing *Livre du roi Modus et de la reine Ratio* (Book of King Method and Queen Reason) of about 1370. Gace relied especially on a later part of Henry's work that related to the debate as to whether it was nobler to hunt with hounds or hawks. But it was the first part of Henry's treatise that became the model for the most popular and influential treatise of all, Gaston Phoebus's *Livre de la chasse* (Book of the Hunt; 1387–89). His treatise was also dedicated to his friend and fellow hunter Philip the Bold.

The Morgan's lavishly illustrated Phoebus was made in Paris about 1407, at the same time and place as the manuscript in the Bibliothèque nationale de France. Of the forty-six surviving Phoebus manuscripts, these two are the most magnificent. Since the Morgan Phoebus was disbound for a facsimile, the public can "walk" through the manuscript and turn the pages of the facsimile.

In the center of the room are the earliest printed and illustrated editions of Phoebus as well as other hunting books. Other manuscripts illustrate falconry and provide examples of the hunt as metaphor. The final section includes depictions of the noble hunt in Islamic and Indian art.

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THE MORGAN-PECK *LIVRE DE LA CHASSE*

Gaston iii, Count of Foix (1331–1391), called Phoebus on account of his golden hair or handsome features, wrote his hunting book late in life (1387–89), sharing his knowledge in a field in which he claimed supremacy, unlike in his two other pleasures in life, arms and love. The work, dedicated to his fellow hunter and warrior Philip the Bold (1342–1404), Duke of Burgundy, comprises four books: *On Gentle and Wild Beasts*, *On the Nature and Care of Dogs*, *On Instructions for Hunting with Dogs*, and *On Hunting with Traps, Snares, and Crossbow*. The leaves of the book are displayed around the perimeter of the gallery.

The illuminators of the present manuscript have not been identified, nor did any of them participate in the closely related manuscript in the Bibliothèque nationale de France (fr. 616), which was made about the same time and place and has the same cycle of eighty-seven miniatures.

This manuscript may have been commissioned by Philip the Bold's son, John the Fearless (1371–1419), as a gift for Louis d'Orléans (1372–1407). If so, it would date before 23 November 1407, when Louis was assassinated in Paris. Years later it fell into the hands of a duke of Brittany, probably Francis ii (r. 1458–88), who added his arms on folio 4. Before 1492 it was acquired by Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain, who added their magnificent full-page arms to the book (shown to the right). Eventually it may have gone to the Escorial, which once had two copies. If so, it may have been liberated during the Napoleonic wars (1808–14). Not long thereafter the Duke of Marlborough bought it at a London auction (1815) for his residence at White Nights. In 1825 Sir Thomas Phillipps, the "vellomaniac," added it to a collection that would number some 60,000 manuscripts. There is no evidence that Thomas Fenwick, his heir, ever offered it to Pierpont Morgan, but Morgan might well have been interested. Morgan was a breeder of collies, and in 1893 he entered ten collies in the Westminster Kennel Club Dog Show at Madison Square Garden, winning the silver cup for the best collie, Sefton Hero. In 1928 Dr. Rosenbach of Philadelphia bought the book from Fenwick for £10,000 and offered it to J. P. Morgan, Jr., at the special price of \$165,000, which Morgan declined. The book remained unsold until 1943, when Rosenbach sold it to Clara S. Peck, who was a breeder and rider of horses, for \$65,000. Three years later she lent it to the Morgan

for an exhibition on *Sports and Pastime*. Thereafter, through the continued efforts of the Morgan's first three directors, Peck decided to bequeath it to the Morgan, which she did on 20 April 1983.

EX LIBRIS OF KING FERDINAND II OF ARAGON AND QUEEN ISABELLA OF SPAIN (fol. 1v)

The Morgan Phoebus, a book fit for a king, was given to Ferdinand and Isabella a few years before 1492, when they retook Granada and added the pomegranate (its symbol) to their coat of arms. As a sign of their ownership, they commissioned a Castilian artist connected with Juan de Carrion to add this splendid ex libris to the manuscript. The emblems in the inner border reflect the monarchs' conjugal bond, for each used the one belonging to the initial of the other: Ferdinand, the yoke (*iugo*, the *I*) and Isabella, the arrow (*flecha*, the *F*). The animals in the outer border offer a prelude to the manuscript, as they are quoted from its miniatures.

TABLE OF CONTENTS (fol. 2)

Tables of contents, or chapter headings, have a long history, as examples from antiquity attest. They became increasingly popular during the later Middle Ages, especially in secular manuscripts. Here, for example, are the headings for chapters one to thirty-five. Those for the remaining fifty chapters are on the next two pages. The heading for the first chapter is *Cy devise du cerf et de toute sa nature* (Here is discussed the stag and all its nature). This heading is repeated in red as the rubric for the text that follows the miniature depicting stags (shown in the case to the right). This pattern of miniature, chapter heading (rubric), and text is followed throughout the manuscript.

FINAL INSTRUCTIONS BEFORE THE HUNT (Prologue, fol. 4)

Following a long medieval tradition going back to antiquity, the manuscript begins with an author portrait. Gaston Phoebus, however, is not shown writing, as might be expected, but giving final instructions before the hunt commences. He, as the rubric for the author's prologue states, was the Count of Foix and Viscount of Béarn. Here he is seated on an elaborate throne, in a composition that has been likened to a *Maiestas Domini*. Instead of nine angelic choirs, however, there are nine hunters and dogs instead of the symbols of the evangelists. At the bottom are eight more hunters (three are beaters) and three dogs. Among the dogs are beagles, greyhounds, spaniels, and *alants*. The miniature precedes the prologue, in which Phoebus invoked the Trinity and

the Mother of God, gave Phoebus as his nickname, and spoke about the virtues of hunting. By overcoming idleness, the hunter avoided the seven deadly sins, could savor the fresh morning air, would experience the joy of a successful hunt, would enjoy the celebratory meal, and would sleep peacefully, undisturbed by bad dreams. Hunters would also live longer and enter Paradise when they die. The arms of the first owner at the bottom of the page have been replaced by those of the second, probably Francis II, Duke of Brittany (r. 1458–88), who first adopted the cordelière as an emblem.

THE HART (Chapter 1, fol. 7)

The hart, or stag, was the favorite and most noble game for the French hunter, and thus Phoebus began his manual with it. Because of its strength, fleetness, and cunning, it was an ideal candidate for the hunt. King Modus specified that stag hunting season fell between the two feasts of the Holy Cross (May 3 and September 14), but that sometime around the feast day of Mary Magdalene (July 22) was best, for then the stags were in great condition. According to earlier legends repeated by Phoebus, stags could live a hundred years and their antlers, as well as a special bone in the heart, had the power to heal.

The miniatures for each animal usually depict both male and female specimens and their young. Here are four great old stags, four hinds, and a calf. The animals are shown in a clearing in the woods with a blue sky in the background. The miniatures precede the texts for each chapter.

THE REINDEER (Chapter 2, fol. 10v)

Phoebus had traveled to Norway and Sweden, where he claimed to have seen and hunted this “rather peculiar” deer. He was amazed by its many branched antlers, which were protective and could, he said, extend the entire length of its body. Phoebus included them for the sake of completeness. Georges Buffon (1707–1788), the French naturalist, mistakenly assumed, based on Phoebus, that reindeer could still be found in the Pyrenees in the late fourteenth century. The miniature, however, clearly shows it was not the case, as the artist apparently never saw one and depicted them as wool-bearing creatures. Some of them are correctly shown eating grass, which they ate in great quantities during the summer months.

THE WILD GOAT (Chapter 4, fol. 12)

Phoebus identified two kinds of wild goats, the ibex and the Pyrenean chamois, which he mistakenly thought were related. The latter was distinguished by its shorter, hooked horns. Both were capable of breaking a high jump with their horns rather than their legs. Peasants used their skins for making clothing and shoes, and, if nothing better was available, ate their flesh for food. Phoebus despised goat meat, claiming it caused fever. Since these animals lived in high, craggy places and they could outpace dogs, it was difficult to hunt them. In the background are the roofs and towers of a small Pyrenean village.

THE HARE (Chapter 6, fol. 15v)

Hares lived in droves of five or six and, having spent the day sleeping, would leave their abodes at sunset for pastures of wild thyme, mint, and clover. They would mate year-round, and the female would usually give birth to two leverets, but could have up to six. The ability of dogs tracking hares was severely tested because hares' tracks crisscrossed, their ears were sensitive to the slightest sound, and their quivering noses were quick to detect suspect scents. The hare was frequently depicted in the margins of medieval manuscripts as part of the world upside-down theme, where by he would become the hunter—blowing a horn, chasing a hound or wolf, or even hunting a man.

THE ROE (Chapter 5, fol. 14)

The roebuck, because of its small size, was graceful and swift and thus better able to elude the hunter. It was the most common game and could be hunted throughout the year. The roe's monogamy was greatly appreciated by hunters, who spared the doe until her kids no longer depended on her for survival. After the kids were weaned, the doe would rejoin the buck, and they remained together until death. The doe's maternal devotion made it an occasional symbol of chastity in art. Although not depicted here, the roe's rump would bristle and turn white when pursued, sending an alarm to other roes in the vicinity.

THE BEAR (Chapter 8, fol. 18v)

Bears were generally afraid of humans, but when injured, because of their strong teeth and arms, could bite or maul them to death. Consequently Phoebus did not recommend that hunters attempt to kill a bear by themselves. (It is ironic that Phoebus died while washing his hands after an arduous bear hunt.) In the miniature, black and brown bears are engaged in various activities with each other or their cubs. One climbs a fruit tree, while a pair seems to illustrate Phoebus's observation that "when the bear has his way with the she bear, they do it like man

and woman.” He further added that the cubs were stillborn in March, after which their mother licked them into shape and life. Oppian, the second-century Cilician, had written that the female so lusted for continual mating that she brought forth her cubs as half-formed shapeless flesh, making it necessary for her to lick them into human shape.

THE WILD BOAR (Chapter 9, fol. 20v)

The boar, to medieval man, was the polar opposite of the stag. The former was massive, ugly, ferocious, and represented evil, while the latter was elegant and timid, representing virtue. For Phoebus, the boar was the most dangerous animal in the world. Its upper tusks were used to keep the lower ones sharp and cutting. The hunting season went from Holy Cross Day (September 14), or from Michaelmas (September 30), when boars were fleshiest, to St. Andrew’s Day (November 30), when they found sows for mating. The boar, like the stag, was hunted with dogs. The boar had a definite sexual element and one pair in the miniature is depicted copulating. Some hunters prized its testicles as a delicacy. Tristan’s heraldic device was the boar; it played a role in Majadoc’s dream regarding Tristan’s seduction of Isolde, wife of King Mark. In the dream, a fearsome boar, foaming at the mouth, broke into the king’s bedchamber, fouling the royal linen with its foam.

WILDCATS (Chapter 13, fol. 27)

In order to be comprehensive, Phoebus discussed several kinds of cats, including the lynx, which he called a cat-leopard. Lynx were usually hunted by dogs that happened upon them as they were pursuing other game. The cats, because of their speed and ability to change directions quickly, provided an enjoyable challenge. When they took to the trees, however, they became easy targets for bowmen. Here a lynx has climbed partway a tree; another type of cat is already among its branches. To the right a gray cat has captured a field mouse, and four kittens can be seen peering out of a cave.

THE WOLF (Chapter 10, fol. 22v)

The wolf was probably the most feared and hated animal. According to Phoebus, the wolf could kill an animal as large as a cow and could run away with a sheep or goat in its mouth. It was a menace because it could kill a flock of sheep before eating one of them. Even worse, it used humans as a food source, following armies and eating dead soldiers. Wolves were also cruel to other wolves. After a she wolf had selected a mate he was put to death by his jealous fellows. Thus no wolf ever saw his father. Queen Ratio criticized fourteenth-century parish priests

who were supposed to protect their flocks, but who, like wolves, preyed on them instead. According to the Book of St. Albans, the wolf was hunted from the Nativity of the Virgin Mary (September 8) to the Annunciation (March 25).

THE BADGER (Chapter 12, fol. 26v)

During the day the badger would sleep in his hole, which was connected to many underground passages. At night he would hunt vermin, field mice, and voles for food but loved cherries and apples when in season. Because of his short legs, excess body fat, and characteristic fetid odor, he was rarely tracked by hounds. On account of the animal's shortcomings, Phoebus did not regard it as fair game. The badger lived, he said, "more on sleep than anything else." Not particularly edible, the badger's skin was often used for shoe leather by peasants. Here twelve badgers are shown in the woods and on cliffs but not far from the entrances to their burrows.

CARING FOR HOUNDS (Chapter 16, fol. 31v)

Healthy hounds were essential to the successful hunt, therefore Phoebus devoted a long chapter to their diseases and remedies. Dogs were susceptible to madness and a variety of rabies, all fatal. Men bitten by dogs had to be treated at once: they could wade into the sea and let waves roll over their head nine times, or they could set the vent of an old cock on the wound to extract the venom. If the cock died, the hound was mad!

In the miniature, dogs are cared for in various ways. At the top, a kennel man examines a dog's mouth, while others trim a paw or examine an eye. At the bottom, dogs receive a foot bath (to harden the balls of the feet), undergo an ear exam, have a leg set, are washed, and are then inspected to make certain that they are free of thorns and parasites.

THE CHARTER OF THE FOREST

A hunter had to obey the rules of the forest or suffer various penalties. Both were formulated in the Charter of the Forest, which usually followed, as in this manuscript, the Magna Carta. Both versions of the texts were confirmed in 1300 by King Edward I of England and were read to the people by the sheriff four times a year. Free men, for example, could use the royal forests for feeding pigs, but anyone caught stealing deer would be severely fined or, if he could not pay, imprisoned for one year and a day. An archbishop, bishop, earl, or baron, however,

could take one or two deer, as long as he was in sight of a forester and sounded his horn, in order not to be mistaken for a thief. Other penalties included excommunication, which resulted in the loss of heaven. In the initial *E*, a hunter, dressed in green, with horn and bow, stands before the king; at the top of the foliate form in the border is the hunter's faithful dog.

Registrum brevium, Magna Carta, and Other Statutes of the Realm, in Latin and French. England, late 13th century (Registrum brevium only) and ca. 1320.

MS M.812, fols. 69v–70. Purchased, 1941.

RUNNING HOUNDS (Chapter 19, fol. 38v)

Because the running hound (*chien courant*) had unique qualities, Phoebus ranked it highest. These hounds would run in packs and follow game by scent and at a distance, unlike greyhounds, which would follow by sight.

(Pointers and setters did the same.) There were several kinds of running hounds. Some would bark and chase prey until the kill; others would remain silent unless the hart had changed direction and they were again on scent. Here they stand, sit, sniff, fight, leap, and suckle three young. The beagle, which did not exist during the medieval era, was the result of cross-breeding the larger dogs pictured here.

SPANIELS (Chapter 20, fol. 41v)

Phoebus referred to these dogs as bird-dogs (*chien d'oiseau*) or spaniels (*espaignolz*), because the breed originated in Spain. They excelled in flushing out birds, especially partridge and quail, as well as other small game, such as rabbits. Killing a bird in flight with an arrow, however, was nearly impossible, so it was the falcon or the hawk that bagged the prey. Phoebus complained that spaniels lacked discipline, barked too much, and had so many other faults that he used them only when he had the goshawk, falcon, or sparrow hawk on his fist. Here spaniels walk, sit, recline, leap, scratch themselves, chew a bone, and suckle three young.

THE TRAINING OF A HUNTSMAN (Chapter 22, fol. 42v)

Phoebus recommended huntsmen begin training at the age of seven as a page of hounds as one was thought to retain more at that age than age twelve (the age at which his education commenced). He held that “what a man learns in his youth he will hold best in his old age.” A good master—one who loves and is knowledgeable about hounds—was also considered crucial. The page was given a list of the names of the hounds, which he should also

have been able to recognize by sight and hue. In the miniature, the master instructs a group of students, none of whom appear to be seven years of age. Two of them, including a bearded man, hold parchment scrolls containing the names of dogs they were to learn by heart.

THE KENNEL (Chapter 23, fol. 43v)

The kennel should have been sufficiently large to accommodate several dogs and have two doors. The one at the front was used only for the hunt, while that at the back remained open, allowing the dogs to play and exercise in a small fenced meadow. It was the page's duty to clean the kennels every morning, to provide fresh water twice a day, and to change the straw bedding every three days. He also learned to make couples by leashing together two dog collars. The page was expected to sleep with the dogs to keep them from fighting. The loft above kept the kennel warm in the winter and cool during summer.

CALLING THE HOUNDS (Chapter 26, fol. 45v)

Phoebus advised the hunter to speak or call the hounds in many languages. It was also important to blow the horn in various ways, as communication over a distance was essential to a successful hunt. Here, before an elegantly robed Phoebus, three pages practice blowing horns while three others are whooping, or *hollaing*. Since the medieval hunting horn had only one *moot* (note), information was conveyed by long ones, short ones, and pauses. According to John I, king of Portugal (r. 1385–1433), the harmonies and melodies of Guillaume de Machaut were not as euphonious as the combined sounds of the hounds, the horns, and the hue and cry of the huntsmen.

RECOGNIZING A GREAT HART FROM THE FRAYING POST (Chapter 30, fol. 50)

About the middle of June, the horns of a great stag would be covered with a soft hair called velvet, under which the horns would grow hard and sharp, so that by Mary Magdalene's Day (July 22) they would fray their horns against trees, rubbing the velvet away and making their horns even harder and stronger. Thus, the height of the frayed bark, along with the twisted and broken branches, might have indicated the presence of a great and warrantable hart. Young stags, by contrast, did not fray against thick trees. In addition a great stag's lair would be long and wide and the grass therein much flatter than that of a young one.

LAYING ON THE HOUNDS (Chapter 27, fol. 46v)

Dogs, too, had to be trained for the hunt. This was done with the aid of a *lymer*, or “tracking dog,” which has here located the scent of a stag left during the night. The master, in the middle, encourages the *berner*, who was in charge of the pack of hounds. It was his task to keep the pack together until the game was located. The *berner* would then let loose his best hounds in pursuit of the stag and uncouple the rest. Dogs were not allowed to go astray, and lazy ones were to be goaded with shouts and calls. The *berner* would follow the pack and maintain order until the hart was taken.

RECOGNIZING A GREAT HART FROM HIS DROPPINGS (Chapter 29, fol. 49)

In the previous chapter, Phoebus instructed the groom how to recognize the sex, age, and physical condition of a stag by its footprints. Here, he explained how to examine a hart’s droppings to determine whether it was suitable prey. In the miniature, a harbinger (locator), who has located a stag with the help of his *lymer*, shows his findings to his master.

LISTENING FOR THE HART’S BELL (Chapter 36, fol. 56v)

During the month of September when the male hart was in rut, its belling, or roaring, would permit a trained hunter to locate and judge it by ear alone. In the upper left of the miniature are two great old harts belling, extending their necks, and showing their teeth in order to attract the females opposite them. Their voices would have been deep and harsh, gurgly, or throaty. The bell of a young hart would be higher and less intense. Phoebus advised the hunter to listen for the hart at daybreak, illustrated here by the rays of light that have already reached the mountain peak on the horizon.

THE GATHERING IN WINTER AND SUMMER (Chapter 38, fol. 58)

The preparation for the gathering, or breakfast before the hunt, began the previous night, when the nobleman met with his hunters, grooms, and pages, assigning them areas to be quested for game at daybreak. After the quests, the participants would gather in a nearby shaded glade with a clear well or running brook. A hearty meal would then be enjoyed by all. In the miniature, the elegantly dressed nobleman, flanked by two huntsmen, is seated at a long table and served drink and food as a musician plays a pipe. Most important, however, is the *lymerer* approaching the table at the left, who has laid the droppings he has gathered in his horn on the table. One of the huntsmen points to them, determining which stag to pursue. The hounds are near a well, some drinking water, and the horses are ready, waiting for the hunt to begin.

MOVING AND HUNTING THE HART (Chapter 39, fol. 59)

The *lymerer*, with his tracking dog, has already located and unharbored the hart. Here two hunters on horseback blow their horns and give chase. A hunter on foot, having already unleashed two hounds, also sounds his horn. Behind him three others prepare to add seven more hounds to the chase. Both of the mounted huntsmen wear swords. At the sound of the *mort*, one of them will use his sword to kill the exhausted stag.

UNDOING AND BREAKING UP A HART (Chapter 40, fol. 61)

After the *mort* was sounded, the ritualistic undoing (flaying) and breaking up (butchering) of the hart began. The animal was placed on its back, with its antlers facing the ground. The scrotum and testicles were removed, and the skin was cut from throat to vent and peeled down to the spine in order to provide a bed for the flayed carcass. According to Phoebus, this was done on the spot where the hart was killed rather than at the hunting lodge, permitting the dogs to be immediately rewarded. The severed head went to the *lymer* (fol. 72), who would be praised. With the master's "tallyho" the other hounds were given pieces of meat that had been thrown into the hart's blood, which had collected on the inside of his hide (fol. 72). The master further rewarded the dogs by letting them fight over the hart's guts.

HUNTING THE WILD BOAR (Chapter 42, fol. 64)

The hunt of the wild boar was not much different from that of the stag. The same rules were followed, and the dogs and horses were used in the same way. Here the *lymerer* and his *lymer* have already moved (dislodged) the boar, and an elegantly dressed nobleman leads the charge. One of his huntsmen is about to spear the animal. The horns have been sounded and the grooms are about to release more hounds. Phoebus stated that, when hunting a boar in winter, gray, not green, was to be worn.

HUNTING AND TAKING THE HART (Chapter 45, fol. 68)

A page, after many years of working with hounds, became a true hunter at age twenty, by which time he had at least two horses. By then he would know how to follow the *lymerer* and to sound his horn or *holla*, signaling his fellow huntsmen to join the chase when the right hart had been identified. Here two well-dressed mounted huntsmen, blowing their horns, pursue a great stag that has already been dislodged. The dogs join the chase,

helping to exhaust the stag. Were the hart's antlers to kill or wound a dog, he would immediately be killed with a sword or arrow. The hunters are dressed in green, as Phoebus specified for reasons of camouflage.

HUNTING THE ROEBUCK (Chapter 49, fol. 77v)

Roebucks were generally hunted by sight, making the services of the *lymerer* and his hound unnecessary. When a hunter spotted a roebuck he was to break a branch or mark the site in some way to let the others who had gathered for the chase know. When the hounds had been brought to the site the hunters were to incite them verbally. In this dramatic miniature, the horn has sounded and the dogs eagerly pursue the roebuck, whose antlers were rendered with too many points. Phoebus considered the hunt for the roe similar to that of the hart, but the former demanded greater perseverance because of its superior cunning and endurance. For this reason, the dogs were to be fed before the hunt and their master was to encourage them with particular affection.

HUNTING AND CATCHING THE RABBIT (Chapter 51, fol. 82)

Spaniels were used simply to catch the rabbits or to drive them into their burrows. Several ways were devised to then drive the rabbits from their burrows into the waiting nets or hands of the hunters. The groom dressed in blue in the upper right corner, for instance, drops a ferret into a rabbit hole, causing the rabbits to flee. The ferret had to be muzzled because otherwise it would feast on the rabbit and remain in its burrow. If no ferret was handy, the rabbits could be smoked out by burning a little parchment bag containing a mixture of yellow arsenic, sulfur, and myrrh and then throwing it into the burrow, as shown in the upper left corner. The tactics worked, as one man has two dead rabbits hanging from his stick, while another has tied the hind legs of three more rabbits together and is about to suspend them from his stick.

HUNTING AND SLAYING THE HARE (Chapter 50, fol. 79v)

There was no particular season for hunting hares; there were various peak times throughout the year. In the summer, early morning until the hour of Prime (6:00) was favorable, for the midday heat would dissipate the animal's scent. Later in the day, however, the hare could be found in shady places. Here two greyhounds are pursuing a hare by sight, which Phoebus warned might result in failure, as they might be so far ahead of the running hounds, which track by scent, that the latter might lose it. The horsemen carry sticks, which were used to discipline the horses, pages, and hounds and to protect their faces from branches or twigs. They could also be

struck against their leather boots to incite the dogs and horses. A dead hare is slung over the stick carried by the groom in the background.

HUNTING AND SLAYING THE WILD BOAR (Chapter 53, fol. 83v)

Boar hunting could take a long time, as part of the strategy was to tire the animal before striking, both to spare the hounds from being killed or severely injured, and to protect the hunter. Phoebus suggested that horsemen going in for the kill ride against the boar, avoiding the direction in which a spear had been thrown, as he had seen horses and horsemen killed by errant spears that hit the ground, impaling the horse. In the miniature, three different weapons are about to be used: one of the noblemen has raised his spear, the other a sword, and the standing hunter has just loaded his crossbow with an arrow from his quiver. A pack of eight hounds joins the pursuit.

DISPATCHING THE WILD BOAR (Chapter 54, fol. 84v)

The huntsman who wished to slay a boar was to ride against it, standing firmly in his metal stirrups, and thrust his three-foot-long sword downward into the boar with all his might, as in the miniature. In order to prevent cutting the user's leg, the part of the sword worn closest to the body was blunted. Other strategies included containing the boar with a pack of dogs or immobilizing it by hamstringing (the horseman in red severs a main tendon of its rear leg), permitting the hunter to spear the animal or drive a sword into its heart.

HUNTING AND SLAYING THE OTTER (Chapter 59, fol. 91)

The otter, like the fox, was little loved because it preyed on fish, not only in rivers but in ponds, cutting into the food supply. Since the otter left the water at night, the *lymerer*, with specially trained *lymers*, picked up his trail at the water's edge, where footprints and characteristic droppings would indicate both the direction and point at which the otter left or entered the water. For a single river, as depicted here, Phoebus suggested the use of four men—two on each bank, one to go upstream, the other down. Hunters, with spears or tridents, stab the otter. Were they to miss, the otter would still end up in the weighted nets that were spread above and below the otter's couch (lair). A second otter has been captured in a tree trunk. The otter would then be skinned and his cooked flesh would provide a feast for the dogs.

HUNTING AND SLAYING THE WOLF (Chapter 55, fol. 86)

The wolf was a threat not only to sheep but other animals as well. It was also a threat to human life and, during wars, provided a service by eating dead soldiers. Thus there was little love for the wolf, and no killing or trapping method was considered too cruel. Suggestions included baiting them with morsels of meat containing needles pointed at both ends or trapping them in a noose, which kept them helplessly dangling in the air (see fols. 98 and 96 in facsimile). This miniature depicts the final moments of the chase, in which the wolf is pursued by nobles on horseback and a pack of dogs followed by men with spears. (Before this the wolf had to be baited, located, and forced out of the thicket by hounds.)

HUNTING AND SLAYING WILD CATS (Chapter 58, fol. 90v)

Hunters did not usually quest wild cats, but would go after them when they were encountered in the course of seeking other game, such as foxes or hares. Here, what Phoebus called a cat-leopard (lynx), is pursued by equestrian hunters with spears, backed up with hounds and two grooms also armed with spears. The cat-leopard was dangerous because it had claws like a leopard and such a fierce bite that it could severely injure a hound. A second cat has sought refuge in a tree, from which it could easily be shot down with a bow or crossbow.

LAYING HEDGES FOR CATCHING GAME (Chapter 60, fol. 92)

While the third book of *Le Livre de la chasse* deals with hunting *par force de chiens* (through the strength of dogs), Phoebus's final book treats the capturing of game *par maistrise* (through cunning and skill). He actually expressed his opposition to the use of nets and other trapping devices, for he found them less noble and gentle and feared they might overly reduce available game. Nevertheless, an earlier chapter discussed and illustrated the making of snares and traps (fol. 45). In the miniature, men dressed in green and armed with spears wait for game to be trapped in various snares and nets that have been disguised as part of a hedge. The use of such hedges to catch stags was reserved for old hunters who could not keep up with the chase.

CAPTURING WILD BOARS FEEDING IN FIELDS AND ORCHARDS (Chapter 64, fol. 96v)

After hunters observed, night after night, that boars would return to feed on apples in the same orchard, they surrounded the apples on the ground with an enclosure built up of either wood or stone, over which the boars would be forced to jump in order to feed. After a few nights, however, a pit would be dug on one end of the

enclosure and covered with thin branches and grass as in the miniature. The boar, accustomed to an easy meal, would take the bait, jump over the enclosure, and end up in the pit, where he would become easy prey.

SLAYING WILD BOARS FEEDING ON MAST (Chapter 65, fol. 97)

Wild boars would search for mast (acorns and beechnuts) in the woods, which they usually found by nightfall. Hunters, with their pack of dogs, were advised to approach against the wind in order to avoid detection. First, a single dog would be released to locate and bay at the herd of wild boars. When the other huntsmen heard the baying, they would uncouple the other hounds and chase them with spears, as in the miniature. The lead hunter, dressed in green with an oriental scimitar suspended from his waist, has already pierced a boar's side.

SHOOTING WITH THE BOW AND CROSSBOW (Chapter 71, fol. 100v)

Phoebus recommended that bows be made of boxwood or yew and twenty hands long (over three feet). They were to be strung with silk, which was more elastic than hemp. Arrows were to be eight hands long, and the double-edged and barbed head five fingers long and four wide. A hunter stalking for game was always to have his bow ready and partly drawn in order to avoid a quick motion. The arrow was to pierce the animal's breast, but if the animal was not killed, it was to be pursued by a *lymer*. Here the archers are camouflaged by the trees and their green dress. Phoebus cautioned that one was to shoot only what one clearly saw. In order to avoid accidents in the pursuit of game, care had to be taken not to cross the line of shooters.

SHOOTING HARES WITH BOWS (Chapter 80, fol. 107)

While *lymers*, trackings, and droppings were a fundamental part of stag and boar hunts, they were of little use in hunting the wily hare. Phoebus, however, mentioned the special role of greyhounds in chasing hares. The French name of the breed, *lévrier*, derives from *lièvre*, the French name for "hare." In the miniature, the master of the hunt, from his elevated position on horseback, points out a hare to the bowman dressed in blue, while another has already stunned or killed his prey. The two bowmen do not use pointed arrows but wooden bolts that do not destroy the hare's flesh or fur. Two greyhounds are in the foreground, while, at the top of the miniature, two others have chased the hare from a wheat field.

PREPARING AN AMBUSH (Chapter 72, fol. 102)

Since horses did not frighten game, they could serve as a cover for bowmen. According to the scheme, two horses were to follow each other so closely that the muzzle of one would touch the tail of the other, enabling the huntsmen behind them to get very close to his quarry. In the miniature, the horsemen and hunters are dressed in green, but the horses are not camouflaged with branches and the bows are not painted green, as Phoebus suggested. One of the horsemen points to the harts, who continue to graze, undisturbed by their presence. As the horses get closer to the harts, the bowmen take cover behind trees before shooting at the prey.

APPROACHING GAME WITH A CART (Chapter 73, fol. 103)

The idea behind the use of a camouflaged cart was to enable the hunter to get within bow range of the game. Because game animals were accustomed to the solid wheels of a farm cart, Phoebus considered those with spoked wheels and iron rims—like the one depicted—more suitable because they made more noise, which would attract the animals' curiosity. Leafy branches and twigs were used to camouflage the cart as well as the groom riding the draft horse. To further blend in, both the crossbowman and groom were to be dressed in green.

BAGGING HARES IN PURSE NETS (Chapter 82, fol. 108)

Phoebus devoted five chapters to various ways of catching hares in nets. This chapter describes how, two hours before daybreak, nets were to be strung between fields where hares were likely to pasture, usually quite close to their covert, or thicket, which provided them with cover. Two grooms, after attaching small bells to a long rope, would then place it in a wheat field facing their covert. When they tinkled the bells, the hares would be driven into the open green meadow, the nets, and the waiting hunters. Phoebus did not regard hunting hares with all sorts of cords as particularly noble, saying he would rather see them around the necks of those who use them.

PHOEBUS PRAYING IN HIS CHAPEL (fol. 111)

Just as Phoebus began his prologue invoking the Trinity and the Mother of God, he ended his work with thirty-seven *oraisons* (prayers) in Latin and French, an even greater expression of piety. In the last, he expressed his hope that the Almighty had given him his benevolent ear. In the miniature, Phoebus kneels on the red fabric draped over his prie-dieu. His hands are folded in prayer before an open book as he pleads for mercy and deliverance. He seems to have a dialogue with Christ, who, seated on the altar, holds an orb in one hand and blesses him with the other. In the thirty-second prayer, he used the hunt as a metaphor. After humbly stating that all good (glory) came from the Lord and that only bad (shame) came from him, he thanked the Lord for having opened his eyes

and showing him the light and the way, making it possible for him to proclaim, “praise be to the Lord, who has not delivered me to the devil, like an animal captured by a hunter.”

SOURCE FOR PHOEBUS’S *LIVRE DE LA CHASSE*

Henri de Ferrières, a Norman nobleman, finished his allegorical hunting treatise, *Le Livre du roi Modus et de la reine Ratio*, about 1370. To judge by the number of surviving manuscripts (36) and printed editions (8) of “King Method and Queen Reason,” the work remained popular until at least 1560. It was the first cynegetic manual in French and provided the model for Phoebus’s *Livre de la chasse*. *The Roi Modus*, however, also included a large section on falconry. A copy of the present manuscript was used for the first printed edition in 1486, the woodcuts of which are also related to the cycle of miniatures in the manuscript. The text accompanying this chase advises the hunter to observe the directions of the turns taken by the stag, for they would consistently turn to the right or left. According to Queen Reason, hunting helped man to recover the five senses given to Adam, which were originally superior to those of animals but were lost with his downfall.

Henri de Ferrières, *Le Livre du roi Modus et de la reine Ratio*, in French. France, Brittany or Anjou, ca. 1465, illuminated by the Master of the Vienna Roman de la Rose.

MS M.820, fols. 11v–12. Purchased, 1947.

ALLEGORICAL INTERPRETATIONS

Hunting figured prominently in medieval allegories because it required cunning, courage, and discipline—and because it was a sport of kings. Virtues and vices represented by the beasts of the chase are part of the allegorical scheme in *Le Livre du roi Modus et de la reine Ratio*, “King Method and Queen Reason,” the first printed book devoted exclusively to hunting. On the left hunters have strung up a net to catch the wild boar, considered to be an evil and dangerous creature, a *bête noire*, like the fox or the wolf. In a single day, King Charles IV of France caught 120 of these *bêtes noires* in nets like this, a legendary achievement and suitable revenge for the death of his father, Philip IV, who was struck down by apopleptic fit while hunting boar in one of the royal forests.

Henri de Ferrières (fl. 1377). *Le Livre du roi Modus et de la reine Ratio*. Chambéry: Antoine Neyret, 20 October 1486.

PML 620. Purchased by Pierpont Morgan with the Bennett collection, 1902.

GASTON PHOEBUS IN PRINT

This first edition of *Le Livre de la chasse* was one of the innovative publishing ventures of Antoine Vérard, a highly successful businessman who built up an extensive line of popular texts with woodcut illustrations. He correctly perceived the commercial potential of *Le Livre de la chasse*, which could be printed in quantity and sold at low prices in an expanding market of newly literate middle-class readers. While catering to their tastes, he also understood the aristocratic allure of this work and composed for it a verse prologue addressed to a noble patron, possibly the future king of France, Francis I.

Gaston Phoebus, Count of Foix (1331–1391). *Phebus des deduitz de la chasse des bestes sauuaiges et des oyseaux de proye*. Paris: Antoine Vérard [ca. 1507].

Gift of Philip Hofer, 1955. Department of Printing and Graphic Arts, Houghton Library, Harvard University (Typ 515.07.416).

FAIR GAME

This second edition contains copies of the original woodcuts, which were not very original even in the first edition. Instead of paying for new artwork, Vérard employed ready-made illustrations he had used in a previous publication, a medieval medical encyclopedia, the *Hortus Sanitatis* (ca. 1499–1502). Phoebus's text calls for illustrations of a reindeer, a fallow deer, and a mountain goat. The pictures provided by Vérard and duly replicated here are purely notional: the goat, for example, is actually a pygarg, a biblical creature thought to be a kind of antelope. A lowly groundhog accompanies the reindeer for no other reason than space constraints in the *Hortus Sanitatis*, which obliged the artist to include both animals in the same image.

Gaston Phoebus, Count of Foix (1331–1391). *Phebus des deduitz de la chasse des bestes sauuaiges et des oyseaulx de proye*. Paris: Jean Trepperel [after 1507].

PML 38677. Purchased, 1946.

FIRST HUNTING MANUAL PRINTED IN ENGLAND

Also known as the “Book of St. Albans,” this is the first edition of the first English book on hunting, containing material derived from Phoebus’s *Livre de la chasse* along with related texts ascribed to a Dame Juliana Berners or Barnes. It has been difficult to identify the supposed author, but an argument has been made that she could have been responsible for this section of hunting maxims in verse, including the “Properties of a Good Greyhound” and the “Properties of a Good Horse.” She does not seem to have approved of worldly women, judging from the comment, “well traveled women nor well traveled horse were never good.”

Book of Hawking, Hunting, and Heraldry. St. Albans: Schoolmaster Printer, 1486.

PML 721. Purchased by Pierpont Morgan with the Toovey collection, 1899.

CLASS DISTINCTIONS

Falconry was a privilege of the upper classes in medieval Europe. The instructions printed here for the training and care of hawks make it clear that this was an expensive pastime requiring no small amount of time and skill. The proud owners of birds of prey did not expect them to fill the larder but to please the eye and stir the soul with feats of valor performed on the wing purely for sport’s sake. Like many luxuries, the birds were graded by quality. This treatise contains a hierarchy of hawks, starting with the eagle, which is assigned the rank of emperor, and continuing down the social scale to the tercel, which is deemed a suitable bird for a “poor man.”

Book of Hawking, Hunting, and Heraldry. Westminster: Wynkyn de Worde, 1496.

PML 732. Acquired by Pierpont Morgan in an exchange of copies, 1912.

QUEEN ELIZABETH IN AT THE KILL

Soldier, poet, and wastrel, Gascoigne tried to repair his fortunes by seeking royal patronage with this translation of a French hunting manual containing woodcuts adroitly designed to compliment the queen. Here the chief huntsman, perhaps Gascoigne himself, kneels before the monarch and presents her with a knife that she will use to begin the cutting up of the fallen prey, which is her privilege as the highest-ranking person on the scene. No doubt this illustration was intended to suggest that this valiant woman could rule a nation with just as much strength and spirit as she displayed performing her ritual duties at the end of the chase.

George Gascoigne (1542?–1577). *The Noble Arte of Venerie or Hunting*. London: Henry Bynneman for Christopher Barker, 1575.

Gift of Sinclair Hamilton to the Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, Princeton University Library.

ROYAL REFRESHMENTS

Pigeon pies, cold mutton, capon, beef, and goose were just some of the dainties provided for this hunting party. Gascoigne eloquently described the lavish refreshments enjoyed by the royal retinue as part of a political allegory designed to demonstrate the brilliance of the Elizabethan court, not just on formal state occasions but even in the great outdoors. This second edition appeared after Elizabeth had been succeeded by James I. Instead of paying for new illustrations, the publisher retained the woodcuts of the first edition and commissioned a hack artist to cut out the portraits of the queen and to insert the figure of the reigning monarch in the proper place.

George Gascoigne (1542?–1577). *The Noble Art of Venerie or Hunting*. London: Printed by Thomas Purfoot, 1611. PML 150046. Bequest of Julia P. Wightman, 1994.

MAN'S BEST AND MOST LOYAL FRIEND

For Phoebus the hound was the “noblest and most reasonable beast that God ever created.” He was clever, learned quickly, had a good memory, was keen-sighted, and provided much joy. At the risk of his life, he courageously defended his master and his house and property. But, above all, he loved his master loyally and unconditionally, extending even beyond the master’s death. To illustrate the point Phoebus repeated a story popularized in the medieval bestiary in which a dog identified his master’s murderer by leaping at his throat. In the miniature a judge exhorts a crowd to punish the guilty one. At the bottom the faithful dog crouches next to his master’s corpse.

Bestiary, in Latin. England, probably Lincoln, before 1187, when Philip, canon of Lincoln, gave it to the Augustinian priory of Radford (now Worksop).

MS M.81, fols. 27v–28. Purchased by Pierpont Morgan with the Bennett collection, 1902.

THE SACRED AND THE PROFANE

During the Middle Ages, the sacred and the profane were both part of an inseparable fabric of life, part of the same spectrum of nature and creation. Thus, hunting scenes were even included in sacred texts. Indeed, the earliest hunting scenes in a Morgan manuscript are found in this Gospel Book, where they appear on the page facing the evangelist portrait of Luke. At the top of the page, a hunter on horseback chases a stag with two hounds, while at the bottom a hunter, assisted by two dogs, rounds up a wild boar. The panels are flanked with medallions containing busts representing Christian qualities: Gladness and Charity, and Light and Life, respectively. For Phoebus, the stag and boar were the two most important animals hunted, and the act of hunting was itself regarded as virtuous, as it overcame the sin of idleness, which led to the other deadly sins. In the *Livre du Roi Modus*, Queen Ratio (Reason) had the stag represent virtue and the boar, which she and Phoebus called “*bêtes noires*,” vice—the devil. The stag also symbolized Christ’s Nativity (shown in the initial) and Passion.

Gospel Book, in Latin. France, St. Omer, Monastery of St. Bertin, early eleventh century, for Abbot Odbert. MS M.333, fols. 50v–51. Purchased by Pierpont Morgan, 1907.

HUNT OF THE UNICORN ANNUNCIATION

During the Middle Ages, people believed in unicorns; they are mentioned in the Bible, were discussed by church fathers, and were even seen by travelers. So pervasive was the influence of the medieval hunt that it even invaded Annunciation iconography. Here Gabriel with the attributes of a hunter, sounds the trumpet, and with the help of two dogs (symbolizing Mercy and Peace) drives the unicorn into the lap of the Virgin. The unicorn is a symbol of the incarnate Redeemer who raised a “horn of salvation” (Psalm 17:3) for the sins of man. The virgin who ensnares him is Mary, his mother, whose virtue he could not resist. The depiction of this allegory, regarded as licentious, was forbidden by the Council of Trent in 1563. This frontispiece to the Hours of the Virgin includes other Marian symbols: the enclosed garden (virginity), Gideon’s fleece (a prefiguration of the Annunciation), and the burning bush of Moses and Aaron’s flowering rod (both Old Testament events prefiguring the virgin birth, the subject in the initial *D* on the opposite page).

Book of Hours, use of the Augustinian Canons of the Windesheim Chapter (Hours of the Virgin), and Utrecht (Office of the Dead), in Latin and Dutch. Netherlands, Utrecht, ca. 1500.

MS G.5, fols. 18v–19. William S. Glazier Collection, given 1984.

THE MIRACLE OF ST. HUBERT and PIERRE DE BOSREDONT HUNTING

According to legend, Hubert, an eighth-century nobleman, went hunting on a Good Friday when everybody else was in church. When the stag he was pursuing suddenly turned its head, a crucifix was revealed between its antlers. Hubert was converted as a result of the miracle and went on to become the bishop of Liège as well as the patron saint of hunters. The story is based on the earlier legend of St. Eustace (d. ca. 118) in which Christ became the hunter: Christ said “he appeared in the stag that Eustace hunted that he himself might hunt and capture Eustace with the nets of his mercy.” The crucifix was brighter than the rays of the sun. On the right, Pierre de Bosredont, a commander in the Order of the Knights Hospitallers, like Hubert, sets out to enjoy the hunt, but witnesses the miracle, hoping to share both its physical and spiritual rewards. Following the miniatures is a prayer to St. Hubert.

Hours of Pierre de Bosredont, Rome use, in Latin. France, Langres, ca. 1465, illuminated by Guillaume Hugueniot for Pierre de Bosredont.

MS G.55, fols. 124v–25. William S. Glazier Collection, given 1984.

THE DEAD HUNT THE LIVING

One of the popular themes of the late Middle Ages was the meeting of the three living and the three dead. Three carefree princes, returning from the hunt, were encountered by three dead who proclaimed “That which you are, we were; that which we are, you will be.” Thus the hunt symbolized the pleasures of the worldly life in which the princes participated, after which they were made aware that they themselves were the quarry of death. On the left hand page the three dead are about to attack their prey, the three princes shown on the opposite page. In the background of the three dead a hunter with two dogs blows his horn. In the background of the three living is a deer hunt; at the top is a coffin. These scenes, along with the resurrection of Lazarus, illustrate the Office of the Dead.

Book of Hours, in Latin and Dutch. Southern Netherlands, ca. 1500.

MS M.156, fols. 67v–68. Purchased by Pierpont Morgan with the Bennett collection, 1902.

THE WORLD UPSIDE DOWN

Sometimes depictions of humorous role reversals appear in the margins of religious manuscripts. Here, at the top of the right page, a rabbit blows his horn, signaling the beginning of a hunt in which a dog bites the exposed buttocks of a man, who is now the hunted. By contrast, at the right, a hybrid animal plays an instrument with a jawbone, while at the bottom, a hybrid man fishes. In the large initial, Herod tries to trick the wise men into finding the newborn savior on his behalf, while on the left is the Annunciation to the Shepherds, illustrating the Book of Hours portion of the codex.

“Psalter-Hours of Yolande de Soissons,” Amiens use, in Latin. France, Amiens, ca. 1280–90, for a lady of the Coeuvres family (Comtesse de la Table?).

MS M.729, fols. 267v–68. Purchased by J. P. Morgan, Jr., 1927.

THE HUNT AND JOUST FOR LOVE MARGINALIZED

Phoebus, in *Le Livre de la chasse*, stated that he took great pleasure in arms, love, and hunting, claiming expertise only in the last. He had, however, a reputation in the other two as well. A nobleman was trained in both arms and hunting, and parallels were drawn between them. But literary parallels also connected the quest for love and falconry. According to a twelfth-century text, “Women and falcons are easily tamed: if you lure them the right way, they come to meet their man.” But here the earthly joys of the “hunt and joust” for love are shown in the borders, for they could blind man to his nobler goals and fate. Thus they are juxtaposed, at center, with a depiction of the elevation of the consecrated host. The text is a votive mass for the noblest lady of all, the Queen of Heaven, mother and intercessor to Christ.

Da Costa Hours, Rome use, in Latin. Belgium, Ghent, ca. 1515, illuminated by Simon Bening for a member of the Sá family, possibly Joÿo Rodriguez de Sá.

MS M.399, II, fols. 369v–70. Purchased by Pierpont Morgan, 1910.

SAINT CECILIA SURROUNDED BY HAWKING LURES

Although the symbol of Cecilia is usually the organ or another musical instrument, in the Netherlands it was frequently a falcon, signifying her noble birth. Women are frequently depicted with falcons, as part of hunting parties. Here she feeds her hawk a piece of meat on a short stick. Winged youths with white hawks are also depicted in the background, perhaps a curious reference to the angel of God that protected Cecilia's virginity. Most remarkable, however, are the precisely rendered lures and golden letters connected to the feathers in the borders, which refer to Catherine of Cleves (*Catharina Duxissa*), herself of noble birth, suggesting that she, too, practiced the noble art of falconry.

Hours of Catherine of Cleves, Windesheim use, in Latin. The Netherlands, Utrecht, ca. 1440, illuminated by the Master of Catherine of Cleves for Catherine of Cleves, Duchess of Guelders.

MS M.917, pp. 308–9. Purchased on the Belle da Costa Greene Fund and the assistance of the Fellows, 1963.

THE HOUND OR THE HAWK

The medieval hunter was aided by either the hound or the hawk, depending on his prey. Dogs, obviously, could not pursue flying birds. Hunting birds were highly prized and thus made suitable gifts to kings and noblemen.

Even Francesco Sforza, the ruthless Milanese condottiere, wept uncontrollably when his favorite falcon died. The training of hawks or falcons was an art in itself. Here a man trains or recalls a flying falcon with a lure tied to the end of a string. The lure could include the same wings as the intended prey. At the bottom a hound pursues two rabbits. The text is Longuyon's *Vows of the Peacock* (ca. 1312), an Alexander legend spin-off in which knights and ladies made chivalric vows over a freshly killed peacock.

Jacques de Longuyon, *Les vœux de paon*, in French. Belgium, possibly Tournai, ca. 1350.

MS G.24, fols. 1v–2. William S. Glazier Collection, given 1984.

HAWKING, THE LABOR FOR THE MONTH OF MAY

Many Psalters and Books of Hours, as well as Missals and Breviaries, were prefaced by calendars illustrated with zodiacal signs and the labors of the months. The typical labor for May was hawking, as on the right, or recreational riding through the woods. A falcon is perched on the hand of a youth who wears a falconer's glove as protection from the bird's talons. In his left hand he holds jesses, a pair of leather straps that could be secured on the bird's legs. The calendar itself was useful for the hunting season, which was defined by various feast days. The

stag season, for example, began on the feast day of the discovery of the True Cross (May 3: Inventio Sante Crucis). On the left page, for April, a youth holds flowering branches, marking the arrival of spring.

Psalter, Franciscan use, in Latin. Belgium, Bruges, ca. 1260, perhaps for the convent of Poor Clares in Bruges. MS M.106, fols. 2v–3. Purchased by Pierpont Morgan with the Bennett collection, 1902.

ALPINE ADVENTURES

No expense was spared to celebrate the heroic exploits of Theuerdank in this sumptuous edition. Illustrated with splendid woodcuts by the leading artists of the day, it was printed in a remarkable calligraphic typeface, an ancestor—if not the origin—of the German black letter types commonly used during the eighteenth, nineteenth, and early twentieth centuries. Theuerdank is the allegorical personification of Emperor Maximilian I, who wrote a good portion of the poem and arranged to have it printed for private distribution (this is one of perhaps forty copies on vellum). Here he is hunting chamois in the Alps, while the ladies of the court admire his daring exploits in treacherous terrain.

Melchior Pfintzing (1481–1535), ed., *Die Geuerlicheiten und einsteils der Geschichten des loblichen streytparen und hochberümbten Helds und Ritters herr Tewrdannekhs*. Nuremberg: Johann Schönsperger, 1517. 2 vols.

PML 21094. Purchased by J. P. Morgan, Jr., 1920.

BAHRAM GUR'S TRICK SHOT

Bahram Gur was a Sassanian king (r. 430–438) whose renown as a great lover and hunter inspired many stories. A section of Nizami's popular *Khamsa*, devoted to the king's exploits, relates the following. One day, while hunting with Fitna, his harpist slave girl, he felled both a tiger and an onager, but she was not impressed, attributing the result to many years of training. She then challenged him to pin an onager's hind hoof to its ear. Two arrows were required for the trick. The first grazed the animal's ear, causing it to raise its foot to scratch it, while the second quickly pinned the hoof to its ear. Coincidentally, Bahram's nickname, *Gur*, is the Persian name for *onager*, a "wild ass."

At the bottom right, two hunters approach the felled tiger; the trick shot is depicted at the upper left.

Nizami Ganjavi (d. 1209), *Khamsa* (The Quintet), in Persian. India, probably Ahmedabad, ca. 1618, by the scribe Fath Muhammad.

MS M.445, fols. 202v–203. Purchased by Pierpont Morgan, 1910.

A HAWK DIES FOR ITS MASTER

Just as the loyal dog would sacrifice its life for its master, so, too, would the hawk. According to a fable, a king who had been hunting with his falcon paused to drink some water. The falcon, however, sensing that the water was tainted by the poisonous blood of a dragon, upset the cup. When the king made a second attempt to drink the water, the falcon again upset the cup, causing the now enraged king to kill the bird. Thereafter the king learned that his loyal falcon had twice saved his life. The dead bird is in the foreground, and a dragon is partly visible above the hill. This fable is part of Kashifi's *Lights of Canopus*, a late-fifteenth-century version of fables based on the Indian *Fables of Bidpay*.

Kashifi, *Anvar-i Suhaili* (Lights of Canopus), in Persian. Persia, possibly Isfahan, dated 19 February 1813. Written by Sadiq for Aqa Muhammad Ali Naqqash.

MS M.128, fols. 182v–183. Purchased by Pierpont Morgan, before 1913.

THE YOUNG AKBAR WITH A HUNTING PARTY

In 1589 Emperor Akbar commissioned Abu al-Fazl to begin an account of his life, the *Akbarnama*, which was completed some seven years later. The three-volume work exists in at least three copies, one of which contains 127 miniatures. This leaf was once part of the copy in the Chester Beatty Library in Dublin, which had at least 61 paintings, covering the years from the accession of the thirteen-year-old Akbar to the throne in 1556 to 1579. According to al-Fazl, Akbar's beard first appeared when he was twenty-one, so the episode represented here probably took place during his seventeenth or eighteenth year, when, according to al-Fazl, he left the army and headed toward Lahore, hunting along the way. Akbar greets four men with falcons and is attended by men bearing a fan, sword, spear, quiver of arrows, and probably a bow. A dog handler with two salukis occupies the lower right corner.

Leaf from the Read Albums, but formerly part of the Chester Beatty *Akbarnama*. Mughal, ca. 1596–97, probably by Manohar.

MS M.458.8. Purchased by Pierpont Morgan, 1911.

HAWKING PARTY ON CAMELBACK

Hawking parties were as popular in India as they were in Europe. Here Prince Saif al-Mulk, identified by the inscription at the top, takes center stage. The son of the prime minister of Hyderabad, he rides the best camel and leads the hunt. The men and their birds look up at the prey, the white storks flying overhead. Five attendants carry his sword, perfume sprinkler, handkerchief, water pipe, and briefcase. The painting has been attributed to Venkatchellam, a leading court artist at Hyderabad.

Leaf with Saif al-Mulk's Hawking Party. India, Andhra Pradesh, Hyderabad, ca. 1797, possibly by Venkatchellam.

MS M.1049.4. Gift of Anna C. Walter, 1983.

SEATED NOBLEMAN HOLDING A PINK

In this portrait, the border scenes, by a different artist, were deemed appropriate because they attest to the subject's aristocratic status by suggesting that he, too, engaged in similar hunting activities. The seated nobleman holding a pink has not been identified; before him are a long sword and shield, golden spittoon, open pan box, and more flowers in a basket. His attendant holds a fly whisk. In the top border, a falconer learns the location of the prey from a scout, while at the bottom an equestrienne helps out by lassoing the neck of a gazelle with her bow. But most intriguing is the group of female hunters dressed as men on the left, one of whom has shot the young doe held by the others. The woman on the left holds a firearm, the weapon that ultimately transformed the nature of the medieval hunt.

Leaf from the Read Albums. India, Deccan, during the years of Mughal rule (1687–1724).

MS M.458.4. Purchased by Pierpont Morgan, 1911.