



Advanced studies on the archaeology and history of hunting
edited by the ZBSA

Karl-Heinz Gersmann · Oliver Grimm (eds.)

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

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

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

1/3

Edited by
Karl-Heinz Gersmann and Oliver Grimm

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Cover picture: Skilled eagle master. Western Mongolia, August 2011 (photo used with the permission of Dr. Takuya Soma).

*Top to the left: Seal of the Danish king Knud IV (late 11th century). Redrawing. Taken from M. Andersen/G. Tegnér, *Middelalderlige segl-stamper i Norden* (Roskilde 2002) 129.*

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The global perspective of the book. Orange: Eurasian steppe (presumed area of origin of falconry); green: the areas considered in the book (map Jürgen Schüller, ZBSA).

Falconry definition

Falconry is defined as the taking of quarry in its natural state and habitat by means of trained birds of prey (according to the International Association for Falconry and Conservation of Birds of Prey [IAF] = www.iaf.org).



Frederick II of Hohenstaufen with a bird of prey. Miniature in his falconry book (folio 1v, Codex Pal. lat. 1071, Universitätsbibliothek Heidelberg/Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana). Redrawing. After: Hunting in Northern Europe (Neumünster 2013) 344 fig. 1.

Frederick II of Hohenstaufen was an early global actor in the 13th century, bringing together falconers and falconry traditions from far and wide.



UNESCO recognition of falconry as Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity (cf. HEWICKER in this book, Fig. 6).

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Falconry on the Iberian Peninsula – its history and literature

By José Manuel Fradejas Rueda

Love is like hunting, like falconry
(St. John of the Cross, 16th century)

Keywords: Spain, Portugal, falconry, history, literature

Abstract: In this paper, after a short historical introduction to place the reader in Iberian Peninsula milieu, it will be demonstrated that falconry arrived in Hispania during the Gothic Völkerwanderungen, and blended with the techniques and knowledge brought by the Arab invaders. Although data from before the 11th century is scarce, however in the early part of the late Middle Ages (12th and 13th centuries) flourished and since then, falconry enjoyed a period that can be seen as the Golden Age (12th–16th centuries) of the sport, as IT remained in favour of the upper classes until firearms were more fashionable for hunting than breeding, and rearing wild birds. Falconry remained in favour of the upper classes until firearms were more fashionable for hunting than breeding, and rearing wild birds. Nonetheless, falconry took refuge in some odd places and persons until the 20th century. In the second part is given a full account of the technical literature produced in the Iberian Peninsula, a rather complex setting as books on falconry were written in any one of the three major languages of the Peninsula: Spanish, Portuguese and Catalan.¹

THE IBERIAN PENINSULA – A SHORT HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION

The Iberian Peninsula is located in the southwestern part of Europe, south of the Pyrenees range, and closing the western shore of the Mediterranean basin. It encompasses three sovereign states: the Republic of Portugal (15 % of the territory), the Kingdom of Spain (85 %) and Andorra (less than 0.1 %).²

Iberia was the name given to this territory by the Ancient Greeks, while the Romans named it Hispania. It is known to be inhabited by humans from around 1,000,000 years ago, as the remains found in Atapuerca (province of Burgos) demonstrate (PARÉS et al. 2013). Known to Greeks and Phoenicians, who founded cities and colonies along the Mediterranean coast of the Peninsula, from Ampuries to Cádiz, it was inhabited by various tribes than can be roughly identified as Celtic, Iberian, Basque (Aquitanians), Turdetani and some other minor groups, that from a linguistic point of view can be divided into two major groups: Indo-European and non-Indo-European speakers.

1 This paper is part of the research project FFI2010–15128 granted by the Kingdom of Spain's Ministerio de Ciencia e Innovación (*Archivo Iberoamericano de Cetrería: Mantenimiento y desarrollo*). <http://www.aic.uva.es>.

2 It should be added that there is a small British Colony in the most southern part, Gibraltar.

In 218 BCE, during the Second Punic War, Rome began the domination of the Iberian Peninsula, resulting in the creation of the province of Hispania. During the late Roman Republic, it was divided into Hispania Ulterior and Hispania Citerior, while during the Roman Empire it was divided into Hispania Tarraconensis, Hispania Baetica, and Lusitania.

In the early 5th century, Germanic tribes invaded the peninsula: Suebi, Vandals and Alans (Fig. 1). Only the kingdom of the Suebi, established in the northwest (present day Galicia), would endure after the arrival of another wave of Germanic invaders, the Visigoths, who conquered all of the Iberian Peninsula and expelled or partially integrated the Vandals and the Alans. The Visigoths eventually conquered the Suebic kingdom (584–585) and the Byzantine Empire's (552–624) strongholds on the south coast of the peninsula and the Balearic Islands. As a result, there was founded the Visigothic Kingdom of Hispania, establishing its capital in the city of Toledo.



Fig. 1. The Migration of the Visigoths (map J. Schüller, ZBSA, after J. M. Fradejas Rueda).

In 711 CE, a small Muslim force led by Tariq ibn-Ziyad landed at Gibraltar. After the defeat of the Visigoth king Roderic, they invaded the Visigoth Kingdom of Hispania and brought most of the Iberian Peninsula under Islamic control in an eight-year campaign.³ Al-Andalus (possibly 'Land of the Vandals') was the Arabic name given the Iberian Peninsula by its new rulers.

From the 8th to the 15th century, the Iberian Peninsula was incorporated into the Islamic world and became a centre of culture and learning, especially during the Caliphate of Cordoba, which reached its height under the rule of Abd ar-Rahman III (c. 889–961). After the fall of the Umayyad Andalu-

3 Muslim desire to dominate Europe led them into the Frankish Kingdom, until they were completely defeated at the Battle of Tours (also known as the battle of Poitiers) by Charles Martel in 732.

sian kingdom (1031), Al-Andalus was fragmented into a number of minor states and principalities known as *taifas* and became part of the Berber Muslim empires of Almoravids and Almohads until the final defeat of the Emirate of Granada (1492).

After the rapid Muslim domination of the peninsula, many of the ousted Gothic nobles took refuge in the unconquered north Asturian highlands. From there, they aimed to reconquer their lands from the Moors; this war is known as the *Reconquista*, and the Peninsula was the scene of almost constant warfare between Muslims and Christians for seven centuries (Fig. 2).

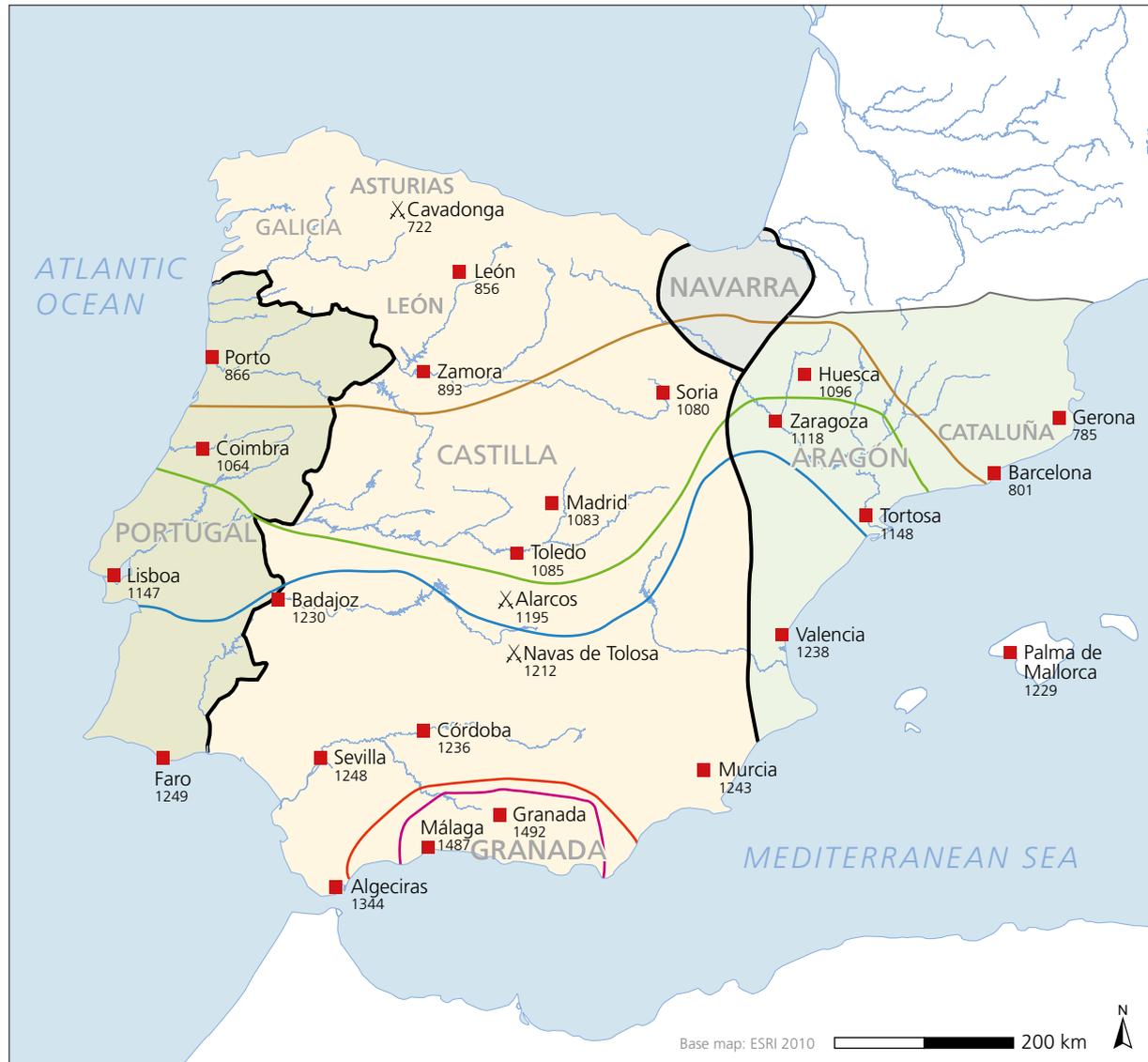


Fig. 2. Spain/Portugal and the Reconquista. Thick black: kingdom boundaries; brown line: frontier between Christian kingdoms and Al-Andalus by IXth-century; green line: ditto, by XIth century; blue line: ditto, late XIth century; red line, ditto mid-XIVth century; purple: ditto, XVth-century. Dates indicate when the city was taken from Muslim rulers (map J. Schüller, ZBSA, after J. M. Fradejas Rueda).

During the Middle Ages, the Christian part of the peninsula housed the kingdoms of Castile, Aragon, Navarre, León and Portugal, and moving south they retook the territories under Muslim rule. Under king Alfonso VI, the city of Toledo was captured (1085), and from that moment started the gradual Muslim decline, and with the fall of Córdoba (1236), and Seville (1248) the Emirate of

Granada was the only Muslim territory of the Iberian Peninsula. By this time, in the peninsula, there were four kingdoms: Portugal⁴, Castile and Leon (unified as a kingdom in 1230), Aragon and Navarre (absorbed by Castile in 1515). The kingdoms of Castile and Aragon were personally united because of the marriage of the Catholic Monarchs (1469), however, the dynastic union was achieved by their heirs, the Habsburgs of Spain (1506–1700) while the final political union of both kingdoms, as the Kingdom of Spain, was achieved with the accession of Philip of Bourbon (1683–1746) to the throne of Spain after the War of the Spanish Succession (1701–1714).

FALCONRY ON THE IBERIAN PENINSULA – AN HISTORICAL OUTLINE

Arab sources speak of a courtly ceremonial of the *Ladariqa* Kings of Al-Andalus, i.e. the Visigoth Kings of Spain. Every time that the King rode in the company of his entourage, they set off his peregrine falcons. During that time falcons were waiting on over the king's head, stooping and ringing up. They did not land until the king dismounted and, having dismounted, all the birds perched around him. One day, King *Ūrīq* or *Awarīq* was riding through the countryside in this fashion when suddenly a bird took off from the ground and one of the peregrines waiting on over the king's head stooped and trussed the bird. The king was amazed by this action, and from that moment on urged his falconers to teach his falcons to hunt in such a way.

This story, told for the first time in the Arab falconry treatise *Kitāb dawārī at-ṭayr* written by al-Ġiṭrīf ibn Qudama al-Gassani in the 8th century CE (ĠIṬRĪF 2002), helps to prove that falconry was introduced in the Iberian Peninsula by the Visigoths sometime between the 5th and early 8th centuries. This Germanic tribe had wandered through Europe – Greece, Italy, and southern France – before settling down in Spain. Such is the most widely accepted theory of the spread of falconry through southern-Europe, based on the falconry mosaics found in the Villa of the Falconer at Argos (Greece) dated in the 5th century (ÅKERSTRÖM-HOUGEN 1974) and on the writings of two 5th century Gallo-Roman noblemen: Sidonius Apollinarius and Paulinus of Pella (HURKA in this book).

Although falconry seems to have been introduced into the Iberian Peninsula by the Visigoths, they did not leave any reliable data about the sport. Saint Isidore of Seville (6th–7th c.), in his *Etymologies*, says that some birds submit themselves to man's desire, and amongst those birds is the *accipiter*.⁵ Nevertheless, this bit of information seems to be a later addition to Saint Isidore's work.⁶

However, quite recently there has come to my attention a Visigothic Mosaic, unearthed in a small town in Southern Portugal on the west bank of the River Guadiana. Underlying an Arabic building were discovered a series of mosaics that have to be dated some time before 712, the year *Mirtyla Iulia* was taken over by the Muslims invaders and became *Mārtulah*. Among the mosaics discovered there is a fragmentary hunting scene, known to scholars as *Mosaico do Cavaleiro* (LOPES in the book).

Most of the birds on the scene are impossible to identify. On the right-hand side, a bird can be roughly recognized as a duck. In the top portion of the mosaic, only the tail of a bird is preserved: its shape points to a magpie but the colour scheme does not fit. In the lower part there is a big bird; some authors have identified it variously as an ostrich or a great bustard (*Otis tarda*), but the ring around

4 Portugal had been an independent state from its foundation in 1139 until the present day, except for a short period, 1580–1640, when it was incorporated to the Crown of Castile and giving way to the Iberian union.

5 '[...] aliae ad manum se subiiciunt, ut accipiter' (XII, 7).

6 This also seems to be the case for the words of *Iulii Firmici Materni* contained in his *Astronomicorum libri octo* (Venetia 1499) when he says: 'In Virgine Mercurius si fuerit inventus, quicumque sic eum habuerit, fortes erunt, industrii, sagaces, equorum nutritores, accipitrum, falconum, caeteraunque avium, quae ad aucupia pertinent, similiter et canum, molossorum, vertagorum, et qui sunt ad venationes accomodati.' (V, VIII; sig. bb10^v). Most scholars believe that this is an interpolation by *Aldus Manutius*, the Venetian printer that published *Iulius Firmicus'* work. See VALLÉS 1994, 26n6.

the eye, the grey cap, its size, long neck, leg structure and grey-bluish plumage point to a crane. These three birds on their own would be of no interest if they were not accompanied by a man riding a horse who carries a bird on his left wrist. The wing/tail proportions for the bird on the horseman's wrist and the black stripes in the bird's tail make us think it must be a goshawk (*Accipiter gentilis*), and its size in comparison with the horseman helps us to believe that it must probably be a female goshawk.

This scene is the best evidence that speaks of the presence of falconry in the Iberian Peninsula and helps to show that it came to Hispania with the Visigoths or even with the Barbarian tribes – Suebi, Vandals and Alans – that crossed the Iberian Peninsula from North to South before they crossed the Straits of Gibraltar or were assimilated by the Visigoths. In fact, a mosaic in the Roman villa of Kélibia, Tunisia, in the Roman Province of Africa shows different hunting systems employed in the 5th or 6th centuries. This little encyclopaedia of the hunt in Northern Africa shows (from top to bottom; cf. BLANCHARD-LEMÉE et al. 1995, pl. 129): 1) hare hunting on horse back; 2) wild boar with nets; 3) on the left falconry, on the right bird trapping with birdlime; and 4) stalking horse to hunt partridges, which supports this line of thinking. The interesting portion for our topic is the third scene, left section: there are too many details for us not to consider it as a falconry scene (Fig. 3). Firstly we have a goshawk that sits on a gloved arm and it is secured by means of a leash. The hunter carries a special bag under his left arm where he keeps tidbits to be given to his bird when it does something good. The hunter is carrying a hunted partridge and he and his hawk are after a hare. The scene on the right is a complement, as the man that hunts by means of a birdlime is taking advantage of the fact that the presence of the falconer leads the thrushes to cluster in the shelter of the olive-tree and the birdtrapper can get them easily. There are many other representation of this birdtrapping throughout the Roman World.



Fig. 3. Falconry depiction on the mosaic from the Roman villa of Kélibia, Tunisia, 5th/6th century (redrawn by L. F. Thomsen after BLANCHARD-LEMÉE et al. 1995, fig. 129).

Although information about falconry in the Christian part of the Peninsula until the 9th century is scarce – a few notes in the charters of the cathedrals of Oviedo and León, in northern Spain, territories where the Spaniards of the time sought refuge–, it abounds in Al-Andalus. It is not that old either, just one hundred years earlier, but of great importance. I am referring to the Calendar of Cordoba⁷, an Arabic work on astronomy that contains a farming section at the end of every month. These sections of the Calendar inform us in detail about falconry in Al-Andalus. The Calendar covers many aspects of falconry, from basic ornithological observations to actual hunting. Among the ornithological information are the migratory times for the *shadhāniqāt al-libliyya*, better known to Spaniards as the *nebli*,⁸ the breeding season of the *shadhāniqāt al-babriyya* (the *Falco peregrinus brookei*, or Spaniards' *baharī*),⁹ the time needed to incubate the eggs, when they hatch,¹⁰ even when sparrowhawk eggs hatch,¹¹ or how long it takes the chicks to be completely feathered.¹² With regard to the hunting information, the Calendar informs us when the hunting season begins and ends,¹³ when certain kinds of quarry are available, and how the falcon should be enclosed in the mews for the annual moult, from May until the beginning of August.¹⁴

Frederick II is said to have introduced the hood in Europe after his stay in the Holy Land (1228–1229).¹⁵ However, the Andalusian poet ‘Abd al-Yalil ibn Wahbun, seems to have spoken about the hood in a poem dedicated to Khaliph al-Mu‘tamid, who died in 1095. Ibn Wahbun’s poem says:

And puts the head through the long hood (*dāfiya*) with which you have covered it, and it falls over her shoulders as a wrap (*tawšīh*) (PÉRÈS 1953, 348).

Andalusian poetry is full of references to falconry. Let us hear how the 11th century vizier Abu Bakr al-Qubturnu begged the King of Badajoz for the gift of a falcon:

O, King! Your predecessors were proud men of an incomparable race.
 You have blessed my thick neck with great presents.
 Please, embellish my arm with a gyrfalcon (*ağdal*) as well.
 Present me with a bird with such long wings that it might make us believe that its claws bring the North wind.
 A falcon that when it turns to the right and to the left, its body glitters as dew drops spread on a meadow, and looks like a Yemeni cloth.
 I will carry it in the morning, proud of carrying in my arm the wind, and catch a free bird with the aid of a trained one (*mukabbal*) (PÉRÈS 1953, 348).

7 This Calendar is better known by two Latin translations, one from the 12th c. and another one dated in the 13th c. (DOZY/PELLAT 1961; MARTÍNEZ GÁZQUEZ/SAMSÓ 1981; FRADEJAS RUEDA 2008b). In the Bibliothèque nationale de France (Paris) there is an Arab manuscript containing a 16th-c. copy (BNF, ms. Arabe 2521).

8 ‘exeunt falcones deblensi ab oceano’ (MARTÍNEZ GÁZQUEZ/SAMSÓ 1981, 65).

9 ‘falcones marini nidificant et calcant’ (MARTÍNEZ GÁZQUEZ/SAMSÓ 1981, 27).

10 ‘pariunt falcones merini subponunt oua triginta diebus’ (MARTÍNEZ GÁZQUEZ/SAMSÓ 1981, 38).

11 ‘et exeunt pulli Sparuerini de ouis’ (MARTÍNEZ GÁZQUEZ/SAMSÓ 1981, 48).

12 ‘exeunt pulli falconum de ouis et cooperiuntur pennis post dies triginta’ (MARTÍNEZ GÁZQUEZ/SAMSÓ 1981, 43).

13 ‘et incipiunt uenaciones usque ad initium ueris’ (MARTÍNEZ GÁZQUEZ/SAMSÓ 1981, 65).

14 ‘Et ponuntur in muta accipitres et falcones, et remanent in muta usque ad principium Augusti aut finem eius, secundum quantitatem virtutis eorum et sanitates ipsorum’ (DOZY/PELLAT 1961, 91).

15 This is the claim made by Frederick II himself in his *De arte venandi cum avibus* when he says: ‘et usum capelli sic approbatum a Nobis moderni nostri citra mare habuerunt’ (FEDERICO II, 524).

Ibn Hafāḡa (1058–1138) sings of a princely hunting day:

The prince pursues the game with falcons that seem to be bound to their quarry; they have swift wings and red hands.

Their flanks dressed with striped (*habira*) cloth. Their eyelids tinted with gold.

He sent them off with great expectations, and they returned with their claws and beak (red) tinted (PÉRÈS 1953, 349).



Fig. 4. Andalusian Arabian falconry as depicted on the ivory Leyre chest around 1000 (printed with kind permission by Museo of Navarra, Spain).

The most illustrative images of the Andalusian Arabic falconry are tiny scenes carved on ivory from the 10th century onwards, such as the one on the lid of the Leyre chest¹⁶ or the al-Mugira pyxis¹⁷ (Fig. 4; cf. DÍEZ GIMÉNEZ 2015; MAKARIOU 2012).

From the Arab world, from Arabic falconry, the Spanish and Portuguese took some of the most common words employed in falconry. This is the case of the name for the two main varieties of falcons: the *neblí/nebrí* and the *baharí/bafarí*; for one of the two species of the lanner falcon: *alfaneque*; for the Barbary falcon, known as a *tagarote*; as well as for the perch where the falcons are left to rest, the *alcándara*. Related to falconry, and of Arabic origin, is the name of one of the quarters of Granada, the *Albaizín*, that is, the Falconers' District.

Falconry is closely connected to the independence of the kingdom of Castile (10th c.) from the kingdom of León.

Legend says that the king of León wished to buy a precious goshawk and a horse from the Count of Castile. The Count desired to give the hawk and the horse as a gift, but the king insisted on buying them. They came to an agreement: the king bought the horse and the hawk for 1000 marks. The money would be paid by a certain date but, if not, it should be doubled every day thereafter. Once the king of León got the horse and the hawk, he forgot his debt. Three years later, the amount due was so great that 'not all the treasures of France would be sufficient'. In fact, this legend is of Arabic origin as is demonstrated by a piece of an 11th-century Arabic fabric decorated with a falcon sitting on horseback discovered at San Salvador de Oña (province of Burgos) (ABÁSULO 1976, 84).

Many years later, another Castilian hero is connected with falconry. After a quarrel with King Alfonso VI, Rodrigo Díaz de Vivar goes into exile and the poet finds no better way to express the desolation of his estate than to show him sorely weeping, turning his head and looking at his castle, as

he saw open gates and doors without locks,
empty hangers, without furs or mantles
and without falcons or moulted goshawks.¹⁸

In the kingdom of Castile, in 1252, King Alfonso the Wise (1211–1284; king from 1252) enacted a law on sumptuary expenditures (GARCÍA RÁMILA 1945). In that law, we learn which were the privileged hunting birds: the goshawk, the peregrine falcon, the saker, the European lanner falcon and the tiny

16 Dated 395 H (c. 1004 CE); Museo de Pamplona, Spain.

17 Dated 357 H (c. 968 CE); Musée du Louvre, Paris, inv. no. AO 4068.

18 Lines 1–5, transl. by Matthew Bailey; <http://www.laits.utexas.edu/cid/> (July 13, 2005, checked Jan, 3, 2014).

sparrowhawk. All these birds are priced according to several criteria: their gender (females were more expensive than males), whether or not they had been tamed, and to which quarry they flew. It is of great importance and interest, as it allows us to compare the real cost of birds: the very best moulted crane-goshawk was priced at 30 coins, the equivalent of ten cows. This sumptuary law is even more important as it includes the very first regulations regarding the preservation of eyries, eggs and the best moment to take the birds from their nests. Hawks should not be removed before they have two 'blacks', that is, not before the birds have their feathers sufficiently grown as to show two black stripes on their tails. Falcons could only be taken from the nest from mid-April on. This law also forbade the exportation of any hunting bird. It furthermore set the hunting season, although the prohibition of hunting between Easter and the end of September did not apply to falconry. Hunting with birds was permitted all year long.

A similar law, known as the *Lei de almotaçaria*, was enacted in the kingdom of Portugal the following year (1253).¹⁹ Like the Castilian law, it established the penalties to be paid by those who unlawfully took hawk's eggs or eyasses from eyries before a certain date.²⁰ However, it introduces a new and very important aspect related to the conservation of birds: the law allowed only one of every three birds to be taken. The *Lei de almotaçaria* is also very interesting as it determines the prices for some of the hawk's furniture: gloves, bells, jesses and creances.²¹ From this moment on, most of the royal and private expenditure books furnish us with details of many aspects of the sport not told either by the treatises on falconry or by pictorial evidence. The account books of Queen Isabel (1451–1504; queen from 1474) are very illustrative (FRADEJAS RUEDA 2005a). They inform of the rewards given to those who recovered any lost bird, the amount paid for a cow skin to make hoods or for a piece of red velvet to make lures, even the kind, colour and quantities of cloth used to make the falconers' garments.²² The Duke of Alba's ledger books (?–1488) are even more detailed than the Queen's books as they provide information about the amount spent on pigeons to feed the falcons (CALDERÓN ORTEGA 1996).

The rulers of the different Christian kingdoms of the Iberian Peninsula were very conscious about the preservation of hunting birds. The most peculiar aspect is found in the laws and practices of the kingdom of Majorca. In the Balearic Islands the rulers of Aragon and the Bishops of Barcelona and Majorca held a falcon wardenship that kept eyries under close surveillance to prevent poaching and was aware of the correct time to take the nestlings. Charters of the Majorcan wardenship are quite detailed. Some of them, dated between 1316 and 1319, note that ravens took the chicks from the nests. Another charter, from 1341, tells that a genet (*Genetta genetta*) devoured the chicks, and the warden is sure of the animal that killed them because he found genet waste near the nest (BOVER/ROSSELLO 2003).

These few notes alone prove that falconry was well established in the Middle Ages and that the golden age of falconry in the Iberian Peninsula dates from the 13th to the 17th century, as is also true

19 This law survives in its Latin version, for a translation into modern Portuguese see PIÑEIRO/RITA 1988.

20 'I order (and forbid) with fortitude that no one will dare to catch neither goshawk eggs, nor from hawk, nor from falcon and, if anyone catches, that person will pay for any egg ten pounds and that person, and his belongings, will remain entirely at my disposal; and no one will dare to catch the goshawk, except fifteen days before St. John Baptist's Fest and, if someone catches, that person will pay me for any goshawk ten *morabitanos*, remaining that person, and his belongings, entirely at my disposal; and no one will dare to catch neither the hawk nor the falcon, except one of every three, and anyone that will catch will pay me a hundred *soldos* for each one' (PIÑEIRO/RITA 1988, 18–19).

21 'The best bell for goshawk will be worth one soldo and the best bell for hawk will be worth eight *dinheiros*; the best jesses for goshawk without silk line will be worth three *dinheiros* and the best jesses for hawk will be worth two *dinheiros*; the best strap for stag or roe deer or deer for belts or for the leash will be worth three *dinheiros* and the best smoothed ram strap will be worth one *dinheiro*' (PIÑEIRO/RITA 1988, 19).

22 Another description is made in 1554 by FERNÁNDEZ DE OVIEDO (1870). A modern depiction is to be found in PAREJA-OBREGÓN DE LOS REYES 2004, 149.

for the rest of Europe. Throughout these centuries, there is a wealth of evidence of the practice of falconry. Some is pictorial, such as the miniatures found in the *Cantigas of Santa María* by Alfonso the Wise, or the *Book of Hours* of Queen Isabel of Spain or that of King Manuel of Portugal (1469–1521; king from 1495), prayer books, law books, bestiaries, woodcuts, frescoes on church walls and ceilings, paintings, sculptures carved on tombs and capitals, wood carvings or stained glass windows. In literature, whether written in Spanish, Portuguese or Catalan, images of falconry reappears constantly from the dawn of the Romance Literatures in the Iberian Peninsula. Some of the most celebrated poets and writers of the time, such as Juan Manuel (1282–1348), Pero López de Ayala (1332–1407), Ausias March (1397–1459), Luis Zapata (1526–1595) were devoted falconers and hunters. Some even wrote the most celebrated books of falconry.²³

During the Middle Ages, a prosperous hawk trade flourished in the Iberian Peninsula. We have already seen that in 1252 the Spanish King Alfonso the Wise forbade the exportation of hawks bred in his kingdoms, but not the domestic trade or the importation of foreign birds. The hawk trade was widely spread throughout Europe; the most exotic account is found in Pero López de Ayala's book on falconry (*Libro de la caza de las aves*, finished in 1386, see LÓPEZ DE AYALA 1986). At the end of his work, when dealing with the migrations of birds, he says that somewhere in the Sultanate of Babylon, during a fortnight it was possible to hunt a great quantity of cranes, and that the Arabs of his time were very keen on the use of gyrfalcons for such hunting. Once, while he was in Paris as Ambassador to the King of Castile he had met a trader from Genoa that had established business in Paris, Genoa and Damascus. Among the goods the Italian traded, there were gyrfalcons, which he took from Northern Europe to Damascus – when López de Ayala visited the businessman, there were 80 gyrfalcons in his warehouse. As the journey was extremely long and dangerous, Arab customers paid for all the birds that travelled from Paris to Damascus, whether they arrived alive or dead. They did so to keep a steady flow of birds.

The Charters of the Crown of Aragon, of which the kingdom of Majorca was part, prove that hawk trading was a very complex activity. 14th-century Majorcan waybills are very detailed documents in which every bird being shipped was described: the species, sex, colour and age; the owner or to whom it should be given in the absence of the owner; the vessel and captain's name; the route to be followed and the name of the person in charge of the bird. According to the law, the person in charge had to be well acquainted with the handling of hunting birds to avoid any kind of accident while *en route*. These documents also stated the cost of transportation, the wages due to the person in charge, plus the cost of the pigeons needed to feed the falcons while *en route*, the grain to feed the pigeons, and the cages where the falcons were kept. Some waybills describe the materials used to build the cages (known as *alcabaces*, another word of Arabic origin used in Spanish falconry). The most usual were made of thick cane, hardwood, and nails with cloth to pad the cage.

The Aragonese archives furnish documentary evidence of Majorca being not only a port of departure for falcons bred in the Balearic islands, but also a port of call for ships sailing from many parts of the Mediterranean basin to Southern France and Eastern Spain. The charters mention falcons from Sardinia, Sicily, Cyprus, North Africa (*alfaneque* and *tagarote* falcons) and Byzantium (BOVER/ROSSELLÓ 2003).

At the end of the Middle Ages, a historic achievement of the greatest importance took place: in October 1492, a New World was discovered. The following year, among the men embarked with Christopher Columbus on his second voyage to America there was a man named Pedro Dársena, who was a falconer (*cebrero*) by profession (VARELA MARCOS et al. 1998). There is no more information

23 For a history of falconry literature written in the Iberian Peninsula see FRADEJAS RUEDA 1998, and for a complete bibliographical survey see FRADEJAS RUEDA 1990 and 2003.

about this first European falconer on the other side of the Atlantic; all too sure he died en-route. This is the only explanation for Columbus's words in a letter to the Catholic Monarchs: he says that there are plenty of falcons in La Española island (today's Dominican Republic), and regrets not having a falconer with him to capture them. As a response, King Ferdinand (1452–1516; king from 1479) in August 1494 ordered that a *redero*, a bird-trapper, should be sent to catch and bring back as many falcons as possible (MARTÍNEZ DE SALINAS ALONSO 2011). And in 1501 was established the post of *Redero Mayor de Indias* (Royal Falcon-trapper in America; cf. MARTÍNEZ DE SALINAS ALONSO 2013).

The chronicles of the Age of Discovery contain a wealth of information about the New World, but they neither mention that the natives practised falconry,²⁴ nor that the conquerors were interested on it (Fig. 5; cf; the other paper by the author in this book). These chronicles describe many species of birds of prey and compare them with the birds found in the writers' homeland. There are some stories about falconry, the most interesting of all is told by Bernal Díaz del Castillo (1492–1518?) in his *True History of the Conquest of New Spain*, as he seems to be the first writer to give an account of trapping a sparrowhawk to be trained for the practice of falconry. This took place in the presence of Emperor Moctezuma (1466–1526) and the falconer was a captain of the Spanish Army led by Hernán Cortés (1485–1547). His name: Francisco de Acevedo.



Fig. 5. The spread of falconry from Spain to America and in Eurasia (map by the author).

24 Some falconers (and, at the same time, amateur historians) try to establish that falconry was known to pre-Columbian Americans, but these attempts are tendentious interpretations of misunderstood images and texts. For a full discussion on the topic see FRADEJAS RUEDA on "Falconry in America" in this book.



Fig. 6. First depiction of an American falconer, in Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala's *Primera nueva corónica y buen gobierno* (Det Kongelige Bibliotek, Copenhagen, GKS 2232 4°, fol. 864v).

Another writer, Inca Garcilaso de la Vega (1539–1616), tells us in his *Royal Commentaries* that in 1557, in the city of Cuzco (Peru) there was a man from Seville that trained a very dark coloured falcon that looked like the North-European variety of the *Falco peregrinus*. This man trained the falcon to fly to his hand and to the lure from a long distance, but he was never able to catch any quarry with it. We will have to wait until 1615 for the first depiction of an American falconer. We will find it in Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala's *Primera nueva corónica y buen gobierno* autograph written in 1615/1616 (Fig. 6).²⁵

By the end of the 16th century, Luis de Zapata (1526–1595), a nobleman of the entourage of Emperor Charles V (1500–1558), wrote a lengthy poem on falconry (*Libro de cetrería*). Among the exotic information from the New World, he spoke of a new species of falcon, the falcon *aleto*. He described it as a small, short-winged (but not to be confused with the falconry term 'short-winged', i.e. with an *accipiter*), long-tailed bird that was used to hunt partridges, quails and magpies (ZAPATA 1583, lines 6815–28). No one is sure which American falcon it might be: the question is open to debate as birdwatchers and falconers do not agree. For some falconers it may be the *Falco deiroleucus*

(JACK 1996), for others the *Falco femoralis* (BERNIS 1994; CEBALLOS ARANDA 2002) and for others even a member of the genus *Micrastur* (PAREJA-OBREGÓN DE LOS REYES 1997).

We are nearing the demise of falconry in Spain and Portugal. It is not certain when or why falconry became obsolete in the Iberian Peninsula. If we are to believe the words of the last writer on falconry in the kingdoms of Spain and Portugal, Diogo Fernandes Ferreira, who published his *Arte de caça da altaneria* in Lisbon in 1616, he wrote his book to renew the grandeur of the sport among his fellow countrymen. Apparently, he did not succeed in his aim. From the middle of the 17th century onwards, falconry is almost a thing of the past. The hunting laws still mention falconry, the royal households of Spain and Portugal had falconry departments, but more as a part of a die-hard custom than as a sport that was practised. It is in this context that the falconry party described by Miguel de Cervantes (1547–1616) in the second part of his *Don Quixote* has to be taken:

It so happened that the next day towards sunset, on coming out of a wood, Don Quixote cast his eyes over a green meadow, and at the far end of it observed some people, and as he drew nearer saw that it was a falconry party. Coming closer, he distinguished among them an elegant lady, on a pure white palfrey or hackney caparisoned with green trappings and a silver-mounted saddle. The lady was also wearing green robes, and was so richly and splendidly dressed that splendour itself seemed personified in her. On her left hand she bore a hawk, a proof to Don Quixote that she must be some great lady and the mistress of the whole hunting party, which was, in fact, true.²⁶

²⁵ København, Det Kongelige Bibliotek, GKS 2232 4°, fol. 864v.

²⁶ My translation of CERVANTES (2005, 779). Elsewhere, Cervantes remember us that 'falconry [...] is only for kings and great lords'.

We also surmise that falconry is something of the past when Cervantes describes a member of the landed-gentry: this man admits that among his pursuits is hunting, but that he ‘keeps neither falcons nor greyhounds, nothing but a tame partridge or a bold ferret or two’ (CERVANTES 2005, 664).

The falconry scenes depicted in some works of art seem somewhat fictional: the 18th century tapestry woven by Jacob Vandergoten (1659–1724) for the King of Spain and the tile panel at the Palacio do Marquês de Tancos in Lisbon show a strange quarry. In both cases, the quarry would seem to be a heron, but it is wrongly depicted to have a short neck and a long tail.

While in Spain, the Royal Falconry was abolished by King Fernando VI (1713–1759; king from 1746) in 1748, in Portugal there was a short revival during the second half of the 18th century. In 1752, ten falconers from Brabant hired by the Royal Household arrived at the Salvaterra de Magos Royal mews in Portugal. There are some accounts of magnificent hunting parties, in the most baroque style: hunters, guests and falconers dressed in rich colourful clothes with gold and silver ribbons, accompanied by musicians and manifold servants. Nevertheless, this revival did not last long, as the Portuguese Royal Falconry was abolished by the Parliament in 1821.²⁷

HISPANIC FALCONRY BOOKS – AN OUTLINE

As we have seen, falconry played an important role in any royal or noble household. It has bequeathed a vast amount of literary, artistic and legal documents. Moreover, amongst the literary evidence, there is an interesting body of technical literature. Unfortunately, there was no model from Antiquity to follow, as falconry was unknown to Greeks and Romans, so the authors had to create their own discourse. This is the reason why falconry treatises only came into existence half a millennium after the sport arrived in Western Europe, around the mid-10th century (cf. VAN DEN ABEELE ‘Treatises’ in this book).

The first Western falconry treatise we have knowledge of is the so-called Anonymous of Vercelli, discovered in the flyleaves of a codex housed in the Vercelli Cathedral (Italy). It is a collection of 28 remedies (in reality there should be 33, but the first five are wanting), apparently written in Italy, to cure various diseases that may affect a hunting hawk (BISCHOFF 1984). This little handbook started a new tradition, which lasted for 300 years. This new sort of hunting books shared a few common features: they were written in Latin, they were no longer than five or six folios, and they dealt only with falcons’ ailments. Some of the texts dating from this first period, up until the mid-13th century, were widely known throughout Europe and their popularity continued until falconry lost popularity. This is the case of *Dancus Rex*, *Guillelmus Falconarius* and *Gerardus Falconarius* (TILANDER 1963). The first two were known not only in Latin but also in a number of vernacular Romance languages, amongst them Spanish, Portuguese and Catalan. Many other short treatises of this sort were written and used by author after author; in some instances, during the 13th century, they were integrated into encyclopaedic works, such as Vincent de Beauvais’ (1190?–1264?), Brunetto Latini’s (c. 1220–1294) or Albert the Great’s (1193/1206–1280; cf. VAN DEN ABEELE 1993).

However, there is another older non-Western tradition. Some 300 years before the text of Anonymous of Vercelli was written, in the Mesopotamian city of Ctesiphon (Iraq) Byzantine, Persian and Indian books on falconry were collected. In the second half of the 7th century, Adham ibn Muhrih, an Arab nobleman at the service of the Umayyad Caliphs, translated the texts he found in Ctesiphon into Arabic. In the early 8th century, al-Ġiṭrīf, a young Syrian falconer who held a high post in the Abbasid Caliphate, reworked Adham’s compilation (ĠIṬRĪF 2002). In his maturity, the third Abbasid Caliph commissioned him to write a new work on falconry, which was considered to be

27 ‘Todos os ofícios, incumbências e ordenados das pessoas empregadas na Real Falcoaria’, quoted by CRESPO (1999, 20).

the best book on the subject. During the reign of al-Mutawakkil, the tenth Abbasid Caliph, a new treatise that made an extensive use of al-Ġiṭrīf's text was written.²⁸

These new books on falconry reached the West through two different channels: the Norman kings of Sicily and the kingdom of Castile. Emperor Frederick II (1212–1250; emperor from 1220) had Moamin and Ġiṭrīf translated into Latin when he was gathering material for his *magnum opus* – *De arte venandi cum avibus*; and the future Alphonso X oversaw a translation of al-Muttawakil's into a vernacular language, Old Spanish, under the title of *Libro de los animales que cazan* (FRADEJAS RUEDA 1987).

The Old Spanish translation of Muhammad ibn ʿAbdallah ibn ʿUmar AL-BAYZAR's *Kitab al-yawwariḥ*, finished on April 9th, 1250, is usually, and somehow wrongly, known as the *Book of Moamin*. The Old Spanish text is thus linked to a wider Latin tradition; however, it is better to consider it as an independent text related to the Latin Moamin.

The Book of Moamin is one of the densest works on falconry in any vernacular language. It is comprised of five treatises of varying length, with two main themes: 1) hunting birds, books 1 to 3, and 2) 'animalias que caçan por sos dientes', i.e. hunting dogs and other quadrupeds, books 4 and 5. At the same time each of the two main sections can be subdivided into another two: a) a description of the animals, the characteristics of the best individuals, how to rear, tame and train them (books 1 and 4), and b) their ailments, how they should be treated and how injuries can be prevented (books 2, 3 and 5).

Its influence was quite widespread and could be felt from the early 14th up to the mid-16th century. The *Libro de la montería* by King Alphonso of Castile and León is the most indebted to it (ALFONSO XI 1983).

Contemporary to the *Libro de los animales que cazan* are a series of what have been labelled as 'lesser treatises'. They are four short books – *Dancus Rex*, *Guillelmus falconarius*, *Tratado de las enfermedades de las aves de caza* and *Libro de los azores* – that have come down to us in an early 14th-century manuscript housed in El Escorial Library, Madrid (ms. V.II.19; cf. FRADEJAS RUEDA 1985). The *Tratado de las enfermedades de las aves de caza* is a collection of 49 different remedies to relieve hunting birds from their ailments. Half of the text is a translation of the Latin *Gerardus falconarius*; most of it, however, comes from several different sources, some of them still unidentified.

The *Dancus rex* is the most widely known medieval falconry treatise. Besides the copies of the Latin 'original', there are known translations into Castilian, Italian, French, Portuguese, Catalan, English and Swedish. It loaned not only material, but also its title and authority to other works. This collection of remedies for falcons' illnesses is preceded by a very interesting prologue located in an Eastern setting in which we are told why it was compiled.

The *Guillelmus falconarius* seems to be the work of William the Falconer, a falconer to the Norman kings of Sicily. Most critics believe that this short work is a gloss or commentary to *Dancus Rex*. This may be because there is not a clear division between these two works, and some chapters refer back to what was said in the preceding *Dancus Rex*: 'superior dicta est'. The extant Spanish version is incomplete while the Catalan gives the full text.

Like the works already discussed, the *Libro de los azores* consists of a collection, in its longest version of 41 short sections, on the handling and care of birds of prey. It is mainly devoted to the goshawk (*Accipiter gentilis*), and to a lesser extent to the sparrowhawk (*Accipiter nisus*). Most of it is a translation of the *Liber medicaminum avium*.

The *Llibre de les medecines dels ocells* is a text preserved in a Catalan manuscript that contains the Catalan versions of *Dancus Rex* and *Guillelmus Falconarius* (FRADEJAS RUEDA 2008a). This *Llibre* is

28 For an edition of the Arabic text and a translation into German see AKASOY/GEORGES 2005.

a rather complex work from the linguistic point of view: it looks like Catalan but, according to some critics, the author seems to be writing some parts in French and others in Occitan. This text is a long poem divided into 37 chapters: 26 of them are a translation of the *Liber medicaminum avium*; four others come from the same source as the *Libro de los azores*; two have their antecedent in the *Tractatus de avibus*; however, there is not a clear source for the remaining five chapters.

The 14th century is the boundary between the old model of falconry treatises – collections of remedies written in Latin – and a new type of work. One key feature of the new kind of hawking books is that they are written in vernacular. Secondly, they will not be only a collection of remedies but a handbook on how to train and hunt with birds of prey. Thirdly, there is room for personal stories and anecdotes that relieve the tediousness of the subject. The books are Juan Manuel's *Libro de la caza*, Pero Menino's *Livro de falcoaria* and Pero López de Ayala's *Libro de la caza de las aves*.

For some time, Juan Manuel's *Libro de la caza* was regarded as the first and most important Spanish hawking book (FRADEJAS RUEDA 2001). Though it is important and very interesting, it is not a keystone in the history of the Hispanic books on falconry because no other author or compiler, apart from López de Ayala's two short mentions, made any use of the work.

Juan Manuel's *Libro de la caza* is the first Hispanic book that devotes most of its doctrine to the practical aspects of the hunt: the choice of the right bird and the proper way of handling and training her, though limited to *falcones altaneros* or falcons of the tower. The work can be divided into three main sections: the first two cover the classic matter found in this kind of book: description, selection and training (ch. 1–10) as well as ailments and how to heal them (ch. 11); but Juan Manuel was not very fond of this last facet of the sport. The third section deals with a new aspect: the geography of the chase. Unfortunately, only the sections dealing with three of the 15 promised bishoprics have been preserved. It is a fascinating journey through the lands of the bishoprics of Cuenca, Cartagena and Sigüenza (Central South-eastern Spain) seen through a falconer's eyes, and Juan Manuel's explanations are dotted here and there with hunting stories and claims of his own veracity, designed to relieve the reader from the tedium of a dull description. This section may be regarded as a field guide to the best hunting locations and the kind of quarry most likely to be found in those territories during the first quarter of the 14th century. In the prologue, Juan Manuel announces a fourth section, not on hawking but on the other sort of hunt available to the medieval noble: venery or hunting of noble beasts, but it has been lost. If this had come down to us, it would have been the first Spanish book to combine both kinds of hunt: falconry and venery. As it is, this combination is only achieved 225 years later, in an extraordinarily long and dense work: Juan Vallés' *Libro de acetrería y montería* (1556).

For a long time Juan Manuel's *Libro* was considered to be the most original work as it did not make use of any sources. However, it has been demonstrated that he had an unsuspected model: Frederick II's *De arte venandi cum avibus* (FRADEJAS RUEDA 2005b). Juan Manuel did not borrow any material; what he did was to adapt the division of the material devised by Frederick II in his extremely long work into a short manual providing sound advice to any newcomer to the sport.

Between 1385 and 1386, during the time that Pero López de Ayala was imprisoned at the castle of Óvidos (Portugal) after the Castilian defeat at Aljubarrota (August 14th, 1385), he wrote what has been called the most famous and influential Spanish book on falconry, his *Libro de la caza de las aves*. Ayala himself tells us the main reasons why he wrote it. Firstly, because 'in the art and science of falconry I had observed so many doubts' and secondly 'to avoid the vice of idleness I set myself to the task of writing in this little treatise all I found to be right' (LÓPEZ DE AYALA 1986, 50).

In Cummins' critical edition of Ayala's work (LÓPEZ DE AYALA 1986) were listed 22 copies. The number has soared to 35 copies, and they can be found in Spanish, Italian (3 copies), French (2), British (1) and American Libraries (4; cf. DIETRICK SMITHBAUER/FRADEJAS RUEDA 2012).

Ayala's *Libro* can be divided into three main sections: in the first one (ch. 1–7; 41–45), all sorts of falcons and hawks are described together with their distribution throughout Spain and Europe. The

second section, comprising only one chapter, is devoted to the actual handling (*afeitamiento*) of the birds and, to enliven his explanations, Ayala introduces sparkling stories and memories of better times (remember that when he is writing the *Libro* he is in prison). The third section is therapeutic and pharmacological. Here, he observes a logical arrangement: firstly, he explains the causes of the disease ('this often happens'). Secondly, he lists the symptoms ('these are the symptoms', 'this disorder shows itself when', 'you can tell she has live worms'). Finally, he offers the remedies ('this is the cure', 'as a cure', 'this should be done several times', 'that is the remedy for this disorder', 'to stimulate a cure') and, because sometimes complications arise ('they are hard to cure', 'it is difficult to cure this'), there is a long list of possible remedies. He also includes some precautionary advice to keep the birds as healthy as possible, and two further chapters, one on the migration of birds, the other containing a long list of medicines and tools that a falconer would need.

The third section is the only one that is not very original and that has been used to accuse Ayala of plagiarism. It is true that most of his chapters on medical aspects are indebted to Pero Menino's *Livro de falcoaria*,²⁹ a book that Ayala undoubtedly became acquainted with during his imprisonment. Ayala, however, not only translated Menino's work, but, according to Rodrigues Lapa, Menino's only editor, he introduced 'de vez em quando, algum pequeno acrescentamento de sua lavra, ou esclarecendo um ou outro passo mais laconico' (MENINO 1931, xxx).

This leads to the most striking aspect of Ayala's *Libro de la caza de las aves*. As already mentioned, Ayala translated Menino's *Livro* into Spanish and, in the early 15th century, Gonzalo Rodríguez de Escobar independently translated it into Spanish for a second time.³⁰ No later than 1566, probably at the behest of João da Costa, Ayala's book was in turn translated back into Portuguese under the title *Livro de citraria* (NELSON 1964). In 1616 Diogo Fernandes Ferreira also translated selected passages of Ayala's *Libro* back into Portuguese in his *Arte de caça da altaneria*, and nine years later, FERREIRA's *Arte* was in turn translated into Spanish by Juan Bautista Morales (TOURÓN TORRADO 2005). Therefore, a Portuguese original was, soon after its composition, twice translated into Spanish, twice from Spanish back into Portuguese, and finally into Spanish once again.

Portuguese falconry literature is limited to eight works preserved in three manuscripts and a printed book (FRADEJAS RUEDA 2007). The most important texts are Pero Menino's *Livro de falcoaria* and Diogo Fernandes FERREIRA's *Arte de caça da altaneria*. So important was Menino's text that each of three manuscripts that preserve the Portuguese falconry literature contains a copy of Menino's. Five of the remaining seven texts are collected in just one manuscript (British Library, Sloane ms. 821).

During the reign of John II of Castile (1419–1454), Juan de SAHAGÚN, falconer to the king, wrote his *Libro de las aves de caza* (RICO MARTÍN 1997). It is the only Spanish medieval work on falconry that was written by a professional of the hunt: his predecessors in the 14th century, Juan Manuel and Pero López de Ayala, and his successors in the 1500s, Juan Vallés, Fadrique de Zúñiga, and Luis Zapata, were lords who enjoyed hunting with falcons.

SAHAGÚN's *Libro de las aves de caza* or simply *Libro de cetrería* has come down to us in four manuscripts. In a short essay dated 1889, Francisco de UHAGÓN demonstrated that Sahagún's book was based extensively on Pero López de Ayala's, for which reason he labelled Sahagún a plagiarist. It is true that Sahagún copied large portions of Ayala's *Libro* but Ayala is not the only author whom Sahagún used to compose his treatise. Sahagún himself declares all his sources at the end of his long *Libro de cetrería*, and amongst them are the already mentioned *Dancus Rex*, *Guillelmus Falconarius*, and the *Kitab al-yawarib* as well as Pero Menino and López de Ayala.

29 The only available edition is MENINO 1931.

30 This translation has had a rather complicated life. At some point in the 19th c. the manuscript was divided into, at least, two portions. By 1920s one of the two portions was stolen from Madrid Royal Library. In 1997, this portion was auctioned in Madrid as an original manuscript of López de Ayala's work. For a full account and edition of the text see FRADEJAS RUEDA 2010.

Sahagún's *Libro* is divided into three self-contained books in which the *materia* is clearly expounded. In the first one, after a general prologue, he describes all the types of falcons and hawks that can be used in the chase and how they should be trained and looked after to keep them in good health. In Books II and III, he deals with internal and external maladies, including accidents resulting in broken legs and wings, open wounds, etc. Sahagún's *Libro de las aves de caza* was glossed soon afterwards by Beltrán de la Cueva (c. 1435–1492), the first Duke of Albuquerque and favourite of King Henry IV (1425–1474; king from 1454). This set of glosses is the first critical work among the Spanish books on falconry. Based on the actual experience of de la Cueva's falconers, he outlines the correct management of the hawks, what can be dangerous for the birds and how to avoid the dangers present in Sahagún's remedies. At the end of the work, there is a long list of pharmaceutical ingredients, though it is not clear whether Sahagún or his *glosador* compiled it. The copy housed in the Italian town of Mercogliano, which does not include Beltrán de la Cueva's glosses, may help us to establish that the list of pharmaceutical ingredients and their properties was compiled by Sahagún and not by de la Cueva.

The Spanish Middle Ages close with a very peculiar text: Evangelista's *Libro de cetrería*, a work written in the second half of the 15th century, some time before the expulsion of the Jews in 1492 (FRADEJAS RUEDA 1992). This short work is not a real book on falconry if by a book to that effect we understand a work that explains how to train, heal and handle birds of prey. Though Evangelista promises to deal with these topics, what he really does is to criticise them biting, censoring and ridiculing hunters and birds of prey because of the waste of money and effort and also because of the falcons' fragility once they have been manned.

Why did Evangelista write a mocking satire on falconry? I can only venture one reason: he tried to moralize on the use and abuse of falconry, something which is absolutely clear in the use made by the so-called Bestiary of John of Austria (1545–1578), whose compiler, Martín de Villaverde, also harshly criticizes hunting (FRADEJAS RUEDA 2000; 2005c). However, HAMMER (2009) believes that Evangelista just parodies the hunting manual genre, and tries to subvert the values inherent in the noble discourse of the hunt.

There will be no further innovation in falconry treatises, but the art is still alive and sound as is proven by the works of Juan Vallés (c. 1496–1563), Fadrique de Zúñiga y Sotomayor, Luis de Zapata and Diogo Fernandes Ferreira, an élite which gather and review everything that has been said before.

Juan de Vallés, a high ranking member of the royal household in the Kingdom of Navarre, wrote a lengthy book on the hunt titled *Libro de acetrería y montería* (VALLÉS 1994). It consists of six books: the four first are devoted to falconry (Book I on hawks; Book II on falcons; Book III on avian medicine; Book IV on avian care). Book V discusses big game hunting – *montería/montaria* as it is called in Spanish and Portuguese – but it is the weakest part of the whole work as it relies heavily on its sources: King Alphonse's *Libro de la montería* and Gaston Phebus's *Livre de la chasse* (1331–1391). The final book is on hunting dogs.

The *Libro de acetrería y montería* was written in three stages. On its first draft, it dealt only with falconry and was divided into four books; this stage is preserved in two manuscripts (National Library of Spain, ms. 3386, Austrian National Library, ms. 6361). The second stage added the book on hunting dogs, and there is not a single manuscript. The third and final stage, which is preserved in six manuscripts, was done at the behest of the Viceroy of Navarre, the Marquis of Mondéjar (1489–1566), and was finished in 1556. This final stage included the book on venery. Juan Vallés tried to have it printed, and he applied for and renewed the royal licence (MADURELL MARIMÓN 1964–65), but no printer ever expressed interest in it, probably because they did not see any profit in printing a book on falconry when hawking was becoming an old-fashioned field sport.

However, Juan de Cánova, a Salamanca printer, did see some profit in the topic as he printed Fadrique de Zúñiga y Sotomayor's *Libro de cetrería de caza de azor* in 1565. It describes the training

and care of the goshawk in two books: the first on the ornithological and hunting aspects of the sport and the second on the medical care of the hunting birds. Besides various copies of the printed edition, there is also a printer's copy-text with authorial corrections (National Library of Spain, ms. 19196) plus one copy of the printed edition with additional handwritten corrections and textual amplifications (National Library of Spain, R-3188). Neither of these was used in the critical edition published in 1996 by Francisco Osuna Lucena, although both items were duly listed (FRADEJAS RUEDA 1990, entries AXa1 & AXb1).

The Spanish cycle of falconry literature is coming to its end. During the last decades of the 16th century, two more works of interest were written: Juan Arias Dávila Portocarrero's *Discurso del falcon esmerejón* and Luis de Zapata's *Libro de cetrería*. There are other minor texts, all of them unpublished, that sink their roots into the texts of the very first period: collections of remedies for all sorts of hawk ailments.

Juan Arias' *Discurso* (SAHAGÚN 1985) is a very short work of some 9,500 words divided into eleven chapters, devoted to the training of the merlin, a very small falcon, used mostly by ladies. There is not a single word on diseases and their remedies: the author informs readers that the subject is perfectly covered by Zuñiga y Sotomayor's *Libro*. This is a very helpful datum to establish the *terminus post quem* in 1565, as one scholar dated it in the late 15th and the first half of the 16th century (ZAPATA 1979).

Luis de Zapata (1526–1595) was a member of the Castilian nobility, a knight of the Spanish Order of Saint James, and a prominent writer of his time. Among other works, he translated Horace's *Ars poetica* and wrote a lengthy biographical epic poem (20,000 lines divided into 50 cantos) about Emperor Charles I from the year 1522 until the Emperor's death in 1558. Because of marital infidelity, he was expelled from the Order of Saint James and imprisoned for over 20 years. During the final stage of his imprisonment, he wrote the last *original* Spanish book on falconry.³¹ It is a long poem (over 8,500 internally cross-rhymed hendecasyllables) divided into 159 chapters in which he deals with all the topics demanded by a book on falconry in an apparently unsystematic manner: the selection of the best birds; training, care, diseases and accidents and how to heal them. The seemingly unsystematic character of the work is due to the fact that he did not follow the canonical order usually found in these treatises. For example, chapters 40 to 65 are devoted to the gyrfalcon; however, chapters 59 to 64 say nothing about gyrfalcons, dealing instead with diseases that affect the claws, because in the closing lines for chapter 58 he informs the reader that 'they swoop on kites so hard that their hands swell'. While he is explaining the various remedies available, he is forced to explain how to heal cataracts because 'Escobar, knowledgeable and crafty in the art of falconry' discovered the best medicine; he then returns to claw pins and back to tiercel gyrfalcons. As in the three last lines he tells a story about a tiercel gyrfalcon that was presented to him 'with a broken eye', he dedicates chapter 66 to healing injured eyes. It would seem that Zapata consciously decided to ignore the conventions of falconry treatises, choosing instead to communicate his knowledge on the subject in a style that is at the same time more literary and more proper to a nobleman.

Hispanic falconry literature disappears in the 17th century. It is in Portugal that the last *original* work will be written and printed, although at that time Portugal was part of the Spanish Crown (1616).

The original Portuguese work is Diogo Fernandes FERREIRA's *Arte de caça da altanería*.³² He wrote it because he wanted to recover hawk hunting from the obscurity into which it had fallen amongst his countrymen – 'which I do more inspired by the desire to disinter it from the grave of the forgotten, (where it rests in this Kingdom today)'. It is a dense work divided into six books (Book I on sparrow-

31 For a critical edition see RODRÍGUEZ CACHÓN 2013.

32 There is an English translation by JACK 1996. For the Spanish version see TOURÓN TORRADO 2005.

hawks; Book II on goshawks; Book III on falcons; Book IV on ailments and their remedies; Book V on snares and Book VI on bird migration). For the most part, it is an absolutely original work that makes use of numerous learned sources. Ferreira mentions and quotes the Bible, Cicero, Ovid, Pliny, Diodorus Siculus, Piccolomini, Guy de Chauliac, George Agricola, Johannes Textor, and a few others. However, his main source for books III and IV, the ones devoted to falcons and to the veterinary aspects of the sport, is Pero López de Ayala's *Libro de la caza de las aves*. Ferreira quotes him by name several times, but on other occasions he reworks his sources to hide Ayala's contribution. As it first appeared as a printed book, its front matter included the first falconry dictionary, and Ferreira was compelled to include it because falconry was a thing of the past and the technical terms would be unfamiliar to most of his prospective readers.

In Spain, the cycle closed as it opened: with a series of translations: then from Arabic (*Kitab al-yawarib*) and Latin (*Dancus, Guillelmus, Medicaminum avium ...*); now from Portuguese and Italian.

The Portuguese book on falconry translated into Spanish is Ferreira's *Arte de caça da altaneria*. It was done by Juan Bautista de Morales (1577–?) in 1625 but added nothing new to what was already known. What is more as I have already explained, it was the final stage of a very complicated history of translations between Portuguese and Spanish that began in 1386 and finished almost 250 years later.

In 1568, an Italian printer from Venice published Francesco Sforzino Carcano's *Tre libri degli uccelli da rapina*. As the title indicates, it is divided into three books: the first on falcons and merlins; the second on hawks (eagles, goshawks and sparrowhawks); the third on diseases that attack birds of prey with a final section on hunting dog's ailments. Contrary to the Spanish tradition, Carcano's treatise does not allow the society of its time to creep into its pages; there is no room for personal anecdotes but for one short story about how a friend's sparrowhawk was killed by a lanner falcon during a hunt. The person who translated Carcano's work into Spanish had a sound knowledge of Italian and Spanish; however, he had not mastered falconry terminology: he left some blank spaces in which to insert the correct Spanish term and, to remind himself of what was missing, he wrote the Italian word in a smaller script. There is no certainty about when Carcano's *Tre libri* was translated into Spanish. However, Beatriz Hernán-Gómez discovered that the translator used Lorenzo Franciosini's *Vocabolario italiano e spagnolo*, which has helped her to establish the *terminus post quem* in 1620, the year when the *Vocabolario* was first published in Rome (HERNÁN-GÓMEZ 2002).

However rich the Ibero-Romance falconry literature it might seem, it is rather poor from the decorative point of view. Whether the texts might be translations from Arabic, Latin or any other language or written in vernacular – Spanish, Portuguese or Catalan – they were always practical books to help hunters and would-be hunters to become much better in their sport. Therefore, all these books lack the richness of their French counterparts, texts that for the most part are fully illustrated (viz. *Le Livre du roi Modus*). The only illustrations that are to be found in the Ibero-Romance books are the surgical instruments that any falconer might need to look after his falcons, a tradition begun by Menino's *Livro de falcoaria* and spread by Ayala's *Libro de la caza de las aves* and its epigons.

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