

# The Haslinger Breviary Fishing Tract

## Part I: An Austrian Manuscript Holds the Oldest Collection of Fly-Tying Patterns Now Known

by Richard C. Hoffmann and Peter Kidd

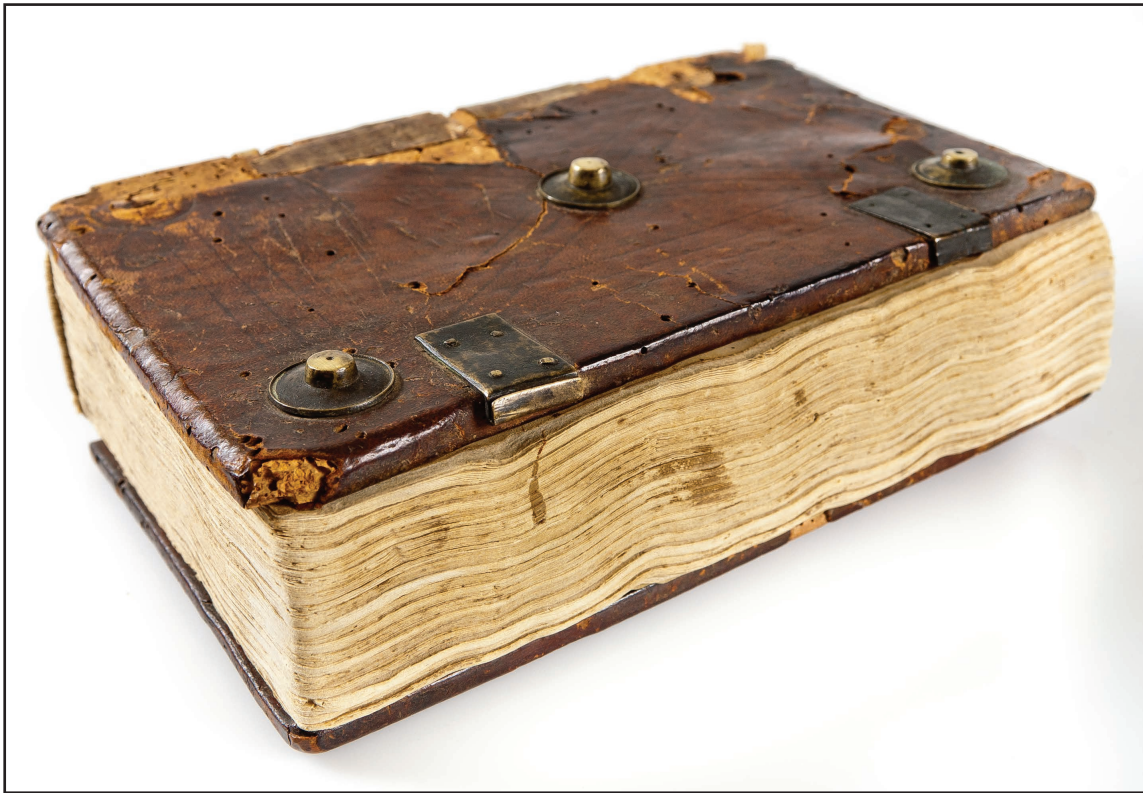


Figure 1. The Haslinger Breviary codex. Photo courtesy of Maggs Bros. Ltd., London.

THE HISTORICAL RECORD of fly fishing has just been further deepened. Manuscripts, printed books, and paintings brought to light over the most recent thirty years have exploded the myth of the technique's peculiar English origins in the anonymous *Treatyse of Fysshynge wyth an Angle* printed by Wynkyn de Worde in the second *Boke of Saint Albans* of 1496, and established the practice of fishing with feathered imitations of insects in late medieval Germany, England, Italy, and Spain.<sup>1</sup> To the dozen fly patterns of the *Treatyse* have been added the several score traditional ties of *vederangln* in the Tegernsee codex of circa 1500 and more from alpine lands

in following generations; explicit doctrines of imitation were independently articulated in the mid-fifteenth-century English *Medicina piscium* of Oxford Bodleian Library ms. Rawl. C. 506, by Fernando Basurto in 1539, and in Conrad Gessner's 1558 Latin translation from an older vernacular text, which is lost.<sup>2</sup> And now there is a newly surfaced tract on fishing written into an Austrian devotional book in about 1460 (Figure 1). What we will here call the Haslinger Breviary fishing tract presents no less than twenty hitherto unknown instructions as to "how one should bind hooks" (fol. 212r). These combinations of specific feathers and silks predate the patterns

of both Tegernsee and the *Treatyse* by at least thirty years. Creative twenty-first-century tiers will likely soon construct soft-hackle flies after these models more than five centuries old. The tract and its association with identifiable individuals and north-flowing tributaries of the Danube in Upper and Lower Austria expand understanding of the place of fly fishing and its tactics in alpine regions of Europe at the end of the Middle Ages.

As of January 2016, the breviary is owned by the antiquarian booksellers Maggs Bros. Ltd. of London, and the following discussion, transcript, and translation into English is published with the permission of the owner.<sup>3</sup>

As here presented, this article has three major parts:

- (1) The codex (This provides a technical and physical description of the manuscript volume, which is a particular kind of late medieval liturgical book with subsequently added contents. Various features indicate that the volume dates to 1452–1462/1464 and originated in southern German-speaking lands of central Austria. Its original owner and potential scribe was a cleric from the region named Leonhard Haslinger. In modern times, the volume can be tracked from Vienna in the 1870s to North America and recently from there to London.)
- (2) Transcriptions of the fishing texts, both the extended fishing tract (fols. 212r–213v) and some partially illegible marginal comments about fishing on both sides of the front flyleaf; in parallel is an annotated translation of the fishing tract into English
- (3) Discussion of the fly patterns and other information in the Haslinger Breviary fishing tract as evidence of the place held by fly fishing in late medieval Austria

For ease of reference and clarity, it will sometimes be necessary to mention or name in passing people or institutions whose relevant identity will not be confirmed until some point further into the article.

### THE HASLINGER CODEX

The medieval manuscript volume (codex) in which a hitherto unknown tract on fishing has recently been noticed is a type of devotional book called a breviary. In simple terms, the main liturgical practice of a medieval monk or someone training for the priesthood, apart from attending Mass (which could only be performed by an ordained priest), was performing a series of daily devotions at certain roughly three-hour intervals from the middle of the night until about sunset.<sup>4</sup> The texts for these devotions, the so-called Divine Office, were written down in a breviary. Features of this book help to identify its origins.

Each breviary contains so-called ordinary texts, which would be used on many different days, and so-called proper texts, which were used only on specific feast days. Feast days in the church year are of two main types: there are movable feasts, such as Easter (which depends on a solunar cycle and can fall on any date from March 22 to April 25),



Figure 2. *The Haslinger Breviary codex: spine and front cover.*  
Photo courtesy of Maggs Bros. Ltd., London.

and there are feasts that fall on the same date every year, such as the feast day of St. Valentine (always February 14) and Christmas (December 25). These two types of feast are usually arranged in separate series in liturgical manuscripts: the feasts without fixed dates—starting with Advent, continuing through Lent to Eastertide and the Sundays that follow Easter—form the so-called *Temporale*; the fixed-date feasts, primarily saints' days, form the *Sanctorale*.

Unlike some other kinds of medieval liturgical manuscripts—such as a missal (which, placed on the altar, the priest had to be able to read from a short distance) or a choir book (from which, placed on a lectern, several monks might sing the chant at once)—breviaries were typically made to be handheld and were

thus often roughly the dimensions of a thick modern hardback novel. The 216 leaves of the Haslinger Breviary measure about 215 by 145 millimeters ( $8\frac{1}{2}$  by  $5\frac{3}{4}$  inches; Figure 2).

Because the texts for the entire year would result in an awkwardly thick and heavy book, it was common for breviaries to be divided into two roughly equal parts: one for use from Advent until Easter (the winter part) and the other for the rest of the year (the summer part). The surviving Haslinger Breviary as originally written consists of the summer portion of the year—its *Sanctorale* runs from the feast of St. Petronella (May 31) to the eve of the feast of St. Andrew (November 29). It is about 65 millimeters ( $2\frac{1}{2}$  inches) thick, including the leather-covered wood boards of the binding.



The Temporale can rarely help locate the origin of a codex because the movable feasts are celebrated throughout Christendom. The Sanctorale, however, often holds clues: some saints were venerated across the whole of Europe, whereas others were regional or even very narrowly local. A town would venerate highly a saint whose relics lay in the local church; a city a hundred miles away might pay no attention to that particular

saint. Thus, the particular contingent included in a liturgical manuscript can offer a good indication of where it was meant to be used. The saints appearing in the Sanctorale of the Haslinger Breviary show that it was meant for use within south-central Europe, a zone encompassing Poland, Austria, Switzerland, and the adjacent part of southern Germany, and, more particularly, the medieval dioceses of Salzburg and Passau, more or less the

area of present-day southeastern Germany (eastern Bavaria) and north-central Austria (provinces of Salzburg and Upper and Lower Austria).<sup>5</sup>

In addition to the fact of the inclusion of any feast, its relative importance is indicated by its grading. In the monastic Divine Office, a feast can have a maximum of twelve readings (*lectiones*, or lessons); feasts in the Haslinger Breviary have no more than nine lessons, indicating that it is secular—that is, not for use in a monastery but in a parish church or a collegiate or other chapel.

Although it has not yet been possible to identify precisely where the Haslinger Breviary was made, we can be confident that it was written with a particular place in mind (or, at least, that the textual exemplar from which it was copied was written for a specific place). In the Sanctorale, placed between the feasts of St. Martin (July 5) and St. Willibald (July 7), there is the feast of the dedication of a church. Such dedication feasts can either refer to the dedication date of a specific local church, such as a parish church, or of the main church (typically the cathedral) of a diocese. Thus, for example, liturgical manuscripts written for use in the diocese of Cologne might include the feast of the dedication of Cologne cathedral. None of the places known to have been associated with the breviary's owner (discussed below), nor Passau or Salzburg cathedrals, celebrated their dedication on July 5, 6, or 7.

Several criteria serve to provide an approximate date for the Haslinger Breviary. The style of handwriting is typical of the fifteenth century, probably of the middle decades of the century, but it is difficult to be more precise. Internal textual evidence (described below), however, strongly suggests that the original book itself was written before 1463, and probably before 1452.

On some pages originally left blank when the main text of the breviary was copied out and bound has been added a table of calendrical data covering the years 1457–1551. The table is in seven columns, each with a caption at the bottom. What is significant for our purposes is that the first column is labeled as the *Anni incarnationis domini* (the year of the incarnation of the Lord), which is the same as *Anno domini* (the year A.D.). The first five rows of the table (i.e., for the years 1457–1461, inclusive) do not have this column filled in, but from the sixth row onward the date is entered: 1462, 1463, 1464, and so on (Figure 3). This strongly suggests that when the table was entered into the manuscript, the years before 1462 were in the past, and therefore the data relating to these

1	B	12	2	6	4	
2	A	14	11	6		
3	G	16	3	1		
4	F	11	23	8		
5	D	18	12	9		
6	C	19	21	10		
7	B	1	19	11		
8	A	2	11	12		
9	F	3	23	13		
10	E	2	14	12		
11	D	3	4	1	14	
12	C	6	21	1		
13	B	1	11	2		
14	A	8	31	3		
15	F	9	23	2		
16	E	10	8	4		
17	D	11	21	6		

Figure 3. The Haslinger Breviary, fol. 77r: first page of calendrical table. Note the blanks in the first column of the top five rows. Photo courtesy of Maggs Bros. Ltd., London.



years were omitted because they were obsolete; in other words, the table was being copied no earlier than 1462. This is strongly corroborated by the date 1463 written at the top of the page. We can safely say that because the writing of the table can be dated to 1462 or 1463, and because the table is an *addition* to the existing manuscript, that the codex as a whole must have been written before 1462/1463.

Texts about catching fish were added to the book of religious devotions in two places. A few recipes for fish baits are written into the margins of a flyleaf at the beginning, but the great majority of the new text occupies pages that had originally been left blank at the end. These four pages about fishing fall between two other added texts (see herein pages 11–13 and Figures 12–15). Immediately preceding the fishing material is a copy of a document that is surely datable to between 1458 and 1464 and most likely earlier than 1462. Immediately after the fishing material is a copy of a document that is dated 25 June 1452 (both are discussed below). Of course, a document written in, say, 1452 can be copied at any subsequent date, but these documents and the fishing text appear to be contemporary with one another: there are some obvious changes

in the darkness of the ink<sup>6</sup> and some slight changes in the handwriting,<sup>7</sup> but nothing to suggest that they were written at significantly different dates. The likelihood, therefore, is that the original breviary was written and bound before 1452 and that the fishing material and its adjacent documents were added to the volume between 1452 and 1462. The additions to the manuscript were presumably all made while in one individual's possession; thus, it seems likely that they were written by him.

The relevant contents of the volume may thus be summarized as follows:

- Temporale, from Pentecost until a maximum of twenty-seven weeks later<sup>8</sup> (fols. 1r–76r)  
Addition:  
—The calendrical table datable to ca. 1463 (fols. 77r–79v)
- Sanctiorale, from May 31 to November 29 (fols. 81r–210v)  
Additions:  
—A document datable to 1458–1462/1464 (fol. 211v)  
—The fishing material (fols. 212r–213v)  
—A document dated 1452 (fol. 214r)

## THE OWNER OF THE CODEx

The mid-fifteenth-century possessor of the codex can most likely be identified as Leonhard Haslinger, a thinly documented churchman from a family then based in Gmunden (Figure 5), the small town where the Traun River (see Figures 4, 7, 10, 16, and 18) leaves the Traunsee to flow some hundred river kilometers northeast to join the Danube just below Linz. As will emerge below, nearly all the places connected with the Haslingers are located in eastern Upper Austria or as much farther east in Lower Austria as Vienna. Only Leonhard had good reason to copy onto a blank page (fol. 214r) in the breviary a precisely dated and localized document issued at the monastery of Admont on 25 June 1452. The then-Abbot Andreas [von Stettheim (abbot 1423–1466)], Prior Ludwig (1452–1454),<sup>9</sup> Cellarer Wolfgang, Warden Sigismund, “and the entire convent of the Benedictine monastery in the diocese of Salzburg” (fol. 214r) there formally confirm the status of Leonhard Haslinger, “clericus” of Passau diocese,<sup>10</sup> as a “commensalis” in Admont. By the fifteenth century, the term *clericus* identified a churchman below the rank of deacon—neither monk nor priest, but no ordinary layman either. Such an individual could

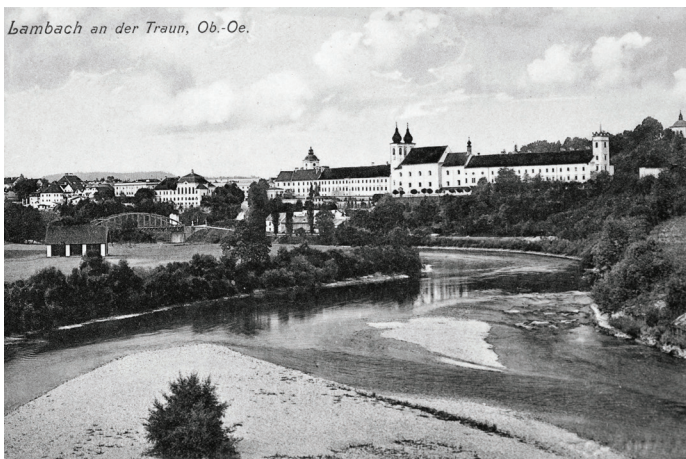


Figure 4. A postcard image from the turn of the twentieth century shows the baroque monastery of Lambach, which replaced the medieval structure on its site overlooking the river Traun, at low-water conditions. Albert Pesendorfer photo.



Figure 5. Gmunden, seen from the Calvarienberg, Upper Austria, ca. 1890–1900. From the Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division, Views of the Austro-Hungarian Empire in the Photochrom print collection, LC-DIG-ppmsc-09245.



not, however, be ordained a priest without the bishop providing him with an endowed appointment (a benefice or prebend). Indeed, the document explicitly states that Leonhard is “desirous of proceeding to holy orders and does not have anything which might impede his progress to the priestly order” (fol. 214r). Hence, the community of Admont provides Leonhard with charitable living support<sup>11</sup> there “until such time as he obtains some benefice in the church either through us or through some other person” (fol. 214r). Leonhard was not then nor in any later record a monk.

Leonhard also features in a second document copied on an originally blank page of the breviary (fol. 211v; Figure 6). He, now described as priest (*presbiter*) of Passau diocese; his brother, Johannes Haslinger; and their parents, Johannes and Margaretha, together petition Pope Pius II to allow them to choose their own confessor and some other religious privileges. Such a petition is called in German a *Beichtbrief*, literally a “confession letter.” The only direct clue to the date of this document is the pontificate of Pius II: humanist and diplomat Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini was elected pope on 19 August 1458 and died on 14 August 1464.

But the career of Leonhard’s better-documented brother Johannes helps narrow down the dating and fills out Leonhard’s background. Without going into irrelevant detail, the *Beichtbrief* identifies Johannes as “a clericus of Gmunden” and a papal “familiaris” and “commensalis”—in other words, a member of the papal court (fol. 211v). Piccolomini had frequented Austria since the mid-1440s, served Emperor Frederick III (1452–1493) as an advisor and diplomat, and, having been elected pope, remained actively engaged in Austrian and general central European affairs at least into 1462. Austrians in his entourage should arouse no surprise. Elsewhere in the surviving historical record, Pope Pius II granted Johannes Haslinger “of Gmunden” in 1459 a papal “familiaris,” expectancy (the next future vacancy) for two benefices—one under the patronage of Kremsmünster and the other of St. Florian—as of 1458 “as if he were then already a papal familiaris.”<sup>12</sup> This puts the *Beichtbrief* after 1458 and further confirms the hometown of the Haslingers as Gmunden.<sup>13</sup> In the ensuing three years, Johannes did obtain the parish of Pfarrkirchen under patronage of Kremsmünster, traded his claim on St. Florian for one elsewhere, and received some religious benefits (indulgences) for visitors to Pfarrkirchen. In 1461 and again in May 1462, he was allowed to

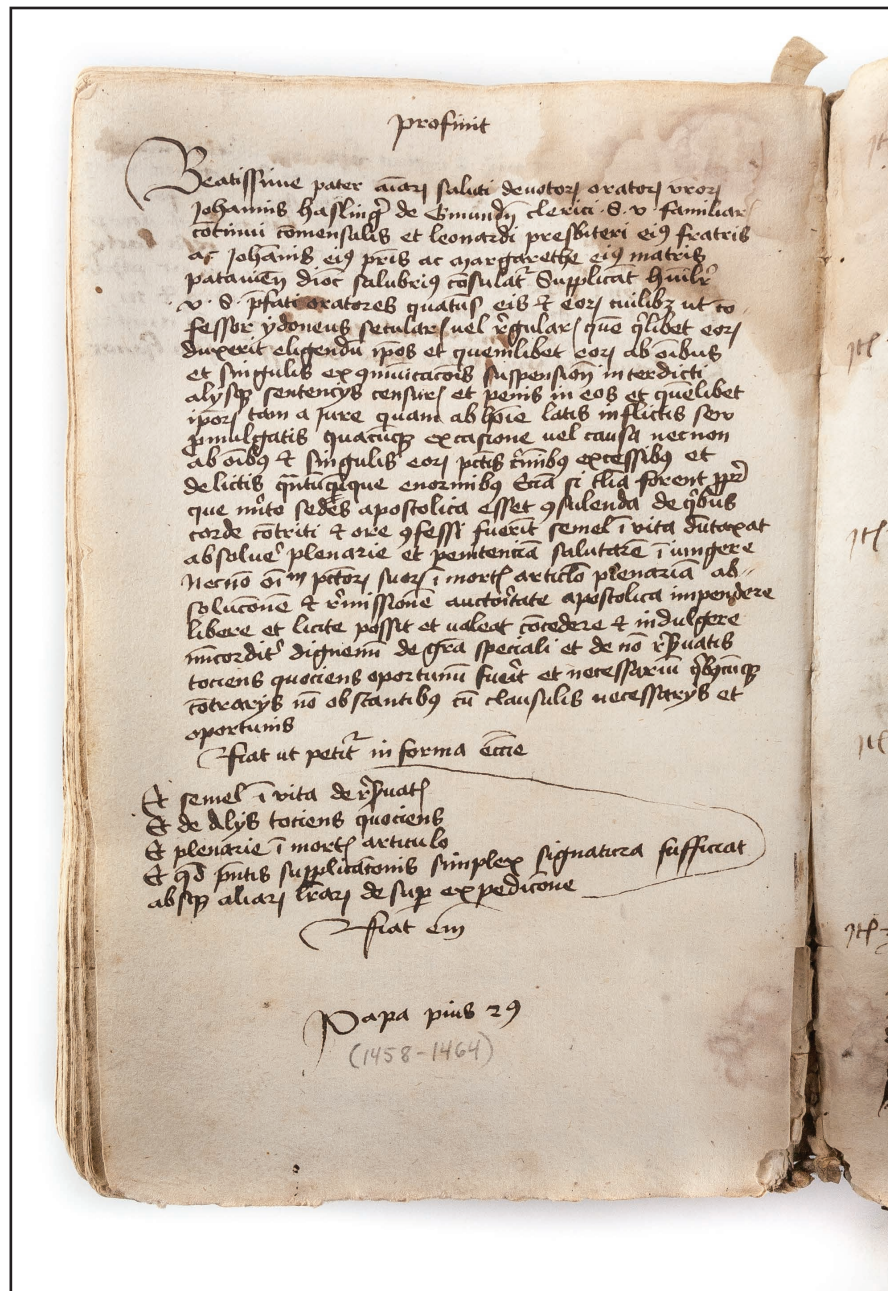


Figure 6. The Haslinger Breviary, fol. 211v: a copy of the Haslinger family’s undated *Beichtbrief* to Pope Pius II. Photo courtesy of Maggs Bros. Ltd., London.

delay his entry into the priesthood on grounds of his papal service, even though the latter papal charter privileged him to retain all the rights of a papal courtier even if not at the curia and all the incomes from Pfarrkirchen even if not in residence there.<sup>14</sup> It may be reasonable to think that the *Beichtbrief* thus dates between 1459 and 1462, which would approximate the years by which his brother Leonhard had been ordained a priest. We still lack any indication, however, of where Leonhard received or held a benefice.

The last records now known of Leonhard Haslinger also place him in the circle of his brother. These two docu-

ments are not in the breviary, but rather preserved in Vienna’s city archive (Wiener Stadt- und Landesarchiv), as they involved a position in the patronage of the city council. First, on 21 October 1474, Johannes, holder of the parish of Pfarrkirchen and the benefice of a perpetual mass in St. Mary Magdalen convent outside Vienna,<sup>15</sup> appeared before a notary in Thalheim (a market town on the Traun about 10 kilometers northwest of Pfarrkirchen) to appoint the abbot of the Schotten monastery in Vienna as his attorney to resign on his behalf the position in St. Mary Magdalen to the patrons, the city council of Vienna. The council in turn was to bestow it on



Johannes's brother Leonhard, priest in the diocese of Passau, and nobody else.<sup>16</sup> Then, a few weeks later (November 17), Leonhard appeared before the city council in Vienna to swear to do his duties and thus be installed in the post at St. Mary Magdalen as resigned by his brother Johannes, also a priest.<sup>17</sup> But when Johannes himself died in summer 1486, still in possession of Pfarrkirchen and the owner of a house in Kremsmünster, only some kinsfolk living in Steyr handled his bequests.

In sum, Leonhard Haslinger, from a family in Gmunden, obtained enough schooling in the years before 1452 to enter minor ecclesiastical orders in the diocese of Passau and to have use for an appropriate breviary. Thanks in part to some years of support from the monastery of Admont, he was by 1459/1462 in position to accept a benefice somewhere in that diocese and be ordained a priest. Unknown, however, is where precisely Leonhard served before 1474, when his more prominent brother passed on the suburban Viennese appointment. Even that memorial mass was not likely a lucrative post. Although Leonhard was literate and able to sustain a modest living during the 1450s and 1460s, he belonged to the host of clerics who inhabited the fringes of the late medieval ecclesiastical establishment. During those years he might have thought fishing a useful pastime, but not in all likelihood a very lucrative one. However, he might have used his literate skills to help some lordship in need of a manager or clerk to administer its fishing and other economic rights.

The main handwriting of the breviary is in what might be described as a standard cursive book hand: it is neither especially untidy nor especially neat. It is akin to the handwriting of formal business documents: neater than personal memoranda, but not as carefully written as one would expect to find in an illuminated manuscript, for example. It is precisely the sort of handwriting, in other words, of which Leonhard Haslinger should have been capable. Although there is no way to be sure, it is possible that Leonhard wrote out the breviary for his own use. Alternatively, by the mid-fifteenth century it would have been possible in any town of any size to commission a specialist scribe to copy such a book, and Leonhard would almost certainly have had to go to a professional to get the volume bound.

In all likelihood, Leonhard himself subsequently copied onto blank spaces of his breviary all the additional texts, most surely including the two legal documents and the fishing tract plus additional glosses. As earlier remarked,

whether writing in Latin or German, the hand, pen, and ink point to the same scribe, although surely not writing at the same time. Several scholars familiar with late medieval middle European paleography have seen no marks of a distinctively different hand. It is most tempting to think Leonhard wrote these things down between or after 1452–1459, when those documents most likely mattered to him, but the last dated element is the calendrical material filled in from 1463.

Pending any further evidence, the best (only?) working hypothesis is that Leonhard Haslinger—son of Gmunden, priest of the Passau diocese, later chaplain in Vienna—possessed the breviary and at times during the late 1450s and/or early 1460s copied into it documents of interest to himself, including a tract and isolated recipes on how to catch fish. This is a more close personal connection than is now known for any other surviving early fly-fishing or general fish-catching tract.<sup>18</sup> But where the book went next is entirely unknown.

## THE MODERN PROVENANCE

After the mid-fifteenth century, the next fixed point in the book's history is supplied by the circular blue ink stamp of J. M. WAGNER, WIEN on the final fly-leaf, below which is added the date *Juni 1878* in pencil. This is presumably the stamp and annotation of Joseph Maria Wagner (1838–1879), Viennese linguist and librarian.<sup>19</sup> If June 1878 was when he acquired the codex, he owned it for less than a year, because he died on 3 May 1879. He might even have acquired the manuscript specifically for its fishing treatise because of his interest in fifteenth-century German dialects. Wagner's library is recorded as having been sold on 15 October 1879, but we have been unable to locate a copy of the catalogue to see whether the breviary can be identified therein.

The book doubtless next had an Austrian or German owner, very possibly a book dealer,<sup>20</sup> but at some point in the following century, it found its way to the United States. It does not feature in the great *Census* of medieval manuscripts in the United States and Canada compiled by de Ricci,<sup>21</sup> nor in its *Supplement*,<sup>22</sup> but first appears in modern records when it was sold in New York by Parke-Bernet (18 January 1972, lot 212). We do not know who consigned it for sale or who bought it. Its importance unrecognized, it sold for \$125. It was acquired in the United States in 2014 by Maggs Bros. Ltd., London, who are still the owners at the time of this writing.

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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## NOTES TO PART I

1. This is not to ignore the passing mention by second-century Roman author Aelian (Claudius Aelianus, *On the Characteristics of Animals*, tr. A. E. Schofield, 3 vols. [Cambridge, Mass.: Loeb Classical Library, 1958–1959], XV:1) of fishers in a Macedonian river using a hook wrapped with red wool and a wax-colored feather to take speckled fish as they fed on a particular flying insect. No links are known to connect that isolated tale with European or any other practice a millennium and more later.

2. Willi L. Braekman, *The Treatise on Angling in the Boke of St. Albans* (1496): *Background, Context and Text of "The treatyse of fysshynge wyth an Angle,"* Scripta: Mediaeval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, no. 1 (Brussels: Scripta, published under the auspices of the Universitaire Faculteiten St.-Aloysius [UFSAL], 1980), notably pages 30–31 and 54–56 (although Braekman mistakenly divides in two the essential text *Medicina piscium*, which despite a probably missing leaf occupies all of Oxford Bodleian Library ms. Rawl. C. 506, fols. 298r–300v); Richard C. Hoffmann "A New Treatise on the Treatise," *The American Fly Fisher* (vol. 9, no. 3, Summer 1982), 2–6; Richard C. Hoffmann and T. V. Cohen, trans., "El Tratado de la Pesca: The Little Treatise on Fishing" [by Fernando Basurto from his *Dialogo* (Zaragoza: George Coci, 1539)], *The American Fly Fisher* (vol. 11, no. 3, Summer 1984), 8–13; Richard C. Hoffmann, "The Evidence for Early European Angling, I: Basurto's *Dialogo* of 1539," *The American Fly Fisher* (vol. 11, no. 4, Fall 1984), 2–9; Richard C. Hoffmann, "The Evidence for Early European Angling, III: Conrad Gessner's *Artificial Flies*, 1558," *The American Fly Fisher* (vol. 21, no. 2, Spring 1995), 2–11, with an addendum (vol. 21, no. 3, Summer 1995), 24; Richard C. Hoffmann, *Fishers' Craft and Lettered Art: Tracts on Fishing from the End of the Middle Ages* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997), notably 5–9, 126–128, 140–90, 206–07, 282–99, 331–32, and 345–50; Alvaro Masseini, "Fly Fishing in Early Renaissance Italy? A Few Revealing Documents," *The American Fly Fisher* (vol. 25, no. 4, Fall 1999), 10–11; Andrew Herd, *The Fly* (Ellesmere: Medlar Press, 2001), 31–45 and



55–68; Andrew Herd, *The History of Fly Fishing, Volume I: The History* (Ellesmere: Medlar Press, 2011), 28–42, 53–63, and 65–68, and *Volume II: Trout Fly Patterns, 1496–1916* (Ellesmere: Medlar Press, 2012), 15–20.

3. For further information, see Maggs Bros. Ltd. of London ([www.maggs.com](http://www.maggs.com)) or contact Jonathan Reilly at [Jonathan@Maggs.com](mailto:Jonathan@Maggs.com).

4. Mass could only be performed by an ordained priest; monks, unordained clergy, and laypeople would attend Mass, but could not perform it.

5. Indicative feasts include Achatius and his 10,000 companions (June 22), venerated at Passau; Kylian (July 8), “the Apostle of Franconia”; Heinrich (July 13), i.e., Henry II, King and Holy Roman Emperor, principal patron of Bamberg; Oswald (August 5), especially popular in southern Germany, and patron of Zug, Switzerland; Hermes (August 28), some of whose relics were at Salzburg; the translation (i.e., the moving of the relics to a new shrine) of Cunigundis (September 9), wife of Henry II; Emmeram (September 22), patron of Regensburg; the translation of Rupert (September 24), founder and first bishop of Salzburg; Wenceslas (September 28), principal patron of Bohemia and Moravia; Maximilian (October 12), principal patron of Linz and Passau; Coloman (October 13), a minor patron of Austria; Hedwig (October 15), principal patroness of Silesia; Gall (October 16), principal patron of St. Gallen; Othmar (November 16), first abbot of St. Gallen; and Virgilius (November 27), bishop of Salzburg and principal copatron (with Rupert) of Salzburg.

6. This is quite normal in medieval manuscripts: the color of different batches of ink can vary considerably. One can also often observe the ink starting very dark at the beginning of a passage, becoming gradually lighter over the course of a few lines, and then

becoming suddenly dark again when the scribe re-dips his quill in the inkpot.

7. Comparisons are made more difficult by the fact that text on a page looks different depending on its language, as different languages use the letters of the alphabet in different proportions; a passage of German will look different from a passage of Latin, for example, even if written by the same scribe at the same date. A scribe might also deliberately alter his writing depending on the content of the text; some materials warranted a more formal style of script than others.

8. The number of weeks from Pentecost to Advent is variable, depending on the religious calendar and dates of both these movable feasts.

9. Jakob Wichner, *Geschichte des Benediktiner-Stiftes Admont*, Band 3, *Von der Zeit des Abtes Engelbert bis zum Tode des Abtes Andreas v. Stettheim (1297–1466)* (Graz: Selbstverlag des Verfassers; Vereins-Buchdruckerei, 1878), 147.

10. The medieval diocese of Passau, a subdivision of the archdiocese of Salzburg, extended throughout this period across all of Upper and Lower Austria. At the time, however, it was not unusual for long-established monasteries such as Admont to be exempt from the authority of the diocesan bishop. In 1470, Emperor Frederick arranged for the city of Vienna and a handful of nearby villages to become a tiny new bishopric of Vienna.

11. *Commensalis* is literally a “table companion.”

12. *Repertorium Germanicum* 8: Pius II. Nr. 3006 Johannes Haslinger.

13. The family must have been well enough off to have two sons schooled but was not important enough to appear in lists of officeholders in Gmunden. Persons of that name are documented there in the early sixteenth century (Ferdinand Krackowizer,

*Geschichte der Stadt Gmunden in Ober-Österreich*, vol. 1 [Gmunden: Mänhardt, 1898], 193). Summaries of original charters from Gmunden’s municipal archive are now in the Oberösterreichisches Landesarchiv ([www.landesarchiv-ooe.at/xbcr/SID-8DB949AF-49DCCDAC/Gmunden.pdf](http://www.landesarchiv-ooe.at/xbcr/SID-8DB949AF-49DCCDAC/Gmunden.pdf)) but give no Haslingers.

14. *Repertorium Germanicum* 8: Pius II. Nr. 3006 Johannes Haslinger.

15. Johannes had received this benefice in 1468. Medieval lore associated Mary Magdalen with repentance from sexual sin, and religious houses dedicated to her commonly aimed to help former prostitutes. Vienna’s Magdalena convent had been founded in the 1230s just outside the city’s Schottentor (gate) at the northwest corner of the walls. Its affairs were subjected to a joint municipal and ecclesiastical review and correction in 1434, and in 1463 it was placed under supervision of Augustinian canonesses (women), then later the canons (men) of St. Dorothea. A Vienna citizen had endowed the chaplaincy held by the Haslinger brothers under patronage of the city council. The Magdalena convent was destroyed during the Ottoman siege of Vienna in 1529. See [www.wien.gv.at/wki/index.php/Maria-Magdalena-Kloster](http://www.wien.gv.at/wki/index.php/Maria-Magdalena-Kloster) (accessed 5 June 2015).

16. This document is available online at <http://monasterium.net/mom/AT-WStLA/HAUrk/4524/charter> (accessed 19 January 2015).

17. Ibid.

18. All other central European texts with artificial flies are anonymous. Identification of William Samuel as the author on the missing flyleaf of *The Arte of Angling, 1577* (which does not include fly fishing) depends on (quite convincing) inference from internal references (Gerald E. Bentley, ed. *The Arte of Angling, 1577* [Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1956]; Thomas P. Harrison, “The Author of ‘The Arte of Angling, 1577,’” *Notes and Queries* (n.s. 7, October 1960), 373–76). Fernando Basurto, however, clearly self-identifies as author of the *Dialogo* (Zaragoza: George Coci, 1539) and is well known from other contemporary sources (see Hoffmann, *Fishers’ Craft and Lettered Art*, 191–318).

19. For more on Wagner, see Karl Glossy, “Wagner, Joseph Maria” in *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie* 40 (1896), 522–24; online at [www.deutsche-biographie.de/sfz84248.html](http://www.deutsche-biographie.de/sfz84248.html) and [www.deutsche-biographie.de/ppn117102512.html?anchor=adb](http://www.deutsche-biographie.de/ppn117102512.html?anchor=adb) (accessed 18 January 2015).

20. There are some pencil numbers on the inside of the front board and on the final flyleaf that look like booksellers’ inventory and catalogue numbers, written in continental European hands.

21. Seymour de Ricci and W. J. Wilson, *Census of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the United States and Canada*, 2 vols. (New York: H. W. Wilson, 1935 and 1937).

22. C. U. Faye and W. H. Bond, *Supplement to the Census of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the United States and Canada* (New York: The Bibliographical Society of America, 1962).

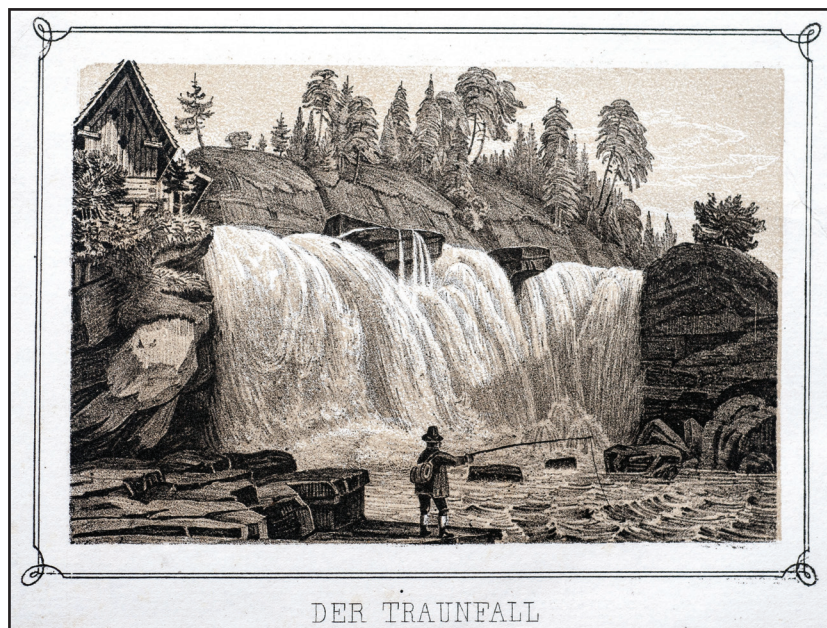


Figure 7. An early-nineteenth-century representation of the Traun Falls below Gmunden, still as the Haslingers may have known it. Twentieth-century hydroelectric constructions subsequently transformed the river, although it remains a destination for fly fishers. Albert Pesendorfer photo.



# The Haslinger Breviary Fishing Tract

## Part II: Transcription and English Translation

by Richard C. Hoffmann

[Underline indicates difficult, dubious, or conjectural reading; ~~strikethroughs~~ are as in manuscript. The acute accent mark ´ indicates the presence of a diacritical mark, which is not to be read as equivalent to the modern German umlaut.]

### TRANSLATION

FOL. 212 RECTO

- Item note how one should bind hook[s] for the whole year and according to each month
- Item in the first May thus take a dark feather and black light brown under that so it gives a good shine underneath. Item and what you may have of black feather, that you should lay on top and golden and black silk under that and a red hook with red feather and gold and red [silk] under it. Therefore you have quite enough for first May. Should the water be turbid or swollen, then make your hook or the feather so much larger.
- Item in June [“second May”] take a light brown feather and black and red [silk] under that and take a white feather and gold and black [silk] under that and take a reddish brown feather and white and red [silk] under that and for a black hook tied with it and a red hook also always on the line as I have written before and make that well tied and large and adjust yourself according to the water [conditions] as I have written before.
- Item in the first August you should bind a red tuft<sup>1</sup> of red feathers with red and with brown [silk] and a golden breast under that. After that you should bind dark gray feather and bind silver and red silk under that and take white partridge<sup>2</sup> feather and bind white and a red silk under that. Take a red *stingel*<sup>3</sup> feather and bind red and yellow [silk] under that and for always a black hook and a red [one] on the line and adjust yourself always according to the water [conditions].
- Item in September [“second August”] thus take ash-colored feather and bind under that gray and light blue [silk] and take yellow feather and bind red and yellow [silk] under that with a golden breast and take wryneck<sup>4</sup> feather and bind gray and white [silk] under that and take the white [feathers] of the woodpecker<sup>5</sup> which he has beneath the crop and mix them among another feather that is light gray and bind red and white [silk] under that and bind the two hooks as before and adjust yourself according to the water.
- Item in October [“first autumn”] thus take pale mousey brown feather with white and with red [silk] and a golden breast under that and take a gray feather from a heron<sup>6</sup> and take gold and gray [silk] under that and take dark glass-colored [feather] and bind red and white under that and a yellow hook as I have previously written and work hard so that the smaller the water is, so the smaller you should tie and black and red [hooks on the line] as before.

### TRANSCRIPTION

FOL. 212 RECTO (see Figure 12)

- Item nota wie man ángel vassen schol auf das gancz iar und nach yegleichen monátt
- Item In dem ersten may so nym vinsters gefider und swarcz liechtprawn daruntter das es gueten schein darunder geb  
Item und was du swarcz gefider magst gehalten das scholtu auf legen und gold und swarcz seyden darunder und ain rotten angel mit rotten gefider und gold und rott darunder Also hastu den ersten may gar genueg es sey das wasser sal oder geswollen so mach dy ángel oder dass ge[-] fider dester grosser
- Item auf den anderen may so nym liechtprawn gefider und swarcz und rott darunder und nym weis gefider und gold und swarcz darunder und nym rotprawn gefider und weis und rott darunder und fuer ain swarzen angel mit dem gefást und ain rotten angel auch albeg an der snuer als ich vor geschriben hab und mach das gefást wol tan und gross und richt dich nach dem wasser als ich vorgeschriben hab.
- Item zu dem ersten augst scholtu vassen ain rotten wipfel rotter federen mit rott und mit prawn und ain guldein prústel darunder darnach scholtu vassen tunkchel grabs gefider und vass silber und rott seyden darunder und nym weiss rephuner federen und vass weiss und rott seyden darunder nym stingel rots gefider und vass rott und gelib darunder und fuer albeg ain swarzen angel und ain rotten an der snuer und richt dich albeg nach dem wasser
- Item zu dem anderen augst so nymb aschen faribs gefider und vass darunder grab und liechtplabs und nymb gelibs gefider und vass rott und gelib daruntter mit ainem ~~geliben~~ guldein prústlein und nym naterwint gefider und vass grab und weis darunder und nymb der weissen pámhákchl dy er hat under dem chroph und misch sy under ander gefider das liechtgrab sey und vass rott und weis darunder und vass dy zwen ángel als vor und richt dich nach dem wasser
- Item zu dem ersten heribst so nymb mawsfalibs gefider mit weis und mit rott und ain guldein prústel darunder und nymb ain grabe federen von ainem raiger und nymb gold und grab darunder und nym tunkchel glasvarib und vass rott und weis darunder und ain geliben angel als ich vor ge[-] schriben hab und fleiss dich so das wasser ye klainer sey so du ye chlainer scholt vassen und swarcz und rott als vor



Item in November [“other autumn”] you should bind really small and should lay down a light gray feather and light blue and white [silk] under that and take green woodpecker<sup>7</sup> feathers and wind green and yellow [silk] under that and take light ash-colored feather and wind gold and white [silk] under that. What you take thus of pale feathers, that is all good, and take red and white [silk] as before. So you have the entire art/craft [*chunst*] of the tying and what you would make as a breast for every month and on all hooks, which you should do in the color as this is tied.

[Ink is now much paler than above. Next recipes are for angling baits, not feathers.]

Item [if] you wish to catch fish in May with bait: chub,<sup>8</sup> grayling,<sup>9</sup> trout<sup>10</sup> So boil an egg really hard and chop it really small and give it to the nightcrawlers to eat in a little box and let them lie there for a day and take them out then and lay them in a clean moss and let them stretch themselves through that so they will gleam like gold.

Item [if] a good trout or grayling escapes from the hook [and] you wish to catch it again, put water crickets or regular crickets on the hook or take “stone bait”<sup>11</sup> or ant eggs [i.e., pupae] or take white fat and cut it as small as the ant eggs and bind a grape [?] <sup>12</sup> with another gray feather and bait it on there and weight it well to the bottom. So you may catch grayling when the water is turbid whether in woodland brooks or on broad waters and use no other bait up to St. Martin’s day.<sup>13</sup>

Item [if] you wish to catch winter grayling, then take water crickets or regular crickets and push two on a “twitched hook”<sup>14</sup> which is well leaded. But no trout lets itself be caught in the wintertime with any hook except a night line.<sup>15</sup>

Item if the chub will not take your feather bait in May, then take a black turd beetle [*kotkeffer*] and break its upper wings off or take June<sup>16</sup> beetles and put two on the hook ~~that he takes very eagerly~~ or take nightcrawlers and put them in honey and let them lie in it for a while and put them on the hook.

Item in June thus change the bait with cherries or with sour cherries [*Weichseln*].

Item in autumn time thus take blue plums or grapes<sup>17</sup> or take earth crickets or cut a small fish into little bits and put that on the hook. That he takes very gladly. Item swallow<sup>18</sup> meat. Weasel meat is also very good on the hook.

FOL. 213 RECTO [continues hook baits as from 212v]

Item to catch another fish take beetles or a wether’s bowels and lay them in honey. That is good on the hook so long as you may have them.

Item the frogs which fall in the rain are good in the month September.

Item *orholden* are good through the entire year for trout, grayling, and barbel<sup>19</sup> on the hook.

Item zu dem andern heribst scholtu vassen gar chlain und scholt auf legen liecht grabb gefider und liecht plab und weis darunder und nym gruenspachen federn und wint grünen und gelib darunder und nym liecht aschen varib feder und wint gold und weis darunder was du sunst liechts gefiders nymbst das ist alles guet und nym rott und weis als vor so hastu dy gantzen chunst auf dem vassen und was du von prústlein wellest machen auf alle monád und auff all angel das scholtu tuen in der varib als das gefast sey

Item wildu visch vahlen in dem ersten may mit dem kóder alten / ásch / vóchen So sewd ain ay gar hert und hakch es gar chlain und gib es dem regen wúrmeln zu essen in das truchel und lass sew ain tag da ligen und tue sew dan daraus und leg sew in ain lawtteren myess und lass das sew sich da durich zihen so werden sew schein als das gold

Item enprist dir ain guete vóchen oder ain asch ab dem angel woldestu in dan wider vahlen So nym wasser grillen oder recht grillen an den angl oder nym stain koder oder amays ayr oder nym weissen speckh und zu sneyd in chlain als dy amays ayr und vass ain zepher mit ainer grabem federen und kóder es daran und pley in wol zu dem grunt also magstu asch geuahan wan das wasser sall ist es sey in wald pecheren oder auf weitten wasser und nymbt anders kóder nicht unczt hin auff sand Merten tag

Item<sup>30</sup> wildu des winters ásch vahlen So nym wasser grillen oder recht grillen der stóss zwen an ainen zukch angl der wol pleyt sey aber chain vóchen lást sich des winters vahlen mit chainem angl dan mit nacht ángel

Item wil dir der alt das feder koder nicht nemen in dem ersten may so nym ain swarzen kotkeffer und prich im dy oberen flúg ab<sup>31</sup> oder nym prach kefferen der stóss zwen an den angl ~~das nimbt er gar gern~~ oder nymb regen wúrmel und tue sew in hónig und lass sew ain weil dar in ligen und stóss sew an den angel

Item in dem ander may so veränder das kóder mit kerssen oder mit weixeln

Item zu heribst zeitten so nymb plab chrichen oder weinper oder nymb erd grillen oder zu sneid ain chlains vischl zu pislein und stóss das an den angel das nymbt er gar gern Item swalymb fleisch wisel fleisch ist auch gar guet an dy angel

FOL. 213 RECTO (see Figure 14) [has no heading, title, etc., so continues from 212v]

Item ein ander visch vahlen nymb cheffern oder chastrawen gederm und leg dy in das hónig das ist guet an dy angel dy weil du sew gehaben magst

Item dy frósch dy in dem regen vallent sein guet in dem manet September

Item orholden sein guet durch das gancz iar zu vóchen aschen und permem an den angel

Item the caterpillars are good while the cabbage grows  
and they are cabbage worms.  
Item the big flies are good while one may have  
them.  
Item the mayflies are good when the winter lets up  
and the waters flow heavily.  
Item the blue flying little “worms” are good while  
they are present.  
Item a thick piece of oxen meat [offal?] which is there placed  
in a shoe<sup>20</sup> for a day is good on the hook [?in?]   
October.  
Item take barley meal with goat’s “sweat”<sup>21</sup> and  
mix with a little honey and make it so that  
it will be right for the hook. Or take a liver  
from a goat which has not been well roasted. Those are good  
on the hook.  
Item take chicken entrails which have been roasted a little in a pan  
and then laid in honey. This is good the whole  
winter.  
Item green peas are good while one may get them.  
Item small gudgeon<sup>22</sup> are good the whole winter in clear ice.  
Item [if] you wish to catch fish, then take in May the may beetle  
which is smooth and not the rough [one] and take the  
nightcrawlers which lie in the manure pile, the white small  
and the long [ones] and not the fat ones and take 1 lot<sup>23</sup>  
of candy sugar<sup>24</sup> and 1 lot of pure salt and 1 lot of honey  
and take the top wheat flour [or meal] and the best flour  
that is above all [other] wheat flour<sup>25</sup> and press the pieces through  
one another and let them stand for 14 days or  
three weeks. Then strain it through a sieve and put  
it in a little box and keep it so long until that you  
want to fish. Then rub the hands or feet with it  
and go in the water. So you will catch as many as you wish.

FOL. 213 VERSO

Item Note the bait for the traps [pot gear]  
Item take tree frogs with the skin removed  
and place them in the traps.  
Item take leeches and put them in some milk until it becomes  
full and put it in the sun so that it will  
dry. Afterward rub or press them and  
put it in a little bag and make holes in that  
bag with a stylus and put it then into the trap.  
Item do the same with laurel that is also well  
dried or becomes so and press it.  
Item take goat liver and soak it in honey  
and mix with water and let it lie in the same  
honey and thus it is good for crayfish  
and for fish in the traps.  
Item in the month July or in the month August  
thus take the liver and the lungs and the heart  
of a goat and press with its blood and lay [this]  
in the earth of a warm manure [pile] for seven days  
and dry this and prepare it for the hook  
or for the traps.  
Item take calves meat and lay it in honey together for a  
whole month and prepare it for the hook or for the  
traps and it then works wondrously.  
Item mark a general rule of fish. Item in the month  
August the fish go to the very top of the water  
and in the month of September they go one ell<sup>26</sup>  
down under the water and in the month of October  
they go under the water an ell and a half  
and the whole [rest of] the year they go on the bottom.

Item dy rappen, sein guet dy weil das chrawtt wächst  
und sein chrawt wúrmer  
Item dy grossen mucken sein guet dy weil man sew gehaben  
mag  
Item dy may fliegen sein guet wan der wintter abnymbt  
und dy wasser ser fliesen  
Item dy plaben fliegunden wúr[m]lein sein guet dy weil  
sew werdent.  
Item ain dikch stukch ain oxsen fleks der da gelegt wirt  
in einen schuech ein tag der ist guet zu dem angel  
october  
Item nymb gersten mel mit ainem púkchen swais und  
gemischt mit ainem wenigen hónig und mach das  
es gerecht werd czu dem angel oder nymb ein leber  
ains pokchs dy nicht wol gepratten sey dy ist guet  
an dem angel  
Item nym huner darm dy ain wenig geróst sein in ainer phan  
und darnach gelegt in ein hónig die sein guet den ganczen  
wintter  
Item grúen arbais sein guet dy weil man sew gehaben mag  
Item chlain grundel sein guet den ganczen wintter in lautter eyss  
Item wildu visch vachen so nym in dem may dy may kéffer  
dy glat sein und nicht dy Rauchen und nym dy regen  
wúrmer dy in den misthawffen ligent dy weissen smallen  
und dy langen und nicht dy dikchen und nym j lott  
candwla czucker und ain lott lawtter salcz und j lott hónig  
und nym das óbrist semel mel ~~ist~~ und das peste mel  
das über all semel mel ist und stóss dy stukch duri[ch]  
einander und lass sew sten ein xiiij tag oder drey  
wochen darnach seich es durich ein sib und tue es  
in ein púxel und pehalt es so lang unczt das du  
wild vischen So salb dy hentt oder dy fuess da mit  
und gee in das wasser so váchstu als wil du wild

FOL. 213 VERSO (see Figure 15)

Item Nota das kóder in dy Reischen  
Item nym pawm frósch den dy hawt ist abgezogen  
und leg sew in dy Reischen  
Item nym egel und leg sew in ein milich piz das vol  
werden und legs an dy sunn das also trukchen  
werden darnach so reib sew oder stóss und  
legs in ein sákchlein und zu lócher<sup>32</sup> das selbig  
sakel mit ainem stil und legs dan in dy Reischen  
Item mit lorber tue des gleichen das sew auch wol  
getrukchet sein oder werden und zu stóssen  
Item nym púkchen leber und sewd sey in einen hónig  
und misch mit wasser und lass den in dem selbing  
hónig ligen und so ist sy den guet zu dem chrewssen  
und zu den vischen in dy Reischen  
Item in dem manad Julio oder in dem manad agosto  
so ~~dy~~ nym dy leber und dy lungel und das hertz  
des pokchs und zu stóss mit seinem pluett und legs  
in dy erden an ainen warmen mist syben tag  
und trukchen sew den und peraits zu dem angel  
oder zu der Reischen  
Item nym chelbrein fleisch und legs in hónig sam ain  
gancz manat und peraits zu dem angel oder zu der  
Reischen und es wúricht dan wunderleich  
Item merkch ain gmaine Regel der visch Item in dem manad  
agosto so gent dy visch zu allerhochist in dem wasser  
und in dem manat septembri so gent sew ain elln  
tewff under dem wasser und in dem manat Octobri  
so gent sew under dem wasser anderthalbe ellen  
und das gancz iar den gent sew an dem grunt



[blank space of one or two lines, followed by a slightly different hand, pen, or ink]

Item take a swallow<sup>27</sup> and put it in honey and  
as often as you wish take a piece of the swallow  
for the hook. So you will catch fish  
Item take a heron's foot or leg and burn it to powder  
and that same powder and the heron's fat and  
when you will go to fish, smear your hand with it.<sup>28</sup>

Item nymb ain swalimb und legs in ain hönig und  
als oft du wild so nym der swalimb ain tail  
an den angel so vágst du visch  
Item nymb Raiger fuess oder pain und prenn's zu pulv[er]  
und das selbig pulver und das Raiger smaltz und  
so du vischen wild gen so smier dy hendt da mit

[blank space of one or two lines, followed by a slightly paler and finer pen or ink]

Item [if] you wish to catch chub, then take a grasshopper and bait  
it on a "twitched hook," so you will catch them  
without measure—and break the wings off.

Item wildu vahlen alten so nym haber schreckh und chóders  
an ain zukch angl so vákst du ir an mass und prich  
in dy flúg ab

#### FRONT FLY LEAF GLOSSES

Glosses about fishing appear in upper, left, and lower margins of the fly leaf recto and in upper and lower of the fly leaf verso (Figures 8 and 9). The upper margin of the leaf is broken and heavily stained on both sides, as is the left margin of the recto. The top and left margin gloss is in Latin but effectively fragmentary due to stains and broken edges. In consequence, much is illegible or conjectural. Although these recipes plainly constitute unordered memoranda, not an organized tract, there is no way of telling whether they were written down before or after the tract on fols. 212r–213v.

#### FLY LEAF RECTO

##### *Upper and left margins*

The recipe can be seen to use camphor (?), cheese, and valerian allowed to rot together in a bladder. Then remove a piece of the cheese "and place it on the hook in the style of fishers and you will take all the fish in that water."

##### *Lower margin*

###### *Another method*

Item take caterpillars [? *tapen*, perhaps *capen*] and bait it on the hook and lay it in honey and let it die there and then take it out of your honey and lay it in the sun so it becomes dry and lay it then where you wish. That is proven.

###### *Item for the grayling*

Item take bacon which is not rancid [and] bait it on.  
So you will catch.

#### FLY LEAF RECTO

##### *Upper margin*

\_\_ o\_\_ recipe \_\_ \_\_ \_\_ {vellum broken away}  
\_\_ Ganifore ex \_\_ \_\_ \_\_ ube -p\_\_ \_\_ \_\_  
\_\_ post hec recipe caseum extractum de caseto  
re & eum \_\_ extende in latum quantum potis  
illum tum put \_\_ \_\_ bus valeria alie fortiter & \_\_


##### *Left margin*

[I indicates line breaks in this marginal gloss, which continues text from upper]

\_\_ odum | \_illarum \_\_ | huius de | frustra | pone ad | vesicam  
| ubi habes | \_astiorum | \_ Ganifolra & per- | mitte | sic |  
sX{or sil/ for simul } iacerel per diem & | noctem | donec sapor  
| illorum duorum | penetravit | frustra casei postquam | accipe  
| vesica | frustra | casei aliis | duabus ma- | ne[n]tibus | in vesica  
| & pone | frustra | illa ad | hamum | ad modum | piscatori  
| & recipis | omnes pisces | illius aque

##### *Lower margin*

###### *alium modum*

Item nym tapen vnd choders an  
der angel und legs in ain  
honig und lass darin sterben darnach nym's aus dem  
honig und legs an ain sunn das sy durr  [werd]en und  
legs darnach wo du wild das ist pewar[t]

###### *Item czu dey Aschen*

Item nym ain spekch der nicht smierkel den choder an  
so vachst du

Upper margin

[Top is too illegible for any sense. Possibly involves worms and rotten wood.]

Lower margin

Item [if] you wish to catch crayfish  
So take a roasted liver on to a spit and  
stick it in the water and as many spits as you have  
on there. hole in the water, so many crayfish will you find

Item [if] you wish to catch carp<sup>29</sup>  
So take hen's intestine and roast it and bait  
it on a hook so you catch right away.

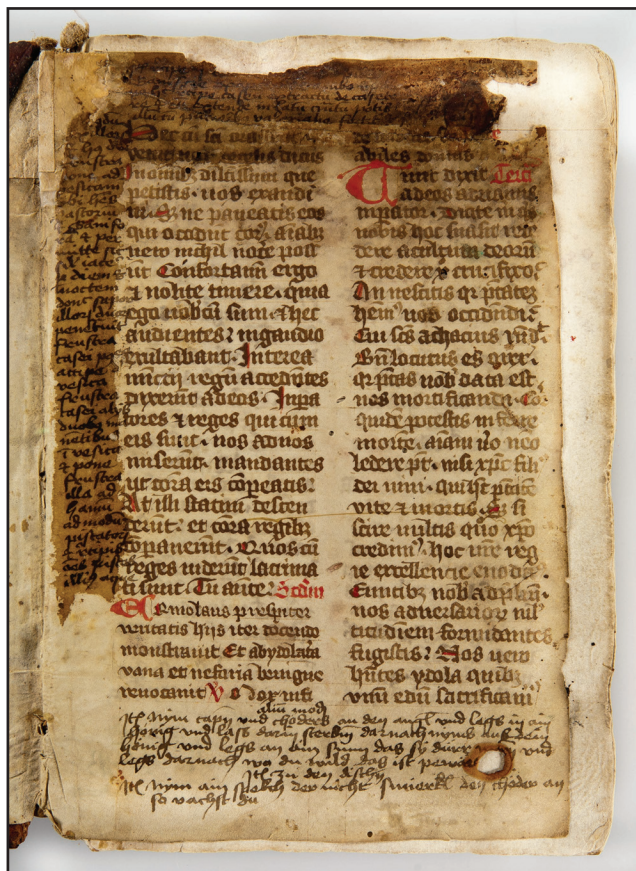


Figure 8. The Haslinger Breviary, front fly leaf recto. Note fragmentary and sometimes illegible glosses of bait recipes in upper, left, and bottom margins. Photo courtesy of Maggs Bros. Ltd., London.

Upper margin

[Five lines but heavily stained and with parts of the top edge and left edge broken away. The last line had only two or three words but now only the last is still present (and dubiously legible). Some of the right margin may be hidden under binding.]

Item wild du visch vahlen oder \_\_\_\_\_ {broken edge}  
an dem zu

Edge broken  
or covered by  
binding

Left margin is broken away -gl stt \_\_\_\_\_ wurig {or wurm?} fawlen holcz vnd t  
h \_\_\_\_\_ und \_\_\_\_\_ gewss ain peschayt \_\_\_\_\_  
lass du \_\_\_\_\_ scrayben ain tag und nacht es

Lower margin

Item wildu chrewssen vahlen  
So ~~ah~~ nym ain prattne leber ~~ain~~ an ain spiss vnd  
stekes in das wasser vnd als vil du der spissel hast  
ges[te]lc hole ht in das wasser als vil vindcz du chrewssen  
daran

Item wildu chârphen vahlen  
So nym hûner gederm vnd prûtt das vnd choders  
an ain angel so vachst du czu handt.

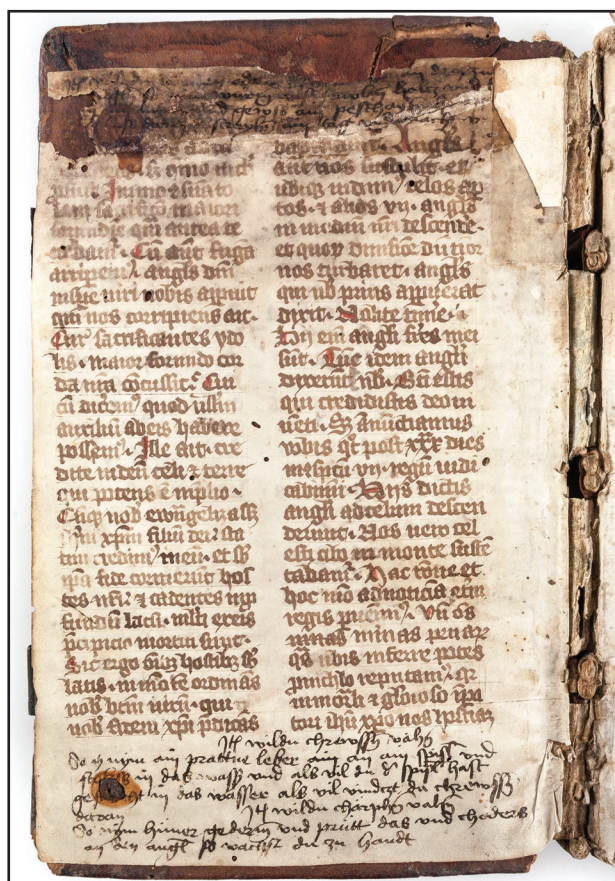


Figure 9. The Haslinger Breviary, front fly leaf verso. Note fragmentary and sometimes illegible glosses of bait recipes in upper and bottom margins. Photo courtesy of Maggs Bros. Ltd., London.



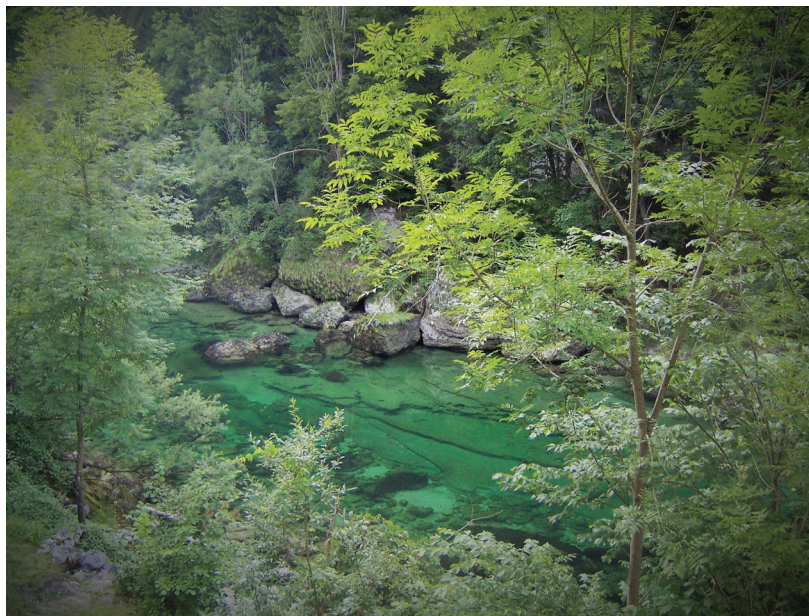


Figure 10. Low water in a gorge of the river Traun.  
Andi Melcher photo.

## NOTES TO PART II

1. *Wipfel*—literally a treetop that swings in the breeze.

2. Rock partridge (*Alectoris graeca*), native to central Alps.

3. See Richard C. Hoffmann, *Fishers' Craft and Lettered Art: Tracts on Fishing from the End of the Middle Ages* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997), 180, note 9 for discussion of this cryptic term.

4. *Jynx torquilla*, German *Wendehals*—a ground-loving bird of the woodpecker family breeding across most of continental Europe. Feathers are gray and brown speckled with creamy throat and dirty white belly.

5. *Pámhákchl* is literally “tree hacker.” The most common species of the region is the great spotted woodpecker, *Dendrocopos major* (in modern German *Buntspecht*), which has a white throat and breast.

6. Gray heron (*Ardea cinerea*) is found throughout temperate Europe.

7. Green woodpecker (*Picus viridis*, German *Grünspecht*), native across temperate Europe, has dull olive green upper parts and pale gray-green beneath.

8. *Leuciscus cephalus*, called *Döbel* in standard German and *Alten* in alpine dialects, are carnivorous cold-water cyprinids common to moving waters across continental Europe.

9. *Thymallus thymallus* prefer clear swift waters throughout northern Europe as far east as the Urals.

10. *Salmo trutta* (“brown” trout) are native to northern Europe, including alpine rivers.

11. Perhaps cased caddis larvae. See Hoffmann, *Fishers' Craft and Lettered Art*, 180, note 4.

12. Reading “zepher” as Middle High German *zepfe*, which can refer to a grape, head of grain, or flower cluster.

13. Martinmas, November 11.

14. The *zuckh angl* is discussed at length in Hoffmann, *Fishers' Craft and Lettered Art*, 185, note 55.

15. Literally a “night hook,” probably meaning a hook and line left out overnight.

16. *Brachmonat* = June.

17. Austrian dialect: *Krieche* = a subspecies of plum (*Prunus domestica insititia*), *Wein-Beeren* = grapes.

18. *Swalimb*, a sort of swallow, Middle High German *swalwe*, *swalbe*, *s(ch)walm*. Both *Hirundo rustica* (English “swallow,” German *Rauchschwalbe*, North American “barn swallow”) and *Delichon urbica* (English “house martin,” German *Mehlschwalbe*) are common in the region. The unfledged young might easily be taken from the nests both species frequently build in barns or under the eaves of other human structures.

19. “*Permen*” for Middle High German *parben* = *barbel*, *Barbus barbus*, a torpedo-shaped cyprinid which favors strong currents.

20. A similar bait is in the “Tegernsee Fishing Advice,” Hoffmann, *Fishers' Craft and Lettered Art*, 174–77.

21. Middle High German *sweiz* can also mean “blood,” which might be more likely here.

22. *Gobio gobio*.

23. A measure of weight, roughly 16 grams or 5½ ounces.

24. I.e., coarsely crystallized sugar (“rock candy”).

25. Namely, that which is for sacramental bread.

26. A measure of length, anywhere from a half-meter to something more than a meter (1½ to 4 feet?).

27. See note 18 above.

28. The wondrously attractive effects of heron-based salves are promoted in a mid-fifteenth-century tract from the western Bodensee (Gerhard Hoffmeister, “Fischer- und Tauchertexte vom Bodensee,” in Guldolf Keil, ed., *Fachliteratur des Mittelalters: Festschrift für Gerhard Eis* [Stuttgart: J. B. Metzler, 1968]), so roughly contemporary with the present text, and in several later sources, most notably twice in the “Tract in 27 Chapters” first printed at Heidelberg in 1493 and also both copied from that source and in independent recipes in the Tegernsee advice (Hoffmann, *Fishers' Craft and Lettered Art*, 80–81, 84–85, 174–75, and 178–79).

29. *Cyprinus carpio*, native in Europe until the Middle Ages only in the lower Danube and other Black Sea drainages, had by the mid-fifteenth century expanded its range to most of the continent north of the Alps and Pyrenees and also to at least southeastern Britain. Carp were by then well known in pond culture and also as feral populations. Findings in Richard C. Hoffmann, “Remains and Verbal Evidence of Carp (*Cyprinus carpio*) in Medieval Europe,” in Wim Van Neer, ed., *Fish Exploitation in the Past: Proceedings of the 7th Meeting of the I.C.A.Z. Fish Remains Working Group*, Annales du Musée Royal de l'Afrique Centrale, Sciences Zoologiques, vol. 274 (Tervuren, Belgium: Musée Royal de l'Afrique Centrale, 1994), 139–50, are undisputed by knowledgeable archaeozoologists and historians.

30. Ink changes.

31. Ink changes.

32. The scribe fumbled a bit here. He wants to say “make holes into it,” which would be better in German as *zerlöchere es*, but he does not write *zer-*, but *zu-* (and repeats this). Hence, the wiser reading is *zu löcher*.

# The Haslinger Breviary Fishing Tract

## Part III: Fly Fishing in Late Medieval Austria

by Richard C. Hoffmann

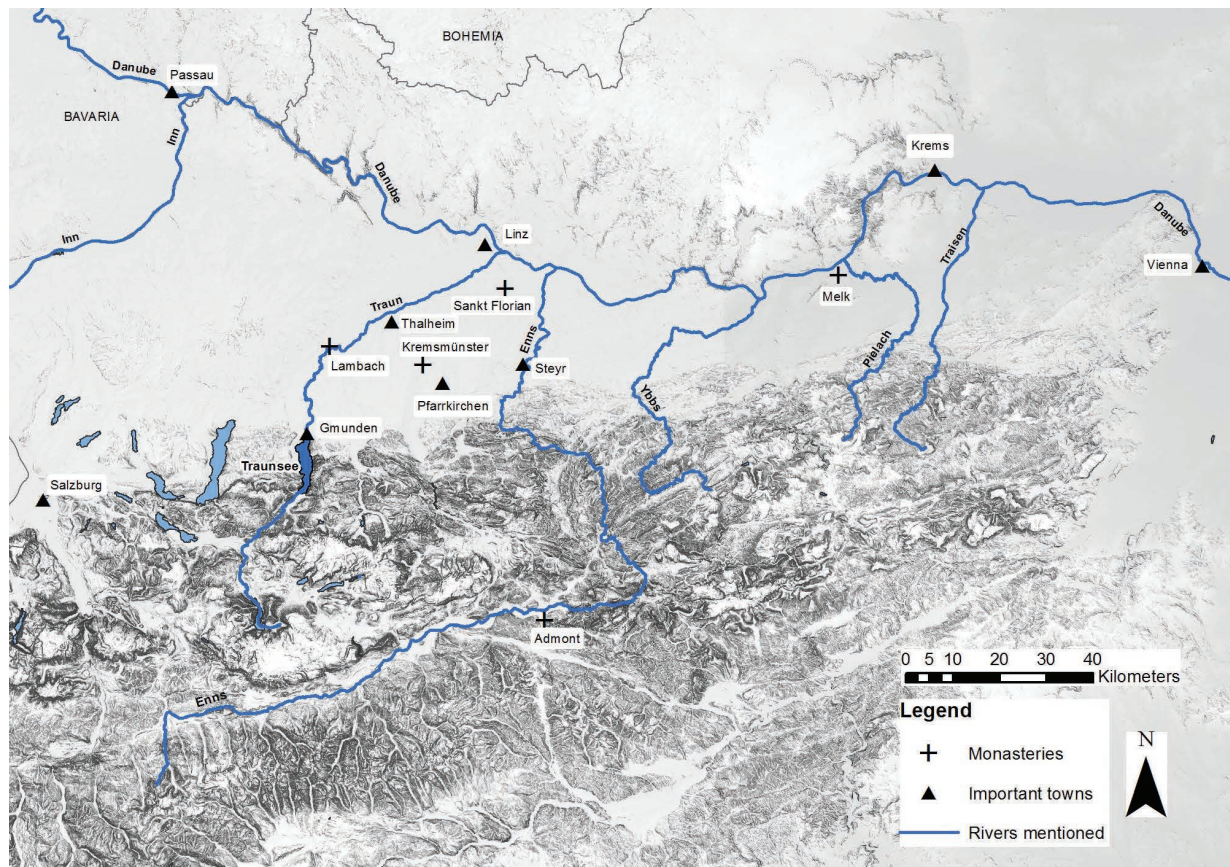


Figure 11. The homeland of the Haslingers, between the Alps and the Danube, Passau to Vienna. Gertrud Haidvogel map. Produced using Copernicus data and information funded by the European Union–EU–DEM layers.

WHERE THE LANDSCAPES of the late medieval German Empire rolled down from the Alps to the Danube (Figure 11), a multiplicity of lay and ecclesiastical princes (as well as urban communities of various scale) struggled to assert authority over peasant farmers and diverse natural resources. Under often rival sibling Wittelsbach dukes in Bavaria and Hapsburgs in Austria (including Tirol and Carnolia [see Figure 19]), landholders and communities wrestled for local power, autonomy, and access to woodlands, minerals, and many waters. The region sustained not only some degree of wealth and a vibrant culture, but also a deep historical

record of freshwater fisheries in general and the feathered hook in particular.

Along the late medieval Traun (see Figures 4, 7, 10, 16, and 18) and other rivers and lakes in the central Danube catchment (e.g., Enns, Ybbs, Pielach [see Figure 17], and Mondsee), fishing rights in well-delimited areas belonged to old monastic lordships (such as Lambach [see Figure 4], Kremsmünster, St. Florian, and lesser foundations), the episcopal estates of Salzburg and Passau, and less-well-documented lay landholders. Lords assigned or leased major fisheries to subject or free master fishers (called on the Traun *fertfisher*) who were obliged to supply the lord's household (which might be an entire

monastic community) and then allowed to peddle their surplus catch in local villages or nearby market towns. Specific small areas were consigned to lesser artisanal fishers; in most waterside communities, ordinary householders exercised a limited customary right to fish for their family's direct consumption (not sale).

In this setting, use of the feathered hook was by the fourteenth century well documented as one available capture technique. For example, in 1360, Lambach conceded to a married couple named Pernau unlimited and exclusive exploitation of a Traun fishery called Steckweide, but also free fishing access alongside the abbey fishers to a local Traun feeder



“which we can use with the *föderangl* wherever we wish.”<sup>1</sup> The oldest surviving Austrian fisheries ordinance—declared in 1418 by thirty-two master fishers for eleven lords with fisheries on the Traun between the falls (just downstream of Gmunden; see Figures 5 and 7) and the Danube—tried to confine legal use of *ain vedersnuer* (“one feathered line”) to tenures with full fishing rights and forbid it to the less privileged.<sup>2</sup> Much later (but still in a wholly premodern setting), a sixteenth-century codex from St. Florian contains a section titled “Fisch Buoch 1593,” including six pages with fifty-three patterns “to bind hooks” (*die Ánngl vassen*) with feathers and silk.<sup>3</sup> In this context, only the combined early date and special prescriptive content make the Haslinger Breviary tract stand out.

The fish-catching text inscribed on blank pages of the Haslinger Breviary is a good example of what has elsewhere been classified as a “tract,”<sup>4</sup> as distinct from isolated recipes and unordered memoranda on the one hand and a fully structured treatise on the other. The text in the breviary has three well-differentiated parts: binding hooks with feathers, hook baits, and baits for traps. Each part contains a number of recipes or prescriptions and some plainly instructional passages. The “craft” or “art” (*chunst*, fol. 212v) of tying is to choose patterns for particular months and to adjust the size of the hook and feather to the volume and clarity of the water. Angling baits are designated for particular fish varieties, seasons, and water conditions. Recommendations for trap baits also have some tactical corre-

lates, although that last section seems less thoughtful overall—until it observes a “general rule” (fol. 213v) of fish holding near the surface in late summer and ever deeper in the water column as autumn gradually sets in. Characteristic seasonal changes are, of course, easily observed in clear alpine waters.

The entire tract uses what might be called the medical prescription mode of address common among late medieval instructional manuals, cookery and fish catching among them. Each entry begins with *Item* (Latin “also,” “likewise”) and orders the reader to “take” (German *nym*) certain ingredients and carry out certain tasks. Often a conditional purpose is provided, addressing the reader in the second person: “Likewise, [if] you wish to catch fish . . .” (*Item wildu visch*

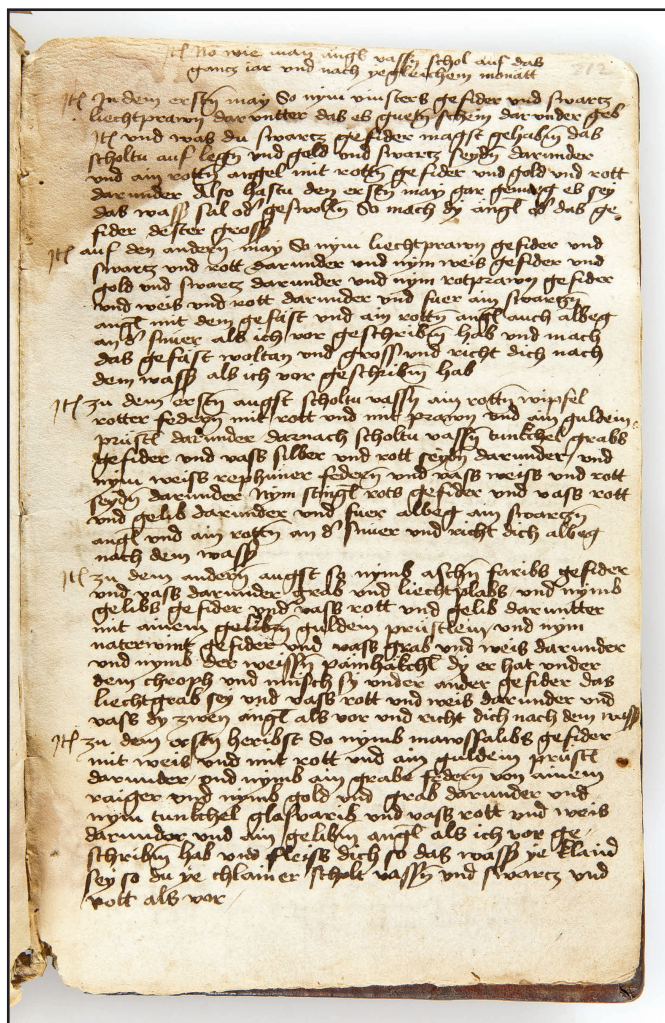


Figure 12. The Haslinger Breviary, fol. 212r: “How one should bind hooks.” Photo courtesy of Maggs Bros. Ltd., London.

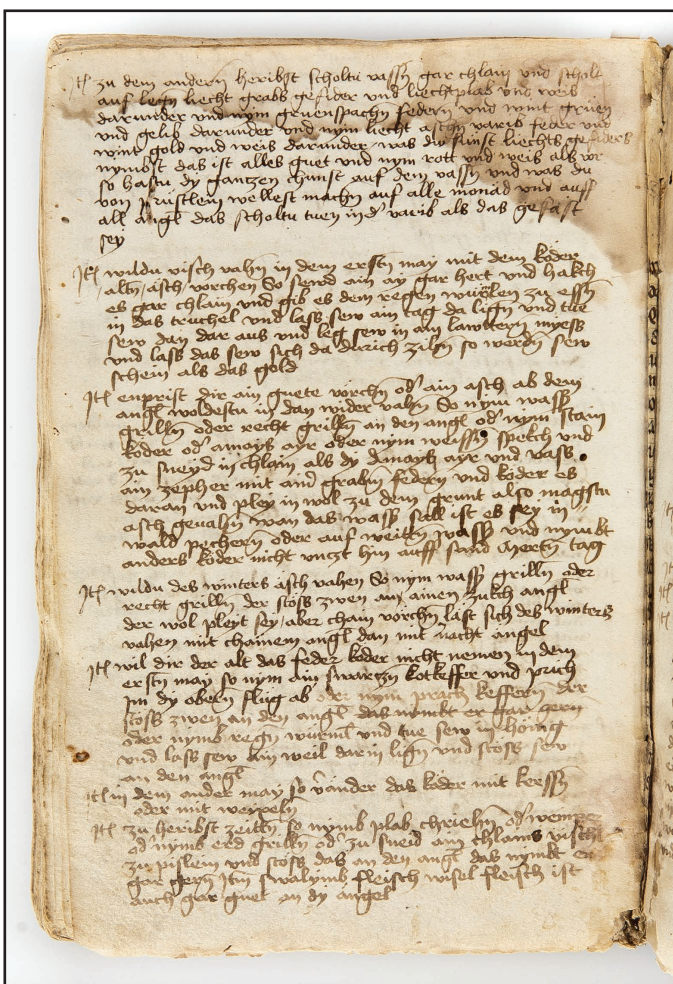


Figure 13. The Haslinger Breviary, fol. 212v: more fly patterns, followed by hook baits. Photo courtesy of Maggs Bros. Ltd., London.



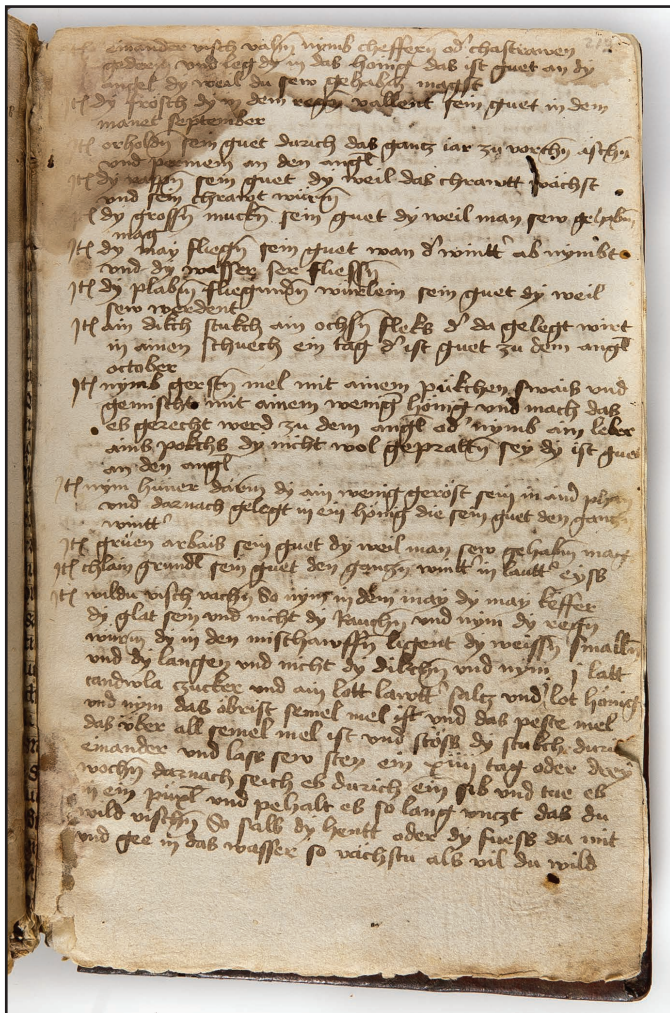


Figure 14. The Haslinger Breviary, fol. 213r: more hook baits.  
Photo courtesy of Maggs Bros. Ltd., London.

vahen . . .) (fol. 213r, and compare similar wording on fols. 212v and 213v). The first part on how to “bind hooks” (fol. 212r) is perhaps distinguished by a more oral diction, with repeated injunctions to adjust the hook size and orientation to the water, but also twice refers to “as I have written before” (fol. 212r). That phrase—and the occasional cross outs in a remarkably error-free manuscript—may hint that the scribe was copying from an older written source. That the text and the techniques of binding hooks were not here freshly contrived is the more plain in the cursory form of the prescriptions themselves: the scribe expected the reader to know the form and method of attaching the materials to the hook.

If rightly dated to the 1450s–1460s, the tract as a whole does represent a rhetorical advance over such earlier fish-catching suggestions as more or less randomly appear in surviving thirteenth- through

early-fifteenth-century Latin and German medical or household collections and in the British Library ms Sloane 3153,<sup>5</sup> and even over the six recipes glossed into margins of the front flyleaf in the breviary itself (see pages 12–13 herein and Figures 8 and 9). In this regard, what appears on fols. 212r–213v more closely resembles the other known organized works that appeared in both German and English by about 1500: examples might include those on dyeing horsehair lines (*Farberei* in a codex from Heilsbronn and a “Dyeing Tract” in William Worcester’s memorandum book, now BL MS Sloane 4) or those that address certain capture techniques as two others—one on angling and one on nets—in the same two manuscripts.<sup>6</sup>

Despite the Haslinger tract’s intriguing tactical advice, its principal claim to fame at the present state of knowledge is its numerous and comparatively precise patterns for tying what would now be called artificial flies. These instructions are a

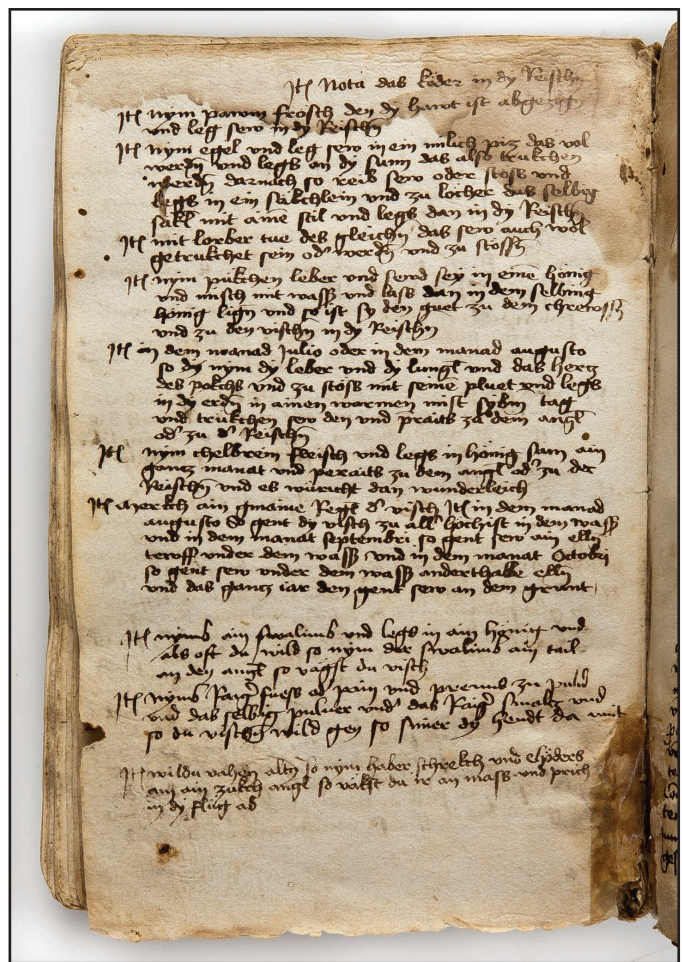


Figure 15. The Haslinger Breviary, fol. 213v: “Note the bait for the traps.” Photo courtesy of Maggs Bros. Ltd., London.

human generation older than the scores of such recipes in the German “Tegernsee Fishing Advice” of about 1500 or the dozen in the English *Treatyse* as printed in 1496. No older patterns in English or other languages are so far known, although the principle of imitation was articulated in the English *Medicina piscium* of Oxford Bodleian Library ms. Rawl. C. 506, which Willi L. Braekman’s dating would make essentially synchronous with the Austrian text.<sup>7</sup>

## “HOW ONE SHOULD BIND HOOKS . . .”

So what may be said regarding the Haslinger tract’s patterns for “how one should bind hooks”? Apart from eschewing the otherwise common medieval German terms *vedern* or *vederangel* to refer to the objects in question, this text presents a consistent technical vocabulary



and form of discourse: for each month, it calls for a specific feather “on top” of the hook with specified colors of silk “under that”; each monthly entry continues with a sequence of two to five further hooks dressed in the same style but different color combinations “on the line.” The result appears to be a cast of several flies like those nowadays favored by some fishers of wet flies and especially associated with the loch style of fly fishing familiar in the British Isles. Instructions to use larger flies in the high water of early season and smaller in the lower levels of fall can be read to imply fishing in running water, although the manuals compiled a generation later at Tegernsee and another century later at St. Florian also explicitly advise similar multify rigs for use on a lake.<sup>8</sup> Leonhard Haslinger’s feathered hooks

and lines remain anonymous, not named after anything at all. This leaves their imitative purpose entirely inferential, supported mainly by the monthly calendar, which other early texts (e.g., Tegernsee, Conrad Gessner) do associate with representing the insects being eaten by trout and grayling.

The vocabulary and materials used in the Haslinger tract also have much in common with those of Tegernsee and subsequent sixteenth-century listings from the same general region. Several designs feature a *prüstl* (“breast”), one has a *wipfel* (“tuft”), and another uses the obscure *stingel* feather often prescribed in the Tegernsee advice.<sup>9</sup> Especially the first thirty patterns in the St. Florian collection consistently parallel the feather-silk-*prüstl* formula found

in Haslinger, *but never replicate* any specific combination of colors and feathers from the older listing.<sup>10</sup> Most feathers the Haslinger tract describes only in terms of color (e.g., light brown, dark gray, white), so their avian origin (barnyard fowl?) remains undetermined. Others come from five varieties of wild birds: partridge, wryneck, heron, and the green and great white woodpeckers were and are common natives to the central European continent. All but the last are also used in such later fly patterns as appear in the advice from Tegernsee. Exotic animals are absent. In contrast with the early English tradition, in which wool or fur bodies were the norm and silk rare, but in accord with other German and Spanish writings,<sup>11</sup> the second material is always silk in a remarkable diversity of colors (black,

### THE ARTIFICIAL FLIES (“BOUND HOOKS”) OF THE HASLINGER BRIVIARY FISHING TRACT

Feather	Silk	Other
May		
(1) dark	black/light brown	
(2) black	gold and black	
(3) red	gold and red	
June		
(1) light brown	black and red	
(2) white	gold and black	
(3) reddish brown	white and red	
August		
(1) red	red and brown	gold breast, red <i>wipfel</i>
(2) dark gray	silver and red	
(3) white partridge	white and red	
(4) red <i>stingel</i>	red and yellow	
September		
(1) ash	gray and light blue	
(2) yellow	red and yellow	gold breast
(3) wryneck	gray and white	
(4) white from woodpecker	red and white	
breast mixed with light gray		
October		
(1) pale “mousey colored”	white and red	gold breast
(2) gray heron	gold and gray	
(3) dark “glass-colored”	red and white	
November		
(1) light gray	light blue and white	
(2) green woodpecker	green and yellow	
(3) light ash	gold and white	
(4) pale	red and white	

*Comparative note:* Although some color combinations of silk and the term *gulden prüstel* anticipate those in “Tegernsee Fishing Advice” and in the unpublished Saint Florian “Fisch Buoch 1593,” no fly patterns in the breviary tract are replicated in the two later texts.



Figure 16. High water on a quasi-natural reach of the river Traun. Andi Melcher photo.



Figure 17. The Pielach is a smaller Danube tributary with some reaches, as here at Prinzersdorf in Lower Austria, now more affected by agricultural uses but remaining a viable habitat for cold-water fishes. Clemens Ratschan photo.

light brown, red, gold, silver, gray, blue, yellow). Austria's proximity and lively trading connections to the booming silk industry of fifteenth-century northern Italy may be a partial explanation. Might some personal access to ecclesiastical vestments also have played a role?

While these earliest fly patterns now known from the European tradition thus call to mind slightly later representatives from their alpine region, an admittedly less-than-exhaustive review of the extant texts turns up few reasonably close duplicates. Haslinger's second hook for November, with its green woodpecker over green and yellow silk, is very like hook 4 in the second series from Tegernsee.<sup>12</sup> The third hook here prescribed for May calls for a red feather with gold and red silk under it; Gessner's recommendation to take trout in May, which the Zürich physician says he

copied from a vernacular booklet [now lost], was a body ("belly") of red silk ribbed with gold thread and wings of red capon feather.<sup>13</sup> Gessner understood that artificial flies were made to imitate insects on which trout and grayling feed, and Hans Nischkauer has identified the particular natural in question as the mayfly *Ephemera vulgata*.<sup>14</sup> Indeed, the Haslinger tract elsewhere associates the natural mayfly with the high waters expected during May (compare Figure 16). On the other hand, the spatially near but temporally more distant St. Florian compilation provides no really convincing matches. Overall, the well-documented late medieval practice of fishing with feathered hooks along the alpine rivers of central Europe shows little sign of being based on authoritative texts or recipes but rather a shared regional culture with widespread local diversity of detail.

## UNDERSTANDING FISHES AND WAYS TO CATCH THEM

To grasp correctly the sociocultural place of fishing with probably imitative artificial flies in the mid-fifteenth-century eastern Alps, one needs clear awareness of the breviary's whole fish-catching tract in which treatment of this technique was embedded. Its first part on "binding hooks" mentions no particular fish varieties. They are, however, named in the next section, which offers bait recipes to angle for chub, grayling, and trout, the predominant varieties in the fast-flowing streams and smaller rivers of the middle Danube basin. Specific methods for taking each come up repeatedly in what follows. Otherwise, the prospective fisher is thought to have interest only in the little gudgeon as a



bait and the crayfish as a quarry.<sup>15</sup> Overall, the Haslinger text envisages a limited range of aquatic habitats and species, far fewer than in other slightly later listings.

Both hook and line and various kinds of basket traps (whether wicker or made of twine as a modern hoop net) are well-documented medieval methods for individuals or families to catch fish occasionally for their own subsistence or more frequently to supply their lord or a local market.<sup>16</sup> About seventy percent of the Haslinger tract treats such techniques.<sup>17</sup> Whereas baits for a hook must induce a fish to bite and those for traps need only draw the quarry into an enclosure, the materials used have some generic similarities. Preparations may differ or local tradition favor one object or another. Leonhard Haslinger or his scribe mentions earthworms, insects both aquatic and terrestrial, ant eggs, frogs, leeches, small birds or mammals (whole or in parts), some fruits and vegetables, and preparations of or with dough and meats. Another class of baits aimed to use scent—or, perhaps, the occult power of that superb fishing bird, the heron, or of the flour used for sacramental bread—to create an ointment to draw fishes to the catcher's hands. Little in the twenty-nine actual recipes on folios 212v–213v (or the half dozen glossed into margins of the flyleaf) differs in more than superficial particulars or regional details from what is recommended in literally dozens of surviving fish-catching texts originating in Italy, Spain, France, England, and

the German-speaking lands between the 1200s and 1600s.<sup>18</sup>

Plainly for Leonhard Haslinger and other contemporary writers, the technique of the “feathered hook,” though as distinctive as angling with bait or fishing with a small trap, was one of several means of catching fish. None of these methods are presented as having any special recreational orientation. Indeed, as already remarked, professional fishers on the fifteenth-century Traun used flies. On the other hand, the inventory of fisheries that Tirolian officials prepared in 1504 for self-advertised outdoorsman Emperor Maximilian, Grand Duke of Austria and Count of Tirol, depicts him and his courtiers angling, using nets, and perhaps fishing the fly “for fun” (German *lust*).<sup>19</sup> We do not yet witness separation of capture techniques into those associated with work and those for play (sport).<sup>20</sup>

Tactical advice about the behavior of fish and ways to lure them appears in all parts of the tract, sometimes in a fairly obvious context and elsewhere almost randomly, thus reinforcing this text's distance from a planned treatise. The fly fisher is reminded to adjust the size of the feathered hooks to the water level and clarity, going larger in the high water of early May and smaller in the low and clear flows of October and November. Fish behavior is seasonal, too, observed as a “general rule” of surface orientation in late summer and early fall and moving deeper through the autumn and winter. By that time, the

grayling are holding deep, so a weighted line is needed up to and after Martinmas (November 11), the traditional medieval marker for late autumn. Likewise, trout stay deep in winter and must be taken with a set line left out overnight, perhaps even laid under ice with the gudgeon as bait. The fisher further observes the abundance of insects, such as mayflies and beetles, in the warming but heavy flows of May. The seasons of the alpine lands resemble but are not identical to those of lowland maritime regions of Europe.

Continual awareness and accurate observations of seasonal phenomena and events characterize traditional ecological knowledge: the orally transmitted cultural understandings of people who have multigenerational experience of their familiar environment. So do the traces of occult explanations that seep through many such transcriptions of popular knowledge.<sup>21</sup> In this text, they come out in the notion of frogs falling with the rain and the powers of both sacramental flour and distillations of heron to draw fish to a person. Early writings on how to catch fish belong to a hybrid zone between the oral culture of illiterate practitioners of this craft or skill and such members of a literate elite as Leonhard Haslinger, who, for whatever often quite obscure reasons, decided to write them down.

Together with regulations for the Traun, the tract in Haslinger's breviary provides a glimpse of fish-catching practice in the eastern Alps at the middle of the fifteenth century. As such, the tract is, at least for now, the earliest known European catalog of patterns for feathered hooks—what would by a century later be openly called artificial flies. It confirms the artificial fly as one of several kinds of fish-catching methods available to ordinary medieval people in the alpine region. For readers who wish to hypothesize a transmission from Ælian's fly fishers in second-century Roman Macedonia to the rest of Europe,<sup>22</sup> this historical record may incrementally close a still-yawning evidentiary gap. For those who are charmed by the idea of functional fly patterns more than 500 years old, it provides an opportunity to attempt and test present-day replicas. The historically curious might be motivated to investigate local library, museum, and archival collections for comparable early records hitherto left in uninterested oblivion. For this purpose, northern Italy, eastern and central France, and the Spanish Pyrenees are still the least-explored and likeliest frontiers for further discoveries of medieval fly fishing.



Figure 18. The tract calls for small flies in low, clear water conditions, as here visible on the river Traun. Andi Melcher photo.



## NOTES TO PART III

1. As cited by Hermann Heimpel, "Die Federschnur: Wasserrecht und Fischrecht in der 'Reformation Kaiser Siegmunds,'" *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters* (vol. 19, 1963), 465–66.

2. Artur M. Scheiber, *Zur Geschichte der Fischerei in Oberösterreich, insbesondere der Traunfischerei* (Linz: Verlag R. Pirngruber, 1930), 30–35 and 152, published and discussed the 1418 text from a copy then in the *Oberösterreichische Landesarchiv*. The subsequent governmental ordinance of 1499 likewise allowed only tenants of full fisheries "mit der feder schnuer annglen" in their own designated reach of the river (Scheiber, 153).

3. Stiftsbibliothek St. Florian Hs. 620, fols. 114r–127v, has not to my knowledge ever been published. Its fly patterns appear on fols. 122v–125v.

4. Richard C. Hoffmann, *Fishers' Craft and Lettered Art: Tracts on Fishing from the End of the Middle Ages* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997), 321–28.

5. *Ibid.*, 321–23; Willi L. Braekman, *The Treatise on Angling in the Boke of St. Albans* (1496): Background, Context and Text of "The treatyse of fysshynge wyth an Angle," *Scripta: Mediaeval and Renaissance Texts and Studies*, no. 1 (Brussels: Scripta, published under the auspices of the Universitaire Faculteiten St.-Aloysius [UFSAL], 1980), 26–56.

6. On the former, see Hoffmann, *Fishers' Craft and Lettered Art*, 324, and works there cited in note 21; for the latter, Braekman, *The Treatise on Angling*, 27–28 and 43–54.

7. Braekman, *The Treatise on Angling*, 30–31 and 54–56; see also BL MS Harley 2389 as edited in Braekman, 39–43.

8. Hoffmann, *Fishers' Craft and Lettered Art*, 146–49, some of which is replicated in St. Florian Hs. 620, fol. 125v.

9. *Ibid.*, 140–45. But the Haslinger text never uses *stingel* to refer to a location or structural element of the fly.

10. St. Florian, Hs. 620, fols. 122v–123r. The 1593 text eschews the prescriptive language (*Nym* . . .) of its collateral antecedent and also its reference to silk, plainly expecting those later readers to know how to get from a list of ingredients to a finished feathered hook.

11. Richard C. Hoffmann, "The Oldest Use of Silk in Fly Fishing," *The American Fly Fisher* (vol. 19, no. 3, Winter 1993), 16–19, which now needs revision in light of the Haslinger tract itself.

12. Hoffmann, *Fishers' Craft and Lettered Art*, 158–59.

13. Richard C. Hoffmann, "The Evidence for Early European Angling, III: Conrad Gessner's Artificial Flies, 1558," *The American Fly Fisher* (vol. 21, no. 2, Spring 1995), 8–9.

14. Hans E. Nischkauer, "Die Fliegen des Doctor Konrad Gesner," *Der Fliegenfischer* (December 1993–March 1994), 110–11. For an English summary, see Richard C. Hoffmann, "More on Gessner's Flies," *The American Fly Fisher* (vol. 21, no. 3, Summer 1995), 24.

15. Angling for carp (*Cyprinus carpio*) with roasted chicken entrails is mentioned in one of the several random contemporary glosses on



Figure 19. Austria as represented by Abraham Ortelius, *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*, between 1571 and 1584. The Traunsee and other areas familiar to the Haslingers are in the far left of the map, the area shaded as Upper Austria. Image in the public domain from KB, National Library of the Netherlands, [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Atlas\\_Ortelius\\_KB\\_PPN369376781-051av-051br.jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Atlas_Ortelius_KB_PPN369376781-051av-051br.jpg). Accessed 11 December 2015.

the front flyleaf of the breviary (see page 13 and Figure 9).

16. Richard C. Hoffmann, "Medieval Fishing," in Paolo Squatriti, ed., *Working with Water in Medieval Europe: Technology and Resource Use* (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 340–55.

17. Bait angling and basket traps also occupy similar proportions of the Tegernsee and St. Florian texts and, with large fixed weirs, take up all but one line of the 1418 Traun regulations.

18. See published examples in Charles Estienne, *L'Agriculture et Maison rustique* (Paris: Jaques du Puis, 1564), fols. 93r–96v (book 4, chapters 10–25); Gerhard Hoffmeister, "Fischer- und Tauchertexte vom Bodensee," in Guldolf Keil, ed., *Fachliteratur des Mittelalters: Festschrift für Gerhard Eis* (Stuttgart: J. B. Metzler, 1968), 261–75; Braekman, *The Treatise on Angling*, passim; Petrus de Crescentiis, *Ruralia commoda: Das Wissen des vollkommenen Landwirts um 1300*, Dritter Teil: Buch VII–XII, ed. Will Richter, Editiones Heidelbergenses 25 (Heidelberg: C. Winter, 1998), 202–10 (book 10, chapters 28–30); Hoffmann, *Fishers' Craft and Lettered Art*, 73–110 and 286–99.

19. Franz Unterkircher, ed., *Das Tiroler Fischereibuch Maximilians I*, 2 vols. (Wien, Graz: Verlag Styria, 1967). Another illustration of Maximilian angling appeared as a woodcut in his personal copy of his ghost-written *Weisskunig* memoir; see Maximilian I, *Weisskunig: In Lichtdruck-Faksimiles nach Frühdrucken mit Hilfe der Max-Kode-Foundation, Inc.* New York, H. T. Musper et al., eds., 2 vols. (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1956), vol. 2, plate 43, titled "Die schicklihait und pesserung aller furstlichen lust und nutz der vischerey." See also Richard C. Hoffmann,

"Fishing for Sport in Medieval Europe: New Evidence," *Speculum* (vol. 60, 1985), 877–902.

20. I explore the emerging distinction more fully in Richard C. Hoffmann, "Trout and Fly, Work and Play, in Medieval Europe," in Samuel Snyder, Bryon Borgelt, and Elizabeth Tobey, eds., *Backcasts: Historical and Global Perspectives in Fly Fishing and Conservation* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, forthcoming in 2016).

21. A useful, though historically unaware, introduction to the concept is Fikret Berkes, *Sacred Ecology*, 2nd ed. (New York and London: Routledge, 2008).

22. Andrew Herd, *The History of Fly Fishing, Volume I: The History* (Ellesmere: Medlar Press, 2011), 31 and 43–47. Other readers may recall the curious lead sentence of the most elaborate but confusing passage in "Tegernsee Fishing Advice": "Here a master from Greece teaches his son to fish" (*Hie lert ain maister von kriechen landen sein sun vischen*); see Hoffmann, *Fishers' Craft and Lettered Art*, 150–51.

