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On six Danish knife handles or hair parters shaped like falconers

By Elizabeth den Hartog

All over Europe ivory or bone knife handles and hair parters shaped like falconers or ladies with lapdogs on their arm were immensely popular during the 13th and 14th centuries. In this article the six examples of this type of object found in Denmark will be studied. Attention will be given to their usage, dates and places of manufacture, their iconography as well as the status of falcons and dogs in medieval society, to better understand the context in which these objects functioned.

Introduction

In 1975 Mogens Bencard published an article entitled *Om et middelalderligt knivskæft fra Ribe*. In it he drew attention to two 13th- or 14th-century luxury knife handles, one made of ivory (fig.1) and the other of bone, both in the shape of falconers. They were discovered in Ribe in respectively 1915 and 1956 (Bencard 1975, p. 35-61). In his article, Bencard described the two finds and placed them in the context of similar objects found all over north-western Europe, of which he published a catalogue containing 24 entries. This catalogue also included deviant types, such as handles shaped like standing ladies carrying lapdogs, as – both from a stylistic and iconographical point of view – they are very close to the falconer handles.¹ To Bencard's 1975 overview, M.D. Howe added two more examples in his 1983 article devoted to a knife hilt from Crowland Abbey. This brought the number of known examples to 26 (Howe 1983, p. 146-150). In his 1993 dissertation Gerhard F.W. Holtmann managed to increase these numbers to 45 (Holtmann 1993, p. 295). His dissertation was unknown to J. Burrows, J. Krüger and F. Wietrzichowski who in 2002 published four new finds from northern Germany together with a catalogue of the examples known to them. They counted 48 so-called anthropomorphic handles, 37 of which were shaped either like falconers, both male and female, or ladies carrying lapdogs (Burrows et al. 2002, p. 208-221, cat. nr. 218-220). To this should be added various



Fig. 1. Ivory knife handle shaped like a falconer from Ribe (Sydvestjyske Museer ASR M5836, 5836). Photo: SJM.

Knivskæft af elfenben udformet som falconer, fra Ribe.



Fig. 2. A knife handle shaped like a mitred bishop holding a book and crozier from Ålborg (Ålborg Museum, ÅHM 5698x0871). Photo: Ålborg Historiske Museum.

Knivskaft udformet som en biskop der holder en bog og en stav, fra Ålborg.

examples mentioned in Holtmann's dissertation and a great number of recent finds. Numbers have therefore increased significantly over the past forty years, to well over a hundred specimens from all over Europe (see catalogue), and more are likely to exist or to be found in years to come. This increased number does however include 'gravoirs' or hair parters as well, about which more will be said shortly.

The number of anthropomorphic handles in Denmark has increased from the five examples known to Bencard to nine specimens known to myself. They include a handle from Roskilde with a crowned gentleman feeding a falcon perched on the arm of a lady whose head has been lost. There

are five single falconers: two from Ribe and one each from Herlufsholm, Kolding and Skanderborg. There are also three examples with a deviant iconography. One is a standing crowned woman from Lilleborg on the island of Bornholm, who is badly damaged. The second is a bishop with a crozier, mitre and book from Aalborg (fig. 2). And lastly, there is a knight carrying a shield from Roskilde.

The numeric preponderance of the falconer-type does not seem to be accidental; all over Western Europe this specific type of handle far outnumbers the other ones, with the lady with the lapdog coming second. In this article, written almost forty years after Bencard's publication, I would like to review what has since been learned of the falconer handles and the context in which they were made and used. My point of departure will be the six Danish examples.

Hair parters, knives and their usage

Hair parters

As the two falconers described by Bencard were knife hilts, he considered all the handles in his catalogue to have had the same function. However, the same style and iconography were applied to 'gravoirs', hair parters, a type of object that was very fashionable in the 13th and 14th centuries. It is a sort of pin used to draw a parting in one's hair. They were often part of a set of toiletries that also included a comb and a small mirror with which they were kept together in a precious box or purse. An entry in the French royal accounts for the year 1316 mentions that Jean le Scelleur, on behalf of the royal family, paid 74 pennies for the purchase of a mirror, comb, gravoir and leather pouch (Koechlin 1924, I, p. 360-361; Camille 2000, p. 56). Hair parters can be difficult to distinguish from knife hilts, although usually they are somewhat smaller. Often they are of a piece, i.e. the hilt and pin are made from the same piece of ivory or bone, but this is not always so.

A 6.7 cm high falconer from Gent (Belgium) has a hole of 3 mm in diameter at the bottom which could never have fitted the tangle of a blade; at most it could have held a pin (fig. 3, left). For this reason it is likely to have been a hair parter. Another falconer, found at the Savaanstraat in Gent, is 8.6 cm high and with a far larger cavity



Fig. 3.a. Gent. A falconer shaped hilt found in the back yard of Savaanstraat 118. 3b. Gent. A falconer shaped hilt found in the church of The Discalced Carmelites, from a layer predating the oldest phases of the church. Photo: Stadsarcheologie, Gent.

a. Et falkonerskæfte fundet i baggården i Savaanstraat 118 i Gent. b. Et falkonerskæfte fundet i De barfodede Karmeliteres kirke i Gent, i et lag ældre end kirken.

inside, which could easily have accommodated the tangle of a knife. This specimen is therefore likely to have been a knife handle (fig. 3, right).² Quite often it is more difficult to make the distinction, as is obvious from the literature, in which the same object is described as a knife hilt by some and as a hair parter by others. Cases in point are the handles consisting of two figures from Paris, Roskilde and Petersburg as well as the falconers from Lille and Arras (Koechlin 1924, I, p. 418).

Knives

The knives with hilts shaped like falconers were luxury objects that could not be used for serious cut-

ting. When too much pressure was exerted on the hilts, they snapped. In order to counteract this they were fitted out with a hilt band. These hilt bands could be made of silver and smartly decorated, as the one on the 1915 Ribe falconer, which incidentally still has its blade (see fig.1), or they could be simpler, as is the case with a specimen found at Ringkloster (fig. 4). Being prone to breakage, the knives were obviously no ordinary multi-functional knives but are more likely to have served as elegant table knives. During medieval dinners the meat was served at the table ready-carved, where servants further divided it into smaller pieces that were then placed on serving dishes. Strictly speaking, cutlery was therefore unnecessary. A knife like the ones under discussion would have been used to prick small portions of meat from the serving dishes and to cut these into tinier pieces on one's plate. This cutting could, as a special token of honour or friendship, be performed by the lady of the house, by a lady for her table partner or the other way round. The knife used to do this would normally be one's own, as it was customary to carry a knife around in those days. No medieval peasant, citizen or lord would have left home without a knife attached to his belt or safely put away in a bag. Even women carried knives. At the table only communal knives were provided, to be shared with six or seven others. This sharing was not without significance as it expressed trust and confidence in each other's company.³ Only the host and some very distinguished guests were given a knife for their personal use.

As most people had a knife with them wherever they went, it follows that such objects, or the remains thereof, and their often finely-decorated leather scabbards, are common finds during excavations.⁴ The most common variety of handle was of wood, but horn, bone and metal were also used. There were apparently knives for all pockets. Being carried around in public as they were, knives were often personified and could be used for display and showing off one's status and good taste. At the table a beautiful knife could trigger conversation (Marquardt 1997, p. 12). The knives we are dealing with in this article were possessed by people belonging to the upper strata of society, although maybe, where the more simplified handles



Fig. 4. A lady falconer from Ringkloster in Skanderborg (Skanderborg Museum SBM M1 AD). Photo: Skanderborg Museum.

En kvindeligt falkoner fra Ringkloster ved Skanderborg.

are concerned, not always the absolute top. This is also clear from the sites where the knife hilts were found, castles, cloisters and – with a few exceptions – elite locations in cities.⁵

It is doubtful that these very ornate knives were used on a daily basis; possibly they were only taken out of the cupboard on special occasions, on feast days or when the owner felt the necessity of showing off (Marquardt 1997, p. 24). That sets of knives for various purposes existed is clear from the accounts of the French royal household. Here, knives made of ebony were used during Lent, and ivory ones during Easter.⁶ Considering all this, one may even wonder whether the falconer knives and their many variants were the sort of knife one would carry on one's person. Are they not more likely to be of the type to set before special guests as table knives? Interesting in this context is the discovery in Coventry (England) during the Much Park Street excavations of a knife handle shaped like a very stylized lady (without arms or attributes) that was not only complete but was still in its leather scabbard (fig. 5).⁷ That might suggest that this type of knife was indeed carried around, were it not that the Coventry knife handle is among the most simple of the anthropomorphic knife handles found so far. Maybe therefore the evidence it provides does not apply to the finer specimens.

From the 14th century onwards a new type of knife gained popularity. Instead of the whittle tang variety, the scale-tang handle came into being and



Fig. 5. During the excavations at Much Park Street in Coventry a knife in the form of a stylized lady was found in its scabbard (Herbert Art Gallery and Museum). Photo: With kind permission of the Herbert Art Gallery and Museum.

I forbindelse med udgravningerne i Much Park Street i Coventry fandtes en kniv, som endnu sad i knivskeden, udformet som en stiliseret kvindeskikkelse.



Fig. 6. Copy of a knife hilt formed like a lady holding a lapdog found in 1928/1932 at the ruins of the castle of Isenburg in Bredeney/Stadtwald near Essen. Photo: Essen, Ruhrland Museum.

Kopi af knivskæfte udformet som en dame med en skødehund, fundet i 1928/1932 i ruinerne af borgen Isenburg i Bredeney/Stadtwald ved Essen.

with it the increasing specialization of knives and the more widespread use of the table knife as distinct to the common multi-purpose knife. Knives were now of a piece with the handles, on to which a scale was fitted on each side. Such knives could be longer, more elegant and withstood greater pressure than the previous type. Interestingly, excavations have borne out that from this time onwards fewer scabbards seem to have been deposited, which suggests a decrease in the number of people carrying knives about with them (De Neergaard 2008, p. 61). Apparently, to an increasing extent, guests could expect to find knives at the table. De



Fig. 7. Knife hilt from Magdeburg shaped like a lady holding a lapdog (Magdeburg, Kunsthistorisches Museum, 79:253). From Puhle 2009, s. 546-547.

Knivskæfte fra Magdeburg af form som en dame med en skødehund.

Neergaard suggested that the display factor involved in laying decorated knives upon a table should be considered in this context (De Neergaard 2008, p. 51).

Although, the anthropomorphic ivory and bone knife handles went out of fashion after the 14th century they never disappeared altogether and in the 16th century they again became quite popular.

Dates and places of manufacture

In the literature most handles are dated roughly between 1250 and 1350, mainly on the basis of style and the dress and hair fashion of the represented fi-

figures. Archeologically-based dates are rare, especially for the 'older' specimens that derive from sites that were not excavated with a regard for stratigraphy (Howe 1983, p. 148). A knife handle as the one found at Isenburg near Essen (Germany), on the site of a castle known to have been demolished before 1288, implying a 13th-century date for the carving, is unfortunately rare (fig. 6).⁸ The Gent falconer found in 1985 is one of the few other examples. He came from a site where, from 1290 onwards, the church of the Scalded Carmelites was built, and was found there amidst the remains of pottery. This suggests that he predates the building of the church and therefore must have been made before 1290.

The earliest knife handles and hair parters tend to be of very high quality and the rendering of the figures is very detailed indeed. These objects were probably made on request and are very varied in their iconography: there are examples with the figures of Tristan and Isolde, amorous couples, falconers and ladies with dogs, musicians; the variety is quite astounding. Some, but not many, have a more religious character. Presumably these very fine objects were made in Paris, where between 1250 and 1400 the art of ivory carving had achieved a very high standard and set the fashion for the rest of Europe. It seems likely that the best examples were made for the French court or copied after such examples (Bencard 1975, p. 40; Howe 1983, p. 149). As has been said before, of all these types it was the falconer-variety that was most successful, closely followed by the standing lady with a lapdog on her arm. These two types were hugely popular and came to be produced 'en masse' all over Europe by local craftsmen, which led to stylistic divergence and differences in artistic quality.⁹ And then these copies were also imitated ... The imitations of the Parisian ivories were often made of cheaper types of bone or horn. The Oslo falconer, which differs stylistically from the rest and which, in addition, is made of walrus ivory, is for these reasons regarded as the product of a local workshop. The places where the other knife hilts were manufactured remain unknown.¹⁰ Only in the Hundestrasse in Lübeck has a bone workshop been located where anthropomorphic knife handles may have been made, as a handle in the form of a lady

with dog was found on its premises (fig. 7) (Holtmann 1993, p. 337-338).

A hilt with two figures and a falcon from Roskilde

In 1875 an ivory (?) 14th-century knife hilt, 8.6 cm long, was found during ground works in Roskilde, on a site named Gottorpsvaenge (fig. 8).¹¹ This hilt is unusual as it consisted not of one but of two figures, a lady, whose head has broken away and who has a falcon perched on her left arm that is being fed by a crowned man standing on her right, who is smiling happily. The small holes that pierce his crown were possibly used to fit on silver or gold ornaments or some sort of metal superstruc-



Fig. 8. Knife hilt with two figures from Roskilde, found during excavations at the Gottorpsvænge in 1875 (Copenhagen, Nationalmuseet inv. nr. D 998). From Bencard 1975 p. 43.

Knivhåndtag med to figurer fra Roskilde, fundet i forbindelse med udgravning i Gottorpsvænge i 1875.

ture. That there are indeed two figures is more easily appreciated from the back. The hem of lady's gown touches the ground, while his surcot, which has buttons placed vertically down his chest, leaves his shoes in view. Moreover, the gentleman's surcot has splits along the sides that are filled with pairs of notches. These notches are probably meant to indicate the fur lining of the surcot, as was suggested for similar hilts from northern Germany, with reference to the miniatures in the 14th-century *Codex Manesse*. In this manuscript fur is shown as overlaying rows of grey-white scales with frays on top¹², as was quite the normal way of rendering fur throughout the 13th and 14th centuries. Fur, of course, was synonymous with status. In 1279, the French king, Philippe III, permitted the wearing of fur only to those who were in the possession of property worth a thousand pounds or more. The wearing of the more expensive furs, such as ermine and squirrel, was a prerogative of the nobility (Uytven 2003, p. 199). The crown too distinguishes the smiling man as a nobleman, but does not necessarily imply royalty. Crowns were sold on the Parisian market, as is clear from the description of the right bank of the river Seine by the 14th-century theologian Jean de Jandun, who tells us "that here all manner of objects were displayed with which the various parts of the body could be adorned: for the head there were crowns, wreaths and hats; ivory combs for the hair; mirrors to look at oneself; girdles and purses to hang from them; gloves; breast chains; and many more such things that I cannot mention as I do not know their Latin names". Wearing a crown was a noble prerogative. In 1283 a French royal decree was issued that proclaimed that "no citizen, male or female, [...] shall wear or shall be permitted to wear gold and precious stones or girdles made of gold or set with pearls or crowns of gold and silver". This type of sumptuary law was issued with increasing urgency from the late 13th century onwards as due to the increasing wealth of the citizens, class differences between them and the nobility threatened to become invisible (cited by Camille 2000, p. 53). As do the fur and the crown, the gentleman's smile denotes him as a man of standing, a man who has himself in check.¹³

An artistically far superior parallel for the dou-



Fig. 9. A 14th-century grivoir showing Tristan and Isolde (Turin, Museo Civico d'Arte Antica inv. nr. 158/AV). a. Front. b. Back. <http://gothicivories.courtauld.ac.uk/>

En 1300-tals hårdeler dekoreret med Tristan og Isolde. a. For-side, b. Bagside.

ble-figured handle from Roskilde is an ivory hair parter in Turin (fig. 9 a and b). It dates to the 14th century and is likely to have been made in Paris. It shows a gentleman with a falcon and a crowned lady with a lapdog, indicating they are high-born, fashionable persons. In fact, they are Tristan and Isolde, two tragic lovers from contemporary romance, as is clear from the well at their feet that shows the reflection of Isolde's husband, King Marke, who is spying on the couple from a tree, the trunk of which can be seen at the back of the handle.¹⁴ This subject was quite popular at the time and is also depicted on mirrors and ivory caskets made in the French capital.

It is thus possible that the Roskilde handle is a somewhat schematized version of the Turin handle, likewise representing the famous couple. This is, however, unlikely, because if this were the case, why leave out the details that would have made identification possible, such as the fountain with King Marke's reflection in it and/or the tree with the king perched in it. What we see represented at Roskilde is therefore just a fashionable couple. There need not even be any relationship with contemporary romances. Indeed, not all couples fea-

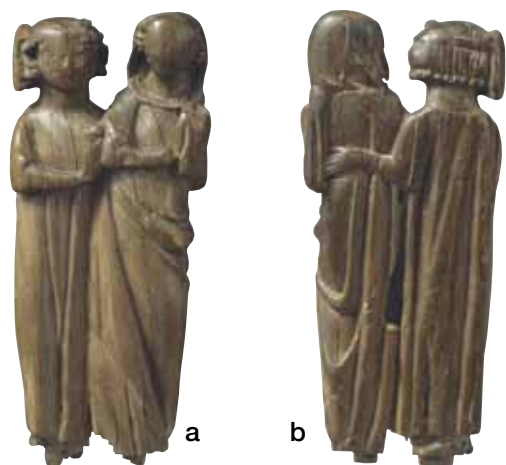


Fig. 10. Gravoir of circa 1300-1330 showing a lady with a gentleman who has folded his left arm round her back. She has her hands folded as if in prayer. The lower parts are heavily-damaged (Paris, Musée du Louvre OA 6269). a. Front. b. Back. <http://www.gothicivories.courtauld.ac.uk>.

Hårdeler fra ca. 1300-1330 hvorpå ses en dame og en herre med sin venstre arm omkring hende. Hun har hænderne foldet som i bøn. Den nederste del er meget ødelagt. a. Forside. b. Bagside.

turing on handles are harmonious or courtly in their behaviour.

A 14th-century example in the Musée du Louvre in Paris (OA 6269) shows a man wearing a fashionable hair dress and bonnet putting his arm round the waist of a lady, who somewhat shrugs away and has her hands raised as if in prayer (fig. 10a and b). It would seem she is not too pleased with the gentleman's attentions and too eager embrace. That this interpretation is probably not too far off the mark can be shown with reference to a knife handle from Geneva that has a man trying to embrace the lady and, to her great dismay, lift her skirts (fig. 11a and b). This is of course not courtly at all. In fact, in his *De arte honeste amandi*, probably dating to the latter years of the 12th century, Andreas Capellanus writes that "although any lover may be chiefly inclined towards the solaces of the lower part, and the final cause of love may be there, still it would seem a very shameful and improper use of the body and a great disgrace for women to practice the lower solaces without the upper. Indeed it seems impossible to enjoy the delight of the lower part without that of the upper, unless

we are to have too indecent and shameful a use of the body. For the solaces of the upper part are most proper and refined and can be indulged in without any violation of modesty on the part of either participant, even if the lower delight is omitted. Indeed, the rational order in love requires that one should first, after much urging obtain the wanton solaces of the upper part, and after that go on step by step to the lower ones" (Capellanus 1960, p. 137-138). However, the above applies only to the courting of middle class and noble ladies. In chapter XI of his *De arte honeste amandi* Capellanus prescribes quite a different treatment of ordinary peasant girls, with whom a man could do as he pleased: "And if you should, by some chance, fall in love with some of their women, be careful to puff them up with lots of praise and then, when you find a convenient place, do not hesitate to take what you seek and to embrace them by force. For you can



Fig. 11. Hilt showing a man trying to rape a woman, date unclear (Geneva, Musée d'art et d'histoire AD 6150). a. Front. b. Back. <http://gothicivories.courtauld.ac.uk>.

Knivfæste forestillende mand, som forsøger samleje med kvinde. Usikker datering. a. Front. b. Bagside.



Fig. 12. *Li Ars d'Amour*, Artois, circa 1300. Detail showing two unified lovers (Brussels Bibliothèque Royale Albert I KBB, ms. 9543, fol. 22v.). From Camille 2000, p. 145.

Par, forenet i kærlighedsakt. Ca. 1300.

hardly soften their outward inflexibility so far that they will grant you their embraces quietly or permit you to have the solaces you desire unless you first use a little compulsion as a convenient cure to their shyness” (Capellanus 1960, p. 149-150). This ivory, the provenance of which is difficult to determine, has been dated circa 1300 as well as in the late 14th century, while it has also been doubted whether it is actually medieval at all and not a modern fake.

Although it is difficult to be certain, with the lady partly missing, it would seem that the Roskilde couple was a harmonious pair. They stand so closely together that they almost seem to be one rather than two figures, locked together as the two unified lovers in a manuscript of *Li Ars d'Amour*, thought to have been made in Artois in around 1300 (fig.12).¹⁵ On the Roskilde ivory the lady holds the falcon, while he is feeding it. It is more usual in medieval art for the falcon to be perched on the gentleman's arm. There may therefore be some significance in this, for seeking love was in medieval literature often compared to the hunt and falconry. In discussing a casket of Limoges enamel of circa 1180 in the British Museum in London, Michael Camille has drawn attention to a pair

of lovers on the right side of the casket's front. It shows a young man kneeling in front of a standing woman, who holds him by the two strings that would normally be attached to the falcon sitting perched on her left arm. According to Camille, this shows that the falcon, a symbol of male lust and desire, has been tamed by the lady, who can manipulate him at will (Camille 2000, p. 11). However, on the Roskilde handle it seems to be the other way round, with the man feeding the falcon, training it as it were (Camille 2000, p. 96-98). In this context it might be significant to note that in medieval literature there are various examples of women being likened to falcons. The 12th-century German poet Der von Kurenberg, for instance, claimed that “women, like falcons, are easily tamed. If you lure them the right way, they come to meet their man” (Cummins 1988, p. 228; Camille 2000, p. 97). The smiling nobleman, feeding the falcon on the lady's arm, seems to have caught what he was after.

One can imagine an object such as the Roskilde handle to have been given as a token of love or as marriage gift. It is just the sort of object that, again according to Capellanus, could be accepted by a lady from her lover: “a handkerchief, a fillet for the hair (a fillet or circlet is a round band worn around the head and over the hair), a wreath of gold or silver, a breastpin, a mirror, a girdle, a purse, a tassel, a comb, sleeves, gloves, a ring, a compact, a picture, a wash basin, little dishes, trays, a flag as a souvenir, and, to speak in general terms, a woman may accept from her lover any little gift which may be useful for the care of the person or pleasing to look at or which may call the lover to her mind, if it is clear that accepting the gift she is free from all avarice” (Capellanus 1960, p. 176).

As handles with more than one figure exist, it has been suggested that some of the single-figured handles may originally have formed pairs consisting of a lady with a dog and a gentleman with a falcon. However, this seems problematic as the number of falconers outnumbers all other types by far and even though in some places more than one knife hilt or hair parter has been found, these finds are usually two or three of the same type, but never a lady and gentleman. In Denmark five examples of falconer hilts have been unearthed, but not one example of a lady with a dog.

Handles shaped like falconers from Ribe, Herlufsholm, Kolding and Skanderborg

The Sydvestjyske Museer in Ribe houses two knife hilts shaped like falconers. The first of these, found in 1915, is made of ivory and was uncovered during works being carried out at the Hotel Dagmar situated along the market to the northeast of the cathedral (see fig. 1) (Bencard 1975, p. 42-43; Holtmann 1993, p. 30). The handle is 7.5 cm long and is usually dated in the first half of the 13th up to the middle of the 14th century (Bencard 1975, p. 42-43; Holtmann 1993, p. 30). In 1956 a similar handle, made of bone and 8.2 cm long, was found during digs between the Grønnegade and Præstegade (fig.13).¹⁶ Skanderborg Museum has a specimen in its collection, that is made of bone and is 4.7 cm long (fig. 4). Considering its size, it is more likely to have been part of a hair parter than a knife handle. It represents a falconer with the bird perched on the right arm. It was found on the site of



Fig. 13. A knife handle from Ribe shaped like a falconer found in 1956 during excavations carried out between Grønnegade and Præstegade. The falconer has unfortunately lost its head (Sydvestjyske Museer ASR 52/64D, R25000). Photo: SJM.

Knivskaft fra Ribe i form af falconer som har mistet hovedet. Fundet ved udgravning 1955 i området mellem Præstegade og Grønnegade.



Fig. 14. A lady falconer from Kolding found in the small town located near the royal castle of Koldinghus (Museet på Koldinghus MKH 361x2964). Photo: Museet på Koldinghus.

Kvindelig falconer fra Kolding. Fundet i den gamle bydel nær Koldinghus.

the former Benedictine nunnery of Ringkloster in 1972 and came from a burnt layer predating 1430. The object is dated in the 14th century (Bencard 1975, p. 44-45; Holtmann 1993, p. 304). Another example, of circa 1300, came to light in 1984 at Kolding, where it was found near the royal castle of Koldinghus among a pile of kitchen waste from the medieval city (fig. 14). The ivory handle is 8.5 cm high and takes the form of a crowned lady. Unfortunately, she has lost her arms and hence her hawk is missing, but the cuff of her gauntlet is apparently still visible.¹⁷ The fifth example, a bone falconer of 8.2 cm high, was discovered in 1950 near the Benedictine Skovkloster near Herlufsholm (fig. 15).¹⁸

Both falconers from Ribe and the one from Herlufsholm are wearing surcoats with notches along the sides, which mark them out as fine gentlemen and not as ordinary hunters working for a lord. Unlike the Roskilde hilt, on which the notches

are paired, the two hilts from Ribe and the Herlufsholm specimen have continuous rows of notches along the side splits. The two falconers from Skanderborg and Kolding are wearing gowns that have no splits at the sides. They could well be ladies, but unfortunately, in the period concerned (i.e. the 13th and 14th centuries) the distinction in dress and hair style of fashionable men and women was so minimal that it is often impossible to distinguish between them. Many women were, however, keen falconers and my inventory of the various knife hilts and hair parters yields several certain examples of lady falconers, i.e. at Oxford (Shire Ditch), Coventry (2001 Jordan Well/Bayley Lane excavation) (fig.16) and York.¹⁹ The give-away, in these instances, which occur mainly in England, is the veil.



Fig. 15. Falconer found at Skovkloster near Herlufsholm in 1950 (Copenhagen, Nationalmuseet inv.nr. D 13662). From Bencard 1975, p. 43.

Falconer; fundet 1950 ved Skovkloster, Herlufsholm.

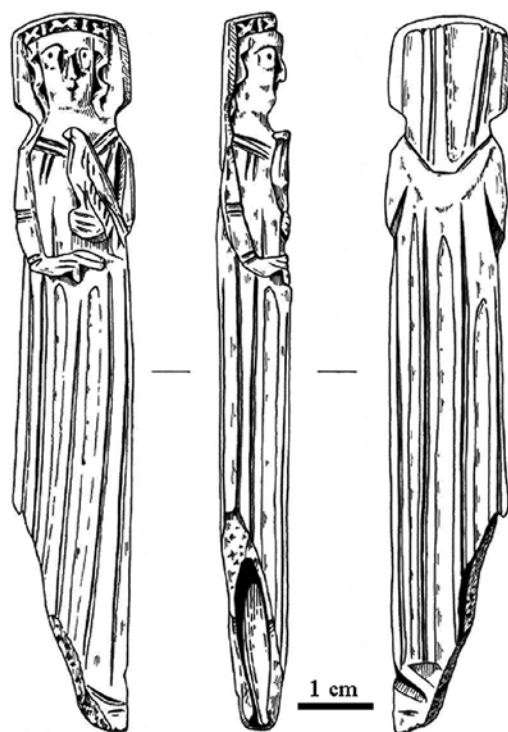


Fig. 16. Drawings of the lady falconer found in 2001 during the Jordan Well/Bayley Lane excavations at Coventry (Herbert Art Gallery and Museum AR.1958.23.1). With kind permission of the Herbert Art Gallery and Museum.

Tegning af kvindelig falconer. Fundet 2001 ved Jordan Well/Bayley Lanes udgravninger i Coventry.

Falconry and status

Ladies and gentlemen had their reasons for being interested in falconry. The keeping of birds of prey, hunting dogs and horses was one of the prerequisites of the noble way of life (van den Arend 1993, p. 25-26). In the Netherlands at least, whoever was unable to maintain such animals would move downwards on the social scale and even risked losing the privileges that came with the noble status. One of these privileges was the right to go out hunting. Hunting birds and dogs thus denoted status and were important indicators of wealth and affluence. Knights who had not as yet been officially knighted had seals made showing themselves on horseback, not with a shield and in full armour as did the true knights, but in the company of hounds and birds of prey. This type of seal was also used by ladies.²⁰

Unfortunately, the birds on the handles are usually too indistinct to be able to distinguish between them. This is a pity, for some birds of prey were considered more precious than others, as is clear from *The Boke of Saint Albans* of 1486, in which the hierarchy of hunting birds and the social ranks for which each bird was supposedly appropriate, are listed.²¹ Indeed, the idea of defining class distinctions with reference to birds of prey goes back to the 12th century at least. Interesting examples are to be found in Andreas Capellanus' *De arte honeste amandi*. In the first part of this book Capellanus sets before the reader – in the form of conversations – the conduct male lovers of various strata of society – middle class, nobility and high nobility – should adopt in conquering a lady's love. A middle class man striving to gain the affections of a lady above his station is reprimanded by her as follows: "Did a buzzard ever overcome a partridge or a pheasant by its courage? It is for falcons and hawks to capture this prey, which should not be annoyed by cowardly kites. Your folly needs to be sharply checked, because you seek a love from the upper class, although you are not worthy of her". To this the man retorts: "What you have said about the kite and the buzzard is no objection, since it is their bravery alone that makes hawks, falcons, and merlins valuable. At times we see hawks of the lighter kind by their courage take great pheasants and partridges, for a boar is often held by a fairly small dog. On the other hand, we see many gerfalcons and peregrine falcons terrified by the commonest sparrows and put to flight by a buzzard. So if the kite or the buzzard proves to be hardy and bold, different from his parents, he deserves to be honoured with the perch of the falcon or the hawk and to be carried on the warrior's left fist. So, then, if you find I am unlike my parents, you should not call me by the disgraceful name 'kite', but by the honourable one 'tercel'". However, the lady is not prepared to give in and tells the man "But even if a falcon should sometimes be put to flight by a buzzard, still the falcon is classed with the falcon and the buzzard with the buzzards – the one being called a worthless falcon and the other a very good buzzard. Similarly, your good character doesn't put you in the class with the nobles, but gets you the name of a good man of the middle

class, worthy of the love of a good woman of that same class" (Capellanus 1960, p. 46-47, 50, 52). Capellanus also considers other possibilities, like a man of the higher nobility courting a middle class woman. Again, falconry comes in useful, for the woman tells him: "What a strange tercel would we consider one who would leave the partridges, cranes and pheasants and seek his quarry among the wretched sparrows or the sons of the hens". To this the man replies: "A tercel flies better when it sees a resourceful lark than when it takes a fat quail that flies in a straight line" (Capellanus 1960, p. 84-85).

One can just imagine a gentleman and a lady discussing such matters over dinner, with one of them pricking meat from the serving dishes and dividing it up, using a pretty knife showing a male or female falconer. According to Capellanus, a nobleman should feel no compunction in seating himself next to a middle class lady in order to conduct just such a sort of conversation, even without her permission. He continues: "If they are of the same rank he may ask permission to sit beside her, and if she grants it he may sit down by her side, but not unless she does. But where the man is of lower rank than the woman, he must not ask permission to sit beside her, but he may ask to sit in a lower place. If, however, she gives him permission to sit beside her, he may without fear oblige her. Then he should begin talking ..." (Capellanus 1960, p. 62).

On the art of falconry

Hunting birds were precious gifts (Cummins 1988, p. 196-197) and were not easy to come by. Although some were caught in the wild, the finest birds came from Norway and the other Scandinavian countries and from there were brought to Flanders, the main staging-post for the falconry trade, Bruges in particular. Birds from Scandinavia and Germany were brought there and then dispersed by merchants throughout Europe, sometimes after having been trained first by trainers from Brabant. Pero López de Ayala (1332–1407), chancellor of Castile, and the greatest Spanish authority on falconry, has it that "they go to Bruges and buy many falcons to train in their own country, and when Lent arrives the birds are manned and flying, and they take them off to Paris, to England, to Cologne and to the Empire to sell them to the nobility". Another

important trading centre for birds was Königsberg, from where birds were taken all over Germany, Austria, Bohemia, Hungary, Holland, Burgundy, France and England. In England, King's Lynn was of significance for the falcon trade (Cummins 1988, p. 197-198). As a good hunting bird was a costly commodity²², animals caught in the wild, were not allowed to be kept or sold. In Holland anyone who came upon such a bird was required, according to a bill posted in 1539, to bring the bird to the court in The Hague, where the head falconer or 'stadholder' himself had the right of first purchase. This probably reflects ancient practice (Swaen 1948, p. 86; Merula 1605, 26ff.; Swaen 1937, p. 23, 26; Jelles 1968, p. 35). Being expensive, falcons were ringed and marked so that, when a bird managed to escape during training or during the hunt, the finder would know to whom to return the bird. In medieval accounts there are often entries for money being paid as a reward for the return of one or more birds (Arkenbout 1994, p. 130). In the hope of retrieving a lost falcon some owners even retorted to offering a wax effigy of the creature to the church of St. Jeroen in Noordwijk, hoping this saint, who is depicted with a falcon on his arm, would make it return. This was also done for sick falcons (Janse 2001, p. 346).

Falcons and their owners were often inseparable; the birds were taken to the table, into church and into court (Swaen 1937, p. 16). A falconer (Swaen 1937, p. 33-67) would normally have his bird perched on his left hand and hold him far-away from his face, lest the bird would peck at him. Birds of prey are said to hate the human countenance. Because of their sharp claws, wearing a gauntlet was imperative. Around his legs the bird received jesses, strips of soft leather that were thin at one end. The broad part was draped round the bird's leg and fixed by threading the strips through two slits in the leather. Wearing his jesses the bird could now be held. The jesses were usually fitted out with a ring or something like it to affix the leash, again strips of leather, about a meter long, which served to tie the bird to its perch or to the cadge with which he was transported. The bird was also made to wear a bell on one or both of his legs so that it could be easily retrieved once it had been set free. The bells also warned the falconer that the bird was growing



Fig. 17. A falconer found at Zürich on the Rindermarkt 7, during excavations carried out in 1993/1994 on the ground storey of the 'Haus zum Pilgrimstab'. a. Front. b. Side. Photo: Claude Bornand, Lausanne.

Falkoner, fundet 1993/94 i stueetagen i "Haus zum Pilgrimstab", Rindermarkt 7, Zürich. a. front, b. side.

restless and action was required. On setting out for a hunt, the bird wore a hood covering his eyes to keep him calm. Only when a prey had been spotted would the hood be removed and the bird set free by loosening his jesses. If the bird was successful in bringing the prey down, the hounds would take over. The falconer then had to lure back the bird, following which the bird was rewarded, hooded and tied to the leash (Wooley 2002, p. 39-40).

Of the five Danish falconers only the one discovered in Ribe in 1915 shows up sufficient detail to make out the bird's attire. The falconer is shown carrying the bird on his gloved left hand, holding it in check by manipulating the leash (Bencard 1975, p. 42-43). The falconer from Herlufsholm is far more schematized. He has the bird on his right hand which considering its rather coarse form is probably meant to look as if he is wearing a gauntlet. With his left hand he seems to be feeding the bird. Coarser yet is the second, headless falconer from Ribe, who once probably looked rather like the Herlufsholm specimen. The gloved hand and the bird can only be identified with knowledge of the finer examples of the falconer handles. The specimen in the Skanderborg museum is of finer workmanship, as is the specimen from Kolding that has lost her arms and falcon, which must have been rendered in quite a simple fashion as there is no evidence for the leash with which the bird was held. The leash is also lacking on the handle from Ringkloster, where the bird sits perched on the lady's gloved right hand.

It would therefore seem that the 1915 Ribe knife handle is closest to the Parisian originals, while the other examples are more degraded, both from a stylistic and an iconographical point of view. This is not to say that they were made locally as very similar hilts have been found in Gent and Bruges (Belgium), while a slightly less schematized parallel has been found in Zürich (fig.17a and b).

Conclusion

The falconer hilts, whether from knives or 'gravoirs', represent a very interesting type of elite object that, although not unique, still has a lot to say for itself. First of all they attest to the spread of Parisian fashions throughout western Europe. During this process the high-quality Parisian handles were copied by local craftsmen and copies made of the copies. They also reflect the taste for hunting, good dining and dress of 13th- and 14th-century men and women of the higher echelons of society. The possession of such a knife or gravoir marked out its owner as a man or lady of fashion and good taste. As such they give us a very personal insight in the daily life of 13th- and 14th century fashionable society.

Endnotes

1. A little earlier (1974) than Bencard's article is that by Lech Leciejewicz, who took a specimen from the castle mound at Stettin (Szczecin, Poland) as his point of departure, cf. L. Leciejewicz, 'O Pochodzeniu Rogowej Rze'by Ze Wzgórza Zamkowego W Szczecinie', in: *Studia Archeologica Poneranica* 12, 1974, 177-188.
2. Publication forthcoming. I would hereby like to thank Marie-Christine Laleman and Maarten Berkens (Zwarte Doos, Gent in Belgium) for drawing my attention to these two objects.
3. K. Marquardt, *Europäisches Essbesteck aus acht Jahrhunderten. Eine Kunstsammlung*, Stuttgart 1997, 22; M. de Neergaard, 'The use of knives, shears, scissors and scabbards', in: J. Cowgill, M. de Neergaard & N. Griffiths et al., *Knives and Scabbards. Medieval Finds from Excavations in London: 1*, Museum of London 2000 (2008), 51-61 and specifically 53-55.
4. F. O. Grew, 'Introduction', in: J. Cowgill, M. De Neergaard & N. Griffiths et al., *Knives and Scabbards. Medieval Finds from Excavations in London: 1*, Museum of London 2000 (2008), XI-XIII.
5. Unfortunately, in many cases – especially where the older finds are concerned – little is known of the circumstances in which they came to light.
6. Accounts 1352 en 1353, cf. Koechlin 1924, I, 420.
7. With many thank to Paul Thompson, Keeper of Collections, Herbert Art Gallery & Museum, Coventry.
8. Holtmann 1993, 297. The lady disappeared in 1973. At present one has to make do with the slightly-reconstructed replica.
9. Only Holtmann seems to doubt the Parisian provenance of the motif, as in his view, there is not one example that can with any certainty be traced to a Parisian context. However, Holtmann looked only at Knife hilts and not at gravoirs. The high-quality gravoirs seem to be the oldest examples of the falconer- and lady-with-dog type and on the whole seem to come from France. In my view there is no rea-

- son to doubt the Parisian origins of the type.
10. This problem was already mentioned by MARQUARDT 1997, 14.
 11. Copenhagen, Danish National Museum inv. nr. D 998. BENCARD 1975, 43-44; Holtmann 1993, 305; BURROWS et al. 2002, 210.
 12. BURROWS et al. 1993, 208-221 and specifically 217.
 13. For the smile in medieval art, cf. W. WILHELMY (ed.), *Seliges Lächeln und höllisches Gelächter. Das Lachen in Kunst und Kultur des Mittelalters*, Mainz 2012.
 14. Turin, Museo Civico d'Arte Antica, inv. nr. 158/AV.
 15. Brussels Bibliothèque Royale Albert I KBB, ms. 9543, fol. 22v
 16. Ribe, Sydvestjyske Museer ASR 52/64D, R25000, cf. Bencard 1974, 43; Holtmann 1993, 304.
 17. V. Jensen, 'En højbjåren jomfru', *Skalk* 1986-2, 2-7; V. Jensen, 'Et knivskæft fra Kolding', *Årbog, Museet på Koldinghus* 1987, 19-21.
 18. Copenhagen, Danish National Museum inv. nr. D 13662, cf. BENCARD 1974, 44; Holtmann 1993, 304.
 19. It was found during excavations carried out in 2000-2002 at Blue Bridge Lane & Fishergate House, cf. <http://www.archaeologicalplanningconsultancy.co.uk/mono/001/index.html>. In Southampton (St. Michael's House, cf. M.A. Hall, 'An Ivory Knife Handle from the High Street, Perth, Scotland: Consuming Ritual in a Medieval Burgh', *Medieval Archaeology* 45, 2001, 169-188 and specifically 176), Rotterdam, Castle Bourscheid in Luxemburg, Lund and Schwerin the knife handles are said to depict female falconers (Burrows et al. 2002, 215). In London a gravoire was found showing a female falconer.
 20. T. Diederich, 'Grundzüge des Siegelwesens im ausgehenden 13. Jahrhundert', in: W. Schäfke, *Der Name der Freiheit 1288/1988. Aspekte Kölner Geschichte von Worringen bis heute*, Exhibition catalogue Stadtmuseum Keulen 1988, 83-104; R. van Uytven, *De papegaai van de paus. Mens en dier in de Middeleeuwen*, Zwolle 2003, 117.
 21. A.E.H. Swaen, *De valkerij in de Nederlan-*

den, Zutphen 1937, 67. This list is apparently not entirely correct.

22. For the cost of hunting birds cf. Cummins 1988, 199.

Catalogue

France

1. Angers, gravoire found in 1985. Lady with dog, 13th or 14th C. Bone, 10.7 cm long including the pin (the lady measures 5.6 cm) and a width that varies between 1.4 and 0.9 cm. Lit.: F. Comte & D. Gaborit-Chopin, 'Un gravoire médiéval au faubourg de l'Evière d'Angers (Maine et Loire)', *Revue Archéologique de l'Ouest* 4, 1987, 149-152.
2. Hargicourt, gravoire from the maison forte 'La Cologne'. Headless figure with book, 14.6 cm long including the pin. Lit.: D. Bayard & E. Mantel, 'La maison forte de "La Cologne" à Hargicourt (Aisne). Etude du mobilier', *Revue Archéologique de Picardie*, 1989-3, nr. 3-4, 178-180, fig. 20.1.
3. Niort (Musée du Pilon), ivory knife handle found in 1864 at Bernard showing a piper with a dog (Vendée). Lit.: C. Homo-Lechner, 'De l'usage de la cornemuse dans les banquettes: quelques exemples du XIV^e au XV^e siècle', *Imago Musicae* IV, 1987, 111-119.
4. Paris (Musée de Cluny CL 376, inv.nr. cat. du Sommerard nr. 1068). Gravoire showing two animated figures sitting on a bench placed above a foliate capital. The man is playing a pan flute; the lady, who carries a dog, seems to be clapping her hands. Ivory, 22 cm long including the pin (the figures are 4.5 cm high). Lit.: Koechlin 1924, nr. 1131.
5. Paris (Musée de Cluny, inv.nr. cat. du Sommerard 1086). Lady with dog and gentleman with falcon, 1st half 14th C. 16.9 cm long. Lit.: Bencard 1975, 53; Howe 1983, 148-149.
6. Paris (Musée de Cluny, inv.nr. cat. du Sommerard 8045). Gravoire with a crowned lady falconer, found in the River Seine near Paris. Ivory or bone, 9 cm long, probably made in Paris, 2nd quarter 14th century. Lit.: Koechlin 1924, nr. 1124.
7. Parijs (Musée de Cluny, inv.nr. cat. du Sommerard 8044). Lady knife hilt found in the

- River Seine, 7 cm long, 2nd quarter 14th C. Lit.: Koechlin 1924, nr. 1125.
8. Paris (coll. Mutiaux Anc. Coll. Gay cat.nr. 82). Lady with dog found in the Seine at the foot of the Tour de Nesle. Ivory, 5.8 cm, mid 14th C. Lit.: Koechlin 1924, nr. 1122.
 9. Paris (Musée du Louvre inv.nr. 6268). Gravoir showing a seated king with to his right a praying man and above, in front of the king, a praying lady on whose back the king has placed his left hand. Ivory, 7.9 x 1.9 x 1.8cm. Late 13th or 14th C. Lit.: Koechlin 1924, nr. 1143.
 10. Paris (Musée du Louvre OA 6269). Gravoir of circa 1300-1330 showing a lady and a gentleman who has folded his left arm round her back. She has her hands folded as if in prayer. The lower parts are heavily-damaged. Ivory, 8.2 x 3.5 x 1 cm. Lit.: D. Gaborit-Chopin, *Ivoires médiévaux, Ve-XVe siècle*, Paris 2003, nr. 133.
 11. Paris (Musée du Louvre. On loan to the Musée national du Moyen Âge-Musée de Cluny OA 7281). A man kneeling in front of a lady and gazing up at her. Ivory, 17 x 1.8 x 1.,7 cm. Lit.: Koechlin 1924, nr. 1134.
 12. Paris (Musée du Louvre. On loan to the Musée national du Moyen Âge-Musée de Cluny OA OA 156). Gravoir showing a lady crowing a man above a foliate capital. Ivory, 24 cm, mid 13th C. Lit.: Koechlin 1924, nr. 1136.
 13. Lille (Musée d'Archéologie). Falconer found at Arras. Ivory, 9 cm long, early 14th C. Lit: Koechlin 1924, nr. 1120; Bencard 1975, 50; Holtmann 1993, 306.
 14. Lille (coll. E. Théodore). Crowned falconer from the River Deule near the castle of Bergneau near Lille. 9.2 cm long, late 13th C. Lit: Koechlin 1924, nr. 1119bis; Bencard 1975, 50; Holtmann 1993, 306.
 15. Rouen (Museum). Ivory knife hilt with a lady and dog. Lit.: Holtmann 1993, 306-307.
 16. Saint-Denis, gravoir with a man reading a book, 13th or 14th C. Lit.: J.-F. Goret, 'Os, bois de cervidés et ivoire. Le mobilier en matières d'origine animale à Saint-Denis', in: *Dossiers d'Archéologie* nr. 297, Octobre 2004, 116-117.
 17. Saint-Denis, knife hilt showing a scarcely-dressed man playing dice. Lit.: J.-F. Goret, 'Os, bois de cervidés et ivoire. Le mobilier en matières d'origine animale à Saint-Denis', in: *Dossiers d'Archéologie* nr. 297, Octobre 2004, 116-117; H. Janssen, 'Een middeleeuwse dobbelaar? Een benen voorwerp uit de Zuidwal', *Bossche Bladen* 2002, 100-101.
 18. Strasbourg (Musée de l'Oeuvre Notre-Dame MAD IL.53). Knife hilt showing a standing lady with long pleat at the back and a lily in her hand, 13th C. Bone, 7.4 x 2 x 1.1 cm. Lit.: http://www.gothicivories.courtauld.ac.uk/images/ivory/d3b6eb28_483de26d.html
- Belgium and Luxemburg**
19. Antwerp (Museum Mayer van den Bergh MMB.0447). Gravoir with a lady holding a box, 14th C. Ivory, 15.7 cm including the pin. Lit.: J. de Coo, *Catalogue du Musée Mayer van den Bergh*, Antwerp 1933, nr. 221; S. Vandenberghe, *Ivoor in Brugge. Schatten uit musea, kerken en kloosters*, Museum-Bulletin 30-2, Bruges 2010, 14-15.
 20. Bruges. Headless gravoir shaped like a falconer found in 2004 to the north of the main building of the Prinsenhof. Bone, 6.7 cm. Lit.: Raakvlak Nieuwsbrief 28-7-2004.
 21. Bruges (Stedelijk Museum). Gravoir showing a figure with a box found in 1990 along the Garenmarkt in a 14th-century ditch. Bone or ivory, 16 cm with the pin. Lit.: Stedelijke Musea Bruges. Kunstwerk van de maand 98, februari 1991; Vandenberghe 2010, 14-15.
 22. Bruges. Gravoir with a crowned king carrying a dog found in the Oosterlingenplaats.
 23. Brussels (Musée des Arts Décoratifs). Knife hilt with a lady and dog. 9.4 cm long. Lit.: Koechlin 1924, nr. 1121.
 24. Gent. Falconer found at the back yard of Savaanstraat 118. Ivory, 6.7 cm.
 25. Gent. Falconer found in the church of Scalded Carmelites in a layer predating the church. Ivory, 8.6 cm.
 26. Hoeke (private collection). Standing falconer with crown. No further data are available.

27. Liège (Musée Curtius). Falconer knife hilt from a private collection, Bone, 8.7 cm. Lit.: Koechlin 1924, nr. 7476; Bencard 1975, 49-51.
28. Liège (Musée Curtius). Gravoir with a lady holding a box. Lit.: Vandenberghe 2010, 14-15.
29. Malines. Lady with dog found at the Ganzendries (MGNK/4/1087) in a 14th-century context.
30. Luxembourg. Lady falconer with bag found at castle Bourscheid. 7.8 cm. Lit.: Keck 1999, 44; Burrows et al. 2002, 219.
38. Essen (Ruhrlanmuseum). Copy of a knife hilt showing a lady with dog, found in 1929/1932 at the Isenburg Castle (Bredene/ Stadtwald) under the one remaining window of the palace building. The original vanished in the 1970s. Bone, 8.2 cm. Lit.: E. Kahrs, *Aus Essens Vor- und Frühgeschichte*, o.J., 68ff.; Holtmann 1993, 297; Burrows et al. 2002, 218.

Netherlands

31. 's-Heerenbergh (Huis Bergh, inv.nr. 0211-0395). Lady with dog and an animal on her shoulder, 1350-1375, acquired from Dr. Koch in Münster at an unknown date. Ivory, 8.8 cm long.
32. 's-Hertogenbosch (depot BAM, inv.nr. 6825). Gravoir with a lady's head and dice found in 1989 during an excavation along the Zuidwal, circa 1275-1350. Ivory, 15 cm long, 1.8 cm wide. Lit.: H. Janssen, 'Een middeleeuwse dobbelaar? Een benen voorwerp uit de Zuidwal', *Bosche Bladen* 2002, 100-101.
33. Leeuwarden (Fries Museum inv.nr. FM 2773). Crowned falconer found in 1922 on the site of the Nijeklooster, founded in 1231 at Scharnegoutum. Ivory, 7.9 cm. Lit.: Bencard 1975, 51-52; Burrows et al. 2002, 219.
34. Leeuwarden (Fries Museum inv.nr. FM 1656). Falconer of unknown provenance. Bone, 7.8 cm. Lit.: Bencard 1975, 51; Burrows et al. 2002, 219.
35. Rotterdam (Boymans van Beuningen, coll. J.W. Frederiks). Lady with dog. Lit.: Keck 1999, 43; Burrows et al. 2002, 219.
39. Greifswald (inv.nr. ALM 1995/1820, 9761). Falconer with cap on his head found in 1996 in the Rotgerberstrasse/ Weissgerberstrasse area. Horn, 6.6 cm. Lit.: Burrows et al. 2002, 213.
40. Greifswald (inv.nr. ALM 2001/355, 1). Headless falconer found in 2001 in the Kapaunenstrasse 8-9. Horn, 7.4 cm. Lit.: Burrows et al. 2002, 213-214.
41. Hamburg (Museum Hamburgische Geschichte inv.nr. 1926: 164), 8.1 cm tall falconer of the 2nd half of the 13th century wearing an apron, found between 1880/1890 in the custom's harbour. Lit.: Leciejewicz 1974, 183 ff.; Bencard 1975, 52-53; Holtmann 1993, 296; Marquardt 1997, cat.nr. 28; Burrows et al. 2002, 218.
42. Cologne (Kunstgewerbemuseum), falconer. Lit.: C. Gasser, 'Messergrieff mit Falknerdarstellung', in: J. Riedmann (red.), *Eines Fürsten Traun. Meinhard II. – Das Werden Tirols. Katalog der Tiroler Landesausstellung* 1995, 205 nr. 6-41.
43. Lübeck. Lady with dog found in a bone workshop in the Hundestrasse 9-17. Bone, 2nd half 13th C. Lit.: Holtmann 1993, 296.
44. Magdeburg (Kunsthistorisches Museum 79:253), knife hilt with headless lady with dog, found in Schwibbogen 9, a street of the old market, 2nd half 13th or 14th C. Antler, 7.3 cm high. Lit.: Puhle 2009, 546-547.

Germany

36. Berlin (Skulpturensammlung und Museum für Byzantinische Kunst Inv. 06/58). Lady falconer, 14th C. Bone, 9.5 x 1.6 x 0.8 cm.
37. Dobbartin (inv.nr. ALM 2001/2056, 252). Falconer found in 1993 in the cloisters of Dobbartin nunnery, late 13th C. Bone, 7.9 cm. Lit.: Burrows et al. 2002, 211-213.
45. Nürnberg (Germanisches Nationalmuseum inv.nr. PL.O 381), knife hilt with falconer, 2nd quarter 14th C. Deer bone, 9.3 x 2.4 cm. Lit.: H. Stafski, *Die mittelalterlichen Bildwerke I. Die Bildwerke in Stein, Holz, Ton und Elfenbein bis um 1450*, Katalog Germanisches Nationalmuseum Nürnberg, Nürnberg 1965, nr. 214; Burrows et al. 2002, 218.

46. Schleswig. Damaged lady with dog, late 13th C. 8.3 cm long. Lit.: Burrows et al. 2002, 218.
47. Schwerin (Staatliches Museum ALM 1996/198, 134). Headless falconer from Rostock, Anklam, 2nd half 13th or 14th century. 8.5 cm long. Lit.: Burrows et al. 2002, 218; Puhle 2009, 547.
48. Schwerin (Landesamt für Kultur und Denkmalpflege ALM 1996/198.134). Lady with dog found in the Grubenstrasse 19-23/corner Krämerstrasse in Rostock in 1996, 2nd half 13th C. Bone or ivory, 9.4 cm. Lit.: Burrows et al. 2002, 208-211; Puhle 2009, 547.
49. Seehausen (Uckermark). Man with book or lute found in the Cistercian nunnery of Seehausen. Lit.: R. Jaitner & G. Kohn, *Ein wüsters Zisterserkloster bei Seehausen in der Uckermark*, Prenzlau 1996, Burrows et al. 2002, 218.
50. Stralsund (whereabouts unknown). Falconer, 9.1 cm long. Lit.: Marquardt 1997, cat. nr. 27.

Switzerland and Austria

51. Basel (Historisches Museum). Falconer found in 1928 at the 'Hinterer Eptingerhof', Bäumleingasse 20. Ivory, 9.9 cm long. Lit.: Reallexikon der Deutschen Kunstgeschichte VI, 1973, 1270 fig. 15; Burrows et al. 2002, 220.
52. Geneva (Musée d'art et d'histoire F 147). Mary and child, mid 14th C. Ivory, 9.9-10 cm. Lit.: Koechlin 1924, nr. 1144.
53. Geneva (Musée d'art et d'histoire AD 6150). Hilt showing a man trying to rape a woman, date unclear. Ivory, 8.4-8.7 cm x 2.4 x 0.9-1.1 cm. Lit.: N. Piano, 'La Collection d'ivoires médiévaux du musée d'art et d'histoire de Genève', in: *Genava* LV, 2007, 156-157, nr. 12.
54. Steyr (Austria). Lady with organ found at the castle, late 14th C. Bone. Lit.: Koechlin 1924, nr. 1126.
55. Zürich. Falconer found in 1993/1994 at the Haus zum Pilgrimstab, Rindermarkt 7, early 14th C. Bone, 6.8 cm long. Lit.: G. Keck 1997/1998; Burrows et al. 2002, 220.
56. Vienna (Österreichisches Museum für Angewandte Kunst inv.nr. F 172). Falconer, 14th C. Lit.: Burrows et al. 2002, 219.

England

57. Chichester, knife hilt showing a lady without attributes, found during excavations in Fishbourne 1969-1988. Bone, circa 9 cm high. Lit.: B.W. Cunliffe, A.G. Down & D.J. Rudkin, *Chichester Excavations IX. Excavations at Fishbourne 1969-1988*, Chichester 2000, 210 fig. 1.
58. Coventry (Herbert Art Gallery and Museum AR.1958.23.1). Lady falconer found in 2001 during the Jordan Well/Bayley Lane excavations, 13th C. Bone.
59. Coventry (Herbert Art Gallery and Museum). Knife hilt with schematic lady, together with scabbard, found during the Much Park Street excavations (1986.85.21).
60. Hull, High Street. Knife hilt with 'green man' found in a 14th-century context. Lit.: Hall 2001, 176-177.
61. London (British Museum). Gravoire with lady falconer found in London and donated to the museum in 1900, mid 14th C. Ivory, 11.3 cm long. Lit.: Koechlin 1924, nr. 1123; Burrows et al. 2002, 219.
62. London (private collection). Gravoire with a couple praying on a foliate capital. The lady has a lapdog; the man a prominent purse on his belt. Ivory 13,8 x 2.1 x 0.6 cm. Lit.: Koechlin 1924, nr. 1135.
63. Ludgershall Castle north of Salisbury. Lady falconer found in the north enclosure dump F991, 13th or 14th C. Antler. Lit.: A. MacGregor 'Objects of bone, antler and ivory', in: P. Ellis (red.), *Ludgershall Castle. Excavations by Peter Addyman 1964 - 1972*, London 2000, 163 and 165, fig. 6.46; Hall 2001, 176-177.
64. Oxford (Ashmolean Museum inv.nr. 13a). Crowned falconer from Shire Ditch. Ivory, 8.4 cm long. Lit.: Bencard 1975, 48-49 and 51; Holtmann 1993, 306; Burrows et al. 2002, 219.
65. Peterborough (City Museum and Art Gallery). Falconer from Crowland Abbey. Bone, 9.45 cm long, 1.9 cm wide. Lit.: Howe 1983, 146-150; Burrows et al. 2002, 219.
66. Southampton. Lady falconer found in 1972 in a 13th-century context at St. Michael's House. Lit.: Hall 2001, 176-177.

67. York. Lady falconer, 14th C, found in 2000-2002 during the Blue Bridge Lane/Fishergate House excavations in York on the site of a former Gilbertine nunnery.

Norway

68. Oslo (University Museum inv.nr. C 23825). Worn half-figure of a falconer found at Oslo, Gamlebyen. Walrus, 5.2 cm long. Lit.: Bencard 1975, 45-46; Holtmann 1993, 299; Burrows et al. 2002, 219.

Sweden

69. Åhus. Falconer, 9 cm. Lit.: Burrows et al. 2002, 219.
70. Kalmar (Skansen). Crowned female figure with long plaited hair found in the "Schloßbucht". Wood, 10.3 cm long. Lit.: Holtmann 1993, 300-301.
71. Lund (Museum Kulturen inv.nr. KM 12790). Falconer, 1300 to early 14th C. Ivory, 8.1 cm. Lit.: Bencard 1975, 48; Holtmann 1993, 302; Burrows et al. 2002, 220; Puhle 2009, 544-545.
72. Lund (Museum Kulturen inv.nr. KM 5157). Falconer found in a cesspit in 18 found at 90. Bone, 8.9 cm long. Lit.: Bencard 1975, 47-48; Holtmann 1993, 303; Burrows et al. 2002, 220.
73. Lund (Museum Kulturen inv.nr. KM 16828). Headless figure found at Lilla Fiskaregatan 8. Bone, 8.6 cm long. Lit.: Bencard 1975, 47; Holtmann 1993, 303; Burrows et al. 2002, 220.
74. Stockholm (Statens Historiska Museum inv. nr. 2918: 5:5). Falconer with headdress Skåne (= Schonen), circa 1300-1400. Walrus. Lit.: Bencard 1975, 46-47; Holtmann 1993, 305; Burrows et al. 2002, 219.
75. Stockholm (Statens Historiska Museum inv. nr. 1304: 1834: 64). Crowned falconer from Kalmar (Skansen), 13th or 14th C. Bone, 10 cm long. Lit.: Bencard 1975, 46; Holtmann 1993, 300-301; Burrows et al. 2002, 219.
76. Stockholm (Statens Historiska Museum inv. nr. 1304: 1834: 17). Headless falconer from Kalmar (Skansen), circa 1300. Lit.: Bencard 1975, 46; Holtmann 1993, 300-301; Burrows et al. 2002, 219.

77. Stockholm (Statens historiska museum inv. nr. 1985:1850:14). Man holding square object found in the old city, Kalmar (Skansen). Bone, 10.4 cm long. Lit.: Holtmann 1993, 300-301.
78. Stockholm (Statens historiska museum inv. nr. 1304:1836:70). Man holding square object found in the old city, Kalmar (Skansen). Bone, 9.6 cm long. Lit.: Holtmann 1993, 300-301.
79. Stockholm (Statens historiska museum inv. nr. 1304:1838:72). Damaged man holding square object found in the old city, Kalmar (Skansen). Bone, 7.6 cm long. Lit.: Holtmann 1993, 300-301.
80. Stockholm (Statens Historiska Museum). Bagpipe player, found in the Silbergasse at Visby (Gotland) in 1934. Bone, 9.7 cm long. Lit.: Holtmann 1993, 300.
81. Stockholm (Statens Historiska Museum inv. nr. 6819:639). Headless lady with dog and another dog at her feet of unknown provenance. Bone, 7.6 cm long. Lit.: <http://www.kringla.nu/kringla/objekt?text=knivskaft&filter=thumbnailExists%3Dj&filter=fromPeriodName%3Dh%C3%B6gmedeltid&referens=shm/object/115078>
82. Stockholm (Statens Historiska Museum inv. nr. 7764:174). Knife handle shaped like lady found in 1885 at Falkenberg's hus in Miljö, 13th or 14th C. Bone. Lit.: <http://www.kringla.nu/kringla/objekt?text=knivskaft&filter=thumbnailExists%3Dj&filter=fromPeriodName%3Dh%C3%B6gmedeltid&referens=shm/object/115506>

Denmark

83. Ålborg (Ålborg Museum eller Nordjyllands Museum ÅHM 5698X0871). Standing bishop with book and mitre found in 2007 at Algade 9 in the remains of a 14th-century house in the centre of Ålborg near Gråbrødre-kloster, circa 1300. Bone or antler, 8.3 cm high.
84. Lilleborg, Bornholm (The National Museum of Denmark. Find number: C287, D1903/1957. Journal nr.: 559/57). Damaged standing lady found in the 1950s during excavations in piles of soil, out of archaeological

- cal context. 9.3 cm long, 2 cm wide and 1 cm thick.
85. Copenhagen (Nationalmuseet inv.nr. D 998). Crowned falconer and lady, found at Roskilde in 1875 during excavations at Gottorpsvänge, 14th C. Ivory (?), 8.6 cm long. Lit.: Bencard 1975, 43-44; Holtmann 1993, 305; Burrows et al. 2002, 210.
 86. Copenhagen (Nationalmuseet inv.nr. D 13662). Falconer found at Skovkloster near Herlufsholm in 1950. Bone, 8.2 cm long. Lit.: Leciejewicz 1973, note 14 183; Bencard 1975, 44; Holtmann 1993, 304.
 87. Ribe (Sydvestjyske Museer ASR M5836). Falconer knife hilt, found in 1915 during works carried out at the Hotel Dagmar on the market, northeast of the cathedral, 1st half 13th to mid 14th C. Ivory, 7.5 cm long. Lit.: Bencard 1975, 42-43; Howe 1983; Holtmann 1993, 303.
 88. Ribe (Sydvestjyske Museer ASR 52/64D, R25000). Headless falconer, knife hilt found in 1956 during excavations between Grønne-gade and Præstegade. Bone, 8.2 cm long. Lit.: Bencard 1974, 43; Holtmann 1993, 304.
 89. Roskilde. Knight with shield, found at Fruegade near Our Lady's Church that was once connected to a Cistercian nunnery. Bone, 9 cm long. Lit.: Holtmann 1993, 305.
 90. Skanderborg Museum (SBM M1 AD). Knife hilt with falconer found in 1972 on the terrain of Ringkloster near Skanderborg in a burnt layer dating from before 1430, 14th C. Bone, 4.7 cm long. Lit.: Leciejewicz 1974, 183; Bencard 1975, 44-45; Holtmann 1993, 304.
 91. Koldinghus Museum (MKH 361x2964). Crowned lady falconer of circa 1300 found in the town situated near royal castle of Koldinghus amidst kitchen waste. Ivory, 8.5 cm. Lit.: Jensen 1986, 2-7; Jensen 1987, 19-21.

Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania

92. Riga. Falconer found in 1959 in the Albert-platz. 8.3 cm long. Early 13th C. Lit.: Leciejewicz 1974, 180 ff.; Bencard 1975, 54; Holtmann 1993, 298; Burrows et al. 2002, 219.
93. Riga. Crowned falconer found in 1972 in the

Trok'nja-Straße. 8 cm long, early 13th C. Lit.: Leciejewicz 1974, 180 ff.; Bencard 1975, 54; Holtmann 1993, 298; Burrows et al. 2002, 219.

94. Tallinn (until 1918 Reval). Lady with dog found in 1953 in the Ratusow Square. 7 cm, 13th C. Lit.: Leciejewicz 1974, 182; Holtmann 1993, 298; Burrows et al. 2002, 219.
95. Tartu. Lady with dog and a squirrel on her shoulder. 7.4 cm long. Lit.: Burrows et al. 2002, 219.
96. Tartu. Two-sided hilt with St. George on one and St. John-the-Baptist on the other side, 13th or 14th C. Lit.: Burrows et al. 2002, 219.

Poland en Russia

97. Stettin (Szczecin). Headless falconer with apron, found in 1951 on the castle mound, early 13th C. Antler, 6.9 cm long. In 1951 op kasteelberg gevonden. Lit.: Leciejewicz 1974, 187-188; Bencard 1975, 54; Holtmann 1993, 297; Burrows et al. 2002, 219.
98. Petersburg (Hermitage). Falconer and lady with dog, 8 cm high. Lit.: Bencard 1975, 54-55; Burrows et al. 2002, 219.
99. Rostow/Wolga. Crowned figure, excavated in the vicinity of the church of St. Gregory, 13th C. Lit.: Leciejewicz 1974, 182-183; Holtmann 1993, 299.

Czech Republic and Hungary

100. Vysoké Mýto. Falconer with dog, found in the region of Wildenschwert (Usti nad Orlici) in northeastern Bohemia. Cow bone, 8.9 cm long. Lit.: P. Sommera, 'Strenka ve tvaru sokolníka z Vysokého Mýta - Messergriff in der Form eines Falkners aus Vysoké Mýto', *Praehistorica VIII, Varia archaeologica* 2, 1981, 315-318.
101. Budapest (Kunstgewerbemuseum). Lute-playing lady of unknown provenance. 18cm long including blade. Lit.: G. Benker, *Alte Bestecke*, München 1978., fig. 21.

Italy

- Turin (Museo Civico d'Arte Antica inv.nr. 158/AV), gravoire showing Tristan and Isolde, 14th C. Lit.: Koechlin 1924, nr. 1137.

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SAMMENFATNING

Om seks danske knivskafter eller hårdelere udformede som falkonerer

Artiklen tager udgangspunkt i seks håndtag udformede som falkonerer, fundet forskellige steder i Danmark (fig. 1, 4, 8, 13, 14, 15). Der er to fund fra Ribe, samt fund fra Ringkloster ved Skanderborg, Koldinghus og Skovkloster ved Herlufsholm. Et meget usædvanligt eksemplar, med to figurer, stammer fra Roskilde. Håndtagene er på ingen måde unikke. Der er fundet sådanne antropomorfe (forestillende mennesker) knivskafter og hårdelere over hele Europa. Kataloget omfatter over 100 eksemplarer, og der kan sandsynligvis tilføjes flere. Falkoner håndtagene sad på knive eller gravoirs (hårdelere), og dateres mellem 1250-1350, hovedsagelig ud fra stilistiske træk, samt ud fra figurerens påklædning og frisurer.

De tidligste håndtag til knive og hårdelere er generelt af meget høj kvalitet, og figurerne er meget detaljeret gengivet. De blev sandsynligvis fremstillet på bestilling, og viser en varieret ikonografi. Der er eksempler med figurer der forestiller Tristan og Isolde, elskende par, falkonerer, damer med hunde og musikanter, variationerne er mange (fig. 1-17). Nogle få er af religiøs karakter. Formodentlig blev disse fornemme genstande fremstillet i Paris, hvor kunsten at udføre udskårne elfenbensarbejder i perioden 1250-1400 nåede et meget højt kunstnerisk niveau og dannede forbillede i resten af Europa.

Det ser ud til, at de smukkeste eksemplarer blev lavet til det franske hof eller var kopier af sådanne. Af de mange forskellige typer er falkoneren den mest udbredte (fig. 1, 3, 4, 8, 13, 14, 15, 16, og 17), tæt fulgt af damen med skødehunden på armen (fig. 6, 7). Disse to typer var meget populære og blev efterhånden masseproduceret over hele Europa af lokale håndværkere, og det førte til en stor forskel og bredde i den kunstneriske kvalitet. Og disse kopier blev også kopieret.... Kopierne af de parisiske elfenbensarbejder blev ofte fremstillet af mindre kostbare typer ben eller horn. For de danske funds vedkommende er Ribe knivskaftet

som blev fundet i 1915 det, der kommer tættest på de parisiske originaler (fig. 1), mens de øvrige er af en lavere kvalitet både ud fra et stilistisk og ikonografisk synspunkt.

Selvom de på ingen måde er unikke, er falkoner skafterne meget interessante genstande som fortjener vores opmærksomhed. Ikke kun fordi de var med til at sprede de parisiske moder over hele Vesteuropa i højmiddelalderen, men også fordi deres ikonografi afspejler forkærligheden for jagt, spisekultur og klædedragt hos mænd og kvinder i samfundets højere lag i det 13. og 14. århundrede. At eje en sådan kniv eller hårdeler signalerede til omverdenen at ejeren var en mand eller dame med sans for mode og god smag. På den måde giver de os indsigt i det personlige hverdagsliv i de velstående samfundslag i det 13. og 14. århundrede.

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