

## Bilag

### Bilag 1. Priser fra falkemarkedet

#### Falke solgt i udlandet

van Oorschot [1] angiver følgende priser på falke og høge, formentlig ikke afrettede (i Nederlandene, i gylden):

		1586	1636
Gerfalkehun,	under 1 år	66-10*	65
Gerfalkehan,	under 1 år	50	66-10*
Gerfalkehun,	1-2 år	75	75
Gerfalkehan,	1-2 år	60	60
Vandrefalkehun,	under 1 år	60	60
Vandrefalkehan,	under 1 år	20	20
Vandrefalkehun,	1-2 år	75	75
Vandrefalkehan,	1-2 år	25	20
Duehøgehun,	under 1 år	35	35
Duehøgehan,	under 1 år	25	25
Duehøgehun,	1-2 år	25	25
Duehøgehan,	1-2 år	20	25

\*) 66 gylden og 10 styver. (20 styver = 1 gylden).

Kursen var: 100 gylden = 47 Rdl [2].

Priserne ses at være forbavsende konstante gennem de 50 år. Bemærk, at duehøge noteres i ret pæne priser, og at de bedste vandrefalke er lige så dyre som de bedste gerfalke.

Nogle af disse tal kan underbygges som følger: "...den ældgamle såkaldte kejserpris" for et par gerfalke (han og hun) var i 1768 53 Rdl, og i 1774 opgives denne pris at være 70 til 80 Rdl. Da Falkonermesteren i 1781 får tilladelse til at fange gerfalke i Norge til kejseren, er den aftalte leveringspris 462 Rdl for 12 stykker = 77 Rdl pr par [2].

Ifølge van Oorschots tabel var prisen i 1586 for et gerfalkepar:

under 1 år:  $66.5 + 50 = 116.5$  gylden = 55 Rdl.

1-2 år:  $75 + 60 = 135$  gylden = 63 Rdl.

Der er lidt usikkerhed i denne beregning, fordi kursen opgivet af Jacobsen måske kun gjaldt i 1700-tallet. Men det ser ud til, at prisen for et par gerfalke ikke ændrede sig ret meget over 200 år.

Imidlertid kunne priserne komme langt højere op. Store falke indfanget i Holsten og ved Bremen i sept-nov i 1700-tallet kunne, efter afretning, indbringe typisk 200, men også op til 600 gylden stykket (94 henholdsvis 280 Rdl stykket) ved salg til Frankrig. Hver falkefænger fik 6-8 falke, i eet tilfælde 13 falke pr. sæson [3].

Når Frans Becker i 1776 kun fik 30 gylden (14 Rdl) stykket for 6 gerfalke fanget i Norge ved salg til hertugen af Zweibrücken, hang det måske sammen med, at fangsten var ulovlig [4].

## Falke købt i Danmark

Ved de fangstlicenser, som kongen udstedte i 1500-tallet, se kap. 2, var det sædvanen, at kongen havde ret til at købe en del af falkefængernes gerfalke for 6 Rdl stykket, og de andre falke og høge for 3 Rdl.

Disse favoritpriser gjaldt dog ikke for hele fangsten. Hvis kongen ønskede en væsentlig andel af falkefængerens fangst, måtte han betale, hvad man blev enige om. Det er måske grunden til, at stykprisen er mere end 6 Rdl i de 3 tilfælde, hvor prisen er oplyst:

I 1586 skaffedes 10 falke for 100 daler fra falkefænger Henrik Villumsen i Helsingborg, at forære til hertugen af Brieg-Liegnitz [5].

31.1.1601 købte kongen 10 falke for 80 Rdl ved Sundtolden og forærede dem til kongen af Skotland.

2.11.1635. Prins Christian købte 12 falke for 144 Rdl ved Sundtolden. De blev foræret til kurfyrsten af Sachsen.

Fangepenge for dansk fangede vandrefalke i sidste halvdel af 1700-tallet var 4 Rdl stykket, i 1791 dog 6 Rdl [6], altså som 250 år tidligere. Men nu er fangerne (falkonererne) ikke mere selvstændige købmænd eller i tjeneste hos sådanne, men betjente i kongens tjeneste med en månedsløn på 6-10 Rdl, se kap. 7.

## Falke købt på Island

Falkefængerne på Island i 1700-tallet fik følgende stykpriser [7]:

	Grå	Halvhvide	Hvide
- 1739	5 Rdl	10 Rdl	15 Rdl
1740 - 1763	7 Rdl	10 Rdl	15 Rdl
1764 - 1784	7 Rdl	12 Rdl	19 Rdl
1785 -	10 Rdl	15 Rdl	20 Rdl

De grå var de islandske lysegrå falke, de hvide var de grønlandske vintergæster, halvhvide kaldtes de falke, hvis udseende lå mellem hvide og grå, og som ikke klart kunne henføres til en af de to grupper.

På Island i 1700-tallet var der kun en snes mennesker, ud af en befolkning på 50.000, der havde en årlig indtægt på over 100 Rdl. Værdien af en ko sattes på den tid på Island til 4 Rdl [8].

De islandske falke blev som bekendt ikke solgt af kongehuset, men foræret bort. I kap. 7 bliver der gjort rede for, at udgifterne pr. leveret presentfalk i 1700-tallet beløb sig til 40-50 Rdl.

## Bilag 2. Brevfortegnelse 1523-1660 (gaver inkl.)

(Forklaring på forkortelser, se slutningen af dette bilag).

Dato:	Område:		Emne:		Specifikation:
↓	↓	↓	↓	Kilde:	
(x.xx.1518	n	t		Bø 53)	
(x.xx.1518	n	t		Bø 53)	
(x.xx.1520	n	t		Bø 53)	
(x.xx.1520	n	t		Bø 56)	
(x.xx.1520	n	t		Bø 56)	
(x.xx.1521	n	t		Bø 52)	
xx.xx.1528	n	t	CF	Bø 48	
xx.xx.1529	n	t?	?	Bø 53f	
17.07.1529	d	t4	PV	FFR 221	
03.07.1535+	d	t	JH	DM 3,5,67	
18.07.1535	d	t	PV	DM 3,5,145f; DKR 4	
24.07.1535	d	t	HB	DM 3,5,70&145f; DKR 5	
24.07.1535.	d	t	HG	DM 3,5,70&145f; DKR 5	
10.08.1535	d	p(2)		DM 3,5,116	
20.08.1535+	d	t6	PV	DM 3,5,89	
13.08.1536	d	g		DM 3,6,37	
25.07.1537+	d	t	PV	DM 3,6,144	
05.08.1540	d	a		DKR 133	
29.10.1540	d	t	JH	DKR 138	
30.10.1540	d	t	BH	DKR 138	
30.10.1540	d	t	HH	DKR 138	
01.07.1541+	d	t	HF	DM 3,6,300; DKR 213	
24.08.1546	d	t	OO	DKR 301	
12.09.1546	d	t	OO	DKR 302; J 365	
23.09.1546+	d	b		DM 4,1,229	
23.09.1546+	d	b	HF	DM 4,1,229	
09.10.1547+	d	p(13)		DM 4,1,332; J 369	
20.10.1547+	d	p(4)		DM 4,1,336	
02.06.1548	d	t	GO(eæ)	DKR 385	
21.08.1549+	d12	g		DM 4,4,170	
14.09.1549	d	p(8)		DM 4,4,174	
28.10.1550	d5	g,r		DM 4,6,229; J 370	
31.10.1550	d2	g,r		DM 4,6,229; J 370	
xx.xx.1550	d	t	AG	DKR 463; (KB 1,57)	

Dato:	Område:		Specifikation:	
		Emne:		
	↓	↓	↓	Kilde:
08.07.1551	d	t	HP	KB 1,57
11.07.1554	d	t	HO	KB 1,321
03.07.1556	d	t	FF	KB 2,30
15.07.1556	d	t	HS	KB 2,35
15.09.1557	d9	g		KB 2,131
22.07.1559	d	t	FF	KB 2,294
31.07.1559	d	t	HG	KB 2,296; J 364
31.07.1559	d	t	JH	KB 2,297
19.10.1559	d	t	AG	KB 2,325f
19.10.1559	d	t	AB	KB 2,326
19.10.1559	d	t	HB	KB 2,326
06.03.1560	d	t	HO	KB 2,371; J 412f
07.04.1560	n	g,b		NRR 1,288 ; Bø 54
15.06.1560	n	t	SP	NRR 1,294; Bø 48; J 373
15.06.1560	n	b		NRR 1,294
15.06.1560	d	t		J 364
08.04.1561	n	t		J 373
18.04.1561	n	t	LF	NRR 1,310f
18.04.1561	d	t		J 364
16.05.1561	d	t	CF	KB 3,36f
21.09.1561	n	b		NRR 1,322f
23.03.1562	i	b		KB 3,125
12.04.1562	d	t1	RP	KB 3,132
15.07.1562	d	t	PJ	KB 3,162
07.04.1565	d	t	HG	KB 3,586f; J 364
14.04.1567	d	t	HJ	KB 4,180
13.10.1571	d	a	NU	KB 5,77; J 413f
16.09.1572	d	t	BR	KB 5,171
26.02.1573	d	a	NU	KB 5,229f; J 398
10.07.1574	d	a		KB 5,478
09.10.1574	d	s?	NUeng,tys	KB 5,527f
21.07.1576	d	t	OL	KB 6,70f
17.10.1576	g	t	HAeJB	KB 6,98
19.05.1579	i	b		KB 6,649; Ket 2,94f; NRR 2,377
21.05.1579	n	t	BN	NRR 2,338; Bø 50
20.02.1580	d	t	HVeHS	KB 7,31f

Dato:	Område:		Specifikation:	
		Emne:		Kilde:
	↓	↓	↓	
04.11.1580	i	t,b	HG(eng)	KB 7,165; NRR 2,395
21.09.1581	d	t	HB	KB 7,357
08.07.1582	d17	g		KB 7,515
11.07.1582	n7	b		NRR 2,479
05.03.1584	d	t	HSeHJ	KB 8,41f
28.07.1584	d13	g		KB 8,132
16.03.1585	d	t	AVeHH	KB 8,262
28.04.1585	d	t	GSeHJ	KB 8,299
06.05.1585	n	t	EA(eng)	NRR 2,609
05.07.1585	g	t	VVeHA	KB 8,333
xx.xx.1586	s?		HVtys	J 387
28.07.1588	d	t	BMeæ	KB 9,74
06.04.1589	i	b,k		KB 9,162; NRR 3,34
22.07.1589	d	t	HB	DSK 58
14.05.1590	d	t	?	DSK 95
19.04.1594	i	k		KB 10,257; NRR 3,337
16.01.1595	i	k	HGtys	KB 10,398; NRR 3,369
01.05.1595	i	k		NRR 3,377
xx.xx.1597	s		tys	J 387
23.09.1597	s		AJ/PG	KB 11,205
25.09.1597	s		eng	KB 11,207
28.09.1599	s		eng	KB 11,424f
31.01.1601	s		VReng	KB 11,592
xx.xx.1603	s		tys	J 387
26.09.1603	s		eng	KB 12,95
11.06.1603	n	t3	PV/WV/JV	NRR 4,11f
xx.xx.1604	s		tys	J 387
25.07.1605	s	k		KB 12,316
22.03.1606	n	t3	PV/WV/JV	NRR 4,136
16.04.1606	i	b		KB 12,417; Ket 2,223f;
				NRR 4,142
24.04.1606	n	t	MZsak	NRR 4,145
15.04.1607	n	t,b	HG	NRR 4,196
11.07.1607	n	b		NRR 4,202
11.10.1607	n	b		NRR 4,231
13.05.1608	n	t	WV/JV	NRR 4,253
16.12.1608	i	t3	JStys	KB 12,774; NRR 4,290f
xx.xx.1608	d	(t)	JS	Kri 672ff

Dato:	Område:		Emne:		Specifikation:
↓	↓	↓	↓	Kilde:	
xx.xx.1609	i	b		J 378	
24.04.1609	i	t3	AH	KB 13,70; NRR 4,308	
15.10.1609	s		eng	KB 13,157	
19.07.1611	n	t4	WV/JV	NRR 4,443	
xx.xx.1611	i	a	eng	J 378	
xx.xx.1612	i	a	eng	J 378	
xx.05.1613	d	(t)	BH/JL	J 372	
xx.xx.1613	s		bra,sak	J 387	
30.04.1614	i	b	HB	KB 13,693f; Ket 2,260; NRR 4,522f; J 377	
05.05.1614	n	t4	WV/JV	NRR 4,527	
05.05.1614	n	t1	JE	NRR 4,527; Bø 56	
11.07.1615	n	t4	WV/JV	NRR 4,565	
27.07.1615	s		HBeng	KB 13, 823	
27.07.1615	s		JLbra	KB 13, 823	
xx.xx.1616	d	(t)	JS	Kri 672ff	
xx.xx.1616	i	b		J 378	
28.05.1616	n	t4	WV/JV	NRR 4,582	
13.07.1616	g	t	MVeæ	KB 14,64	
xx.xx.1618	i	a	eng	J 378	
01.05.1618	i	t	AH	KB 14,390; NRR 4,696	
02.07.1618	n	t5	PV	NRR 4,712f	
30.03.1619	n	t10	JV	NRR 5,17	
30.03.1619	n4	r	PV	NRR 5,17	
03.04.1619	n	t6	PV	NRR 5,21; Bø 56f	
30.04.1619	i	b		KB 14,612f;Ket 2,288; NRR 5,26f; J 381	
19.09.1619	s		HLbra	KB 14,685	
07.10.1619	s		eng	KB 14,691	
xx.xx.1620	s		fra	J 387	
19.08.1620	s		JFfra	KB 14,895	
14.09.1620	s	b5,g		KB 14,904	
26.09.1620	s	a	fra	KB 14,915	
31.12.1620	i	t12	JV/MM/JM	KB 14,955; NRR 5,122	
xx.xx.1621	s		bra	J 387	
17.10.1621	s		eng	KB 15,191	
xx.xx.1622	s		bra	J 387	

Dato:				
	Område:			
		Emne:		
			Specifikation:	
	↓	↓	↓	Kilde:
24.05.1622	i	t7	REeng	KB 15,359f; Ket 2,321f; NRR 5,242; J 377f
11.07.1622	i	t13	MNeng	J 378
04.02.1623	n	t6	PV	NRR 5,295; Bø 57
16.07.1623	n	t10	JV/VV	NRR 5,318; Bø 57
15.10.1623	s		JQeng	KB 15,704
xx.xx.1624	s		tys, bra	J 387
02.01.1624	i	t9	JV/JM	KB 16,1f; NRR 5,351; J 378
19.05.1624	i	t	MN	KB 16,139f; NRR 5,396; J 378?
25.06.1624	n	t10?	JV/VV	NRR 5,403f
29.07.1624	i	t1	PV	KB 16,209; NRR 5,412
29.07.1624	n	t6	PV	NRR 5,412; Bø 57
24.06.1625	s(i)	b		KB 16,453
03.10.1625	s	b	JF/PCfra	KB 16,515
16.10.1625	s	b	JF/PC	KB 16,521
16.10.1625	s	b	JF/PCfra	KB 16,521
20.04.1626	n	t1	AN	NRR 5,522
24.09.1626	s		eng	KB 16,816
06.10.1626	s		JBbra	KB 16,828f
20.10.1626	s		JF	KB 16,841
24.06.1627	s		eng	KB 17,120
11.07.1627	i	t13	MN	KB 17,133; NRR 5,610
18.07.1627	s		JFfra	KB 17,142
09.08.1627	s		eng	KB 17,162
28.12.1627	s	a		KB 17,272f
15.05.1628	i	t	VA	KB 17,425
12.09.1628	s		fra	KB 17,489
12.09.1628	s		eng	KB 17,489; J 345, 387f
23.09.1630	n	t6	JE	NRR 6,257; Bø 57
xx.xx.1631	i	k		J 378
18.08.1631	i	t	VA	KB 18,562; NRR 6,340
08.10.1631	d	t	FM	PCB 1,115
02.11.1631	d	p	BJ	PCB 1,12
16.12.1631	i	b		KB 18,620f
16.12.1631	n	t	AM	NRR 6,353f
10.01.1632	i	t12	JV/VV/JM	KB 18,652; NRR 6,364
10.01.1632	n	t10	JV/VV	NRR 6,364

Dato:	Område:		Specifikation:	
		Emne:		Kilde:
	↓	↓	↓	
18.01.1632	n	t6	PV	NRR 6,365f
21.01.1632	d	p	AM	PCB 1,23
12.06.1632	n	a	JV	PCB 1,49f
12.06.1632	n	a	JV/AM	PCB 1,50
23.06.1632	n	t12	JV/VV	NRR 6,396
25.06.1632	i	t12	JV/VV/JM	KB 18,838; NRR 6,400
26.08.1632	d	p	BJ	PCB 1,56
28.08.1632	s		BH/HHeng	KB 18,878; J 345, 387f
23.09.1632	s		CB	PCB 1,59
xx.xx.1633	s		tys	J 387
10.04.1633	n	p	CH	PCB 1,102
20.08.1633	d	t?	LAef	PCB 1,110
30.08.1633	s		kej	CEB 3,163; J 387
08.10.1633	d	t	FM	PCB 1,115f
17.11.1633	s?		CH/JH/sak	PCB 1,119
26.01.1634	idns	b, g		KB 19,425; Ket 2,375f; J 378
20.09.1634	s		eng	KB 19,760; J 345, 387f
27.10.1634	n	t	VAeJE	NRR 6,706; Bø 57
19.05.1635	i,n	t	VAoh	KB 20,173f; NRR 7,47; Bø 57
21.10.1635	s		sak	PCB 1,245
02.11.1635	s		sak	PCB 1,249
16.04.1636	i	b		KB 20,479f; Ket 2,400f; NRR 7,205f
20.06.1636	d	tl	VA	KB 20,581
13.09.1636	s		eng,kej	KB 20,624f
02.11.1636	s?		sak	PCB 1,310
03.11.1636	d,i	t	JA	KB 20,713 ; NRR 7,286
xx.xx.1637	i	b		J 378
09.03.1637	n	t7	HG	NRR 7,318
17.05.1637	n	r, tl	HG/JV/VV	NRR 7,339f
20.05.1637	i	tl	JV/VV/JM	KB 21,151; NRR 7,343
18.06.1637	n	tl	JV/VV	NRR 7,351f
13.07.1637	n,i	tl	JV/VV	PCB 1,369
15.08.1637	s		eng	KB 21,194f
23.09.1637	s		JW/sak	PCB 1,381



Dato:	Område:		Emne:		Specifikation:
↓	↓	↓	↓	Kilde:	
24.09.1637	d		JW	PCB 1,382	
20.12.1637	s	a	JW/sak	PCB 1,391	
23.01.1638	n	a		NRR 7,376	
28.01.1638	n	t	HG/JV	NRR 7,378	
22.03.1638	i	k	JW	PCB 1,407	
28.04.1638	s		sak	PCB 1,413f	
29.05.1638	n	r	JG	NRR 7,406	
02.06.1638	s		PC	KB 21,422	
04.07.1638	s		k	KB 21,435	
14.01.1639	n		HG	KB 21,594	
03.02.1639	n	r,t	HG/JV/VV	NRR 7,505f	
09.05.1639	n	tl	JV/VV/HG	NRR 7,532ff	
10.05.1639	n	tl	JV/VV/HG	NRR 7,534	
12.10.1639	s		eng	KB 21,902	
06.06.1640	n	tl	JV/VV/HG	NRR 7,733f	
15.06.1640	i	t	JAeMN	KB 22,205f; NRR 7,734	
03.10.1640	s		eng	KB 22,273	
06.10.1641	s		eng	KB 22,561	
30.10.1641	i	tl	JM/MM/JM		
			eJA	KB 22,647f; NRR 8,129	
25.02.1642	i	t(?)	NK	CEB 8,160f	
26.03.1642	n	b		NRR 8,156f	
09.06.1643	n	a	JV/VV	PCB 2,45f	
24.10.1643	n	a	VV	NRR 8,297	
06.05.1648	n2	k	HO(VV)	NRR 9,11; Bø 51	
21.07.1648	n	k	HO	NRR 9,30f	
05.08.1648	n	a		NRR 9, 44ff	
06.02.1649	i	k		NRR 9,310; J 378	
05.04.1650	n	a	HO	NRR 10,44	
10.05.1650	i	b		Ket 3,27; NRR 10,61; J 378	
17.08.1651	n	t3	HO	NRR 10,259	
01.09.1651	nx	b	HO	NRR 10,264	
26.07.1652	d	a		KKR 6	
30.08.1652	d	a		KKR 7	
27.09.1654	n	t	CN	NRR 11,257; Bø 51	
25.11.1654	n	t3	HO	NRR 11,264	
27.11.1654	nx	b	HO	NRR 11,265	

Dato:	Område:		Emne:		Specifikation:	Kilde:
↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓
10.05.1655	i	k	JH			Ket 3,60; NRR 11,320; J 378
02.05.1656	i	k	BR			Ket 3,63f; NRR 11,531; J378
29.06.1656	n	a				NRR 11,555
07.07.1656	d	a				KKR 40
19.12.1657	i	a	HV			Ket 3,66f
05.04.1659	n	t2	JO			NRR 12,248
30.06.1660	n3	b				NRR 12,363
01.09.1660	n	t3	LB			NRR 12,409
17.05.1662	i	b				Ket 3,96; J 377
28.04.1663	i	k				Ket 3,109; J 378
xx.xx.1664	i	k				J 382
xx.xx.1665	i	k				J 378f
xx.xx.1665	s?		kej			J 388
29.06.1666	i	k				Ket 3,125
16.10.1670	d	a				KKR 62
18.11.1670	d	a				KKR 63
15.05.1671	d	a				KKR 68
19.05.1671	i	k				Ket 3,162
15.09.1671	d	a				KKR 74
07.10.1671	d	a				KKR 76
22.10.1671	d	a				KKR 76f
10.11.1671	d	a				KKR 78

#### Dato-kolonne

+ (efter datering): muligvis senere

#### Område-kolonne

d: dansk (og skånsk-hallandsk) område  
dx: dansk til x adressater  
g: gotlandsk  
i: islandsk område  
n: norsk område  
nx: norsk til x adressater  
s: vedrører sundtoldstedet

#### Emne-kolonne

t: fangstilladelse  
t4, tl: for 4 år, livsvarig  
k: kongelige ekspeditioner o.l.  
b: påbud vedr. falkefængeri  
g: generalindkaldelse af falkefængere  
p(x): pas til x falkefængere

r: tilbagekaldelse af tilladelse  
a: anden omtale vedr. falke

#### Specifikations-kolonne

PV, JH, HF, etc (mest ved fangstilladelser):  
forkortelser for falkefængeres (falkonerers) navne

NNeMM: NN efterfølger MM

BBæ: BB efterfølger ægtemagen

NNoh: NN og hustru

ef: efter sin fader

Disse forkortelser er samlet i bilag 9 med forklaring.

Derudover er angivet destinationer for falkeforsendelser:

bra: Brandenburg,

eng: Skotland, senere England

kej: Tyske kejser,

sak: Saksen,

tys: andre tyske dømmer,

fra: Frankrig.

#### Kilde-kolonne

Bø: O. Bø "Falcon-Catching in Norway" 1962

Øvrige forkortelser, se litteraturafsnit.

### Bilag 3. Falkelejer i Danmark og Skånelandene i 15-1600-tallet

(Forkortelser for personnavne forklares i bilag 9.)

#### Hele Danmark

1562 RP for det år, og må føre sin fangst til England. Mod et par levende fasaner.

#### Sjælland

Halsnæs på Sjælland 1529 PV 4 år som han plejer. 1535 PV. 1559 HG. 1565 HG.  
Køge Krog 1588 BM (hendes mand har haft det i 24 år).

#### Lolland-Falster

1529 PV i 4 år, 2 lejer "i Laalandt som han plejer." 1535 PV 2 lejer. 1546 OO tillkendes Rudby (=Rødby) falkeleje.  
1589 HB får af enkedronningen kronens falkelejer på Lolland og Falster, dog ikke dem, der tilhører kronens bønder. 1590 det samme. 1631 FM får bevilling på falkelejet på Lolland, således som han hidtil har haft den. (Skrevet af Christian IV i Rødby).  
1633 FM (bevilges af PC).

#### Jylland

Sønderside, Ho sogn, Ribe amt 1608/09 1616/1617 JS.  
Darum Å (= Sneum Å), Ribe amt 1616/1617 JS.  
Skast sogn (ved Ballum), Ribe amt (??) (under Ribe bispestol).

#### Bornholm

Arnager Lyng ca. 1660.

## Gotland

1576 HAeJB. 1585 VVeHA. 1616 MV.

## Skåne-Halland

Backe, Baeck, Bakke (ved Ås kloster) 1550 AG (se også 8.7.1551). 1551 HP. 1554 HO. 1559 FF. 1560 HO. 1561 CF.

Borreby (Borgeby ved Barsebäck?) 1537 PV, tidligere ved Lunds bispestol.

Båstad, Boedstad 1556 HS.

Falkenberg 1540 BH. 1559 HB.

Falsterbo, se Lillehammer ved Falsterbo

Galtebæk, Geltherbeck 1535 HG. HG, som han hidtil har haft. 1559 HG. 1565 HG, borger i Helsingør. 1567 HJ, borger i Helsingør. 1584 HS. 1585 GS.

Hillesborg, Hellerupbro, Hilderbro, (Häljarp ?) (ved Landskrona, tidligere Lunds bispestol). 1537 PV. 1556 FF. 1556 HS(sic!). 1559 FF. 1561 CF. 1585 AVeHH.

Lillehammer (ved Falsterbo) 1529 PV i 4 år, som før. 1535 PV 6 år. 1535 PV 6 år. 1560 HO. 1580 HVeHS. 1613 BH/JL. Se Skåne.

Morup ( Merlop, Morlop, Norrup) (som Galtebæk) 1535 HG, som han har haft. 1559 HG. 1565 HG, borger i Helsingør. 1567 HJ, borger i Helsingør. 1584 HS, søn af HJ. 1585 GS, søn af HJ.

Olmenest, Ølmenæs 1535 HB, som han har haft før. 1550 AG. 1551 HP. 1556 FF. 1559 FF. 1561 CF, søn af FF.

Påarp, Purupe, Pårup 1559 AB. 1572 BR (efter dødsfald)

Sennersløv, Semmersløv i Skåne. 1546 OO. 1548 GO.

Serreth, Serit 1535 HB, som han har haft før. 1540 JH.

Skreastrand, se Smørkullen

Skummeslev i Laholm Len (= Gummerslev, Skomerslev) 1535 HB, har haft før. 1540 HH. 1550 AG. 1559 AG.

Smørkullen, Smyerkold, Smørkold ved Skreen 1535 HB, som han har haft før. 1540 HH. 1559 HB. 1576 OL. 1581 HB.

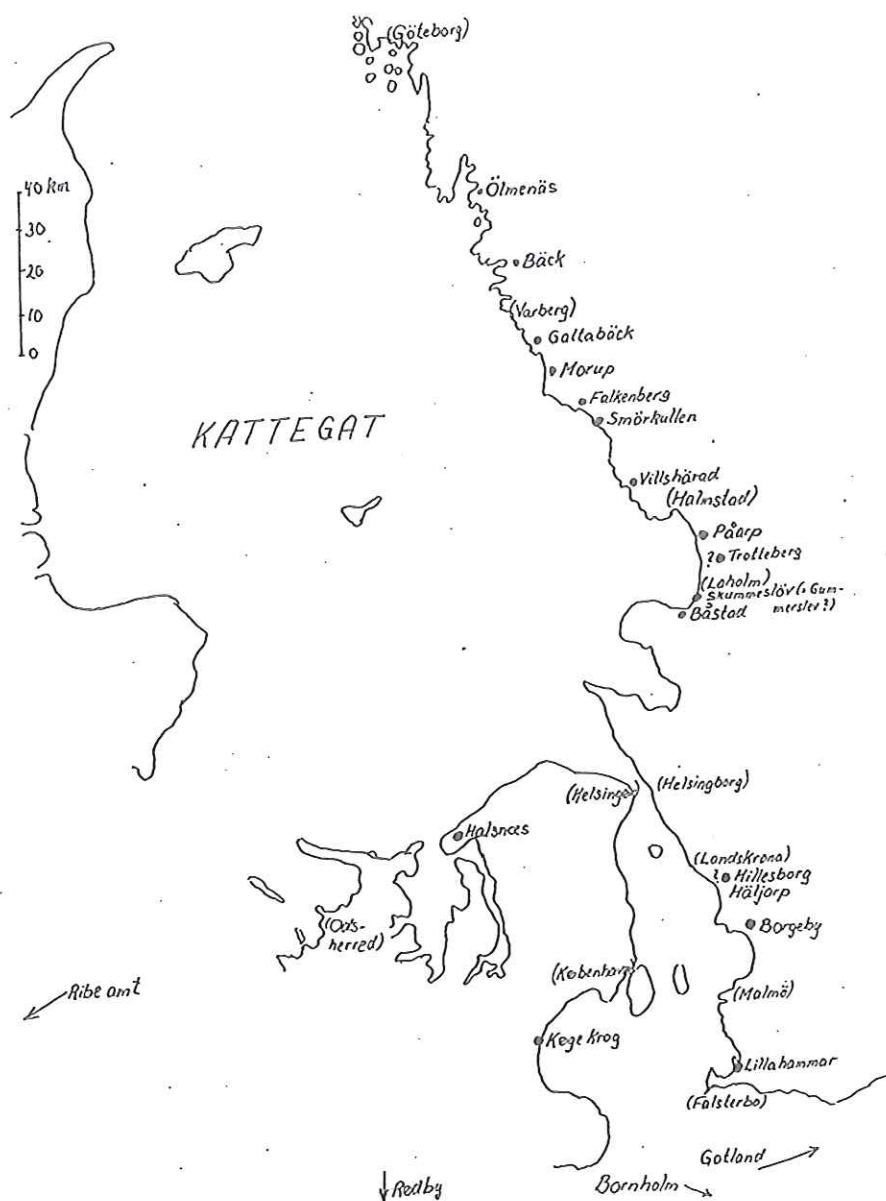
Søimestaa (syd for Laholm) 1541 HF.

Trottenberg, Trotteberg, Trustenbiery (hinsides Halmstad) 1541 HF. 1546 OO. 1548 GO. 1554 HO. 1559 FF. 1560 HO. 1562 PJ.

Villshæred, Willensherritt, (Villshärad) 1535 JH, som han plejer at have. 1540 JH. 1559 JH.

Skåne-Halland-Blekinge 1633 PC anbefaler LA til lejerne i Skåne, som hans fader og broder tidligere havde. 1636 VA for livstid for hele Skåne-Halland fangsten, så mange som han eller hans fuldmægtige kan få. 1636 JA det samme, dog andre privilegier uforkrænkede.

# Kort over falkelejer i Danmark og Skånelandene



#### Bilag 4. Mangel på lærker og lærkefalk 1765

Deres Excellence, Høj- og Velbårne herr Geheime Conference-Råd, Kammerherre og Over-Jægermester,  
Nådige herre,

Eders Exc.'s nådige skrivelse af d. 20. ds. har jeg underdanigst modtaget d. 22. ds., og fornemmer, at Hans Kongl. Majestæt har været misfornøjet over, at jeg ikke har leveret lærker i denne sommer.

Gud er mit vidne på, at jeg som sædvanlig havde ladet fange to lærkefalk ved Skt. Hans' dags tid ude ved Bregnerød Kro, og havde dem i juli måned i god stand frem til d. 15. om morgenen. Da var den ene frisk og anden dagen om morgnen lå den død under sin stang, hvor den ellers sidder, og den anden fik tykke ben, så den ikke længere kunne stå, og døde omsider.

Da gjorde vi allesammen vores bedste for at skaffe nogle andre ude ved Bregnerød skov, ved Ravnehus Egeskov, i Hareskoven, ved Bagsværd; (videre spejdede vi) fra Rudersdals Kro til Hørsholm i skovene langs Kongevejen, for at se nogle at fange, men Gud bæret så vi kun een rede bag skovfogdens hus ved Ravnehuset. Der brugte vi mange dage, men forgæves. Vi havde ugler med, idet vi tænkte, at de skulle jage på (tiltrække?) hannen, men uden held. Vi prøvede også med garn (net?), men fik intet, og bagefter med limpinde og en levende fugl, men Gud bæret, alt var forgæves.

Så red vi ud på marker og enge for at se dem sidde på tuer eller store sten, men var ikke så heldige at se bare een; og da de kejserlige falkonerer kom (1) red de ud til Amager, men alt var forgæves.

Så hørte jeg at der 8 mil herfra var jægere og kræmmere, der handler med messing, kobber, leer og skæreknive (2); de medbringer somme tider, for deres fornøjelse en (lærkefalk). Så sendte jeg een derhen for at få den, om de havde een, men de sagde de ingen havde set det år. Gud ved, at jeg har bedreven megen tid over det, og med Guds hjælp skal jeg i stedet for 2 fange 4 stykker, for fanger man dem ikke ved Skt. Hans tid, så er det vanskeligt. Det kan til tider være et lykketræf bare at få een at se, så at man kan fange den.

(fortsættes næste side)

(fortsat fra forrige side)

Gud give, at jeg vidste, om de not-garn, som de bruger i Tyskland til at fange lærkerne med om aftenen, kan fås her. Så skulle jeg gøre mit bedste og også bede underdanigst Deres Exc. om hjælp til at få et sådant garn, for at levere lærker til Hans Kongl. Majestæt. Ellers beder jeg knæfalden og underdanigst Deres Exc. min allernådigste Herre om nådig pardon; den almægtigste Gud i Himmelen ved, at jeg har gjort mit bedste i alle måder, og selv har været den første og sidste. Og med Guds hjælp håber jeg i fremtiden at se mig bedre prekaveret (forberedt?). Nu er det umuligt at skaffe lærker, men måske hvis jeg havde not-garn. Altså beder jeg ganske underdanigst Hans Kongl. Maj. min allernådigste herre og Deres Exc. min allernådigste herre om nådig dispensation, og lover udi fremtiden, at det ikke mere skal ske. Forventer en nådig bønghørelse og forbliver med al underdanig veneration Deres Exc.'s underdanigste Tiener,

Jacob Verhuven

Falkonergaarden d. 22. oktober 1765.

Deser is die oprigtige Vaerheyt astistere

Gotfrit Rombens

(brevpakke 333.64.1., Rigsarkivet).

1) De kejserlige falkonerer kom årligt til København for at hente de islandske falke, den danske konge forærede kejseren i Wien. De ankom i september, omkring den tid det årlige falkeskib fra Island kunne forventes.

2) De omtalte rejsende kræmmere kunne være "hollandske kobberførere". I Nederlandene kaldtes de "teuter". Deres hjemland var Brabant, ligesom falkonererne. van Oorschot 1974 har peget på de mange forbindelser mellem falkonerer og teuter.



## Bilag 5. Norske fangstilladelser 1560-1660

(Forkortelser for personnavne forklares i bilag 9).

### Akershus len/Oslo stift

15.04.1607 HG, 25.06.1624 J&V, 10.01.1632 J&V 10, 23.06.1632 J&V 12, 19.05.1635 VAoh L f, 09.03.1637 HdG 7, 17.05.1637 HdG afl, J&V L, 28.0x.1638 HdG som J, 09.05.1639 J&V L,

### Bratsberg, Thelemarken

05.05.1614 W&J 4, 11.07.1615 W&J 4, 02.07.1618 P 5, 30.03.1619 J 10, 30.03.1619 P afl., 16.07.1623 J&V 10, 10.01.1632 J&V 10,

### Agdesiden (bl.a. med Nedenes, Mandal og Lister)

13.05.1608 W&J 3, 11.07.1615 W&J 4, 02.07.1618 P 5, 30.03.1619 J 10, 30.03.1619 P afl., 16.07.1623 J&V 10, 16.12.1631 AM f, 10.01.1632 J&V 10 (AM!),

### Nedenes

15.06.1560 Grunne, Fevik SP

### Mandal

11.06.1603 P&W&J 3, 22.03.1606 P&W&J 3,

### Lister

21.05.1579 Nordhassel BH, 11.06.1603 P&W&J 3, 22.03.1606 P&W&J 3, 13.05.1608 W&J 3, 19.07.1611 W&J 4, 11.07.1615 W&J 4, 02.07.1618 P 5, 30.03.1619 J 10, 30.03.1619 P afl., 06.05.1648/21.07.1648 HO op til 4 mil fra Breve, Salsgårde og Harangel (V!), 27.09.1654 Nordhassel, hønsehøge CN,

### Yther (ukendt len)

11.06.1603 P&W&J 3, 22.03.1606 P&W&J 3,

### Stavanger

13.05.1608 W&J 3, 19.07.1611 W&J 4, 11.07.1615 W&J 4, 02.07.1618 P 5, 30.03.1619 J 10, 30.03.1619 P afl., 16.07.1623 J&V 10, 16.12.1631 AM f, 10.01.1632 J&V 10 (AM!), 23.06.1632 J&V 12, 19.05.1635 VAoh L f, 09.03.1637 HdG 7, 17.05.1637 HdG afl, J&V L, 28.0x.1638 HdG som J, 09.05.1639 J&V L,

### Bergenhus

28.05.1616 W&J 4, 30.03.1619 J 10, 16.07.1623 J&V 10, 16.12.1631 AM f, 10.01.1632 J&V 10 (AM!), 23.06.1632 J&V 12, 19.05.1635 VAoh L f, 09.03.1637 HdG 7, 17.05.1637 HdG afl, J&V L, 28.0x.1638 HdG som J, 09.05.1639 J&V L,

### Throndhjem

06.05.1585 Nordmøre, Fosen EA, 29.07.1624 P 6, 18.0x.1632 P 6, 23.06.1632 J&V 12, 19.05.1635 VAoh L f, 09.03.1637 HdG 7, 17.05.1637 HdG afl, J&V L, 28.0x.1638 HdG som J, 09.05.1639 J&V L, 05.04.1659 JO 2,

Nordenfjeldske (Nordlandene?)  
18.04.1561 LF

Nordlandene (med bl.a. Salten, Tromsø og evt. Vardøhus)  
03.04.1619 P 6, 04.02.1623 P 6, 27.10.1634 VA,.

Salten  
29.07.1624 P 6, 18.0x.1632 P 6,

Tromsø  
05.05.1614 JvE 1, 23.09.1630 JvE 6, 17.05.1637 J&V L, 09.05.1639 J&V L,

Vardøhus  
03.04.1619 P 6, 04.02.1623 P 6, 29.07.1624 P 6, 20.04.1626 AN 1, 18.0x.1632 P 6,  
09.05.1639 J&V L kun Loppen, 10.05.1639 HdG undt. Loppen,

Finmarken (under Vardøhus?)  
05.05.1614 JvE 1, 23.09.1630 JvE 6, 17.05.1637 J&V L, 09.05.1639 J&V L,

Lapland (næppe norsk land)  
04.02.1623 P 6,

Eneret for hele Norge (for 400 Rdl årligt)  
01.09.1651 HO 3, 25.1x.1654 HO 3, 1.9.1660 LB 3,

Øvrige breve (24 stk):

Generelle instrukser, indskærpelser

Specielle indskærpelser

Tilbagekaldelser af ukendte licenshavere

I øvrigt

NB:

18.06.1637 som 17.05.1637 J&V - overflødig bekræftelse?

29.05.1638 JdG afl (men licensen findes ikke)

03.02.1639 J&V og HdG - i fællesskab?

06.06.1640 bekræfter J&V 09.05.1639 og HdG 10.05.1639, (Verbruggerne har haft tilladelser i 80 år).

24.10.1643 V L bekræftes efter faderen J's død, og det oplyses, at han har lidt skade.

05.04.1650 HO skal støttes (Lister eller mere?)

Forkortelser m.m.

Falkefængere:	
AM	Antonius Mutzhart (Meyesar, Meyer?), falkefænger hos Christian IV's søn prins Christian.
AN	Adrian Nairodt, oranisk falkoner.
BH	Bent Nordhassel, norsk gårdejer.
CN	Christoffer Nordhassel, norsk gårdejer.
EA	Evert Asbjørn, "af England" (nordmand?).
HdG	Henrik de Gier, oranisk falkoner, pens. i 1653 som 80-årig.
HG	Hans Glasmester, borger og indbygger i Oslo.
HO	Hybert Ombs (Omesen).
J	Johan Verbruggen, broder til P og W, oranisk falkoner, født 1577, død 1643.
JO	Jacob Obdam, hollandsk admiral.
JvE	Johan von Elmdt (Elendt), oranisk falkoner.
LB	Laurits Bemen (Laurejs Bijnen), falkoner hos hertugen af Braunschweig-Lüneburg, Frederik III's svoger.
LF	Laurits Falkener.
P	Peter Verbruggen, broder til J og W, indvåner i Haag, oranisk falkoner, død 1634.
SP	Simon Pruetz.
V	Villum Verbruggen, søn af J, tiltræder 1623, oranisk falkoner, nævnes endnu i 1648.
VA	Villum Adams, borger i Helsingør.
W	Walter Verbruggen, broder til J og P, oranisk falkoner, død 1618.

Øvrige forkortelser:

- f: ved forfald,
- afl: tilbagekaldt,
- oh: og hustru,
- L: på livstid,
- (AM!): med mindre AM allerede har besat pladsen.

Tallet angiver bevillingens åremål; når intet tal er angivet, er åremålet ikke oplyst eller lyder på "indtil videre".

Oraniske falkonerer, dvs. falkonerer (eller falkefængere) ansat hos prinsen af Oranien (på den tid: statholder af Nederlandene). Disse var: Mouritz 1586-1625, Frederik Henrik 1625-47, Villum II 1647-50, Villum III (1651)-1672-1702 (tillige konge af Storbritannien fra 1689).

Bilag 6. Islandske fangstilladelser 1609-41

Syssel	Dato	Navne	Betingelser
Guldbringe, Kjosar, Borgefjord, Myresyssel	15.05.1628	VA	indtil videre
	3.11.1636	JA	x år, *
	30.10.1641	JM	eneret, livstid
Snefjeldsnæs, Hnappedal (Thornesthing)	11.07.1622	MN	13 år
	12.07.1627	MN	13 år (15.6.40)
	15.06.1640	JA	afgivet i 1641
	30.10.1641	JM	eneret, livstid
Dale	15.05.1628	VA	indtil videre
	3.11.1636	JA	x år, *
Bardestrand (med Thorskefjordthing)	24.04.1609	AH	3 år
	1.05.1618	AH	3 år
	11.07.1622	MN	13 år
	12.07.1627	MN	13 år (15.6.40)
	15.05.1628	VA	indtil videre
	3.11.1636	JA	x år, *
	15.06.1640	JA	afgivet i 1641
30.10.1641	JM	eneret, livstid	
Isefjord (med Dyrefjordthing)	24.04.1609	AH	3 år
	1.05.1618	AH	3 år
	15.05.1628	VA	indtil videre
	3.11.1636	JA	x år, *
Strande (Norder, Nørrestrand)	24.04.1609	AH	3 år
	1.05.1618	AH	3 år
	15.05.1628	VA	indtil videre
	3.11.1636	JA	x år
Hunevand	15.05.1628	VA	indtil videre
	3.11.1636	JA	x år
	30.10.1641	JM	eneret, livstid
Skagafjord, Eyjafjord, Mule	2.01.1624	V&M	9 år
	25.06.1632	V&M	12 år
	19.05.1635	VAoh	som arvinger
	20.05.1637	V&M	eneret, livstid
Thingeyjar	31.12.1620	V&M	12 år
	2.01.1624	V&M	9 år
	10.01.1632	V&M	12 år
	25.06.1632	V&M	12 år
	19.05.1635	VAoh	som arvinger
	20.05.1637	V&M	eneret, livstid
Sider, Syder, Skaftafjæld, Rangerval Arnes	15.05.1628	VA	indtil videre
	18.08.1631	VA	x år
	3.11.1636	JA	x år
	30.10.1641	JM	eneret, livstid

\* andre tilladelser uforkrænket

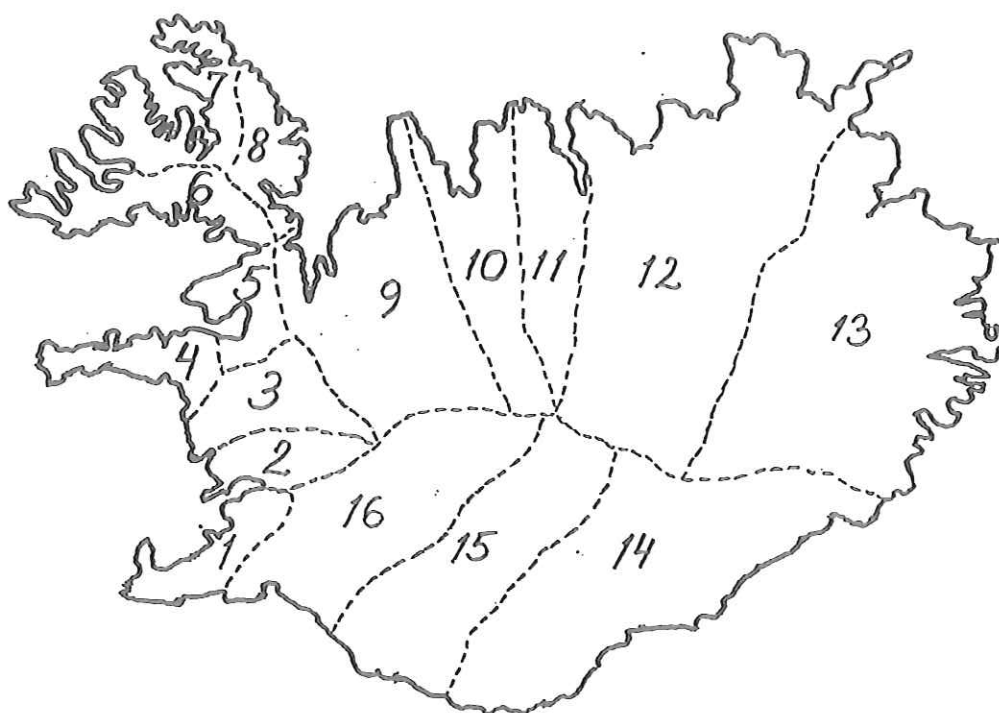
I samme periode gives også bevillinger til:

RE	24.05.16 22,	7 år, hvor der er ledigt
MN	19.05.16 24,	hvor der er ledigt
PV	29.07.16 24,	næste år
MN	11.07.16 27,	?

De angivne forbogstaver dækker følgende personer eller grupper:

AH	Antonius Hendriksen, falkoner hos grev Mouritz af Oranien
JA	Jens Andersen Boldmester, Christian IV's sølvpop (skatmester)
JM	Johan Momm, og sønnerne Marcus og Johannes, nederlandske, oprindeligt slesvigske, købmænd
MN	Martin Neall (Nealis, Nicholaus), falkoner hos kong Jacob I/Karl I af England
RE	Robert Elsdeen, falkoner hos kong Jacob I/Karl I af England
PV	Peter Verbruggen, falkoner hos greven af Oranien
VA	Villum Adams, købmand i Helsingør (oh: og hustru)
V&M	Johan og Villum Verbruggen, falkonerer hos grev Mouritz af Oranien, i kompagni med JM

#### Kort over sysselinddelingen af Island



- |                             |                       |
|-----------------------------|-----------------------|
| 1 Guldbringe og Kjosar      | 9 Hunevand            |
| 2 Borgefjord                | 10 Skagafjord         |
| 3 Myre                      | 11 Eyjafjord          |
| 4 Snefjeldsnæs og Hnappedal | 12 Thingeyjar         |
| 5 Dale                      | 13 Mule               |
| 6 Bardestrand               | 14 Skaftafjæld, Syder |
| 7 Isefjord                  | 15 Rangerval          |
| 8 Strande                   | 16 Arnes              |

Bilag 7. Falkefængere på Island 1733 - 1777

Navn	Omtalt i år 17-
Asmundor Eyolfson	33
Bendix Thorstenson	33
Biarne Haldersen	63
Biarne Hallvarsson	39
Biarne Jonson (Snefjeldsnæs)	63
Biarne Olafson (Skagafjord)	70, 71, 72
Christian Elyfson (Snefjeldsnæs)	66
Christian Elygson (Dale)	63, 70, 73, 77
Dade Hanneson (Snefjeldsnæs)	63
Einer Magnuson	33
Ejolf Ejolfson (Isefjord)	70, 72, 73
Erland Olofsen, sysselmand (Isefjord),	70
Gudmund Sivertsen	39
Gudmund Wiigfuss (Guldbringe)	73
Gudmunder Ejnerson (Snefjeldsnæs)	63, 77
Gudmunder Jonson (Isefjord)	44
Gudmunder Ormsøn (Snefjeldsnæs)	63
Gunner Jonsen (Borgefjord)	73, 77
Hans Danielsøn	33
Johann Christoffer Gottorph	33
Jon Bendixsen	39
Jon Islegunson (Rangerval)	63, 66, 70, 73, 77
Jon Iversen (Nappedal)	72, 73
Joen Joensen (Nappedal?),	72
Jon Jolensøn (Mule)	77
Jon Jonsen (Strande)	66, 70, 73, 77
Jon Jonsen Ældre (Nappedal)	66, 70, 73, 77
Jon Jonson Yngre (Dale)	63, 66
Jon Torlakson (Nappedal)	63
Jon Torvardson Ældre,	33, 44
Jon Torvesøn Yngre	33
Magnus Poulsen	44
Nicolai Magnusen	39
Olafer Arnesen	39
Olauffer Sivertsen (Heggernes syssel ?)	63
Ormer Dadesøn	39
Schule Poulsen (Guldbringe)	73
Schyle Poulsen (Skagafjord)	63
Skulle Poulsen.	70
Sigfuus Jonsøn (Guldbringe)	66, 70, 73

Navn	Omtalt i år 17-
Sigurder Gudmandsen (Snefjeldsnæs)	66, 70, 73, 77
Svejn Jonson	33, 44
Teitter Arresøn	33
Toere Jonsøn (Bardstrand)	70, 73, 77
Torkild Jonsøn (Skagafjord)	73, 77
Torlever Jonsen (Myre)	63, 66
Torsten Elygson (Dale)	66
Torsten Elygson (Snefjeldsnæs)	70, 73, 77
Torsten Elyson (Skagafjord)	63
Torvardur Jonson (Borgefjord)	66

## Bilag 8. De fra Island nedsendte falke 1664 - 1806

Årstal, antal:  
grå, halvhvide, hvide.

1664	48		
1673	(549 Rdl)		
1674	(506 Rdl)		
1676	(366 Rdl)		
1690	62+		
1691	98		
1692	82		
1693	107		
1694	59+		
1695	109	1-3	1-2
1696	57+	1-3	1-2
1697	48-100	1-3	1-2
1698	63+	9	1-2
1699	35	1-3	1-2
1700	48-100	1-3	1-2
1701	48-100	1-3	1-2
1702	66+	1-3	1-2
1703	130	1-3	4
1704	123	1-3	1-2
1705	91+		
1706	129	5	8
1707	48-100	1-3	1-2
1708	48-100	1-3	1-2
1709	48-100	1-3	1-2
-			
1731	75	3	8
1732	82	0	9
1733	91	2	10
1734	91	3	11
1735	105	0	5
1736	73	3	2

1737	74	1	12
1738	61	1	2
1739	41	0	2
1740	69	1	3
1741	89	0	0
1742	96	0	3
1743	148	3	4
1744	167	2	6
1745	129	11	21
1746	96	6	4
1747	40	2	2
1748	48	4	1
1749	36	0	2
1750	44	1	5
1751	50	11	42
1752	85	12	18
1753	121	4	22
1754	144	4	10
1755	83	3	3
1756	49	3	16
1757	40	1	6
1758	35	0	4
1759	59	2	9
1760	61	5	2
1761	83	7	16
1762	146	3	2
1763	171	5	6
1764	205	2	4
1765	152	1	3
1766	60	10	12
1767	38	0	3

1768	53	3	3
1769	66	3	2
1770	64	4	15
1771	76	4	5
1772	56	7	8
1773	64	1	5
1774	52	0	0
1775	32	1	2
1776	38	0	1
1777	47	1	0
1778	46	2	0
1779	43	0	2
1780	33	0	2
1781	36	0	0
1782	45	2	4
1783	50	4	3
1784	32	2	14
1785	15	0	0
1786	-	-	-
1787	39	3	4
1788	39	0	5
1789	37	0	0
1790	45	1	2
1791	30	2	5
1792	15	0	0
1793	28	0	2
-			
1796	ringe tal		
1799	ringe tal		
1802	ringe tal		
1806	ringe tal		

89+: mindst 89

Fra: van Oorschot 1974 pp. 296-299. Jacobsen 1848, pp. 382ff. For 1673, 74 og 76 er oplyst udgifter til islandske falke fra KKR.



## Bilag 9. Fortegnelse over falkefængere og falkonerer

Fortegnelse over falkefængere og falkonerer nævnt i bilag 2, 3, 5 og 6 i alfabetisk orden efter forbogstaverne.

AB	Arndt Bierman fp 1547	d
AB	Adrian Bartholomeus 1559	d
AG	Anders Gertsen fp 1547	d
AG	Arnt Gessebek, Gisbartsen 1550,59	d
AH	Antonius Henriksen tj. Oranien 1609-18	i
AJ	Arian Jansen 1597	s
AM	Antonius Mutzhart (Meyesar) fk PC 1631-32	d,n
AN	Adrian Nairodt tj. Oranien 1626	n
AV	Adam Villumsen 1585	d
BH	Bartholomeus Hogerus 1540	d
BH	Bartholomeus Henrik 1613	d
BH	Bertel Henriksen tj. England 1632	s
BJ	Bartholomeus Jespersen fk PC 1632	d
BM	Birgitte Melchers 1588	d
BN	Bent Nordhassel 1579	n
BR	Bartholomeus Rorp 1572	d
BR	Bartholomeus Roland tj. F3 1656	i
BX	Bartholomeus fp 1547 (= BH,HH 1540?)	d
CB	Claus Boss tj. PC 1632	s
CF	Clawes Falkener 1528	n
CF	Christian Falkefænger, søn af FF 1561	d
CH	Christian Heinrichs fk PC 1633	n
CN	Christoffer Nordhassel 1654	n
DH	Di(d)rik van Huve fp 1547	d
DH	Di(d)rik Henriksen fp 1549	d
EA	Evert Asbjørn af England 1585	n
ED	Evert van Deur fp 1535,49	d
FC	Fos Christians fp 1547	d
FF	Fux Falkefænger 1556,59	d
FM	Filip Mohlen 1631,33	d
GO	Gieske Olufs (enke af OO) 1548	d
GS	Gert Seiger søn af HJ 1585	d
HA	Hendrich Adamssen 1576-85	g
HB	Hans Bierman 1535	d
HB	Hans Bartholomeus 1559	d
HB	Henrich Bertelssen 1581	d
HB	Hans Berkhan tolder i Rødby 1589	d
HB	Hendrik Buchston eng. 1614	i
HB	Hendrik Beyen (Bijnen?) tj. England 1615	s
HdG	se HG 1637-40	
HF	Hans Frandsos 1546,47 p	d
HF	Henrich Falkefænger 1541	d
HG	Hans Gertsen 1535,59	d
HG	Hans Glasmester Oslo 1607	n

HG	Hans Goustsen (= HG 1535?=HJ?) Helsingør 1565	d
HG	Hendrik de Gier tj. Oranien 1637-40	n
HG	Henrich Getle eng. 1580	i
HG	Hinrich Getlin (samme?) tj. Br.schweig 1595	i
HH	Hans Hollænder 1585	d
HH	Henrik Henriksen tj. England 1632	s
HH	Henrik Hogerus (søn af BH 1540?) 1540	d
HJ	Hans Jostsen (= HG 1565?, søn af JH 1549?) Helsingør 1567-85	d
HK	Hans Krone fp 1547	d
HL	Henrik Laurents tj. Brandenburg 1619	s
HO	Hans van Orschat 1554,60	d
HO	Hubert Ombs (Omesen) tj Fr3 1648-54	n
HP	Hans Pelzer 1551	d
HS	Hans Sæle fp 1547	d
HS	Hans Simensen 1556,80	d
HS	Hans Seiger søn af HJ 1584	d
HV	Henrich Willorns fp 1549 (samme som?:)	d
HV	Hendrich Villomsen 1580, Helsingborg 1586	d
HV	Hendrich Willumsen 1657	i
JA	Jens Boldmester Andersen, sølvpop 1636-41	d,i
JB	Johan Berindtsen 1576	g
JB	Johan Laurentz Bijnen tj. Brandenburg 1626	s
JE	Johan van Elmt (Elendt?) tj. Oranien 1614	n
JF	Jacob Freville tj. PC/C4 (se CEB 2,160ff) 1620-27	s
JG	Jean de Gier tj. Bøhmen 1638	n
JH	Jacop Henrichsen 1535, 40, 47p, 59	d
JH	Jacob von Hube f Fr3 1655	i
JH	Joachim Heinrichs fk PC 1633	s?
JH	Jost van Hammen fp 1549	d
JL	Johannes Laurentius 1613	d
JL	Jacob Lauritsen tj. Brandenburg 1615	s
JM	Johan Momme nederl. købmand 1620-41	i,n
JM	Johannes Momme (søn af JM) 1641	i
JO	Jacob Obdam, nederlandsk admiral 1659	n
JQ	Jacob Quarrier tj. England 1623	s
JR	Jacob Rytte fp 1547	d
JS	Jacob Sunichsen Falkener, Ribe, 1608-16	d
JS	Joachim Somer tj. Braunschweich 1608	i
JV	Johan Verbruggen tj. Oranien 1603-43	n,i
JW	Janson West tj. PC/Sachsen 1637-38	s
LA	Lorents Andersen fk PC 1633	d
LB	Lorents Bemen (Bijnen?) tj. Braunschweich 1660	n
LF	Laurits Falkener 1561	n
LH	Lucas Høffuemands fp 1547	d
MM	Marcus Momme søn af JM 1641	i
MN	Martin Neall(Nealis, Nicholas) tj. England 1622-40	i
MV	Meinikke Villomsen (enke af VV) 1616	g
MW	Michel van Westrem fp 1547	d
MZ	Michael Zeiger tj. Sachsen 1606	n

NK	Nikke Kok tolder i Helsingør 1642	i
NU	Niels Truedsen Ulfstand fk F2 1571-74	d
OL	Orion von Leber 1576	d
OO	Oluf Overskier København 1546	d
PC	Prins Christian (1603-47) 1625-38	s,d,n
PG	Pitrich Gray tj. England 1597	s
PH	Peyter Henrichssen fp 1547	d
PJ	Poul Jacobsen 1562	d
PV	Peder Willomsen 1529, 35, 37	d
PV	Peter Verbruggen (P,W,J brødre) tj. Oranien 1603-34	n,i
RE	Robert Elsdeen tj. England 1622	i
RP	Ricardus Poley, eng. 1562	d
SH	Symon van Hæssel fp 1547	d
SP	Simon Prutz 1560	n
VA	Villum Adams (Lakaj) Helsingør 1628-36	i,d
VB	Vos Bircums fp 1549	d
VD	Willom van Deur fp 1535,49	d
VH	Willom van Hæssel fp 1547	d
VH	Willom Henrichssen fp 1549	d
VR	Villum Rytter tj. Skotland 1601	s
VV	Villum Villumsen 1585-1616	g
VV	Villum Verbrugen søn af JV 1623-48	n
WH	Waltér Hoffuerdts fp 1547	d
WH	Walter Henrichsen fp 1549	d
WV	Walter Verbruggen (P,W,J brødre) tj. Oranien 1603-16	n

fp får pas

tj. tjener hos/ved

fk falkoner hos/ved

d, g, n, i og s: knyttet til dansk, gotlandsk, norsk, islandsk område, henholdsvis mødt ved Sundtolden.

## Bilag 10. Gavefalke 1574-1641

h: hvid falk, g: gerfalk, v: vandrefalk, \*til Christian IV/ prinsen, s.s.: "som sædvanlig", x: antal ukendt. I de fleste, muligvis alle, tilfælde er falkene hentet ved Helsingør.

De danske konger sendte bud til Island efter falke 19.5.1579, 6.4.1589, 19.4.1594, 1.5.1595, 1631, 26.1.1634, 6.2.1649, 10.5.1655 og 2.5.1656, sandsynligvis også med henblik på foræringer.

SKOTLAND ENGLAND	BRANDEN BURG	ANDRE TYSKE LANDE	FRANKRIG	TYSKE KEJSER
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År						
1574				32 (fordelt på flere lande)		
1586				10	Liegnitz	
1597		12		10	Hanau	
1599		16				
1600		10				
1603		20		x	Pfalz-Neuberg	
				x	Zabern	
1604				x	Bayern	
1605	*x					
1609		12				
1613			4g+4v	4g+4h	Sachsen	
1615		x	5g			
1619		x	5			
1620		8				6+2h
1621		24	8g			
1622			6g			
1623		24				
1624			10g	4g+8v	Wurttemberg	
1625						1h+12g+12v
1626		24	10			12g+12v
1627		s.s.				10
1628		12				18
1631				x	Sachsen	
1632	*30	s.s.				
1633				2g	Wurttemberg	
1633				13g+2v	Sachsen	12
1634		24				
1635				12	Sachsen	x
1636				x	Sachsen	x
1637	*x	x		3h+1g	Sachsen	
1638	*10g					
1639		x				
1640		x				
1641		x				

## Bilag 11. Frederik den Stores afvisning 1742

König Friedrich II (1740-1786) war der Falknerei wie jeglicher jagdlichen Betätigung abgeneigt. In "Antimachiavell" (1739) gab er seiner Abneigung gegen die Jagd Ausdruck:

"Die meisten Könige und Fürsten bringen drei Viertel ihrer Lebenszeit damit zu, die Wälder zu durchstreifen, das Wild zu hetzen und zu erlegen. Das Weidwerk ist einer jener sinnlichen Genüsse, die dem Leibe stark zu schaffen machen, dem Geist aber nichts geben; einen Leibesübung und Gewandheit im Morden des Wildes, eine fortgesetzte Zerstreung, ein geräuschvolles Vergnügen, dass die innere Leere ausfüllt, die Seele aber für jeden anderen Gedanken unempfänglich macht; ein brennendes Verlangen, irgendein Stück Rotwild zu hetzen, und dann die grausame und blutige Genugtuung, es zur Strecke zu bringen. Meinetwegen mag die Jagd so alt sein wie die Welt - was alt ist, ist darum doch nicht besser. Nennst du das Weidwerk ein Vergnügen, so antworte ich: Recht so! Geniesse es! Doch ohne Übertreibung! Gott behüte mich, ein Vergnügen zu verdammen, im Gegenteil! Alle Pforten der Seele möchte ich auf tun, dass die Freude beim Menschen einziehe. Gerade heraus: die Jagd ist vor allen Vergnügen die, so den Fürsten am allerwenigsten ansteht. Fürsten haben wirklich andere Übligkeiten ..."

(H.F. Helmholt: Fridericus, p. 25f., Berlin, 1914. (Via P. Bekkers's afskrift).

Zum Falkengeschenk aus Dänemark 1742 erlasst der König die Order:

"An der Ober Jägermeister Grafen von Schlieben. Die Falken selbst sollet ihr durch den Jäger Probst nebst einigen benötigten anderen Jägers nach Anspach an den Markgrafen senden und Sie instruiren, dass Sie wohl überkommen. Ich bin Euer wohl affektionirter König."

(Hans-Jürgen Dreyer, Die Landesherrliche Falknerei in Preussen unter den Hohenzollern, Nordost-Archiv 8, Heft 34-35, 1975. (Via Peter Bekkers's afskrift).

Allerdurchlauchtigster Grossmächtichster,  
Aller-gnädigster Erb-König und Herr!

Der Valkeniermeister Verhagen hat under anderen mir jüngsthin berichtet, was massen einer von denen unter ihm stehendem Valkeniers, die von Eur. Königl. Mayest., bey der diesjährigen Repartition vor Ihr. Mayst. dem König von Preussen allergnädigst destinierte 9 Stuck Eisländer Falcken, daselbst zu Potsdam zwar richtig und wohl überbracht; da aber höchstbesagte Ihr. Königl. Mayst. von Preussen diese Vögel nicht selber gebrauchen, ist dem vorgedachten Falkenier geboten worden, selbige noch weiter an Ihr. Hochfürstl. Durchl. die Frau Marggräfin von Anspach zu überbringen, und welches er zu thun so gut als genötiget gewesen, da man zu dem Ende das gewöhnliche Trinkgeld von dem Königl. Preussischen Hof dahinüber versandt hatte, ausser welches dem Falckeniermeister vor Transportierung und Unterhaltung der Falcken, in solcher Zeit, sonst nichts gutgethan wird. Ich habe nun wohl dem Falckeniermeister die Ungebühr darinn vorgehalten, dass die Falckeniers in dem Fall weiter gehen, als sie wohin sie von wegen Eur. Königl. Mayst. mit den Vögeln eigentlich versandt werden; Allein Ich finde mich auch verpflichtet Eur. Königl. Mayst. davon hiedurch allerunterthänigst Eröffnung zu thun, damit Allerhöchst Dieselben geruhen wollen mir dero Allergnädigsten Befehl mitzuzehlen, wie man sich hiernegst in dergleichen Fällen allerunterthänigst verhalten soll, der Zeit lebens mit aller Zeele in allertiefester Submission verharret, Eur. Königl. Mayest. Allerunterthänigster treupflichtschuldigster Diener

Gram  
Jägersburg, d. 17. Nov. 1742.

Dieses Mahl wollen wir des Falkonier-Meister sein Versehen pardoniren, ein anderes Mahl aber wird der Jæger Meister erinnern, dass der König von Preussen keine Falcken verlange, folglich Ihm auch keine geschichtet werden.

Christian R.  
Christiansburg d. 21. Nov. 1742.

(Rigsarkivet 333.639)

(De sidste to breve er tydet og omskrevet af Egil Skall).

## Bilag 12. Falkonergårdsbreve

Disse brevkopier har været fremskaffet og brugt af van Oorschot til hans bog fra 1974. De udgør en del af de bøger og pakker, der i J. Holmgaard, Rentekammeret, København 1964, p. 196, er omtalt som 333.633-333.649, herefter kun benævnt fx .639.

De ca. 250 breve er i det følgende kort omtalt i kronologisk orden, med henvisning til brevbog eller pakke nr., og med følgende forkortende betegnelser:

Forfatter	f	falkonermesteren
	j	overjægermesteren
	k	kongen
	r	Rentekammeret
	if	landsfogden på Island
	a	andre (evt. to initialer: ansatte ved Falkonergården)
Emne	1	falkesalgsregnskabet fra Island
	1d	diskussioner, kommentarer, attestationer etc. til emne 1
	2	andre emner vedr. fangsten på Island
	A	personalets conduitelister
	B	personalespørgsmål i øvrigt
	C	fordeling og transport af gavefalke
	D	hoffets egen jagt
	E	andre sager vedr. Falkonergården
	K	drab, død, kassation af falke

### Øvrige forkortelser:

n.	navne på fængere
tid	tidspunkter
lok.	lokaliteter på Island
sym.	om syssel- og andre embedsmænd på Island
refus.	beløb skal refunderes
ansbet.	ansættelsesbetingelser

CV, JH etc. er forkortelser for navne på de ansatte på Falkonergården

\* betegner, at brevet i betydeligt omfang er tydet og omskrevet til moderne håndskrift af N. H. C.

Breve, der ikke bærer dette tegn, kan godt være tydet, og informationer kan være uddraget. Men tiden har ikke tilladt fuldstændig omskrivning af hele materialet, og adskillige af brevene er for vanskelige for mig.

## Falkonergårdsbreve (via Bekkers og Oorschot)

15.08.1732	.638.	if	1, JK
15.08.1733	.638.	* if	1, tid, foder
16.10.1737	.638.	f	D, hejrer
28.12.1737	.638.	* a	B, K, CV
25?01.1738	.638.	* a	heste
11.02.1738	.638.	* a	heste
20.07.1739	.638.	* a	2, K, tarif, tid., n., østlok.
26.09.1739	.638.	r	2, tarif
01.11.1739	.638.	j	2, tarif
04.12.1739	.638.	* k	2, tarif
21.05.1740	.639.	a	norsk forpagtning 1740-45
07.08.1740	.638.	if	1, HG
14.06.1741	.639.	f	D
27.01.1742	.640.	f	1d
28.07.1742	.639.	f	A
04.08.1742	.639.	r	E, klæder
07.11.1742	.639.	* j	C, Preussen
21.11.1742	.639.	* k	C, Preussen
16.05.1743	.639.	f	E, klæder
18.06.1743	.639.	a	B
27.06.1743	.639.	f	B
29.07.1743	.639.	j	C
31.07.1743	.639.	k	C
17.02.1744	.640.	f	2, østlok.
12.05.1744	.639.	a	B, CV
04.08.1744	.639.	?	A, E
03.09.1744	.639.	a	B, CV
11.09.1744	.640.	* f	2, sym.
02.12.1744	.640.	* j	2, sym.
01.01.1745	.640.	* k	2, sym.
05.01.1745	.639.	* r	B, JK
16.02.1745	.639.	r	E
13.03.1745	.639.	f	B, C
25.03.1745	.639.	a	E
11.06.1745	.639.	f	B, klæder
18.06.1745	.639.	* k	B, HV's papisteri
30.06.1745	.639.	* f	B, HV's papisteri
03.08.1745	.639.	r	B, JK
06.08.1745	.640.	if	1, GR
21.12.1745	.639.	a	B, klæder
08.02.1746	.639.	r	B
19.02.1746	.639.	f	B, GR, JK
10.05.1746	.639.	j	B, klæder
13.06.1746	.639.	* k	B, klæder
01.07.1746	.639.	f	E
12.08.1747	.640.	if	1, GR
02.03.1748	.639.	?	norsk, ulovlighed
09.03.1748	.639.	* ?	norsk, ulovlighed
20.04.1748	.639.	* a	B, XC
22.04.1748	.639.	f	2



01.03.1749	.639.	r	norsk forpagtning 1749-51
18.09.1749	.639.	f	2, tid., C
06.08.1751	.640.	if	1, sym., GR
05.10.1751	.639.	f	C
22.04.1752	.639.	r	norsk forpagtning 1752-57
13.05.1752	.639.	f	B, GR
14.05.1752	.639.	f	B, HV og hans søn
09.06.1752	.639.	f	B
27.08.1752	.639.	f	1d
02.10.1752	.639.	f	B
02.12.1752	.639.	r	B
12.08.1753	.640.	if	1, JG
11.01.1754	.639.	f	B, JG
04.04.1754	.639.	f	B, RG
31.07.1754	.639.	a	norsk forpagtning
10.09.1754	.639.	* JV	B, JV melder sig
17.09.1755	.639.	?	B, C
12.12.1755	.639.	* a	B
27.12.1755	.639.	* r	B, HV, JV
04.09.1756	.639.	* f	1d, JM
16.02.1757	.639.	a	B, Kirsten Govers
07.03.1757	.639.	j	B
07.03.1757	.639.	a	B
31.05.1757	.639.	f	C
04.09.1757	.639.	f	1d, tid
19.10.1757	.639.	f	C
24.11.1757	.639.	f	B, JG, FJ, VS
01.01.1758	.639.	a	B, klæder
01.04.1758	.639.	a	norsk forpagtning 1758-63
10.06.1758	.639.	f	B
26.07.1758	.639.	f	B, E
04.09.1758	.639.	f	1d, tid
15.09.1758	.639.	f	C, K
03.10.1758	.639.	f	C
14.10.1758	.639.	f	B, E
21.11.1758	.639.	f	B, E
xx.01.1759	.639.	f	B, klæder
29.01.1759	.640.	f	1d
14.04.1759	.640.	f	1d
01.09.1759	.639.	f	1d, tid
11.09.1759	.639.	f	C
21.09.1759	.639.	f	C
26.09.1759	.639.	* f	C, skibsfragt til Portugal
06.11.1759	.640.	f	1d
05.12.1759	.640.	f	1d
xx.01.1760	.639.	a	B, klæder, n.
08.08.1760	.640.	if	1, WV
24.08.1760	.639.	f	1d
18.09.1760	.639.	f	E, kurbayere i Skåne
17.10.1760	.639.	f	1d
22.10.1760	.639.	f	1d, tid

01.11.1760	.639.	f	?
14.11.1760	.639.	f	C
04.12.1760	.640.	f	1d
30.12.1760	.639.	f	B, JK død, WV
01.01.1761	.639.	f	B, klæder
16.01.1761	.640.	f	1d
28.02.1761	.639.	f	B, ML
12.03.1761	.639.	* f	B, JV's sønner, ansbet.
12.03.1761	.639.	r	B, WV 112 Rdl årligt
23.03.1761	.639.	j	B, JV's søn(ner?)
04.04.1761	.639.	* f	B, HV, ansbet.
11.04.1761	.639.	f	B, ML
18.04.1761	.639.	j	B, WV, XR
08.08.1761	.639.	f	1d
11.10.1761	.639.	f	C
18.12.1761	.639.	f	B
09.01.1762	.639.	a	B
17.09.1762	.639.	f	B, H Verhagen død 15.09.
04.11.1762	.639.	f	1d, tid
17.11.1762	.639.	f	C
04.12.1762	.639.	f	C
13.12.1762	.639.	f	C
21.12.1762	.640.	a	2, B, K, FP, n.
05.01.1763	.640.	f	1d
18.01.1763	.639.	f	C, E
30.04.1763	.640.	* f	2, B, K, FP, n.
30.04.1763	.640.	* f	2, B, K, FP, JL
30?04.1763	.640.	* f	2, n., lok.
12.06.1763	.639.	* f	C, JL, Portugal, Marokko
17.06.1763	.639.	a	C, heste, Marokko
23.06.1763	.639.	* f	C, falkemad, Portugalrejse
27.09.1763	.641.	a	B, GR, WV død
02.11.1763	.641.	* f	2, n., sym.
05.11.1763	.641.	r	B, WVs enke 50 Rdl årligt
26.11.1763	.641.	* f	2, chikane
16.02.1764	.641.	* f	2, K, ødelæggelser
16.02.1764	.641.	f	2, dementi af 26.11.63
11.04.1764	.641.	* f	2, K, chikane
11.04.1764	.641.	* f	B, C, JL, Portugal, penge
11.04.1764	.641.	f	B, GRs søn
25.06.1764	.641.	f	B, FP, Rusland
12.08.1764	.641.	if	1
22.10.1764	.641.	f	1d
09.11.1764	.641.	f	B, JL død, penge
09.11.1764	.641.	f	B, penge, (JL)
24.04.1765	.641.	f	E
24?04.1765	.641.	?	B, C, tilskadekommen, Lissabon
20.07.1765	.641.	* f	B, fs egne
22.07.1765	.641.	f	B, penge, brændt instruks
20.08.1765	.641.	if	1
10.09.1765	.641.	f	1d

24.09.1765	.641.	* r	1d, K, refus., tid, foder
03.10.1765	.641.	f	1d, FP i Odsherred
22.10.1765	.641.	* f+	D, lærkefalke, GR
14.12.1765	.641.	j	1d
xx.12.1765	.641.	f	2, sym., øst frarådes, tid
12.04.1766	.641.	* f	2, højst 100 falke
18.06.1766	.641.	* f	D, harer og spurve
31.07.1766	.641.	f	E
23.08.1766	.641.	if	1
06.10.1766	.641.	* f	1d, K, refus., C forsinket
06.10.1766	.641.	f	1d
08.08.1767	.641.	if	1, sym.
17.10.1767	.641.	r	ledsagebrev til 08.08.
24.10.1767	.641.	r	1d, vadmél og hør
26.10.1767	.641.	f	1d, FP i Odsherred
10.11.1767	.641.	f	1d, vadmél
10.11.1767	.641.	f	2
10.11.1767	.641.	FP	1d, D, året dårligt
10?11.1767	.641.	FP	1d, vadmél
30.11.1767	.641.	* f	falkeudgifter i Kbnhvn, n.
24.08.1768	.641.	if	1, DH
09.09.1768	.641.	f	1d
04.10.1768	.641.	f	E, kejserlige gerstykker
11.10.1768	.641.	f	E, kejserlige gerstykker
15.04.1769	.641.	f	E, Falkoneralle spærres
11.08.1769	.641.	if	1
11.11.1769	.641.	r	1d, ledsagebrev til 11.08.
24.11.1769	.641.	f	1d, sym.
03.05.1770	.641.	f	E, grøfter ved F.gården
29.05.1770	.641.	a	B, DH død
06.06.1770	.641.	f	B, DH
29.06.1770	.641.	a	B, DHs enke ønsker 251 Rdl
04.07.1770	.641.	a	B, JVs gæld på 9000 Rdl
03.09.1770	.641.	if	1
03.11.1770	.641.	r	1d, ledsagebrev til 03.09.
05.11.1770	.641.	a	B, GR, FP, FB
05.11.1770	.641.	f	1d, og danske falke
10.11.1770	.641.	f	1d
05.04.1771	.641.	f	B, GR, FP
05.04.1771	.641.	f	B, WVs enke
13.04.1771	.641.	* f	2, n. 1766 og 70
13.07.1771	.641.	* a	2, erstatninger
14.08.1771	.641.	if	1
30.09.1771	.641.	f	1d
30.09.1771	.641.	f	1d, K? (143 blev til 84), J 384f
14.12.1771	.641.	* f	D, forslag til 1540 Rdl
14.12.1771	.641.	f	D, forslag til 1184 Rdl
14.12.1771	.641.	?	E, klæder
22.12.1771	.641.	f	B, GR, D, forslag til 1000 Rdl
31.12.1771	.641.	* f	A, FP i Odsherred (15 falke sept)
xx.12.1771	.641.	f	A, årets gang

16.08.1772	.642.	*	a	2, n.
06?10.1772	.642.		a	1d, norsk nødration, HV
27.10.1772	.642.	*	f	1d, C, K, nødration
02.11.1772	.642.		f	ledsagebrev til 6. og 27.10.
14.11.1772	.642.		a	gnaven kvitt. fra Norske Kammer
27.01.1773	.642.	*	f	2, statistik for tre år, lok., n.
09.08.1773	.642.		if	1, tid, foder
30.08.1773	.638.	*	f	HV, Portugal, fjer, kejsl. ventes
23.08.1774	.642.		if	1, tid, foder
07.10.1774	.638.	*	f	C, K, kejsl. ventes, sneugle 73
11.01.1775	.638.	*	f	A
20.02.1775	.642.		f	B, GR
13.04.1775	.642.		f	B
19.08.1775	.642.		if	1, tid, foder
25.03.1776	.642.	*	f	E, FB, ulovlig norsk fangst
07.09.1776	.642.		if	1, tid, foder
29.04.1777	.642.		f	B, HV og JoV
13.08.1777	.642.		if	1, tid, foder
09.09.1777	.642.		r	1d, ledsagebrev til 13.08.
16.09.1777	.642.	*	a	2, stiftamtmandens tanker
20.09.1777	.642.	*	HV	2, HVs tanker. Østlok. anbefales
02.10.1777	.642.	*	f	2, C, tanker, sneugle
15.11.1777	.642.		a	E
21.11.1777	.642.	*	FP	2, tanker
22.11.1777	.642.	*	f	2, svar på 16.09.
26.07.1779	.642.	*	f	B, C, kejsl. gerstykker i Sverige
21.08.1779	.642.		f	B, pas til Sverige
24.08.1779	.642.		if	1, tid, foder
24.09.1779	.642.		f	B, C, Port., Span.(?), Sverige
04.10.1779	.642.		r?	ledsagebrev til 24.08.
19.10.1779	.642.		f	C
18.04.1784	.638.		a	B, C, JVs død
18.05.1785	.638.	*	f	2, statistik, n., lok., gamle mænd
09.02.1796	.649.		f	
31.12.1796	.649.			
19.01.1798	.649.			
24.01.1799	.649.			
xx.xx.1800	.649.			
19.01.1802	.649.			
21.01.1804	.649.			
29.01.1805	.649.			
24.01.1806	.649.			
10.02.1807	.649.			
20.02.1808	.649.			
18.02.1809	.649.			

## Noter

### Noter til kapitel 1

- [1] Bernström, Bø (A) m.fl. KHL 4, sp. 142ff; 7, sp. 294ff, 552ff.
- [2] Se bilag 12. Se også Holmgaard, p. 196.
- [3] Engelmann, p. 530.
- [4] Wood og Fyfe, p. 111f. Gerfalken fra Island får forrang, men teksten vender ofte tilbage til vandrefalkens kvaliteter.
- [5] van de Wall, p. 55 (G. Blaine 1936).
- [6] Brown og Amadon, p. 147, 846.
- [7] Witherby, pp. 2-15; Blotzheim, p. 862, 866, 881; Gensbøl, pp. 223 ff., 235 ff.
- [8] Wood og Fyfe, p. 108 f.
- [9] W p. 460.
- [10] Tillisch, p. 18.
- [11] J p. 362.
- [12] Valkenswaard-Falkonermuseets engelske brochure; Tillisch pp. 28ff; uidentificeret hollandsk artikel.
- [13] van de Wall, p. 127.
- [14] Bø (B), p. 34; Tilander p. 136.
- [15] J p. 381.
- [16] Bø (B), pp. 25ff.
- [17] Oorschot, p. 56.
- [18] Horrebow, pp. 149ff.
- [19] Barth, p. 52.

## Noter til kapitel 2

- [1] J p. 412.
- [2] Kungsbacka eller Bäck ved Åskloster, 12 km nord for Varberg.
- [3] Bø (B), p. 52f.
- [4] Rasmusson, sp. 580f.
- [5] Trottenberg er jo ret nøje placeret. Nogle af de andre navne kan være fejlskrevne for Villsherred og Skummeslev.
- [6] Rudebeck, p. 139.
- [7] I de fleste tilfælde er stedet betegnet som Lillehammer i Malmø Len, eller Lillehammer ved Falsterbo. I enkelte tilfælde, således i Jacob I's anbefaling af maj 1613, står der bare Lillehammer. Jacobsen p. 372 kommer her i tvivl om, hvorvidt lokaliteten er byen i Norge. Herimod taler, at denne by slet ikke er nævnt af Bø (B).
- [8] Nilsson, p. 10f.
- [9] Troels-Lund, p. 20.
- [10] Hansen, L., p. 8, pp. 112ff.
- [11] KKR p. 402.
- [12] J p. 365.
- [13] Kristensen, p. 673.
- [14] Knudsen, p. 175.
- [15] I begyndelsen af 1940-erne tog man i Nordhalland redeunger til Herman Göring, Tilander, p. 135. Ved Hovs Haller vest for Båstad har jeg selv set et vandrefalkepar på redeplads d. 13.5.1960.
- [16] Holmgaard, p. 196.
- [17] KKR p. 76, 402.
- [18] J p. 369.
- [19] se [12].
- [20] J p. 366.
- [21] Forslag af 26.2.1784, J p. 366.
- [22] 3.10.1765, 26.10.1767, 30.11.1767, 31.12.1771, 11.1.1775.
- [23] J p. 364.
- [24] J p. 365.
- [25] J p. 359.
- [26] J p. 346.

### Noter til kapitel 3

- [1] Bø (A), sp. 152.
- [2] NRR har eet bind dækkende 1523-71, 7 bind dækkende 1572-1648. DM, FFR og KB har ca. 6 bind dækkende 1523-1570, 23 bind dækkende 1571-1648.
- [3] Her betyder "nordenfjeldsk" næppe Nordlandene; Bø (B), p. 35.
- [4] J p. 371f; Bø (B), pp. 25-59; Barth.
- [5] J p. 373.
- [6] 25.3.1776.
- [7] Bø (B), p. 34. Det er vanskeligt at danne sig et indtryk af, hvor mange pladser Bø nævner, men det kan godt være 30 for hele Norge.
- [8] J p. 371f.
- [9] J p. 375.
- [10] 2.3. og 9.3.1748.
- [11] Bø (B), pp. 25ff.
- [12] samme, pp. 67ff; J p. 374.
- [13] Bø (B), p. 68.
- [14] J p. 376.
- [15] Tilander, p. 137f.
- [16] Bø (B), p. 64f.
- [17] samme, p. 33.
- [18] Nilsson, p. 12.
- [19] Tilander, p. 136.
- [20] Nilsson, p. 10f. Unge storfalke har blålige fødder (Witherby, p. 4 og 14).
- [21] 4.10. og 11.10.1768, se også J p. 371, der dog daterer Verhuvens brev til 4.3.1768. (Man kunne vel købe norske gerfalke på det nederlandske marked, men man håbede måske på at få dem billigere direkte fra Norge eller Sverige).
- [22] 26.7., 21.8., 24.9.1779.
- [23] Oorschot, pp. 140ff.
- [24] Bandgathe, pp. 19ff.
- [25] Bø (B), p. 27.
- [26] J p. 371.

## Noter til kapitel 4

- [1] Thorsteinsson.
- [2] Bandgathe, p. 22.
- [3] Thordarson, sp. 154.
- [4] Således i 1490 og i 1542, Ketilson 1 pp. 82ff, 248f.
- [5] J p. 381 anfører, at Christian IV i 1619, efter råd fra kong Jacob, forbød udtagning af redeunger på Island. Sådan kan jeg ikke læse brevet af 30.4.1619.
  
- [6] Thorsteinsson, pp. 163ff.
- [7] Oorschot, pp. 65ff.
- [8] Ketilson 2, p. 401.
- [9] PCB I pp. 444f, 447f.
- [10] CEB 9.2.1645 bd. 6, pp. 15f.
- [11] Oorschot, p. 70.
- [12] Ketilson 3, pp. 60, 63f, 66, 96, 109, 125, 162, 176f, 190, 313.
- [13] KKR pp. 106, 123, 149, 163. Sidste passus nævner dog ikke Island.
- [14] Thorsteinsson, p. 160.
- [15] 30.4.1763, 26.11.1763.
- [16] 11.9.1744; 2.12.1744; 1.1.1745; 30.4.1763; 26.11.1763.
- [17] Thorsteinsson, p. 176.
- [18] J p. 380 oplyser, at i året 1786 måtte rejsefalkoneren selv fange falke deroppe.
- [19] Omfanget og de langvarige konsekvenser af denne katastrofe kan ikke sammenfattes i få linier, men bør studeres i Thorsteinsson, p. 190f.
- [20] 16.9.1777, 20.9.1777, 2.10.1777, 21. og 22.11.1777.
- [21] Jonsson, p. 51.
- [22] Bernström, sp. 144. J p. 356 kan tilføje, at det var på Svend Estridsens tid (1047-74).
- [23] J p. 384.



## Noter til kapitel 5

- [1] Rau, pp. 213, 329 ff.
- [2] Oorschot, p. 12.
- [3] Harting (A), pp. xiv, 264.
- [4] van Gerven, Valkenswaard 1993, pers. medd.
- [5] Oorschot, p. 49, 277.
- [6] De medbragte parykker, leer, knive, messingtøj, apparatur til brændevinsdestillation; de påtog sig lidet agtede hverv som kastrering af dyr, havde ikke lav status som rakkere, men var heller ikke så fine som deres landsmænd falkonererne, der i kraft af omgang med fyrster og højadelige personer kunne nyde høj social agtelse. Alligevel kan der spores forbindelser mellem teuter og falkonerer, også når de opererede i udlandet. Oorschot, pp. 62 ff; Hanssen 1906.
- [7] Oorschot, mange steder.
- [8] Harting (A), p. 190.
- [9] Engelmann, p. 530.
- [10] Dreyer; Oorschot, pp. 209 ff.
- [11] Oorschot, p. 70.
- [12] Bø (B), p. 20 f.
- [13] Oorschot, p. 86.
- [14] W p. 87.
- [15] W p. 252f.
- [16] se [15].
- [17] W p. 330f.
- [18] White, p. 296.
- [19] W p. 427.
- [20] Bø (B), p. 30.
- [21] samme, p. 64f.
- [22] samme, p. 67f.
- [23] J p. 374.
- [24] Bø (B), p. 67f.
- [25] J p. 365; W p. 412.
- [26] W p. 412f.
- [27] Oorschot, p. 16f, 19.

## Noter til kapitel 6

- [1] Schøning, p. 111, 134.
- [2] Larnier, pp. 211ff. Tuchman, p. 240.
- [3] Tuchman, p. 567.
- [4] Bernström, sp. 142; Bø (A), sp. 150f; ("Falkar" i KHL). Blatt, nr 266 og 499.
- [5] Dementiew, pp. 65ff.
- [6] Dreyer (via P. Bekkers). Oorschot, p. 15f.
- [7] Engelmann, p. 530.
- [8] W p. 59.
- [9] J p. 387.
- [10] Bemærk tidspunkterne og se i bilag 10.
- [11] J pp. 386ff.
- [12] Troels-Lund, p. 133.
- [13] Teist, p. 597.
- [14] Bang.
- [15] Prins Christian, 1603-47. Jacques de Freville havde været hans lærer, men var gesandt i Paris i 1620'erne. CEB, 2 p. 160 f.
- [16] W p. 104, 434.
- [17] J p. 388.
- [18] Dreyer.
- [19] J pp. 389ff, p. 414.
- [20] Oorschot, p. 118f, p. 146, p. 150, pp. 298f.
- [21] J p. 389.
- [22] KKR p. 149.
- [23] W p. 414.
- [24] J p. 389. Oorschot p. 119 kender ikke denne forskel.
- [25] 4. og 11.10.1768.
- [26] Oorschot, p. 94f.
- [27] Dreyer.
- [28] J p. 392.
- [29] W p. 414.
- [30] J p. 393.
- [31] Feldbæk, p. 168, p. 361f.
- [32] J p. 414.
- [33] se [5].
- [34] W p. 418.
- [35] J p. 394; Reinhardt, p. 409.
- [36] Dreyer.
- [37] Oorschot, p. 93. ("Het staat buiten twijfel, dat de Deense monarch van zijn IJslandse monopolie een winstgevende zaak had kunne opzetten").

## Noter til kapitel 7

- [1] 13.10.1571.
- [2] 26.2.1573.
- [3] 9.10.1574.
- [4] Nystrøm, p. 102.
- [5] W p. 434.
- [6] J p. 398f.
- [7] KKR pp. 74ff, 93f.
- [8] W p. 410.
- [9] 22.7.1765.
- [10] W p. 428.
- [11] se [7].
- [12] J p. 400.
- [13] Oorschot, p. 88.
- [14] J p. 401f. W p. 212.
- [15] xx.12.1771 m.m.
- [16] 16.10.1737. W p. 434.
- [17] 14.12.1771: 1540 Rdl, 14.12.1771: 1184 Rdl, 22.12.1771: 1000 Rdl.
- [18] 26.11.1763.
- [19] J p. 384f (fodnote).
- [20] W p. 418f.
- [21] 16.2.1764. J p. 383f. W p. 418 mener kassationen i 1765 foregik på Island.
- [22] 30.4.1763.
- [23] J p. 380.
- [24] 15.8.1733 siger 24. juni, 24.9.1765 siger 12. juli.
- [25] W p. 433: 0.6 pund (= 300 g). Dementiew, p. 82: 250 g.
- [26] W p. 420. Tillisch, p. 96.
- [27] J p. 385f.
- [28] Denne udredning, baseret på antagelsen om, at kødvægten på en (islandsk) stud var 37 kg, har ført frem til tal, der ikke afviger voldsomt fra Horrebøw, p. 152, hvor det nemlig hedder, at man tog provision med for 7 uger, og at falkoneren slagtede så mange stude ved afrejsen, at der var føde til 2 uger.
- [29] Hansen, Th., p. 16f.
- [30] Oorschot, p. 95, omtaler en transport af vandrefalke fra Rotterdam til København, som varede 42 døgn, hvoraf 2 til sejladsen. Strækningen Rotterdam-Lübeck, ca 500 km, blev således tilbagelagt på 40 dage, hvoraf kun 26 var egentlige marchdage. Heraf beregnes den gennemsnitlige dagsmarch til ca 20 km.
- [31] Reinhardt, pp. 302ff.
- [32] Rostrup, p.131.
- [33] J p. 403f.
- [34] J p. 366.

## Noter til kapitel 8

- [1] Reinhardt, pp. 280ff.
- [2] Wood og Fyfe, pp. 273-357.
- [3] Rau, pp. 329ff.
- [4] Harting (B), p. 153 f.
- [5] Tillisch, p. 82.
- [6] Harting (B), p. 152.
- [7] Dreyer.
- [8] W p. 426, 434.
- [9] Tillisch, p. 89.
- [10] W p. 35.
- [11] Boisen, p. 203.
- [12] Tuchman, p. 57.
- [13] KHL 4, sp. 147, Blatt, nr. 266 og 499.
- [14] J p. 413 f.
- [15] CEB.
- [16] Ellehøj, p. 380.
- [17] Brøndegård, p. 98.
- [18] Ellehøj, p. 453.
- [19] Nystrøm, p. 102.
- [20] J p. 408.
- [21] W p.436.
- [22] J p. 366.
- [23] J p. 388.
- [24] J p. 408.
- [25] J p. 409f.
- [26] Tillisch, p. 91.
- [27] Oorschot, p. 86.
- [28] Deichman, pp. 55-75, 87-88.
- [29] Tømmeraas.
- [30] Reinhardt, p. 279f.
- [31] samme, p. 386.
- [32] samme, p. 412.
- [33] W p. 411.
- [34] W p. 435.
- [35] Holstein, (A) og (B).
- [36] Arntzen, p. 86.
- [37] Oorschot 1995, pers. medd.

## Noter til bilag 1

- [1] Oorschot, p. 308.
- [2] J p. 376.
- [3] J p. 346 (Bechsteins Naturhistorie).
- [4] 25.3.1776.
- [5] J p. 387.
- [6] J p. 368.
- [7] J p. 382; 20.7. og 4.12.1739.
- [8] Thorsteinsson, pp. 160, 168, 176ff., 184.

## ENGLISH SUMMARY

### The large falcons from the Danish kings

Since the 12th century or earlier hawks and falcons were caught in Scandinavia and Iceland and exported to southern markets and falcon mews. For the period until about 1550 these activities have been set forth in "Kulturhistorisk Leksikon for Nordisk Middelalder". The present treatise deals with the continuation of these activities, and the efforts of the Danish kings to get them under their control. The period chosen is 1523-1810; the first half is rather well covered by accessible printed sources, e.g. the letter-copy-books of the royal chancellery. For the later half of the period previous works (Jacobsen, Weismann, van Oorschot) and letter-copies from the royal Danish falconry establishment (Falkonergården) have been useful.

The region of interest is mainly the former Danish kingdom including Norway, Iceland and the provinces lost to Sweden in 1643-1660. Schleswig-Holstein is not included.

The geographical distribution of the falcons and their migratory behaviour is described. The white Greenlandic gyrfalcon migrated in some number to Iceland, and the north-European peregrine falcons migrated in large numbers through southern Scandinavia, along the eastern Baltic coast-lands and the Netherlands to south-west Europe. The Icelandic gyrfalcons were strictly residents, the Scandinavian were mainly residents.

The Brabantian trapping-technique is set forth in detail. Since the 13th century it had been used in Brabant (in the Netherlands) for peregrine falcons on passage in autumn and spring. It was also used by Brabantian trappers operating in Scandinavia, also for fledged gyrfalcons, but the trappers on Iceland had a more mobile technique: no huts, no decoy-birds at poles and no shrikes. Their small ponies were excellent for rapid transport; one horse-man could carry 10-12 falcons.

The ancient method of taking nestlings possibly survived at some places, although everybody agreed that the results with fledged falcons always were better, and although the professional purchasers hardly would buy nestlings, except for use as decoy-falcons.

The role of the Brabantian falconers throughout the period and region treated here is strongly emphasized in this treatise. Native trappers were important on Iceland, played a minor role in Norway, and were just traceable in Denmark, but none of them could do without the Brabantians, their technique and trade-connections.

The Danish kings issued trapping-licenses at about 25 localities in Denmark, cf. bilag 3, mainly in the period 1535-1588; then the permissions for trapping in the Danish kingdom proper became rarer in the chancellery's books. The trappers had mostly foreign names, usually Netherlandish cf. bilag 9. They had to pay a tax, and the licenses were renewed after 3 or 5 years.

The trappers were obliged to show the Danish king their annual catch before they left the country, but it is doubtful whether this was meant in earnest; most likely it was meant to preclude foreign purchasers to buy at the catching places. In emperor Maximilian's instruction from about 1500 such bargaining at the Scandinavian catching places is mentioned (Engelmann). Perhaps such procedure was allowed or tolerated by the Danish kings or bishops before the Reformation, but not later.

While the annual presentation of the catch probably never was insisted on, the Danish kings did issue general calls for falcon-trappers in 1536, 1546, 1549, 1550, 1557, 1582, 1584, 1620 and 1634. The falcons purchased at such occasions were probably intended to be given as presents abroad, since there are no record of Danish falconry in these years.

During the period 1559-1588 the licenses emphasize that only fledged falcons may be captured, the taking of nestlings is forbidden, except for decoy-falcons. This also applies to the Norwegian licenses for that period. This restriction is only mentioned in this period, which coincides with the reign of king Frederik II, who was devoted to hunting, perhaps also to hawking.

Some of the localities, Lillehammer at Falsterbo and Rødby on Lolland, are discussed in more detail in view of the huge diurnal bird-migration observed there in modern days. In the autumn of 1547 more than 100 peregrines had been trapped and exported by 17 Netherlandish trappers operating in Scania-Halland.

The eastern provinces were lost to Sweden during the wars 1643-1660; foreigners still trapped falcons there as late as the 1770's. Peregrines were also caught in Denmark proper at Lolland-Falster around 1700. In Odsherred in NW-Zealand 10-15 peregrines were trapped each autumn during the late 1700's, probably at a single hut. The latest official trapping in Denmark was in 1806.

During the period 1448-1864 the Danish kingdom was connected or united with the dukedoms of Schleswig and Holstein, but the archives referring to these districts have not been investigated in this work. Holstein was a fief of the German empire; the Danish kings (as dukes of Holstein) might owe the emperor and his electors (Kurfürsten) certain favours.

There are rather good traditions among Norwegian historians to mention the medieval catching of falcons in Norway, which should have declined during the 1400's. Norway, Iceland and Greenland constituted a kingdom, which became united with Denmark in 1380, and the trapping activity then declined (according to Olav Bø), but increased again after the Reformation. Perhaps these fluctuations are not real, but reflect changing systems of control of the trapping, and varying survival of the sources about such control.

The Norwegian chancellery's copybooks do not mention Norwegian trappings at all during the reigns of king Frederik I (1523-33) and Christian III (1536-1559). But when the hunting-loving king Frederik II (1559-1588) takes over, he starts with proclaiming that all trappers in Norway from now on will have to pay license, and they have to show the king in Copenhagen their catch.

However, it is clear that he never succeeds in his intentions, and during the years 1561-1582 there is again no mentioning at all about Norwegian trapping.

Under his son and successor Christian IV (1588-1648) licenses are issued district by district, finally covering all Norway, mostly to the Netherlandish family Verbruggen (see also bilag 5). There is never any mentioning of the trappers having to show their catch to the king; they pay some tax and bring it all to the Netherlands. This may be due to their positions as falconers of the prince of Oranje; as such they could not be treated as simple merchants. During the following kings in the 1600's the Norwegian trapping is leased district by district mainly to Netherlandish falconer-companies, but also sometimes granted to special persons, e.g. the Dutch admiral Obdam in 1659 after his successful help to Denmark in the Danish-Swedish war, or to other princely or imperial falconers. During the 1700's the entire Norwegian trapping was put on auction with intervals of 3-7 years. The falcon-master in Copenhagen often obtained the lease, and sub-leased the trapping to Valkenswaarders. The number of active huts in Norway fluctuated between 15 and 30; the annual catch was 100-160 mainly gyrfalcons obtained by a score of Brabantian falconers, sometimes assisted by the local population. Apart from very short periods it looks as if the Danish kings did not use the Norwegian gyrfalcons to their personal needs. The last records of official trapping in Norway are from about 1780.

The pale grey Icelandic and, even more so, the white Greenlandic variety of the gyrfalcon were considered the best for falconry from the 13th century ("De arte venandi cum avibus") and later. A number of the birds from Greenland spent the winter in Iceland and could be trapped there in the period December-April. This was also a period of difficult sailing conditions, so if foreign trappers were active, they had to stay during the winter, and owing to the shortage of food that was neither attractive nor allowed. Thus the trapping of gyrfalcons on Iceland may have been done by the local population long back in history. Whether nestlings of the Icelandic gyrfalcons were taken is not known.

A Norwegian record from 1225 ("Kongespejlet") states that the (Norse) population in Greenland does not understand to make use of the numerous valuable white gyrfalcons there.

The Norwegian kings or archbishops controlled the export of gyrfalcons from Iceland in the 12th - 14th century. From 1380 Iceland and Norway became united with Denmark, but the remote Danish power could not prevent Portuguese, English and Hanseatic influence on the island, varying from trade to piracy. In the 15th and 16th century merchants from Hamburg fetched gyrfalcons on Iceland; whether trapped or taken from the nests, whether by foreign falconers or local people is not clear. There were complaints that they did not pay the required tax to the Danish kings. In the beginning of the 17th century catching licenses were issued to foreigners only, partly to such in the service of the king of Britain or the prince of Oranje (bilag 6), but eventually the Dutch merchant Momm and his family took over, and his power increased during the Danish-Swedish wars 1643-60.

King Christian IV (1588-1648) instituted the Danish Icelandic Company in 1602, and for a time the catches of falcons, like other Icelandic goods, were freighted on the company's ships, which meant that they passed the strait of the Sound (Øresund), before they were sent to their final destination. But Momm succeeded in breaking this tradition and during 1640-1660 most of the Icelandic falcons were sent directly to the Netherlands.

In 1662 king Frederik III (1648-1670) stated that unlicensed foreigners were not allowed to buy falcons from the local catchers on Iceland. This statement reveals that local catchers still existed and had been active for some time, in contradiction to bilag 6 showing only foreigners as entitled to catching on Iceland. Presumably the local catchers had never left the scene; the role of the licensed foreigners had then been to purchase the catch from the local catchers. If the quality was good, this arrangement must have satisfied all; the foreigners could postpone the journey to a pleasant period of the year, while the locals did the tough work in the rough season.

The Danish kings sent their "own falconer" to buy gyrfalcons on Iceland in 1579, 1589, 1594, 1595, 1619, 1634, 1649, 1655, 1656, 1657, 1663, 1671, 1673, 1674, 1676, and from then on almost yearly till 1806. Most of these falcons were probably intended to be sent as presents to royal or noble persons in Europe.

The Danish royal power became hereditary and absolute in 1660. Royal wishes now became law, and as the marine power of Denmark increased, the gyrfalcons from Iceland became their possession not only de jure but de facto. A royal Danish falconry establishment in Copenhagen was established around 1680. A load of gyrfalcons came now yearly from Iceland to Copenhagen, bilag 8. The periodical variation in the numbers could reflect a biological rhythm of the Icelandic gyrfalcon population.

The local catchers on Iceland were now very active, but the records are not detailed until 1730. For the next fifty years we have letters giving their names, cf. bilag 7. The names reveal that they all were native Icelanders.



We know something of their trapping technique and their problems. They were about ten, each one having at least one western district (sysse), the eastern parts of Iceland were not regularly visited by trappers. They trapped the white falcons in March-April, and the pale grey in April-June. They had to feed their falcons with about 250 grams of fresh meat each day, and 10 gyrfalcons on cost during 3 months eat 250 kg, which requires some live-stock or relative richness. They transported their catch on horse-back to Bessestad near Reykjavik around the 24th of June, where the royal falconer had arrived, and inspection and bargain began. Sick or weak birds were rejected, it appears that usually 12-30% were discarded. The distinction between "whites" and "greys" was not always evident; an in-between group "half-whites" was invented. Even so, discussions arose, for the payment varied considerably with the colour, cf. bilag 1. Some of the trappers could return with more than 100 Rdl, a very high yearly salary on Iceland in those days, but others were less lucky and became dependent on local rich people.

As the number of European falcon establishments decreased from the middle of the 18th century, the need for the grey falcons decreased, but white ones were always desired. However, their occurrence varied from year to year, and many suggestions how to solve these problems arose, including thoughts of expeditions to Greenland.

The mental attitude towards nature in the three centuries treated here is discussed. Nature was either for use or for combat. Users of falcons were the Brabantian professionals, the catchers, the present-giving Danish royal persons and the foreign potentates, who supported falconry one way or the other. Enemies of falcons and other raptors were the majority, the common people, farmers, foresters and hunting people. But the serious combat against raptors did not come until around 1780, when bullets became cheap enough to be used against vermin, and later when democracy gave power to the rural populations that had nourished a hate to raptors for centuries.

The special conditions in Brabant (peregrines on migration, early effective traps, hunting and hawking permission for common people) together with merchantship traditions may explain the growth and success of the region as the power-centre of European falconry. It is possible that the professional falconers kept the falconry alive at the European courts long after the owners considered it interesting.

Concern about the preservation of falcons in those days could be found among the professionals and their royal employers, but a naturalist like Linné did not show any concern of this kind.

The relations between the foreign trappers and the natives are discussed. It is thought that the relations most often were friendly, although examples of difficulties are known.

The court game-master at Copenhagen must have had a paradoxical position: he was in charge of the falconry and should favour the falcons, but as leader of the general hunting department he had to be an enemy of raptors.

Very early in the history of falconry falcons were used as diplomatic gifts, also in Europe. Falcons were given in connection with special occasions or treaties, but also as gifts on a more regular scale, perhaps annual gifts, which could be part of a feudal agreement. Thus the Teutonic Order in East Prussia since the 13th century gave falcons annually, especially to the German-Roman emperor, which he around 1500 just considered as "schirm geld" (protection money). The princes or czars of Russia paid annual falcon-tribute to the Tartaric khans and others.

There are examples of occasional falcon-presents from medieval Norwegian and Danish kings to popes or foreign kings, but no hint of regular or annual gifts, and for the 15th century no evidence of Danish-Norwegian falcon-presents has been

brought into light. In the 16th century the Danish-Norwegian kings made general calls for the trappers with their catches, cf. above, and presumably the birds purchased were intended as gifts.

The first definite evidence of falcon-gifts from Denmark in newer time is from 1574, and for the following seventy years the evidence has been compiled in bilag 10. The birds were bought from the ships passing in or out the Baltic Sea. At Elsinore all such ships were closely inspected and forced to pay duty to the Danish king. The ships of the Icelandic Company also had to pass Elsinore. Bilag 10 shows that England, whose kings were a brother-in-law and a nephew of the Danish king, was the main-receiver, but other cousins and relatives are also on the list. The row of gifts to France turning into a row of gifts to the German emperor around 1630 reflects the changing political situation of Denmark during the 30-years-war.

The falcon-market at Elsinore disappeared during the wars with Sweden 1643-60, but the royal gift-falcons from Iceland gradually found another way to their receivers. Gyrfalcons were bought on Iceland by the "king's falconer" in 1649, 1655, 1656, 1657, 1663, 1671, 1673, 1674, 1676, and this procedure became annual under the royal Danish falconry (1680-1810). Of the gyrfalcons sent to Copenhagen, bilag 8, less than 5% were retained at the Danish falconry. The majority was delivered to European courts, according to a distribution list which favoured the French and the Austrian court equally, then followed the German electors, some of which also were or became kings of England, Poland and Prussia, later came the Portuguese court and the Moroccan sultan.

In 1742-60 a number of German falconry establishments were closed, and it became increasingly difficult to find receivers. Finally the French Revolution brought the deliveries to a stop, and the large-scale princely falconry establishments in Europe ceased. The Danish falconry-institution was abolished in 1810.

Originally falcons were only given away from the Danish court on the foreign princes' requests. As the annual habit of getting falcons had continued for half a century or more, receivers could become forgetful. In reaction to an absent petition from Paris, the Danish court did not send any falcons to Paris in 1737, but they immediately got a new petition and an apology from Paris.

However, when the receivers lost interest, they might also forget to be polite. Friedrich II the Great of Prussia refused to receive the arrived falcons in a rather brusque manner, cf. bilag 11. The Saxon court abolished its falconry in 1756 without letting the Danish court know, so it took the Danish court some time to realize that the Saxons for a period just had sold the gifts to somebody else.

The average total expenses for a single present-gyrfalcon were 40-50 Rdl. The king, the court game-master, the falcon-master, and sometimes the common employees, received some counter-gifts (money, wine, silver etc.).

Modern times put questions like: Did the Danish king hope for goodwill and prestige through his action? Did he get what he wanted? Could better advantage have been obtained by other procedures?

It is hardly fair to raise such questions; anyway it is unlikely that the Danish kings saw that they had options. They received petitions about trapping-licenses, about purchasing rights and about gifts. Where family, peers or even liege were concerned they could hardly refuse. When the falcon-presents from Prussia to the German emperor and other princes became fewer in the beginning of the 17th century, because the dukes of Prussia started to go hawking themselves, the calls from the European princes presumably became more frequently directed towards the Danish king. Moreover, the Icelandic gyrfalcons became more accessible as the Danish maritime power grew stronger.

As long as the need was felt, or dictated so by the falconry-fashion, the Danish kings neither would nor could act otherwise. If they leased out the Icelandic trade to Valkenswaard, i.e. the same procedure they had used with the Norwegian trapping, the Icelandic gyrfalcons in the European falconry establishments would no longer carry the label "from the Danish king". If they had forbidden export of gyrfalcons from Iceland, they would have faced an under-cover trapping and trade and eternal fights with smugglers. To transform the gift-giving to a profitable trade would require professionals willing to compete with the very strong Brabantian monopoly. And how would the king of France and the emperor of Austria respond to such change of politics of a minor European nation?

The gift-giving therefore had to continue as long as the princely falconry mews existed. And when they disappeared, the Danish falcons-gifts ceased too.

A royal Danish falconry was planned in 1571, but came hardly into being. A few members of the royal family may have taken part in hawking during the period 1630-1670. In 1660 the Danish monarchy became absolute and remained so until 1848. In 1680 king Christian V (1670-99) instituted the royal Danish falconry, centered at the Falkonergården at Frederiksberg outside Copenhagen. As young man he had visited Versailles, had been impressed by the absolutism and its symbols including its falconry, but the Danish institution was not established in order to satisfy the possible needs of the royal Danish court to attend hawking, but to organize the purchase, control and distribution of the Icelandic gyrfalcon-gifts.

The employees' work with the gift-falcons did not last the entire year; to keep them professionally occupied some 20 falcons were kept at Falkonergården all the year round. Most of these were peregrines for crow-hawking; hare-hunting with Icelandic gyrfalcon-females was also performed. Members of the royal family occasionally attended these hawking exercises. Near Copenhagen there was no possibility for heron-hawking.

The falconry was under the order of the court game-master, always of nobility. The falconry-staff consisted of 1 master and 4-6 common falconers. The masters were usually of Valkenswaard-extraction, some of the commoners were too.

The annual acquisition of the Icelandic gyrfalcons was the most critical task. In Bessestad near Reykjavik the travelling falconer arrived near the 24th of June and met the native trappers with their catch. The travelling falconer was responsible for the feeding from the date of purchase around July 1st, during the stay in Bessestad until the ship left, usually around the middle of August, and during the troublesome sea-voyage, which usually lasted 4-7 weeks, sometimes shorter, sometimes longer. The number of live-stock to be bought on Iceland, some of which to be brought on board the ship, was considerable, and up to a distance of 200 km from Bessestad farmers could risk forced levying to their great annoyance. In the top-year 1764 when 211 gyrfalcons were freighted, a total of 72 steers, 339 sheep and 65 lambs were bought on Iceland. For other years similar proportions can be demonstrated.

The negotiations between trappers and falconers became very difficult during the later period of the institution, when the need for grey gyrfalcons decreased in Europe, and when the Icelandic trapping had become as effective as ever. Rejections were inevitable, but when 40% of the birds were rejected, or disagreement as to the colour arose, the trappers became annoyed. Even with rejections on Iceland far too many gyrfalcons were shipped; in the years 1763, 1764 and 1765, 24, 46 and 52, respectively, had to be killed in Copenhagen. Hereafter restrictions were introduced, e.g. each trapper was not allowed to catch more than 7 grey gyrfalcons annually. The white Greenland winter-visitors were nearly always wanted. For many years it was

discussed how to, selectively, increase the number of white gyrfalcons, but without success.

It is a general misunderstanding that the giving-away of falcons, especially on a grand scale, must reflect the giver's own interest in hawking. He must have a big falconry establishment and be personally devoted to the noble art of hawking. However, for the period prior to the Reformation no reliable contemporary written source confirming hawking-activities in Denmark has been brought to light. But then, absence of evidence is not evidence of absence.

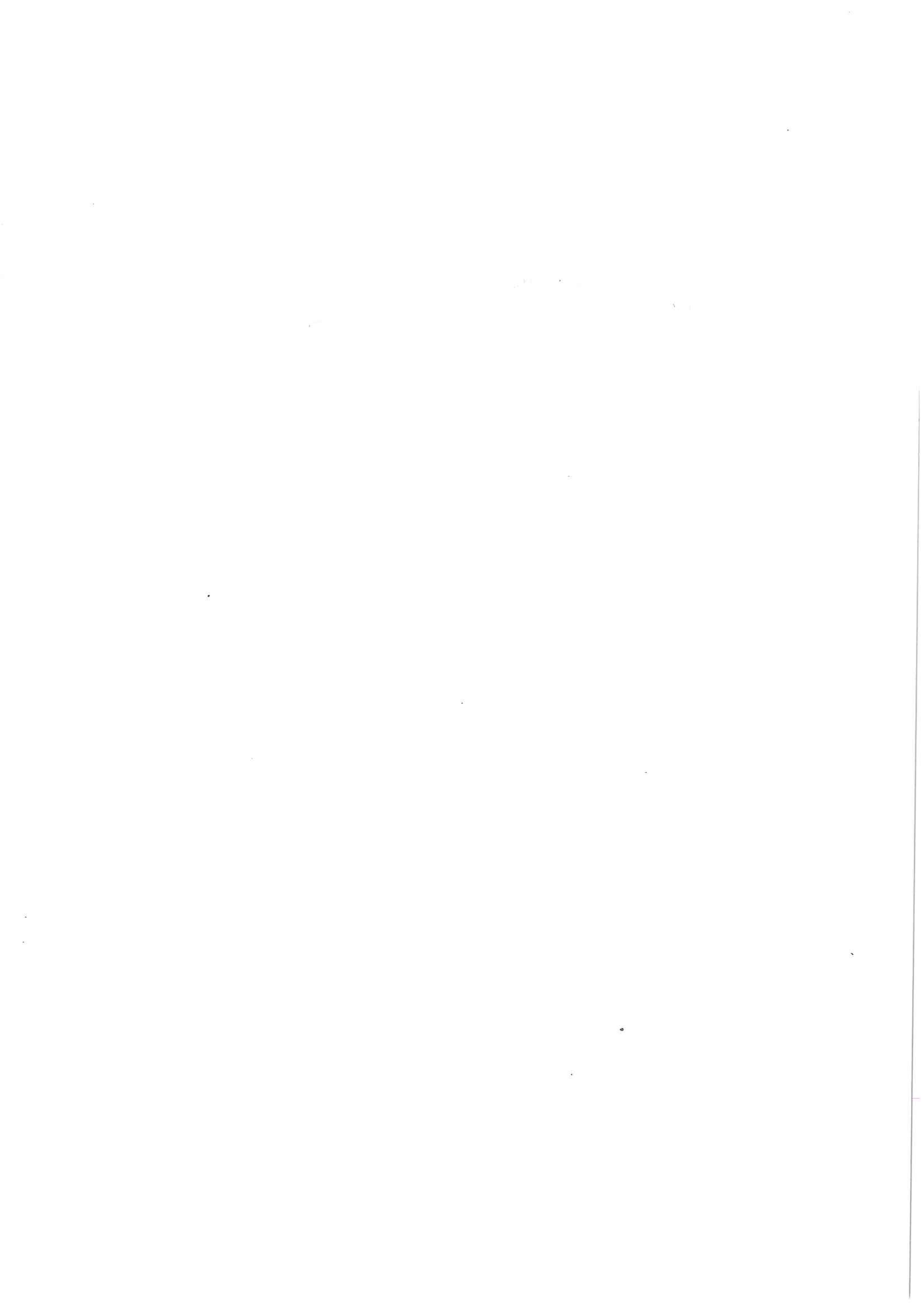
For the period treated here, after the Reformation, the documentation for hawking activities in Denmark is also uncertain, until the time of the Falkonergård, starting around 1680. Apart from Christian V (1670-99), the Danish kings apparently did not take active part in hawking, although they occasionally watched the staff's exercises. And even Christian V was far more keen on perforce-hunting. It is remarkable that so little interest was mobilized in a royal house, which had so easy access to falcons.

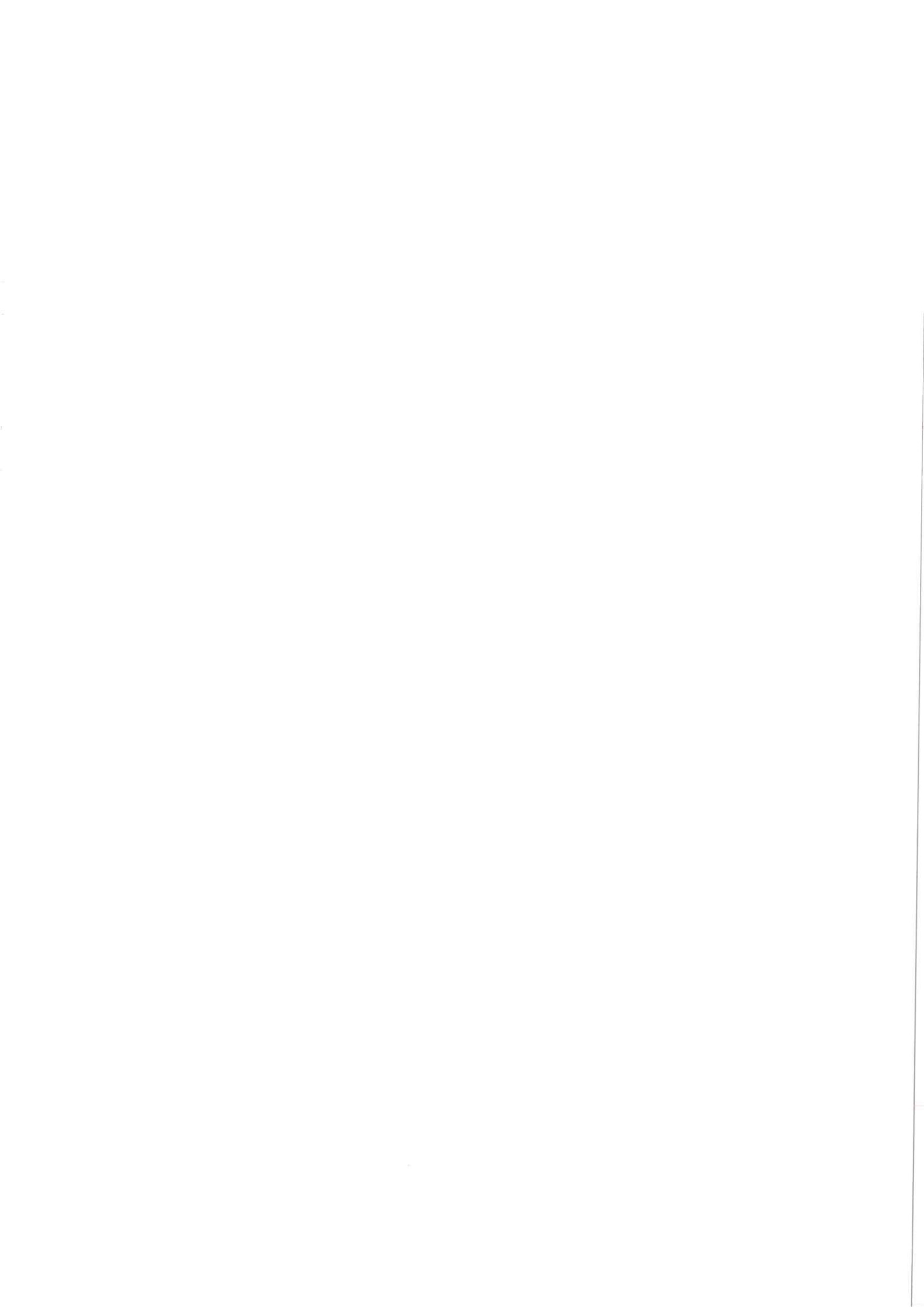
A short biography is given for the most important authors, most of them long deceased, pertinent to this study.

Many of the "bilag"s are lists of letter-dates, localities, person-names, which will aid the reader to get an impression of the number of persons, hints to their nationalities, extent in time and space. Bilag no 1 summarizes prices for falcons and attempts to evaluate these prices in terms of yearly incomes etc. Bilag 4 is a letter from the falconmaster asking for pardon, because he was not able to deliver larks to the royal kitchen that year (1765). It is very funny and very solemn, and reflects the humble status of the falcon-master relative to his masters. Bilag 10 lists the falcon-presents from the Danish kings to foreign potentates in the period 1574-1641. Bilag 11 shows the Prussian and Danish correspondence regarding the gifts refused by Friedrich the Great of Prussia in 1742. By that time also the Danish court used German as their language. Their reaction appears neither panic-stricken nor embittered, as usually stated in falconry-history. Bilag 12 lists the letters from Falkonergården 1730-1810 used in the present work.

Rettelser og tilføjelser til "De store falke fra de danske konger"  
(maj 1997)

- s. 5 17 fo, "opdræt", læs: "avl og opdræt".
- s. 10 19 fn, om redeunger, se også s. 26-27.
- s. 11 4 fn, behovet for lokkefalke må ikke glemmes.
- s. 16 5-8 fn, bør udgå, da "unge falke" ikke er "redeunger".
- s. 27 4 fn, "Bø", læs: "nordmanden Bø".
- s. 35 16 fo. Afleveringen i Bessestad ved St. Hans-tid er allerede omtalt 16.8.1663.
- s. 44 14 fn, "og under alle omstændigheder var gaverne ikke led i en fast tradition" udgår.
- s. 44 12 fn, tilføj: "Der omtales heller ingen nordiske falkegaver i falkonerinstruksen fra ca. 1500 (s. 6, 19), derimod omtales årlige gaver fra Østpreussen og Venedig, samt køb af falke i Norden."
- s. 45 2 fn, 46 1 fo, og 64 1 fn, "Torben Oxe", læs: "Peder Oxe".
- s. 49 12 fn, "billigt" udgår.
- s. 53-62 data, statistikker m.m. kan udvides ud fra arkivalier i Rigsarkivet, København.
- s. 54 12 fn, "Christensen", læs: "Christen Jensen".
- s. 55 14 fo, "Der er 9 danske .... de seks ..", læs: "Der er 8 danske .... de fire ..".
- s. 55 12 fn, "Christensen", læs: "Christen Jensen".
- s. 65 11 fo, "hører om", læs: "hører antydning om".
- s. 103-108 en del brevpakke-numre stemmer ikke med Rigsarkivets.







Fra tidlig middelalder eksporteredes falke og høge fra Nordens lande til europæiske fyrstehoffers falkonerier.

Her er beretningen om, hvordan de dansk-norske konger søgte at kontrollere denne eksport fra Reformations-tid til Napoleons-tid, og om hvordan navnlig de islandske og grønlandske falke kom i diplomatiets tjeneste.

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