Hunting in northern Europe until 1500 AD

Old traditions and regional developments, continental sources and continental influences

The 7th century's royal follower's grave at mid-east Swedish Rickeby (Uppland) – the deceased one with his horse, several dogs, several raptor birds, several birds which represent the typical prey of falconry plus food gifts (drawing Ulla Malmsten).

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Edited by
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Wachholtz

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Foreword

The basis of the present volume consists of the proceedings of a workshop initially dedicated to *Hunting in Northern Europe AD 500–1500. Old Traditions, Regional Developments and Foreign Influences.* The workshop was organized by Dr. Oliver Grimm and Dr. Ulrich Schmölcke and held at the Centre for Baltic and Scandinavian Archaeology, Schloss Gottorf, Schleswig, in June 2011. The aim of this interdisciplinary and international workshop was to gather together researchers working on the social significance of hunting throughout pre- and protohistoric times in northern and central Europe. The focus was set broadly on two main questions: What traditions can be traced from the Stone Age to AD 1500 in northern Europe? What regional developments and continental influences can be observed, e.g. in hunting weapons and techniques, and with regards to special privileges as to hunting? Participants were encouraged to share knowledge, data and analytical results considering these issues, and in the following editorial process the original score of papers presented in Schleswig was further enriched by manuscripts from authors who were not able to participate in the workshop.

In preparing the publication we followed a peer-review system in two steps. First, the manuscripts were circulated to all participants ahead of the workshop and then critically discussed during the meeting. Second, each manuscript was revised after the workshop, before being re-read and again commented upon by at least one other participant as well as by the editors. Papers that had not been presented at the workshop were also submitted to a corresponding critical peer-review.

On behalf of the editors and publishers I would like to thank all contributors for their engagement in the workshop and ensuing publication project and for their commitment throughout the process. We are particularly indebted to Dr. Sigmund Oehrl (Göttingen) for his invaluable and constant support which helped us make both the workshop and the publication happen.

Moreover, our warm and heartfelt thanks to Dr. Daniela Hofmann (Cardiff), Wilson Huntley B.A. (Göttingen), and Sharon Shellock M.A. (London) who took on the substantial task of translating or revising and improving the English texts. The graphic layout, typesetting and editorial supervision was handled expertly by good colleagues from the Centre for Baltic and Scandinavian Archaeology and from the Archaeological State Museum: Dipl.-Des. Jürgen Schüller (typesetting, graphics and layout), Matthias Bolte (typesetting), Dipl.-Des. Joachim Mocka (graphics), Gert Hagel-Bischof (drawings), and Isabel Sonnenschein M.A. (editing and proofreading). Finally the printing of the volume by the Wachholtz Verlag was supervised by Renate Braus with her usual efficiency.

The present volume aims at an overview of the current state of research on the *History of Hunting.* Evidently many questions still remain to be dealt with. Thus, we hope this volume will merely be the first in a series presenting the most recent studies pertaining to this fascinating field of research.

Schleswig, December 2012 PD Dr. Berit Valentin Eriksen

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Hunting in continental place and field names

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Abstract: Geographical names are sources and witnesses of history – and therefore sources and witnesses of hunting and the history of hunting as well. A coherent discussion of the terms which are connected with hunting and can provide information about hunting methods has not as yet been undertaken. This contribution may be regarded as a first, modest attempt. It will be necessary to extend it to a comprehensive study. Since hunting naturally took place not in settlements but in open countryside, farmland, fields, meadows and woods, signs of hunting methods and indications of hunting grounds are found less in place names (names of settlements), but primarily in field names, which in the German language refer to uninhabited areas. One focus of this contribution is on the names which refer to hunting grounds (among others, Forst, Kammer, Brühl). In general "hunt" and "hunting" are understood to include the tracking, pursuit, catching, shooting and the appropriation of game by a hunter. The material for names offers not a few indications of various hunting methods but a differentiation from the facilities which served as protection for animals – also for the purposes of showing them – cannot always be drawn with certainty.

INTRODUCTION

Geographical names connected with hunting and fishing traditions (fundamental to the Lexicon of the Mediaeval German Hunt: DALBY 1965) have not been dealt with comprehensively (only a few pages cover the study by CRUG 1926). The majority of names that are related to hunting are to be found in field names. Since place names for towns or villages only show the influence of humans in the more recent stages of their development, it is difficult to discover a connection with older traditions here. However, field names, which usually refer to areas that were not settled by humans but used by them, give several examples of a connection with hunting and fishing.

One major problem with name research is determining the age of the name. One justifiably shies away from stating a precise date. Whether an approximate determination of age is successful depends on the region. Field names are in general not very old. One can for the most part derive them from field maps, descriptions of forests, from data that arise from reallocations of land, and the like. Furthermore, as with all types of names, there are names of varying ages. Nevertheless, if one may dare to classify the following names chronologically, one may well hardly go back beyond the 16th century with field names; most of them will be able to be attributed to the 18th and 19th centuries.

In areas where High German has been superimposed on Low German one can assume a somewhat greater age with originally Low German field names.

The current contribution focuses on the consideration of the names *Kammer, Brühl* and *Forst,* which in part go back to the Middle Ages and which from research have not seldom been connected with hunting and power.

HUNTING ON LAND

In general the term "hunting" comprises the practice of pursuing a living thing with the methods of German *aufsuchen* ('to trail, to track down'), *nachstellen* ('to follow, to hunt'), *fangen* ('to catch, to trap, to snare'), *erlegen* ('to bag an animal'), and *aneignen* ('to take, to capture'). This definition represents the basis for the following information.

"Aufspüren", "Aufsuchen" *('to trail, to track down')*
A common method of tracking down game was to discover its location by making a noise and frightening the animals. The term for this method nowadays is German *Treibjagd* ('battue'). It was formerly known as *Kloppjagd* f. from Middle High German (MHG) *klobo,* derived from the sense of "to cleave" as represented by Old High German (OHG) *klioban.* Some field names in the Ueckermünder Heide (geographic district in North-East Germany) such as *Klopp Berg* and *Kloppberg Gestell (Berg* m. 'mountain') refer to this (BOSSE 1962, 61).
"Waiting" represents a great part of several hunting methods and therefore some names relate to this with the German verb *warten* "schauen, spähen" ('to wait, to be on the lookout'): *Spähköpfl* (Alps), *Hohe Warte, Gamswart (-sattel)* (South German, Austrian *Gams* 'chamois').

"Anlocken" *('to lure')*
Another method was to lure animals with salt which was then licked up (German *lecken:* 'to lick'). This is especially apparent in North German names such as *Lecken, Salzlecke* ('salt'), *Hirschlecken* ('stag'), *Rehlecke* ('roe deer').
More southern forms are *Sulz* ('salt'), *Sulzen, Gamssulzen* (South German, Austrian *Gams:* 'chamois'), *Sulztal* ('valley'), *Sulziklamm* ('ravine').
An expression for 'decoy' is German *Luder* n. (German *Luder = Aas:* 'carrion') and represents an element within the following field names: *Luderhau, Ludergraben, Luderschlag, Luderbuck, Luderbügel, Luderholz, Luderecke.*
Wolfsgarten m. ('wolf', German *Garten* m.: 'garden') refers to spots in the forest that were used to lay down a piece of carrion as a decoy. The wolf was then able to get into the trap but it could not escape (cf. CHRISTMANN 1950 for details).

"Lauern", "Auflauern" *('to lie in wait')*
In the hunter's jargon the German word *lauern* ('to lie in wait') is also known as *lutzen* or *lussen,* MHG *lua (e)* "Versteck, Lauer" ('hiding place'), Alemannic *lussen, Lûß,* New High German (NHG) *Lauß.* Field names such as *In der Luze(n), die Lutze* and also *Lauseberge* and *Lausekuhlen* belong to this category.

"Verfolgen" *('to chase, to hound')*
Numerous compound names show the noun *Jagd* f. ('hunt'), the verb *jagen* ('to hunt') or the noun *Jäger* m. ('huntsman') as their first element: *Jägerwisch, Jägerbad, Jägerberg, Jagdhütte, Jagdsteine, Jagdwiese.*
Some field names mention the type of animal caught: *Hasenjagd* ('hare'), *Hirschforst* ('stag'), *Saugraben, Saufang* ('sow'), *Rehsprung* ('deer'), *Fuchsschlag* ('fox'), *Dachslöcher* ('badger').

Furthermore, the German noun *Pirsch* ('stalk') and the verb *pirschen* ('to stalk'), which refer to the armed hunting of game, can be found in field names such as *Bürsch* (1607) *in der Pirs* (near Illertissen, Bavaria), *Pürschweg* ('path') and *Pürschwald* ('forest').

The noun *Hetze* f. or *Hatz* f. ('hunt or hunting') represents the first element in the following compounds: *Hetzplan, Hetzbach, Hetzbusch, Hetzgrund.*

One major aim of hunting is to track down game in order to kill it. This hunting method is described with the German verb *stellen* and is an element in several names: *Stellstädt, Lappen Gestell, Sellwandl, Stellweg, Stellbaum, Stellhügel, Finkengestelle.*

Occasionally the German noun *Kammer* f. also points to hunting traditions. It describes a place within a forest into which the animal is driven and kept for hunting down. This element occurs in *Kammer* (near Weimar, Thuringia) and *Wolfskammer* (near Celle, Lower Saxony).

German *kammer-* belongs to MHG *kamere* "Fiskus, Kammergut, öffentliche Kasse" and also lives on in *Kammerjäger* "fürstlicher Leibjäger".

One can allow these names a comparatively greater age because they contain words which have gradually disappeared from the dictionary; that affects above all, apart from names with *Kammer*, those which are connected with *Brühl* and also in a certain sense *Forst*, for here a change in meaning is revealed (see below).

A controversial word with different explanations of meaning is *Bielstein, Bilstein, Beilstein* (further information STEINER 1988). It can be traced in numerous names and belongs to MHG *ze bîle stan.* The word refers to game hunted with hounds, usually stag or wild boar, rarely a bear, which stops running and fights for its survival. Thus, names consisting of this element are often found near cliffs, steep faces, slopes or flanks of a hill. The word occurs quite frequently in field names in Germany, for example *Bilstein* near Kassel (North Hesse), *Beilstein* near Bad Orb (South Hesse), *Bilstein* near Schwelm (North Rhine-Westphalia). *Stein* in field names indicates ledges, erratic boulders, stony ground or quarries; in hilly country the word is also to be found occasionally in the names of hills.

"Einsperren", "Hegen" *('to keep, tend game in an enclosure')*
It is not always possible to decide whether names such as *Wildbahn, Wildbann* or *Wildfuhr* go back to hunting or keeping traditions. *Tiergarten* (old expression for 'zoo') also shows this difficulty.

The field names with the word *Fasan* m. 'pheasant' in the field names *Fasanengarten* (near Celle, Lower Saxony), *Fasanenremise* (Lower Lusatia; *Remise* is a type of wood), and the Sorbian *Fasanski lěs* (*lês* 'forest'; Kamenz, Saxony) may also belong to the field of hunting.

"Fang" *m.,* "Fangen" *('the catch', 'to catch')*
Both forms can be found in various names such as *Jägerfang, Lachsfang* ('salmon'), *Bärenfang* ('bear'), *Entenfang* ('duck'), *Habichtsfang* ('hawk'), *Wildfang* ('game'), *Einfang,* and *Neufang,* which describe the type of catch or haul.

A widespread and early mentioned method of catching game is the digging of *Vertiefungen* f. ('hollows'), *Gruben* f. ('depressions'), or *Kuhlen* f. ('pits'). It was especially used for catching bigger animals such as bears, lynx, wolves and foxes. From field names with these elements it can be assumed what type of game was caught: *Fuchskuhle* ('fox'), *Fuchsgrube, Fuchsklappe, Wolfskuhle* ('wolf'), *Wolfsgrube, Hirschgraben* ('stag'), *Bärenloch* ('bear'), *Rehloch* ('deer', *Loch* 'hole'), *Saugraben* ('sow') and *Luchsfall* ('lynx').

Birds were caught by a different method known as *Herd* (for trapping birds, 'fowling'). It is apparent in field names such as *Finkenherd* ('for trapping finches') and *Vogelherd* (*Vogel* 'bird').

Fishing

Fishing has left behind clear traces in names. An important and large group within these are the *Fisherman's Microtoponyms* (DEBUS 1996). The following field names refer to fishing: *Fischteich* (*Fisch* 'fish'), *Fischhäuser, Fischerwerder, Fischerteich, Fisch(er)heim, Fischbänke, Fischdossel* (near Rochlitz, Saxony). Some point to the type of fish caught: *Barschbruch* ('perch'), *Karpenlake* (Low German *Karpen = Karpfen:* 'carp'), *Lampreide* (= *Lamprede*, which is a local expression for German *Neunauge* 'lamprey'), *Lachswehr* (on the river Trave near Lübeck, Schleswig-Holstein; *Lachs* 'salmon') and *Steichteich* referring to fishing nets (situated in the historic region *Altmark* 'Old March').

Moreover, the term *Fach* also belongs to this category. It is related to OHG *fah*, MHG *vach*, Low German *fak* and describes a fence that was put up across the course of a stream in order to catch fish. It can be found in place names such as *Vaeke, Vaeken* (Flanders), *Vaken* (Brabant), *Vaake* (Hannoversch Münden, Lower Saxony).

"Fischerflurnamen" *(Fisherman's Microtoponyms)*

This category comprises names for certain areas of the water surface as well as the bottom area, which mainly occur in coastal areas. Several field name examples in Pommern ('Pomerania') show this: *Nordensloch, Nordgrund, Heringsrönne, Hölle, Helle, Thorsgrun, Sandbarch, Achterhult, Schnabel, Kleines Reff, Gallfließ, Schanzenzug, Neuer Graben, Schulzenzeug* (HOLSTEN 1963). More than a thousand microtoponyms going back to this name type can be found along the coasts of the North Sea and the Baltic Sea.

Hunting area, hunting territory

The term *Wildbann* or *Wildbahn* relates to a hunting area, and within this hunting ground, the hunting of only a certain kind of animal was allowed or sometimes even the complete hunting right belonged to the owner of the territory. Sometimes this was also called *Bannforst* ('hunting ban', for example in royal areas).

Yet, DASLER (2001, 20) points to a debate over the word *Wildbann* ('ban of game') in which a narrow meaning has been discussed. According to this the noun '*Wild*' n. ('game') initially used to have a more general meaning of 'abandoned, unsettled, bleak', including all kinds of usage of this particular land. Today's reference to game was only established later.

Wildbahn can be found as a field name near Grimma and Wurzen in Saxony, in the Ueckermünder Heide (North-East Germany) and in South Germany.

I now need to go into both of the terms *Forst* and *Brühl* in more detail.

"Forst" ('forest')

A traditional term for a certain hunting territory is German *Forst* m. The word's etymology is still controversial and so the original usage of the word cannot be explained satisfactorily. According to BACH (1954) *die* or *der Forst* (OHG *forst* 'forest') refers to a *Bannwald* ('royal hunting forest') or a preserved forest that was usually owned by a private person or other land authorities. Other writers (e.g. SCHUBERT 1989; ZOTZ 1997) describe *Forst* as a clearly defined area, which since the end of the 6th century also refers to an administrative district that was not necessarily restricted to the forest. It was a term for the area claimed by the kingship, which also comprised uncultivated areas that were mainly covered by forest. Later on several shifts in meaning and area limits took place and a privileged hunting right was evident relatively early. Since the middle of the 7th century such restricted royal hunting areas were named *forestes* "Forst".

The element can be found in numerous place and field names such as *Altenforst* (deserted site near Landau, Rhineland-Palatinate), 1276 *Altenforst*; *Forst* near Neustadt (Rhineland-Palatinate), 1159 *Vorst*; it is especially frequent in field names. Three dozen names are listed in SÜDHESSISCHES FLUR-NAMENBUCH (2002) alone. There may well be several hundred in South Germany.

"Brühl"

In contrast to *Forst* the word *Brühl* is heavily disputed. Particularly in South-West Germany it is assumed that the word refers to the grassland located around the owned land near a village as opposed to the word *Breite*, which describes the owned farmland. On the other hand a more general meaning 'wet grassland, grassland with bushes' for the noun *Brühl* has been suggested. The underlying problem here lies in a significant contradiction to which not much attention has been paid.

SCHÜTZEICHEL (1956, 122) states that the German appellatives carry the important notion of water or dampness: *Brühl* 'wet grassland, damp place'; Early New High German (ENHG) *bryel* 'fertile, rich grassland partly with bushes'; MHG *brüel* 'irrigated, bushy grassland'; OHG *bruil, broil* 'meadow'; Middle Dutch (MDutch) *prayel* 'grassland' whereas the Romanic examples refer to an 'enclosed or surrounded area': Italian *broglio* 'kitchen garden', Rhaeto-Romanic *brögl* 'enclosure, arboretum', Provençal *bruelh*, French *breuil* 'enclosed copse'.

This represents the main problem of the whole discussion and it has not been fully explained until today. DITTMAIER (1952) states that the difficulty is created by homonymy. Both meanings point in contradictory directions so that one might assume the words may be derived from two different origins and happen to have a homonymic appearance.

The controversial positions can also be seen in a current comment by DERKS (2006, 88–89). He highlights that a medieval *bruol* always goes back to a technical or cultural involvement and never to a natural, untouched area. Consequently, the "wet grassland" is last in line of a long development and only comes into existence after manorial pens were abandoned and became unusable.

Brühl is a frequent field name, especially in Hesse and South-West Germany. Yet, there is always a certain dichotomy in such names. The SÜDHESSISCHES FLURNAMENBUCH (2002) describes it as follows: on the one hand *Brühl* refers to a huge grassland belonging to the manor which is thus subject to special rights. On the other hand it is a general expression for grassland, originally perhaps for miry, damp grasslands. Later on it was also used for manorial animal enclosures.

Similar explanations can be found in HAUCK (1963), who concludes from his material a definite meaning 'enclosed or walled animal area near a palatinate'. Other researchers also point out the proximity to a palatinate. Such grounds named as *brogilus, broilus* or *Brühl* seem to have been closely located to important palatinates or they had a direct connection with the area of the palatinate, as it is supposed in the case of Aachen, North Rhine-Westphalia (cf. the contribution by M. GIESE on continental royal seats in this vol.).

Meanwhile a more recent and detailed study by KULLY (2002) exists, to which future attention should be paid. Most important is his compilation of meanings from vernacular lexicons: "Sumpfwiese" ('marshy grassland'; 18 times), "eingehegte Wiesen und Weiden" ('enclosed grasslands and pastures'; 16), "buschige feuchte Wiese" ('bushy, damp grassland'; 11), "Tiergarten" (literally 'animal garden'; 9), "Wässerwiese" ('meadow'; 5), "kleines Gewässer" ('small watercourse'; 5), "Herrengut" ('manor'; 4), "fette Wiese" ('rich, fertile grassland'; 4), "Gärten" ('gardens'; 4), "städtische Gassen oder Plätze" ('urban alleys or places'; 3), "Wiese in Dorfnähe" ('grassland near a village'; 3), "schlechte Wiese" ('infertile, unusable grassland'; 2), "Gehölz oder Viehweide" ('copse or pasture'; 2).

His conclusions on the original meaning are as follows: the word *Brühl* must go back to an original meaning of a damp area with grass growing which was not grazed but used for harvesting hay. Furthermore, MHG *brüel* refers to an enclosed meadow situated along a wet or damp lowland which was separated from the common lands. In other words, it denotes property without an indication

of the rank of the owner. Since this property often belonged to the landlord or his administrator it was possible that the word *Brüel* referred to the manorial grassland and perhaps even comprised this meaning.

The meaning of *Garten* ('garden') or *Baumgarten* ('garden, arboretum') which is more established in the Italian and Rhaeto-Romanic languages developed from the 'enclosure' or 'walled enclosure' meaning. A special meaning 'public place, meadow' resulted from a more urban usage of the word and, since town meetings usually took place in such surroundings, the word's meaning developed even further into Italian *broglio* 'government building' or 'palace'.

These remarks make clear that the variants of the word *Brühl* that go back to 'enclosure, fenced area' are only of secondary importance and represent a later narrowing of the word's meaning. This assumption is also supported by the place name material. The word *Brühl* is present in field names near Hanover (Lower Saxony), Magdeburg (Saxony-Anhalt), Celle (Lower Saxony), in the geographic district Ueckermünder Heide (North-East Germany), near Rochlitz (Saxony), near Grimma (Saxony), in Wurzen (Saxony) and in the Thuringian forest.

GÖSCHEL (1964), who collected several field names with the word *Brühl*, describes the original meaning of it with 'a low-lying marshy grassland with bushes'. According to ERNST (1920), especially in South-West Germany the word denotes the surrounding grassland of the manorial area. These grasslands were closely located to the manor or the village as opposed to the *Breite*, which refers to the owned farmland. This cannot be supported with the findings in the investigation area. The examples of the material found confirm the old meaning of a 'marshy, wet site'.

Place names support the early productiveness of the word, for example *Brauel* (Bremervörde, Lower Saxony), 1189 *in Brovle*; the name *Broil* of a deserted site near Lamspringe (Lower Saxony), 1153 *Broil*; *Broil* as a field name near Osnabrück (Lower Saxony), 1189 Broil; numerous place and field names can be found in Westphalia, for example *Haus Broel* in the district of Soest (North Rhine-Westphalia), 1166 *lucum quendam, quem vulgo Broil vocant*.

All field name examples from Saxony-Anhalt, Thuringia and Lower Saxony show a meaning of *Brühl* that goes back to 'marshy, damp grasslands and lowlands'. A connection with a manorial hunting area cannot be recognized.

CLOSING REMARKS

From our submission it has become clear that place and field names connected with hunting have been so formed mainly because the places proved to be favourable for hunting or people provided facilities there which served hunting. One may accept that the associated names actually refer to hunting.

The discussion about *Brühl* has certainly shown that its meaning and scope has obviously changed in the course of history; the contribution from KULLY (2002) has made that very clear.

It is therefore problematic to see an original connection between hunting and power from names alone. Certainly one will be able to dare to consider this connection with *Forst* and *Kammer*.

As already explained above, *Forst* must be given first priority. In material for place names – above all in the early evidence in South Germany and Austria (for example, *Forst* in Kärnten, 982, *in Labanta valle excepto monte Forest nominato*) – there are several important indications which suggest pursuing this question again taking into account place name material that has increased in the meantime.

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