Illuminating the Medieval Hunt:

Power and Performance in Gaston Fébus' Le livre de chasse

by

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ABSTRACT

Vivid illuminations of the aristocratic hunt decorate Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS. fr. 616, an early fifteenth-century illuminated manuscript of *Le livre de chasse* composed by Gaston Fébus, Count of Foix and Viscount of Béarn (1331-1391 C.E.), in 1389. Gilded miniatures visualize the medieval park, an artificial landscape designed to facilitate the ideal noble chase, depicting the various methods to pursue, capture, and kill the prey within as well as the ritual dismemberment of animals. Medieval nobles participated in the social performance of the hunt to demonstrate their inclusion in the collective identity of the aristocracy. The text and illuminations of *Le livre de chasse* contributed to the codification of the medieval noble hunt and became integral to the formation of cultural memory which served as the foundation for the establishment of the aristocracy as different from other parts of society in the Middle Ages. This study contributes new information through examination of previously ignored sources as well as new analysis through application of critical theoretical frameworks to interpret the manuscript as a meaning-making object within the visual culture of the Middle Ages and analysis of the illuminations reveals the complexities surrounding one of the most important acts of performance for the medieval elite.

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CHAPTER 1 PURSUIT

Medieval audiences experienced illuminated manuscripts not only as readers, but also as beholders of the most luxurious objects of the period - gilded and brilliant with the materiality of a work of art. The patrons of sumptuous books conveyed their status by demonstrating both their wealth, through the expense of the works, and their knowledge of and participation in the noble cultural practices articulated within the pages. The contents of the commissioned codices served as instructions for and as models of the social performance of the noble classes. One of the most famous elaborately decorated books of the Middle Ages, *Très Riches Heures*, was commissioned by the notable patron of the arts, Jean, Duc de Berry (1340-1416 C.E.), in the early fifteenth-century and depicts the medieval hunt on folio 5v.[1] Lords and ladies gather before embarking on the chase, with some on horseback and others standing near the back of the procession. Servants announce their imminent departure by sounding horns. The miniature is only one of the abundant hunting scenes produced throughout the Middle Ages, indicative of the significance of the hunt for the nobility. Along with the many books of hours, such as the *Très Riches Heures*, devotional works, chivalric treatises and epics, romances and poetry, hunting manuals were considered necessary to the medieval aristocratic library. A contemporary and sometimes rival of the Duc de Berry, Gaston III (known as Fébus, 1331-1391 C.E.), count of Foix and viscount of Béarn, wrote one of the

[1] Musée Condé, Chantilly MS. 65, folio 5v. See also the facsimile edition Raymond Cazelles, ed. *Très Riches Heures*, trans. Theodore Swift Faunce and I. Mark Paris, comm. Raymond Cazelles and Johannes Rathofer (New York: Abrams, 1988). An image of the miniature can be found online at https://www.google.com/culturalinstitute/beta/asset/très-riches-heures-du-duc-de-berry-mois-de-mai/VgFhrcA2WNZh6A

the most popular of these treatises, *Le livre de chasse* (The Book of Hunting), in the late fourteenth century. Gaston dedicated the manual to Philip the Bold, Duke of Burgundy (1342-1404), and presented him with a copy.

Today, forty-six copies of Gaston's manual survive in private and public collections around the world.[2] Two early fifteenth-century manuscripts, Bibliothèque nationale, Paris MS. fr. 616 (BnF) and Morgan Library, New York M. 1044, are the most famous surviving copies. Together with BnF MS. fr. 619 and Hermitage, Petersburg OPp N.º 2, these codices form the primary manuscript family which all other copies likely imitated.[3] As expensive, gilded, and painted luxury objects, books such as BnF MS. fr. 616 and Morgan M. 1044 created boundaries of wealth and class within medieval society and produced what art historian Michael Camille eloquently described as an "…aura of power and authority, stimulating an awe and, for an owner, delectation and fervid attention."[4]

Through analysis of BnF MS. fr. 616, I demonstrate the importance of the negotiation of the complex power relationships as part of the social performance of noble masculine identity through the systematic slaughter of animals for the count of Foix as an

[2] The number varies among scholars, in part due to the few works known to be in private collections or those lost prior to adequate cataloging.

[3] Marcel Thomas and François Avril, "Introduction to the Hunting Book," *The Hunting Book of Gaston Phébus: Manuscrit Français 616, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale*, trans. Sarah Kane (London: Harvey Miller, 1998) 6. Carl Nordenfalk argues for a lost original, of which three copies were made: Hermitage OPp N. º 2, BnF MS. fr. 619, and a third lost manuscript. He identified BnF MS. fr. 616 and Morgan M. 1044 as copies of this unknown, nonextant manuscript. See also Carl Nordenfalk, "Hatred, Hunting, and Love: Three Themes Relative to Some Manuscripts of Jean sans Peur," in *Studies in Late Medieval and Renaissance Painting in Honor of Millard Meiss*, eds. Irving Lavin and John Plummer (New York: New York University Press, 1977) 333-34. I will return to this issue further in the chapter.

[4] Michael Camille, "Glossing the Flesh: Scopophilia and the Margins of the Book," in *The Margins of the Text*, ed. D. C. Greetham (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1997) 258.

individual and for the aristocracy collectively during the fourteenth-century. Two main threads emerged in my examination: how the medieval hunt culturally configured human relationships and human and nonhuman interactions through the pursuit of animals for sport through study of the content, style, composition, and organization of the text and images of *Le livre de chasse* and how exploration of the function and reception of the manual reveals its role in codifying the medieval hunt and in the formation of the cultural memory integral to the construction of aristocratic identity.

Of the many methods of pursuing wild animals, including traps, snares, and pits, as well as with a variety of weapons, the medieval aristocracy preferred the hunt *à force,* the pursuit of a larger animal such as the stag on horseback with hounds across an expanse of land. The typical hunting party included the lord of the hunt (often the owner of the locale of the hunt) and fellow aristocrats, along with other members of various ranks: master huntsman (themselves frequently titled nobles), pages, valets, assistants, huntsmen, and servants. The organization and events of the hunt followed a particular order and design with each participant performing specific duties during the formalized activity.[5] The remaining staff fulfilled various obligations, such as caring for the hounds, participating in the tracking and cornering of prey, and assisting in the killing and ritual dismemberment of certain animals. Much less practical and efficient than using traps, snares, nets, and pits, the hunt *à force* was elevated above other methods, indicating its social importance.

[5] Susan Crane, *Animal Encounters: Contacts and Concepts in Medieval Britain* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013) 103. Crane favors *à force*, while English scholars Richard Almond and John Cummins use *par force.*

Hunting on horseback with swords mirrored knightly combat and the aristocracy considered the hunt appropriate practice for the horsemanship, courage, prowess, and strength necessary for battle. In this aspect, the hunt *à force* shared more similarities with other blood sports like the tournament than with the pursuit of animals for food. Both activities established noble status through participation and recognition of particularly aristocratic skills by an audience of peers. *Le livre de chasse* not only established Gaston as a worthy participant in this noble activity but identified him as possessing such acumen to warrant his composition of a hunting manual.

As Susan Crane persuasively argues, the medieval hunt in its entirety became a ritual by virtue of the "formal articulation of human unity" through group participation, a "recurrent celebration" as a pleasurable pastime, and as a social spectacle legitimatized by witnesses to "make and mark" a transformation, the death of a nonhuman animal.[6] Ultimately, the pursuit and resulting demise of the animal during the medieval hunt perpetuated noble authority and as such, the hunted prey became an object in the service of affirming aristocratic prowess. The ritual of the hunt both celebrated and endorsed the ideal attributes of noble status and became essential to the formation of not only a noble masculine identity but a human one.[7] As an object which both codifies and illustrates the ritual of the hunt, *Le livre de chasse* reveals the complex realities of identity for Gaston Fébus as a self-perceived master of humans and nonhuman animals through text, image, and function.

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[6] Ibid., 104, 106.

[7] Karl Steel, *How to Make a Human: Animals and Violence in the Middle Ages* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 2011) 17.

Le livre de chasse and the Medieval Genre of Hunting Manuals

Fortunately for scholars, the prologue of *Le livre de chasse* reveals when Gaston began the book: "This present book was begun on the first day of May, the year of grace of the Incarnation of our Lord, which numbered one thousand three hundred and eighty and seven."[8] A famous hunting expert and well-known collector of books, the count completed the manual in 1389. Composed in French rather than Gaston's primary Occitan and Gascon dialect of Béarnese, *Le livre de chasse* focuses on *vénerie* (venery), the method of hunting with hounds.[9] In addition to the prologue, it contains an epilogue and four main sections: *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.*[10] Thus the count describes how medieval hunters should identify, pursue, capture, and kill animals through the chase *à force* and via bow and stable methods, such as arrows, traps, snares, pits, etc. The manual also includes instructions for the ceremonial *unmaking* or dismemberment of the stag and boar, and explains how the integral companions of the hunt *à force*, the hounds, should be cared for and trained.

Gaston's *Le livre de chasse* presents one of the most comprehensive sources for medieval hunting methods other than falconry and participates in the tradition of hunting

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[8] Gaston Phébus, *Le livre de la chasse: texte intégral trad. en français modern*, trans. André Bossuat and Robert Bossuat, intro. and comm. by Marcel Thomas (Paris: Lebaud, 1986) 38. My translation from the modern French.

[9] Hannele Klemettilä, *Animals and Hunters in the Late Middle Ages: Evidence from the BnF MS Fr. 616 of the Livre de Chasse by Gaston Fébus* (New York: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2015), 11. See also Claudine Pailhès, *Gaston Fébus: le prince et le diable* (Paris: Perrin, 2007) 182. For a concise summary of medieval hunting, see An Smets and Baudouin van den Abeele, "Medieval Hunting," in *A Cultural History of Animals in the Medieval Age*, ed. Brigitte Resl (London: Berg, 2012) 59-80.

[10] Thomas and Avril, 5.

manuals in the Middle Ages, which began during the eleventh century with the production of Latin treatises.[11] Medieval cynegetic works reached their height as a genre during the thirteenth through fifteenth centuries, beginning with the hawking treatises of the 1200s.[12] Only one manual from the twelfth century addresses the method of *vénerie*, the Latin *De arte bersandi,* by the German knight Guicennas, but several accounts exist in literature and include the influential *Tristan* by Gottfried von Strassburg and the anonymous poem *Chace dou cerf.*[13]

The production of original manuals rather than transcriptions from earlier Latin treatises into vernacular languages began in the fourteenth century, the highest point of popularity for hunting treatises as a genre. The most notable of the manuals included the poem *Le Roman des Déduis* (The Pleasures of Hunting) by Gace de la Buigne (c. 1359),

[11] Smets and Abeele, 66. Smets and Abeele note treatises from Antiquity exist but were not a significant influence on manuals during the Middle Ages. The earliest medieval works date to the eleventh and twelfth centuries and focus on falconry and hawking, a subject which dominated the genre throughout the Middle Ages. For more on hunting with birds during the medieval period, see Robin S. Oggins, *The Kings and Their Hawks: Falconry in Medieval England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004) and John Cummins, *The Hound and the Hawk: The Art of Medieval Hunting* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1988).

[12] Smets and Abeele, 66. Emperor Frederick II of Hohenstaufen composed the most comprehensive falconry manual of the Middle Ages, *De arte venandi cum avibus,* and Albertus Magnus wrote *De falconibus* in the early thirteenth century. The latter was added to *De animalibus*, his encyclopedic approach to the animal kingdom (1260-1270). See also Frederick II of Hohenstaufen, *The Art of Falconry, Being the De Arte Venandi cum Aribus,* trans. and ed. Casey A. Wood and F. Marjorie Fyfe (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1943) and Albertus Magnus, *On Animals: A Medieval Summa Zoologica*, trans. and anno. Kenneth F. Kitchell, Jr. and Irven Michael Resnick, 2 vols. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999).

[13] Ibid., 67. Guicennas describes hunting with bows and hounds. For more on thirteenth-century hunting texts, see Baudouin van den Abeele and An Smets, *Texte et image dans les manuscrits de chasse médiévaux* (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale de France, 2013) 342 and Gottfried von Strassburg, *Tristan*, ed. and trans. A.T. Hatto (London: Penguin Books, 1967). For a translation of and commentary on *Chace dou cerf*, see Françoise Fery-Hue and Gunnar Tilander, « *Chace dou cerf* », *Dictionnaire des lettres françaises: le Moyen Âge*, eds. Geneviève Hasenohr et Michel Zink (Paris, Fayard, 1992). Pailhès, 191. Henri de Ferrières was a Norman lord. Gace de la Buigne served as chaplain and falconer to Jean the Good (1319–1364).

and Henri de Ferrières' approach to hunting through his vision of conversations between Queen Reason and King Method on the natures of man and animals as well as their debate on *vénerie* versus falconry in *Le livre du roy Modus et de la royne Ratio* (c. 1370).[14]

The third major hunting composition of the century was *Le livre de chasse*, which quickly became popular with the nobility across Europe. In the early fifteenth-century, Edward, Duke of York (1373-1415), translated the first thirty chapters as *The Master of Game*, evidence of the widespread dissemination of *Le livre de chasse.*[15] Despite the challenges inherent in determining the survival rates for medieval manuscripts, Uwe Neddermeyer developed a system to establish numbers for all manuscripts produced based on extant codices, with an estimated five to seven percent surviving to the present.[16] One might thus extrapolate that as many as five hundred iterations of *Le livre de chasse* may have been produced, especially if one includes the copies of *The Master of Game*.[17]

Two modern translations of *Le livre de* chasse exist today. Gunnar Tilander translated and provided commentary for the major medieval hunting manuals and served

[14] See also Henri de Ferrières, *Le livres du Roy Modus et de la Royne Ratio,* trans. and comm. Gunnar Tilander, vol. 1 (Paris: Société des anciens textes français, 1932); Armand Strubel and Chantal de Saulnier, *La poétique de la chasse au Moyen Âge. Les livres de chasse du XIV^e^ siècle* (Paris, Presses universitaires de France, 1994) 264.

[15] Thomas and Avril, 5.

[16] Uwe Neddermeyer, *Von der Handschrift zum gedruckten Buch: Schriftlichkeit und Leseinteresse im Mittelalter und in der frühen Neuzeit; quantitative und qualitative Aspekte* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 1998) 47-162.

[17] Edward, Duke of York, *The Master of Game,* ed. W.A. and F. Baillie-Grohman (Berlin, Boston: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013).

as editor of several volumes of the series *Cynegetica* between 1932 and 1971.[18] In 1986, André Bossuat and Robert Bossuat produced another modern French translation with commentary and an introduction by Marcel Thomas. Thomas, with François Avril, went on to write the introduction for the most recent facsimile edition of *Le livre de chasse* in 1998. The edition also includes short synopses of the original text by William Schlag but does not provide a complete translation.[19]

A widely circulated book, the manual provided the means to codify and elevate the hunt as a particularly elite activity, unifying the nobility through the performance of the same actions in matching ways with equivalent symbolic importance as well as to impact the representation of the hunt through duplication in significant detail. Due to substantial gaps in the provenance of the four primary illuminated books, scholars continue to debate which of the extant illuminated copies of *Le livre de chasse* may be the count's original commission and which is the gift to Philip the Bold and a direct reproduction of the first manuscript.[20] Fébusian scholars generally agree the sumptuous BnF MS. fr. 616 is likely to be a copy of the manuscript given to Philip.[21] The duke's son, John the Fearless (1371-1419), inherited Philip's extensive library, which included

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[18] Gaston III Phoebus, *Livre de chasse. Éd. avec introduction, glossaire et reproduction des 87 miniatures du manuscrit 616 de la Bibliothèque nationale de Paris par Gunnar Tilander,* ed. and trans. Gunnar Tilander, Cynegetica 18 (Stockholm: Almqvist och Wiksell, 1971).

[19] Gaston Phébus, *The Hunting Book of Gaston Phébus: Manuscrit français 616, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale*, eds. and intro. Marcel Thomas and François Avril, comm. Wilhelm Schlag (London: Harvey Miller, 1998). Edward of York's *Master of the Game* could be considered an English translation of the original text but he made significant changes accommodate English hunting practices and preferences.

[20] Klemettilä, 214.

[21] A comprehensive exhibition of the manuscript can be found on the BnF website http://classes.bnf.fr/phebus/explo/index.htm.

Gaston's gift of *Le livre de chasse*. He commissioned two copies of the hunting manual, believed to be BnF MS. fr. 616 and Morgan M. 1044. Both were painted in the same Parisian workshop between 1405 and 1409.[22] The provenance of BnF MS. fr. 616 makes it a likely candidate for being a direct copy of Gaston's commission for Philip.[23]

Thomas and Avril note the provenance of BnF MS. fr. 616 relies heavily on the commentary by Camille Couderc (1860-1933), a conservator in the department of manuscripts at the Bibliothèque nationale de France and a professor of bibliography at the École nationale des Chartes at the Sorbonne, who identified the original patron of the manuscript as John the Fearless.[24] The heraldry for an early sixteenth-century member of the Poitiers family, possibly Aymar de Poitiers, lord of Saint-Vallier, covers an earlier, original coat of arms (fig. 1.1). The next owner, Bernard Clesius, Bishop of Trent, gave the manuscript to Archduke Ferdinand of Austria before 1530, with an accompanying letter noting the codex had been found after the Battle of Pavia in 1525. The location of the book before it was given to Louis XIV (1638-1715) by the Marquis Vigneau in 1661. It resided at several royal libraries in France until 1726, when the manuscript became part of the library of Louis Alexandre, count of Toulouse (1678-1737) at the Château de

[22] Klemettilä, 215-216.

[23] Morgan M. 1044 has been under conservation the last few years and though I was privileged to see several quires, it was not possible to have access to the entire manuscript. Facsimiles exist for all four of the manuscripts but the exceptional quality of Gallica's images of BnF MS. fr. 616 are superior to print copies and can be accessed via the BnF website here http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b52505055c. The three fully pigmented manuscripts contain similar illuminations though scholars universally praise BnF MS. fr. 616 as the most sumptuous and of the highest quality. In the future, I expect to expand my dissertation analysis to include comparative study of the other three illuminated copies and explore the evidence which indicates that Hermitage OPp N.º 2 may be the original.

[24] Camille Couderc, "Introduction," in *Livre de la chasse par Gaston Phébus comte de Foix. Reproduction réduite des 87 miniatures du manuscrit français 616 de la Bibliothèque nationale,* ed. Camille Couderc (Paris: 1910).

Rambouillet. In 1737, the count's son, Louis Jean Marie, Duc de Pentièvre (1725-1793), inherited the book. Over the next hundred years, the manuscript was held by the Orléans family. In 1834, King Louis-Philippe (1773-1850) gave the manuscript to the Louvre before it was deposited in the Bibliothèque nationale de France.[25] The noteworthy parallels in composition, style, and content of the illuminations within these two manuscripts and with the images of the other two elaborate copies, BnF MS. fr. 619 and Hermitage OPp N.º 2, allow us to study these manuscripts, and in particular BnF MS. fr. 616, with its more complete provenance, in lieu of the illusive originals. The comparison of the visual program of BnF MS. fr. 12399, a copy of Henri de Ferrières' *Livre du roy Modus et de la royne Ratio,* with BnF Ms. fr. 616 shows significant similiarities in the foliage patterns surrounding the miniature as well as the alternating red and blue borders outlined with gold, abstract background, and content of the illuminations despite being produced nearly thirty years earlier, in 1379. As the manuscript is dated ten years before Gaston composed his hunting manual, the shared aspects of the illuminations and design with all four copies of *Le livre de chasse* indicate the original commissioned by the count and the gift to Philip were likely to have been modeled, at least in part, after BnF MS. fr. 12399.[26]

[25] Thomas and Avril, 3-5.

[26] Marie-Hélène Tesnière, "Le *Livre de la chasse,"* in *Gaston Fébus: prince soleil, 1331-1391,* eds. Sophie Lagabrielle, Paul Mironneau and Marie-Hélène Tesnière, exhibition catalog published in conjunction with the exhibition of the same name at the Musée de Cluny-Musée national du Moyen Âge (Paris), the Musée national du château de Pau and at the Bibliothèque national de France et la Réunion des musées nationaux Grand Palais (Paris: Réunion des musées nationaux, 2011) 104-108. The similiarities between BnF MS. fr. 12399 and BnF MS. fr. 616 will be discussed in more depth later in this chapter.

Medieval Manuscript Culture and Aristocratic Patronage

The inclusion of *Le livre de chasse* in the most elite libraries of medieval Europe meant the owners engaged with not only the text and images of an extravagant book but also with the presence of the author, conveying authority and authenticity to Gaston as a noble and preeminent hunter.[27] As a core part of aristocratic culture, the collecting of books transcended the pursuit of knowledge and conferred status on their owner by reinforcing both the reality of life for medieval elites and their imagined idealized worlds which continuously sought "to legitimize the existing order of relations of domination and subordination."[28]

Brigitte Buettner identifies the art patronage of the French elite as the implementation of a "cultural policy" which led to extensive private libraries filled with a variety of manuscripts given as gifts, commissioned, and purchased on the book market.[29] Though prevalent in universities much earlier, book culture gained immense popularity in the French aristocratic courts in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries with the establishment of libraries by members of the royal family. More manuscripts were produced in the fifteenth century than in the preceding five hundred years.[30] Wijsman's

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[27] Walter Benjamin, *Illuminations* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1968) 222. See also Ann W. Askell, "On the Usefulness and Use Value of Books: A Medieval and Modern Inquiry," in *Medieval Rhetoric: A Casebook*, ed. Scott D. Troyan (New York; London: Routledge, 2004) 47.

[28] Griselda Pollock, *Vision and Difference: Femininity, Feminism, and Histories of Art* (London: Routledge, 1988) 20. See also Lena Liepe, "On the Epistemology of Images," in *History and Images: Towards a New Iconology*, eds. Axel Bolvig and Phillip Lindley (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols Publishers, 2003) 424.

[29] Brigitte Buettner, "Profane Illuminations, Secular Illusions: Manuscripts in Late Medieval Courtly Society," *The Art Bulletin* 74, no. 1 (1992) 75.

[30] Bert Cardon, "Books at Court," in *Medieval Mastery: Book Illumination from Charlemagne to Charles the Bold 800-1475*, exhibition catalog published conjunction with the exhibition of the same name at the Stedelijk Museum Vander Kelen-Mertens, Leuven (Turnhout: Brepols; Leuven: Davidsfonds, 2002) 73.

extensive examination of royal libraries reveals late medieval collections contained (in most instances) a variety of texts, including religious works (bibles, psalters, lectionaries or evangelaries, collections of sermons, books of hours) and secular texts (courtly poetry and literature, law books, botanics, medicinals, equestrian works) and, significant to this study, frequently included a book on hunting. In addition to these works, nobility collected chivalric texts which reflected the idealized views of kingship and proper behavior as well as courtly literature and poetry. [31]

The library of the count of Foix embodied the ideal aristocratic collection and was known to rival even royal libraries.[32] Later inventories of Gaston's books survive, revealing a well-educated elite versed in Latin and an avid reader.[33] The count's extensive library included a wide variety of texts such as *l'Arbre des batailles,* a fourteenth-century political treatise, chansonniers, the *Elucidari de las proprietatz de totas res naturals,* a

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See also Hanno Wijsman, *Luxury Bound: Illustrated Manuscript Production and Noble and Princely Book Owndership in the Burgundian Netherlands (1400-1500)* (Turnhout: Belgium, Brepols: 2010) 2.

[31] Cardon, 81.

[32] Ibid., 23, 149, 152. See also Cardon,74. Inventories conducted between 1404 (death of Philip the Bold) and 1420 (death of Jean V) are particularly relevant to this discussion. Charles V the Wise (1338-1380) invested heavily in his royal library comprising an estimated one thousand, one hundred and fifty manuscripts and commissioned a copy of *Les grandes chroniques de France*, one of the most important works of the era, in 1378. His brothers followed in suit. Jean, Duc de Berry, became a well-known patron of the arts with a large collection of manuscripts housed in several of his châteaux. Philip the Bold's own library, with nearly one hundred manuscripts, grew to two hundred and fifty works by 1419 under his son Jean the Fearless.

[33] Paul Mironneau, "Gaston Fébus et les livres. Marques d'appropriation et strategies de reconnaissance," in *Signé Fébus, comte de Foix, prince de Béarn: marques personnelles, écrits et pouvoir autour de Gaston Fébus,* ed. Véronique Lamazou-Duplan (Paris: Somogy éditions d'art; Université de Pau et des Pays de l'Adour, 2014) 148. Mironneau cites the inventory conducted by Folquet de Marseille from 1519 and 1533 of the collections of the royal house of Navarre. Richard Vernier, *Lord of the Pyrenees: Gaston Fébus, Count of Foix (1331-1391)* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2008) 4, 199. Isabella, countess of Foix-Castelbon (1360-1428), inherited the entirety of Foix-Béarn in 1398. Her grandson, Gaston IV, count of Foix-Béarn, (c. 1423-1472) married Leonor of Navarre (1425-1479) in 1434, who became Queen in 1464.

Béarnais interpretation of Bartholomeus Anglicus' medieval encyclopedia *De proprietatibus rerum,* historical works such as the *Faits des Romains* from the thirteenth century, and many others, including translations of Middle Eastern works by Abul Kasim and Ibn Sina.[34] The medieval chronicler Jean Froissart (c. 1337-c. 1404) visited the count's main residence at Orthez in 1388 and wrote of Gaston's appreciation for chivalric literature and patronage of poets and musicians.[35]

Gaston's library shows how book collecting came to be an identity-forming activity for the nobility. Aristocratic patrons determined which books they wished to possess in consideration with their own tastes and desires but also relative to the cultural capital they sought to amass and convey to their peers.[36] Romances, religious texts, heraldic accounts, and hunting and martial manuals, both reflected and informed the chivalric practices of cultivating honor through piety, warrior prowess, bravery, loyalty, and the accumulation of wealth and valor, as well as the exhibition of the courtly virtues of intelligence and wisdom through education.[37] The ownership of particular books displayed individual participation in the larger social networks within and of the aristocracy.[38] The materiality of books provided evidence of interactions in "real places,

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[34] Pierre Tucoo-Chala, *Gaston Fébus, prince des Pyrénées, 1331-1391* (Pau: J. & D. éditions; Bordeaux: Deucalion, 1991) 16, 135, 150, 218. See also Mironneau, 146-148, Vernier, 8 and Klemettilä, 13.

[35] Jean Froissart, *Voyage en Béarn,* tr. by A.H. Diverres (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1953) 66.

[36] Carolyn P. Collette and Harold Garrett-Goodyear, eds. *The Later Middle Ages: A Sourcebook,* Palgrave Sourcebooks (Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire; New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011) 193.

[37] Ryan Perry, "Objectification, Identity and the Late Medieval Codex," in *Everyday Objects: Medieval and Early Modern Material Culture and Its Meanings,* ed. Tara Hamling (Farnham, Surrey, England; Burlington, VT: Ashgate Pub., 2010 311. See also Richard W. Kaeuper, *Medieval Chivalry* (Cambridge, United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press, 2016) 33-39.

[38] Perry, 311.

among real persons" as a visual manifestation of relationships between particular individuals in "literary communities" within which texts circulated as personal copies, gifts, and loans.[39] The practice of aristocratic commissioning of manuscripts depended on knowledge of who owned the desired book and then the ability to arrange to have it copied or obtain it to be duplicated.[40] Owners solidified their material and associated connections to the upper class by incorporating their own coats of arms in their books, visibly demonstrating their participation in the medieval manuscript culture of the nobility in material form, transcending the written signature or spoken word.[41] As interest in vernacular texts, in particular romances, grew over the course of the thirteenth century, heraldry gained currency as ornamentation and as representations of particular fictional characters through assigned coats of arms in literature. By the end of the century, heraldry had become essential to and synonymous with individuals and families in life as "real, legally recognized emblems of identity," which resulted in the inclusion of the patron's coats of arms in approximately half of all French manuscripts produced during the late Middle Ages.[42]

The analysis of heraldry to identify patrons and owners of manuscripts provides clues as to which of the four main illuminated manuscripts of *Le livre de chasse* may be

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[39] Ralph Hanna, *Pursuing History: Middle English Manuscripts and Their Texts* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996) 10.

[40] Perry, 311.

[41] Ibid., 309.

[42] Mark Cruse, "Costuming the Past: Heraldry in Illustrations of the "Roman D'Alexandre" (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 264)," *Gesta* 45, no. 1 (2006): 45, 48.

the original commissioned by the count for his own collection and which may be the copy given to Philip the Bold. Thomas and François Avril argue that the original was lost at some undisclosed date; in her biographical book *Gaston Fébus: le prince et le diable* from 2007, Claudine Pailhès notes that the original disappeared from Madrid in 1809.[43] Through analysis of the heraldry at the beginning of each manuscript, Marie-Hélène Tesnière and Baudouin van den Abeele argue that BnF MS. fr. 619 may be the original with Hermitage OPp N.º 2 gifted to Philip.[44] Both of the codices include the Foix-Béarn coat of arms on their frontispieces. The Petersburg copy includes a painted version with bright red charges dividing the shield into four compartments against a gold field. Vertical red stripes decorate the top left and bottom right, with two *passant* cows (walking in profile). Despite the persuasiveness of this evidence, both BnF MS. fr. 616 and Morgan M. 1044 include overpainted arms on the frontispieces of Hermitage OPp N.º 2 and BnF MS. fr. 619. The frontispiece of the fully pigmented manuscript of Morgan M. 1044 displays the arms of Brittany (black ermine under a five-point gold crown with crimson bezels), partially eroded and painted over the original arms, among the leaves in the margins below an illumination of Gaston enthroned under a canopy amidst huntsmen

[43] Thomas and Avril, 76-78. Pailhès, 196. Pailhès cites an unpublished work by Claire Ponsich, "La letter, le livre et les dans les relations de Violante de Bar et de Gaston Fébus, à partir de 1380," *Froissart à la cour de Béarn,* conference of Pau-Orthez, 2006. See also Klemettilä, 19 and Pierre Tucoo-Chala, *Gaston Fébus: un grand prince d'Occident au XIVe siècle* (Pau: Marrimpouey, 1976) 184. Klemettilä, 18-19. Klemettilä counters Marie-Hélène Tesnière's assertion that BnF MS. fr. 619, with grisaille illustrations, may be the original. She also discounts the heavily illuminated Hermitage OPp N.º 2 as "inferior" to BnF MS. fr. 616 and thus unlikely the original or the gifted copy.

[44]Tesnière, 86-113. Mironneau, 155-156. Mironneau notes a surviving letter from the Abbott at Moissac, Aymer de Peyrac, around 1399-1400 which references a copy of *Le livre de chasse* commissioned by the Lord of Estouteville and Senechal of Toulouse at the cost of ten thousand florins.

and hounds.[45] These symbols of identity initiated the reader's journey through the book and often marked the start of visual programs comprised of illuminated miniatures, historiated initials, marginalia, and other decorative additions to the pages.

Illuminating the Medieval Hunt

In addition to building extensive book collections, the nobility sought not only particular texts as part of aristocratic culture but the most beautiful manuscripts, vividly painted and illuminated to be the jewels of their libraries. Particularly sumptuous manuscripts conveyed a patron's wealth through materials, which included gold leaf, shell gold paint, vibrant pigments, vellum, or parchment, and the patronage of the most skilled scribes and illuminators at renowned ateliers, the best of which were located in Paris and Avignon.[46] The transformation of the text into a work of art through its luxurious production made it a valued, collectable object.[47] The illuminations of BnF MS. fr. 616 provide a glimpse of the quantity and quality of ornamentation for the count's original

[45] As of June 2016, the Morgan Library was the only U.S. institution to own a facsimile of Hermitage OPp N.º 2. I examined OPp N.º 2 and also several of the original folios of Morgan M. 1044 in February 2014 and June 2016. Orbis Mediaevalis produced a high quality facsimile of Hermitage OPp N.º 2 in 2013, making it available to scholars outside of Russia: Gaston III Phoebus, *Tratado de la caza*, ed. Elena Solomakha (Madrid: Orbis Mediaevalis; San Petersburg: Hermitage Museum, 2013).[45] After careful study, I believe OPp N.º 2 may be the original due to the embossing of the Foix-Béarn arms in the gold leaf of folio 35r, a detail not copied in BnF MS. fr. 616 or Morgan Library M. 1044

[46] Buettner, 76. See also Diane E. Booten, *Manuscripts, Market and the Transition to Print in Late Medieval Brittany* (Ashgate: Surrey, England; Burlington, Vermont: 2010) 21 and Andrée van Nieuwenhuysen, *Les finances du duc de Bourgogne, Philippe le Hardi (1384-1404): économie et politique* (Bruxelles, Belgique: Editions de l'Université de Bruxelles, 1984) 90.

[47] Buettner, 78.

manuscript and the gift to Philip the Bold as well as some of the most intricate depictions of the hunt in medieval art.[48]

Images of the hunt can be found in nearly all media of the Middle Ages, including stone, ivory, metal, leather, paint, and wood, and within an assortment of contexts, such as sculpted lintels, carved misericords, and painted walls within both secular and religious spaces.[49] The chase abounds in medieval manuscripts across all genres, secular and religious, in marginalia and in miniatures of varying size. Hunting scenes were particularly popular in the margins of psalters and in larger programs within calendars and romances. The illumination of medieval hunting manuals depended on the century. Treatises in vernacular languages were often designed with images in mind. Of the extant one hundred and seventy-nine French manuals, sixty-two contain illuminations.[50]

BnF MS. fr. 616 contains eighty-seven gilded or gold-painted miniatures among the one hundred and twenty-one folios, making it one of the most heavily illuminated hunting manuals of the Middle Ages.[51] Marginalia, in the form of animals, dragons, and

[48] Thomas and Avril, 2. BnF MS. fr. 616 includes the *Oraisons*, another work by the count, and the later addition of *Les Déduits de la chasse* by Gace de la Buigne sometime during the late fifteenth century or early sixteenth century.

[49] To date, scholarship of the visual representation of the hunt during the Middle Ages lacks a comprehensive, all-encompassing publication. Some of the most famous depictions of the hunt include the fourteenth-century wall paintings of Schloss Runkelstein (Bolzano, Tyrol), the fifteenth-century *Devonshire Hunting Tapestries* (Victoria and Albert Museum, London) and the two series of unicorn tapestries at the Cloisters in New York and at the Musée de Cluny in Paris. Ivories and other smaller objects from the fourteenth century frequently portray falconry and venery.

[50] Smets and Abeele, 75-79. The entire hunt appears in the marginalia of the early fourteenth-century manuscripts of the *Queen Mary Psalter* (London, British Library, MS Royal 2 B VII) and the *Taymouth Hours* (London, British Library, MS Yates Thompson 13).

[51] Thomas and Avril, 2. Thomas and Avril present a full codicological analysis of the manuscript as part of their introduction to the facsimile edition of *Le livre de chasse.*

hunters decorate the borders of folios 13r (fig. 1.2) and 75v. Sixteen folios include leafy rinceaux borders with historiated initials as part of a two-column layout (figs. 1.3 and 1.4). Through comparative analysis of manuscripts contemporary to BnF MS. fr. 616, Paul Durrieu tentatively identified the principal illuminator as Jean Haincelin of Paris, who was closely associated with Haincelin de Hagueneau from the workshop of the Master of the Duke of Bedford.[52] Millard Meiss came to a similar conclusion in volume one of his seminal study *French Painting in the Time of Jean de Berry: The Limbourgs and their Contemporaries*, and identifies the main artist as part of the "Bedford Trend" because of the "liveliness" of the figures, which frequently gesture and appear in motion throughout the illuminations (fig. 1.2).[53] Marcel Thomas and François Avril agree with Meiss and Durrieu in the attribution of the miniatures broadly to the Bedford workshop, but they determined through careful stylistic analysis that BnF MS. fr. 616 shows the work of at least three different illuminators and utilized background painters as well. Such collaboration reveals the design and implementation of a particularly complex visual program.[54]

As author and patron, it is likely Gaston asserted full control over the physical production of his own, original manuscript as well as for the copy given to the Duke of

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[52] Catherine Reynolds, "The Workshop of the Master of the Duke of Bedford," in *Patrons, Authors and Workshops: Books and Book Production in Paris around 1400,* eds. Godfried Croenen and Peter F. Ainsworth (Louvain Belgium: Peeters, 2006) 439-440 and Paul Durrieu, "La Peinture en France. Le règne de Charles VI'," in *Histoire de l'art,* eds. André Michel, vol. 3, part 2 (Paris: Libraire Armand Colin, 1948) 165-166.

[53] Millard Meiss, *French Painting in the Time of Jean de Berry: The Limbourgs and their Contemporaries,* vol. 1 (London: Thames and Hudson, 1968) 268 and 367.

[54] Thomas and Avril, 9-10. Thomas and Avril note Morgan M. 1044 and BnF MS. fr. 616 possesses stylistic elements which indicate it may have been produced in an Avignon workshop.

Burgundy. Despite the lack of archival sources documenting the creation of both codices, we know that vernacular writers of the fourteenth century often determined how their works should be presented, supervising scribes and informing the artists and/or workshops of their desires regarding organization, layout, style, and content. Thus, the authors could demonstrate they were not *merely* translators but composers and compilers of original or mostly original works.[55]

The inclusion, interpretation, or modification of existing texts into original new works contributed to the legitimization of late medieval authors in both secular and religious books. Though largely an original hunting manual, *Le livre de chasse* includes some text verbatim from Henri de Ferrières' treatise on the ceremony of *unmaking*. Gaston also elaborates on the writings of Gace de la Buigne in some of his descriptions of the hunt *à force*.[56] The incorporation of other works conveyed the count's knowledge of existing literature and his commentary thus contributed to his authority to add his own expertise to the subject.[57]

In a similar fashion to the presence of and expansion on other texts within an original work, the decoration of manuscripts could illustrate new ideas while utilizing existing artistic conventions which then legitimized the author's endeavor through a pictorial association to earlier visual programs. The practice of imitating or adopting existing traditions also connected the copies of an original manuscript to the first codex,"

[55] Andrew Taylor, "Vernacular Authorship and the Control of Manuscript Production," in *The Medieval Manuscript Book: Cultural Approaches,* eds. Michael Johnston and Michael Van Dussen (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015) 200.

[56] Thomas and Avril, 5.

[57] Taylor, 202.

such as a book seen in the collection of a fellow aristocrat, in order to connect the patron to the "literary community" of his or her peers and with the nobility as a class. In the case of *Le livre de chasse,* the continuity in visual programs through the copies demonstrated its place within medieval manuscript culture as part of a longer tradition while simultaneously creating a network of future renditions. The repetition of models, patterns, and compositions located the manuscript for the viewer within the broader context of aristocratic books, but it also was "staged in another environment…by different artists and for different recipients [to] create almost implicitly something new," especially in the case of vernacular texts with noble authors who contributed to the design and content of the illuminations.[58]

The similiarities in content and composition among several of the illuminations and folios in Henri de Ferrières *Livre du roy Modus et de la royne Ratio*, BnF MS. fr. 12399 (1379), with the surviving illuminated copies of *Le livre de chasse* speaks for the likelihood that Gaston's original manuscript was influenced by the earlier book (figs. 1.5 and 1.6). Both share the two-column layout, as well as the leaves surrounding the miniatures, which contain red, blue, and gold borders. Though the style of the animals and figures varies, a reflection of the later production of BnF MS. fr. 616 and the multiple artists commissioned, illuminations of both manuscripts depict similar stylized trees and backgrounds combined with the content in certain illuminations. The manuscripts of

[58] Joris C. Heyder, "Re-Inventing Traditions? Preliminary Thoughts on the Transmission of Artistic Patterns in Late Medieval Manuscript Illumination," in *Re-Inventing Traditions: On the Transmission of Artistic Patterns in Late Medieval Manuscript Illumination,* eds. Joris Corin Heyder and Christine Seidel (Bern: Peter Lang GmbH, Internationaler Verlag der Wissenschaften, 2015) 26.

Livre du roy Modus et de la royne Ratio and *Le livre de chasse* also share aspects with another medieval genre, the bestiary.

At the beginning of *Le livre de chasse,* the count categorizes fourteen different kinds of game animals, following in the tradition of the bestiaries which classified animals into different groups. He describes their behaviors, including mating, feeding, and daily habits, identifies their environments and best seasons to be pursued, as well as writes of their other characteristics. The notion of describing the "nature" of the animals can be traced to works such as the first-century *Natural History,* by Roman author Pliny, which arranged the medieval animal kingdom in an encyclopedic fashion while drawing on classical knowledge of the natural world. The treatise directly informed the later sixth-century *Etymologies* by Isidore of Seville, which when combined with the second-century Greek work the *Physiologus*, comprised the content for first bestiaries.[59] The chapters of the *Physiologus* present descriptions of the animals but also moralizing stories. Over the course of the Middle Ages, the animals became standardized in description and representation into iconic symbols of morality within medieval culture. Viewed in this context, animals were understood only in relation to their usefulness for humans as moral exemplars.[60] *Le livre de chasse* presents the animals within a similar context, as noble and ignoble in status and with descriptions with origins in bestiary descriptions, however, it emphasizes the value of each animal in relation to the demonstration of chivalric

[59] Isidore of Seville, *The Etymologies of Isidore of Seville,* ed. and trans. Stephen Barney, W.J. Lewis, J.A. Beach, and Oliver Berghof (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

[60] Brigitte Resl, "Animals in Culture, ca. 1000-ca. 1400," in *A Cultural History of Animals in the Medieval Age,* ed. Brigitte Resl (London: Berg, 2012) 9-13.

prowess on the hunt rather than through any moral meaning. Contrary to the stories repeated throughout the medieval bestiary tradition, Gaston also limits any mention of the more mythical qualities of animals unless relevant to hunting or consuming the animal. He notes, for example, the healing power of the corbyn "bone" of the hearts of red deer and ibex (the cartilage part of the sternum) or how the hart may live a century or more.[61]

Historically, bestiaries provided reductive knowledge rather than observational facts and gained authority by including and expanding on the older textual sources of *Etymologies* and the *Physiologus,* and as well as by utilizing a specific visual tradition which employed the same composition and layout across the centuries.[62] The most recent research on the illuminations of *Le livre de chasse* by Marie-Hélène Tesnière and Hannele Klemettilä addresses the visual similarities with the bestiaries as evidence that the manual should be approached as an encyclopedic text which functioned primarily within a genre of teaching manuscripts with the main purpose of instructing the lord of the hunt or the master huntsman in how to conduct the hunt. The contained animals of two examples, folio 16r of BnF MS. fr. 616 and folio 51v from the earlier manuscript of *Bestiaire divin* by Guillaume Le Clerc de Normandie (BnF MS. fr. 12399), stay within decorated borders and the focus of each miniature is a particular kind of animal (figs. 1.7 and 1.8).[63] However, the illuminations of *Le livre de chasse* are much more expansive,

[61] William Schlag, "Commentary," in *The Hunting Book of Gaston Phébus: Manuscrit français 616, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale*, eds. and intro. Marcel Thomas and François Avril (London: Harvey Miller, 1998) 21.

[62] Debra Hassig, *Medieval Bestiaries: Text, Image, Ideology* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995) 173.

[63] Tesnière, 93.

showing many animals at different ages, performing varying actions, and within a more naturalistic space than the images of animals in the bestiaries.

The count's creation of an original non-fiction hunting manual in comparison to the fictional dialogues of *Livre du roy Modus et de la royne Ratio* and the allegorical and moralizing stories of the bestiaries, when combined with the differences in textual and visual content, reflects the appropriation of existing traditions but placed within a new context with different intentions and reception while still connecting Gaston to the authority of the past. In a similar fashion, the copies of *Le livre de chasse* closely replicated the count's original manuscript and the gift to Philip the Bold, which ensured the authority of the author would remain in perpetuity. Through textual and visual repetition, *Le livre de chasse* maintained its authenticity and became part of the cultural memory of the late medieval aristocracy of France. Though the original codices no longer survive, Gaston's legacy survives through BnF MS. fr. 616 and the many other manuscripts, in facsimiles within libraries across the world and private collections, and immortalized in the digital realm through *Gallica,* the digitization project of the Bibliothèque nationale de France, in 2015.[64]

[64] Gaston Phébus, *The Hunting Book of Gaston Phébus: Manuscrit français 616, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale*, eds. and intro. Marcel Thomas and François Avril, comm. Wilhelm Schlag (London: Harvey Miller, 1998) is a facsimile of BnF MS. fr. 616. Gaston III Phoebus, *Tratado de la caza*, ed. Elena Solomakha (Madrid: Orbis Mediaevalis; San Petersburg: Hermitage Museum, 2013) presents Hermitage OPp N.º 2. François Avril also edited and offered commentary on Morgan M. 1044 in Gaston III, Count of Foix, *Das Buch der Jagd/ Gaston Fébus: MS M. 1044, the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York*, eds. and comm. Avril François and William M. Voelkle (Luzern; Lucerne: Editions Facsimilé: Faksimile Verlag, 2006).

New Approaches to *Le livre de chasse*: Finding the Medieval Past in Pixels and Philosophy

A visit to BnF MS. fr. 616 takes only a few clicks and the worldwide web collapses the six hundred years between the viewer and the brilliant illuminations of the manuscript, erasing the distance between them and the Department of Manuscripts at the Richelieu Library in Paris.[65] The first page of the website displays the more modern cover of the book, but before long, the ripples of the animal flesh made parchment allude to its softer than paper texture, the density of each folio, and the smudges of hands turning the pages over the centuries appear. The medieval viewer might have leaned close to the illuminations, to see all of the detail and watched the light gleam across the gold leaf of the backgrounds and gold-shell paint decorating the figures and objects of the miniatures. The modern scholar can zoom in and see details almost invisible in person without a magnifying glass and a bright light. Both engage with the "real" manuscript, "opening" pages, looking intently, perhaps reading aloud or in silence, admiring the skill of the artists, interpreting the content, and acknowledging the patrons and owners through an understanding of the heraldry. Stephen Nichols questions the ways in which "originality and intentionality" impact the understanding of both medieval "copies" and the "identity of non-human objects that have been exactly reproduced," such as digital versions, in his 2015 article "Materialities of the Manuscript: Codex and Court Culture in

[65] Readers are encouraged to take their own journey through the manuscript by accessing Gallica via http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b52505055c to view the illuminations in addition to the reference images of this document.

Fourteenth-Century Paris."[66] He argues that the various versions of a particular work should be considered as a "series of performances," rather than imitations of an original manuscript. Within this framework, analysis of BnF MS. fr. 616 can illuminate the intentions of Gaston's composition of *Le livre de chasse* and subsequent visual representations, using this "performance" to locate its production and reception within medieval culture, as well as its subject, the hunt. In turn, Nichols notes medieval manuscripts "…are neither copies, nor forgeries, nor clones threatening to usurp the rightful place of the manuscript they preserve."[67] Unlike the restricted literacy and limited access of the past to the treasures of the elite, the scholar can step into the past via pixels and experience the manuscript, and in particular the visual aspects, for themselves. I can only wonder what Gaston, self-proclaimed sovereign of his territories, might have thought of the public access of his manual to perhaps plebian scholars but maybe he would be reassured by the inconfutable proof of his survival through memory, especially one of his own design.

Despite a remarkable amount of extant archival materials by, to, and about Gaston Fébus, little survives regarding the composition, production, and reception of *Le livre de chasse*, though the many remaining copies speak to the popularity of the work and thus its social significance to the aristocracy. *Le livre de chasse* provides insight into the count himself and his motivations as well as a wealth of visual and textual information which explains the role of the hunt in the creation of aristocratic identity. The application of

[66] Stephen G. Nichols, "Materialities of the Manuscript: Codex and Court Culture in Fourteenth-Century Paris, " *Digital Philology* 4, no. 1 (2015) 33.

[67] Ibid., 36-38.

critical theory combined with analysis of the illuminations and text within the cultural context of both the count and aristocratic society demonstrates the complexities surrounding the power relationships of the late Middle Ages in ways previous scholarship has not.

My examination follows the art historical approaches of psychoanalysis and semiotics to interpret the manuscript as a meaning-making object within the visual culture of the Middle Ages. The use of theory complements formal, stylistic, and iconographical analysis in order to delve deeper into the social motivations and implications of the production and decoration of a significant object with descriptions and images of the pursuit, capture, killing, and ceremonial dismemberment of animals, which was written by an elite, given to a peer, and then disseminated widely across his class.[68] To date, scholarship of both *Le livre de chasse* and the four most sumptuous manuscripts does not include study within the social history of art and does not consider their "place, role, and presence in the broader culture" of the late medieval aristocracy in France.[69] The only book length publication to address BnF MS. fr. 616, *Animals and Hunters in the Late Middle Ages: Evidence from the BnF MS Fr. 616 of the Livre de Chasse by Gaston Fébus* by Hannele Klemettilä, discusses the historical context of the hunt through the text of *Le livre de chasse*. Her book describes the hunt, with special attention to the accounts of the hunting hounds included in the manual, and includes examination of the various

[68] For an overview of the range of areas of inquiry within art history, see Jonathan Harris, *The New Art History: A Critical Introduction* (London: Routledge, 2007).

[69] Svetlana Alpers, *The Art of Describing: Dutch Art in the Seventeenth Century* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984) xxiv.

roles of the members of the hunting party. Klemettilä's publication is an important and thoroughly researched contribution addressed to the small field of scholars interested in medieval hunting, led by experts such as Richard Almond and John Cummins, but analysis of the function, reception, and decoration of the manual is absent from her study.[70] As an exploration grounded in the social history of art and critical theory, my exploration of *Le livre de chasse* and BnF MS. fr. 616 will contribute to not only to the scholarship on medieval hunting within history and art history but to broader considerations of how humans perform their identities in society and how animals feature in the construction of public personas, collectives, and what it means to be human among many other animals.

Gaston's perception of himself as an individual, as part of a larger aristocratic collective, and as a human superior to other animals manifested through the social performance of the medieval hunt. All of these conceptions of identity reflected and contributed to the creation of the power relationships which formed late medieval society. The count sought to distinguish himself from other nobles as a sovereign in his own right and to assert his inclusion in an aristocracy which continuously demonstrated its superiority over other classes of society. The abundant representations of social activities

[70] Richard Almond, *Medieval Hunting* (Stroud: Sutton, 2003) and John Cummins, *The Hound and the Hawk: The Art of Medieval Hunting* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1988). In contrast to the study of hunting in later periods, the field within medieval studies is still quite small, with the exception of publications on falconry. Additional sources devoted exclusively to the history of venery in the Middle Ages include: David Dalby, *Lexicon of the Mediaeval German Hunt; a Lexicon of Middle High German Terms (1050-1500) Associated with the Chase, Hunting with Bows, Falconry, Trapping, and Fowling* (Berlin, W. de Gruyter, 1965), Marcelle Thiébaux, *The Stag of Love; the Chase in Medieval Literature* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1974), Jacques Bugnion, *Les chasses médiévales: Le brachet, le lévrier, l'épagneul, leur nomenclature, leur métier, leur typologie* (Gollion: Infolio, 2005), and John M. Gilbert, *Hunting and Hunting Reserves in Medieval Scotland* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 2003).

articulate the importance of public display to the nobility. Membership within the aristocracy required participation in addition to legitimatization by an audience of peers. As the site of the performance of identity, the hunt provided a central way in which the nobility demonstrated its dominance over nature and all of its denizens, thereby accruing the currency of honor integral to chivalric culture through the exhibition of courage, strength, horsemanship, and combat prowess. The sumptuous, illuminated manuscripts of *Le livre de chasse* reveal the hunt to be "…an immensely compelling act at the intersection of agency and prescription," which conveyed the physical power of the nobility as required by their status and by species.[71] The ritualization of the hunt as a formalized, aristocratic activity became a performance of the noble self and as an elite *shared* event, necessary to the construction of the collective memory which formed the basis of a noble group identity. The rituals of the hunt became aristocratic tropes imbued with symbolic import, reiterating the status of the lords and their dominance over the world.[72] As such, I argue in chapter 2, *Sovereignty,* that the composition of a hunting manual by the count demonstrated his inclusion in the collective identity of the aristocracy while simultaneously reinforced and publicly articulated his individual self-perception as a sovereign in his own right as a gift to Philip the Bold, rather than as a vassal to the various monarchies which sought to claim his fealty.

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[71] My study does not address the religious significance of the hunt and its impact on *Le livre de chasse* but will be included in a future project. Jacqueline Stuhmiller explores the religious references and implications of the manual in her article "Hunting as Salvation in Gaston Phébus's *Livre de la chasse* (1387-1389)," in *Rural Space in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Age: The Spatial Turn in Premodern Studies,* eds. Albrecht Classen and Christopher R. Clason (Berlin; Boston: De Gruyter, 2012).

[72] Susan Crane, *The Performance of Self: Ritual, Clothing, and Identity during the Hundred Years War* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002) 3, 5.

My approach expands on existing biographical studies of the count through analysis of Gaston's author portrait at the beginning of the manuscript on folio 13r (fig. 1.2) and applies anthropological gift theory to demonstrate how the gift of *Le livre de chasse* to the Duke of Burgundy affirmed the same social bonds created in the ceremony of homage. Claudine Pailhès published a biography of the count of Foix, *Gaston Fébus: le prince et le diable,* in 2007. The following year Richard Vernier produced his version of the count's life in *Lord of the Pyrenees: Gaston Fébus, Count of Foix (1331-1391).* The next major publications included a catalog that accompanied two exhibitions in 2011-2012 at the Musée national du Moyen Age in Paris and the Musée national du Château de Pau. *Gaston Fébus: Prince Soleil, 1331-1391* focused on life at the count's residence at Orthez and his writings through objects on display in both exhibitions.[73] In 2014, an anthology presented recent research on the count published by the hub of Fébusian studies, at the Université de Pau et des Pays de l'Adour, titled *Signé Fébus, comte de Foix, prince de Béarn: marque personnelles, écrits et pouvoir autour de Gaston Fébus* and edited by Véronique Lamazou-Duplan.[74] Until his death in 2015, the premier Fébusian scholar was Pierre Tucoo-Chala, professor of medieval history at the Université de Pau. All later scholars are indebted to his extensive studies of the count of Foix.

[73] Sophie Lagabrielle, Paul Mironneau, Marie-Hèléne Tesnière, and Peter F. Ainsworth, eds. *Gaston Fébus: prince soleil, 1331-1391,* exhibition catalog published in conjunction with the exhibition of the same name at the Musée de Cluny-Musée national du Moyen Âge (Paris), the Musée national du château de Pau and at the Bibliothèque national de France et la Réunion des musées nationaux Grand Palais (Paris: Réunion des musées nationaux, 2011).

[74] Véronique Lamazou-Duplan, ed. *Signé Fébus, comte de Foix, prince de Béarn: marque personnelles, écrits et pouvoir autour de Gaston Fébus* (Paris: Somogy éditions d'art/ Université de Pau et des Pays de l'Adour, 2014).

During his life, Tucoo-Chala published eight books about Gaston, and many more about the heirs to Foix-Béarn and life in the south of France during the Middle Ages.[75]

Though the European royal families tolerated his independence due to his great wealth and armed forces, connections, and the strategic position of his lands in the Pyrenees, Gaston especially needed to participate within the chivalric culture of the late Middle Ages to reinforce his status as a member of the aristocracy. In lieu of the cultural capital of the traditional vassal-lord relationships which exchanged loyalty in the form of lands and protection for service, the count cultivated honor, another form of social currency, through generous gift giving. While the act of giving could function as a symbol of loyalty between nobles of unequal rank within the same class, the text and illuminations of the hunting manual strengthened the count's claims to sovereign status. As the giving and receiving of gifts contributed to the formation, maintenance, and performance of medieval social order, my examination is grounded in the gift theory of Michel Mauss and the writings of Lévi-Strauss, who established gift giving as the foundational act for social identity. My analysis is particularly informed by more recent studies by medievalist Andrew Cowell and sociologist David J. Cheal, as well as the essays in the essential anthologies *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective* (2013) and *The Gift: An Interdisciplinary Perspective* (1996).[76] As an object

[75] A selection from his numerous publications: *Gaston Fébus et la vicomté de Béarn, 1343-1391.* (Bordeaux, Bière, 1959); *Gaston Fébus, prince des Pyrenees, 1331-1391* (Pau: J. & D. éditions; Bordeaux: Deucalion, 1991); *La vicomté de Béarn et le problème de sa souveraineté: des origines à 1620* (Bordeaux: Impr. Bière, 1961).

[76] Marcel Mauss, *The Gift; Forms and Functions of Exchange in Archaic Societies* (Glencoe, Ill: Free Press, 1954); Claude Lévi-Strauss, *The Elementary Structures of Kinship: (Les Structures Élémentaires de La Parenté)*, trans. James Harle Bell and John Richard von Sturmer, revised ed. (London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1969); Andrew Cowell, *The Medieval Warrior Aristocracy: Gifts, Violence, Performance, and the Sacred* (Gallica / Woodbridge: Suffolk, England, 2007); David J. Cheal, *The Gift Economy*

with significant value within the reciprocal society of late medieval aristocrats as a gift and conveyer of social status and identity, Gaston's choice to compose a hunting manual rather than another work indicates the importance of the representations and text within.

Chapter 3, *Mastery*, introduces the pursuit of animals for sport through analysis of the content of the illuminations of BnF MS. fr. 616, which visualize the ideal hunt within the aristocratic hunting space of the medieval park and highlight the significance of the organization of the manual. The images depict each species of animal within patterned and gilded edges against a stylized sky amidst the grass, trees, plants and rocks of the landscape. The intentional choice of such a restrained representation follows the visual tradition of the bestiary but *Le livre de chasse* instead emphasizes the value of each species specifically as prey and as symbols of the aristocratic domination of nature. Each representation articulates the usefulness of the species depicted within the framework of aristocratic identity rather than existing within nature itself. The manual limits inclusion of prey to only the animals hunted by man for food, product or control and is organized by kind of animal and method of pursuit, either *à force* or by mastery or cunning. As such, *Le livre de chasse* is a compendium of Gaston's own menagerie of animals within his imagined, ideal park, a collection of *his* animals and *his* knowledge. In contrast to authors Hannele Klemettilä and Jacqueline Stuhmiller, I argue the style and composition of the miniatures serve more than a supporting function.[77] Both scholars emphasize a

(London: New York: Routledge, 1988); Arjun Appadurai, ed., *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013); Aafke E. Komter, ed., *The Gift: An Interdisciplinary Perspective* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1996).

[77] Klemettilä, 6. Stuhmiller, 515-516.

basic correlation between the visual and textual components but consider the images secondary to the text, which denies the function of the manuscript as a marker of status and the capacity for medieval art to convey meaning in addition to and outside of textual sources. Furthermore, the social importance of the hunt impacted not only the content of the images but the form.

In contrast to Klemettilä and Stuhmiller, the pioneering manuscript scholar Millard Meiss, as well as Marcel Thomas and François Avril, focused on the physical production of the manuscript by studying the associated artists and addressing the style of the illuminations in order to identify the illuminators.[78] Though necessary to the art historical study of BnF MS. fr. 616, my analysis expands on their more technical analysis to examine how the style, in particular the abstraction evident in the miniatures, articulates complex ideas about the real medieval hunt and its replication within the hunting manual. My analysis explores the illuminations within medieval art, attributing their abstraction to the desire to represent the imagined or invisible while simultaneously impacted by medieval notions of real and imagined spaces as fluid. Using the spatial frameworks put forth by Margaret Goehring and Jean Givens, combined with the theoretical approach by Henri Lefebvre in his influential work *The Production of Space* (1991), I demonstrate how the style and composition of the illuminations mirror the ways in which the medieval park functioned as a physical place manipulated and altered by humans into their vision of the ideal form of nature, one designed and controlled by

[78] Millard Meiss, *French Painting in the Time of Jean de Berry: The Limbourgs and their Contemporaries*, vol. 1 (London: Thames and Hudson, 1968).

man.[79] My examination of the illuminations continues in the remaining chapters, *Dominion* and *Transformation*, as exploration of the content of the images reveals their mimetic aspects to the hunt in lived reality, both reflecting existing ritual and social practice and informing future performances through codification and legitimization.

Chapters four and five investigate the complex process of transforming the live animal into consumable flesh for humans in lived reality and as represented within *Le livre de chasse*. My analysis, as well as the work of most medieval animal scholars, is indebted to Joyce Salisbury, whose groundbreaking book, *Beast Within: Animals in the Middle Ages* (1994), argues that animals in the Middle Ages must be understood beyond their moral, allegorical, and political symbolism within medieval culture. Salisbury thus examined other human-animal relationships within the context of labor, food, and sport and establishes that the boundaries between human and animals became more fluid as the Middle Ages progressed. She asserts this resulted in the human preoccupation with defining humans as different from nonhuman animals and in the belief in the "natural" superiority of man.[80] In the same year, Esther Cohen's "Animals in Medieval Perceptions: The Image of the Ubiquitous Other," also examined the permeable borders between

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[79] Margaret Goehring, *Space, Place and Ornament: The Function of Landscape in Medieval Manuscript Illumination* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013); Jean A. Givens, *Observation and Image-Making in Gothic Art* (Cambridge, UK; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005); Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space* (Oxford, England; Cambridge, Mass: Blackwell, 1991).

[80] Joyce E. Salisbury, *The Beast Within: Animals in the Middle Ages* (New York: Routledge, 1994). Bruce Holsinger provides a comprehensive overview of the state of medieval animal studies, though now out of date, in his article "Of Pigs and Parchment: Medieval Studies and the Coming of the Animal," *PMLA* 124, no. 2 (2009) 616-623. These are merely a small selection of publications considered part of the "Animal Turn" in scholarship which began in the 1980s but became more established in the mid-1990s. Renowned critical animal studies scholar Cary Wolfe describes the trends and scholarship within animal studies more broadly in "Moving Forward, Kicking Back: The Animal Turn," published in the second volume of *postmedieval* (2011) 1-12.

human and other animals in the Middle Ages and how animals served as an ideal Other from which medieval humans could define themselves not only as human, but *particularly* human.[81] In 2011, Karl Steel expanded on Cohen's analysis by arguing the existence of a porous border between humans and other animals which caused anxieties resulting in the need for humans to prove their *humanness* through violence in his book *How to Make a Human: Animals and Violence in the Middle Ages.* Violence solidified this boundary, with the human on one side determining all aspects of the animal's fate in life. Steel's analysis focuses on medieval literature with a limited discussion of the hunt that omits any examination of the popular hunting manuals of the period.[82] My dissertation fills this gap through critical study of the hunt through the text and images of *Le livre de chasse.*

The manual begins with the identification and ranking of the animals in *On Gentle and Wild Beasts*. Gaston describes the characteristics of each animal hunted and identifies when and how the creature should be pursued in the text. The count designs his own hierarchy with humans as super-predators at the very top and himself as the most expert hunter above all others. In order to prove superiority, the categorization, description, and classification of the animals establishes them as Other. Despite the constructed boundaries between the human and animal, their shared qualities problematized the human consumption of animal flesh through the ever-present reminder of the fragility of life for all creatures, including humans, and required the Othering of

[81] Esther Cohen, "Animals in Medieval Perceptions: The Image of the Ubiquitous Other," in *Animals and Human Society: Changing Perspectives*, eds. Aubrey Manning and James Serpell (London; New York: Routledge, 1994) 76.

[82] Steel, 14.

animals to be safely consumed. Medieval notions of acceptable food developed out of fears of becoming animal-like or even cannibalistic by eating an animal that had bitten or consumed human flesh or taking on the characteristics of the animal to which the meat once belonged to.

The stag, the first of the animals portrayed in *Le livre de chasse*, begins a series of text and image folios which depict and describe the most desirable and noble of prey, herbivores suitable for human consumption such as reindeer, fallow deer, ibex (wild goat), roe bucks, hares and wild rabbits. I analyze how the images and illuminations demonstrate the Othering of the stag as an animal so as to reinforce not only human superiority but also how the manual engages in the anthropomorphization necessary to establish the stag as worthy of human domination, thus endowing the hunter with the courage and strengths attributed to the animal.

My discussion continues with an examination of the wolf, the first of the carnivores placed at the bottom of Gaston's hierarchy (foxes, badgers, wild cats, and otters), as a threat to human bodies as well as to human self-assertion as the super-predator of the forest. A species not consumed by humans, the manual presents wolves as particularly abject due to their especially negative characteristics which included a diet of human flesh and carrion. Wolves also challenged the ideal order by killing animals meant to be slain by humans and rendered inedible by a death rendered by fang.

Through analysis of the representations of the fox (perceived as carnivorous in the Middle Ages, while in reality omnivorous), chapter four explores how the means of death impacted the ranking of animals and how *Le livre de chasse* presents carrion-eaters as Other by crossing human taboos of eating creatures not killed by human hand.

Animals, such as the fox, were perceived as both polluted and polluting. Their consumption of carrion meant the human who ate the flesh of a fox would become tainted.

Dominion concludes with examination of the representations of the two omnivores of the manual: the bear and boar. Omnivores, with their diets of both plant and animal, presented a significant problem for the medieval mind. Within *Le livre de chasse,* they occupy the folios between the herbivores and carnivores. Humans generally did not eat bear flesh. As omnivores occupied an ambiguous space, the depiction of the bear underscores its carnivorous qualities in contrast to the boar. While bear meat was taboo, the flesh of the boar was among the most highly sought medieval aristocratic hunters, and is second only to the stag in Gaston's hunting grounds. As a predator itself, the boar carried significant risk to the human hunter and was thus respected for its ferocity but was abjected through its diet and behavior. The images demonize the boar to emphasize its difference from the domestic pig. The boar's fierceness merited the combat skills of the nobility and thus demonstrated human dominance over nature. Despite the valor associated with hunting boar, its flesh could contaminate the human consumer with its lustful and volatile nature, through the filth of its wallowing, and other bestial behaviors. As a result, the boar required ritual dismemberment to purify its flesh for human consumption. The categorization of the prey in *Le livre de la chasse* plainly identifies the creatures as animal. The placement of animals into a hierarchy clearly demarcates creatures as *Other* but ritual completed the transformation from a living creature to abject animal to object.

The medieval hunt subjugated the entirety of a nonhuman animal's existence in service to the human. Animals lived within the artificial landscape of the hunting park which dictated their daily life and as prey on the chase to exalt human courage and strength. After their death at the hand of the human, animals transformed into objects through ritual dismemberment and finally obliterated through ingestion, absorbed into the very flesh to which they owed their demise.[83] Current interest in the ritualization of the hunt comprises a small field of mostly literary scholars but has produced the most critically engaged research to date. Susan Crane published her influential exploration of medieval animals entitled *Animal Encounters: Contacts and Concepts in Medieval Britain.* She approaches the medieval hunt from the position of game theory in chapter four, "The Noble Hunt as Ritual Practice," articulating how the entire hunt served as a ritual performance of social authority in medieval aristocratic culture.[84] Ryan Judkins similarly applies game theory to the English medieval hunt in his 2013 article, "The Game of the Courtly Hunt: Chasing and Breaking Deer in Late Medieval English Literature," to argue the event presents a microcosm of feudal class structure and functions as a game more so than a ritual or rite.[85] My own interest in the ceremony of

[83] I intend to examine the hunter/dog relationship in the future, in particular exploring the notion of killing by proxy, as the dogs would take down prey as well.

[84] Chapter four of the book expands on the earlier essay by Crane, "Ritual Aspects of the Hunt à Force," in *Engaging with Nature Essays on the Natural World in Medieval and Early Modern Europe,* eds. Lisa Kiser and Barbara Hanawalt (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 2008). Additional literary sources for the study of the medieval hunt include: Anne Rooney, *Hunting in Middle English Literature* (Suffolk, UK; Rochester, NY, USA: Boydell Press, 1993); William Perry Marvin, *Hunting Law and Ritual in Medieval English Literature* (Woodbridge; Rochester, NY: D.S. Brewer, 2006); Baudouin van den Abeele, *La littérature cynégétique* (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 1996). Most recently, Abeele published a book on medieval hunting manuals, *Texte et image dans les manuscrits de chasse médiévaux* (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale de France, 2013).

[85] Ryan Judkins, "The Game of the Courtly Hunt: Chasing and Breaking Deer in Late Medieval English Literature," *Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 112, no. 1 (2013) 70-92It should be noted Judkins'

unmaking predates both publications by Judkins and Crane. I examined the visual representation of the medieval hunt in a chapter from my 2008 M.A. thesis, *Visualizing the Medieval Abject: An Analysis of the Frescoes of Runkelstein Castle.* I expanded on this earlier work through examination of several illuminations of *Le livre de chasse* in my 2013 article, "From Animal to Meat: Illuminating the Medieval Ritual of Unmaking," in volume 25 of e*Humanista.*[86] The article formed the basis for a more comprehensive analysis of the illuminations of the *unmaking* through the lens of *Le livre de chasse* in chapter five, *Transformation.* I explore the ritual dismemberment of the boar in addition to the stag through application of the theories of the abject and pollution by Julia Kristeva and Mary Douglas to demonstrate how the event purified the animal flesh into consumable meat.[87]

The *unmaking* involved the splitting apart and skinning of the animal corpse, then cutting it into unrecognizable pieces before cooking. The second part of the ceremony, the *curée,* rewarded the hounds of the hunt with the blood and other parts of the animal. *Unmaking* rituals finalized the full domination of the animal by the human through the transformation of the animal body into *meat,* something only consumed by humans, and

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focuses on the English hunt and addresses later fifteenth-century treatises in contrast to Crane and myself. The broad field of medieval hunting also includes the contributions of zooarchaeologists, a relatively new area devoted to archaeological and cultural anthropological studies of the remains of animals. Key texts include all of the essays in the anthology edited by Aleksander Pluskowski, *Breaking and Shaping Beastly Bodies: Animals as Material culture in the Middle Ages* (Oxford; Oakville, CT: Oxbow, 2007) and in particular the essay by Richard Thomas, “Chasing the Ideal? Ritualism, Pragmatism and the Later Medieval Hunt,” 125-148.

[86] Rebekah Pratt, "From Animal to Meat: Illuminating the Medieval Ritual of Unmaking," *eHumanista* 25 (2013) 17-30.

[87] Julia Kristeva, *Powers of Horror: An Essay on Abjection*, European Perspectives (New York: Columbia University Press, 1982); Mary Douglas, *Purity and Danger: An Analysis of Concepts of Pollution and Taboo.* (London, Routledge & Paul, 1966).

in the complete erasure of the animality of the corpse by reducing it to pieces. As ceremonies only performed by aristocrats, the *unmaking* and the *curée* separated the nobility from other classes of medieval society while simultaneously revealing human anxiety of becoming meat itself. The two ritual events alleviated fears of contamination and re-affirmed the status of animals as Other, against which humans could establish a particular human-ness against the animality of creature.

The ritual aspects of the hunt formed the repetition necessary to establish the activity as central to the social performance necessary to the lives of the aristocracy. In order to have meaning in the present, however, the event required inclusion into cultural memory. The collective identity of the aristocracy relied on the hunt as an experience shared by past and present members but also to be performed by future generations. The concluding chapter, *Commemoration*, draws together the two main themes of this work, the cultural significance of the hunt and its role in the construction of multiple identities. *Le livre de chasse* contributed to the creation of the foundational cultural memory of the hunt which connected individual recollections of the hunt to a unifying framework to place them within, essential to the formation of a collective identity. As the author of *Le livre de chasse*, Gaston asserts his superiority as *the* designer of the cultural memory of the hunt. It is *his* world which becomes the ideal space where his rule in absolute, his nobility irrevocable and even the animal kingdom kneels before him.

CHAPTER 2 SOVEREIGNTY

The humble dedication to Philip the Bold, Duke of Burgundy (1363-1404) by Gaston III of Foix-Béarn (known as Gaston Fébus): "to the most high, honored and mighty lord, Philippe de France, by the grace of God Duc of Bourgogne…master of us all who make the hunt our occupation" in the epilogue of *Le livre de chasse* stands in marked contrast to the grand princely image of the count near the beginning of BnF MS. fr. 616 (fig. 1.9).[88] Gaston honored Philip in his dedication and presented the duke with a richly illuminated copy of the hunting manual and thirty-seven devotional *Oraisons* (Orations). The sumptuous miniatures reveal how Gaston carefully designed his public persona as a sovereign lord in his own right. Such gifts recognized the necessary bonds of loyalty within feudalism in physical form, institutionalized the chivalric individual and shared aristocratic social identities, and ritualized interaction between equals and those within the same class but unequal in rank.[89] The manuscript conveyed more than just knowledge or entertainment; it illustrated the complicated relationships between medieval nobles and how chivalric and aristocratic identities required the continuous performance of status in the complex reciprocal society of the late Middle Ages.

I Gaston, by the Grace of God, named Fébus, count of Foix, lord of Béarn…[90]

Le livre de chasse begins with a declaration of Gaston's title and chosen name of Fébus, not only immediately identifying him as author but also claiming sovereignty by

[88] Bossuat, 169.

[89] Cowell, 16.

[90] Bossuat, 37.

naming himself as count of Foix and Lord of Béarn by the Grace of God, not in fealty or service to any monarch. After the death of his father Gaston II in 1347, Gaston III became the count of Foix, viscount of Béarn, Marsan, Gabardan, Nébouzan, and Lautre, lord of the lowlands of Albi and Donnezan, and co-seigneur (co-lord) of Andorre of the French Pyrenees. Four monarchies laid claim to his fealty for these lands: France, England, Navarre, and Aragon but the new lord followed the traditions of his family and claimed sovereignty of his territories.

The origins of the count's right to rule his lands without fealty to a monarch harkened back to the Roman renaissance of the Carolingian period. In as early as the seventh century, the country of Comminges-Consérans included Foix as part of its territory. Carcassonne then absorbed Comminges-Consérans around the middle of the tenth century. The origins of Carcassonne as a county seat began during the first century C.E as part of the western Roman Empire.[91] The noble title of count or *comte* developed in ancient Rome and was usually held by a military commander or provincial governor. In the early Middle Ages, Charlemagne established new counties as he expanded the Holy Roman Empire and rewarded military leaders and officials with land and title for their service.[92] Carcassonne became a Carolingian county with the appointment of Count Bellon (c. 755-810). Over the next two centuries, the nobility of the Midi, the southern lands of France, grew powerful and most refused to swear fealty for their lands to the

[91] Alan Friedlander, "Carcassonne," in *Medieval France: An Encyclopedia*, ed. William W. Kibler (New York: Garland Pub, 1995) 170-172.

[92] Constance Brittain Bouchard, *Those of My Blood: Constructing Noble Families in Medieval Francia*, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001) 14-16.

various monarchs trying to claim the region, such as the kingdoms of Catalonia, Aquitaine, Gascony, Navarre, and Septimania. Some would align themselves with the more powerful states, such as Acquitaine, but most attempts to annex the Midi by imposing feudalization were unsuccessful, due to the fact that they were rejected on grounds of the Roman and Visigoth laws which gave the counts the right of full ownership of their lands, rather than the feudal arrangement whereby these lands were held in trust for a monarch or liege lord.[93] Simply put, the counts throughout the region argued their land and titles came before the establishment of a unified French kingdom and as such, they owned their lands outright. In 1012, Count Roger I listed the lands of Foix as a division of Carcassonne in his will, and gave Foix to his second son Bernard-Roger, who became count of Consérans and lord of Foix and Comminges. The first official count of Foix was Roger I (d. 1034), the second son of Bernard-Roger, and henceforth the counts claimed *Gratia Dei comes Fuxi,* count by the Grace of God.[94] As the house of Foix gained lands through marriage in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the lords swore fealty as required for any new territories gained but not for Foix.[95]

In the early thirteenth century, the majority of the southern lowlands and the foothills of the Pyrenees fell into chaos due to the Albigensian crusade. By 1244, the governor of Gascony, Simon de Montfort (1208-1265), had eliminated the majority of nobility through death by execution or in battle, dispossession, or exile. King Louis IX

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[93] Archibald R. Lewis, *The Development of Southern French and Catalan Society, 718-1050* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1965) 383, 387.

[94] F. Hamilton Jackson, *Rambles in the Pyrenees and the Adjacent Districts, Gascony, Pays de Foix, & Roussillon,* (New York: Dutton, 1912) 8-9 and Vernier, 10.

[95] Vernier, 10.

(1214-1270) declared French rule over the region in 1251. The counts of Foix, however, survived and even expanded their territories despite the ravages of war, while maintaining their independence despite the claims of the French king. In 1290, Foix united with Béarn when Gaston's great-grandfather, Roger-Bernard III (c.1243- 1302), married Marguerite, viscountess of Béarn (c.1245-1319). Like Foix, the house of Béarn claimed autonomy through the establishment of their county under the Carolingians, even to the extent of minting their own money. In sum, the counts of the Midi considered their titles given prior to the formation of France as a unified kingdom and thus believed that they owed fealty to no one. [96]

As the count of Foix and viscount of Béarn, Gaston would further assert his status as a lord in his own right in his correspondence, evidenced by the listing his sovereign status with his titles in several surviving documents, "…Gaston per la graci de Diu comte de Foys, vescomte de Bearn..."[97] The kingdom of France believed Gaston owed fealty for Foix as a member of the French nobility, regardless of when and who conferred the title. England alleged he held Béarn in trust to the English through Béarn's allegiance to England in the past as part of Gascony. Navarre and Aragon also claimed Gaston's loyalty for Andorra and Champagne.[98] While it was not uncommon for a medieval noble to pay homage to several lords, however, a king or queen's interest trumped all others. The count notoriously either refused outright to pay homage or did so

[96] Ibid., 11.

[97] Lamazou-Duplan, 16. Several examples of the count's title in contemporary sources are included in the front matter of the exhibition catalog *Signé Fébus, comte de Foix, prince de Béarn: marque personnelles, écrits et pouvoir autour de Gaston Fébus.*

[98] Vernier, 5.

only with great reluctance, breaking with the feudal system which governed medieval society. Yet, the aristocracy of several kingdoms at least tolerated his claim to rule his lands autonomously, likely due to family connections, the location of Foix-Béarn territories, and his considerable wealth and military might. [99]

The count's relationships to royalty and the highest levels of the aristocracy transcended the borders of several nations. Marriages in the eleventh through thirteenth centuries connected Foix and Béarn to the nobility of Périgord, Comminges (once more), and the Buch in Gascony.[100] Gaston's closest royal connections, however, came through his marriage to Agnès de Navarre, daughter of Queen Jeanne II (1312-1349) and Philippe d'Evreux (1306-1343). Her brother, Charles II, inherited the kingdom in 1349. Agnès' sister Blanche (1330-1398) married Philippe VI de Valois of France (1293-1350). Through the union of Blanche and Philippe VI, the count gained many royal connections: their son, John II the Good (1319-1364) and his children with Bonne of Luxemburg (1315-1349), Charles V of France (1338-1380), Louis, duc d'Anjou (1339-1384), Jean, duc de Berry (1340-1416), and Philip the Bold, duke of Burgundy (1342-1404).[101]

[99] Pailhès, 352-353. Gaston VII de Montcada (1225-1290) inherited Béarn from his Catalan parents, Guillem II and his wife, Garsenda, daughter of Alphonso II, Count of Provence (c. 1174-1209), and Garsenda, Countess of Forcalquier (c. 1180-1257). A count of Foix, Roger-Bernard III, married Gaston VII's daughter Marguerite de Béarn. The Montcada or Moncade counts historically swore fealty to the dukes of Acquitaine.

[100] Vernier, 9-10 and 59. Gaston's father, Gaston II, cemented ties to Spain by going on crusade. The count's connections to France weakened when Philippe VI died in 1350 and by Gaston's exiling of his wife in 1362 for not receiving her dowry after their marriage in 1349. Tucoo-Chala, *Gaston Fébus*, 111. Agnès' brother reigned as Charles of Navarre (1332-1387) and thus scholar Pierre Tucoo-Chala hypothesizes Gaston's repudiation of his wife must have been more personal than about money but this is unsubstantiated.

[101] Vernier, 26.

As count of Foix and viscount of Béarn, the location of Gaston's lands in the Midi further protected him from recrimination for his blatant insubordination more so than his familial connections or aristocratic rank.[102] He could and did offer or deny passage, military support, or considerable loans to one king or another. His holdings stood in the crosshairs of the embattled English and the French territories during the Hundred Years War as both states sought to rule the Midi. As Gaston controlled the passes, he maintained several strategic positions through which he could quickly help an ally or hinder an enemy by providing and/or withholding forces and funds.

Early in his military career, Gaston gained a reputation for his prowess as a fierce warrior and for his great wealth gained through war, ransom, and negotiations. When the English invaded Aquitaine in 1355, they seized town of Lafrançaise and the road between Moissac and Montauban. Fortunately for the French king, Jean the Good (1319-1364), Gaston and his knights were only a few days away and arrived at the royal request for assistance to defend French territory. Initially, it appeared as if the count honored the king at least with the much more valued military service than the ceremony of homage. Instead, the city magistrates for Lafrançaise paid Gaston handsomely to allow the town to surrender without incident and to defend it against further invasion.[103]

Despite this display of support for French monarchy, though not exactly what the king might have envisioned, Gaston's own holdings made choosing a particular side difficult without monetary justification. The people of Béarn tended to support the

[102] Today, his primary holdings of Béarn and Foix are part of Gascony and Toulouse. A map of medieval France can be found at http://www.lib.utexas.edu/maps/historical/shepherd_1911/shepherd-c-076.jpg.

[103] Vernier, 33.

English while the residents of Foix saw themselves as more culturally connected to the French monarchy. Both lands provided the count with his military forces, knights and soldiers alike. The count also needed their support for his own personal rivalry with the Count of Armagnac, Jean I (1311-1373) and his heir, Jean II (1333-1384), a continuation of a century-long feud between the two houses and their respective neighboring territories of Fézensac and Béarn.[104]

In addition to accepting payment for mercenary services, the count of Foix charged heavy fines rather than destroying cities and executing their citizens. This practice ensured the fidelity of the new lands and mitigated the possibility of potential uprising or future disloyalty, thus solidifying Gaston's own claims to sovereignty. His subjects and armies were loyal to him, not the count's own liege lord of the moment. Despite the loyalty demonstrated by the count in aiding Lafrançaise and Toulouse, Jean the Good appointed Jean II of Armagnac as the King's Lieutenant in Languedoc in 1352. In response, Gaston and his loyal forces abandoned the French, invaded Armagnac, and then returned to his own capital of Orthez.[105]

Throughout his life, Gaston tended most frequently to aid Navarre and France though one of his most notorious acts would demonstrate his penchant for changing sides. The count's participation in a failed coup in December 1355 by Charles II of Navarre and a subsequent plot in 1356 combined with his continued resistance to swearing loyalty

[104] Ibid., 34 and Jonathan Sumption, *The Hundred Years War: Trial by Battle* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1991) 98.

[105] Jonathan Sumption, *The Hundred Years War*: *Trial by Fire* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1991) 183.

may have resulted in Jean the Good ordering his arrest and subsequent incarceration between March and July of 1356.[106] The actions of the French king, if true, did not result in his favor. Gaston instead swore fealty to Peter IV of Aragon (1319-1387) in March 1356 in return for fiefs in Catalonia.[107]

Peter IV of Aragon sought the armies of Foix in support of his war with Pedro I of Castile (1334-1369) but Gaston demanded compensation before honoring his recently sworn feudal obligation. Aragon rejected the count's demands but promised to pay five thousand florins once the count and his forces arrived. Gaston countered with a request for more money and furthered his delay by notifying Aragon of a bribe of two thousand gold florins from Castile to ensure the count's neutrality. Peter IV, in desperate need of reinforcements, counter-offered and finally Gaston moved his considerable force of one thousand mounted knights and at least six hundred soldiers into Aragon but not without asking for additional funds for provisions at least twice. With a final flourish, however, Gaston requested free passage for the merchants of Oloron through the lands of Aragon after a truce was called between the warring kings. Not long after, Gaston left on crusade to East Prussia, abandoning Peter IV completely in 1357.[108]

Gaston's persistence in claiming sole authority of Foix-Béarn was politically expedient in maintaining relationships among the oft warring monarchies around him, as he was married into Navarre, served Aragon, and traded with the English, the French, and

[106] Vernier, 41.

[107] Ibid., 43.

[108] Ibid., 46-48.

Flanders. He frequently cited preserving alliances as more valuable to the monarch in question than a public display of fealty.[109] Ultimately, Gaston most frequently chose to serve himself instead of the most powerful lords in medieval Europe by changing loyalties as deemed necessary to his interests.[110] Froissart tells of Gaston's proclamation towards the end of his life and right before he began *Le livre de chasse*: "If I have hitherto excused myself and refused to take up arms, I had reasonable cause to do so, for the war between the King of France and the King of England does not concern me. I hold my land of Béarn from God…And so I have no business going into service, and no quarrel with one king or the other."[111] Gaston still had to navigate the dominant social and political systems of the age, however, despite his claims of independence,

Beginning in the eleventh century, the system of land and protection in exchange for military service served as a way of forming useful political alliances in an often unstable, violent environment. Feudalism dictated the stratification of society and resulted in the necessity of the nobility to participate in social practices which signified their elite status within.[112] Ritual practices, such as the swearing of fealty and homage, publicized and legitimatized noble relationships through the ceremony in which the two

[109] Ibid.,13. Gaston refused to swear fealty to Philippe VI in response to an alliance between France and Castile, as his relationship to Aragon and Navarre was stronger and both resided on the borders of his lands.

[110] His service to Navarre often came as part of his rivalry with the counts of Armagnac, whose loyalty was to the French.

[111] Jean Froissart, *Oeuvres de Froissart; publiées avec les variantes des divers manuscrit par M. le Baron Kervyn de Lettenhove*, eds. Baron Kervyn de Letthove, Joseph Marie Bruno Constantin, and Auguste Scheler (Brussels: Académie Royale des Sciences, des Lettres et des Beaux-Arts de Belgique, 1867-77) 299.

[112] Griselda Pollock, *Vision and Difference: Femininity, Feminism, and Histories of Art* (London: Routledge, 1988) 20.

parties pledged themselves to each other. Different actions, such as kneeling, clasping hands, and sealing the oath with a kiss symbolized the power relationship (greater/less noble) and obligations to one another. At the same time, chivalric culture defined a specific reality which validated the stratified social order inherent in feudal institutions and expressed distinctions between classes and within particular social ranks. Chivalry also determined appropriate behavior within these groups as well as between individuals, reflecting a society based on reciprocity.

A history of violence and distrust between individuals and families led to the development of chivalry, a code of behavior between male nobles. The reciprocal nature of chivalry, which emphasized loyalty and service to a liege, and of the feudal practices of service in exchange for land and protection resulted in a *moral economy*, "…a system of transactions which are defined as socially desirable…"[113] Gaston's refusal to pay homage and swear fealty risked the ire of the rulers around his lands with whom he conducted business through the potential loss of honor by not participating in the social performances of exchange which standardized relationships within his class. [114]

Medieval aristocratic culture endorsed violence as a means of gaining wealth, land, and title but also as a demonstration of loyalty which conferred honor onto the participant. The value associated with the accrual of honor in addition to the more

[113] Cheal, *The Gift,* 15.

[114] David Cheal, "Moral Economy" in *The Gift: An Interdisciplinary Perspective*, ed. Aafke E. Komter (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1996) 91-92. Cheal defines moral economy as a "…system of transactions which are defined as socially desirable (i.e. moral), because through them social ties are recognized, and balanced social relationships are maintained." Cheal also notes there are "three modes of the institutionalization of identity" within moral economies which include "…. the standardization of forms of relationships; the continuity of members over time; and the routinization of availability."

tangible land and wealth reveals it served as a form of cultural currency. Honor could be gained through loyal service, clearly something Gaston found difficult, inconvenient, and in direct conflict with his self-perceived status as God-given ruler of his lands. While money certainly appears to have been the preferred means of obtaining the support of the count of Foix, honor functioned within the late medieval aristocracy as a viable and desirable commodity, as well as part of the practice of chivalry in the performance of noble status. Ultimately, however, chivalry dictated *ideal* behavior, not necessarily practical realities. Despite the emphasis on loyalty within medieval aristocratic culture, Gaston was not reviled for his flighty behavior because it was in service to his status as an elite warrior as well as an expected part of his role as lord of his own lands. Simply put, though the ideal placed loyalty and faithfulness first, one could not serve another without first serving one's self. Despite the honor associated with service above all else, it was not a pragmatic practice, especially when a noble could demonstrate his chivalric character in other ways, such as giving gifts.

The construction of medieval elite identity necessitated a legitimatizing audience to witness its performance and acknowledgment. Froissart and other writers contributed to both the complimentary and derogatory perceptions of their subjects, while in turn participating in chivalric cultural expectations through the codification of values in writings of Froissart's own work *Chroniques*, chivalric treatises, medieval romances, chansons, and gestes.[115] Knights and lords performed chivalric acts in oral and written

[115] Jean Froissart, *Œuvres de Froissart: Poésies,* trans. Auguste Scheler (Brussels: V. Devaux et cie, 1870-2) 321-323. See also Vernier, 111. The influence of the romances accounts for its popularity in the count's library and in the frequent performances of minstrels at his court.

texts which modeled behaviors expected in real life. Just as popular culture today both mirrors and actively contributes to the development and implementation of societal expectations and behavior, chivalric culture was at once a reality but more importantly an aspiration.[116] Froissart scholars note he could be considered a moralist rather than a historian, as his writings focus on chivalric virtue and behavior (or lack thereof) more so than historical accounts.[117] His work documented, but more often idealized, the nobility featured in the text. The writer spent a significant amount of time at Gaston's court at Orthez in 1388, subsequently devoting an entire section of his *Chroniques* to his *Voyage de Béarn.*[118] In contrast to the duplicitous politician described in other accounts, Froissart extolls Gaston's chivalrous attributes at length. He tells of a devout, generous nobleman and courtly warrior: "In every way [the Count] was so perfect that one could never praise him too much. He loved what he ought to love, hated what he ought to hate. He was a wise knight, high-minded and full of good counsel…He governed wisely. He said many prayers every day…He was liberal and courteous in giving."[119]

Gift-giving was integral to the accrual of honor with the cultural code of chivalry and thus the collective identity of the nobility by recognizing the

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[116] Craig Taylor, *Chivalry and the Ideals of Knighthood in France during the Hundred Years War* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013).

[117] Peter F. Ainsworth, *Jean Froissart and the Fabric of History: Truth, Myth, and Fiction in the Chroniques* (Oxford: Clarendon Press; New York: Oxford University Press, 1990) 78. See also Tucoo-Chala, "Froissart dans le Midi Pyrénéen" in *Froissart, Historian,* ed. J.J.N. Palmer (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell Press; Totowa, N.J.: Rowman & Littlefield, 1981) 118-131.

[118] Froissart, *Chroniques*, XI 3. See also Vernier, 114.

[119] Vernier, 117. Vernier remarks that it is unlikely Froissart was only flattering Gaston in his account, for he does address the darker aspects of the count's own personal narrative, such as the death of his son while imprisoned by his father. He also describes Gaston's short temper and his devotion to his personal wealth.

institutionalized shared social identities of the aristocracy in physical form. Gifts functioned as a series of obligations rather than an isolated act through the expectation of a return gift as part of a "continuous social relationship" which integrated different members within the aristocracy. Gifts conferred power and nobility on the giver and receiver, as well as observers witnessing the exchange.[120] They also standardized relationships for the aristocracy through ritualized interaction between equals or those within the same class but unequal, such as between a duke and a viscount.[121] The ceremonies of gift-giving mirrored the rituals of homage and swearing fealty in the exchange of the symbolic currency of honor created by the display of a particular relationship. These objects became the physical embodiment of the capital of honor inherent in the components of chivalry. [122] As such, gifts provided an alternate way for the count participate in the medieval moral economy in lieu of swearing fealty as a way to accrue honor.[123]

The same wealth and power which made Gaston's lack of fidelity possible also yielded the means to give lavish gifts to his peers and to be generous with his retainers. Though not as prized as loyalty, generosity (largesse) carried considerable honor and was an expected part of being an aristocrat. Despite his own lack of loyalty to many of the

[120] Arnoud-Jan A. Bijstervel, "The Medieval Gift as Agent of Social Bonding and Political Power: A Comparative Approach," in *Medieval Transformations: Texts, Power, and Gifts in Context*, eds. Esther Cohen and Mayke de Jong (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2001) 124.

[121] Cheal, *The Gift, 16.*

[122] Pierre Bourdieu, "The Work of Time," in *The Gift: An Interdisciplinary Perspective*, ed. Aafke Komter (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1996) 133-137.

[123] Cheal, *The Gift,* 16-17.

ranking European royals, he demanded fidelity from his own knights and fostered goodwill through gift-giving at all levels. Froissart records this carefully crafted aspect of his persona in an account from Espan du Lion, a valued knight on his *lo cosselh deu comte* (the Count's Council).[124] "Strangers, knights, squires, who travel through is lands; heralds, minstrels, all people spoke to him. No one leaves without gifts from him, and he would be angry if they were refused."[125] A lack of generosity could reduce one's honor as well. If one did not give gifts, he could be marked as a potential enemy. Because gifts both formed and symbolized relationships, failure to give equally or to give selectively to one peer and not another or to a noble's sworn rival could also rekindle or create rivalries among the aristocracy. The honor associated with gifts "…expresse[d] social ties and social obligations ('debts') ..." and acted as a form of symbolic capital.[126] As such, gifts functioned as a "classificatory mechanism" which both created and acted as a bond between individuals the capacity to insure against the inherent risks "…incurred through alliances and rivalry."[127]

Charles V, prior to his death in September of 1380, supposedly promised Gaston the enviable role of serving as his lieutenant for the province of Languedoc. It is possible the count himself created a rumor to this effect as a ploy to gain the position or indeed fact but the exact truth is unknown. Regardless, the royal council appointed Jean, duc de

[124] Vernier, 88.

[125] Jean Froissart, *Voyage en Béarn*, 30. See also Vernier, 123.

[126] Pierre Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice* (Cambridge, U.K; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1977) 193.

[127] Cowell, 37.

Berry, to the position.[128] Ever politically savvy, the count did not take up arms against France immediately, but instead waited. Seven months later, the duke was still not in Languedoc, leaving the region without a royal governor and Gaston swiftly exploited the situation. Froissart records the count's response: "Whoever counselled you to make [the Duke] your Lieutenant has not counselled you well […] and as for myself, my liege, as long as I have life I shall not suffer in Languedoc any lord opposed to me."[129] Ultimately the duke capitulated, giving Gaston the "gifts" of sixty-five thousand francs and an annuity of another forty-thousand. Though the monetary compensation certainly bought the count's loyalty, the duke also swore he would not give honors to Gaston's rival, the Count of Armagnac, above those presented to the count of Foix in order to achieve peace. The French army was also otherwise engaged in Flanders under the command of Philip the Bold to quell a rebellion so this was a pragmatic approach when a battle with Foix would likely have not ended in the duke's favor.[130] Philip's decision to treat both lords equally in terms of honors bestowed reveals how the lack of a gift or bestowment of honor could dissolve noble bonds just as easily as the giving of a gift created ties.

Gaston completed *Le livre de chasse* in 1389, and thereafter gave a copy to Philip the Bold.[131] The duke participated in the negotiations in 1389 between Gaston and his sometimes rival Jean, duc de Berry, for the hand of the count's ward, Jeanne de Boulogne (1378-c. 1424). Philip's role as advisor to his brother's heir, King Charles VI,

[128] Vernier, 163. See also Tucoo-Chala, *Gaston Fébus*, 323, n. 2.

[129] Tucoo-Chala, *Gaston Fébus*, 324.

[130] Vernier, 166.

[131] Klemettilä, 19.

(1368-1422), meant forming a public relationship could be beneficial for Gaston's aspirations.[132] The count sought various posts, such as the failed attempt to become lieutenant in 1380. It is unlikely Gaston's goal in giving the manuscript was necessarily an object in return but rather to create or maintain a connection with the duke which would then be witnessed by other members of the aristocracy.[133] While rejecting one form of exchange, the oath of homage, Gaston gave gifts to replace the rituals of fealty he notoriously avoided but were necessary to the formation and preservation of social authority in the political and cultural systems of medieval France. As a vassal acknowledged the superior position of his liege lord, the count's gift honored Philip's high status.[134] On the surface, Gaston gave the gift in supplication, recognizing the rank of the duke (as worthy of receiving gifts), however gift exchange ultimately establishes and emphasizes disparities between the participants.[135] The rituals of homage and swearing fealty illustrated the higher status of the givers in that the king or liege *gives* land and/or title and the vassal *receives.* In the ongoing relationship then formed, the return gift of service is reciprocal but unequal. The power to give carries agency in that one is in a position of wealth and largesse to give some away. While the manuscript acknowledged Philip's high status (as meriting gifts to gain favor), the act of giving the book, combined with its lavish decoration, conveyed the count's *own* wealth, status, and largesse. Rather

[132] Vernier, 138.

[133] Ibid., 178. Vernier hypothesizes the gift of *Le livre de chasse* may have been in exchange for the duke's participation in the marriage negotiations but without evidence.

[134] C.A. Gregory, *Gifts and Commodities* (London: New York: Academic Press, 1982) 19.

[135] Ibid., 47.

than truly a gift in supplication, the illuminations and text of the prologue and epilogue express a different message–the sovereignty of the count of Foix-Béarn.

Within medieval manuscript culture, particularly sumptuous books "would be seen as ceremonial objects of courtly making, a total production in which text, image and decoration work together."[136] The prologue of *Le livre de chasse* and the count's author portrait (fig. 1.2) stand in for the real-life presentation of Gaston's expertise, authority, and rank. As a luxury object understood by the nobility as status-making through its limited audience (literate elites), materials and content, (indicative of wealth), and role as a gift (an exhibition of largess and acknowledgement of class or rank), the "total production in which text, image, and decoration work[ed] together" of the manuscript functioning as a performance of self-presentation. As author and patron, the count determined not only the prose but also his representation within the manual, in particular the presentation scene of folio 13r (fig. 1.9, miniature; detail figs. 2.1-2.2).[137] The first part of the prologue reads:

> In the name and in honor of God the creator and lord of all things and of his blessed son Jesus Christ, and the Holy Spirit, all of the Holy Trinity, and the Virgin Mary, and all the saints who are in the grace of God, I, Gaston, by the grace of God, named Fébus, count of Foix, lord of Béarn, during which time I have especially enjoyed three things: arms, love and hunting. And as for the first two, there have been far better masters than I, for far better knights have been than I am, and many people have had more fine adventures of love than I had, it would be foolish for me to talk about it. I therefore neglect these two offices of arms and amours, for those who wish to follow them as they ought to learn will learn better in fact than I can say in words. And that is why I will keep silent. It is

[136] Dhira Mahoney, "Courtly Presentation and Authorial Self-Fashioning: Frontispiece Miniatures in Late Medieval French and English Manuscripts," *Mediaevalia* 21 (1996): 99.

[137] Ibid., 99, 101-102.

> of the third office, which I doubt having any master, as vain as it sounds, I want to talk about, that is to say the hunt….[138]

The veracity of Gaston as author required the application of consistent authorial practices of the fourteenth-century. Gaston first invokes the names of Christian divinity, a practice found across many late-medieval works as a demonstration of their approval of the author's endeavor and his or her piety. He immediately identifies himself as author of the text rather than narrator in the first few lines of the prologue, with the *I, Gaston* asserting himself as the creator of the text, following the practice of vernacular medieval works popular in France but not elsewhere in Europe.[139] The utilization of the "*I*–narrator–author" formula, drawn from legal texts, specifically references the authenticity of Gaston's account. Sophie Marnette notes this is a performative formula, which highlights the author as witness and the text as a "first-person expression," emphasized by the last line of the text which notes the count will "talk" about what he knows best–the hunt.[140] The inclusion of Gaston's name and title also distinguished *Le livre de chasse* as an original work which could potentially damage or enhance the count's reputation though he establishes his expertise.[141] Despite offering the modest assessment of his experience of arms and love, he identifies his authority to speak of

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[138] Bossuat, 37. My translation from the modern French.

[139] Sophie Marnette, "The Experiencing Self and the Narrating Self in Medieval French Chronicles," in *The Medieval Author in Medieval French Literature*, ed. Virginie Elisabeth Greene (Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire, England; New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006) 117.

[140] Ibid., 122-123.

[141] Cristian Bratu, "Je, aucteur de ce livre": Authorial Persona and Authority in French Medieval Histories and Chronicles," in *Authorities in the Middle Ages: Influence, Legitimacy, and Power in Medieval Society*, eds. Sini Kangas, Mia Korpiola, and Tuija Ainonen (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2013) 192.

hunting in the second to last line of the first paragraph of the prologue: "It is of the third office, which I doubt having any master, as vain as it sounds, I want to talk about, that is to say the hunt…."[142] Though Gaston acknowledges his inability to share knowledge of love and warfare with the reader, he eschews the more traditional topos of "affected modesty," practiced by most medieval authors with origins in late Antiquity.[143] The choice of language in the prologue conveys the authority of the allusion to a sense of inadequacy in at least *some* areas, a half-heartened attempt at following the convention of "affected modesty" found in many late fourteenth-century prologues. Gaston's voice is not one of a just any author, but of an expert, aristocrat, and sovereign, thus the count does not need to efface as other authors in text or image. Though he follows the traditions necessary to convey his participation in medieval culture as an author, the half-page miniature above the prologue leaves no doubt to the count's perceptions of his own power and authority, inverting the visual tradition of the prefatory or frontispiece illumination which celebrated the importance of the intended recipient with a representation of the author kneeling before the patron.[144]

Dhira Mahoney identifies several repeated elements in the portrayal of authors across presentation scenes more broadly in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries in her article, "Courtly Presentation and Authorial Self-Fashioning: Frontispiece Miniatures in

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[142] Bossuat, 37. My translation from the modern French and my emphasis.

[143] Mahoney, 100.

[144] Elizabeth Salter and Derek Pearsall, "Pictorial Illustration of Late Medieval Poetic Texts: The Role of the Frontispiece or Prefatory Picture," in *Medieval Iconography and Narrative: A Symposium: Proceedings of the 4. International. Symposium Organized by the Centre for the Study of Vernacular Literature in the Middle Ages: Held at Odense Univ. on 19-20. Nov., 1979*, ed. Flemming G. Andersen (Odense: Univ. Pr., 1980) 106.

Late Medieval French and English Manuscripts."[145] A more traditional author presentation scene, folio 95r from British Library, London Harley MS. 4431, *The Book of the Queen,* portrays the author, Christine de Pizan (1364-1430), before Louis I, Duke of Orléans (1372-1407) and utilizes the conventions of authorial representation (fig. 2.3). The illumination shows "the context of power" of the court, in which Christine holds out her book to Louis, who is seated on a throne below a gold and blue canopy. Other courtiers stand around the duke as witnesses to the performance of his status as worthy of such a gift within a public setting. The embroidered canopy, combined with the tiled floor, intricate architecture, and the lavish attire of the duke and his attendants emphasizes Louis' wealth. Christine's own dress, however, is much more muted in comparison and thus follows the convention of a visual reference to the scholarly nature and "affected modesty" of the author.[146] Despite the temptation to consider these kinds of scenes as portrayals of actual historical moments, however, they were instead fictional accounts which conveyed the author's status and relationship to the patron.[147]

In contrast to the representation of Christine, Gaston assumes the place of the patron in his author portrait and combines the conventions of both author and royal presentations (fig. 1.9).[148] He does not hold his gift for the duke but instead presents an *estortoire,* a hunting staff, and sits on a canopied throne at the center of the

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[145] Mahoney, 101.

[146] Ibid., 102.

[147] Mahoney, 103. See also Kathleen L. Scott, "Design, Decoration and Illustration," in *Book Production and Publishing Britain, 1375-1475,* eds. Jeremy Griffiths and Derek Pearsall (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989) 61-62.

[148] Mahoney, 101.

polychromatic composition. The public setting of the scene follows the consistent representation of an audience witnessing the ceremony of book presentation and thus confers status onto the patron. Within the illumination, several nobles gather around the count, acknowledging *his* status, not Philip's. The scene is an imagined event rather than an actual portrayal of the count seated on a throne within a grassy area outdoors. These aspects, combined with the complex iconography incorporated in his formal gesture, opulent attire, and architectonic throne, visually articulated more than the count's role as author. Here the iconography specifically conveys his political power while simultaneously legitimatizing his claim to sovereignty of his lands.[149]

Gaston reveals not only his status but also his wealth through display attired in luxurious bright red, blue and gold ceremonial robes, emphasized in the contrast to the more muted colors of the liveries of the huntsmen which surround him and the grass depicted in the foreground. The count's scarlet robe appears to change color, as the hue lightens over his knees and in the folds billowing onto the dais, revealing the fabric to be smooth, silky and luxurious (fig. 2.1, detail).[150] The rich saturation of the embroidered houppelande and the pink velvet hood (indicated by the distortion or muddling of the pigment) complements the cobalt pillow beneath him and the ornate pale green cloth of honor hung behind on the rose and beige architectonic throne. The green shades repeat the aquamarine of the ornate belt around the count's hips and the phoenix and peacock

[149] Cornelius O'Boyle, "Gesturing in the Early Universities*" DYNAMIS. Acta Hispanica ad Medicinae Scientiarumque Historiam Illustrandam* 20 (2000): 25-26.

[150] Margaret Scott, *Fashion in the Middle Ages* (Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum, 2011) 17. A yard of vermillion scarlet would have cost more than the pay for two weeks of labor by a mason.

embroidery of his robe glisten in gold with more blue in the eye of each ocellus. A floral pattern adorns the large black sleeves of his pourpoint, visible under the fur edging of the houppelande. The dark sleeves allude to the trend of black rising to prominence among the nobility between 1360 and 1380 as dyers developed methods to produce heavily saturated black hues.[151] A large sapphire and other gemstones hang from a gold chain around his neck with a sizable ruby or other red gemstone surrounded by pearls or other jewels ornamenting his dark, high headpiece.

The monumentality of his architectonic framing combined with the long held prestige associated with vivid scarlet accentuate his status as noble, visualizing his combined status and wealth that underscores his power.[152] Clothing conveyed symbolic importance throughout the Middle Ages, illustrated by not only sumptuous imagery in art but also in the elaborate descriptions of aristocratic fashion in courtly romances.[153] The nobility considered fashion as a visible manifestation of their rank through rich fabrics and fashionable styles, a "material self-presentation in social performance" which included adopting signature colors as badges or markers of lineage and family connections.[154] In 1349, Gaston married Agnès, sister to Charles II of Navarre, and consequently redesigned his coat of arms to stress his new-found close royal

[151] Michel Pastoureau, *Blue: The History of a Color* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2001) 85-86.

[152] François Piponnier and Perrine Mane, *Dress in the Middle Ages* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997) 57-60.

[153] Susan Crane, *The Performance of Self*, 10.

[154] Ibid., 15.

connection.[155] The count's heraldic colors became black, red, and gold, accounting for the hues of his sleeves, houppelande and sumptuous embroidery which were mirrored in his coat of arms originally depicted below the miniature. An illumination from a manuscript in the count's library, *Elucidari de las proprietatz de totas res natural* Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, Paris MS. 1029, fol. 000Iv-001 (fig. 2.4) shows the Foix-Béarn arms: a gold field with bright red charges dividing the shield into four compartments.[156] Vertical red stripes decorate the top left and bottom right, with two crimson *passant* cows.[157] The cows symbolize the sovereignty of Béarn and Navarre and the multiple vertical bands reference Foix, Comminges, and Aragon.[158]

Fourteenth-century sources and objects, which include surviving fabrics, reveal Gaston commissioned several houppelandes embroidered with phoenixes, a motif which identifies the count in many of the illuminations throughout *Le livre de chasse* (folios 13r, 51v, and 122r of BnF MS. fr. 616).[159] Although animal motifs were not uncommon

[155] Sophie Lagabrielle, "Agnès de Navarre: L'amour des beaux objects," in *Gaston Fébus: prince soleil, 1331-1391,* eds. Sophie Lagabrielle, Paul Mironneau and Marie-Hélène Tesnière (Paris: Réunion des musées nationaux-Grand Palais, 2011) 58-60. Published in conjunction with the exhibition of the same name, shown at the Musée Cluny-musée national du Moyen Age in 2011 and Musée national du Château de Pau in 2012.

[156] Laurent Mace, "Ór et gueles, Foix-Bearn. Les armes due prince Soleil," in *Signé Fébus, comte de Foix, prince de Béarn: marque personnelles, écrits et pouvoir autour de Gaston Fébus,* edited by Véronique Lamazou-Duplan (Paris: Somogy éditions d'art: Université de Pau et des Pays de l'Adour, 2014) 118-125; Barthélemy l'Anglais., *Elucidari de las proprietatz de totas res natural*. After 1349, before 1391. Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, Paris. MS 1029, fol. 000Iv-001.

[157] Ibid.,120.

[158] The count's mother was Aliénor of Comminges (1329-1402), daughter of Bernard VIII, count of Comminges (1285-1335).

[159] Lagabrielle, 60. Several primary sources describe Agnès' penchant for wearing scarlet as a symbol of her rank as well as Belgian and Aragonese fabrics more generally. In addition to vermillion, she wore blues, greens, purples, and a variety of red hues.

in medieval fabrics, the repetition within the manuscript indicates the intentionality of the pattern as an identifier and may allude to the count's conscious refashioning of his identity by renaming himself Gaston Fébus after accompanying the Teutonic Knights and several illustrious nobles, including the future Henry IV (1366-1413) of England, on crusade to Prussia in 1357.[160] Known as Gaston de Foix prior to the journey, the count adopted "Fébus" upon his return in the fashion of other sovereigns of the time, along with the new motto of "Touch [me] if you dare" (*Toquey si guases* in Béarnais) and more significantly the battle cry "Fébus go forth!" (*Fébus aban!).*[161] The fiery phoenix could suggest his new nom de guerre, as one of several names for the sun god as well as his "rebirth" as Fébus. His journey on crusade may have resulted in the bestowal of the chain around his neck in the illumination, which resembles a chivalric or livery collar (fig. 2.2).

Gold chains or collars visually conveyed not only rank or status but a specific connection to a particular lord, a monarch or an order of knights. While it is unknown whether Gaston became a member of the Teutonic Order after taking up the Cross, the chain alludes to such collars, in particular the heavy rope of chain combined with a dangling stone, and identifies the count with one of the most prestigious devices in aristocratic livery.[162] The generic representation could also be intentional, for as sovereign of Béarn, the count would be in the position to bestow such collars as well as receive them. The jewels above and below frame the author's face, heavy-lidded eyes

[160] Vernier, 47-48.

[161] Ibid., 77.

[162] Ibid., 47-48. See also Matthew Ward, "The Livery Collar: Politics and Identity During the Fifteenth Century," in *The Fifteenth Century XIII Exploring the Evidence: Commemoration, Administration and the Economy*, ed. Linda Clark (Woodbridge, U.K.: Boydell & Brewer, 2014) 44.

glancing outward above the graying forked beard which marks Gaston as mature, masculine and wise.[163]

The depiction of a figure enthroned under a canopy and/or within an architectural framework symbolized both sacred and secular power, an iconography which developed early in the Middle Ages. Both the presentation miniatures of *The Book of the Queen* and another contemporaneous early fifteenth-century manuscript, Morgan M. 536 of the *Grandes Chroniques de France*, present the canopy as part of the iconography for royalty (fig. 2.5). In the illumination on folio 2r of M. 536, author Jean Froissart presents Charles VI (1368-1422) with his account of the royal history of France.[164] The king sits under a green and orange canopy with the inclusion of traditional presentation iconography, such as the courtiers, tiled floor, sumptuous dress, and the subtler attire of Froissart. In contrast, the miniature of *Le livre de chasse*, depicts the author, Gaston, frontally on the throne and he gazes out at the figures in the foreground, coyly avoiding eye contact with the viewer and surrounded by avid huntsmen, some of whom speak with each other and or look toward the count. The addition of the count holding an *estortoire* in his left hand further the royal associations of the representation.[165] Gaston's gesturing hand emphasizes the hunting staff, which points

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[163] Derek G. Neal, *The Masculine Self in Late Medieval England* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008) 132-133.

[164] Jean Froissart, *Grandes chroniques de France*, c. 1410-1412. Morgan Library, New York, M. 536. Folio 2r.

[165] Gaston identifies the stick as a *estortoire* in chapter 45, folio 77 of BnF MS. fr. 616. Mironneau, 152. Director and conservator of the Musée nationale de Chateaux de Pau, Paul Mironneau notes the representation is "quasi royal" but does not elaborate on why he also considers the image to be such. For additional examples of medieval royal iconography, see Scot McKendrick, John Lowden, et. al, *Royal Manuscripts: The Genius of Illumination* (London: British Library, 2011).

upward and uncannily resembles a scepter, such as the one held by Philip V (1293-1322) in the presentation scene on folio 4v (fig. 2.6) in the first volume of BnF MS. fr. 2090, a collection of writings about the life of the third-century martyr St. Denis.[166] The miniature depicts Gilles de Pontoise, an early fourteenth-century abbott of the monastic community of St. Denis, kneeling as he presents the manuscript to the king. Philip holds a long scepter in his left hand as he accepts the book with his right. He stands within in an architectural frame with his body frontal but head in three-quarter profile.

The illumination of Gaston, however, most closely resembles the images of enthroned kings which began many medieval books of varying genres, such as bibles, psalters, romances, epics, and legal texts, or also marked the beginning of particular cycles within manuscripts.[167] The representation of the count shares similarities to the coronation image of Henry III of England (1207-1272) near the beginning of British Library, London Cotton MS. Vitellius A XIII, *Chronicle of English Kings*, from the late thirteenth century (fig. 2.7).[168] The king sits frontally on a throne against a field of gold under a pointed arch. He holds a scepter in his right hand and a reliquary in the other as two bishops place the crown on his head. A manuscript contemporary to BnF. MS. fr. 616, *Grandes Chroniques de France* BnF. MS. fr. 2813 depicts the coronation of Charles

[166] *Life of St. Denis.*1317. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris. MS. fr. 2090. Vol. 1. Folio 4v.

[167] Anthony Musson, "Ruling 'Virtually'? Royal Images in Medieval English Law Books," in *Every Inch a King: Comparative Studies on Kings and Kingship in the Ancient and Medieval Worlds,* eds. Lynette G Mitchell and C. P Melville (Boston: Brill, 2013) 152-153.

[168] Coronation of Henry III. *Chronicle of English Kings*. Detail. c. 1280-1300. British Library, London. Cotton MS Vitellius A XIII folio 6v.

V on folio 439r (fig. 2.8).[169] The left side of the illumination portrays the king enthroned in sumptuous embroidered attire and surrounded by nobles and clergy and holding both long and short scepters.[170]

The frontal positions of both the kings in the miniatures of the *Chronicle of English Kings* and the *Grandes Chroniques de France* and of Gaston in *Le livre de chasse* follow the medieval tradition of conveying direct speech and thus authority. In the miniature of BnF Ms. fr. 616 (fig. 1.9) the count exists not only in the space depicted, as the profiles of several of the huntsmen indicate but also outside of it, in conversation with the viewer.[171] The position serves as a signal or cue that conveys Gaston's authority to speak due to his aristocratic and sovereign status and his role as an expert in hunting, in contrast to the huntsmen who do not look at the viewer, a sign of their lesser status.[172] Differences in the size, postures, attire and location of the figures in the composition further strengthens the opposition in status and power, medieval artistic conventions that articulate the "duality of the ruler and the ruled, the noble and the [servant]."[173] The count looks slightly downward but the frontality of the body confronts the viewer directly,

[169] *Grandes Chroniques de France.* 1375-1380. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris. MS. fr. 2813. Folio 439r.

[170] For a concise overview of medieval royal iconography, see Joan A. Holladay, "Royal and Imperial Iconography," in *The Routledge Companion to Medieval Iconography,* eds. Colum Hourihane and Denis L. Drysdall (London; New York: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2017) 356-372.

[171] Meyer Schapiro, *Words and Pictures. On the Literal and the Symbolic in the Illustration of a Text* (The Hague: Mouton, 1973) 39-40.

[172] O'Boyle, 251.

[173] Schapiro, 42-43. Schapiro uses the term plebian but in this context, the term is imprecise to the exact relationships between Gaston and members of the hunting party.

indicating some deference with the strength of full-face representation arguing for an equal status between viewer and author.

As the recipient was Philip the Bold, a known master hunter himself, the image "speaks" louder than any imagined speech. The count gestures with his right hand, indicating speech or speaking, with his palm up and first two fingers extended toward the staff in his left hand.[174] His right hand guides the viewer's eye to the *estortoire* in his left hand. Despite the slight glance downward, Gaston does not gesture for the benefit of the huntsmen in the miniature but rather for the viewer. Gestures visually articulate class distinctions in rituals, and function as a means to emphasize how certain behaviors belong to a particular strata of society. Participants in feudal and religious rituals gestured while also using formal language and acting on or with symbolic objects as part of the performance of commitment to a person or to God.[175] Gestures in the ceremonies of homage confirmed and publicized inclusion in the upper strata of medieval society and conveyed the "symbolic values of their social rank," such as honor and loyalty.[176] As such, they became the "most immediate outward signs of the hierarchies and groupings that constitute social relations."[177] Like gestures used within rituals, the gestures of the

[174] Medieval art historians generally accept gestures in medieval art as acts of speaking. See Michael Camille, "Seeing and Reading: Some Visual Implications of Medieval Literacy and Illiteracy" *Art History* 8, no. 1 (March 1985): 26–49.

[175] Jean-Claude Schmitt, "The Rationale of Gestures in the West: Third to Thirteenth Centuries," in *A Cultural History of Gesture: From Antiquity to the Present*, eds. Jan N. Bremmer and Herman Roodenburg (Cambridge, UK; Cambridge, Mass., USA: Polity Press, 1991) 60.

[176] Schmitt, 61.

[177] O'Boyle, 254-255.

count of Foix in *Le livre de chasse* required an audience to reinforce the status of the acting person.

Through his gesture, Gaston expresses his power by not only possessing the authority *to* gesture but also by motioning from a *book*, therefore identifying the status of the reader as being high enough rank to understand the meaning of his movements. This is one of many ways the heavily illuminated copies of *Le livre de chasse* defy designation as simply a teaching text. The intended recipient of the manuscript, the Duke of Burgundy, required no instruction since he was a famous expert hunter himself. Such a sumptuous depiction of the count marks him as not *just* the author but *more* than an author. Gaston is thus represented as a lord first and foremost with all of the power and wealth associated with his status, while his gestures mark him as not *merely* a noble hunter, but the *best* hunter and thus one who should be considered an exemplar of the practice. The repetition of the author portrait across the four most sumptuous copies of *Le livre de chasse* (and as well as in others less lavishly illustrated) adds to the reiteration of the count's status and authority as author.

Ultimately "identity is the outcome of interaction," through gifts and other forms of exchange, specifically social integration.[178] Gift giving developed *particular* relationships among individuals, in an attempt to encourage a lord to be more loyal to a specific individual. In the case of Gaston, his loyalties historically had resided with both France and England at various points but at the end of his life, he identified himself as loyal to the French. "Competitive giving" as a practice functioned as an investment in the

[178] Marilyn Strathern, *The Gender of the Gift: Problems with Women and Problems with Society in Melanesia* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988) 13.

development of "power, authority, and action" of the self within the pluralistic relationships of the late Middle Ages.[179] Gaston publicly proclaimed who he was through the text and images of *Le livre de chasse*: teacher, scholar, pious devotee, avid hunter, warrior, nobleman, and most emphatically, sovereign of his own lands.

[179] Cowell, 36.

CHAPTER 3 MASTERY

Within the illuminated medieval park on the pages of *Le livre de chasse,* a huntsman and a leashed hound track wolves and foxes through high, shredded trees and heavy brush of folio 64r (fig. 3.1). The tree tops near the edge of the picture plane with leaves of varying hues in shades of olive, juniper, and sage and white and light green highlights under an abstract gold, cobalt, and crimson. The trunks become darker and smaller, seemingly without an end in the middle of the composition. The darkness grows in the distance and draws the viewer's eye into an endless forest. The huntsman and his canine companion travel in front of the defined tree line within a foreground filled with lush grasses, weeds, a few mauve flowers, and a trio of shorter trees. The forest dominates the composition, the human figure barely rising to the middle ground, small and insignificant against the winding trunks and branches. The wilderness encroaches on the human but the alternating azure, maroon, and gold borders contain the forest, a reminder that the image is not meant to be fully realistic or to show just any landscape but one carefully designed. It is part of a larger program which depicts Gaston's perception of his superiority over not only man as lord of Béarn and Foix but also master over Nature itself. The abstract backgrounds of the illuminations tell of an ideal hunt within a perfect hunting ground, a medieval park of the count's own design visualized through the pages of the sumptuous *Le livre de chasse.* He thus displayed his ability to wrestle the wild into submission in this imagined hunting space. Within his own lands and in the manuscript, Gaston manifests as the ultimate predator with life and death power over animals and other humans.

The Medieval Hunt

The illuminations of *Le livre de chasse* visualize the count's idea of the supreme parkscape, an infinite wilderness with limitless animals to chase, maim, and kill.[180] Aristocrats wanted the largest of medieval parks as possible, as they enabled nobles to hunt *à force* across significant distances, a challenge for even the most experienced riders. The parks could extend for hundreds of acres in order to create different terrains for a variety of species within the enclosure.[181] The allusion to the ownership of vast lands and the ability to hunt *à force* demonstrated the count's wealth to be so great that he could dedicate large amounts of property to the pleasurable pursuit of animals rather than to economic gain through agriculture, timber, rents, and other means of income. The manuscript introduces the viewer to Gaston's own carefully constructed space by first introducing its designer and lord in the frontal depiction of the count on folio 13r of BnF MS. fr. 616 (fig. 1.2) and then within the landscape of the most important animal, the stag, in folio 16r (fig. 1.7).

Deer, the main focus of the medieval park, required a forest with woods of varying size, density, and age as well as with open areas interspersed throughout. The emphasis on woodland reflected the growing importance of the topography within the preferred aesthetics of medieval hunting in an ideal forest well-supplied for pursuit. [182]

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[180] Cummins, *The Hound and the Hawk,* 2.

[181] S. A. Mileson, "The Sociology of Park Construction" in *The Medieval Park: New Perspectives*, ed. Robert Liddiard (Macclesfield: London: Windgather Press, 2007) 45.

[182] Robert Liddiard, "Introduction" in *The Medieval Park: New Perspectives*, ed. Robert Liddiard (Macclesfield: London: Windgather Press, 2007) 1. Liddiard notes that while the parks were known as "deer parks" in popular history and early scholarship, it is incorrect to assume only deer resided within the enclosures.

Deer lived within managed spaces which encompassed diverse landscape elements such as the broken woodland comprised of coppice stools and pollards on folio 63r (fig. 3.2), the clear spires and high wood of the deep forest (fig. 3.1), and the preferred valleys and low hills of higher, drier areas for the fallow deer of folio 20r (fig. 3.3). [183] Within the cornfields and other pastures of folio 62v (fig. 3.4), a lymerer, who handled the count's running hounds which pursued prey via smell rather than scent, follows a tracking hound in pursuit of the *fumées* or droppings of the stag.[184] The stalks of the cornfield rise higher than human height and guide the viewer's eyes up the picture plane to a green pasture of wild grasses which define the boundary of the forest, dense and endless below a gold patterned blue sky.

As an enclosed habitat, the intentional design of medieval parks included the planting of trees, hedgerows, and other vegetation as well as creation of pastures and incorporation of water features such as streams, artificial ponds, and marshes.[185] These modifications adapted the landscape for different species of animals. The illumination of folio 66r (fig. 3.5) portrays a vineyard or orchard, one of the recommended grounds for boar hunting. Shredded beech and oak trees along the right side of the composition reveal

[183] Aleksander Pluskowski, "Who Ruled the Forests? An Inter-Disciplinary Approach Towards Medieval Hunting Landscapes" in *Fauna and Flora in the Middle Ages: Studies of the Medieval Environment and Its Impact on the Human Mind*, ed. Sieglinde Hartmann (Frankfurt am Main; New York: Peter Lang, 2007) 301-305. See also John Cummins, "Veneurs s'en vont en Paradis: Medieval Hunting and the 'Natural' Landscape," in *Inventing Medieval Landscapes: Senses of Place in Western Europe*, eds. Michael Wolf and John Howe (Gainesville, Fla.: University Press of Florida, 2002).

[184] Pluskowski, "Who Ruled the Forests?," 301.

[185] Aleksander Pluskowski, "The Social Construction of Medieval Park Ecosystems: An Interdisciplinary Perspective" in *The Medieval Park: New Perspectives*, ed. Robert Liddiard (Macclesfield: London: Windgather Press, 2007) 65.

the human intervention in tree planting and cultivation within hunting spaces to attract several species, such as boars, bears, foxes, and hares.[186] Folios 37r and 101v (figs. 3.6 and 3.7) depict streams stocked with fish and mountain crayfish to sustain otters, and 67r (fig. 3.8) portrays a human-made fountain under a small barrel vault.[187] In the lower left corner of the illumination, a gold vessel and a stone carafe cool in the water while several hounds slake their thirst nearby.

While deer were the main focus of the parks, some animal habitats significantly altered existing landscapes. Rabbits required warrens, which could be large or small, oval or lozenge shaped, and may contain tunnels already built and new ones added.[188] Folio 26v (fig. 3.9) portrays a warren amidst rolling hills. Rabbits, with varying shades of fur, move in and out of several tunnels, resulting in the protrusion of heads and tails out of dark holes in the center of the composition. Though improbable in reality, Gaston's illuminated park also included reindeer within an alpine landscape on folio 19v, which may have resembled the mountainous spaces of his own lands in the Pyrenees (fig. 3.10). The four stylized ridges allude to the overhangs under which reindeer rested in their native Scandinavia. The count recalls a visit made to the region in 1357-1358 on the following folio.[189]

Once the count presented the large array of animals within his hunting grounds, such as several species of deer (red, fallow, roe), ibex, hares, bears, wolves, badgers, and

[186] Pluskowski, "Who Ruled the Forests?," 302.

[187] Cummins, *The Hound and the Hawk,* 35.

[188] Pluskowski, "The Social Construction of Medieval Park Ecosystems," 66.

[189] Tucoo-Chala, *Gaston Fébus,* 30.

wild cats, he prepared the viewer to hunt in his carefully designed landscape by discussing the hounds necessary to hunt *à force* in chapters fifteen through twenty-four. After humans and horses, Gaston emphasizes the importance of dogs in the pursuit of animals. The illumination of folio 37v (fig. 3.11) depicts the most common canine breeds, alaunts, greyhounds, mastiffs, running hounds, and spaniels, and describes their roles in the hunt. Red collars with leash loops identify the three greyhounds in the composition. One dog faces toward the top left of the illumination while the two other greyhounds stand in the center. Muzzles and wider crimson collars identify two alaunts with heads turned in opposite directions, one ivory and the other dark gray, in the bottom right corner. A spiked collar marks the long-haired charcoal colored dog at center right as a mastiff. He looks upward, red tongue extended, at the running hound above in the picture plane with a leg raised. The miniature shows running hounds, the remaining pale and collarless dogs in the upper right and center of the foreground, along with a possible mastiff-greyhound mix with cropped, erect ears and a mastiff face at bottom right.[190] Spaniels, not included in on folio 37v, do appear on folio 50r (fig. 3.12). The image shows the varying appearances of spaniels. The shaggy brown canine, with floppy ears and fluffy fur at center, perhaps best closely matches ideas of the breed today. The omission of spaniels in the count's broad description of medieval hunting dogs may be due to their primary function as flushers of small game, rather than pursuers of the much larger quarry preferred in *à force* hunting.[191]

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[190] Cummins, *The Hound and the Hawk,* 12-31. My identification of the hounds follows John Cummins' descriptions.

[191]Schlag, 35.

The following corresponding illuminations focus on the care of the hounds of the hunt and portray each breed and their behaviors, as well as one image of their kennel. Gaston also addresses the training of young men to become huntsmen, who began their education by caring for the pack, in the text. In folio 51v (fig. 3.13), Gaston speaks with a younger man in green with red and blue stockings (conversation indicated the gestures of both figures) while holding an *estortoire*. Three of the younger figures hold spiraling rolls which contain, according to the text of chapter twenty-three, the names of the hounds. The third figure from the right, whose clothing mirrors Gaston's immediate companion, gazes intently at his roll, as he completes the first task of the apprentices, to memorize all of the names of the hunting dogs.[192] The miniatures show the students learning to create more rudimentary nets on folio 53v and to blow the oliphants (hunting horns) on 54r (figs. 3.14 and 3.15).

With the quarry of the hunt identified and the hounds and apprentices prepared for the hunt in chapters one through twenty-six of the manual, Gaston carries the viewer deep into his realm and the chase draws near for the ideal prey, the stag. The epitome of the medieval hunt was to purse this animal *à force*, hunters with swords in hand astride horses galloping across vast distances with hounds racing ahead and running alongside. The hunt comprised several stages or steps: the quest, the gathering, the finding, the chase, the baying, the *unmaking*, and the *curée*.[193]

[192] Ibid., 37.

[193] Cummins, *The Hound and the Hawk,* 33.

The illumination of folio 56v (fig. 3.16) depicts the beginning of the hunt, the quest. A lymerer, in vivid green with dark boots, restrains his hound with a long leash attached to a swivel on its red collar. The handler searches for the hoof prints of a deer to determine its age and gender in the miniature. The following illumination on folio 57v portrays the visible searching for the *fumées*, another task for the lymerer (fig. 3.17). Gaston then discusses how to conduct the quest in assorted terrain, such as the deep forest, copses, thick coverts, and pastures over the course of several folios with corresponding illuminations. The miniature of folio 65r depicts the "belling" or "roaring of the stag," another way for the huntsmen to follow the stag through the park (fig. 3.18).[194] Once the lymerer finds the path of the stag, he sounds his hunting horn to mark the end of the quest and carries the droppings to the gathering of the hunting party.

Early on the morning of the hunt, the group gathered to break their fast in the forest. The illumination on folio 67r depicts an older Gaston in discussion with his staff while seated at a clothed table with poultry on gold dishes, rolls of bread, and the *fumées* brought by the lymerers for the lord's approval (fig. 3.8). The count, in hieratic scale and identified by his opulent green and gold houppelande edged in fur and his jeweled headpiece, sits near the top of the composition. During the gathering, the lord decides which stag to pursue. Swords hang from the trees behind the count and the highest ranked members of the hunting party. On the left side of the miniature, saddled and prepared horses watch the proceedings within a corral. The assistants of the hunt dine below the count in the picture plane, on cloths laid on the ground or at low tables as indicated by the figure in crimson with blue and red hose in the bottom right corner. He rests comfortably

[194] Schlag, 43-45.

in the grass with one leg extended and the other bent as he slices a piece of bread. The relative size of the eight figures below the main table to the seven dogs in the foreground visually conveys the importance of the animals and the lower rank of the much smaller assistants. Some of the hounds drink from the fountain while others gaze open-mouthed at the diners.

The finding, the next stage of the hunt, encompassed the stationing of relays to facilitate the intentional moving of the stag through the landscape to enable a better chase for the mounted nobles in pursuit. During the hunt, scent hounds on loose leashes traced the movement of the animal. The illumination of folio 68r (fig. 3.19) depicts the moment the hounds encounter the stag and three figures sound their oliphants to alert the hunting party. Ideally, the hounds and their handlers discovered the stag's covert (resting place) and then followed its tracks to determine if the animal was in flight. Once the animal moved, the huntsmen permitted the hounds to begin pursuit.[195]

The miniature of folio 77r visualizes the noise of the chase through a depiction of a mounted noble with a huntsman blowing on their horns, their cheeks extended and pink with exertion (fig. 3.20). Seven of the eight dogs (spaniels and running hounds) bark with tongues extended and in various positions. A greyhound chases directly behind the stag, a portrayal of its primary duty to find and track the prey visually as well as to be the first to seize the animal.[196] The two humans work to keep the stag moving and prevent the wily animal from doubling back or crossing water in an effort to escape his predators.

[195] Cummins, *The Hound and Hawk*, 37-39.

[196] Ibid., 14.

The hunters stayed in constant communication with other members of the party via the oliphants.[197] Greyhounds and alaunts then ran down and immobilized the stag.[198] Once cornered or too tired to flee, the stag turned "at bay" to face his pursuers. Hounds then surrounded the animal while the hunting party gathered together to await the arrival of the lord if he is not already at the site. In the text, Gaston remarks on the importance of not waiting too long, as the stag will thrash about and can severely injure or even kill both man and beast. After arrival, the lord plunged a sword between the shoulder blades of the animal. As this was quite dangerous, sometimes another huntsman would first hamstring the stag by severing the tendons of one or both back legs. After the death of the animal, the hunters blew their horns all at once to mark the end of its life.[199] *Le livre de chasse* does not include an illumination of the stag's demise but instead moves onto the ritual of *unmaking* of the animal.[200]

After the death of the stag, assistants conducted the first part of the *unmaking* by cutting open the animal along the length of the anterior side of the body.[201] Folio 70r depicts the second part of the ceremony of *unmaking*, the flaying or *fleaning* of the animal, beginning with the skin around the joints (fig. 3.21). Assistants skin the animal in the center of the composition while Gaston supervises, much larger and in a deep red and gold embroidered tunic. Once the *fleaning* was complete, the animal was lain on its

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[197] Schlag, 51.

[198] Cummins, *The Hound and Hawk*,13-15.

[199] Schlag, 40-41.

[200] The omission of the death of the stag in *Le livre de chasse* will be addressed in chapter 4.

[201] This is also known as the *undoing*.

detached hide fully flayed, and then was *brittled* or cut up into pieces.[202] Gaston describes delectability of the internal organs, which were reserved for the highest ranking member of the hunt. Once removed, the master huntsman presented various organs and body parts to important nobility who were on location. The miniature depicts the most frequent setting for the *unmaking*, the forest; but sometimes it was conducted back at the hunting lodge, an integral part of expansive medieval parks.[203]

In the center of the illumination on folio 72r (fig. 3.22), a running hound stands on the bloody hide of the stag covered in balls of bread and blood with his own feast hanging from his open mouth. Most of his canine companions (all running hounds) await permission to begin their feast as their aristocratic masters talk amongst themselves farther up on the picture plane, identified by their vibrant attire, gold trim, and jewelry. In the lower right corner of the composition, a servant in red with bi-color leggings twists his torso away but still faces the viewer. As he holds the head of the stag by its large antlers, a hound licks the bloody inside of the neck cavity. The scene portrays the *curée*, the ceremony devoted to rewarding the hunting pack for their efforts. Bread sopped with the blood was sometimes combined with the paunch and small intestines, along with leaner meat from the neck and shoulders, before it was given to the hounds. The figure in burgundy and red raises the larger intestines above his head while gazing back towards the dogs, an allusion to the practice of interrupting the canine feast midway by tossing the innards to the pack. This part of the ritual served to encourage discipline in the animals

[202] Schlag, 48. Unmaking will be discussed in depth in chapter 5.

[203] Cummins, *The Hound and the Hawk,* 41-43.

and to ensure they would still listen to commands even when lusting for flesh and blood.[204]

Gaston clearly preferred the hunt *à force*, as he devotes a large amount of space in the manual to the practice. He takes us through the hunt on horseback with hounds across different landscapes in pursuit of a variety of deer (roebuck, stag, buck) but also reindeer, wild boars, bears, wolves, foxes, and wild cats. However, no medieval park was complete without many more species. *Le livre de chasse* also includes the kinds of animals hunted on foot with dogs, such as hares, rabbits, badgers and otters. The miniature on folio 101v depicts the pursuit of the otter in a continuous narrative, portraying the various stages of the hunt (fig. 3.7). In the lower right corner, the hunt begins with a valet in a detailed pink tunic with blue leggings and a green collar pushing aside the foliage with an *estortoire*. He looks for signs of otters, either feces (spraints) or tracks, as his leashed hound follows their scent to find their holts (den), often under the roots of trees. In the middle of the foreground, a dark gray hound pants or lolls its tongue as it searches. Above, a golden brown dog finds the holt, half of its body sticking out of a cavity beneath the tree in the top register. Valets pursued otters in pairs, a practice reflected in the illumination. Once the hunting teams discovered the location of the holt, they waited for the animals to return as represented in the top left corner of the miniature. Dressed in a mauve tunic and green leggings, one huntsman raises a trident with one hand and holds a spear in the other in preparation to attack. The pursuit ends with the death of the otter at center, as the humans pierce it in the head with a trident and in the hind with a

[204] Ibid., 44.

spear, a visually dramatic end to the various *chasse avec des chiens* described in the manual.

The last part of *Le livre de chasse* explains how to hunt *par la maistrise*, or by mastery through ruses, subterfuge, traps, and hunting with bows.[205] Notably, it is more difficult to determine the rank of the humans depicted due to similar dress. Gaston writes of the importance of camouflage in several of the chapters, even to the extent of wearing branches and leaves as portrayed in folio 113v (fig. 3.23). In the illumination on folio 103r, three assistants and a huntsman capture their prey of wolves, red deer, and boars using hedges and nets (fig. 3.24). Below the checkered pattern of the background, a dense hedge of entangled foliage anticipates curious animals, with snares of rope hung in various shapes in the openings. The huntsmen chase or lure their prey into the clearing and when the animals attempt escape, the ropes trap their bodies. The hedge ruse traps a boar on the left and a deer on the right. In the foreground, hunters spear a captured wolf and a boar caught in free standing netted traps. Folios 105 through 110 continue discussion of a variety of traps, including pitfalls, spear traps, see-saw snares, drags, and traps.[206]

Bow hunting first appears on folio 111v, where the count describes the pursuit of game using bows and crossbows (fig. 3.25). This technique requires the moving or driving of a herd of deer towards archers or a trap of some kind.[207] In the illumination,

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[205] Schlag, 62- 63.

[206] Ibid., 63-110. Schlag briefly summarizes all of the hunting methods in the manual in the commentary section of the Manuscript in Miniature reproduction of *Le livre de chasse.*

[207] Mileson, 30.

three archers shoot into a group of deer moved by the running hounds along the right side of the composition. The fur trimmed tunics identify the noble status of the top and bottom figures, along with the barely visible sword handle of the middle archer directly below his extended left arm. In the lower right of the foreground, the hunter wears a quiver of arrows and a hunting knife on a belt slung low around his hips and carries a crossbow while the other two hunters bear longbows. Gaston primarily focuses on the shooting of deer and boars but ends the section on folio 118r with a description on how to hunt hares with both bows and crossbows using wooden bolts designed to stun the animal. The remaining chapters of *Le livre de chasse* discuss how to catch hares using nets and snares with the final hunting illumination on folio 120v (fig. 3.26).

Visualizing The Medieval Park

While some scholars argue Gaston preferred *à force* hunting and eschewed the methods *par la maîstrise*, his inclusion of the techniques in *Le livre de chasse* underlines the integral role of parks in the construction of aristocratic status and identity. For a luxury item such as the manual, it is unlikely the inclusion is meant to be understood wholly as instructional and merely a representation of encyclopedic knowledge, though demonstration of such depth and breadth of knowledge marked the count as an expert. It is much more likely the manual fulfilled a combination of goals for the count. As the author and designer of *Le livre de chasse*, Gaston uses the social landscape of his imagined medieval park to demonstrate his wide knowledge as an expert huntsman but also to convey his wealth, power, and mastery of the wild.[208]

[208] Ian D. Rotherham, "The Ecology and Economics of Medieval Deer Parks, Archaeology and Ecology," *Landscape Archaeology and Ecology* 6 (2007) 83-84.

Within the medieval mind, parks were a form of social capital as "pleasure landscapes" which were expensive to create and maintain while also redirecting land from more economically fruitful endeavors.[209] The larger the park, with most diverse flora and fauna, the more prestige an owner gained.[210] A sovereign gave the right to empark, thus associating the medieval hunting space with noble authority. For Gaston, the inclusion of a park in Béarn in particular demonstrated his claim as a God-given sovereign. Remains of at least one of the count's enclosures survives at Châteaux Moncade, his capital in the region.[211] Aristocrats often built large-scale parks, such as those necessary for the hunt *à force*, next to their castles and visible from the residence (fig. 3.27).[212] Gloriettes or platforms overlooked the park, providing a window into the carefully ordered artificial wilderness, much like the enclosing frames of the illuminations of *Le livre de chasse.*[213]

The medieval park of *Le livre de chasse* visualizes the physical control of the landscape and the "ideological conception" of the space as the manifestation of aristocratic authority and power over the natural world through overall composition, content and visual style.[214] Half-page landscape scenes with stylized backgrounds and

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[209] Martin Hansson, *Aristocratic Landscape: The Spatial Ideology of the Medieval Aristocracy* (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 2006) 133.

[210] Robert Liddiard, *Castles in Context: Power, Symbolism and Landscape, 1066 to 1500* (Macclesfield: London: Windgather Press; distributed by Central Books, 2005) 106.

[211] Klemettilä, 61.

[212] Hansson, 133 and O.H. Creighton, *Designs upon the Land: Elite Landscapes of the Middle Ages* (Woodbridge, UK; Rochester, NY: Boydell Press, 2009) 65.

[213] Creighton, 149.

[214] Robert Liddiard, "Introduction," 6.

frames of red, blue, and gold decorate all eighty-seven miniatures of BnF MS. fr. 616. Many of the illuminations contain stylized gold backgrounds, such as the incised, guilloche interlacing patterns of folios 50r and 94r (fig. 3.12 and detail, fig. 3.28). A rinceaux pattern illuminates the sky in the background of the miniature on folio 107v (fig. 3.29) and the images on folios 52v, 53v and 54r (fig. 3.30, detail) depict intricate floral designs. Other images within the manual contain monochromatic backgrounds of cobalt and crimson with foliage or repeating patterns of diamonds, studs, and squares (folios 57v, 86r, 106v, figs. 3.17, 3.31, 3.32). Additional scenes include backgrounds with alternating patterns of gold, red, and blue, such as the checked design of folio 116r (fig. 3.33).[215]

At first glance, the backgrounds of the illuminations of *Le livre de chasse* may seem rudimentary in their stylization and perspective in contrast to the more "realistic" depictions of the animals. Historically, it was assumed medieval landscape functioned as either wholly symbolic or completely aesthetic (ornamental in design and function), as a result of Renaissance writings, and privileged particular aesthetic criteria for representing nature as evidence of actual observation.[216] These ideas persist erroneously into the present and form the existing views on the use of space in *Le livre de chasse.* William Schlag notes the absence of realistic space demonstrates "a deliberate and conscious decision on the part of the artists, aware that they were illustrating a technical and factual

[215] Schlag, 8, 12. Schlag notes the patterns of BnF MS. fr. 616 are unique among other Parisian manuscripts of the same time period. It should be noted the illumination on folio 26v defies the overall consistency of abstract backgrounds in the manuscript. This image contains a more painterly, graduated blue background with a castle depicted faintly along the horizon. Schlag remarks this is evidence of a "third hand" working in a 'pointilliste' technique.

[216] Goehring, 4.

treatise," and Jacqueline Stuhmiller criticizes the two-dimensionality of the images in several paragraphs of her essay, stating "The artist does not attempt to create any illusion of depth or distance" and the "…illustrations of animals [are]attractively and variously posted against decorative backgrounds."[217] Hannele Klemettilä emphasizes the miniatures are indicative of an encyclopedic text with a "pragmatic" purpose for identification of the animals as part of a "new appreciation for wildlife."[218] As the only art historian to critically examine the illuminations, I disagree. Burgeoning interest in empiricism certainly impacted the naturalism found in the images, however the illuminations must be considered within their cultural context as an important aspect of a commissioned luxury object and a work of art for an aristocratic audience, not merely an illustrated text whose value lies more in words than the images within. Additionally, the illuminations should be understood through consideration of medieval perceptions of both real and imagined spaces rather than notions developed during the Renaissance and later.[219]

Throughout medieval art, abstraction gives form to the materially inconceivable sacred as well as the invisible presences of the soul and God. Medieval people believed in the theory of correspondences, "which held that all things material could be systematically analogized to a spiritual counterpart," and thus "revealing divine will."[220]

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[217] Schlag, 13. Stuhmiller, 515-516.

[218] Klemettilä, 12.

[219] The essays of the 2015 anthology *Re-Inventing Traditions: On the Transmission of Artistic Patterns in Late Medieval Manuscript Illumination* counter the perception of the patterns of medieval illuminations as "generic" or "merely ornamental" but rather a way of conveying ideas from within the cultural in additional to the internal qualities determine by the artist's own intent, interpretation and experiences. See also Heyder, 29-30.

[220] Goehring, 56.

Through this, the stylization of human form came to articulate the holy and became a medieval artistic convention. Ornament "became a 'visible manifestation of significant intent,' " and the means to visualize the invisible in material form.[221] The perfect medieval park exists only in the imagination but the manuscript makes it physical. The ideal superior hunting space transforms from the "shapeless, invisible space" of the mind into "a visible and specific place" through the illuminations.[222] In addition to this symbolic understanding of the style of the images, the absence of realistic representations of space in the rendering of forms also illustrates ideas of how space itself worked in the medieval world as a place of "overlapping spaces, both real and imaginary, that were heterogeneous," with changeable boundaries.[223]

Margaret Goehring argues medieval people understood space and objects as "distinct, individual" things, with space "defined as a container for any object," and thus not perceived as infinite. Instead, an object's volume was "determined by the contiguity of its boundaries" within the borders of the space by which it was confined.[224] As a result, objects within a space were not static in their dimensionality. The representation of forms as stylized or from unnatural perspectives developed out of these ideas and combined with existing artistic practice and patron intent.

Within this framework and following art historian Jean Givens' method of understanding medieval visual representation, the illuminations of *Le livre de chasse*

[221] Ibid., 56.

[222] Ibid., 28.

[223] Ibid., 27.

[224] Ibid., 15.

present several modes of viewing: a "realistic" mode (the portrayal of a real object), "naturalistic" mode (may or may not be a real object but can reveal the "inherent irregularity, asymmetry and organic movement of living things"), and the "descriptive" mode, which communicates information about the world but does not need to be realistic in representation." Most late medieval artists employed these modes interchangeably or together within illuminations and within the visual program of an entire manuscript as a way of communicating information to a medieval audience. Using this framework, both style and composition possess symbolic importance.[225]

Within *Le livre de chasse*, the viewer encounters all three methods of representation in varying combinations. The illuminator of the miniature on folio 19v (fig. 3.34) employed all three in the image of reindeer. The artist rendered the real-life objects of the foliage and reindeer naturalistically and descriptively. Reindeer of different ages and genders interact with each other and the landscape in the composition. The animals pose in different positions, articulating the volume of the body as it shifts and moves in life. At top left, a large bull (male reindeer) turns one way while his head looks towards the center of the composition at a calf (baby reindeer) and cow (female reindeer) gazing at each other in profile. Though identifiably "real" creatures which take up space, their representation follows the naturalistic mode instead of being fully realistic. It is unlikely the illuminators knew what reindeer looked like and so the animals appear as red deer affixed with exceptionally large antlers and slightly hairier coats. In reality, reindeer more closely resemble a bull/deer hybrid with much thicker tines. The miniature differentiates one animal from the deer with a unique feature to reindeer, the *brow shovel*,

[225] Goehring, 26. See also Givens, 101-104.

with the smaller forward pointing tines visible in the rack of the reindeer at bottom left (fig. 3.35). The trees follow the naturalistic mode in their shape and gradation in leaves but not in size or relationship in space but the viewer understands what they see, as these representations are descriptive and with enough visual information to communicate the subject. The stylized and gilded leafy patterns against the cobalt background are clearly not naturalistic, however their inclusion represents the sky through location along the horizon line and higher on the picture plane. As such, the sky is part of a landscape which "… is an abstract construction within the mind of the viewer." The representation of the landscape in this way is intentional. It is not "just" an aesthetic, pictorial vision of nature but also a visualization of "the perception and construction of environment," a conversation between the human and nature.[226]

The Production of Real and Imagined Spaces

The medieval park existed in physical space but becomes a *place* through its artificiality as a site of social practice, constructed out of nature but not natural. As a social landscape, it inhabits both reality and mental space through design and control, becoming the ideal environment. It is both real and imagined simultaneously. The manuscript and the medieval park existed as part of a system of spaces which conveyed the formation of the aristocratic self and collective identities. As a result, space can be understood as possessing "an abstract, conceptual essence relating to, but independent from, mere geographical dimension," a combination of the constructed *place* of culture

[226]Goehring, 27.

and the physical world around us.[227] Place is social space appropriated from the landscape by a society.[228]

The point of origin for the medieval park is the physical land of the forest. Nature becomes meaning through the appropriation of the forest to create an unnatural, artificial space. The human changes the landscape by creating pollards and copses, pruning trees, manufacturing streams, incorporating particular plants, and restricting or expanding the life cycles of the creatures within. This conscious modification causes nature to lose authenticity. The medieval park assumes nature to be "merely the raw material" to further the goals of its designer. Within medieval Christianity, man was divinely required to "tame and cultivate" God's creatures and land.[229] The aristocratic manipulation of the landscape asserted man's dominion over Earth, the superiority of the aristocracy to bend even nature to its will through possession of the power and wealth to modify the forest for their own ends. The artificial "creation" of the park made it an idealized space, with man adapting and "improving" nature. It was nature at its best, maximized for aristocratic use, and a visible, physical manifestation of status to peers and other classes of medieval society.

The medieval park forged a social, representational space which became a *place* of meaning through "action, by movement and use" as the site of social performance

[227] Megan Cassidy-Welch, "Space and Place in Medieval Contexts" *Parergon* 27: 2 (2010) 1-2.

[228] Lefebvre, 31.

[229] Liddiard, *Castles in Context*, 117.

through the noble hunt.[230] As a *place*, it is the site of practiced or lived in social space.[231] The symbolic use of the objects within the physical landscape overlays its origin as nature. It still appears *like* nature but idealized in design. The actions within the space, the hunt *à force* in particular, further differentiate it from other landscapes. The ritual acts within the medieval park mark it as a site of inclusion for the nobility.

The "articulation and manipulation" of space delineates further the difference between noble and not noble by excluding particular individuals and groups through physical boundaries and participation in the activities within.[232] Large entry gates visualized the moment of transcending borders from one space to another, representative space of aristocracy and of a particular lord.[233] The transition demonstrated the lord's domination over man through wealth, class and power but also over nature through the establishment of physical borders, thus containing the world outside. Only members of a similar class or of particular use (such as lower ranked servants, pages, dog and horse handlers, hunt assistants, etc.) could enter and their actions within were pre-determined.

The ritual activities of the hunt also marked the park as the site of the display of particularly noble values. As a formalized activity by designated members of society, supervised by experts such as Gaston, and following particular rules in the pursuit of a prize which are ideologically oriented rather than practical, the hunt is a form of ceremony within a particular space and occurring at a specific time with witnesses to

[230] Cassidy-Welch, 2.

[231] Ibid., 2.

[232] Ibid., 3.

[233] Mileson, 13.

show the efficacy of the event.[234] The hunt *à force* restricts participation to the nobility through the killing of animals in ways similar to mounted warfare with a sword, as seen in the killing of the boars of folio 95r (fig. 3.36) The danger of taking down the animal in such a way tests the equestrian skill of the rider as well as his courage to face the charging animal's ferocity and sharp tusks. The distinction in roles, such as the noble as slayer of boars and stags, illustrates social difference. Witnesses in the form of peers confirm the hunter as noble while an audience of members of the lower class establish distinction in rank. Each member of the hunt must comply to his assigned role and tasks or they will violate the rules of the hunt. The medieval park thus becomes the *place* of the expression and expansion of the power and status of its aristocratic participants through the hunt *à force* over man and beast.[235] The manuscript illuminations reproduce the symbols and meaning associated with the performance within the park and thus influence the production of the space in lived reality by re-affirming their validity.

The medieval park exists as "a construction of the imagination placed onto wood and water and rock," an idealization of the natural world via manipulation and which becomes representative space through the actions within.[236] The manuscript furthers this projection into the conceptual space of the ideal by reinforcing its social meaning and becoming a cultural medium which "naturalizes [the]cultural and social construction" of the medieval park, and thus "representing an artificial world as if it were simply given

[234] Crane, "Ritual Aspects of the Hunt," 66.
[235] Crane, 71.

[236] Simon Schama, *Landscape and Memory* (New York: A.A. Knopf,1995) 61.

and inevitable."[237] The invention of the ultimate park emerges in the illuminations and signifies the social importance of the place. The manuscript exists as a simulacrum of the park, representing the origin of the park, in its scenes of nature, but also is an idealized representation of an artificial scene created through the altering of nature. The framed illuminations themselves present a picture of the supreme hunting landscape through abstraction and composition, windows into the manicured manipulation of nature and determining the social expectations of the medieval park: what should happen within, by and to whom, and for what reasons.[238] The stylized painted landscapes of *Livre de chasse* represent an ideal notion of nature, much like the parks of the Middle Ages, rather than nature as natural. The viewer becomes the predator with dominion over all.[239]

[237] W. J. T. Mitchell, "Introduction," in *Landscape and Power*, ed. W. J. T. Mitchell (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994) 2.

[238] Ibid., 5.

[239] Ibid., 16.

CHAPTER 4 DOMINION

In the idealized, gilded world of *Le livre de chasse,* the viewer resides in the scopophilic position of the waiting predator, hidden from the prey within but with a direct view into the forest.[240] The crimson and cobalt borders of the miniature of folio 20r (fig. 3.3) frame an unobstructed line of sight, a glimpse into the life of the fallow deer (indicated visually by the palmated or outward extending antlers). Unaware of their observer, the animals go about their daily lives--mating, eating, bathing, exercising, and caring for their young. As both the hidden hunter in real life behind screens and foliage and the unseen observer of the manuscript, the viewer takes pleasure in seeing without being seen themselves as they scan the landscape, an "immediate source of aesthetic satisfaction" in anticipation of the thrill of the chase, the lure of the kill, and the domination of nature by the human.[241]

In the first thirty-seven folios of BnF MS. fr. 616, Gaston catalogs, describes, and categorizes animals in both text and image. He positions them within a clearly defined hierarchical system outside of their natural state as part of the hunt and out of nature in the manufactured space of *Le livre de chasse*. These acts justify human dominance over the animal kingdom by placing the human as a super-predator above all. The nonhuman animals of the hunting manual function as signs of human ideas of superiority rather than their intrinsic worth in nature. Their value was determined by how

[240] Jay Appleton, *The Experience of Landscape* (London, New York: Wiley, 1975) 73.

[241] Ibid. 66. Appleton's work on visual and physical landscapes explores the ideas of habitat theory and prospect-refuge theory. He examines how predators view their surroundings and the impact of these perceptions on landscape paintings.

they could affect and assert the aristocratic construction of chivalric identity through their demise. The visual and textual articulation of animals in *Le livre de chasse* emphasizes the differences between species and demarcated the boundaries between human and animal which resulted from the necessary act of the self to determine Others as part of the construction of a particularly human identity.[242] To be human meant to distance "…oneself as far as possible from the animal," but still sharing the universal experiences of *all* animals, such as aging, eating, dying, and ultimately returning to the earth, always a reminder that the human was not as dissimilar as they might like.[243] To establish humans as *different* and superior to nonhuman animals, humans claim preeminent intelligence (evident in reasoning and use of language) and also in spiritual ways. Unlike nonhuman animals, the human soul would survive after death, immortalized in the afterlife. In contrast, animal bodies became absorbed by either the human, other animals, or the earth itself.[244] With humans as the ideal creation at the top of the hierarchy, then the animals nearest the apex possessed "specific moral and symbolic qualities" closer to those of humans, not only beyond "[their] physical attributes but derived from them."[245] The more animalistic creatures, in particular those capable of eating human flesh, formed the

[242] Zygmunt Bauman, *Modernity and Ambivalence* (Ithaca, N.Y: Cornell University Press, 1991) 71. For a comprehensive overview of psychoanalytical approaches to the study of animals, see Matthew Calarco, *Zoographies: The Question of the Animal from Heidegger to Derrida* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2008).

[243] Cohen, 61. See also Steel, 108.

[244] Steel, 109.

[245] Cohen, 62

second half of the hierarchy. Animals with the absolute least in common with humans were located near the bottom of the ranking.

Re-ordering Nature

The illuminations of *Le livre de* chasse reveal how medieval parks represented the point of combat against the wilderness, "where nature challenged human authority" by "visually embod[ying] anthropogenic control over nature."[246] Parks bridged the gap between the forest and the human, the public and the private, and the wild and the civilized.[247] As a "semi-designed" environment which was not fully natural nor completely human-made, it existed as a site between the human built residence and gardens and the unrestrained woods. The medieval perception of a divide between nature and culture, "the opposition between what was built, cultivated, and inhabited…and what was essentially wild," formed the underlying philosophy for landscape management[248] Outsiders excluded from society such as the insane, the persecuted, criminals, lepers, holy mystics, hermits, and saints inhabited the wild as well as wild men and women and secretive lovers. Staying in the forest for long periods made it into a site of transformation, for the visitor could be contaminated by these human Others and wild animals, a result of the exclusion from culture.[249] The medieval park forced culture onto the wilderness and articulated how culture differentiates the human from the animal,

[246] Creighton, 133.

[247] Ibid., 150.

[248] Jacques Le Goff, *The Medieval Imagination* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988) 59.

[249] Robert Pogue Harrison, *Forests: The Shadow of Civilization* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1992) 61.

"which we tame or refine our natural existence."[250] The medieval aristocracy changed nature to their own desires by sculpting their environment to sustain the prey necessary for hunting in an ideal forest, an infinite space with renewable resources, and the opportunity to conquer the wilds of the forest and its residents.[251] They tamed the uncultivated forest through design and dominated the wildness within, the savage and unknown, through the medieval hunt.

The medieval park symbolized the unique status of the noble hunter as a kind of super-predator above other humans and other animals, to the extent that the arms of many noble families included carnivores as a visual acknowledgement of their power.[252] The best warriors of medieval society practiced the art of hunting and displayed their fighting skills in the medieval park. Within medieval theology, both man and animal once had the same senses in Eden until humans lost their dexterity and skill with the Fall. Hunting presented a way for the aristocracy to show they were closest to the perfect Man designed by God through superior physical prowess.[253] The sovereign or lord of the medieval hunt participated in the social rituals of the event to articulate his status as the ruler over all in action and symbolically by overcoming the wilderness and all creatures within, human and nonhuman.[254] Despite the danger inherent to the pursuit of other predators, such

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[250] Joep Leerssen, "Wildness, Wilderness, and Ireland: Medieval and Early-Modern Patterns in the Demarcation of Civility," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 56:1 (1995): 26.

[251] Hansson, 160.

[252] Creighton, 147. See also Pluskowski, "The Social Construction of Medieval Park Ecosystems," 133 and Salisbury, 54.

[253] Pluskowski, "The Social Construction of Medieval Park Ecosystems," 105. See also Cummins, *The Hound and the Hawk*, 3.

[254] Harrison, 74.

boars, wolves, and bears, the hunt showed how the qualities of reason, thought, and language separated humans from animals. Christianity supported the aristocratic need to impose human will on nature, because man resided at the top of God's temporal hierarchy through the possession of souls which would be eternal in the afterlife, a state unavailable to any other creatures on Earth.[255] Thus, animals served the human and God required man to "tame and cultivate" His creatures and land, as dictated in Genesis 1:26-28.[256] Within *Le livre de chasse,* Gaston presents an animal world which mirrors the perception of human as superior to the animal. As the lord of the hunt and author of the manuscript, he is above all other humans and animals. The count re-orders nature by his own authority by categorizing, classifying, and choosing the denizens of his medieval park at *his* own discretion.

Like Adam in the Old Testament, Gaston names the animals of his park in *Le livre de chasse,* a demonstration of the medieval belief in the "natural" dominion of humans over animals. The power to name each creature showed man's "…right and ability to control and use them."[257] Each of the miniatures on folios 16r through 37r portrays groups of a particular species of animal alive in the forest, represented in both genders and of multiple ages, and with a corresponding identifications and descriptions of their mating and feeding habits, behavior, and best hunting season. Though the count devotes a "chapter" to each animal of the hunt, the manual is not a naturalistic

[255] Cohen, 61.

[256] *The NRSV Bible: Catholic Edition* (New York; Oxford: Liturgical Press, 2001). See also Robert Liddiard, *Castles in Context*, 117.

[257] Salisbury, 6.

"biographical" story of each creature but rather is "...inextricably tied to the autobiography of the hunter" as a resident within Gaston's both real and illuminated hunting landscapes.[258] He chooses the animals within his hunting grounds, their previous lives insignificant to the human hunter until the moment of selection. Through their demise, they become important for their role as prey for humans rather than as cohabitants of the earth with humanity."[259] The count not only chooses his prey but ranks their importance to the hunt, placing them within categories of desirability and prestige. He begins with the most noble of animals first, the stag (*cerf*) (fig. 1.7), and continues with other herbivore species: reindeer (*rangier*), fallow deer *(dain*), wild goats (*bouc*, specifically referring to the ibex and *isard*, a goat antelope native to the Pyrenees), roebuck (*chevrel*), hare (*liévre*), and rabbit (*connil*). He then discusses omnivorous predators, such as the bear (*ours*) and wild boar (*sanglier*), and finishes with the least desirable, the carnivores: wolf (*loup*), fox (*regnart*), badger (*blariau*), wild cat (*chat*), and otter (*outre*). In the Fébusian hierarchy, however, humans reside at the top, illustrated by the first illumination of the manuscript (fig. 1.2), where Gaston sits majestically above men and other animals.

Human Super-Predators

Le livre de chasse visualizes Gaston's acquisition of the necessary variety of animals to convey his status as an aristocrat in control of nature and its denizens as well

[258] Garry Marvin, "Enlivened through Memory: Hunters and Hunting Trophies in the Afterlives of Animals," in *The Afterlives of Animals: A Museum Menagerie*, ed. Samuel J. M. M. Alberti (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2011) 203.

[259] Ibid., 203.

as the "natural" ruler of the earthly realm through the capacities of reason and language as well as possession of an immortal soul and free will.[260] Within the worldly realm, the human is *the* hunter of animals, a super-predator in his subjugation of wild animals. The hunt *à force* most closely resembled battle, with boars and stags dispatched from horseback with swords once huntsmen or hounds cornered the prey.[261] The combat methods utilized in *à force* hunting demonstrated warrior skills but required an admirable enemy to show significant prowess, making domestic animals and smaller prey unworthy for the theatrical and impractical method of pursuit. For example, taking down a hare required less skill, strength, and courage than pursuing a stag with eight or ten point antlers or a boar with sharp tusks, thus the smaller creature ranked lower within the hunting hierarchy (fig. 1.4).

Gaston's ranking reflects the long-standing knightly association with animals which came to symbolize specific chivalric virtues in heraldry and thus associated with particular noble individuals and families. The heraldic emblems also emphasized the valued characteristics of each species, frequently physical aspects such as ferocity, in order to convey the chivalric prowess and its resulting honor onto the owner of the coat of arms. [262]

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[260] Steel, 108.

[261] Aleksander Pluskowski, "Communicating through Skin and Bone: Appropriating Animal Bodies in Medieval Western European Seigneurial Culture," in *Breaking and Shaping Beastly Bodies: Animals as Material Culture in the Middle Ages*, ed. Aleksander Pluskowski (Oxford; Oakville, CT: Oxbow, 2007) 35.

[262] Sophie Page, "Good Creation and Demonic Illusions: The Medieval Universe of Creatures," in *A Cultural History of Animals in the Medieval Age,* ed. Brigitte Resl. (London: Berg, 2007) 41.

Le livre de chasse, however, does not include exotic animals, such as lions, imagined creatures like dragons, or the domesticated species also adopted in heraldry. [263]

Since domestic animals did not require knightly prowess and the pursuit of unicorns and other fabulous creatures did not occur on the medieval hunt in reality, only wild animals merited the premeditated physical violence of the hunt in order to confer status on the noble hunter. Killing methods marked a distinction between human hunting and the death of an animal by another creature through spontaneous opportunity. Human hunters act with the intent to pursue and kill the animal in advance of the actual chase. In contrast, nonhuman predators chase with opportunity, spurred by the presence of prey entering their environment. The images of *Le livre de chasse* reflect the required premeditation through the hierarchical placement of prey and in the representation and description of each animal. They also articulate the construction of aristocratic identity as uniquely human through establishment of boundaries between human and nonhuman animals. As the categorizer, the super-predator of the hierarchy and identifier of the animals, Gaston marks particular creatures as things "…that *should* be eaten, tamed or killed," at his discretion but also *who* eats them.[264]

The roles of predator and prey mark the earliest human-animal relationships. Humans feared the predators which could harm them through superior physical size and

[263] Ibid., 43.

[264] Steel, 14. See also Klemettilä, 31. Klemettilä argues Gaston organizes the animals by diet (clean/unclean) and size. The bear and boar are in the middle as omnivores and the remaining predators are not eaten. She argues that prestige is not part of the ranking, but rather size is the other determining factor, however reindeer are significantly larger than the stag and boars are smaller than wolves. She could mean by height but for a hunter, size is determined less by height and more by volume. Reindeer are much bulkier and are, in fact, larger all around than deer. Boar are shorter than wolves but mountain wolves, such as those in the Pyrenees, would likely have been evenly matched in weight.

bodily attributes such as fangs, claws, and strength, and ate other animals as sustenance for survival.[265] However, the relationship between animals as food and foe with humans was fraught with ambiguity and constant re-evaluation. In order to justify consumption, humans must create boundaries between themselves and nonhuman species. Both humans and nonhuman animals possess animation as living, breathing creatures but lack a shared language which could be understood, resulting in the perceived superiority of the human over the nonhuman. All animals, human and not, possess the inherent fragility of flesh which can be rendered or ruptured unto the point of death, eliminating the spark of life.[266] As such, all animals can be hunted prey, including the human.

Fears of the impact of eating animals flesh on the bodily rising of humans at the end of time became central to the complexities surrounding the consumption of animals and summarized succinctly by Philip Lyndon Reynolds: "Did humans assimilate what they ate…or did food pass through the body without being assimilated?" in *Food and the Body: Some Peculiar Questions in High Medieval Theology.*[267] Throughout the Middle Ages, Christian theologians such as Augustine and Paulinus of Nola, mostly agreed "only animals really die, whereas death for humans…[was] a temporary interruption..." for the human soul would continue.[268] Human flesh resurrected and animal bodies did not, unless through the human. While the lack of a soul distinguished humans from animals, the

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[265] Salisbury, 43.

[266] Steel, 108-109.

[267] Philip Lyndon Reynolds, *Food and the Body: Some Peculiar Questions in High Medieval Theology* (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 1999) 1.

[268] Steel, 110. See also Augustine, "Enchiridion," in *On Christian Belief*, ed. Boniface Ramsey, trans. Bruce Herbert, vol. 1, *The Works of St. Augustine: A Translation for the 21st Century* (Hyde Park, NY: New City Press, 2005) 324-325.

"medieval Christian self" necessitated both a soul and body, making the elements of human body at resurrection significant.[269] Thirteenth-century scholars, such as Peter of Poitiers and Gilbert of Poitiers, argued animal flesh absorbed into the human body through consumption would "…turn into the flesh of the eaters."[270] Humans then contained the animals eaten after resurrection. If the animal consumed was a predator, such as a bear, they may have consumed human flesh. The human who ate the bear would then rise from the dead with a body of bear meat *and* the flesh of its human meal.[271] On the other hand, the composition of animal bodies did not result in a partial rising of any human flesh ingested. The wolf who ate human flesh but died without being eaten by a human could not rise because it had ingested the flesh of a man or woman. In addition to fears of potential cannibalism, eating *unclean* animals meant one could be tainted by the creature's animality. Consuming clean animals, however, meant nourishment which provided positive characteristics and a holier resurrection after death.[272] Thus, eating the most noble of animals, the stag, imbued the human with its speed, strength, and cleverness.

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[269] Caroline Walker Bynum, *The Resurrection of the Body in Western Christianity, 200-1336* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1995) 259-260.

[270] P. Reynolds, 37. See also Steel, 111 and Richard Heinzmann, *Die Unsterblichkeit der Seele und die Auferstehung des Leibes: eine problemgeschichtliche Untersuchung der frühscholastischen Sentenzen- und Summenliteratur von Anselm von Laon bis Wilhelm von Auxerre* (Münster: Aschendorff, 1965) 181. Bynum, 126. Bynum discusses in depth the ways in which Christian theologians also disagreed with their own determinations. Peter Lombard, for example, argues both that humans are comprised of what they eat but in resurrection, any "alien" elements of the body would be shed.

[271] Steel, 111.

[272] Salisbury, 44. Salisbury notes the medieval "preoccupation with the notion that one becomes what one eats, rather than one transforms what one eats."

Ascendant Herbivores

More images of the stag illuminate *Le livre de chasse* than any other animal throughout the manuscript, a testament to its esteem with aristocratic hunters. The first image, folio 16r of BnF MS. fr. 616, introduces the stag and describes the "nature" of the animal in a similar fashion to the encyclopedic bestiaries of the Middle Ages (fig. 1.7). Gaston humanizes the creature in order to establish it as worthy prey for a person of high status in the corresponding text of folios 16r to 19v. The interactions between the does and stags of the two pairs in the top left and bottom right of the composition allude to Gaston's assertions that they possess a kind of language. He writes that the deer "sign in their language, as does a man deeply in love," during mating season.[273] The duo in the middle ground gaze at each other and the doe's right foreleg lays on the hind of the stag. The pair in the foreground touch along the length of their bodies, with the stag resting on the ground as the doe gazes toward the center of the composition where a fawn suckles on its mother's teat. To their right, a slightly older fawn gazes into the face of its mother as both sit on the grass, forelegs bent back. The circular repetition of the animals continues past the duo in the foreground to the stag off center, which sprints left toward another male deer and fawn as they consume foliage beneath the boughs of several trees.

The pastoral scene reflects the count's comments on the "good nature" of the animals, that "some are more wise and clever than others, just as with men, And this

[273] Bossuat, 43. "...chantent en leur langaige, einsi comme fet un homme bien amoureus…" See also Debra Hassig, 50. Hassig notes stags were the "subject of moralization by King Modus, who compares the ten antler tines to the Ten Commandments: "just as God gave humans Ten Commandments to protect and defend them from their adversaries, so he gave the stag antlers with ten tines to protect himself from his natural enemies." See also Crane, *Animal Encounters,* 110.

comes to them from the good nature of their father and their mother and from good lineage and good nurturing and a good birth under good constellations and celestial signs: this is the case for man as for all other beasts."[274] The count finds parallels between the stag and man in order to heighten his glory in his dominion over a creature so similar to humans. The value in conquering an animal so close to humans also alludes to the count's own prowess over others of his own species in war. The chase of the stag provided the best practice for battle as it required pursuit across an extensive amount of terrain.

Gaston continues his praise of the stag through remarks on his speed, strength, and wiliness, reinforced visually by the elegant leaping animal at center in the miniature on folio 16r and in its flight on folio 77r (fig. 3.20). Gaston emphasizes the merit of the stag as an opponent noting "…after a stag the bier," acknowledging the capacity for the animal to defend itself using its antlers like humans with handheld weapons.[275] The animal is ideal for hunting *à force* due to his endurance, even after a long pursuit, and he hunters by doubling back on its path and hiding his scent in water before finally fighting once cornered.[276] The skill necessary to pursue the stag does not credit the animal however but rather glorifies the prowess and superiority of the *human* hunter by

[274] Bossuat, 46. "plus sachanz et malicious les uns que les autres, einsi comme des hommes, que li uns est plus sages que l'autre. Et ce leur vient de bonne nature de leur pere et de leur mere et de bonne engendreűre et de bonne norriture et de bonne naissance et en bonnes constellations et signes du ciel, et cela est en homme et en toutes autres bestes." See also Susan Crane, *Animal Encounters: Contacts and Concepts in Medieval Britain*, 111.

[275] Ibid., 43. "Après le sanglier le médecin, et après le cerf la bière."

[276] Crane, *Animal Encounters*, 103.

conquering a "deliberate production of danger" through the orchestrated, "controlled framework" of the medieval hunt.[277]

At first glance, the descriptions and corresponding images seem encyclopedic for the purposes of cataloging the natural world. However, the representation places the animals within a distinctly human universe rather than a world in which all species live for the sake of existence. The creatures of *Le livre de chasse* are instead afforded worthy characteristics of their pursuers as part of the human *domination* of the animal kingdom. The hunter became imbued with the courage and strengths attributed to the animal in the manual through its death as well as changed its demise from an act of butchery to the premeditated and skilled end on the hunt.

In addition to organizing the animals by their potential to confer power onto the human hunter, Gaston's hierarchy also determines placement by edibility. Those considered most edible, the herbivores, considered unpolluted and *clean,* rose higher in the ranking. Animals, in particular carnivores and carrion eaters, fell in the hierarchy as they were considered *unclean*. The illuminations and the corresponding text for these species further dehumanized them and contrasted profoundly with the presentation of herbivores.

Within the hierarchy of wild animals considered ideal for consumption, the stag ranked high due to its behavior during the hunt (to flee rather than immediately fight, to use cunning first before combat) as well as its diet of vegetation rather than flesh. Herbivores, with the stag at the top, occupied the ranks of preferred meat. This was, in

[277] Ibid., 109.

part, due to dietary proscriptions within early Christianity. Early medieval texts, such as the Canons of Adamnan, described animals which consumed blood as polluted and thus were considered inedible, a continuation of Jewish dietary requirements for appropriate bleeding of slaughtered animals. This stance also supported restrictions against humans eating meat saturated with blood. The death of an animal while trapped in a way which cut off circulation of one or more body parts resulted in blood pooling in the limb or appendage and rendered the body unclean: "[T]he thicker and denser blood in which life had its seat remains clotted within the flesh. Thus, unless the infliction of a wound disturbs the seat of life, there is not shedding of blood but merely injury to an extreme part; and therefore he who eats such flesh shall know that he has eaten flesh with blood." [278] Unlike the ingestion of the Eucharist, the bread and wine transubstantiated into the body and blood of Christ, animal "blood was to be avoided when that which was alive was changed into *food*."[279] The blood of nonhuman and other humans contaminated and polluted the consumer whereas the Eucharist was the "paradoxical redemption" of cannibalism in particular.[280] The body and blood of Christ, in contrast, was "the final victory…[by]eating that [which] does not consume, the decay that does not devour…"[281]

Herbivores followed most closely to the roles of both human and nonhuman animals in Eden, where all were vegetarian, as well as in visions of the end times. At the

[278] Ludwig Bieler, ed. *The Irish Penitentials,* (Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, 1963) 177, 181, 260. See also Salisbury, 61-62.

[279] Salisbury, 62. My emphasis in italics.

[280] Bettina Bildhauer, "Medieval European Conceptions of Blood: Truth and Human Integrity," *the Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 19 (2013): S66-67.

[281] Bynum, 41.

end, all issues of assimilation through consumption would cease: "The dead will rise to an earth of abundant food, in which animals will no longer eat animals."[282] The diet of the stag, combined with its noble attributes and admirable qualities as a foe, as well as the prohibitions against consuming blood saturated flesh, accounts for the preferred method of dispatching it.[283] The lord of the hunt would drive a sword between its shoulder blades, a noble but impractical death. The body then would bleed out during the ritual of *unmaking*.[284] The humanization of the stag, however, resulted in the need to establish it as a particular kind of Other, which despite anthropomorphization, was clearly a nonhuman animal to be consumed. As the preferred meat, the stag was Othered through the ritual of *unmaking* which fully transformed the animal into venison, uncontaminated by blood or a nonhuman method of demise.

Cannibal Carnivores

Of all of the animals within the medieval park and beyond, humans marked fellow meat eaters as their enemy, for they rivaled the hunters' claim to the forest as a space where all of the animals within *belonged* to humans.[285] As such, nonhuman predators committed a crime against humans by pursuing prey. Gaston begins his discussion of the fellow predators of the medieval park with the illumination on folio 31v (fig. 4.1). A blue and gold border traps the wolves as they eat, suckle, and move about

[282] Bynum, 39. Bynum summarizes paragraph three of chapter two in *Against Heresies* (Book V) by Irenaeus in footnote 73. See Irenaeus, "Against Heresies," in *Ante-Nicene Fathers,* vol. I, eds. Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson, comm. A. Cleveland Coxe (Packard Technologies, 2008) n. pag. Kindle edition.

[283] Hassig, 49.

[284] Salisbury, 63.

[285] Steel, 83.

within the composition. The miniature visualizes the count's largely negative account of the wolf. Gaston recounts older stories about the animal in the accompanying text, such as how she-wolves in heat lead the pack for days on end before choosing a mate. At the bottom left of the miniature, a she-wolf lifts her right paw upward, articulating the moment when she decides to mate with the most powerful of the males. The count describes the brutality of wolves as well, noting the other wolves will track the mating pair and then kill the male wolf. In contrast to the gentle depiction of the doe with fawns on 16r (fig. 1.7), the mother wolf bares her teeth at two suckling pups at center in the composition, against a dense background of varying foliage. Unlike the anthropomorphized stag, Gaston describes the feared and maligned wolf as ignoble in behavior, emphasizing his animal characteristics of bloodlust and eating "all manner of flesh and carrion," and visualized in the illumination as wolves tearing apart and carrying animal bodies— a goat at bottom left, lambs at the top left and lower left of the miniature, and a farrow (baby boar) at top right (detail, fig. 4.2). Bright red blood contrasts against the vivid green of the foreground and the dark fur of the wolves.

If the medieval park can be understood as the site of human conquest over nature and the civilization of the wilderness, then the hunter's greatest enemy is the wolf. Within the hunting landscape, the only truly comparable threat to the super-predator human was the wolf. As a result, wolves became symbolic of the dark, looming, and dangerous forest during the Middle Ages and of the unrestrained, uncivilized *wild.*[286] Human dominion over the forest thus required domination of the wolf in particular, as he

[286] See Aleksander Pluskowski, *Wolves and the Wilderness in the Middle Ages* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2006) for the most comprehensive study of wolves in the medieval period to date.

terrorized the livestock and food sources for local communities, and also competed with humans for the highly desirable prey of the hunt.

As apex predators themselves, wolves possessed similar success in hunting to man. Their strengths as powerful hunters made them worthwhile prey for the demonstration of human martial prowess and courage. With reputations for eating human flesh, however meant their representation in *Le livre de chasse* emphasized their animality and resulted in their placement further down the Fébusian hierarchy. The illumination on folio 31v visualizes the capacity of wolves to decimate both domestic and wild animals during their nocturnal hunts. The portrayal of numerous broken bodies emphasizes the perceived ruthlessness and lust for slaughter of the wolf (fig. 4.1). In the bottom left foreground, two wolves tear into a sheep and a goat. Another wolf, higher on the picture plane, bites into the head of the sheep, the crimson blood contrasting to the white wool of the animal. The predator presses on the crumpled body with its forepaws. More blood pools on the grass below, indicating the wolf may have dragged the sheep or perhaps the creature exsanguinated. Below, another beast stands in a mass of gore from the body of a barely recognizable goat. In the upper right of the composition, blood drips from the mouth of a wolf as it grasps most of sheep in its maw (fig. 4.2). Gaston further accentuates the abject qualities of wolves in his description of their "poisonous" bite caused by a diet which included toads and other vermin.

According to Gaston, wolves are the fastest and most wily of forest predators outside of man but the most dangerous to consume. Fear of being consumed shaped human relationships with wolves throughout the Middle Ages and many believed wolves possessed a desire for human flesh. Gaston describes lupine addictions to human flesh

which resulted in raging bloodlust. According to his account, wolves gained a taste for man while in competition for other prey or while fighting on the hunt and by consuming dead bodies, as well as horses, on battlefields and remains found at execution sites.[287] The threat of potentially committing cannibalism meant wolves became taboo to eat, for one might eat the flesh of humans in the meat of the wolf. Anxieties of anthropophagy derive from a fear of no longer losing one's state of being human. As meat had the capacity to transform the eater, pollution from the flesh of unclean animal had the power to contaminate human bodies, thus resulting in a re-ordering the human-animal hierarchy as the human becomes more animal-like.[288]

Wolves become Other through their status first as nonhuman animals, then as carnivores who eat other animals, and above all, as man-eaters. Taboos against cannibalism assert humans are "a higher form of life that cannot be preyed upon," and thus should not be eaten. Additionally, humans are superior as hunters of animals, not each other, in contrast to the reputation of wolves to eat their own after death as carrion.[289] The designation of humans as uneatable places them in opposition to nonhuman predators and designates human flesh as *different*-it is not *meat.* The means of death also marks the human as more important. An animal or another human can *murder* a human whereas nonhuman animals are slaughtered or killed.[290] But even in the fear of being consumed, humans assert their flesh is the best of all animals, a delicacy and

[287] Salisbury, 69.

[288] Steel, 124.

[289] Nick Fiddes, *Meat: A Natural Symbol* (London, US: Routledge, 2004) 143.

[290] Steel, 124.

irresistible, as a "…final defense against anthropophagy's threat to human superiority."[291] According to the count, the wolf finds human flesh so sweet and pleasant that it will eat no other meat after.[292] A further distinction between human predators and other carnivores is in the preparation of meat. Animal carnivores eat *raw* meat and humans do not, a fact illustrated in six of the eight images of the wolf in *Le livre de chasse.*[293]

The remaining seven illuminations of the wolf articulate both its fearsome ferocity and abject status. Hunters pursue the animal *à force* with swords and spears raised while the wolf bounds toward the edge of the illumination of folio 96v (fig. 4.3), an allusion to its ability to elude other predators. Gaston describes the necessity of using some sort of bait, either hanging in the trees with bones on the ground, as a lure in the corresponding text. The following morning before dawn, the huntsmen moved the bait once more to the ground so that the wolves return to feast on the prize which taunted them from above. The hunting party and local peasants then surrounded the animals in the thicket. The lord of the hunt then dispatched the wolf with a sword while the huntsmen attacked the animal with spears. Unlike the stag, a noble death was unnecessary. The wolf may be slain by whatever means possible, though a death by sword proved the skill of its killer. After the animal's death, the hounds were let loose to

[291] Ibid., 133.

[292] Bossuat, 66. "… et la chair de l'homme leur est si savoureuse et si plaisante qu'après qu'ils y sont acharnés ils ne mangeraient point d'autres bêtes, mais plutôt se laisseraient mourir, car j'en ai vu qui, laissant les brebis, prenaient et tuaient le pasteur."

[293] Fiddes, 15.

tear into the wolf and huntsmen sliced open its body and filled the abdomen filled meat and cheese to reward the pack.[294]

The ignominy of death and subsequent consumption by *other* animals and its flesh marked as *unsuitable* for humans illustrates the abject status of the wolf among other animals. It exists in a place of fear and thus must be obliterated, unlike the other species of *Le livre de chasse.* No less than six illuminations portray the ravenous appetite of the wolf and its demise in traps rather than a potentially quicker death at the hands of a human directly. The miniature on folio 107r depicts the capture of the animal via a see-saw snare, the wolf dangling from a rope around its middle, tongue extended (fig. 4.4). Folios 108v through 111 illustrate the menace of the wolf on local livestock but also a lust for blood and flesh by showing the various lures used as bait, such as dragging part of a goat or sheep so the wolf scents blood and goes after the animal in a pit. Folio 108v (fig. 4.5) shows a wolf following a spiral track of blood to the haunch of an unidentified animal in a dark pit covered lightly in branches. Unable to control itself, the wolf would then fall in and be pinned down by the hunter.

Human fear, hatred, and bloodlust for the wolf, however, is best articulated in the brutal practice of needle traps, presented on folio 109r (fig. 4.6). The miniature depicts two huntsmen in the right foreground near the sundered body of a horse, opened from the anus through the abdomen to the torso. The two figures grip red chunks of horse flesh in one hand and carefully twist needles crosswise together with horsehair with the other. Two buildings fill the top right against a red, blue, and gold geometric background

[294] Schlag, 60.

and behind a woven fence. The illuminator divides the composition vertically through the center, with a hay stack in the middle near the top of the picture plane, and the fence leads the eye towards an open gate. Two smaller trees bifurcate the foreground and create a continuous narrative. The men placed the needle bundles into the balls of horse flesh and scattered the lures along a track of blood ails in the forest. The wolves would then eat the needle filled meat, depicted on the right side of the miniature as each animal bites into a needle ball. Once digested, the needles punctured the insides of the animals and the wolves would die slowly.[295] The illumination alludes to the ever-present threat of wolves to settlements through the inclusion of buildings, gates, and a fence, one of only a few miniatures within the manuscript to portray architecture.

The lupine lust for blood repeats throughout all of the images, in the capture of prey as well as the trap scenes, and reinforces the perception of the wolf as unclean. The miniature on folio 110r (fig. 4.7) portrays the dismembered haunch of a hooved animal along with a live sheep to lure wolves. The predators follow a trail of blood, only this time into a cage trap. The last image of the wolf in *Le livre de chasse* on folio 111r depicts once more the animal in the midst of eating carrion used as bait (fig. 4.8). Two wolves, white fangs gleaming, tear into the bloody remains of a goat. The exposed ribs show the damage rendered and both predators gaze fiercely at one another across the carcass, ears flattened forward as if they might fight over their feast. Directly above the pair, a wolf captured by a net looks toward the trees. Gaston describes the method depicted, of lying in wait, in the corresponding text. In the foreground, a huntsman in grey and periwinkle with red hose lifts his left hand upward and carries a spear in the

[295] Schlag, 66.

right. Another figure in maroon and green turns slightly away from the viewer, mouth open in speech with a stick in one hand and a spear in the other. A third hunter, in lavender and grey and hands placed together, gestures toward a fierce wolf amidst the trio and above a small tree in the foreground. Ears pricked, teeth bared, and one paw lifted in motion, the animal turns toward the figure on the right. In the text, Gaston remarks the huntsmen should make a great deal of noise and move about to encourage the wolves toward the nets, revealed in the gestures and positions of humans within the illumination.[296] The vivid depiction of the goat carcass reminds the viewer of the wolves' ferocity and the danger it poses to livestock and man alike but also of its predilection to eat carrion, which makes the animal unsuitable for human consumption.

Carrion Scavengers

The foxes of folio 34v (fig. 4.9, details 4.10, 4.11) lack the ferocity of the wide white eyes, enlarged pupils, flattened ears, and sharp fangs of the wolves but rip into a rooster at top left and a large hare on a low slope under a twisting tree on the far right in the middle ground. Two geese waddle in the left side of foreground, their vivid webbed feet bright against the grass. One glances back towards the demise of a fellow bird, which dangles by the neck in the mouth of a fox at center. Below the successful hunter, another fox stalks the pair of geese, portrayed low to the ground beneath the stylized foliage. The dainty bodies, elongated and with benign expressions, appear similar to those of the higher ranked animals of the medieval hunt but unlike the stag and other herbivores who gaze serenely at each other and the viewer (indicative of their intelligence and more human qualities), the foxes stare at their prey or expectantly at an unseen bird outside the

[296] Ibid., 68.

decorative border at an unseen bird. The fox in the far left of the middle ground (fig. 4.11) gazes past the red and blue gilded boundary. The illumination also lacks the inclusion of any kits, unlike the images of herbivores that abound with young offspring. The corresponding text describes the fox with some admiration as a clever beast which will defend itself against any pursuers. Gaston notes the fox does not cry out at the moment of death, as if resolute in spite of its demise. The wolf carries a higher position within the hierarchy due to its dangerous reputation, as a comparable foe and predator to the human hunter, but the fox follows closely due to its characteristics of bravery and stealth which heighten the skill necessary to capture it. Unlike the wolf, however, who hunts large prey, Gaston derides the fox for its diet of vermin, carrion, and "other foul things," as well as a preference for birds, rabbits and hares.[297] Carnivores who eat carrion consume flesh which died in an unknown manner, natural or by another animal, are thus considered unacceptable for human consumption.

The death at the hand of the human reinforced the Fébusian hierarchy with humans at the top, closest to God as humans and super-predators of forest, and thus articulated cultural order. The fox depicted in the miniature on folio 99v is no match for its pursuers and the illumination assumes its demise in the depiction of a nearby spear (fig. 4.12). Its death by human hand marks it as *clean.*[298] Carrion, the remains of a natural animal death or the abandoning of the corpse by its killer, results in polluted flesh condemned by a demise outside of the established symbolic system. The death of an animal at the claws or teeth of another challenged human dominance in the medieval park

[297] Ibid., 28-29.

[298] Douglas, 45.

as the site of the human as super-predator and thus the only legitimate killer within the socially constructed space.[299] The animal *could* be consumed by humans so the taboo against carrion is more of a reassertion of the human power to determine how *animals* should be used. The act of eating carrion then becomes anomalous, and thus considered dangerous for humans. The animal body killed and chewed on by other animals becomes "matter out of place" on the medieval hunt and thus polluted and inconsumable.[300] Carrion consumption thus establishes a border between the human and the nonhuman animal as well as between certain species of nonhumans within the animal kingdom.[301] Animals which do not eat carrion rise higher in the hierarchy.

The pollution associated with the flesh of carrion eating predators developed out of Old Testament laws animals slaughter in preparation for human consumption in Exodus and Leviticus. The biblical texts specifically stated humans should not eat meat polluted by animal violence, meaning injured or killed by another nonhuman animal.[302] Carrion also could contaminate in multiple ways. One animal could kill another creature, partially consume it, and then leave it behind. A wolf, for example, could kill and then begin to eat a goat, prior to abandoning its meal. The carcass could then be discovered by a fox, who eats the remains. If a human then ate the fox, they would consume specifically *animal* food: raw and uncooked, polluted by a tainted death by an animal, contaminated by the bites of one animal, and further abjected by being consumed by another, all of

[299] Steel, 87.

[300] Douglas, 50.

[301] Ibid., 49.

[302] Salisbury, 66-68. See also Steel, 75-77.

which possibly occurring long after its death as it rots into the earth. Thus eating carrion led to ingestion of the most unclean meat other than human flesh and defined the human consumer as particularly animal-like or animalistic.[303]

Unlike the clean meat of the stag purified further through the ritual of *unmaking* and/or fire, the method of demise marks the carrion carcass as irrevocably polluted. It becomes even more abject once chewed upon, not fully eaten or uneaten and existing in a state of in-between and ambiguity.[304] The very act of killing, of the rendering of the skin to expose the blood and flesh to the maw of the animal, pollutes the carcass by collapsing the boundary between life and death. The death by animal and consequential consumption of the remains reminds the human of the potential to be eaten by a fellow carnivore. Death devoured the body and subsequently another animal devoured its fleshly remains. The carcass becomes symbolic of the act of *being* devoured, in-between life and death and in a state of transformation, for the flesh becomes part of the consumer once eaten. Using the previous example, the goat becomes wolf as well as fox. The fox then becomes goat and the goat becomes fox, resulting in a hybrid creature which breaks the boundary between human and nonhuman animals if eaten by man. Once the human eats the carrion, they become wolf, fox, and goat–simultaneously devourer and devoured and thus existing outside of the system of order. As such, the human becomes abject by eating unclean flesh further contaminated by the polluted bites of the wolf and fox. The meat is no longer *just* goat but a hybrid meat.[305] Carrion is abject because it exists between eaten

[303] Salisbury, 62, 67.

[304] Kristeva, 17.

[305] Ibid., 39.

and uneaten (partially consumed) states after an unclean death and further contamination by scavengers. To eat carrion meant the human would exist between not only the human and nonhuman but nonhuman species as well.[306]

Lustful Omnivores

Omnivores existed in a similar state of ambiguity during the Middle Ages. Gaston includes two herbivores, the bear and the boar, in *Le livre de chasse*. Their diet consists of both plants and animals, with the potential to also consume human flesh. While abstaining from carnivores, medieval people ate some omnivores. Gaston presents the more dangerous animal, the bear, first after the herbivores in the hunting manual. The miniature of folio 27v (fig. 4.13) visualizes the two kinds of bear described by the count differentiated in color (brown and black) in the image and by size and nature in the text. In the illumination, a brown bear climbs the trunk of the tree, so strong and large that the animal effortlessly pulls up into the canopy in the center of the composition. The small heads of the bears contrast to voluminous bulky bodies. Gaston notes this as a vulnerability, for the bear could be stunned or killed if struck in the head.[307] While the illuminations of herbivores such as the deer show the young of each species as allusion to copulation, the miniature depicts two pairs in the act in the middle ground on either side of the tree at center. Gaston describes bears as mating "aguise dôme et de femme," face to face like humans.[308] A cub leans against the brown bear of the couple, the goal of their embrace. The pale fangs of the adult bears glow against their gums but unlike the

[306] Ibid., 75.

[307] Schlag, 25.

[308] Ibid., 26.

representations of carnivores, they do not eat other animals in the image. The representation of mating stands in for the baser behavior of the bear and the fangs remind the viewer of their danger to humans.

Omnivores presented a special circumstance to the medieval mind, as they ate both plants and animals. The contradictory description and portrayal of bears within *Le livre de chasse* demonstrates their problematic designation within two categories and disordered the classifications within the hierarchy of the animal kingdom.[309] The initial illumination of the animal (fig. 4.13) highlights its more animalistic qualities in a sexual form through an emphasis on their gluttonous and lustful nature rather than any association with the positive anthropomorphization applied to herbivores. The representations do not share the ruthless depictions of the carnivores within the manual, however. Instead, the bear becomes Other by nature of species, its sexuality, and danger to human bodies.

During the Middle Ages, sexual intercourse was thought to eliminate reason, which was a defining quality of humans. While the stag and other herbivores were valued for their humanistic abilities to be clever and intelligent (traits needed for reasoning), Gaston emphasizes the bear's lack of these capacities but also a proclivity for an activity which banishes reason. Augustine and Thomas Aquinas both argued overly sexual people were closer to beasts than to humans.[310] As such, lust became a defining difference

[309] Klaus Eder, *The Social Construction of Nature: A Sociology of Ecological Enlightenment* (London; Thousand Oaks, CA.: Sage Publications, 1996) 63.

[310] Augustine, *City of God,* trans. H. Bettenson (Middlesex, England, 1972) XIV, 16, 577. Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologica,* trans. the English Dominican Fathers (New York: Benziger Brothers, 1947) Q. 98, 2, 493-494.

between human and nonhuman animals. Bears embodied not only the ambiguous state of omnivore but also traversed the boundary between human sex and animal sex: to copulate in a *human way*, or face to face.[311] The perception that bears "embraced each other mutually, like human beings" resulted in simultaneous humanization and animalization through its perceived rampant lust.[312] Human fears of excessive desire and a loss of reason resulted in taboos against eating bear meat.[313]

The lusty bear, however humanized in its method of sex, still competed with human hunters as a fellow predator in the forest. Gaston describes the bear's strong forelegs and sharp fangs, both of which made the animal capable of killing the careless hunter and for ravaging the countryside. Two of the three images of the bear in *Le livre de chasse* reveal the human reproach of the animal for its capacity to kill livestock and unwary humans. The miniature of folio 93r shows the pursuit of the animal into the thick forest (fig. 4.14). Despite the ferocity of the creature, Gaston cautions against hunting the bear alone and with a sword, stating hunters should hunt together and with spears, for once wounded, it becomes particularly ferocious. In the illumination, a brown bear flees two noble mounted hunters, grooms with bows, arrows, and spears, and a pack of running hounds and greyhounds. The lord of the hunt, mounted and wearing a head covering and gold embroidered attire, points toward the bear with his *estortoire* while his companion sounds an oliphant. While the noble in red looks intently at the bear, lips pursed and eyes

[311] Salisbury, 78-79.

[312] Ibid., 83. Salisbury quotes Vincent of Beauvais.

[313] Bruno Andreolli, "Food Representations" in Massimo Montanari, *A Cultural History of Food in the Medieval Age* (London: Berg, 2012) 154. Hildegarde of Bingen remarked on the how consuming bear meat would lead to greater sexual desires.

focused on his prey, the expressions of the grooms in the foreground reveal several emotions. At bottom left, a huntsman in taupe, pink, and blue carries a crossbow over his left shoulder and a heavy arrow in his right hand. His head tilts back and his mouth widens as he looks toward the bear. Near the center of the foreground, the middle figure in gray and red clutches spears in both hands, eyes wide with a small pulling at the corners of his mouth. The least anxious of the trio, the bowman in blue and dark gray, readies his arrow in a crossbow. The contrast between the gazes illustrates the courageous nature of the aristocrat against his less noble companions despite the group effort necessary to take down such a large, dangerous foe. The hounds are clearly the most excited of the hunting party with teeth bared and tongues visible as they pant in anticipation of the kill. In the text, Gaston writes of their endless drive for revenge if the bear takes down one of the pack.[314]

Throughout the Middle Ages, the nobility in particular valued the conquest of the bear as a sign of their power. The bear appears in heraldry and the myths and legends of some aristocratic families. To vanquish a foe much larger than the human conveyed nobility and power to the hunter. Many heroes of medieval chivalric literature defeated bears and accounts of knights such as Godfrey of Bouillon (c. 1060-1100) describe bear kills.[315] The nearly martial prestige associated with a victory over a bear articulates underlying fears of its danger to humans as an animal capable of injuring, killing, and eating humans. As a strong and fierce animal, the bear presented a physical threat to the

[314] Schlag, 56.

[315] Klemettilä, 208.

human super-predator of the medieval park and a disruption of the symbolic order which placed human violence above nonhuman animal aggression.

For humans, eating bear meat meant one might absorb its lustful, bestial behavior as well as potentially consume carrion or commit cannibalism by eating digested human flesh. The miniature on folio 106v manifests the threat of the bear visually. Blood pours from wounds caused by a spear catapulted completely through the bear's body, its tip visible against its fur (fig. 4.15). The image depicts the defeat of the snarling beast as it bleeds out after springing the bolt mechanism of the trap. It bites into part of the tapered pole, its maw wrapped around the wood, in an attempt to liberate itself. The fangs extend farther in this illumination than any other images of the bear within *Le livre de chasse.* Its sharp claws score the bark a nearby tree as one paw wraps around the trunk. One can imagine its frustration and perhaps resulting roar after capture. Rather than visualizing the death of the bear, the illumination shows the moment of harm. The claws capable of stabbing through human skin are useless against the holes rendered in its flesh. The teeth seeking to rupture the boundary of human skin now bites the cause of its own demise. The disorder of the omnivore has been assuaged, as the bear is re-ordered into the hierarchy through death like other carnivores. The creature's physical and symbolic threat are negated in both act and image.

Betwixt Beasts

Unlike the flesh of the bear, however, humans ate and even relished the meat of the boar. All levels of society ate the long domesticated pig, but the aristocracy reserved

wild boar hunting for themselves.[316] The stag, noble and anthropomorphized, may have been considered the best prey by noble hunters but the boar followed as a close second. Of the meat eaters within *Le livre de chasse,* medieval people ate only the boar with regularity. The status of the boar as an omnivore meant it consumed both other animals and vegetation. This "betwixt" state led to an ambiguous relationship with humans, manifest in the demonization of the animal throughout *Le livre de chasse.* As a fierce predator, it provided the "perfect antithesis" to the elegance of the deer for the performance of status and strength of the medieval hunt.[317] The nobility hunted and killed wild boar *à force,* whereas peasants and other members of society raised pigs. Boars lived in the forest and provided a worthy foe; pigs lived near settlements and their slaughter did not require combat skills.

Similar to the representation of the bears near the beginning of *Le livre de chasse,* the miniature of folio 29v (fig. 4.16) emphasizes the base sexuality of the boar whereas the remaining images illustrate its dangerous killing capacity.[318] The highlighted leaves of the trees in the center of the picture plane contrast with the dark sable hair and skin of two boars mating, largely expressionless compared to the serene faces of the deer illuminated in the miniature on folio 16r (fig. 1.7). Below the pair, several farrows face leftward another male burrowed into the brush, legs tucked underneath his body. Gaston notes wild boar dig into the ground, under vegetation for fruit, and other plants, as well as

[316] Massimo Montanari, *Medieval Tastes: Food, Cooking, and the Table*, tr. Beth Archer Brombert (New York: Columbia University Press, 2015) 63.

[317] Smets and Abeele, 61.

[318] Schlag, 26.

discussing their mating season. The sharp tusks of the kneeling male in the foreground stand out against the heavy shadowed foliage and dark flesh. To the left, the lip of a sow curls viciously as she suckles four tiny babies, illustrating the count's comments on the danger of the female boars, as they will chase all manner of creatures. Another boar, at top left of the composition, shares a similar expression as her farrows move beside her. While they lack the death wielding tusks of males, they will bite and can cause great injury.[319] At center, two boars appear ready to charge, forelegs extended. The lighter of the two raises his snout while the other looks slightly downward, precursors for an aggressive advance. Boars as symbols for excessive sexuality and uncontrollable lust in the Middle Ages developed out of the earlier traditions in late Antiquity, such as Oppian's *Cynegetica,* Claudius Aelian's *On the Characteristics of Animals,* and the *Physiologus,* and developed further in medieval bestiaries.[320] Hunters, in contrast, considered domination of the aggressive (sexually and otherwise) animal as way to demonstrate their power, even to the extent of eating boar testicles to imbue them with sexual potency, and as proof of their fighting skills.[321] As an animal filled with unbridled passion, conquering the boar carried a different kind of strength than killing the graceful stag. The boar fought more ferociously *because* of its lustful disposition and pride.

If the stag was the most honorable prey, the boar was the most dangerous. Gaston notes the treacherous, killing capacity of the boar in *Le livre de chasse*, remarking

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[319] Schlag, 27. Bossuat, 61-63.

[320] Claudius Aelian, *On the Characteristics of Animals,* trans. A. Scholfield (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1959) 1:177, 3:163-165. Oppian, "*Cynegetica and Halieutica,*" in *Oppian, Colluthus, Tryphiodorus,* trans. A. Moir (London: William Heinemann, 1928) IXXX: 125-127. Curley, Michael J., trans. *Physiologus*, (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1979) 24.

[321] Salisbury, 80.

on its abilities to dismount a knight with ease and to kill with one blow, as if with a knife. He admires the ferocity of the animal but also describes the boar's pride and lesser intelligence in comparison to the stag. While *Le livre de chasse* omits images of the moment of death for the stag other than the dead body in the illumination of *unmaking*, the boar's fearsome reputation resulted in several miniatures depicting its demise.

The miniature of folio 95r shows the ideal death of the boar, like the stag, by human hand (fig. 4.17). A massive boar, nearly the same size as the beige and white horses on either side, attacks in the center of the illumination. Blood pours from a wound of unknown location at the foot of the rider on the left, its origin unknown and possibly from the human, horse, or boar. The miniature gives some clue, as one long and sharp tusk glows white against its dark brown snout nearby, and the boar's hooded eye gleams with unwavering intent despite the swords thrust into its hide. In the foreground, a groom spears a nearly human sized boar. Blood drips from its mouth as well as both entry and exit wounds. *Le livre de chasse* contains five scenes of the wounded or dead boar, killed by spear, trap, arrow, and sword and one of its bisected corpse in the image of *unmaking*. Two illuminations illustrate the act of hunting the boar *à force* (fig. 4.18) and another four miniatures show bow and stable methods and tracking (fig. 4.19-4.22). The threat posed by the boar manifests most vividly in the miniature on folio 108r (fig. 4.23). The tusks of the four cornered boars rise up past their foreheads and their long snouts are filled with sharp teeth. One can imagine each beast snarling through the tight curved lines of his jawbone and furrowing the skin around the eyes. Across from the animals, two greyhounds and a mastiff stare maliciously at their opponents, with a brave hound at center directly across from the boars. A tree further divides the composition. In the

foreground, a groom pierces one of the large animals with a long, reinforced spear while a hound tears into the boar's ear. Neither act seems to stop the animal, for he stands with one foot raised as if moving towards his attacker. Though the boar is omnivorous, the illumination articulates the wild savagery of the boar, making him capable of maiming, killing, and even eating his pursuers. The anthropomorphized faces of the boars in the miniature reflect the animal's lack of reason and the rage and vengeance associated with the beast. The intent expressions of the grooms and huntsmen represent the human capability to reason and their valor in approaching their foe with purpose and the strength of numbers. The representation of the boar shares more with the carnivorous wolf than with the stag, as an enemy worthy of not only a skilled hunter but a particularly courageous one. However valiant the defeat, consuming boar flesh meant one could be tainted by its lustful, vengeful, and unreasonable qualities. Unlike the wolf, though, the aristocrats welcomed boar to the table, evidence of conquering the wild but purified through the *unmaking* ritual. The bloody violence against the boar in *Le livre de chasse* justified the animal's demise in service of the human, of taming the wild, and served as a physical manifestation of the warrior aspects of medieval nobility.[322]

The vanquishing of the boar bestowed prestige and great honor on its pursuers but its habits of wallowing meant eating the animal presented potential contamination to the human devourer. Gaston writes of the boar penchant to "go to soil" or to wallow in mud in chapter nine, a behavior particular to the animal.[323] Three boars wallow in a

[322] Crane, *Animal Encounters,* 109.

[323] Schlag, 26-27.

murky pond in swirls of brown and gray in the miniature of folio 117r (fig. 4.24, detail fig. 4.25). The corresponding text describes how hunters should shoot boar in the wet places favored by the animals. The bowman stalks the edge of the pond with his arrow cocked directly in line with a black boar moving in the water with teeth bared. To the right of the boar, another animal faces the hunter with his mouth open and both fangs and tusks visible. The third boar gazes to the right of the composition, perhaps fleeing or oblivious to the activity. The unseen legs of the boars to the right and the back legs of the animal nearest to the hunter indicate some depth to the water, perhaps a pond. However, the water is clearly not pristine, clean, or fit for humans. The water churns in gradations from the lightest gray, a nearly white hue in the foreground, to deep swirls of sable and black further up the picture plane. The allusion to mud marks the boar as not only wild but dirty and polluted. The animal's base nature was believed to lead the animal to scavenge and to wallow, manifest in the miniature as a reminder of the boar's inherent status as Other. Boars were also thought to not only roll around in mud and muck but to ingest excrement and carrion, thus bringing into their bodies the most unclean of materials. [324] The illumination of wallowing also visualizes the "social filth" which contributed to the Othering of the animal.[325]

Animal Others

Noble hunters pursued an assortment of animals which varied in symbolic importance, with those near the top meriting ritual dismemberment. Stags (male deer,

[324] Marvin Harris, "The Abominable Pig," in *Food and Culture: A Reader*, eds. Carole Counihan and Penny Van Esterik (New York: Routledge, 1997) 70.

[325] Steel, 82.

usually over five years of age) ranked highest among all acceptable prey, with boars also valued as a particularly ferocious opponent among the predators hunted. Gaston describes the *unmaking* of these two species in chapters forty (*Ci devise comment on doit écorcher un cerf et le dépecer*) and forty-three (*Ci devise comment on doit dépecer le sanglier*) in his manual.[326] The stag, one of the most frequently represented animals in medieval art, required hunters to acquire extensive skill and technical abilities, thus ideal as a particularly noble activity as the aristocracy possessed the financial means to devote the time necessary to develop proficiency in the sport.

The stag, second only to the human in *Le livre de chasse*, challenges the noble hunter with its speed, strength, and intelligence. The ability to defend itself successfully against humans raised its prestige in the eyes of its pursuers. Ultimately, however, the descriptions and illuminations within the manual favor the super-predator. The stag may be clever, but the human is more so. The count first mentions the boar in his discussion of the stag, remarking "after the boar, the physician; after the stag, the bier."[327] While he holds the stag in great esteem, the boar is prideful to a fault and its tusks threaten human and animal hunters alike. Gaston writes: "It is great mastery and a fine thing to know how to kill a boar with a sword," despite the impracticality, and notes the particular courage associated with hunting boar on horseback.[328] He emphasizes the danger of the sharp tusks from both personal experience and observation: "I saw a man split from knee to the

[326] Bossuat, 108 and 112.

[327] Bossuat, 43. "Après le sanglier le médecin, et après le cerf la bière."

[328] Ibid., 62. "C'est belle maistrise et belle chose qui bien scet tuer unsangler de l'espee."

chest and die suddenly without a word; and me, I was taken down, me and my horse, killing my horse."[329] He also notes the boar could gore the hounds in pursuit as a way to distance himself, as the creature lacked speed due to short legs.[330] The animal became most dangerous once cornered as flight transformed into fight. The noble hunter would then charge, sword in hand, ideally on horseback. Though sword fighting required significant force, the particular proficiency and strength necessary for a powerful downward thrust while mounted and mobile displayed magnificent courage.[331] In contrast to the majestic representation of the stag throughout the manuscript, the dichotomy of admirable foe and serious threat results in a much less flattering portrayal, as seen in the bloody death of the boar on folio 95r (fig. 4.17). The corresponding illumination to chapter nine, folio 29v (fig. 4.16), depicts the boar as lustful and more base, distinctively different from the elegant portrayal and description of the stag earlier in the manuscript. Gaston describes the imminent danger of the boar as "the best-armed beast" who can fell a man or animal faster than even a leopard or a lion in one stroke of its honed tusks. He writes: "For neither lions nor do leopards kill a man or a beast so suddenly as he does; indeed, they draw and scratch and bite with nails and teeth and the boar kills in one stroke, as one would with a knife…"[332] Unlike the stag, whose death remains invisible and assumed in *Le livre de chasse*, the illumination of folio 95r (fig. 4.17) depicts the

[329] Ibid., 61. "J'en ai vu un frapper un homme du genou jusqu'à la poitrine, le fendre et le jeter mort d'un seul coup sans souffler mot; et moi-même j'ai été porté maintes fois àterre, moi et mon coursier, et mon coursier tué."

[330] Thiébaux, 282.

[331] Ibid., 282.

[332] Bossuat, 61.

demise of not only one boar but two, emphasizing its capacity to kill and injure humans. Two mounted nobles thrust their swords downward, the animal's tusks nearly reaching the pale exposed belly of the horse on the left and the leg of its rider. Blood drips from the mouth of the boar or possibly from the partially obscured leg. The text describes the significance of needing at least two hunters in pursuit of the boar, as well as for both sword and spear. Gaston emphasizes the "grand péril" of pursuing the animal, as the adventure may result in death, maiming, or injuries.[333] The ferocious creature in the center of the composition is nearly as large as the horses but smaller than the mounted humans, highlighting both the danger of the animal as well as human superiority through scale. The swords pierce the tough, hairy skin and the boar bleeds onto the grass as it still charges fearlessly. In the foreground, an assistant in a beige tunic and lilac hued headpiece and leggings runs another animal through with a spear and, as with the boar above, blood gushes from its mouth or from the leg of its attacker. The continuous visual and textual reinforcement of the boar as prey, however dangerous, emphasizes the secondary status of animal to the human and the domination of the human over the animal kingdom.

[333] Ibid., 140. "C'est grand péril de se mettre en aventure de mourir, ou d'être estropié ou blesse pour conqueérir si peu d'honneur et de profit comme j'ai vu mourir tant de bons chevaliers, écuyers et sergents."

CHAPTER 5 TRANSFORMATION

Among the picturesque scenes of vibrant stags fleeing from hunters which dominate the abundant depictions of the hunt in the Middle Ages, are images of humans splitting apart animal bodies with their internal organs torn out while blood drips down the carcasses. Medieval hunters violently dismembered the animal body into pieces as part of the hunt, an activity seemingly out of place amidst the richly textured clothing, gold accents, and decorative patterns usually associated with hunting scenes. The lively creatures transform from corpses into edible flesh through the aristocratic ritual of *unmaking* in the gilded illuminations of BnF MS. fr. 616, *Le livre de chasse* (fig. 3.21).[334] Rendered in the same bright colors and style which characterize late medieval art, *unmaking* representations were more than just another aesthetically pleasing hunting image. Upon closer examination, the viewer might imagine the body of a stag still steaming from the heat of frantic running to escape his human predators. Dogs pant, tongues extended, craving raw organs, and bleeding flesh in the miniature of a second ceremony, *the curée* (fig. 3.22). One can easily conjure the fresh green scents of the forest, the musky desire of the hounds, and the salty sweat of tired horses against the ripe smells of the sundered skin and rancid odors of death emanating from the carcass at center. The ceremony de-animalizes the animal through the separation of the body into pieces, becoming an object. It is no longer animated; it is unrecognizable from the living

[334] Almond, 77. The ritual is also known as the breaking or *undoing* of the animal. The modern French translation of *Le livre de chasse* by Robert and André Bossuat uses the term *dépecer*. Bossuat translates the chapter heading as "Ci devise comment on doit écorcher un cerf et le dépecer," or "the way stag must be skinned and cut apart" or in more modern phrasing, "How to skin a stag and cut it apart" (my translation). An earlier version of this chapter appeared in my article “From Animal to Meat: Illuminating the Medieval Ritual of Unmaking,” *eHumanista* 25 (2013) 17-30.

animal it once was and has transformed into something else: meat. Medieval *unmaking* scenes portray the ritual transformation of the corrupt animal body into safely consumable flesh.[335] Huntsmen *unmade or undid* (split open) and *fleaned* (flayed or skinned, *écorcher*) the animal before the *brittling* (cut up into pieces, *dépecer*) began.[336] The final part of the rite included the reward to the hounds, the *curée*.[337]

While all classes within the medieval world hunted, hunting manuals and works of medieval literature clearly articulated aristocratic practices to an upper-class audience, including the breaking apart of animals. Scholars of medieval hunting generally agree the acts associated with breaking apart the stag (and the boar) comprise a particular aristocratic ceremony.[338] Surviving textual sources indicate only the nobility ritualized animal dismemberment and the popularity of hunting manuals in particular demonstrates a general widespread knowledge of the ceremony.[339] Descriptions found in the thirteenth-

[335] Images of unmaking/ritual dismemberment decorate medieval walls, such as at Runkelstein Castle in northern Italy, but most frequently illuminates secular texts. The majority of these depictions date to the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries. Both Gaston and modern translators use the French term *écorcher* for skinning the animal and *dépecer* for the cutting apart. There is not a French equivalent of the terms breaking or unmaking. Scholars of medieval hunting, including Richard Almond and Hannele Klemettilä, use the English phrases "unmaking" or "breaking" for the ceremony.

[336] Almond, 77.

[337] Almond and Crane discuss the *curée* as a second rite, however, the text of *Le livre de chasse* is ambiguous on this issue. Gaston describes the unmaking of the boar and its *curée* all together, whereas the two ceremonies are split in the discussion of the stag.

[338] Naomi Jane Sykes, *Beastly Questions: Animal Answers to Archaeological Issues* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2014) 115-116. Susan Crane argues the entirety of the medieval hunt is a ritual-see Chapter 1. The following works discuss unmaking: Lisa Yeoman, "The Shifting Use of Animal Carcasses in Medieval and Post-medieval London," in *Breaking and Shaping Beastly Bodies: Animals as Material Culture in the Middle Ages*, ed. Aleksander Pluskowski, (Oxford: Oxbow, 2007) 98-115; Krish Seeta, "The Middle Ages on the Block: Animals, Guilds and Meat in the Medieval Period," in *Breaking and Shaping Beastly Bodies: Animals as Material Culture in the Middle Ages*, ed. Aleksander Pluskowski, (Oxford: Oxbow, 2007) 18-32

[339] Almond, 74-79. See also Judkins, 70-92. Almond and Judkins both note differences in the unmaking descriptions by location (France versus England) and between sources.

century work, *Tristan* by Gottfried von Strassburg, reveal knights knew of the practice long before production of *Le livre de chasse* nearly two centuries later.[340] In the story, Tristan introduces the French method of breaking apart the stag to the local aristocrats of Cornwall.[341] Archaeological evidence of cutting marks on bones corroborates the procedures outlined in the manuals, indicating noble hunters generally adhered to the rites advocated by Gaston. Zooarchaeologists Naomi Sykes and Richard Thomas note some variations in the remains of deer in their research and attribute the differences to the preference of certain cuts of meat in various locations by regional distinction, and to a few discrepancies between texts.[342]

The absence of the *unmaking* ceremony for the lower classes can be attributed to specific sociological needs of the nobility. All members of society constructed both their individual and group identities, but the aristocracy required extensive codification of social performance to display themselves as different from other members of society through required participation in courtly activities, such as hunting. The ceremonious aspects of the pursuit of animals demonstrated the superiority of the nobility over both humans and animals through the martial skill of the hunt *à force* and emphasized the aristocratic means to eat the highly prized and regulated commodity of meat, an integral part of upper-class culture during the Middle Ages.

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[340] Gottfried von Strassburg, 76. Additional sources which mention or describe *unmaking* include: Henri de Ferrière's *Livres du roy Modus et de la royne Ratio* and the fourteenth-century English works of *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*, the *Parlement of the Thre Ages*, and the fifteenth-century English adaptation of *Le livre de chasse*, *The Master of Game* by Edward of Norwich. See Brian Stone, trans. *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* (N.Y: Penguin Books, 2004). M. Y Offord, trans. *The Parlement of the Thre Ages* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell & Brewer, 1997).

[341] Gaston's description of the unmaking rites resembles the account in *Tristan.*

[342] Sykes, 111. Thomas, 125-148.

Though most contemporary scholars accept the *unmaking* as a ritual, there is some variation in identifying the purpose and cultural significance of the ceremony. Current scholarship addresses *unmaking* from literary and historical perspectives. Richard Almond notes the acts comprise a rite designed to display class differences but attributes it mostly to practicality: "The procedural way of breaking a carcass is simply the best way of tackling a not too difficult problem…an intelligent person would almost inevitable follow the main logical steps as detailed in the hunting manuals."[343] The *unmaking* ceremony certainly contained some pragmatic elements but the increasing ritualization of the hunt overall combined with ritual aspects of the event itself conveys its social significance. Ryan Judkins argues against Almond's remarks in particular about the English practice of *unmaking* as less significant in comparison to the value placed on the ceremony by the French nobility. He remarks the breaking of the stag reveals the hunt as "a microcosm of a feudal society" through analysis of later English literary sources, such as *Tretyse off Huntyng* and the *Book of St. Albans*. He identifies the hunt as a game that presents an ideal view of society where all parts work together in an "expression of how society should function" and the breaking of the stag as one aspect during which the gifts of various parts of the animal to different members recognized all classes and strengthened their social bonds. [344] His thesis is similar to the argument of Susan Crane in her analysis of the ritualization of the hunt.[345] She argues the entire hunt is a ritual in two

[343] Almond, 80-81.

[344] Judkins, 70-92. See also Anne Rooney, *The Tretyse off Huntyng: Cambridge University Library MS L1.1.18, Fols. 48r-55v* (Brussel: Omirel, 1987) and Dame Juliana Berners, *English Hawking and Hunting in the Boke of St. Albans: A Facsimile Edition of Sigs. a2-f8 of the Boke of St. Albans (1486)*, ed. Rachel Hands (London: Oxford University Press, 1975).

[345] Crane, "Ritual Aspects of the Hunt à Force," 63-84.

different publications. I propose the social significance and ritualization of the event is a combination of these aspects - based in practicality and expanded to part of a larger "game" of the hunt, defined by Judkins as "a formalized, repeatable, and non-utilitarian act with overtones of strategy, struggle, and entertainment, usually played for specified stakes and governed by rules to enhance the experience" and a part of the over-arching ceremony of the hunt itself as argued by Crane.[346] In order to fully understand the significance of the event, however, it is important to note the practice applied to only two animals, rather than all prey. The choice of only *unmaking* the stag and the boar indicates the kind of species determined a need for a ceremonial event to transform each animal into consumable meat. The relationship between the chosen animals and humans as well as human concerns with other humans resulted in this particular performance within medieval culture. Application of the studies of pollution, contamination, and the abject in works by theorist Julia Kristeva and anthropologist Mary Douglas to the medieval ceremony of *unmaking* reveal how the complex relationship between humans and the abject necessitated formalized acts to transform animal carcasses into meat.

Animals, like humans, are living creatures but lack a central component of humanity—a language which could be understood, directly contributing to the perceived superiority of the human over the animal.[347] Simultaneously, animals and humans share similarities despite the absence of language. The death of a living creature emphasizes the inherent fragility of all flesh, including human skin, which could also be rendered or

[346] Judkins, 70-92.

[347] Steel, 21.

ruptured unto the point of the death like that of hunted prey. Fear of our demise and of the potential shared fate, as well as the animal in all humans, contributed to the formation of the ceremony of *unmaking* as part of the medieval hunt. The event was a particularly violent act, an attack on a feared Other which satisfied a need to render the creature completely unrecognizable as animal and thus definitively not *living.* This performance of domination required the further demarcation of boundaries between human and animal, through which "…humans mark one creature as merely animal-as something that should be eaten, tamed, or killed." *Le livre de chasse* vividly represents the categorizing necessary for these acts of "boundary-making subjugation," which resulted in the ultimate vanquishing of the animal through death and consumption.[348]

Breaking Animal Bodies

The rites of *unmaking* required the breaking apart of both the stag and boar to counter the "potentially abasing" aspect of interaction with wild animals, considered below humans in the carefully constructed order established by Gaston.[349] The ritual protected the idea of humans as superior to animals by asserting the Otherness of the animal and removed any potential contamination through intimate connections with animals during the hunt. The very nature of being animal-like in behavior meant that consuming the animal could result in the contamination of the eater. The mostly whole body of the animal continuously reminds the human of the shared state of being alive, and results in the need to define the animal as specifically not human/not alive while

[348] Ibid., 14.

[349] Crane, *Animal Encounters*, 111.

simultaneously asserting the animation of the human.[350] Prior to death, animal and human bodies share the animation of a living, breathing creature. At the moment before consumption, the living animal changes into a corpse at death, a fate shared by humans. As a once living creature, the animal becomes abject, and as such, repulsive and capable of polluting if consumed by the human. Put simply, all creatures are quite literally what they eat. Thus, consumption of the abject body transforms the human into a specifically *animal* Other. In order to avoid such contamination, the connection between human and animal as both *living* must be severed through the defining of the animal body as distinctly *animal* and different from the human, which could also die. The transformation of the stag and boar through ritual eliminated any perception of animation and rendered their bodies to objects to be eaten, unlike human flesh which remained whole and unconsumed.

After hounds chased and cornered the stag (fig. 3.20), the stag could be disabled by an arrow or spear. The hind leg would be cut to further reduce the agency of the animal and offered protection from the sharp tines of the rack of antlers, which could cause serious injury or even death. The lord of the hunt or another noble dismounted their horse, and then pierced the animal with a spear or sword between the head and neck to sever the spinal cord or plunged a sword between the shoulder blades into the heart.[351] The medieval hunt turned inedible flesh into edible meat through the acceptable death by human hand. Many early medieval taboos included the exclusion of carrion as acceptable

[350] Kristeva, 13-15.

[351] Thiébaux, 35. Gaston also remarks the stag may be killed with an arrow or crossbow if corned into water.

for consumption, for it was deemed specifically unclean due to the nature of its death by another animal or disease.[352] The means of demise is important—not all dead flesh is edible. Meat is the result of death by human hand. All other forms of death, natural, illness, and misadventure mark the flesh as inconsumable.[353] Animal violence had to be waged by humanity, with the ultimate mastery of life and death conducted by humans to assert their perceived mastery over the vulnerability of the flesh. Erasing the animal, the power of the human over the fragility of flesh moves the human fully into the present.

The assistants placed the dead stag on its back, antlers dug into the earth, before detaching the *daintiers* (deer testicles), and cutting the animal open along the anterior (the *undoing*). The illumination on folio 70r (fig. 3.21) depicts the scene after the killing stroke and initial incisions. In the center of the composition, the assistants begin the *fleaning* (*écorcher*) of the corpse.[354] The illumination presents a slightly skewed perspective of the antlers, as both are impossibly visible, which pictorially conveys the prestige associated with the capture of a stag with many *points*, denoted by the many branches of the rack.

In the text, Gaston describes the skinning of the right foot as the first step after the *fleaning*. The count himself or another noble supervises the *unmaking* in the illumination (identified by his red and gold tunic and larger size than other figures) and holds the left hind hoof of the stag. The huntsman to the right of Gaston brandishes a knife in his left

[352] Dianne M. Bazell, "Strife among the Table-Fellows: Conflicting Attitudes of Early and Medieval Christians toward the Eating of Meat" *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 65:1 (1997) 79.

[353] Noélie Vialles, *Animal to Edible* (Cambridge, England; New York, NY: Paris: Cambridge University Press, 1994) 5.

[354] Bossuat, 108-109.

hand, poised to slice flesh. His right hand pulls the hairy skin downward off the animal's hind leg. The clothing shows differentiation in social status, with the head huntsmen in dark, more muted red tunics with bright green collars (one depicted larger than the other servants and another mounted on horseback) and their assistants in matching livery.[355] At the other end of the stag, the killing wound is visible to the left of the sharp antlers, a gaping, bleeding hole almost parallel to the eye glazed open in death. Another huntsman grips the right foreleg as he cuts, exposing the interior of the animal. In the corresponding text, Gaston describes the cut around the right front leg below the joint and then the skin along the leg before connecting with the earlier incisions. Behind the smaller figure, the larger head huntsman clutches a long spear or stick. Against the geometric blue, white, black, and gold background, assistants converse to the left of the count while another figure blows an oliphant on the far right. Trees rise behind the stag and the figure blowing on his oliphant, though they are small in comparison to the disproportionate figures of the count and his companion. In the foreground, a hunter sits astride a gray horse while two assistants in green attire each carry an *estortoire* and mind the hounds. The dogs await their rewards, to be given during the *curée.* Some gaze at the stag or sniff at the ground. The manuscript does not include images of the remaining *fleaning* activities, which include the skinning of all four legs before the body, with the exception of the tail, ears, and neck as well as the loose detachment of the face from the skull.[356]

[355] *Le livre de chasse* does not state directly who completed the unmaking, however, the illumination and corresponding text demonstrate the lord of the hunt certainly a significant participant in the ritual. It is unlikely, however, the noble would have conducted the bulk of the work (despite such a description in *Tristan,* for example) as the blood and viscera were potential contaminants.

[356] Bossuat, 108-109.

The illumination visualizes the abject status of the animal body through the rendered flesh of the corpse, blood dripping from the punctures in its skin, which signifies and portrays the literal breaking of the borders of the animal body. The animal is abject through dismemberment, for its body reminds us of the fragility of our flesh and its capacity to be ruptured up to the point of death. The association of the broken animal body with human flesh creates fears of contamination when animal flesh is to be consumed. At the moment before consumption, the animal body is a corpse. The once alive creature reminds us of "…what [must be] permanently thrust aside in order to live," that our bodies are just as fragile as theirs, capable of death and injury. In order to live, death is rejected and avoided. But in order to be alive, one must be able to die. The skin functions as a boundary between life and death but also the interior and exteriors of the flesh. In response, the human must "extricate [themselves], as being alive, from that border." The broken, dead animal is "the utmost of abjection, [for] it is something rejected from which one does not part, from which one does not protect oneself as from an object."[357] The broken skin of the animal reinforces our notion of the permeability of skin, which if penetrated can expose the interior of the body.[358] Rather than abjure the animal, the human is meant to take the abject inside themselves.

The *unmaking* of the animal also clearly designated it as an animal body which becomes edible flesh, meat, in direct contrast to the human body, which could also be dead but not meat. The human body was not dismantled, dismembered, invaded, or cut

[357] Kristeva, 3-4.

[358] Ibid., 53.

apart at death to be eaten but rather was preserved whole and buried intact.[359] In order to be consumed, the *brittling* part of the ceremony reduced the animal to an object through dismemberment.[360]

After completion of the *undoing* and *fleaning*, the huntsmen dismembered the stag completely into four main parts (*dépecer*) and removed the insides.[361] The next stage, the *fourchie,* comprised the removal of the liver, *numbles* (entrails) and *pizzle* (penis). The body parts were then attached to a forked stick known as a *fourche.* Gaston identifies these as the choicest parts of the stag and they belong to the lord of the hunt.[362] He describes the subtraction of the heart, kidneys, other internal organs, and the loins. The count also writes about the complicated removal of the spine (*chine*), larger bones, and the tail, in addition to the detachment of the head, the breaking the joints. and separating the flesh around the *corbyn*. Richard Almond describes the *corbyn* as a kind of "gristle," which Gaston locates above the rectum and near the bladder. After completion of the *brittling,* the head huntsman presented various internal organs to important persons of the hunting party to be eaten at once or arranged for display. According to later texts, the huntsman offered the cartilage of the heart to a pregnant woman or to a lord for his child; the left shoulder was given to the forester and the liver to his assistant. The main visual

[359] The bodies of criminals and saints function outside the established order but no human bodies were to be taken apart for the purpose of consumption.

[360] Kristeva, 53.

[361] Almond, 75.

[362] Bossuat, 111. "Les morceaux de fourche dont j'ai parlé sont les meilleures viandes qui soient sur le cerf : c'est pourquoi on les met en fourche pour la bouche du seigneur." My translation: "The pieces on the fork I mentioned are the best meats of the deer, which is why they are for the mouth of the lord [of the hunt]." See also Almond, 76.

trophy of the adventure, the stag's head, belonged to the master huntsman or the lord of the hunt once the *curée* finished.[363]

Dismembering reduced the stag to merely pieces, no longer a specific creature and thus thoroughly unable to threaten humans. The mutilation of the animal body provides physical evidence of humans conquering the fear of contamination caused by the extinguishing of another living creature. The animal as food is abject through its potential to pollute by its very life as an animal, corruption through death, and rendered the body in dissection.[364] The animal transcends the border between the human and the nonhuman in life. Once the insides are turned outward, it becomes potentially contaminating and disgusting. As such, the animal corpse pollutes not only in its animality during life, but in its death and remains. Humans thus re-assert their human-ness through an aversion to "something perceived as dangerous because of its powers to contaminate, infect, or pollute by…ingestion" which requires ritual to justify the consumption of the flesh.[365] The animal body is disgusting, for it reminds the human of the fragility of both bodies and the nearly nonexistent protection of the skin. However, disgust also re-affirms our claim to superiority over the animal while simultaneously recognizing "the vulnerability of that superiority" to pollution.[366] The use of ritual to transform the animal into something consumable emphasizes our perceived difference to the animal. The animal consumes raw, disgusting flesh; we do not. [367] The illumination

[363] Almond, 75-76.

[364] Kristeva, 53.

[365] William Ian Miller, *The Anatomy of Disgust* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1997) xi, 2.

[366] Ibid., 9.

on folio 72r (fig. 3.22) illustrates the juxtaposition of the clean human to the animal in the representation of the final part of the ritual, the *curée*.

The miniature portrays the ceremony in which hunters presented rewards to the hounds. A huntsman first allowed the lymer (a scent-hound, often a spaniel) to lick, bite, and pull at the severed head of the stag. In the illumination, a figure in red with bi-colored leggings in black boots holds the head by the antlers. His body twists as he turns away from the animal relishing its reward, its tongue reaching out for the exposed flesh of the inner neck. Grooms collect innards, which included the kidneys, lungs, paunch, and wind pipe, to be placed into pools of blood on the hide of the stag.[368] The assistants hold the hounds on leashes both before and while they devoured the flesh, as part of the training process so that they associated the reward with obedience.[369] The illumination shows the training of the hounds to be able to enjoy their feast but still look toward their noble masters for permission and reinforcement, evident in the hound standing center on the hide, entrails dangling from his jaw. His neighbor gazes at a youthful figure in an orange-red houppelande with green ornamentation and a simple gold chain around his neck. Another young man stands to the left of Gaston in the composition (identified by his bejeweled chain, furred sleeves, and blonde hair) and both figures gesture in conversation as the count pontificates on the importance of the *curée* for the training of the animals. Midway through the ceremony, the master huntsman or noble would call the hounds away from their reward on the hide and draw them to him before throwing some

[367] Miller, 11.

[368] Almond, 78.

[369] Ibid., 35-38.

of the remaining guts in another direction. In the far right of the foreground, a figure dressed in mauve with red leggings hoists intestines above his head as a large hound gazes at the treat aloft. Toward the center of the foreground, two smaller dogs, one golden and dark brown, the other a sable shade, munch happily on a mound of intestines or other innards.[370]

Ritual alleviated fears of being consumed by animals, not unlike the hounds consuming their part of the hunt. The animal which can kill and eat a human is certainly an Other but is even more abject when it is a creature, such as the boar, which humans eat. The diet of the boar makes its flesh suspect, in case it has consumed human flesh, but its meat is still desirable, fascinating in its abjection. The count describes the tastiness of the boar: "Their fat is good…as well as their meat."[371] However, the animal still remains abject and the human becomes abject through the desire for the meat as well as in consumption. This results in the ultimate abjection and thus requires purification. During the hunt, the animal is symbolic of this fear and must be confronted and destroyed.[372] The primal fear of humans, focused as it was on this consumption, sought to transfer that onto the animal; the human was no longer the devourer but the devoured. The purification process of the kill and dismemberment restored order, as the animal no longer threatened humans. The ritual served as a means to remove the animal's agency and perceived power and to render it safe to be consumed.

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[370] Schlag, 48-49.

[371] Bossuat, 63. "*Leur sain est bon, ainsi que celui des autres porcs privés et leur chair aussi."*

[372] Kristeva, 13.

Gaston describes the *unmaking* of the boar in chapter forty-three, directly after discussion of the breaking apart of the stag.[373] First, the huntsman opened the mouth of the boar and placed a stick inside to hold the jaw open before cutting the brawn of the head, used to make head cheese, as seen in folio 73v (fig. 5.1). Then he sliced and flayed the front feet and back feet before continuing onto the rest of the body. Assistants then lifted the animal onto sticks in order to rub hair from its skin. Once this was completed, the huntsman placed the boar on its back, cut open the anterior, and removed the entrails. After the extraction of the innards, the dismemberment and slicing of the various cuts of meat began, as well as the removal of bones and cartilage. The count emphasizes the importance of cooking the entrails for the dogs, unlike the process for the stag in which they consume the blood and innards raw. In the illumination, the hairy skin of the boar remains as the assistant flays the animal and steaming entrails overlap a fire only visible by the smoke and long red flames above the highlighted heat of the intestines on the *fourche*. The figures at the top left of the composition provide visual clues for the fire through their positions. On the far left, a figure in a dark mauve tunic warms his hands and his left foot, overlapping another huntsman in red who raises his arm upward. Another assistant in green warms his hands while facing the fire. To the left of the boar, a huntsman in two-tone livery (red and mauve) also lifts his hands, palms up toward the fire while grasping a spear in his arm and with a knife at his hip.[374] The left bottom

[373] Bossuat, 112-113.

[374] M. Scott, 78. The consistent livery colors specify the servants and assistants of particular but unidentified nobles of the hunt. The figures in red and mauve ostensibly would belong to one lord, for example. Differences in hose and headgear would also have identified status as servant, assistant, or huntsman and varying ranks of each.

corner of the illumination focuses on the forked entrails, still pink with blood and steam highlighted against the green foliage and blue background, hoisted upward by an assistant in green above a pack of seven canines. Six of the dogs pant in anticipation as they wait in a semicircle below. The seventh animal, a white and gray dog, interacts with a figure in red and black with an oliphant strapped to his side and a staff in hand as he steps forward. In the right side of the foreground, two figures, one under a tree, prepare bread.

The scene does not follow the count's instructions in order but instead emphasizes two main aspects of the *curée* of the boar: its animality, represented by the hair, hooves, and tusks, and the significance of cooking its flesh. The assistants cooked the innards in the fire as well as the blood of the boar. Bread was dredged through the blood of the animal and then placed on a tray to cook in the fire. While the *curée* for the stag occurred in the forest, Gaston recommends the *fouaille*, the remains of the boar given to the hounds, should occur at the home or lodge of the lord of the hunt.[375] Unlike the two illuminations and the precise and lengthy directions in *Le livre de chasse* dedicated to the *unmaking* of the stag, the secondary status of the boar results in only one image of the ceremonial dismemberment of the boar receives the manual includes only one image of the ritual *unmaking* of the boar and much less description.

The textual and visual humanization and valorization of the stag contrasts to the emphasis on the ferocious, prideful and baser representation of the boar. In the *unmaking* illumination of the stag (fig. 3.21), the animal lies in the center of the composition, nearly the same size as the assistants conducting the *fleaning*. The antlers, which differentiate the stag from other deer, occupy significant space in the image. Most of the figures and

[375] Bossuat, 112-113.

dogs look towards the animal. The dismemberment reduces the anthropomorphization of the stag, for despite its human aspects which make it a worthy, admirable foe, it is meant to be consumed. The *unmaking* renders the flesh far from any association with the human, becoming unrecognizable meat. The boar, on the other hand, is not only a fierce opponent but one much more dangerous to consume. Not only is the creature capable of eating others of its own kind, other animals, and human flesh, it possesses the potential to pollute.

The omnivorous capacity of the boar places it between the clean and unclean. Proscriptions and regulations for eating pork abound in biblical texts and church writings throughout the Middle Ages. The boar as omnivorous also ate meat, most frequently in the form of carrion. Specific prohibitions barred eating a pig which had consumed carrion, especially forbidden if it had eaten human flesh or even if the animal had killed a human, tainted by an act of violence against humans.[376] The ritual of *unmaking* distinguished boar from other forms of swine, differentiated noble hunters from butchers, and separated the aristocracy from lower ranks of society. The death of the boar by sword marked its demise as the skilled act of a noble, rather than to be killed with a knife in a yard by a tradesman, a butcher.[377] Boar was ceremoniously rendered into meat; domestic pigs were not.

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[376] Steel, 76.

[377] Krish Seetah, "The Middle Ages on the Block: Animals, Guilds and Meat in the Medieval Period," in *Breaking and Shaping Beastly Bodies: Animals as Material Culture in the Middle Ages*, ed. Aleksander Pluskowski, (Oxford: Oxbow, 2007) 18-31. See also Crane, "Ritual Aspects of the Hunt à Force," 71.

Ritualized *unmaking* of animals purified them for human consumption. The very nature of being animal-like in behavior meant that consuming the creature could taint the eater. Through dismemberment, the animal became pure and thus edible.[378] Dismembering reduced the animal to parts of flesh, no longer identifiable as a specific animal, and thoroughly unable to threaten humans. The mutilation of the animal body provides physical evidence of humans conquering fears of contamination caused by the destruction of the animal body. The internal organs of the animal, given to the most prominent members of the hunting party, emphasized the importance of the ceremony. They represented the border between life and death, and of the internal and external. The exposure of the abject insides reinforced the "clean" bodies of the humans with their borders intact, organs inside, and skin undisturbed.[379]

The final act of purification came through cooking over fire. While animals may consume raw flesh, humans do not. Once cooked, the animal became meat and edible. Fire marks the final transformation of the animal in nature to meat, a signifier of culture.[380] During the medieval period, meat became associated with status and the ability to bestow power and strength. The prowess and knowledge associated with the hunt came to represent a physical superiority over other classes and those having more food could share it with others deemed worthy. It was not only the quality of the food, such as meat, which was important but also the amount and capacity to distribute to one's

[378] Kristeva, 13-15.

[379] Ibid., 53.

[380] Fiddes, 15. See also G. Marvin, 7.

companions.[381] Medieval aristocratic society depended on hunting and eating meat as a defining factor in its collective identity. While abjection of food often leads to exclusion or taboo of the item in question, such as the flesh of the dead animal, this was not possible within the noble construct and thus ritual purified the animal and transformed out of life and into an object.[382] This "purification rite appears then as the essential [border], which, prohibits [the abject and thus polluted animal], extracts it from [this state] and lines it at once with [a permissible status]."[383] The abject animal cannot be consumed until purified from this state, through the ritual, and then made into another object, that of meat cleansed by fire and eaten.[384]

Human Power, Animal Obliteration

Le livre de chasse takes the animal through a series of transformations. First, it is living, breathing, clearly alive. Then it becomes an animal corpse at the hand of the human, conquered but still in possession of the dangerous potential for polluting human bodies. It transforms into a broken animal body through prescribed dismemberment, whatever life it may have had completely eliminated in the destruction of its body, which is reduced to flesh. However, this flesh is not yet safe to consume. One final metamorphosis awaits the animal body. It transforms into *meat*, which humans eat. The animal body embodies the concept of "meat" through cooking, through fire. Once

[381] Salisbury, 49.

[382] Kristeva, 17.

[383] Ibid., 65. This passage was adapted from Kristeva's description of the purification rite, "The purification rite appears then as that essential ridge, which, prohibiting the filthy object, extracts it from the secular order and lines it at once with a sacred facet."

[384] Ibid., 75.

prepared, the smell and taste make the meat intoxicating. The senses contribute to the desire for meat, ultimately part of the “erotization" of the abject, the fascination with the dangerous. The human body both accepts and rejects death through the sensory need for the abject animal.[385] Human fears of injury, death, and decay manifest in the animal body and are assuaged through ceremony. The consumption of the dead animal contributes to life by providing nourishment. Ultimately, the abjectified animal body gives the human body life.

Diane Bazell notes the conversion of animals into meat, is the “clearest physical expression of human mastery,” a violent act which ultimately extinguishes the life of another being.[386] The *unmaking* ritual solved the inherent dilemmas in consuming flesh by maintaining the borders between human and animal and reducing the animal to the status of object through dismemberment and rendering it safely edible by eliminating all traces of animation. The once living breathing creature is unrecognizable in pieces and thus all animality is erased. This is the ultimate "human control of the natural world."[387] The animality of the animal is eliminated in meat because it has been transformed into something else. Through death the animal becomes an absent referent because nothing remains to connect the final product to the creature it once was—the meat no longer represents the animal but rather something desired and necessary to perpetuate the life of the human and a symbol of human dominance over nature.[388] The destructive process,

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[385] Kristeva, 55.

[386] Bazell, 89.

[387] Fiddes, 2.

[388] Carol J. Adams, *The Sexual Politics of Meat: A Feminist-Vegetarian Critical Theory* (New York: Continuum Intl Pub Group, 1990) 66-67.

which results in meat as the end product of the medieval hunt, is the ultimate violence in that humanity denies the very existence of the animal. Human hands end its life, turn it inside out, unmake it into pieces, and light it on fire.

CHAPTER 6 COMMEMORATION

One of the most elite hunters of the fourteenth century, Gaston Fébus commemorated the socially significant event of the hunt as well as his own quest for glory through the composition of *Le livre chasse* near the end of his life in 1391. As a sumptuous, heavily illuminated book, the manual both reflected and impacted the performance of the hunt through the codification of the formalized elements practiced in lived reality and idealized in its pages. The ritual aspects of the hunt made the activity ideal for the formation of individual and collective identities through the social performance of status. The pursuit of animals for sport demonstrated the domination of man over the natural world, necessary to the establishment of humans, in particular the nobility, as superior to all men and beasts. The text and illuminations of BnF MS. fr. 616 became the foundation for the cultural memory necessary for the legitimization of aristocratic perceptions of power, in particular those of Gaston himself.

The ritual aspects contributed to the longevity of the hunt as an aristocratic tradition. The prescribed actions of the various ways to pursue, capture, kill and dismember animals formed the shared expectations and experiences which ensured similar results regardless of the circumstance of each occurrence of the hunt. The formalized participation in an activity during which nobles displayed characteristics particularly celebrated by the elites of the Middle Ages united past, present, and future members of the aristocracy together.[389] While title, land, and wealth were all important to the nobility, battle prowess rose to become the paramount way to demonstrate supremacy

[389]Jan Assmann, *Cultural Memory and Early Civilization* (Cambridge University Press Textbooks, 2011) 2.

over both humans and animals, as well as to gain honor, the symbolic cultural capital of chivalric society, through activities which privileged violence.[390]

Prowess and Aristocratic Identity

Within late medieval aristocratic culture, the demonstration of prowess and accumulation of honor dominated the lives of most noble men. A perfect trifecta of elite aspiration emerged with the logical addition of wealth, which came "naturally" as a result land acquisition in the pursuit of these chivalric values. These qualities embodied what it meant to be a member of the aristocracy and personal valor elevated the individual within the group. Though battle was the premier way to achieve greatness and prove one's status, tourneying and hunting also provided a way to practice for combat as well as to gain standing when one was not away at war. [391]

Gaston's preferred method of hunting, *à force*, required a great deal of strength and skill with both sword and horse. Horsemanship and weapon expertise in an uncertain environment against swift, ferocious, and unpredictable beasts showed one's capacity to perform in the mounted combat reserved for knights in actual war. Courtly literature emphasized the "superiority of the mounted warriors," which became synonymous with the very essence of chivalry and thus masculine noble identity.[392] Excellence on the hunt proved one's inclusion as part of the elite and to gain honor through courage but also provided an opportunity to cultivate individual fame through competition to be

[390] Richard W. Kaeuper, *Chivalry and Violence in Medieval Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999) 131.

[391] Ibid., 132, 172.

[392] Ibid., 173.

considered the best in combat and/or an expert in the field, tournament, and/or hunting.[393] The personal identity of each noble became intrinsically connected to their "own special place in the social network" of the aristocracy. The aristocracy existed as a collective of individuals which followed group "interactive and communicative patterns" but constantly in competition for individual fame, glory, and wealth. The need to establish one's own greatness became integral to being elite, in combination with recognition as part of the group. In order to remain and be a part of the exclusivity of the nobility, men engaged in activities which continuously affirmed their own superiority. The hunt became a space where individuals could justify their inclusion into the upper class in an activity reserved for the aristocracy, as well as prove their own prowess against unpredictable foes, such as the charging boar or cornered defensive stags with sharp antlers. They could show expertise by using several techniques successfully, and by performing particularly admired acts such as "quick turns for a second charge against a surprised foe."[394]

The ideal hunt occurred in the artificially created space of the medieval park, a display of wealth through size, which established the event as outside of normal life, and within which the human reigned supreme over all as a super-predator. Just as the humans on the hunt performed specific roles, humans dictated who the animal "participants" would be inside the park and their "duties" as part of the chase by hunting them in stipulated ways. As a ritualized event, the hunt also required a transformative element, which include the *unmaking* and *curée* ceremonies.

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[393] Ibid., 132, 149.

[394] Ibid., 111-113, 123, 174.

Animals and Human Identity

The foes of the hunt, unlike in war, were not men against which the nobility could prove themselves through great victories of arms but rather the denizens of the forest. Unlike the clash between human combatants, however, the losers could be eaten instead of buried, burned, or abandoned. Fears of becoming like the animals eaten or of being eaten by other animals informed the human-animal relationship in the Middle Ages. In the construction of aristocratic identity, animals also presented the opportunity to establish a clearly marked Other against whom to establish one's self while articulating status.

The determination of particular prey for the hunt demarcated the boundaries between levels of society by excluding them from the diets of the lower classes while simultaneously differentiating and elevating wild animals from domesticated species. Animals who provided the most challenging chase, such as the stag, who was known for speed, intelligence, agility, and the ability to defend himself with sharp antlers, were the most important to pursue, especially if successful capture required martial skill and keen horsemanship. The ferocity, tenacity, and cutting tusks of boars and the savageness and tearing fangs of wolves made them formidable foes as well. Despite some anthropomorphization to demonstrate the valor in vanquishing the stag in particular, the hunt clearly established nonhuman animals as different from humans in order to show the superiority of man and justify eating their flesh.

Not all animals pursued, no matter how much courage a noble needed to defeat them, were eaten. Proscriptions against eating human flesh and fears of contamination by consuming animals with unsavory characteristics impacted which animals could be

ingested. The best meat came from the more gentle and noble creatures which ate only plants, the herbivores. Carnivores, in contrast, were considered a threat to the superiority of the human in the forest by taking down potential prey for hunters as well as fierce predators which might in turn maim, kill, and even eat humans. As a result, wolf meat could not be eaten in fear of committing cannibalism if the animal had developed a taste for man. Other prey of the hunt, such as the fox, were unsuitable for human ingestion as well, for they were believed to eat carrion, the unclean and contaminated flesh of dead animals. Omnivores resided in a more ambiguous place, as some were eaten, such as the boar, but required ritual to purify its flesh for human consumption.

The ceremonies of *unmaking* and the *curée* transformed only two animals of the hunt into meat: the stag and boar. Of all of the quarry, the stag was considered the ideal beast to pursue and eat. Anthropomorphization justified the pursuit of the animal, which attributed it with the most similiarities to humans in intelligence and behavior. Such humanization made ritual necessary to establish the stag as clearly not human and thus edible. The breaking apart of the boar, in contrast, differentiated the animal from domesticated swine as an aristocratic food. Ritual also eliminated fears of pollution caused by the animal's omnivorous diet and penchant for wallowing in dirt. *Unmaking* rendered both animals unrecognizable and fully Othered, transformed them into objects, and then cooked to become meat. The deconstruction of the animal body was an act of complete dominance. The human ended its life cycle and then obliterated the body through consumption.

Ultimately, all animals of the hunt were Othered to justify their role in the establishment of noble prowess and aristocratic domination and to legitimize their

consumption and/or deaths. Most importantly, their demise needed to come by the human hand to assert the human control over the animal kingdom and to prove the validity of aristocrats as rulers over all, human and beast.

The Hunt and Cultural Memory

The performance of following rituals through the same actions, conducted in the same way, and resulting in the same desired outcomes over time, forms the foundational memories necessary to the construction of group identities. Oral and written traditions recognized the hunt as an essential part of noble distinctiveness and such recollections tied individuals to "the common knowledge and characteristics" of the aristocracy through the recollection of a shared past. [395] Cultural memory, however, must be constructed through individual memories but requires the development of a foundational recollection which all members of the group can connect to. Literature and storytelling construct an imagined and idealized origin for the ritualized hunt which then becomes the foundational cultural memory. Members then place their own recollections of participating in the hunt, a biographical memory of personal experience, within the group framework of remembrance.[396]

Hunting, central to aristocratic identity as a means to display prowess, became part of the cultural memory which underpinned a collective identity for the nobility. The medieval elite utilized the past to prove their exclusivity by retelling events which articulated the longevity and exceptionalism of their class.[397] Hunting featured

[395] Assmann, 3.

[396] Ibid., 37.

[397] Ibid., 16, 25- 22.

prominently in song, storytelling, art, and literature, with the most famous hunts recounted over and over in chivalric culture. The inclusion of hunting in tales from the past established the hunt as an appropriate elite activity over time which gave it additional social meaning as part of the cultural memory of the aristocracy.[398]

The codification of the hunt resulted in the "formalized repetition" of the performance of elite dominance through battle prowess over time and distinguished the activity as one which "surpasse[d] merely being another real-life *instance.*" [399] Ritual coherence established the hunt as part of the cultural memory of the aristocracy and transmitted the meaning essential to noble identity.[400] By following the traditions of the hunt, participants brought the memory of the event to present life through performance.[401] As such, the hunt provided a space for the individual noble to engage in the reflexive form of social belonging of the medieval aristocracy which required the proving of one's own power as a condition of membership through engagement in rituals which demonstrated their possession of group values.

The formalization of the hunt through the written word determines what the shared memory should be for all noble men and adds additional meaning to the hunt. *Le livre de chasse* "stimulates an association" through its text and images to the individual participation in the hunt but places them within the framework of the collective.[402] In

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[398] Ibid., 22.

[399] Crane, "Ritual Aspects of the Hunt," 68-69 and Assmann, 6.

[400] Assmann, 6, 8.

[401] Ibid., 4.

[402] David Thelen, "Memory and American History," *The Journal of American History* 75, no. 4 (1989) 1120.

order for the manual to successfully articulate the ideal hunt as the source for identity forming, individuals must be able to " recognize their own pasts in the foundational memory and to also "construct and modify" their own expectations of the ideal hunt to fit the formal presentation in *Le livre de chasse.*

Mary Carruthers writes at length in her seminal book, *The Book of Memory,* of the differences in medieval and modern concepts of memory, using the metaphors of a treasure chest and a filing cabinet.[403] Unlike the documents within the modern "filing cabinet," which are valued today for accuracy and regarded as factual, memories were indexed by their "present usefulness" in the medieval "treasure chest." Their "location" was determined by the placement within a specific structure or "inventory" of understanding. As the foundation for the cultural memory which gives the hunt significance, the conscious design of the manual "finds a place" for the individual experiences by creating a collective cultural "inventory."[404] As an explanation for tradition, the imagined, ideal hunt of *Le livre de chasse* creates a foundational memory which informs the *collective* "inventory" to which all aristocratic hunters can attach their recollections. The foundational memory "always functions…through fixed objectifications," such as ritual practice in real life as well as through oral, written, and visual traditions. Books and works of art then support reminiscing as a series of "sign systems" which become part of *memoria*.[405]

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[403] Mary J Carruthers, *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture* (Cambridge, England; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990) 113.

[404] Assmann, 39.

[405] Ibid., 3, 38.

Le livre de chasse and Memoria

Le livre de chasse becomes the "site of memory" for hunting for all aristocratic hunters who view its story as a kind of *memoria* object. Central to medieval life, the concept of *memoria* included memories themselves as well as the material objects which preserved or maintained memory within both sacred and secular contexts. Objects, such as but not limited to relics, tombs, monuments, and trophies, recognized and commemorated significant people and events.[406] They represent and reflect how individuals see themselves while existing in the present while simultaneously connecting one to the past and to an imagined future.[407] As a kind of trophy and *memoria* object, *Le livre de chasse* celebrated the aristocratic hunter's "power, domination and triumph" to commemorate the *process* of hunting as an identity-forming act of domination continuously happening in the past, present and about to occur in the future.[408] Unlike the bones of conquered prey, *Le livre de chasse* re-animated the hunting experience fully in its account of the hunt as evidence of the superiority of the aristocratic super-predator of the forest and relived endlessly through the illuminations and text of the manuscripts produced in the manual.

Le livre de chasse both created and codified the foundational memory of an ideal hunt which unified noble hunters through distribution. Each illumination represents the reality of the event as well as the imagined model pursuit. In the medieval park, the

[406] Patrick J Geary, *Phantoms of Remembrance: Memory and Oblivion at the End of the First Millennium* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1994) 18.

[407] Assmann, 6.

[408] G. Marvin, 204-205.

natural landscape gains meaning through modification. Prior to design, nature serves as the material to be used by man to adapt nature to his desires. The occurrence of rituals within the park created a social landscape in which the nobility performed their status in a space ideal for cultural memory. The site of performance is imaginary, a product of the semioticizing of the physical world into a "place of ritual" and thus creating additional meaning.[409] Without representation, the supreme, illusory hunt of *Le livre de chasse* cannot be brought into the present. The medieval hunt of the foundational memory comes to life on the page and the miniatures of the manuscript construct meaning as signs through physical manifestation. The illuminations become "memory-images" which surpass mere recollection to recognition and encourage the viewer to reminisce and conflate their experience with its likeness in front of them.[410] The style and composition of each miniature mimics the quartet of the overlapping worlds of the hunt in real life and individual memories of the event, as well as the constructed foundational memory and its manifestation on the folios of *Le livre chasse* through multi-modal depictions.

Biographical memory and Individual Identity

The extensive distribution of *Le livre de chasse* imbued the count with great status. The manual was integral to the formation of a foundational memory which informed the creation of the aristocratic collective identity. The count of Foix gained the control and possession of the identity-forming event as the author of the source which dictated the hunt's performance and resulting inclusion into the cultural memory of the nobility. He becomes more than a noble participant; he is *the* master of the imagined

[409] Assmann, 44.

[410] Carruthers, 27.

world which was then re-enacted in life. In the pursuit of individual fame, the manual exists as recognition of his expertise in the hunt as well as his battle prowess as a warrior of men and beasts, validating his claims to the nobility but also his self-perception of sovereignty in his own lands. Like the architect of the medieval park, the count bends the medieval hunting space to his own authority in *Le livre de chasse* in his vision of the ideal pursuit. Through text and image, he determines the "natural" order of the world by establishing which animals to be hunted and why. The chapters devoted to each animal do not acknowledge a life outside of human domination; they exist only in the lives of their pursuers. Gaston organizes the animals by their importance in medieval life but also their ability to confer prowess onto hunters during the chase. He controls the means of animal demise and edibility. By determining the methods of pursuit and consequential rituals of *unmaking*, the count becomes a recipient of the prowess conferred on hunters in lived reality and connected to the ritual coherence necessary for the construction of the group identity. His status, however, is not merely human or even the noble: he resides at the top of the hierarchy, *the* super-predator of man and beast and master of all.

The count's role as author of the foundational memory for hunting was integral to his individual perception of sovereignty over Foix and Béarn. Gaston's own biographical memory becomes "social fact" and central to the formation of the cultural recollection necessary to connect members of the aristocracy to a shared past through *Le livre de chasse*.[411] By writing down the event, the count pushed collective memory into a history of his own design, to be referred to and acknowledged by the nobility and gaining

[411] James Fentress and Chris Wickham, *Social Memory*, New Perspectives on the Past (Oxford, UK; Cambridge, Mass: Blackwell, 1992) 7.

more authority and authenticity with each repetition over time.[412] Gaston's determination of the foundational memory through *Le livre de chasse* was an act of "usurp[tion] of not only the past but also the future" and ensured *he* would be remembered and his *own* expertise, prowess, and superiority commemorated through the *memoria* of the copied manuscripts. Since individual glory requires witnessing by the group through memory, dissemination guaranteed his power would be legitimatized "retrospectively and immortalize[d] … prospectively" through its recollection by the collective.[413]

Le livre de chasse is the vehicle through which individual, collective, and particularly human identities are formed. The manual reminds the viewer of previous hunts, constructing a memory rather than reproducing the past, and creates a dialogue between aristocratic hunters as part of a collective which uses animals to demonstrate inclusion into a particular class of society and to justify their superiority in the world.[414] The manual "stimulates an association" through its subject matter of the hunt, experienced in the present through engagement with the manuscript.[415] Dissemination of the manual formed collective memories which then were "constructed and modified by individuals recognized their own past experiences in the group's shared memory."[416]

The medieval hunt existed in the lives of the nobility, its rituals cementing the perceived boundaries between classes and species within the accepted brutality of

[412] Geary, 11

[413] Assmann, 54.

[414] Thelen, 1119.

[415] Ibid., 1120.

[416] Ibid., 1123.

aristocratic culture. Within the borders of each illumination, the natural world collapses into a controllable space and violently breaks with the reality of death awaiting all humans. The manual, with its parchment made of animal flesh and decorated with illuminations of carefully categorized and contained animals, asserts human dominance and visualizes the rituals which made meat a signifier of noble superiority over man and animals. The animal skin made page becomes the physical manifestation of the violence of image and language which repeats the domination against animals in perpetuity, another social performance through the cultural capital of books within aristocratic culture. *Le livre de chasse*, a sumptuous, luxurious manuscript, reminds the viewer of each hunter's past, present, and future domination as part of their existence as not only nobility but as also humans.

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APPENDIX A

FIGURES

Figure 1.1 Gaston Fébus. Overpainted Arms. Detail. *Le livre de chasse*.
c. 1405-1409. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris. MS. fr. 616. Folio 13r.
Digital image courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France database *Gallica*.

Figure 1.2 Gaston Fébus. Prologue. *Le livre de chasse*. c. 1405-1409
Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris. MS. fr. 616. Folio 13r.
Digital image courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France database *Gallica*.

Source gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque nationale de France

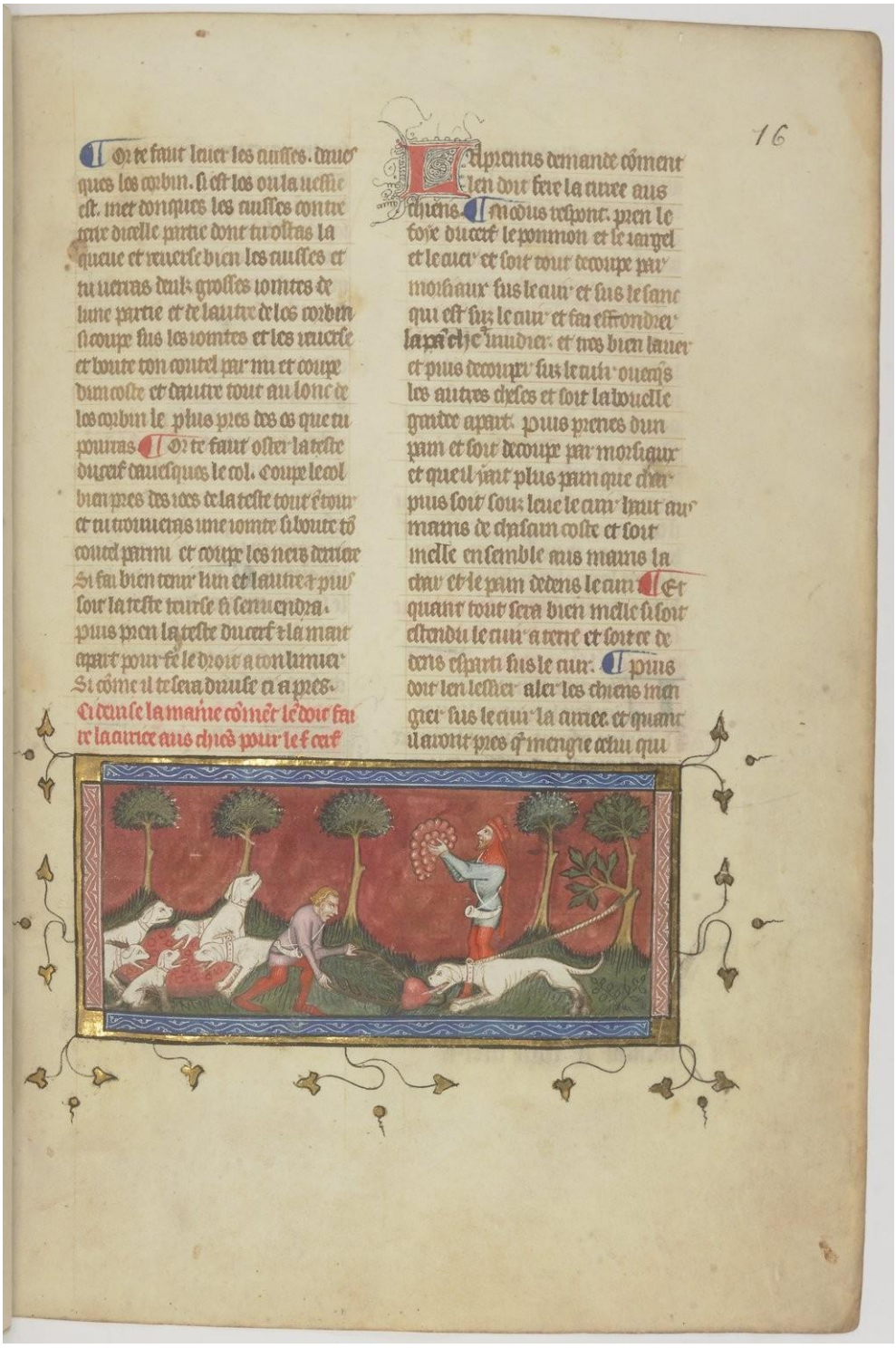
Figure 1.3 Gaston Fébus. *Le livre de chasse*. c. 1405-1409
Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris. MS. fr. 616. Folio 20v.
Digital image courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France database *Gallica*.

Source gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque nationale de France

Figure 1.4 Gaston Fébus. Hare. *Le livre de chasse*. c. 1405-1409
Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris. MS. fr. 616. Folio 24v.
Digital image courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France database *Gallica*.

Source gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque nationale de France

Figure 1.5 Gaston Fébus. Curée. *Le livre de chasse*. c. 1405-1409.
Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris. MS. fr. 616. Folio 72r.
Digital image courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France database *Gallica*.



Source gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque nationale de France

Fig. 1.6 Henri de Ferrières. Curée. *Livre du roy Modus et de la royne Ratio.* 1379. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris. MS. fr. 12399. Folio 16r. Digital image courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France database *Gallica*.

Source gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque nationale de France

Fig. 1.7 Gaston Fébus. Stag. *Le livre de chasse*. c. 1405-1409.
Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris. MS. fr. 616. Folio 16r.
Digital image courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France database *Gallica*.

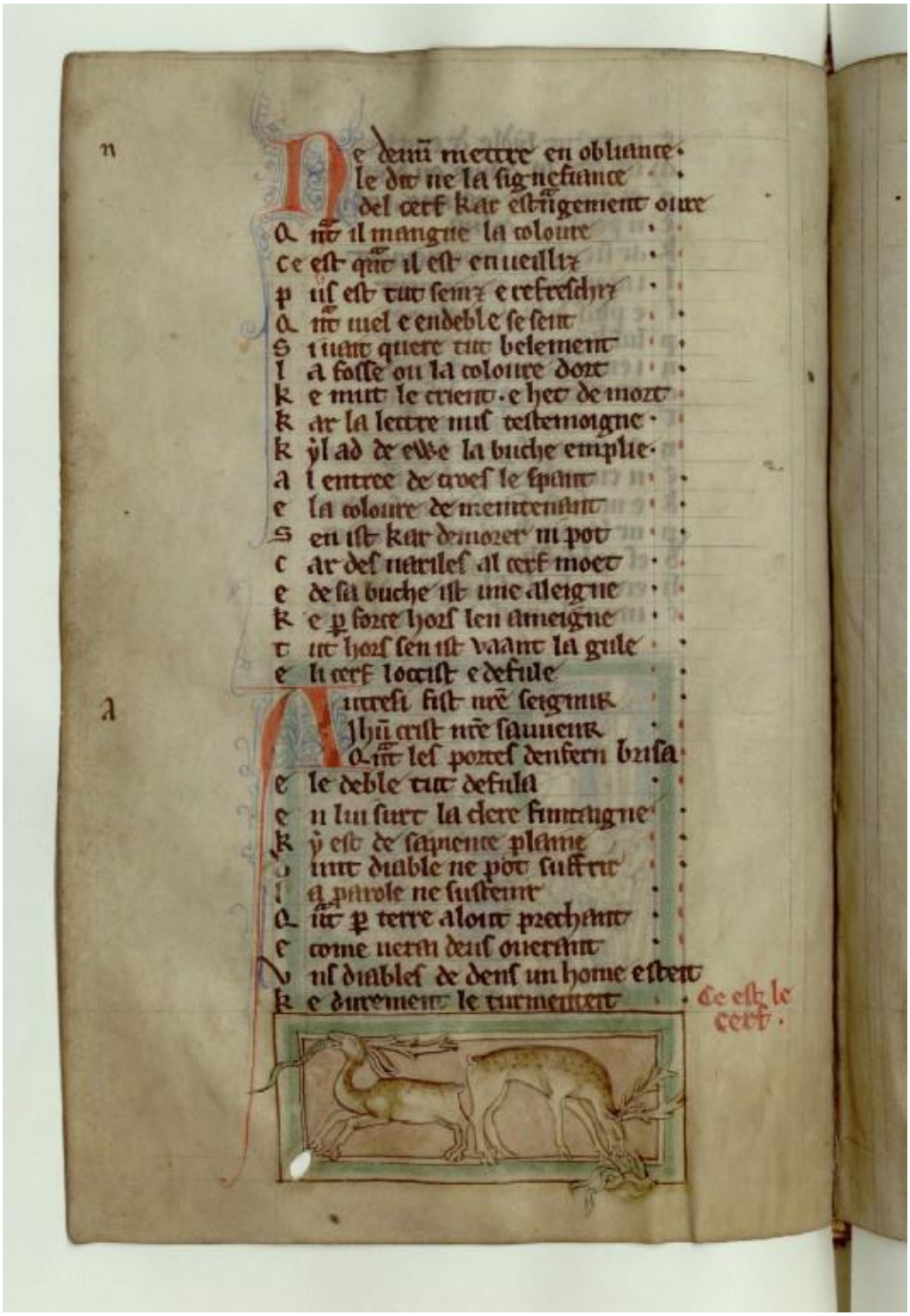


Fig. 1.8 Guillaume Le Clerc de Normandie. Stag. *Bestiaire divin*. c.1250-1275. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris. MS. fr. 14969. Folio 51v. Digital image courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France database *Gallica*.

Figure 1.9 Gaston Fébus. *Le livre de chasse*. c. 1405-1409
Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris. MS. fr. 616. Folio 13r.
Digital image courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France database *Gallica*.

Figure 2.1 Gaston Fébus. Detail of author. *Le livre de chasse*. c. 1405-1409
Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris. MS. fr. 616. Folio 13r.
Digital image courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France database *Gallica*.

Figure 2.2 Gaston Fébus. Detail. *Le livre de chasse*. c. 1405-1409
Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris. MS. fr. 616. Folio 13r.
Digital image courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France database *Gallica*.

Figure 2.3 Christine de Pizan. Author Presentation. *The Book of the Queen*.
c. 1410-1414. British Library, London. Harley MS. 4431. Folio 95r.
Digital image courtesy of the British Library Digitized Manuscripts database.

Figure 2.4 Barthélemy l'Anglais. Foix-Béarn Coat of Arms. *Elucidari de las proprietatz de totas res natural*. After 1349, before 1391. Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, Paris. MS. 1029. Folio 000Iv-001. Digital image courtesy of public domain images uploaded to archive.org by the Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, Paris. https://archive.org/details/MS1029

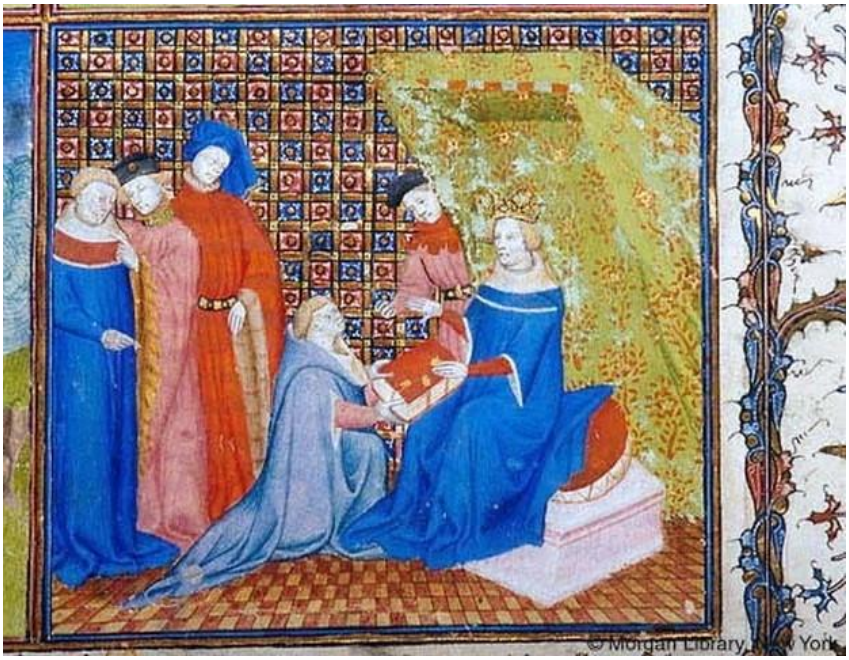


Figure 2.5 Jean Froissart. Author presentation to Charles VI of France. *Grandes chroniques de France.* c. 1410-1412. Morgan Library, New York. M. 536. Folio 2r. Digital image courtesy of the Morgan Library.

Fig. 2.6 Gilles de Pontoise presentation to Philip V. *Life of St. Denis.*1317. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris. MS. fr. 2090. Vol. 1. Folio 4v. Digital image courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France database *Gallica*.

Figure 2.7 Coronation of Henry III. *Chronicle of English Kings*.
c. 1280-1300. British Library, London. Cotton MS. Vitellius A XIII. Folio 6.
Digital image courtesy of the British Library Digitized Manuscripts database.

Figure 2.8 Coronation of Charles V. *Grande chroniques de France*.
c. 1375-1380. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris. MS. fr. 2813. Folio 439r.
Digital image courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France database *Gallica.*

Figure 3.1 Gaston Fébus. Questing in the deep forest. *Le livre de chasse*. c. 1405-1409
Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris. MS. fr. 616. Folio 64r.
Digital image courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France database *Gallica*.

Figure 3.2 Gaston Fébus. Questing in thick coverts. *Le livre de chasse*. c. 1405-1409.
Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris. MS. fr. 616. Folio 63r.
Digital image courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France database *Gallica*.

Figure 3.3 Gaston Fébus. Buck. *Le livre de chasse*. c. 1405-1409.
Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris. MS. fr. 616. Folio 20r.
Digital image courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France database *Gallica*.

Figure 3.4 Gaston Fébus. Questing between plains and the wood. *Le livre de chasse*.
c. 1405-1409. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris. MS. fr. 616. Folio 62v.
Digital image courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France database *Gallica*.

Figure 3.5 Gaston Fébus. Questing wild boar. *Le livre de chasse*. c. 1405-1409
Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris. MS. fr. 616. Folio 66r.
Digital image courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France database *Gallica*.

Figure 3.6 Gaston Fébus. Otter. *Le livre de chasse*. c. 1405-1409.
Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris. MS. fr. 616. Folio 37r.
Digital image courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France database *Gallica*.

Figure 3.7 Gaston Fébus. Hunting Otter. *Le livre de chasse*. c. 1405-1409.
Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris. MS. fr. 616. Folio 101v.
Digital image courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France database *Gallica*.

Figure 3.8 Gaston Fébus. Breaking fast. *Le livre de chasse*. c. 1405-1409.
Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris. MS. fr. 616. Folio 67r.
Digital image courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France database *Gallica*.

Figure 3.9 Gaston Fébus. Rabbit. *Le livre de chasse*. c. 1405-1409.
Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris. MS. fr. 616. Folio 26v.
Digital image courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France database *Gallica*.

Figure 3.10 Gaston Fébus. Reindeer. *Le livre de chasse*. c. 1405-1409.
Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris. MS. fr. 616. Folio 19v.
Digital image courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France database *Gallica*.

Figure 3.11 Gaston Fébus. Dogs and their habits. *Le livre de chasse*. c. 1405-1409.
Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris. MS. fr. 616. Folio 37v.
Digital image courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France database *Gallica*.

Figure 3.12 Gaston Fébus. Spaniels. *Le livre de chasse*. c. 1405-1409.
Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris. MS. fr. 616. Folio 50r.
Digital image courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France database *Gallica*.

Figure 3.13 Gaston Fébus. The education of good hunters. *Le livre de chasse*. c. 1405-1409. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris. MS. fr. 616. Folio 51v. Digital image courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France database *Gallica*.

Figure 3.14 Gaston Fébus. Snares and nets. *Le livre de chasse*. c. 1405-1409. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris. MS. fr. 616. Folio 53v. Digital image courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France database *Gallica*.

Figure 3.15 Gaston Fébus. Calling hounds and sounding horns. *Le livre de chasse*. c. 1405-1409.Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris. MS. fr. 616. Folio 54r. Digital image courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France database *Gallica*.

Figure 3.16 Gaston Fébus. Tracking the trace of the stag. *Le livre de chasse*. c. 1405-1409. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris. MS. fr. 616. Folio 56v. Digital image courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France database *Gallica*.

Figure 3.17 Gaston Fébus. Tracking the *fumées* of the stag. *Le livre de chasse*. c. 1405-1409. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris. MS. fr. 616. Folio 57v. Digital image courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France database *Gallica*.

Figure 3.18 Gaston Fébus. Questing for the bell of the stag. *Le livre de chasse*. c. 1405-1409. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris. MS. fr. 616. Folio 65r. Digital image courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France database *Gallica*.

Figure 3.19 Gaston Fébus. Hunting the stag. *Le livre de chasse*. c. 1405-1409.
Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris. MS. fr. 616. Folio 68r.
Digital image courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France database *Gallica*.

Figure 3.20 Gaston Fébus. Hunting and taking the stag. *Le livre de chasse*. c. 1405-1409.
Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris. MS. fr. 616. Folio 77r.
Digital image courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France database *Gallica*.

Figure 3.21 Gaston Fébus. Unmaking the stag. *Le livre de chasse*. c. 1405-1409.
Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris. MS. fr. 616. Folio 70r.
Digital image courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France database *Gallica*.

Figure 3.22 Gaston Fébus. The *curée* of the stag. *Le livre de chasse*. c. 1405-1409.
Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris. MS. fr. 616. Folio 72r.
Digital image courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France database *Gallica*.

Figure 3.23 Gaston Fébus. Preparing an ambush. *Le livre de chasse*. c. 1405-1409.
Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris. MS. fr. 616. Folio 113v.
Digital image courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France database *Gallica*.

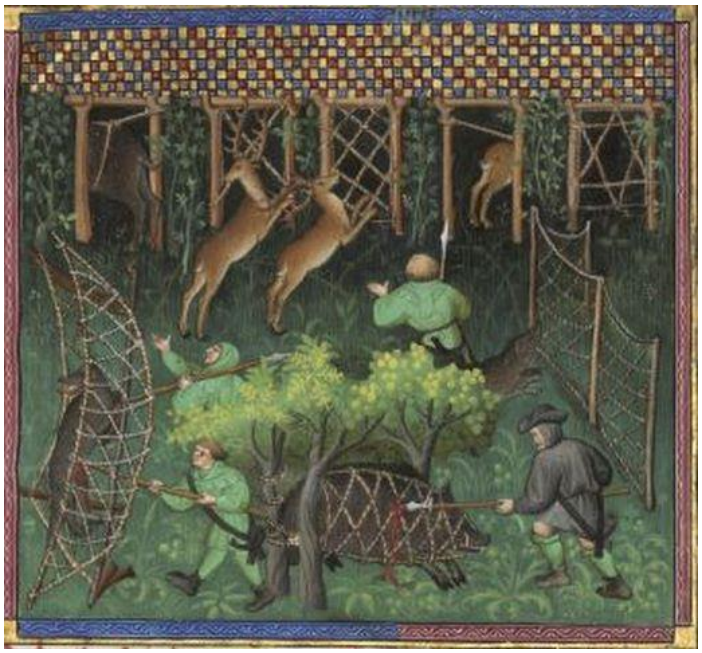


Figure 3.24 Gaston Fébus. Catching game with hedges. *Le livre de chasse*. c. 1405-1409.
Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris. MS. fr. 616. Folio 103r.
Digital image courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France database *Gallica*.

Figure 3.25 Gaston Fébus. Lying wait for wolves. *Le livre de chasse*. c. 1405-1409.
Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris. MS. fr. 616. Folio 111v.
Digital image courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France database *Gallica*.

Figure 3.26 Gaston Fébus. Catching hares. *Le livre de chasse*. c. 1405-1409.
Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris. MS. fr. 616. Folio 120v.
Digital image courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France database *Gallica*.

Figure 3.27 Guillaume Machaut. Demesne. *Poésies*. c. 1405-1409.
Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris. MS. fr. 1586. Folio 103r.
Digital image courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France database *Gallica*.

Figure 3.28 Gaston Fébus. Detail of background. *Le livre de chasse*.
c. 1405-1409. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris. MS. fr. 616. Folio 94r.
Digital image courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France database *Gallica*.

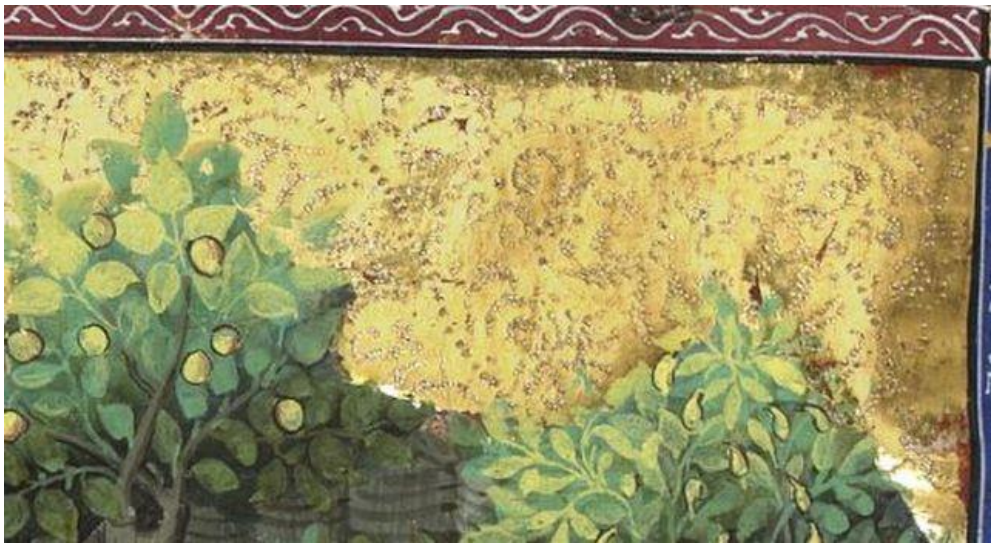


Figure 3.29 Gaston Fébus. Detail of background. *Le livre de chasse*. c. 1405-1409. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris. MS. fr. 616. Folio 107v.
Digital image courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France database *Gallica*.

Figure 3.30 Gaston Fébus. Detail of background. *Le livre de chasse*. c. 1405-1409. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris. MS. fr. 616. Folio 54r.
Digital image courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France database *Gallica*.

Figure 3.31 Gaston Fébus. Detail of background. *Le livre de chasse*. c. 1405-1409. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris. MS. fr. 616. Folio 86r.
Digital image courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France database *Gallica*.

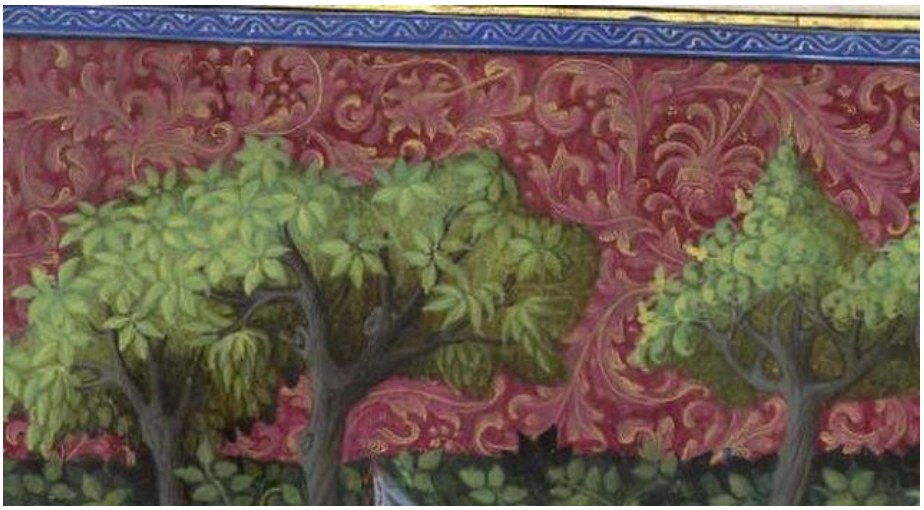


Figure 3.32 Gaston Fébus. Detail of background. *Le livre de chasse*. c. 1405-1409. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris. MS. fr. 616. Folio 106v.
Digital image courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France database *Gallica*.

Figure 3.33 Gaston Fébus. Detail of background. *Le livre de chasse*. c. 1405-1409. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris. MS. fr. 616. Folio 116r.
Digital image courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France database *Gallica*.

Figure 3.34 Gaston Fébus. Reindeer *Le livre de chasse*. c. 1405-1409.
Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris. MS. fr. 616. Folio 19v.
Digital image courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France database *Gallica*.

Figure 3.35 Gaston Fébus. Detail of reindeer antlers. *Le livre de chasse*. c. 1405-1409.
Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris. MS. fr. 616. Folio 19v.
Digital image courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France database *Gallica*.

Figure 3.36 Gaston Fébus. Dispatching boar. *Le livre de chasse*. c. 1405-1409.
Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris. MS. fr. 616. Folio 95r.
Digital image courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France database *Gallica*.

Figure 4.1 Gaston Fébus. Wolf. *Le livre de chasse*. c. 1405-1409.
Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris. MS. fr. 616. Folio 31v.
Digital image courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France database *Gallica*.

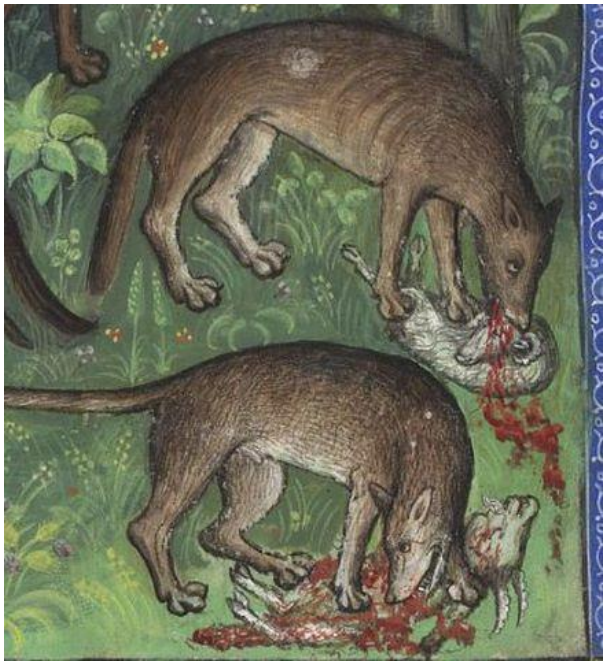


Figure 4.2 Gaston Fébus. Detail, wolf. *Le livre de chasse*. c. 1405-1409.
Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris. MS. fr. 616. Folio 31v.
Digital image courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France database *Gallica*.

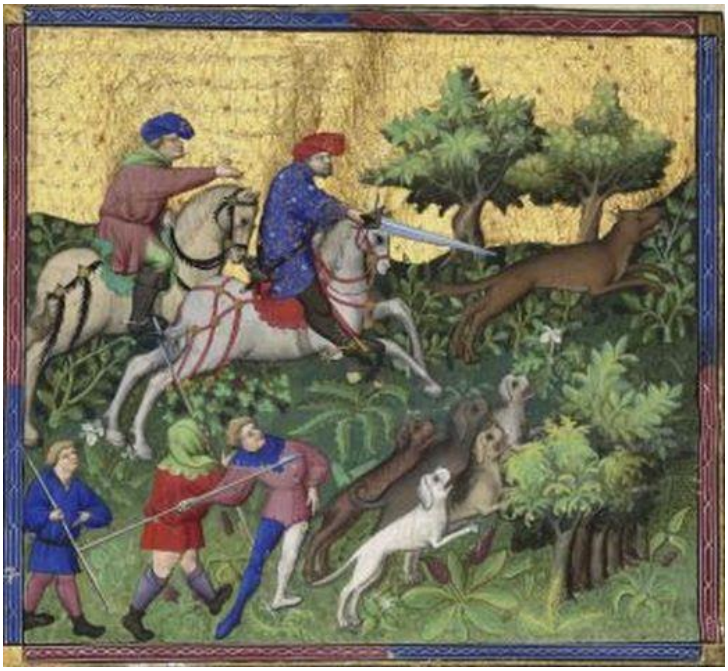


Figure 4.3 Gaston Fébus. Hunting wolves. *Le livre de chasse*. c. 1405-1409.
Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris. MS. fr. 616. Folio 96v.
Digital image courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France database *Gallica*.

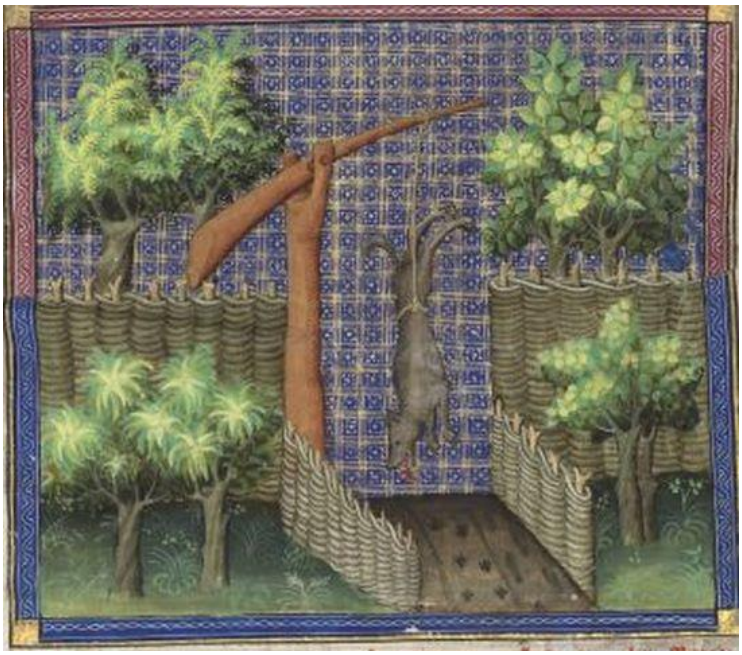


Figure 4.4 Gaston Fébus. Catching wolves and other beasts with a see-saw snare. *Le livre de chasse*. c. 1405-1409. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris. MS. fr. 616. Folio 107r. Digital image courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France database *Gallica*.

Figure 4.5 Gaston Fébus. Capturing wolves in pitfalls with a drag. *Le livre de chasse*. c. 1405-1409. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris. MS. fr. 616. Folio 108v. Digital image courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France database *Gallica*.

Figure 4.6 Gaston Fébus. Slaying wolves with needle traps. *Le livre de chasse*. c. 1405-1409. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris. MS. fr. 616. Folio 109r. Digital image courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France database *Gallica*.

Figure 4.7 Gaston Fébus. Capturing wolves in a cage trap. *Le livre de chasse*. c. 1405-1409. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris. MS. fr. 616. Folio 110r. Digital image courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France database *Gallica*.

Figure 4.8 Gaston Fébus. Capturing wolves in snares. *Le livre de chasse*. c. 1405-1409.
Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris. MS. fr. 616. Folio 111r.
Digital image courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France database *Gallica*.

Figure 4.9 Gaston Fébus. Fox. *Le livre de chasse*. c. 1405-1409.
Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris. MS. fr. 616. Folio 34v.
Digital image courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France database *Gallica*.

Figure 4.10 Gaston Fébus. Detail, fox. *Le livre de chasse*. c. 1405-1409.
Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris. MS. fr. 616. Folio 34v.
Digital image courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France database *Gallica*.

Figure 4.11 Gaston Fébus. Detail, fox. *Le livre de chasse*. c. 1405-1409.
Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris. MS. fr. 616. Folio 34v.
Digital image courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France database *Gallica*.

Figure 4.12 Gaston Fébus. Hunting fox. *Le livre de chasse*. c. 1405-1409.
Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris. MS. fr. 616. Folio 99v.
Digital image courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France database *Gallica*.

Figure 4.13 Gaston Fébus. Bear. *Le livre de chasse*. c. 1405-1409.
Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris. MS. fr. 616. Folio 27v.
Digital image courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France database *Gallica*.

Figure 4.14 Gaston Fébus. Hunting bear. *Le livre de chasse*. c. 1405-1409. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris. MS. fr. 616. Folio 93r. Digital image courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France database *Gallica*.

Figure 4.15 Gaston Fébus. Slaying bears and other beasts with speartraps. *Le livre de chasse*. c. 1405-1409. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris. MS. fr. 616. Folio 106v. Digital image courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France database *Gallica*.

Figure 4.16 Gaston Fébus. Boar. *Le livre de chasse*. c. 1405-1409.
Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris. MS. fr. 616. Folio 29v.
Digital image courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France database *Gallica*.

Figure 4.17 Gaston Fébus. Hunting boar. *Le livre de chasse*. c. 1405-1409.
Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris. MS. fr. 616. Folio 95r.
Digital image courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France database *Gallica*.

Figure 4.18 Gaston Fébus. Hunting boar. *Le livre de chasse*. c. 1405-1409. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris. MS. fr. 616. Folio 94r. Digital image courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France database *Gallica*.

Figure 4.19 Gaston Fébus. Capturing boar feeding in fields and orchards. *Le livre de chasse*. c. 1405-1409. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris. MS. fr. 616. Folio 107v. Digital image courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France database *Gallica*.

Figure 4.20 Gaston Fébus. Shooting red deer and wild boar. *Le livre de chasse*. c. 1405-1409. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris. MS. fr. 616. Folio 117v. Digital image courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France database *Gallica*.

Figure 4.21 Gaston Fébus. Boar pitfall. *Le livre de chasse*. c. 1405-1409. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris. MS. fr. 616. Folio 105v. Digital image courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France database *Gallica*.

Figure 4.22 Gaston Fébus. Shooting boar. *Le livre de chasse*. c. 1405-1409.
Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris. MS. fr. 616. Folio 116r.
Digital image courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France database *Gallica*.

Figure 4.23 Gaston Fébus. Hunting boar with spears. *Le livre de chasse*. c. 1405-1409.
Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris. MS. fr. 616. Folio 108r.
Digital image courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France database *Gallica*.

Figure 4.24 Gaston Fébus. Shooting boar in their wallows. *Le livre de chasse*. c. 1405-1409. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris. MS. fr. 616. Folio 117r.
Digital image courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France database *Gallica*.

Figure 4.25 Gaston Fébus. Detail, wallows. *Le livre de chasse*. c. 1405-1409. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris. MS. fr. 616. Folio 117r.
Digital image courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France database *Gallica*.

Figure 5.1 Gaston Fébus. Unmaking and *curée* of the boar. *Le livre de chasse*. c. 1405-1409. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris. MS. fr. 616. Folio 73v. Digital image courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France database *Gallica*.