

# QUELLEN UND DARSTELLUNGEN ZUR HANSISCHEN GESCHICHTE

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# THE GERMAN HANSA AND BERGEN 1100–1600

by

ARNVED NEDKVITNE



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## TABLE OF CONTENTS

PREFACE .....	10
INTRODUCTION	
1. Who were the Hansa merchants? .....	12
2. Earlier research .....	14
3. Issues for discussion .....	22
CHAPTER I	
THE BERGEN TRADE AND THE COMMERCIAL REVOLUTION OF THE MIDDLE AGES, 1100–1350	
1. Norwegian foreign trade before the Hansa merchants .....	25
a. The origins of Norwegian foreign trade .....	25
b. The English connection .....	31
c. Continental North Sea ports .....	33
d. The Baltic connection .....	36
2. Hansa merchants take control of trade between Norway and the Baltic. . .	39
a. Gotland and Russia .....	39
b. The Scania market and its offshoot in Bohuslän. ....	40
c. German ports along the Baltic coast .....	45
d. Conclusion .....	52
3. Trade with England after the Hanseatic expansion .....	53
a. The expansion of the Wendish towns – the chronology .....	53
b. English customs accounts .....	55
c. Goods exported from Norway to England. ....	57
d. Goods exported from England to Norway. ....	60
e. Norwegian and German merchants after the Hanseatic expansion. . . .	62
f. English merchants .....	66
g. Quantifying stockfish imports to England .....	69
h. Local distribution of Bergen fish in England in the 14 <sup>th</sup> century .....	72
i. Boston emerges as centre of the Hanseatic stockfish trade after 1303. . .	75
j. Conclusion .....	79
4. Trade with continental western Europe after Hanseatic expansion. ....	80
a. The Flemish connection. ....	80
b. Merchants from the Zuiderzee in Norway .....	85
c. Merchants from Bremen and Hamburg in Norway .....	87
d. The marginalisation of Westphalian merchants .....	89
5. Conclusion .....	91

## CHAPTER II

THE BERGEN TRADE IN THE GOLDEN AGE OF THE HANSA,  
1350–1537

1. Lübeck as a “staple” for Bergen fish in the Late Middle Ages? . . . . .	96
2. How important was Lübeck in Bergen’s foreign trade from 1518 to 1522? . .	105
3. Bergen’s Baltic trade . . . . .	111
a. Bergen–Lübeck . . . . .	111
b. Bergen–Wismar . . . . .	118
c. Bergen–Rostock . . . . .	122
d. Bergen–Stralsund . . . . .	126
e. Between Stralsund and Danzig . . . . .	128
f. Bergen–Danzig . . . . .	129
g. Bergen–Livonia (Livland) . . . . .	139
h. Bergen–Swedish and Danish ports . . . . .	140
i. Quantifying Bergen’s Baltic trade in the Late Middle Ages . . . . .	142
4. Bergen’s English connection . . . . .	146
a. The Hanseatic settlement in Boston . . . . .	146
b. Quantifying the goods of Hansa merchants . . . . .	154
c. The Hanseatic merchants’ home towns . . . . .	162
d. English merchants . . . . .	168
e. Bergen–Scotland . . . . .	183
f. Conclusion . . . . .	184
5. Trade between the western European continent and Bergen . . . . .	186
a. Bergen–Flanders . . . . .	186
b. Bergen–Zeeland and Brabant . . . . .	194
c. Bergen–Zuiderzee . . . . .	197
d. Bergen–Holland . . . . .	207
e. Bergen–Bremen . . . . .	220
f. Bergen–Hamburg . . . . .	225
g. Merchants from German inland towns . . . . .	231
h. Trade routes from Bergen to markets along the Rhine . . . . .	234
6. Conclusion: trade routes and merchant groups, 1350–1537 . . . . .	240
7. Conclusion: quantifying the goods exchanged 1350–1537 . . . . .	245

## CHAPTER III

THE BERGEN TRADE AND THE COMMERCIAL REVOLUTION  
OF THE 16<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY

1. Quantifying the goods . . . . .	250
a. Imports . . . . .	250
b. Exports . . . . .	259
2. Trade routes . . . . .	266
3. The merchants’ home towns . . . . .	273

## CHAPTER IV

HOW THE HANSA ACHIEVED ITS DOMINANT POSITION  
IN BERGEN, 1250–1380

1. Economic factors . . . . .	277
a. Landowners and professional merchants in Norwegian foreign trade . .	278
b. Capital. . . . .	292
c. Commercial networks . . . . .	294
d. Specialisation. . . . .	295
2. The legal framework in a period of free trade, 1247–1299. . . . .	296
a. Laws, ordinances and privileges . . . . .	297
b. Developments until the national urban law of 1276 . . . . .	300
c. Privileges and ordinances in the years 1278–1299 . . . . .	303
3. The legal framework in a period of active state legislation, 1299–1380 . .	309
a. Shipwrecks. . . . .	309
b. Prohibitions against sailing further north than Bergen. . . . .	310
c. Customs duties . . . . .	311
d. The Crown's right to pre-emptive purchase . . . . .	314
e. Hansa merchants' legal obligation to sell . . . . .	316
f. Bans on the export of Norwegian goods. . . . .	317
g. Price regulations . . . . .	318
h. Winter residency and the taxation of foreign merchants. . . . .	319
i. Prohibitions against trading in the countryside . . . . .	322
j. Prohibitions against Hansa merchants' retail trade. . . . .	324
k. Prohibitions against guests trading with each other . . . . .	327
l. Pre-emptive purchase rights which benefitted the inhabitants of Norwegian towns. . . . .	328
m. The collapse of the King's trade policy in Bergen, 1319–1380 . . . . .	329
4. Why the Hansa merchants prevailed . . . . .	331

## CHAPTER V

HOW THE HANSA RETAINED ITS DOMINANT POSITION  
IN BERGEN, 1366–1537

1. The Kontor – the organisation of the winter residents. . . . .	333
a. The founding of the Bergen Kontor in 1366 . . . . .	334
b. The emergence of a Hansa identity among the Bergenfahrer . . . . .	342
c. The German community at Bryggen as an honour group. . . . .	346
d. Internal unity through Lübeck's dominance. . . . .	351
e. Lübeck caught between altruism and self-interest in the Bergen trade . .	363
f. The Kontor's demographic strength . . . . .	374
g. The Kontor militia. . . . .	381
h. The Kontor's extraterritorial jurisdiction . . . . .	384
i. Judicial conflicts between Germans and Norwegians . . . . .	393

j.	Did the Kontor undermine state power in Bergen? . . . . .	397
2.	The winter residents' trade with Norwegian customers . . . . .	400
a.	The winter residents' credit system . . . . .	400
b.	The peasant fishermen's trade with Hansa merchants in Bergen . . . . .	413
c.	The role of Bergen and Trondheim citizens in trade with the stockfish-producing regions . . . . .	418
d.	Clerical and secular officials' trade between Bergen and the stockfish-producing regions . . . . .	432
e.	Local magnates' trade between Bergen and the stockfish regions . . . . .	442
f.	The Kontor's trade policy and its consequences . . . . .	449
3.	The winter residents' trade with European ports . . . . .	451
a.	The winter residents' own trade in overseas ports . . . . .	451
b.	The winter residents' trade with Hanseatic summer guests in Bergen . . . . .	461
4.	The Kontor's policy towards merchants from England and Holland . . . . .	466
5.	State and Kontor at the close of the Middle Ages . . . . .	471
a.	Baltic and North Sea merchants in Bergen . . . . .	472
b.	Challenges from a stronger state, 1507–1537 . . . . .	475
c.	The Kontor's response to challenges created internal tensions . . . . .	478
d.	Bergen citizens in foreign trade before the Reformation? . . . . .	484
e.	Integration into Norwegian state society, 1538–1560 . . . . .	486

## CHAPTER VI

### PRODUCTION AND CONSUMPTION OF BERGEN FISH,

1100–1600

1.	Prices . . . . .	497
a.	Stockfish . . . . .	498
b.	Grain products . . . . .	504
c.	Stockfish compared to herring and salmon . . . . .	508
2.	Consumption and demand . . . . .	511
a.	Food products from animals, fish and grain . . . . .	511
b.	Dried and salted fish before 1370 . . . . .	512
c.	Dried and salted fish after 1370 . . . . .	518
d.	Why did stockfish prices fall compared to the price of saltfish? . . . . .	529
3.	Production . . . . .	531
a.	Fish resources along the Norwegian coast . . . . .	532
b.	The flexible peasant fishermen . . . . .	535
c.	Hanseatic grain made Norway larger . . . . .	540
d.	Late medieval fishing communities – the first circle of paradise? . . . . .	546
e.	Poverty without progress in the 16 <sup>th</sup> century . . . . .	558
f.	The attitude of the coastal population to the Hansa . . . . .	562
4.	Could the Hansa obtain political power by creating famine? . . . . .	564

## PERSPECTIVES

1. The commercial revolutions of the Middle Ages and the 16 <sup>th</sup> century . . . .	572
2. Rise and decline of the Hansa's commercial network . . . . .	576
3. The Bergen Kontor and the state . . . . .	578
4. The consequences of Hansa trade for Norwegian society . . . . .	582

## DEUTSCHE ZUSAMMENFASSUNG

Kurze thematische Zusammenfassung . . . . .	584
Chronologische Zusammenfassung . . . . .	587

## APPENDICES

Appendix I: Ships registered in the customs accounts from Ravensere, Hull, Lynn and Boston 1303–49, with a cargo from Norway . . . . .	595
Appendix II: Ships registered in the English customs accounts 1350–1500, with a cargo from Norway . . . . .	615
Appendix III: Skippers, merchants and values registered in the Lübeck <i>Pfundzoll</i> as departing for or arriving from Bergen 1368–1400 . . . . .	652
Appendix IV: Home towns of skippers registered in Lübeck's <i>Pfundzoll</i> as sailing between Lübeck and Bergen 1368–1400. Empirical basis for table II.10 . . . . .	675
Appendix V: Home towns of merchants registered in the customs accounts from Boston 1365–1413 with goods from Bergen. Empirical basis for table II.25 . . . . .	678
Appendix VI: Home towns of Hanseatic skippers who sailed between Bergen and East England 1350–1440. Empirical basis for table II.26 . . . . .	687
Appendix VII: Shipping through Øresund on its way to or from Bergen 1566/7 and 1577/8 . . . . .	691
Appendix VIII: Prices . . . . .	697

## SOURCES, LITERATURE AND ABBREVIATIONS

Printed sources . . . . .	723
Literature and reference books . . . . .	729
Abbreviations . . . . .	742

## INDEXES

Index of matters . . . . .	743
Index of place names . . . . .	755
Index of historical persons . . . . .	764
Index of modern scholars . . . . .	785
Map of the Atlantic and North Sea coast of Norway (caption) . . . . .	792

## PREFACE

My Ph.D. thesis *Untenrikshandelen fra det vestafjelske Norge 1100–1600* was completed in 1983 at the University of Bergen. Ever since then, it has been my intention to prepare the thesis for publication in English, but not until recently has it been possible for me to do so.

The original thesis was written in Norwegian for a Norwegian audience. Seen in retrospect, my thesis appeared at the end of a 150-year period of research on Norwegian foreign trade undertaken from a perspective which today is often called “methodological nationalism”. My aim was to investigate what foreign trade meant for Norwegian society, and since the German Hanseatic League dominated Norwegian foreign trade for most of the period 1100–1600, the aim was also to find out what impact the Hansa had on Norwegian society.

This approach – in Scandinavia, Germany and elsewhere – has as its main strength the fact that the scholars carrying out the analyses have a thorough knowledge of the particular society they work on. Researchers working in this framework are part of a tradition in which methodological discussions carried out by generations of historians have created a reservoir of knowledge about relevant sources. In addition, linguistic competence is always a problem when dealing with medieval history, and historians belonging to a national tradition normally are better qualified in this respect. Both German and Norwegian historians of the Hansa have written high-level scholarly works following this approach. However, Norwegian historiography has often presented the Hansa role as being problematic for Norwegian society, while German historiography has considered it beneficial. It is important to point out that while “methodological nationalism” focuses on one country during a specific period, it leaves open the question of whether the way the Hansa organised this trade network was seen as positive or negative by the Norwegians who participated in it. It is my intention to present an in-depth discussion of traditional Norwegian theories about this, and by differentiating between social groups to tease out distinctions in these perceptions.

What was the impact of the Hansa on Norway? Or on Denmark, Sweden, Poland, the Baltic states, English and Flemish towns, and not least on German regions? Taken together, these national perspectives are of great relevance today. German emigration eastwards and northwards was an important feature of northern European history from the 12<sup>th</sup> to the 19<sup>th</sup> centuries, and the Hansa was part of this. Why did these people leave Germany? What were their occupations in their new places of residence? Did they bring new technologies and organisational structures with them? What did their presence mean for the countries which took them in? These questions will continue to be important because they contribute to an understanding of the “Europeanisation” of Scandinavia and the Baltic. Analyses of the Hansa’s importance for individual countries and regions can serve as building

blocks for an analysis of the Hansa's significance for all the countries they visited in northern Europe.

Discussions of cross-border issues have been problematic until recently because of underlying national tensions. In addition, historians from different countries have been interested in different subjects and perspectives. Today the Hansa's role in the "Europeanisation" of northern Europe is one of the perspectives which make the history of the Hansa particularly relevant to post-national historiography.

The Hansischen Geschichtsverein has made it possible to publish the book by including it in its series *Quellen und Darstellungen zur hansischen Geschichte*. Its leader Professor Rolf Hammel-Kiesow piloted the financing and publication of the book through its various stages. Dr. Volker Henn in Trier generously offered to translate the German "Zusammenfassung" from English. Jean Hannah in Norwich did more than a language editor normally does to make the book's language sound less "Norwegianish". And finally the Research Council of Norway financed the publication. Sincere thanks to all for help and support.

Arnved Nedkvitne,  
Oslo, June 2013

## INTRODUCTION

Foreign trade involving what is today Norway existed far back in the prehistoric period. But it was the commercial production of stockfish<sup>1</sup> around the year 1100 which provided the country with a commodity that gained it a large European market. Up to about 1600, stockfish dominated Norwegian foreign trade. Those 500 years are the timeframe for this thesis.

Geographically the investigation is limited to western and northern Norway, where the stockfish was produced. Almost all of this was exported from Bergen, although during certain periods some was sent from Trondheim. The growing timber exports from eastern Norway after 1500 are not included in discussions of trade here.

In 1191 a ship carrying Danish pilgrims visited Bergen. They related that “stockfish called *skrei* is so plentiful that it can not be measured or counted”.<sup>2</sup> In 1247 the sources provide evidence for the first time that merchants from German towns along the Baltic visited Bergen.<sup>3</sup> These so-called Hansa merchants dominated Norwegian foreign trade over the next 350 years.

The importance of foreign commerce to the Norwegian economy, and its domination by the Hanseatic League, have been the two central issues in research on Norwegian foreign trade during this period, as they will be in this book.

### 1. WHO WERE THE HANSA MERCHANTS?

The Hansa merchants who visited Bergen were mainly citizens of German seaports along the North Sea and the Baltic. Bergen was one of many trading posts which they established outside Germany.<sup>4</sup> The most important of these local organisations on foreign soil were called “Kontors”. The Kontor in Bergen was the most populous of all Hanseatic trading posts, with around 1000 men living there all year (winter residents) and double that number in the summer (summer guests and sailors). Seen from a local perspective, a “Hansa merchant” traded under the privileges of the Bergen Kontor and obeyed its alderman. A “Hansa town”, from the same local perspective, had merchants who traded at the Bergen Kontor or another settlement.

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1 Cod dried without previous salting.

2 *Profectio Danorum in Hierosolymam*, pp. 475–476.

3 UBStL I no. 153 = DN V no. 1; *Hákonar saga Hákonarsonar*, chapters 256 and 260

4 “Germany” is in this book used in the sense „where people speak German“.

But the Hansa existed on two levels – it was also an association of towns. From the 1280s to 1356, the organisational ties between these towns were ad hoc; when a problem arose, affected towns would form an alliance to conduct war, organise a blockade or negotiate for better privileges. After 1356, German Baltic and North Sea towns with an interest in maritime trade started to meet at more or less regular intervals; their meetings are called *Tagfahrten* or *Hansetagen* in German, “Hansa Diets” in English. From this centrist point of view, a Hansa town was one which participated in Hansa Diets, and a Hansa merchant was a citizen of a town which attended such diets.

After 1356 the two levels merged in the sense that the Hansa Diets started to give orders to the local settlements, among them the Kontor in Bergen. From this time onward it is possible to see the Hansa as an integrated organisation.

Much ink has been used writing about what the Hansa was. In my view this discussion has been somewhat confused, because two questions have been tackled at the same time. First, what did contemporaries mean when they used the concept? This is an empirical question, and the answer has to be based on an analysis of all uses of the word during a given period and in a specific social context. As far as I know, no such analysis exists; in any case, this would not have been useful for the present work. But “the Hansa” is also an analytical concept which all historians of this period have to use, and as such it has to be defined. It is not important whether or not all Hansa historians use the same definition, but they must clarify how they are interpreting the concept.

The main criterion for a good analytical concept is that it is fruitful for the analysis being undertaken. Stephan Selzer in his 2011 book *Die mittelalterliche Hanse* has found the following definition useful: “The Hansa was an economic community consisting of Low German long-distance merchants whose purpose was to obtain and defend trading privileges at foreign markets.”<sup>5</sup> However, this definition does not suit the situation in Bergen, since the aldermen also used their power to enforce internal discipline, to create and defend an extraterritorial jurisdiction, and to fight Norwegian and foreign competitors, for which they would usually have no legal right.

In this book I have found it fruitful to use three criteria for defining a Hanseatic merchant. First, the trader was citizen of a town where the merchant class used Low German as its mother tongue. Second, he was member of an organisation of German merchants outside Germany. A third criterion which has to be added when discussing Bergen is that some of the German-speaking members of the organisa-

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5 SELZER, *Mittelalterliche Hanse*, p. 66. “Die Hanse ist eine wirtschaftliche Zweckgemeinschaft niederdeutscher Fernhändler zum Erwerb und Erhalt von Handelsprivilegien an auswärtigen Handelsplätzen.”

tion were citizens of Baltic towns, and not just North Sea towns; the first evidence for German-speaking Baltic merchants in Bergen dates from in 1247.<sup>6</sup>

A Hansa town is most usefully defined as the home town of merchants who were members of these organised trade settlements. A Hansa town could also be defined as a town which participated, or was represented by another town, at a Hansa Diet. In the Bergen context, applying either definition results in the same towns being labelled Hanseatic.

## 2. EARLIER RESEARCH

Many medievalists have discussed these topics, but most of them have only repeated what they have found in books or articles. In the following survey, I shall concentrate on authors who have presented original theories based on new empirical research. The subject is trade, this means that books and articles on housebuilding, language etc. have been excluded.

Peter Andreas Munch, writing in the mid-1800s, was the father of scholarly research on Norwegian history. His main interest was political history, so he only discussed foreign trade when it led to political action. He claimed that before the Hansa arrived, Norwegian foreign trade was run by landowners. During the 13<sup>th</sup> century they withdrew from commerce because “ideas about social rank and aristocratic life ... made high-born youths ... consider trading as inappropriate”. The Hansa thus filled a gap in the Norwegian economy.<sup>7</sup> But they were also strong competitors because of their “capital and superior skills in business”.<sup>8</sup> Norwegian authorities tried to limit the activities of the Hansa through legislation, but this proved to be in vain because the Hansa had become indispensable.<sup>9</sup> In short, the Hansa sidelined their competitors because they had a more advanced trade organisation.

Alexander Bugge was the first Norwegian historian to specialise in studying medieval towns and trade. In 1898 he published a long article in *Historisk Tidsskrift* called “The trade between England and Norway up to the beginning of the 15<sup>th</sup> century”, and the following year brought out a book entitled *The Independence and Trade of Norwegian Medieval Towns*.<sup>10</sup> He then worked for several years editing documents relating to Norwegian foreign trade; those he found in English archives were published in *Diplomatarium Norvegicum* [hereafter DN] volumes XIX and XX. A

6 UBS<sup>t</sup>L I no. 153 = DN V no. 1; *Håkonar saga Hákonarsonar*, chapters 256 and 260

7 MUNCH, *Det norske Folks Historie* IV del 2, pp. 245–246 and p. 246 footnote 2.

8 MUNCH, *Det norske Folks Historie* Unionsperioden I, p. 130.

9 *Ibid.*, pp. 255 and 131.

10 BUGGE, *Handelen mellom England og Norge*; BUGGE, *De norske byers selvstyre og handel*.

new long article of his called “Norway and the British Isles in the Middle Ages” came out in *Historisk Tidsskrift* in 1914, and in 1923 his book *The History of Norwegian Shipping* was printed.<sup>11</sup>

In Bugge’s opinion, Norway was already engaged in important foreign trade in the High Middle Ages, in the decades around 1300: “Stockfish was the basis of Bergen’s foreign trade. From there it was exported to Europe as the cheapest and most popular dish on the fast days of the Catholic church.”<sup>12</sup> “Communications were uncomfortable and the roads poor, and so fresh fish could not be an everyday dish as it is today... princes as well as the poorest peasant therefore had stockfish and herring on their table... And nearly all stockfish consumed in Europe came from Norway.”<sup>13</sup> However, he never verified this claim through quantitative analyses.

In his early works Bugge claimed, in contrast to Munch, that in the period 1220–1319 a professional merchant class emerged in Norway similar to that found in the large towns of western Europe.<sup>14</sup> He claimed that they sent their ships to foreign ports, and held a respected position in their home towns; trade was their only source of income.<sup>15</sup> As late as the beginning of the 14<sup>th</sup> century they still controlled the major part of Norwegian foreign trade.<sup>16</sup> They provided the stockfish trade with an organisational structure, which it retained into the Hanseatic period. The Hansa expansion started late – according to Bugge, they began to oust the Norwegian merchants only after about 1319. He also belittled the Hansa’s role by claiming that Bergen’s exports to Hansa towns were negligible compared to those destined for English and Flemish ports, and that after 1319 the Hansa merely took over the Norwegian merchants’ traditional trade to these markets.<sup>17</sup>

In his later works, Bugge rated the Hansa merchants more highly in several respects. This may be due to his increasingly thorough knowledge of the sources, including extensive studies he undertook into the English archives of the chancery rolls and customs accounts, which he published in DN volumes XIX and XX. He revised the start of Hansa dominance from ca. 1320 to ca. 1250.<sup>18</sup> Bugge credited the Hansa with creating new markets – after about 1400 an increasing portion of the stockfish was sent to Lübeck and from there to Central Europe. “Wendish” towns along the Baltic (Lübeck, Wismar, Rostock and Stralsund) even tried to establish Lübeck as a trade centre (*stapel*) for exports to the German interior.<sup>19</sup> Bugge moder-

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11 BUGGE, Norge og de Britiske Øer; BUGGE, Den norske sjøfarts historie.

12 BUGGE, De norske byers selvstyre og handel, p. 159.

13 BUGGE, Handelen mellom England og Norge, pp. 125–126.

14 BUGGE, De norske byers selvstyre og handel, p. 170.

15 BUGGE, Handelen mellom England og Norge, pp. 40–41.

16 BUGGE, De norske byers selvstyre og handel, p. 187.

17 *Ibid.*, pp. 187 and 186.

18 BUGGE, Norge og de Britiske Øer, pp. 336 and 362–363; BUGGE, Den norske sjøfarts historie, p. 248.

19 BUGGE, Den norske sjøfarts historie, p. 288.

ated his theory about the existence of a strong Norwegian merchant class but still maintained that most of the Norwegians registered in English sources from the 13<sup>th</sup> and early 14<sup>th</sup> centuries were professional merchants.<sup>20</sup> It was his view that the export of stockfish had already begun during the Viking Age, and the period of strongest growth came ca. 1100–1130.<sup>21</sup> He could therefore still maintain that the initial exchange of products was established by Norwegian merchants and was taken over later by the Hansa.<sup>22</sup> The greater political independence of the Hansa towns made them better able to defend their trading rights efficiently at home and abroad.<sup>23</sup>

All through the Middle Ages, the Hansa also came up against English and Dutch competitors in Bergen, where the Hansa had several advantages going for them. “In the heyday of the Hanseatic Kontor (ca. 1366–1537) the foreign competitors did not represent a threat to the Hansa for several reasons. Its forceful and ruthless trade policy was one factor, but more important was the fact that the Hansa towns had a grain surplus for export.”<sup>24</sup>

In his later years, Bugge was influenced by German research, above all by Friedrich Bruns’ *Die Lübecker Bergenfahrer und ihre Chronistik* (1900) and Walter Vogel’s *Geschichte der Deutschen Seeschifffahrt* (1915). The first is a well-documented presentation about the merchants who carried out trade between Lübeck and Bergen up to about 1530 (called Bergenfahrer). Bruns studied material held in the *Archiv der Hansestadt Lübeck* which was relevant to the Bergen trade, and in his book he published wills, excerpts from the *Niederstadtbuch* which documented property transactions of Bergenfahrer, and several chronicles which mention Bergen trade. His book offers solid, empirically based information with few analyses, but proved beyond doubt “*Lübeck’s leitende Stellung am Deutschen Kontor zu Bergen*”, that is, the dominance of Lübeck merchants among the permanent resident traders in Bergen.<sup>25</sup>

Walter Vogel explained the Hansa’s dominance by pointing to Lübeck’s position at the crossroads of the east-west trade route between the Baltic and the North Sea, and the north-south route between Scandinavia and central Germany. Exports from Bergen found their way into these trade routes through direct shipping links between Bergen and Lübeck.<sup>26</sup> Vogel reasoned that Hansa merchants from Lübeck and other Baltic towns held a particularly strong position in Bergen because no other merchants could satisfy the Norwegians’ considerable need for grain.<sup>27</sup>

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20 BUGGE, Norge og de Britiske Øer, pp. 353–354 and p. 343

21 BUGGE, Den norske sjøfarts historie, pp. 147 and 172.

22 Ibid., p. 357.

23 Ibid., p. 190 and 249.

24 Ibid., pp. 262–263.

25 BRUNS, Bergenfahrer, p. IX.

26 VOGEL, Deutsche Seeschifffahrt, pp. 247 and 215.

27 Ibid., pp. 247 and 248; cf. pp. 211–212. “... der starke Bedarf Norwegens an ‘schwerem Gur’, Getreide, Mehl und Malz <hat> den wendischen Städten, genauer den vier Ostseestädten Lübeck, Wismar, Rostock und Stralsund, ein Übergewicht über alle anderen gesichert.”

Johan Schreiner also carried out extensive studies in archives, mostly those found in Hansa towns like Lübeck and Bremen. Through him the influence of German research about the Hansa, evident in the later work of Bugge, continued. In an article from 1954 he calls himself a pupil of Fritz Rörig, the most prominent Hansa scholar of the interwar period.<sup>28</sup> Schreiner is the historian who has emphasised the importance and power of Hansa merchants most strongly. Merchants from ports on the Rhine estuary were the main exporters of stockfish from the start of this trade around 1100 and up to about 1250; in the following period Baltic merchants took over.<sup>29</sup> But the markets were the same, although now stockfish reached the Rhine area via overland routes from Lübeck.<sup>30</sup>

Schreiner's main interest was trade policies. Economic realities like trade routes, quantities of goods and merchant groups were important to his theories, but he rarely read or analysed the sources which could verify these. Schreiner believed that the Bergen trade expanded greatly in the 13<sup>th</sup> century, after which time supplies of Hansa grain became indispensable to the coastal population.<sup>31</sup> His most controversial theory is that the Hansa towns used Norwegian dependence on Hanseatic grain to pressure Norway into the political union with Denmark in 1380 (the Kalmer union) and keep Norway there in the following period; the Hansa exerted such pressure in 1393,<sup>32</sup> 1483,<sup>33</sup> 1523<sup>34</sup> and 1532.<sup>35</sup> Hansa influence on Scandinavian politics lies outside the scope of this thesis, but it must be mentioned in order to show the great economic and political importance Schreiner attributed to the Hansa.

Schreiner appropriated Vogel's theories about the causes of Lübeck's dominance. The general basis was Lübeck's central position on the North European trade routes.<sup>36</sup> "But nowhere did the Germans headed by Lübeck dominate as strongly as in Bergen. That was because Norway, even in years with good harvests, depended on Baltic grain."<sup>37</sup> Schreiner never tried to quantify this to support his assumptions about this dependence. It may be that he was not quite convinced by his own argument, because he knew that Dutch merchants at the start of the 16<sup>th</sup> century exported several hundred shiploads of grain from Danzig, but little was sold in

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28 SCHREINER, *Hanse-Norwegen-Problem*, p. 77.

29 SCHREINER, *Hanseatene og Norges nedgang*, pp. 11 and 23.

30 SCHREINER, *Hanseatene og Norge*, p. 371.

31 SCHREINER, *Hanseatene og Norges nedgang*, p. 41; SCHREINER, *Hanseatene og Norge*, p. 31.

32 SCHREINER, *Hanseatene og Norges nedgang*, pp. 91–92.

33 *Ibid.*, pp. 153–154.

34 *Ibid.*, pp. 168–169.

35 *Ibid.*, pp. 178–179.

36 SCHREINER, *Hanseatene og Norge*, pp. 103–107.

37 SCHREINER, *Hanseatene og Norges nedgang*, p. 38.

Bergen.<sup>38</sup> Schreiner comments that the Kontor's trade policy and influence in Bergen prevented the Dutch from doing so.<sup>39</sup> The Dutch lacked political power to defy to the Hansa in Bergen.

Schreiner's weightiest contribution to Hansa scholarship was his analysis of the decline of the Hansa in 16<sup>th</sup> century Bergen. Between 1545 and 1560 the Kontor gradually had to permit the unrestricted import and sale of Baltic grain in Bergen. This was partly because after the Reformation the strong state forced them to do so, and partly because Hansa solidarity was waning.<sup>40</sup> The new merchant class in Bergen were former members of the Kontor, and depended on Hanseatic capital and grain deliveries; it was a "child born by the Kontor".<sup>41</sup>

Bugge and Schreiner agreed that great quantities of fish and grain were exchanged in Bergen starting in the 13<sup>th</sup> century, but they did not try to quantify this. Valuations were made by their contemporary colleagues in other countries, mostly on the basis of medieval English customs accounts. In 1915, N.S.B. Gras analysed the English corn market.<sup>42</sup> In 1933 Eileen Power, Michael Postan and E.M. Carus-Wilson quantified the export of English wool, cloth and wine from 1446–82.<sup>43</sup> Carus-Wilson later extended quantifications back to 1275 for wool and 1303 for cloth.<sup>44</sup> Elspeth Veale attempted to quantify the fur trade,<sup>45</sup> M.K. James the export of wine.<sup>46</sup>

In 1922, Curt Weibull used the customs accounts (*Pfundzollbücher*) from Lübeck to calculate the amount of herring sold at the annual Scania market at the end of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, and Georg Lechner continued this work in 1935.<sup>47</sup> Wilhelm Koppe quantified the export of metals from Stockholm in 1933 using the same accounts.<sup>48</sup> Friedrich Bruns calculated the value of the exchange of goods between Bergen and Lübeck, but he did not use his results to discuss the importance of the Bergen trade.<sup>49</sup> The first attempt at this was made in 1966 by Weibull, who concluded that Lübeck's exports to and imports from the three Scandinavian countries in 1399 was in the region of 250,000 marks, of which 63 % was connected with the Scania market, 10 % with Bergen, 15 % with Denmark and 12 % with Sweden. He claimed that this is inconsistent with the traditional view that the Bergen trade was

38 Ibid., p. 177.

39 SCHREINER, *Hanseatene og Norge*, pp. 107–108.

40 Ibid., pp. 70–71 and 148ff, cf. pp. 319 and 328.

41 Ibid., pp. 313, 319 and 328.

42 GRAS, *The English Corn Market*, pp. 294ff.

43 POWER AND POSTAN, *Studies in English Trade*, appendix, pp. 401–407.

44 CARUS-WILSON AND COLEMAN, *England's Export Trade*.

45 VEALE, *Fur Trade*, pp. 69 and 158ff.

46 JAMES, *Medieval Wine Trade*.

47 WEIBULL, *Lübeck och Skånemarknaden*; LECHNER, *Pfundzollisten*; cf. CHRISTENSEN, AKSEL, *Hansestæderne*, pp. 84–85.

48 KOPPE, *Lübeck-Stockholmer Handelsgeschichte*, p. 34.

49 BRUNS, *Bergenfahrer*, p. XXX ff.

one of the mainstays of Lübeck's economic life (*Lebensnerven in Lübecks ökonomischem Leben*).<sup>50</sup> Weibull discusses the importance of the individual Scandinavian countries and towns for Lübeck, but does not clarify whether he means 'for the traffic in Lübeck harbour' or 'for the incomes of the inhabitants of Lübeck'. If the former is what he means, Lübeck merchants' shipping from Bergen to North Sea ports is irrelevant; if the latter, this is highly relevant, and his claim that the Bergen trade was not a mainstay of Lübeck's economic life becomes questionable.

The following year, in 1967, Kåre Lunden used the same *Pfundzollbücher* from Lübeck for the period 1368–1400 to discuss how important Bergen's foreign trade was for the Norwegian economy. He found that about 200 tons of stockfish were exported and some 1000 tons of rye flour were imported yearly, which would provide sufficient calories to feed 4000–7000 people. His conclusion was the same as Weibull's: "These quantities were too small to have profound consequences for large sections of the Norwegian population." The premise for this conclusion was that from the beginning of the 14<sup>th</sup> to the middle of the 15<sup>th</sup> centuries, "almost" all the stockfish exported from Bergen went to Lübeck, and was distributed from there to the German interior. Baltic flour, malt and beer shipped to Bergen also came via Lübeck, according to Lunden.<sup>51</sup> He later claimed that the size of the Hansa Kontor in Bergen has been greatly exaggerated.<sup>52</sup> The great expansion in the stockfish exports from Bergen occurred in the period 1450–1640 as part of the "commercial revolution" of the 16<sup>th</sup> century. He claims that it is an "impossible anachronism" that Bergen could have exported similar quantities of stockfish in 1300 as it did in 1600.<sup>53</sup>

Lunden used Karl Polanyi's theories from his essay "Ports of trade in early societies"<sup>54</sup> to analyse medieval Norwegian society and concluded that trade was heavily controlled politically.<sup>55</sup> His view is that the Norwegian government decided where the goods were shipped through trade agreements, first with England and later with the Hansa towns; prices were also fixed by the administration.<sup>56</sup> Lunden's application of anthropological models to research on Norwegian pre-modern history represented a new approach – but how relevant are these models for examining Hansa history?

Lunden's work made it clear that the traditional view of Vogel and Schreiner that Bergen's stockfish was mainly exported via Lübeck was incompatible with the traditional view that the Bergen trade had already reached significant levels and had

50 WEIBULL, *Lübecks handel*, pp. 75–76, 93–95 and 117–118; German translation, pp. 62, 76–77 and 96–98.

51 LUNDEN, *Hanseatane og norsk økonomi*, pp. 127 and 118–119.

52 LUNDEN, *Kvantitative og teoretiske studiar*, p. 252.

53 *Ibid.*, p. 257.

54 POLANYI, KARL, *Primitive, Archaic and Modern Economies*, p. 238.

55 LUNDEN, *Økonomi og samfunn*, pp. 86–87.

56 *Ibid.*, p. 68.

important consequences for the Norwegian economy in the 14<sup>th</sup> century. Our understanding of the Bergen trade had to be revised: either it was less important than formerly thought, or Bergen had more diverse trade relations during the period 1300–1600 than was usually thought. After Lunden aired his views, conflicting theories were put forward on the causes of Hansa dominance in the Bergen trade. Lunden's theory on "administrative trade" led to a greater emphasis on the political framework.

This was the research base I drew on when I started my work on the Hansa and Bergen in 1972 and which was used in my MA thesis in 1975 and doctoral thesis in 1983.

When I carried out my archive work in Germany in 1978, the relevant parts of the *Archiv der Hansestadt Lübeck* were housed in Moscow and Potsdam, where I was given access to seven of the nine extant *Pfundzollbücher* from Lübeck for 1368–1400 as well as some other material. Luckily, most of the relevant material from that archive had been published before the war. In 1987 and 1990 this material was returned to Lübeck; particularly significant for the Bergen trade were the archives of the Kontor in Bergen and the Bergenfahrer guild in Lübeck, and Lübeck's *Niederstadtbuch*.<sup>57</sup> In the latter, legally binding agreements were recorded, and many Bergenfahrer were among the parties to these agreements. An informative catalogue (*Findbuch*) of the archives of the Bergen Kontor and Bergenfahrer guild was brought out by the Lübeck archive in 2002.<sup>58</sup>

Two doctoral theses on the Bergen trade came out after mine in 1983. In 2008, Justyna Mrozewicz published her doctoral thesis *Traders, Ties and Tensions. The Interactions of Lübeckers, Overijsslers and Hollanders in late Medieval Bergen*. Her subject was the relations between Lübeck and the Zuiderzee towns within the Kontor organisation, and between the Kontor and the Hollanders who were not members of the Kontor. She is very knowledgeable about Norwegian research and makes good use of it, with appropriate references. The topic had already been discussed by Schreiner in his 1941 book, and in chapters II and V of my thesis. Mrozewicz has expanded the discussion and included more details, but for those well-versed in Norwegian research on the subject she does not offer any new conclusions. As to the sources, she relies almost exclusively on printed material formerly used by Schreiner and myself. In 2008 the new sources mentioned above were available, but she has restricted their use, with a few exceptions, to her final study of the court case of Hinrik van Hassell.<sup>59</sup>

Mike Burkhardt published his doctoral thesis *Der hansische Bergenhandel im spätmittelalter. Handel – Kaufleute – Netzwerke* in 2009. It investigates the general tendency of Hansa merchants to create networks, using the Bergenfahrer in Lübeck

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57 ASMUSSEN, *Archiv*, pp. 8–9.

58 *Ibid.*

59 WUBS-MROCZEWICZ, *Lübeckers, Overijsslers and Hollanders*, pp. 236–243.

as a case study. He first analyses their economic networks, then their social networks. Hansa merchants raised the capital they needed through partnerships and loans. In the period 1360–1400, the Bergenfahrer raised money mainly by pooling their own capital through partnerships, which created strong ties between them. In the second period he explores, 1440–1470, loans had become more important, often in the form of credits. Between 1490 and 1510 the trade firms had become larger and therefore able to finance more of their transactions from their own capital, which meant that they were more flexible and independent. If this development was as pronounced as Burkhardt claims, it may help explain why ties between Hansa merchants at the Bergen Kontor grew weaker after about 1500.<sup>60</sup> He also shows that some merchants established stronger networks than others, and this gave them a central position among the Bergenfahrer in Lübeck.<sup>61</sup>

In a scholarly work, it is considered good practice for authors to present earlier research on the subject and frame their own project in relation to it, so that the reader can understand what new insights the study brings to light. However, Burkhardt does not observe this rule, and thus the reader does not know when he has arrived at the same conclusions as historians before him based on the same sources, and when he is presenting new ideas. This is particularly problematic when the previous research is written in a language which many potential readers are not familiar with.

Burkhardt relies heavily on Friedrich Bruns' book from 1900 and my own 1983 PhD thesis when it comes to problems discussed, sources used and conclusions drawn. In his third chapter he offers a general survey of European towns which participated in the Bergen trade. This chapter has the same structure and discusses the same problems as my own chapter II.<sup>62</sup> My main conclusion about this was that Hanseatic shipping from Bergen was directed to a wider range of ports than previously thought, and I put much effort in particular into documenting the importance of Boston, using published and unpublished material. These are also Burkhardt's main conclusions. He explicitly corrects previous conclusions only on one point, claiming that the role of merchants from towns in the German interior has never been discussed. In fact they are discussed in a separate section in my chapter II under the heading *Kjøpmenn fra vesttyske innlandsbyer*.<sup>63</sup>

Burkhardt makes extensive use of the now available *Niederstadtbücher* and the archives of the Kontor and the Bergenfahrer guild. Most entries which directly

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60 BURKHARDT, *Der hansische Bergenhandel*, pp. 184–220.

61 *Ibid.*, chapter IV.

62 On small example to illustrate this point. On pages 86 and 88 in my thesis from 1983, I argued, using numerous sources, that Lübeck merchants controlled a large part of the shipping from Wismar and Rostock. In 2009 on pages 73–74 Burkhardt argues the same point, using mostly the same sources.

63 NEDKVITNE, *Handelssjøfarten*, pp. 151–152; BURKHARDT, *Der hansische Bergenhandel*, pp. 106. To this I shall return in chapter II.5g.

concern the Bergen trade in the medieval period had been published previously by Bruns, but the new material makes it possible to gain a clearer picture of the ties which the known *Bergenfahrer* had with merchants who were not *Bergenfahrer*.

Today few Germans read Norwegian, and a diminishing number of Norwegians read German, but they all read English. In any field of research, earlier investigations must form the basis for new work. Authors should refer to received theories, which will help them concentrate on what is new in their approach. Identifying and rewarding originality is only possible if previous research is accessible to the entire scholarly community.

Traditionally there have been separate German and Norwegian historiographic traditions for carrying out research on the Hansa. Both have functioned on a high scholarly level. However, many historians consider that these approaches are not appropriate today. Surveys of Hansa history like that by Phillippe Dollinger, and of Baltic history like that by Michael North, adopt a supranational perspective, but scholarly analyses do this only to a very limited degree. Scandinavian historians have concentrated on what the Hansa meant for their respective countries economically, socially and politically, while German research has focused on the internal organisation of the Hansa traders. Is it possible to formulate approaches and common sets of questions which transcend these divisions?

If Hansa history is to attract interest from scholars, students – and not least funding – these problems have to be discussed and overcome.

### 3. ISSUES FOR DISCUSSION

In 1983 when I was writing my PhD thesis, several basic questions were up for discussion. The first involved determining what the period of greatest expansion was for the stockfish trade from Bergen. Did this occur as part of the commercial revolution of the High Middle Ages in the 13<sup>th</sup> century, or in the 16<sup>th</sup> century? This is a fundamental issue for everyone who studies the Hansa in Bergen, and it is important to discuss it thoroughly. This will be done here by calculating imports and exports given in customs accounts and other materials which permit quantification, but also through analysing the consequences of the Bergen trade for Norwegian society and for the Hansa. Quantification makes it necessary to reconstruct the trade routes in order to determine how representative the customs accounts from Lübeck, England, Danzig and other ports are. Did Bergen ship directly to many ports, or was trade and shipping concentrated on Lübeck? In many cases the sources only provide us with the home town of a merchant or skipper. Did they trade exclusively with their home towns, or did some of them sail to several ports? Quantification, shipping routes and merchants' home towns are closely connected issues, and

will be discussed in the first three chapters, which deal with three periods in chronological order.

The second main question revolves around how the Hansa obtained and later defended its dominant position in Bergen. Bugge thought there was free competition among merchant groups at least in the first part of the period, and that the Hansa merchants gained the upper hand because they organised their trade most effectively. Schreiner accepted this analysis, but also thought the Hansa was particularly strong in Norway because of the country's dependence on Baltic grain. A third factor was the power balance between the state and the Hansa Kontor in Bergen. Max Weber defined a state as an organisation which has a monopoly on legitimate violence and a superior control of jurisdiction within a certain area. Norway had a state in this sense from the 12<sup>th</sup> century. Did the strong Hansa organisation in Bergen permit them to exert political pressure to obtain privileges and introduce practices which favoured their own merchants? To assess the latter argument, it is important to know how many Hansa merchants lived in Bergen the whole year round and how many were only summer guests, as well as how the Kontor was organised. Chapter IV discusses how the Hansa gained their dominance, starting with their struggle to establish themselves in Bergen from ca. 1250 until the Bergen Kontor was organised in 1366,<sup>64</sup> followed by the union with Denmark shortly afterwards in 1380; the analysis includes both economic factors and the legal framework at the time. Chapter V deals with how the Kontor merchants maintained their dominance in the following period up to the Reformation in 1537.

From a Norwegian perspective, the most interesting question is what the consequences of Hansa trade were for Norwegian society during the period 1100–1600. Chapter VI deals with this issue.

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64 Cf. p. 336.

## CHAPTER I

### THE BERGEN TRADE AND THE COMMERCIAL REVOLUTION OF THE MIDDLE AGES, 1100–1350

The 12<sup>th</sup> century was important for medieval commerce. An expansion in northern European long-distance trade, which historians have called “The commercial revolution of the Middle Ages”, began during this time.<sup>1</sup> Trade increased sharply, and goods produced on a large scale like grain, cloth, timber and fish dominated commercial exchanges more and more, compared to the traditional luxury items. Professional merchants living in towns gradually replaced the part-time traders, who were usually peasants and landowners.

The basic reason for this development was that in the preceding century northern Europe had entered a period of rapid population growth.<sup>2</sup> In the Early Middle Ages, Western Europe had been so thinly populated that it was possible to choose where to settle. People normally opted for land where it was possible to exploit many different resources, and each farm or village was economically self-sufficient to a large extent. The increase in population made economic specialisation and exchange of goods desirable and often necessary.

This is seen most clearly along the Rhine and in Flanders, where the commercialisation process started. From Roman times this had been the economically most advanced area north of the Alps, and it exported cloth, weapons and other metalwork to various parts of northern Europe all through the Early Middle Ages. In the 12<sup>th</sup> century, the expanding population made it necessary to reclaim new land for agriculture through dyke building and soil drainage. This land was of inferior quality and was best suited as pasture for sheep and cattle, which gave the traditional weaving industry a boost.<sup>3</sup> The supply of wool was later augmented with substantial imports from England, documented for the first time in 1113.<sup>4</sup> Woollen cloth was sold in northern France and western Germany, but also in England, where the weaving techniques were less advanced than in Flanders.<sup>5</sup> The land reclamation around the Wash in eastern England and in Germany east of the Elbe made available large new areas which were well suited for cereal farming and commercial grain production.

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1 LOPEZ, *The Commercial Revolution*.

2 RUSSEL, *Population*, pp. 25 and 39.

3 HÄPKE, *Brügge*, pp. 166–167 and 26–27; POWER, *Wool Trade in Medieval History*, pp. 8–11.

4 POWER, *Wool Trade in Medieval History*, pp. 11–40; LLOYD, *English Wool Trade*, pp. 4–7.

5 LLOYD, *English Wool Trade*, pp. 44–73, 79–119 and 125–141.

In Norway, this general trend toward economic specialisation resulted in commercial stockfish production. Stockfish is cod and ling which has been dried but not salted.

## 1. NORWEGIAN FOREIGN TRADE BEFORE THE HANSA MERCHANTS

In Bergen, German merchants started to dominate the export trade in the 1250s and to reside there permanently all year round. Thus, “before the Hansa merchants” is taken to mean before 1250.

### A. THE ORIGINS OF NORWEGIAN FOREIGN TRADE

People living within the borders of what is now Norway have exchanged goods with people living outside this area from the Stone Age. Around 890 AD during the Viking Age, the chieftain Ottar lived somewhere in the present-day county of Troms. As he recounted to King Alfred of England, he taxed the Sámi population, receiving furs as payment, hunted walrus and whales, and sold his goods at marketplaces in Skiringssal in Vestfold, Hedeby (Haithabu) in Schleswig, as well as in England.<sup>6</sup> In a general sense, this constituted foreign trade. But during the Middle Ages a new type of trade arose which involved specialised production of goods for sale at distant markets, as well as the appearance of merchants for whom trade was the main occupation for at least part of their lifetime. The first example of foreign trade of this type appeared in Norway with the stockfish trade. When did this begin?

King Svein of Norway, the son of Canute the Great, decreed between the years 1030 and 1035 that every man who fished in the sea should pay a tax (*landvarde*) of five fish to the King. Between 1103 and 1107 a royal ordinance retained this edict, but applied it only to those who fished out of Vågan in Lofoten. Vågan later became the central village for those catching cod and producing stockfish; it was also the most important marketplace for selling the finished product. A reasonable interpretation for the change in who paid this levy is that the King’s officials found it most efficient to concentrate tax collections at this central stockfish marketplace.<sup>7</sup> One of the reigning kings at this time, Eystein (1103–1123), also gave orders for fishermen’s huts and a church to be built in Vågan, as well as for the construction of small

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<sup>6</sup> *Ottar og Wulfstan*, p. 24.

<sup>7</sup> NGL I, p. 257 = *Norske middelalderdokumenter* no. 4; *Ágrip*, Norse text and English translation chapter XXIX, pp. 40–43; Norwegian edition, pp. 58–59.

harbours and navigation marks between Vågan and Bergen.<sup>8</sup> There can be little doubt that by about 1100, specialised stockfish production in Lofoten and stockfish exports from Bergen had begun.

Medieval Vågan included several neighbouring small harbours, but the central one was today's Storvågan. It was called a *kaupang*, meaning a marketplace with some houses. Archaeologists excavated this site in 1985/6; the dwellings they found which could have been part of a market settlement were all dated as post-1200.<sup>9</sup> Peasant fishermen probably visited Vågan from the Stone Age but fished only for their own consumption, and written sources contain evidence that Vågan was a central fishing village and marketplace before 1200.<sup>10</sup>

Recent excavations in Bergen have provided evidence that an organised, built-up area along the shoreline appeared in the first half of the 11<sup>th</sup> century, probably belonging to the nearby royal residence of Alrekstad. The ships using the harbour may have been warships, for there were no quays where larger cargo ships could dock. Before 1100, these ships had to anchor some distance from the shoreline and unload their goods into smaller boats which were then rowed ashore, beached and emptied. There is no, or at best uncertain, evidence of trade with distant ports at this time. Between 1100 and 1120, piers were built in Bergen which enabled larger cargo vessels to unload directly, houses were erected closer to the shoreline, and artefacts from foreign countries have been found: "the sources [from 1100–1120] taken together imply that trade in bulk commodities was now part of the economy of the townspeople of Bergen."<sup>11</sup>

The oldest evidence that Norwegians traded in foreign ports comes from eastern England. In about 1135, Odericus Vitalis described an event which had taken place in 1095: "When four great ships called *canardes* were on their way from Norway to England, the Earl of Northumbria waylaid them and violently robbed the peaceful merchants of their goods. The merchants, spoiled of their goods, went to the King in great distress, and laid complaint about their loss."<sup>12</sup> The term *canardes* must be a Latin version of the Norwegian word *knar*, a specialised, large cargo ship, suggesting that the merchants were Norwegian.<sup>13</sup> The fact that there were four large cargo ships with goods belonging to merchants signifies a type of commerce requiring considerable storage space. This provides a strong indication for stockfish exports in 1095. A

8 *Morkinskinna*, Norse text, p. 384; English translation, pp. 326 and 346–347; *Heimskringla* "The saga of Sigurd, Eystein and Magnus", chapters 14 and 21.

9 BERTELSEN, *Vågar i de første to århundrene*, p. 131.

10 BERTELSEN AND OTHERS, *The Storvågan Project*, p. 54; BERTELSEN, *Vågar i de første to århundrene*, p. 131; BERTELSEN, *Vågar, en kortlevd by*, pp. 200–203.

11 HANSEN, GITTE, *Bergen c 800–1170*, p. 212, for a general survey, pp. 207–212. The saga tradition claims that the building of Bergen cathedral started in the reign of King Olav Kyrre (1066–1093). Trade, king and church all contributed to the emergence of Bergen as a town.

12 *The Ecclesiastical History of Odericus Vitalis VI*, p. 281.

13 FRITZNER, *Ordbog*, entry words "*knörr*", "*knarrar*".

tariff for Grimsby and other ports in Lincolnshire dating from 1154–1160 imposed on visiting Norwegians the same customs as they paid in the reign of Henry I (1100–1135), which gives clear confirmation of established trading.<sup>14</sup>

Ragnvald Kali, who later became Earl of Orkney, sailed from Norway to Grimsby in 1115. “When Kali was fifteen he went in the company of traders westward to England, with valuable merchandise aboard, and they sailed to a town called Grimsby. There was a large gathering of people there from Orkney, Scotland and the Hebrides... After that Kali went back east in the same ship. They made landfall in Agder, then sailed north to Bergen, where Kali composed this verse:

Five weeks we’ve waded  
 through wetness and filth,  
 mud wasn’t missing  
 in the middle of Grimsby:  
 now our spirits are soaring  
 as our fine ship skims,  
 its bow bounds, like an elk  
 bounding over the waves, to Bergen.

When they reached Bergen there was quite a gathering of people there from the north and south of the country, and many too from overseas, bringing all sorts of good things with them.”<sup>15</sup>

How reliable is the saga’s claim that in 1115 Bergen was a meeting place for Norwegian and foreign merchants? *Orkneyinga Saga* was written about 1200 and describes events which had taken place 80–90 years earlier. The author’s purpose was to preserve for posterity important events in the lives of the Earls of Orkney. The central events are factual, but the protagonists are idealised. When it comes to details, all saga authors tend to intermingle circumstances at the time of writing with those from the earlier events described. Poems like the one above tend to be more reliable than prose, because verse is easier to remember and more difficult to alter. Comparing the saga with the evidence from customs tariffs and other evidence mentioned above gives us reliable information that around the year 1115 Norwegian merchants conducted trade between Bergen and Grimsby, and that Bergen at that time was an important meeting place for natives and merchants sailing to foreign ports.

The most important English port for Anglo-Norwegian trade in this early period was King’s Lynn, or Bishop’s Lynn as it was called then. The town grew rapidly after 1095 when the Bishop of Norwich founded a monastery and parish church there. The economic basis for this growth was extensive land reclamation. The fens around

14 DN XIX no. 32;.

15 *Orkneyinga saga*, chapters 59 and 60; English translation, chapters 59 and 60; Norwegian translation, p. 115.

the Wash were drained, and this led to a surplus of wheat and wool for export; the wool was shipped to Flanders, and some of the wheat went to Norway. Norwegian and English sources agree as to when the exchange of stockfish for wheat and cloth started during the decades around 1100.<sup>16</sup>

Inhabitants all along the coast of northern and western Norway have lived from a combination of subsistence fishing and agriculture since the Neolithic period. Those residing in the fjords could leave their farms for a few weeks every year, row out to the coast, live in small fishermen's huts there and produce stockfish for their own consumption in the winter months when the fjords were frozen. But it was also possible for them to buy stockfish from peasant fishermen living nearer to the shoals of fish. It is extremely difficult, and often impossible, for archaeologists to distinguish between stockfish produced for export and for domestic consumption, but the material does provide some clues.

During the Middle Ages, the peasant fishermen only used hand lines for catching cod. In the 11<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> centuries technological improvements were introduced, indicating that they were fishing in deeper waters.<sup>17</sup> This technology has left three types of artefact: fish hooks, sinkers, and pulleys.<sup>18</sup> Traditionally, fishermen nailed a rounded and polished piece of wood to the gunwale to help the line slip more smoothly into the water. But around 1000 AD they started mounting a pulley there instead, which made it easier to haul in a soaked hemp line from great depths and caused less wear on the line. Sinkers grew heavier, with those of 1–2 kilos indicating fishing at a depth of 100–200 meters.<sup>19</sup> Pulleys and heavier sinkers are often found together at the same settlement and, although exact dating is difficult, it seems they were introduced gradually between 1000 and 1200 AD.<sup>20</sup> The archaeologist Bjørn Hebba Helberg points out that this change occurred at the same time as stockfish production for export started, around 1100.<sup>21</sup>

Other kinds of archaeological findings are not so useful for determining when stockfish exports began. Boathouses grew larger and more numerous during the first millennium, but boats were used for activities other than fishing, and more than one boat could be sheltered in a boathouse. It is not possible to draw the conclusion that larger boathouses meant larger fishing boats, and from that to deduce that this signified exports of stockfish.<sup>22</sup> Huts used for short periods by seasonal fishermen have been excavated dating from about 100 AD, and these become more numerous

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16 CARUS-WILSON, *The Ports of the Wash*, pp. 182–185.

17 HELBERG, *Fiskeriteknologi*, pp. 145 and 226–228; NILSEN, GØRILL, *Jernaldernaust*, p. 84.

18 In Norwegian *vadbein*.

19 HELBERG, *Fiskeriteknologi*, pp. 178–179.

20 *Ibid.*, p. 182, cf. p. 180.

21 *Ibid.*, pp. 209 and 227.

22 NILSEN, GØRILL, *Jernaldernaust*, p. 126.

particularly after 700 AD,<sup>23</sup> but it is not known whether the fish caught by these peasant fishermen was for domestic consumption or export.

The small man-made hills which gradually built up where a farm existed at the same location for centuries are termed “farm mounds” by archaeologists. They are normally 0.5–5 meters high and 50–200 meters in length and breadth. In Norway, farm mounds only exist in the north; most of them are found between the regions of Salten, whose main town is Bodø, and Troms, whose main town is Tromsø.<sup>24</sup> In this area there was extensive cattle and sheep husbandry, and archaeologists who have excavated these mounds confirm that they mainly consist of dung from domestic animals.<sup>25</sup> In other regions dung was used to fertilise the cornfields, but most of these farms had small cornfields or none at all.<sup>26</sup> Since the dung was not needed for fertiliser and was left in the open air to rot, over time it accumulated, creating mounds. These farm mounds are relevant for our discussion because their age indicates when many farms stopped cultivating grain and started to buy it in Bergen. At Senja in Troms this seems to have happened around 1100.<sup>27</sup> In the municipality of Harstad, 8 of 9 dated farm mounds were started in the 11<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>28</sup> Dating is based on artefacts from the bottom layer, but this method is problematic: the site may have had a long history of permanent or seasonal settlement before the mound began to grow. In 1993, the archaeologist Bjørn Hebba Helberg analysed the excavations carried out in northern Norway, and concluded that the farm mounds as a phenomenon should be connected to the emergence of people who were mainly fishermen

Between the Julian Plague which affected the area around 570 AD and the Black Death in 1349, the population along the Norwegian coast seems to have increased continuously, and resources were exploited more intensely. Stockfish could be kept for up to two years and provided a reserve of food. The production of stockfish for export was further encouraged by the formation of the state and church in the 11<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> centuries. There was a massive transfer of land ownership from local chieftains to the state and later to the church; furthermore, the state demanded taxes and the church tithes. The peasant fishermen obtained money to pay their taxes by sell-

23 JOHANNESSEN, *Fiskevær*, pp. 43 and 46–47.

24 *Norsk historisk leksikon*, entry word “Gårdshaug”.

25 STAMSØ-MUNCH, *Gårdshauger i Nord-Norge*, pp. 44 and 32; BRATREIN, *Karlsøy og Helgøy bygdebok*, pp. 245 and 250; HANSSSEN, *Nordkapp*, pp. 32–33.

26 FJÆRVOLL, *Korndyrkinga*, pp. 96–98; cf. below table VI.7.

27 STAMSØ-MUNCH, *Gårdshauger i Nord-Norge*, p. 54; STAMSØ-MUNCH, *Næringsgrunnlaget i Nord-Norge*, p. 299.

28 BERTELSEN, *Gårdshaugene i Harstad kommune*, pp. 45–53. The author analysed the bottom layers of 9 mounds south of Malangen using the C.14 method, and came up with the following dates: 640 and 115 BC, 980, 1060, 1095, 1130, 1135, 1180 and 1286 AD and one “from the Viking Age” (BERTELSEN, *Gårdshaugene i Nord-Norge*, p. 125). Even here it is unclear whether the dating relates to a settlement which existed on the site before the mound started to grow.

ing stockfish in Bergen. The new elite of the church and state needed funds to pay for imported luxury clothing, weapons, church equipment, bronze and lead, and wages for foreign master builders. By the middle of the 11<sup>th</sup> century, the state was so powerful that it could prevent arbitrary violence against merchants and establish functioning courts of law in towns and marketplaces. Without this, foreign trade could not have been organised.

In the second part of the 12<sup>th</sup> century, Bergen had established itself as an important market town even by European standards. Danish pilgrims on a visit to Bergen in 1191 wrote: “This town is the most famous in Norway... Many people live there, the town is rich and there is an abundance of many kinds of goods. Stockfish called *skrei* is so abundant that it can not be measured or counted... There are great quantities of wine, honey, wheat, good cloth, silver and other saleable goods, and a lively trade with everything.”<sup>29</sup> The impression of lively trade in Bergen is confirmed in a speech by King Sverre in 1186, who was concerned that an overabundance of cheap imported wine had made drunkenness a problem.

We want to thank the Englishmen who have come here, bringing wheat, honey, flour and cloth. We desire also to thank those who have brought here linen or flax, wax or cauldrons. We desire next to make mention of those who have come from the Orkneys, Shetland, Faeroes or Iceland; all those who have brought here such things as make this land the richer, and we cannot do without. But there are Germans who have come here in great numbers, with large ships, intending to carry away butter and dried fish, of which the exportation impoverishes the land; and they bring wine instead, which people strive to purchase, both my men, townsmen, and merchants.<sup>30</sup>

If Norwegians were to produce stockfish for distant markets, they needed to obtain desirable goods in return. The main imports throughout the Middle Ages were cereal products (grain, flour, malt, beer) and high-quality cloth.<sup>31</sup> These became available in towns visited by Norwegians around 1100.

Stockfish exports in the 12<sup>th</sup> century may have impressed contemporaries, but how important were they measured against later standards? In 1177, King Sverre encountered 40 *byrðinga* (small inshore cargo ships) in the Trondheim Fjord.<sup>32</sup> They

29 *Profectio Danorum in Hierosolymam*, pp. 475–476.

30 *Sverris Saga*, chapter 104.

31 Tables I.6, II.5, II.29, II.31, II.32 and II.35; *Sverris Saga*, chapter 104; Norwegian translation, p. 110.

32 *Sverris Saga*, chapter 15. Two manuscripts, Eirspennil and Skálholtsbok, have xl (=40), while the Flatøybok manuscript has jx (=9), and AM 327 has l (=50). It is most likely that xl was the original figure. An x may have been overlooked in xl when being transcribed, so that the figure becomes l as in AM 327. It is more difficult to imagine that the scribe added a letter. The jx in Flatøybok is probably due to the fact that six lines above ix *skuta* are mentioned; these are smaller inshore ships. The scribe’s eye probably caught the wrong figure. Eirspennil is the most accurate text, even though it is abbreviated, and it has xl. (*Sverris Saga*, Norse text, p. 16, cf. pp. XXXI–LI).

are said to have come from Vågan further north and were evidently on their way to Trondheim with stockfish. Sources from the 1180s and 1190s quoted above show that Bergen was the main market for stockfish at this time, therefore one must assume that more than 40 ships sailed on to Bergen. This means that the two exporting towns together probably received more than 80 ships in 1177.

In comparison, four centuries later in 1563 a tax was levied on ships arriving in Bergen from the fishing villages to the north.<sup>33</sup> At the end of the 12<sup>th</sup> century, the stockfish producing area probably corresponded to the present-day *fylke* (county) of Nordland and the southern part of Troms, which corresponds to the area from Andenes to Helgeland in table V.7. The total number of *jekter* (inshore cargo vessels) from that area in 1563 was 175, which includes 74 ships belonging to merchants from Bergen and Trondheim. This comparison indicates that the stockfish trade in 1177 was important even by later standards.

## B. THE ENGLISH CONNECTION

As mentioned above, the region around the Wash produced a surplus of wheat and cloth, which was exported from King's Lynn from about 1100. In 1178/9, four merchants from King's Lynn were fined for having exported grain to Norway without a licence, and during the period 1180–1197, one merchant exported grain to Norway at least five times.<sup>34</sup> We know from King Sverre's 1186 speech that wheat, flour, honey and cloth were being imported from England to Bergen.<sup>35</sup> Licenses were granted to 11 Norwegian ships in 1256 to bring grain from Lynn.<sup>36</sup> As for exports from Norway, falcons and hawks are often mentioned; they were used to hunt other birds in flight, which was a popular sport among aristocrats. In 1163 the sheriffs of both Lincolnshire and Norfolk/Suffolk sent men to Norway to buy falcons and hawks, probably for the King's use.<sup>37</sup>

Sources from the 12<sup>th</sup> century only give glimpses of this trade. In 1180 a Norwegian ship was plundered in Yorkshire,<sup>38</sup> in 1184/5 an English merchant died in Norway,<sup>39</sup> in 1191 Danish pilgrims encountered English merchants in Bergen,<sup>40</sup> and in King Sverre's 1186 speech he described English merchants as being particularly beneficial for the country.<sup>41</sup>

33 Table V.7.

34 DN XIX no. 59; Pipe Rolls volume 28, p. 6.

35 *Sverris Saga*, chapter 104; Norwegian translation, p. 110.

36 Close Rolls 1254–1256, p. 443 = RN I no. 933.

37 Pipe Rolls 9 Henry II, pp. 68, 66 and 28f = DN XIX nos. 40, 41 and 42.

38 Pipe Rolls 26 Henry II, pp. 67–69 = DN XIX no. 60.

39 Pipe Rolls 31 Henry II p. 90 = DN XIX no. 64 = RN I no. 179.

40 *Profectio Danorum in Hierosolymam*, pp. 475–476.

41 *Sverris Saga*, chapter 104; Norwegian translation, p. 110.

English chancery rolls are extant from 1201, and they show that two rich merchants in Lynn had established extensive trade connections with Norway. The merchant William Hereward had his goods confiscated in Norway in 1221,<sup>42</sup> but in 1230 he was permitted to send an unspecified number of ships to Norway,<sup>43</sup> although in 1235 he was allowed only one ship<sup>44</sup> and in 1224 two.<sup>45</sup> He sold goods to the Norwegian king on credit but had problems recovering what was owed, so in 1237 seven Norwegian ships were seized in Lynn to compensate William.<sup>46</sup> Radulf Cosman, a citizen of Lynn, was permitted to send an unspecified number of ships to Norway in 1230.<sup>47</sup> A trader named Radulf da Roma from Lynn (probably the same person as Radulf Cosman) had goods of high value confiscated in Norway in 1221,<sup>48</sup> but in 1224 we read that he again sent a ship from Lynn to Norway.<sup>49</sup>

In 1230, the King of England requisitioned a large portion of the English merchant fleet to transport his army to France.<sup>50</sup> However, on the 27<sup>th</sup> of June, six citizens of Lynn received special permission to send their ships to Norway and Scotland;<sup>51</sup> among them were William Hereward and Radulf Cosman. On the 5<sup>th</sup> of August the chancery in London conveyed a letter to the bailiff in Grimsby permitting ten ships “which have recently arrived from Norway”, and which held letters of safe conduct from the King, to continue their journey.<sup>52</sup> Most likely these were the ships belonging to the six merchants from Lynn which had called in at Grimsby on their return journeys. This is the largest number of English merchant ships known to have sailed between Norway and England in a single year before the Hanseatic expansion. Possibly even more ships would have been engaged in trade if the political conditions had been normal.<sup>53</sup>

Norwegian merchants also concentrated their trading and shipping at King’s Lynn. Records show that there were 11 Norwegian ships in port at the same time in 1224, five of them loaded with grain.<sup>54</sup> And as mentioned above, seven Norwegian ships were seized in 1237 to cover a debt, and 11 ships were granted permission to

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42 Close Rolls I, p. 464b = DN XIX no. 135.

43 Close Rolls 1227–1231, p. 356 = DN XIX no. 199.

44 Calendar of Patent Rolls 1232–1247, p. 100 = DN XIX no. 218.

45 Close Rolls I p. 607b = DN XIX no. 161.

46 Close Rolls 1234–1237, p. 481f = DN XIX no. 230.

47 Close Rolls 1227–1231, p. 356 = DN XIX no. 199.

48 Close Rolls I, p. 464b = DN XIX no. 135.

49 Close Rolls I p. 606a = DN XIX no. 158.

50 Close Rolls 1227–1231, pp. 245, 253 and 314; *Cambridge Medieval History* VI, p. 260.

51 Close Rolls 1227–1231, p. 356 = DN XIX no. 199.

52 Close Rolls 1227–1231, p. 367 = DN XIX no. 201.

53 Cf. NEDKVITNE, *Handelssjøfarten mellom Norge og England*, pp. 153–154.

54 NEDKVITNE, *Handelssjøfarten mellom Norge og England*, pp. 131–133; Close Rolls I, pp. 606b, 607a, 622b and 647b = DN XIX nos. 159, 160 and 165; Patent Rolls 1217–1225, p. 459 = DN XIX no. 162.

export grain from Lynn in 1256. These figures represent the minimum number of Norwegian ships visiting Lynn during those years.<sup>55</sup>

England exported wheat and cloth to Norway, and the records mention that ships brought back furs<sup>56</sup> and timber<sup>57</sup>, but stockfish must have been the main imported item. Both English and Norwegian merchants participated in this commerce, but it is not known who dominated.

### C. CONTINENTAL NORTH SEA PORTS

In his 1186 speech quoted above, King Sverre mentioned that Germans were the other main group of merchants present in Bergen. The Rhine was the main traffic artery in the German-speaking area at the start of the 12<sup>th</sup> century, and the major commercial towns were situated in the Rhine valley and along the Rhine estuary.

Utrecht and Tiel seem to have been the main ports for commerce with Norway.<sup>58</sup> In a list of customs tariffs for Utrecht dated 1122, Emperor Hinrik V declared that Norwegians were freed from all types of customs duties.<sup>59</sup> The Norwegians were privileged among foreign merchants visiting the town. The author of the history of Utrecht thinks the Norwegians may have had a settlement in that town.<sup>60</sup> This privilege may be a forgery from 1178, extending the original privilege awarded in 1122.<sup>61</sup> There is confirmation that ships sailed directly between Norway and Utrecht in a description of the pilgrim roads to Rome penned by the Icelandic abbot Nikolas in about 1150. He wrote that one route went from Norway to Ålborg in Denmark, and another from Norway to Deventer or Utrecht. "From there people take staff and bag, receive consecration, and start their journey to Rome."<sup>62</sup> Utrecht is close to the main estuary of the Rhine, and Deventer to the estuary of its branch river the Ijssel. A poem describing the town of Maastricht from the 1170s or 1180s mentions that people sailed from there to Denmark and Norway.<sup>63</sup> The river Maas runs close to the Rhine, and serves the same markets.

Later in the 12<sup>th</sup> century, the towns along the Rhine estuary lost their commercial importance in favour of Cologne, which was the largest town along the Rhine.<sup>64</sup>

55 NEDKVITNE, *Handelssjøfarten mellom Norge og England*, pp. 130–136.

56 DN XIX no.100; *Calendar of the Liberate Rolls 1245–51*, p. 273.

57 RN I no. 930 (1256).

58 BÄCHTOLD, *Norddeutscher Handel*, pp. 28–30, 32–34 and 234–235.

59 HUB I no. 8: "Nortmannos ab omni modo theloneo liberos esse cognoscimus".

60 BÄCHTOLD, *Norddeutscher Handel*, p. 131: "Der Grund dafür wird sich schwer finden lassen. Asch van Wijk: *Handelsverkehr der stad Utrecht*, S.493, glaubt, das Vorrecht rühre daher dass die Normannen in Utrecht noch so lange eine Kolonie besessen hätten."

61 WILKENS, *Niederländischer Handel*, p. 130.

62 *Alfredi Islenzk* I, pp. 148–150.

63 BÄCHTOLD, *Norddeutscher Handel*, p. 101.

64 *Ibid.*, p. 235.

Wine was its main export.<sup>65</sup> The first evidence of merchants from Cologne engaging in trade and shipping on a large scale is from 1157, when King Henry II of England established regulations for the wine business of Cologne merchants in London and put their Guildhall under his protection.<sup>66</sup> Their trade with Norway was possibly an extension of their commerce with England. Several citizens with bynames like *Norman* and *Norwegen* are found in Cologne in the 12<sup>th</sup> century, particularly in the merchant district; Bächtold thinks they were Norwegian immigrants.<sup>67</sup> As was mentioned earlier, wine was the main item imported by the German merchants in Bergen in 1186, and Danish pilgrims report that much wine was drunk there in 1191.<sup>68</sup> These wine merchants were most likely from Cologne.<sup>69</sup>

King Sverre's 1186 speech also thanked the merchants who imported linen cloth, linen, wax and metal kettles. The most important areas for producing linen were Westphalia and Friesland. Wax came from the east but was sold by Westphalian merchants in England.<sup>70</sup> As for metal, the primary centres for metal work were in the Rhine area; among the best known were Cologne and Dinant, which was the only French-speaking town in the Hansa.<sup>71</sup> It is interesting that the first winter resident in Bergen whose name is known was Hermann *Kolnare*, who was living in Bryggen on Engelgården in the 1250s.<sup>72</sup>

During the first decades of the 13<sup>th</sup> century, the Westphalian towns obtained a central position in the growing Baltic trade, led by Dortmund, Soest and Münster.<sup>73</sup> In 1255 the King of England purchased wax from two merchants from Soest,<sup>74</sup> and in 1272 merchants from Dortmund were trading in Boston in Lincolnshire.<sup>75</sup> An agreement was drawn up in 1282 between the municipality of London and German Hansa merchants, signed by four merchants from Dortmund and one from each of the towns of Münster, Cologne and Hamburg.<sup>76</sup>

The Westphalians also found their way to Bergen. The saga of Didrik of Bern was written during the reign of King Håkon Håkonsson (1217–1263).<sup>77</sup> In it the author states that “the saga was written according to the narrative of German men”, particularly those born in Soest, Bremen and Münster, and who had been where the

65 Ibid., p. 230.

66 HUB I nos. 13 and 14.

67 BÄCHTOLD, *Norddeutscher Handel*, p. 266.

68 *Sverris Saga*, chapters 103–104; *Profectio Danorum in Hierosolymam*, pp. 475–476.

69 BÄCHTOLD, *Norddeutscher Handel*, p. 266.

70 HUB I no. 475; pp. 54, 81, 90, table II.5 and appendix I tables 5–9.

71 DOLLINGER, *La Hanse*, pp. 281 and 283; English translation, pp. 226–227 and 228; German translation, pp. 297 and 299.

72 DN I no. 122 = *Norske middelalderdokumenter* no. 55.

73 BÄCHTOLD, *Norddeutscher Handel*, pp. 279 ff.

74 HUB I no. 475.

75 Ibid. no. 707.

76 Ibid. no. 1282.

77 *Kulturbistorisk leksikon for nordisk middelalder*, entry word “Didrik av Berns Saga”.

events of the saga took place. The names in the saga show that the narrators must have spoken Low German.<sup>78</sup> It may be assumed that these Germans were among the first winter residents in Bryggen at the end of King Håkon's reign.<sup>79</sup> They probably reached Bergen from ports on the Rhine estuary, and their interest in the Bergen trade may partly have been inspired by visits to eastern English ports.

Merchants from Bremen also participated in the early Baltic trade, but not to the same extent as the Westphalians.<sup>80</sup> In England, however, no other West German town was so well represented.<sup>81</sup> Saxon merchants frequently appear in English sources, and those from Bremen predominate.<sup>82</sup> In 1229 a Norwegian ship with Norwegian knights and Saxon merchants was given safe conduct in English ports.<sup>83</sup>

During the 13<sup>th</sup> century, Norwegian goods were exported to Bruges in Flanders. In 1268, 12 Norwegians stayed in Muident on the river Zwin on their way to Bruges.<sup>84</sup> An undated customs tariff from the 12<sup>th</sup> century lists falcons, timber, leather, butter, ashes, oil (*oint*), tar and goatskins as being imports from Norway to Bruges.<sup>85</sup> Fish is not mentioned, probably because it was sold further downstream at Monikereede.<sup>86</sup> In the 1226 Norse translation of the novel *Tristan and Iseult*,<sup>87</sup> a merchant ship arriving in France from Norway had on board "furs of squirrel grey and white, furs of beaver, marten and bear, tusks of walrus, hawks, falcons grey and white, wax, skin of cattle and goat, stockfish, tar, fishoil, sulphur and other Norwegian merchandise". This list did not exist in the original text but was added by the Norwegian translator.<sup>88</sup> Snorri Sturluson the Icelandic historian wrote in about 1230 that people along the Oslo Fjord at the time of St. Olav (1015–1030) often sailed off to England, Saxony, Flanders or Denmark for the purpose of trade.<sup>89</sup> Snorri no doubt was describing what he saw during his stay in Norway from 1218–1220.

Bergen, exported stockfish, furs and hides to the western European continent during this period, and in return imported mainly cloth, wine and metalwork. The main ports of call were foremost Utrecht, then Cologne, and at the end of this period Westphalian towns, Bremen and Bruges. Most of the merchants were Germans from these towns, but some Norwegians visited Utrecht, Cologne and Bruges. The written evidence for the English connection is richer than for the trade with

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78 *Saga Didriks konungs af Bern*, pp. 3 and 334.

79 BUGGE, *Den norske sjøfarts historie*, p. 237.

80 HUB I no. 232.

81 BÄCHTOLD, *Norddeutscher Handel*, pp. 230–231.

82 Cf. HUB I nos. 159 and 179.

83 DN XIX no. 194.

84 BUGGE, *Den norske trelasthandels historie*, p. 113.

85 DN XIX no. 459, p. 565 = HUB III, p. 419 note 1.

86 HUB XI no. 1235; HUB II no. 401; Cf. HÄPKE, *Brügge*, pp. 222–223.

87 *Kulturhistorisk leksikon for nordisk middelalder*, entry word "Tristrams Saga".

88 BUGGE, *Handelen mellom England og Norge*, p. 118.

89 *Heimskringla* "The saga of St. Olav", chapter 64.

Germany and Flanders, but this may be due to the fact that the English chancery preserved its records better.

However, the archaeological evidence from Bryggen points in the opposite direction: for the period 1100–1250, pottery from the Rhine area is better represented than that from England. Ardenne pottery was produced in the area between Flanders and the Rhine, Pingsdorf pottery in the Rhine area.<sup>90</sup> Hartwig Lüdtke concludes that there is a “Rhineland provenance” for most of the pottery discovered in Bergen from this period.<sup>91</sup> The same is true for pottery found in Trondheim and Oslo dating to 1100–1250.<sup>92</sup> This confirms the written evidence that the main ports for Norwegian trade on the continent during this period were in the Rhine area. It is less clear whether the distribution of the pottery should be used as an argument that the Rhine area was more important than England in Norwegian foreign trade during this period. Pottery was one of many imported items, so it is not known what these archaeological finds actually represent.

#### D. THE BALTIC CONNECTION

During the Viking Age, ships were already sailing from Norway across the North Sea to England and the Rhine estuary. It was also possible at that time to sail down the west coast of present-day Sweden to southern Denmark and the western Baltic. Goods from the German interior reached the Baltic by land, and commodities from western Europe, Scandinavia and the Baltic were exchanged at this crossroads. During the Viking Age, Hedeby (Haithabu) was the main marketplace of this region, but after 1066 Schleswig overtook it.<sup>93</sup> The Norwegian chieftain Ottar traded in Haithabu around 890.<sup>94</sup>

Lübeck was founded in 1143 and was rebuilt after changing hands in 1159; it dominated trade more and more towards the end of the century. Lübeck’s second ruler, Duke Henry the Lion, invited Norwegian, Danish, Swedish and Russian merchants to visit the new town.<sup>95</sup> This indicates that Norwegian merchants were known to trade in these waters. The Norwegian town of Konungahella was attacked by north Baltic pirates in 1134, and at that time there were nine *austfararskip* (cargo ships used between Norway and the Baltic) moored in the town’s port; just before that event, 13 *byrdinga* had left Konghelle for Bergen. The source of this informa-

90 LÜDTKE, *Bryggen Pottery*, p. 39; cf. NORDEIDE, *Handel og vareutveksling*, p. 253.

91 LÜDTKE, *Bryggen Pottery*, p. 42.

92 NORDEIDE, *Handel og vareutveksling*, pp. 252 and 254; MOLAUG, *Leirkarmaterialet fra Mindets tomt*, p. 110; MOLAUG, *Leirkarmaterialet fra Søndre felt*, pp. 314–317.

93 JANKUHN, *Haithabu*, pp. 273–274.

94 *Ottar og Wulfstan*, p. 24.

95 *Helmoldi cronica slavorum*, p. 169; cf. HUB I no. 33.

tion is Snorri Sturluson, and it should be reliable because his foster father was aboard one of these ships.<sup>96</sup>

Small coastal cargo ships are known to have sailed from northern Norway via Bergen along the coast down to the Baltic. Eastern Norway and even Bergen may thus have received western European goods via Haithabu, Schleswig and later Lübeck. Norwegian merchants often engaged in foreign trade as a part-time occupation, although their ships were small; many of them may have preferred to acquire west European goods via the protected but longer sea route to the western Baltic.

Norwegian merchants do not seem to have travelled from Haithbu/Schleswig to the North Sea. Ottar visited both England and Haithabu, but he did not say that he did so on the same voyage – he would have had to portage his ship from Haithabu to Hollingstedt, which is highly unlikely.<sup>97</sup> Warlords may have done so, but not merchants. Western goods were transported over land from western Germany to Haithabu or Schleswig, and Norwegian merchants bought the commodities there.

Norwegian merchants also pursued their trade further east. Before the Hanseatic expansion in the Baltic after 1159, furs, wax and oriental goods were transported from today's Russia via Gotland to western Europe, and western textiles and other craft products were moved in the opposite direction.<sup>98</sup> In 1191, German, Danish and Norwegian merchants sailed from Estland (which seems to have been a rather imprecise term for the eastern Baltic) to Gotland, according to a text that should be reliable because the author, Hinrik of Lettland, wrote it in the 1220s.<sup>99</sup> Before 1159 there were no Germans engaged in this trade, and probably more Scandinavians.

According to various sagas, Norwegian participation in this kind of commerce dated back to the Viking Age. When King Olav Trygvason was on the throne (995–1000), a Norwegian called Gudleiv sailed from Norway via Gotland to Novgorod where he bought silk, furs and valuable tablecloths. He was a great merchant and “often sailed east to Novgorod (Gardariki), and was therefore called Gudleiv Gerski (from Gardariki).”<sup>100</sup> The same saga mentions a part-time merchant named Lodin living in the Oslo Fjord area who visited, among other places, Estland (*Eistland*).<sup>101</sup> Another chronicle speaks about one of the first settlers in Iceland around 900 AD, a Norwegian called Skinna-Bjorn (‘Fur’-Bjorn); he was given this nickname because he sailed to Novgorod (Holmgard) as a merchant,<sup>102</sup> as did Hrafn Holmgardsfar

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96 *Heimskringla* “The saga of Magnus the Blind”, chapter 10; NILSEN, HELGE, *Norrøne historikere*, p. 91.

97 On Hollingstedt see JANKUHN, Haithabu, pp. 148ff.

98 DOLLINGER, *La Hanse*, p. 21; English translation, p. 7; German translation, p. 21.

99 *Heinrichs Livländische Chronik*, p. 6; English translation I, p. 29; German translation I, p. 11.

100 *Heimskringla* “The saga of Olav Trygvason”, chapter 66.

101 *Heimskringla* “The saga of Olav Trygvason”, chapter 52.

102 *Landnámabók* Norse text, pp. 212–213, in the manuscript “Sturlubok” chapter 174 and in “Hauksbok” chapter 140.

(‘the Novgorod merchant’).<sup>103</sup> After the death of King Olav Haraldsson in 1030, there was a war between the new King of Norway and Grand Prince Jaroslav of Novgorod, “and for some time there was no trade between the two countries”, according to the text *Morkinskinna*.<sup>104</sup> One narrative mentions that Egil Skallagrimsson sailed to the estuary of the Dauguva (Düna) as a merchant and visited the important marketplace there; this is where Riga was later founded.<sup>105</sup> The sagas which contain these accounts were written in the 13<sup>th</sup> century, describing events taking place in the 10<sup>th</sup> century, and it cannot be assumed that all of the narratives are historically correct. But the sagas utilised above are realistic sources in the sense that their authors and public believed that the events described could have taken place. In the 13<sup>th</sup> century there was a tradition in Norway and Iceland that their Viking Age forefathers had been merchants who traded in the Baltic. Other sources and general knowledge confirm the reality of this tradition.

So in the Baltic during this period, Norwegian merchants bought western European goods in Haithabu and Schleswig, and mainly furs in Novgorod, the Düna estuary and “Estland”. There is no evidence that merchants other than Norwegians sailed between the Baltic and Norway before the German expansion started at the end of the 12<sup>th</sup> century.

In summary, before about 1100, Norwegian merchants sailed to England, the Rhine estuary, the western Baltic and the eastern Baltic. Foreign merchants do not seem to have visited Norway at this time.

The export of stockfish from Norway started in the last decades of the 11<sup>th</sup> century, and at the end of the 12<sup>th</sup> century it was sizeable enough to impress contemporaries. The trade in stockfish brought “the commercial revolution of the Middle Ages” to Norway. It drew foreign merchants to Norway for the first time, mainly to the new port of Bergen, and it is likely that these foreigners dominated commerce from the 12<sup>th</sup> century. We have better written evidence for exports to England than to the Rhine estuary, but this may be due to the fact that the English chancery was developed earlier and its records have been preserved better. Despite this, the traditional view that the English trade connection was more important in this early period than the German one seems to be verified.

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103 BUGGE, *Den norske sjøfarts historie*, p. 70.

104 *Morkinskinna* Norse text, p. 3; English translation, p. 91.

105 *Egil's saga*, Norse text, chapter 46, p. 114.

## 2. HANSA MERCHANTS TAKE CONTROL OF TRADE BETWEEN NORWAY AND THE BALTIC

The same commercial revolution which created the stockfish trade was also behind the German expansion into the Baltic. Until the middle of the 12<sup>th</sup> century, the Baltic Sea had been a Scandinavian and Slavic area. West German merchants bought Baltic goods at markets along the Elbe in Magdeburg,<sup>106</sup> in Bardowiek (close to present-day Lüneburg),<sup>107</sup> and possibly in Schleswig in Denmark.<sup>108</sup> From the 1120s at the latest they also visited the Slavic marketplace of Lübeck where the Baltic Sea came closest to Westphalia.<sup>109</sup> In 1159 Lübeck was founded as a German town and adhered to the urban law of Soest, which was the Westphalian town with the strongest interests in the Baltic trade.<sup>110</sup> At the time of its founding, Lübeck was probably still a place where German merchants travelling overland met seafaring Scandinavian and Slavic merchants.<sup>111</sup>

By 1161 the Germans were already trading in Gotland, and by 1165 in Novgorod.<sup>112</sup> During the initial period, merchants from Westphalian towns such as Soest, Dortmund and Münster dominated trade, but as more Germans settled permanently in Lübeck and Visby, citizens from these towns increasingly played the leading role in the Baltic trade.<sup>113</sup>

### A. GOTLAND AND RUSSIA

Norwegian merchants were still sailing to Russia in 1191,<sup>114</sup> but they probably stopped going to Gotland and Russia sometime during the 13<sup>th</sup> century. The 1326 peace treaty between Norway and Novgorod states that Norwegians were allowed to trade freely in Novgorod.<sup>115</sup> However, at that time Germans controlled the fur trade

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106 WECZERKA, *Verkehrsnetz*, p. 42.

107 BÄCHTOLD, *Norddeutscher Handel*, p. 287.

108 *Ibid.*, pp. 269–272.

109 *Ibid.*, p. 273.

110 *Ibid.*, p. 279.

111 *Helmoldi cronica slavorum*, p. 169.

112 DOLLINGER, *La Hanse*, p. 40; English translation, p. 24; German translation, pp. 41–42.

113 BÄCHTOLD, *Norddeutscher Handel*, pp. 279ff. The guild of merchants who visited Gotland in the 13<sup>th</sup> century had four aldermen, one from each of the towns of Soest, Dortmund, Lübeck and Visby (DOLLINGER, *La Hanse*, p. 40; English translation, p. 24; German translation, pp. 41–43). As late as 1229, an agreement between German merchants and the prince of Smolensk was signed in Riga by 19 Germans, including two from each of the towns of Soest, Münster, Dortmund, Groningen, Bremen, Lübeck and Visby (HUB I no. 232).

114 Cf. chapter I.1d; *Heinrichs Livländische Chronik*, p. 6; English translation I, p. 29; German translation I, p. 11.

115 DN VIII no. 80.

from Novgorod and Riga via Visby and Lübeck, so it is unlikely that Norwegians were still participating in this trade.

Danish pilgrims who visited Bergen in 1191 saw “merchants from Gotland” there.<sup>116</sup> These were most likely peasant merchants from the countryside, but some of them may have been Germans who had become citizens of Visby. According to the reliable saga of King Håkon Håkonsson,<sup>117</sup> in 1247 there were seafaring cogs and smaller cargo ships (*ferja*) in Bergen which had arrived from Gotland. The cogs must have been German, while the smaller cargo ships probably belonged to peasant merchants from Gotland, or possibly to Norwegians. English customs accounts for 1303–1311 show that non-German Gotlanders plied their trade between Norwegian towns and England. After that time, Gotlanders and Gotland disappear from Norwegian foreign trade.<sup>118</sup>

Furs are frequently mentioned as being among the exports from Norway to England in the 12<sup>th</sup> and the first part of the 13<sup>th</sup> centuries. The statutes of London shortly after 1200 state that “Norwegians and Russians send furs called vair<sup>119</sup>, furs of grey squirrel and sable.”<sup>120</sup> The first Norwegian merchant ship to England for which the cargo is known arrived in Newcastle in 1213 carrying grey squirrel furs and other merchandise.<sup>121</sup> Records from 1250 show that the English king bought furs from six Norwegian merchants and one Gotlander at the market in King’s Lynn.<sup>122</sup> All this indicates that transportation of Russian furs via Visby and Bergen to England took place up to the middle of the 13<sup>th</sup> century. English customs accounts for 1303–11 list insignificant quantities of furs originating in Norway. Furs were also prepared in Jämtland, Finnmark and the White Sea region, and the furs exported from Bergen around 1300 may have come from there.<sup>123</sup>

## B. THE SCANIA MARKET AND ITS OFFSHOOT IN BOHUSLÄN

At the end of the 12<sup>th</sup> century, an important market came into existence on the Øresund; saga authors called it the Haløre market, Danes and Germans the Scania market (*Skånemarkedet*). It was situated between today’s Skanør and Falsterbo (in present-day southwestern Sweden).<sup>124</sup> The location was due to the rich herring fisheries there, but West European goods were also for sale. The market was a conse-

116 *Profectio Danorum in Hierosolymam*, pp. 475–6.

117 *Håkonar saga Hákonarsonar*, chapter 260.

118 BUGGE, *De norske byers selvstyre og handel*, pp. 145–180.

119 From *varium* = the white belly fur of red squirrels.

120 *Liber Custumarum*, p. 9; BUGGE, *Den norske sjøfarts historie*, p. 155.

121 DN XIX no.100.

122 *Calendar of the Liberate Rolls 1245–51*, p. 273.

123 Tables 1.2 and I.12.

124 Some historians have claimed that this was two different markets (*Kulturbistorisk leksikon for nordisk middelalder*, entry word “Skånemarkedet”).

quence of the German Baltic trade; they organised the salting of and trade in herring, and brought goods from the west to the market via Lübeck.<sup>125</sup>

Before the German expansion, Norwegian inshore cargo ships journeyed to Haithabu and possibly Schleswig. Sagas written in the late 12<sup>th</sup> and the 13<sup>th</sup> centuries give the impression of a lively traffic of inshore craft (*byrðinga*) along the coast from Bergen to the market at Scania. One saga tells us that in 1207 warships on their way from eastern Norway to Bergen encountered 30 *byrðinga* at Langesund Fjord in present day Telemark, and further along the coast of Agder they met more *byrðinga* coming from Bergen.<sup>126</sup> In 1256, the Norwegian Eyrarfloti (the fleet sailing to Haløre) is described as sailing southwards along the coast of Bohuslän north of Gothenburg.<sup>127</sup> According to the sagas, in 1196 there were so many Norwegians at Haløre that the Baglar rebels could organise their insurgency from there,<sup>128</sup> and in 1203 the pretender to the throne Erling Steinvegg planned to do the same.<sup>129</sup> Several sagas written around 1220/30 no doubt describe the Haløre market as it was at that time, although the events took place in the 10<sup>th</sup> century. In one, a peasant trader from the Faeroes sailed to Norway and further on to the market at Haløre, and the saga author remarks: “A great many people had come to the market, and people say that nowhere else in the Nordic countries are so many people gathered as in Haløre during the market period”.<sup>130</sup> In another, the Icelander Hallfred is also said to have visited Haløre.<sup>131</sup> One of the characters in Egil’s saga sailed from the Baltic through Øresund, and the saga author reports: “This was at the time when the ships sailed from the market at Haløre. There were many ships from Norway, as usual. The Norwegians bought malt, wheat and honey.”<sup>132</sup> Both in 1237 and 1277 there were large-scale clashes between Norwegians and Danes at the market, according to Danish annals.<sup>133</sup> And as late as 1328, Rostock was granted the concession at the Scania market to the effect that its merchants could only be sued by Danes, Norwegians and other foreigners at the court of the Rostock bailiff.<sup>134</sup>

Herring, salt and western products seem to have been the main imports into Norway from this market. Snorri Sturluson described in 1230 how the chieftain Hårek sailed from the Baltic and cunningly managed to pass through Øresund

125 CHRISTENSEN, AKSEL, *Hansestæderne*, p. 78.

126 *Böglunga sögur* II, p. 104; Norwegian translation, chapters 32–33.

127 *Hákonar saga Hákonarsonar*, chapter 285.

128 *Sverris Saga*, chapter 134.

129 *Böglunga sögur* II, pp. 13–14; Norwegian translation, chapter 5.

130 *Færeyinga saga*, Norse text, chapter 2, p. 5. The saga was written ca. 1220 (*Kulturhistorisk leksikon for nordisk middelalder*, entry word “Færeyinga saga”).

131 *Hallfreðar saga*, Norse text, chapter 7. The saga was written ca. 1220–1230 (*Medieval Scandinavia* “Hallfreðar saga”).

132 *Egil’s Saga*, Norse text, chapter 19.

133 *Annales Danici Medii Aevi*, pp. 109, 131, 137, 140, 146, 193 and 196.

134 HUB II no. 474 §3.

where his enemies lay in wait for him: he moored his ship at Haløre, altered its appearance to make it look like a cargo ship loaded with salt or herring, and sailed past the waiting warships.<sup>135</sup> A Danish customs tariff dated 1251 mentions herring, salt and linen cloth as exports from the Scania market to Norway;<sup>136</sup> the salt came from Lüneburg via Lübeck, and the linen cloth from Westphalia.

We saw earlier that Danish pilgrims met merchants from their own country in Bergen in 1191, and records show that there were Danish merchants in Bergen in 1247.<sup>137</sup> Danes also sailed to Tønsberg in southeast Norway, according to Snorri, writing around 1230.<sup>138</sup> There is mention of merchants from Lund<sup>139</sup> and Malmö<sup>140</sup> sailing to Norway in documents from the 1270s and 1280s. The two towns were Danish at that time and not far from Skanør and Falsterbo, which suggests the kind of goods the Danes were importing to Norway.<sup>141</sup> Treaties signed in 1295 and 1309 secured free trade between Norway and Denmark.<sup>142</sup>

After about 1280, it seems that Norwegian ships stopped visiting the Scania market. But herring continued to be imported to Norway from Scania. In state ordinances for Bergen, Tønsberg and Oslo dated 1316, and another for Oslo around 1377–80, salted herring in barrels is mentioned among imports to Norwegian towns.<sup>143</sup>

Herring has spawned along the coasts of Bohuslän periodically throughout its recorded history. In later centuries the herring season ran from March through April,<sup>144</sup> and at the beginning of the 14<sup>th</sup> century this was also when ships carrying Norwegian herring arrived in eastern England.<sup>145</sup>

In 1288, the Archbishop of Bremen sent a letter to Håkon, Duke of Eastern Norway, on behalf of Bremen citizens who sailed to Norway and remained there during the herring fishing season. At the time of Håkon's forefathers, they had paid a customs of 8 shillings for each ship (cog), and the Archbishop asked that the tariff remain at that level in the future.<sup>146</sup> If this letter is to be taken literally, it shows that the herring fisheries were visited by Bremen merchants during the reign of Håkon's

135 *Heimskringla* "The saga of St. Olav", chapter 158.

136 HUB I no. 411 = UBStL no. 175 = DN V no. 5.

137 *Håkonar saga Hákonarsonar*, chapter 256.

138 *Profectio Danorum in Hierosolymam*, pp. 475–476; *Heimskringla* "The saga of Harald Fairhair", chapter 36.

139 HUB I nos. 957 and 958 = RN II nos. 392 and 412.

140 UBStL III o. 21 = *Diplomatarium Danicum* 2.rk. II no. 98.

141 Danish trade to Norway is also mentioned in HUB I no. 956; HR I, 2, 29.

142 *Diplomatarium Danicum* 2.rk. IV no. 184 = RN II no. 790; DN IX no. 82.

143 NGL III, pp. 122 and 205.

144 Sjöstrand 1996, p. 104; HASSELÖF, *Svenska västkustfiskarna*, p. 149; SOLHAUG, *Norske fiskerier*, p. 3.

145 Table I.5.

146 *Bremisches Urkundenbuch* I no. 444 = HUB I no. 1040 = DN V no. 17.

father King Magnus (1263–1280). Later in 1288 the Baltic towns of Lübeck, Wismar, Rostock, Stralsund, Greifswald, Riga and Visby were exempted from the same customs by Duke Håkon.<sup>147</sup> The last extant privilege connected to the herring fisheries in Norway was issued in 1341 to merchants from Kampen, who “come to us at the time when herring is caught”.<sup>148</sup> Numerous sources mention the rich herring catches along the Bohuslän coast for the period 1288–1341, but after that there is complete silence about the herring fisheries in Bohuslän until the 16<sup>th</sup> century.

Merchants came to the Bohuslän fisheries via the North Sea, from Bremen,<sup>149</sup> Kampen<sup>150</sup> and Zeeland,<sup>151</sup> sailing around Skagen, and from Hamburg, probably via the same route.<sup>152</sup> In Bohuslän they met with Hansa merchants from Baltic towns.<sup>153</sup>

Hansa merchants were present during the fishing season on the Scania coast, and they salted the herring in barrels as it came ashore. The fishing was carried out there by Danish peasants. For Bohuslän, we have no direct information about who caught the fish and salted the herring, but the documents cited above do mention that Hansa merchants stayed there during the fishing season. Like their counterparts trading in Skanør and Falsterbo, if they bought the herring after it had been salted in barrels, they would have arrived after the fishing was over.

In 1292, merchants from Wismar and Greifswald were allowed to unload merchandise from their ships in Bohuslän without previous permission from the local bailiff, and it should be assumed that other Hansa merchants did likewise.<sup>154</sup> They sold their wares to local fishermen and visiting merchants from other towns.<sup>155</sup> They were allowed to collect firewood for free from the forests during the fishing season, which indicates that these merchants stayed for some time.<sup>156</sup>

English merchants were also attracted to these herring fisheries, but it may be the case that they bought herring which had already been salted, since English merchants did not have the same access to salt as their German counterparts. Norwegian herring was consumed by the English royal household<sup>157</sup> and imported to

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147 UBStL I no. 527 = MecklUB III no. 1972 = HUB I no. 1045 = HR I, 1, 48.

148 HUB II no. 676 = DN V no. 151: “*tempore quo nobiscum alecia capiuntur*”.

149 Cf. above; *Bremisches Urkundenbuch* I no. 444 = HUB I no. 1040 = DN V no. 17; *Bremisches Urkundenbuch* I no. 480 = HUB I no. 1095 = DN V no. 19; *Bremisches Urkundenbuch* I no. 503 = HUB I no. 1153 = DN V no. 28; DN V no. 35.

150 HUB II no. 76 (1305).

151 DN XIX no. 507 = Calendar of Close Rolls 1318–1323, p. 57.

152 HUB I no. 1215 = *Hamburgisches Urkundenbuch* I, pp. 743–745 = DN V no. 33.

153 HR I, 1, 80 = HUB I no. 1299 = RN II no. 968; UBStL II no. 204 = HUB II no. 88 = DN V no. 52.

154 HUB I nos. 1101 and 1102.

155 HUB I no. 284 = NGL III no. 47.

156 DN V no. 60 = *Diplomatarium Suecanum* III no. 1974.

157 Calendar of Patent Rolls 1318–1323, pp. 616 and 654 (1322).

King's Lynn, Yarmouth<sup>158</sup> and Southampton.<sup>159</sup> Records show that merchants from Oslo and Tønsberg exported herring to King's Lynn in 1325.<sup>160</sup>

On the 24<sup>th</sup> of June 1312, King Håkon confiscated the property of English merchants in Bergen and, according to English complaints, arrested 400 merchants.<sup>161</sup> On the 28<sup>th</sup> of March 1313 (i.e., during the fishing season), the English king was informed that other English merchants had been arrested in Viken, meaning the Oslofjord area including Bohuslän.<sup>162</sup> Some of the Englishmen reacted violently and killed the King's bailiff (*syslemann*) and ten other Norwegians.<sup>163</sup> This clash took place at a port called Widahel, somewhere in Viken, the administrative region consisting of the northern part of what is today Bohuslän.<sup>164</sup> In the port of Tønsberg, at least three English ships sat loaded with "herring and other goods of great value" when this incident was taking place.<sup>165</sup>

Norwegian merchants exported herring which was not salted and packed in barrels, since like the English they did not have the same access to salt as German merchants.<sup>166</sup> Many ships from Norway are registered in the English customs accounts for 1303–11 as carrying herring, but for only two of them is it noted how the herring was packed: on April 8th 1308, a merchant from Stralsund imported into Hull 20 baskets of "herrings from Norway", and on May 20<sup>th</sup> a merchant from Bergen arrived in Ravensere with 7M (= 7 x 1200) "herrings from Norway". Herring counted in hundreds or thousands and carried on the long journey over the North Sea in baskets must have been lightly salted, dried or smoked.<sup>167</sup> The Norwegian Urban Law of 1276 and a royal ordinance from 1302 mention herring transported in baskets (*meisasild*).<sup>168</sup> Norwegian herring was priced lower per fish than salted herring in barrels both in English customs accounts for 1303–11,<sup>169</sup> and in customs tariffs from Lüneburg in 1278<sup>170</sup> and Stettin in 1575.<sup>171</sup> In 13<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup>

158 DN XIX no. 515 = Calendar of Patent Rolls 1321–1324, p. 128.

159 *Calendar of Inquisitions Miscellaneous* II (1307–1349), p. 250; Calendar of Patent Rolls 1327–1330, p. 92 (1327).

160 PRO 122/93/22 = DN XIX no. 524 = RN IV nos. 323 and 339.

161 DN XIX no. 480 = Calendar of Close Rolls 1307–1313, p. 554.

162 DN XIX no. 485 = Calendar of Close Rolls 1307–1313, p. 573.

163 DN XIX no. 487 = Calendar of Close Rolls 1307–1313, pp. 577 and 576.

164 DN XIX no. 501 = *Calendar of Documents Relating to Scotland* III (1307–1357), p. 95 = Foedera II part I, p. 98.

165 Calendar of Close Rolls 1307–1313, p. 576 = Foedera II part I, p. 34 = RN III no. 849.

166 Cf. below, pp. 514–515.

167 NEDKVITNE, Handelssjøfarten mellom Norge og England, pp. 40–42; *The noubre of weyghtys* from ca. 1465 confirms that herring were counted in large hundreds (= 120); JENKS, Werkzeug des spätmittelalterlichen Kaufmanns, p. 304.

168 *Magnus Lagabøters Bylov*, VI 16; NGL III no. 13.

169 NEDKVITNE, Handelssjøfarten mellom Norge og England, p. 40.

170 HUB I no. 807.

171 JAGOW, Heringfischerei, p. 24.

centuries, Norwegians exported lightly salted, smoked or dried herring, but imported herring of higher quality salted in barrels from Scania.

During the second major herring period along the Bohuslän coast in 1569–89, foreign merchants principally from Baltic towns transported salt to Marstrand and other fishing villages further north,<sup>172</sup> bought herring from Norwegian and Danish fishermen, and salted it in barrels themselves.<sup>173</sup> Norwegians processed the herring differently. According to a local parson, Peder Clausson, “noblemen, burgesses and peasants built large and imposing sheds and houses, two or three floors high for drying herring. The sheds were so large that 14 lasts of herring could be dried at the same time.”<sup>174</sup> According to the German historian Thomfohrde, this herring must have been smoked.<sup>175</sup> But Peder Clausson does not mention the smoking process, so perhaps the herring were just dried, and the roofed sheds were only used to protect the product from rain.<sup>176</sup> However, one can not exclude the possibility that some of the herring was smoked after being dried.<sup>177</sup> The same pattern of foreigners producing salted herring in barrels and Norwegians drying the fish may have also occurred during the previous major herring period around 1300.

The Bohuslän fisheries were a northern offshoot of the market in Scania. But a development with deeper and longer-lasting effects on the Norwegian economy took place in the 13<sup>th</sup> century further south.

### C. GERMAN PORTS ALONG THE BALTIC COAST

Before about 1200, German merchants in the Baltic were mainly interested in the fur trade with Novgorod via Visby, and the Scania market. In the 13<sup>th</sup> century, they expanded their operations to include the coast of the southern Baltic. In 1160–1168, Duke Hinrik Löwe of Saxony and King Waldemar of Denmark made vassals of the Slavic princes of Mecklenburg, Pommern and Rügen. This enabled the immigration of German peasants and merchants to the Baltic coast.<sup>178</sup> German land reclamation efforts between Lübeck and the Oder meant that marketable grain could now be grown. Towns based on commerce followed; Germans lived in Rostock from 1189 at the latest, and a commune operating under Lübeck law was established there in 1218.<sup>179</sup> Wismar was founded in 1228, and Stralsund in 1234.<sup>180</sup>

172 TOMFOHRDE, *Heringsfischereiperiode an der Bohuslen-Küste*, pp. 48 and 92ff.

173 *Ibid.*, pp. 67 and 73–74.

174 FRIIS, *Norrøis Bescrifulse*, pp. 273–274; cf. TOMFOHRDE, *Heringsfischereiperiode an der Bohuslen-Küste*, pp. 47–48. One last of herring was normally 12,000 fish.

175 *Ibid.*, pp. 87–88.

176 *Kulturhistorisk leksikon for nordisk middelalder*, entry word “Fisketilvirkning”.

177 On conservation methods, cf. chapter VI.2b.

178 OLECHNOWITZ, *Rostock*, pp. 11–12; FRITZE, *Stralsund*, pp. 17 and 238.

179 *Ibid.*, p. 11.

180 DOLLINGER, *La Hanse*, p. 48; English translation, p. 32; German translation, pp. 51–52.

Norwegian merchants transferred some of their trade from the Scania market to the new Baltic towns. Henry the Lion invited Norwegians and other merchants to visit Lübeck in 1161,<sup>181</sup> and in 1187 and 1227 Norwegians are mentioned in the town's customs tariffs.<sup>182</sup> Around 1247, Norwegian merchants were buying beer, grain, flour and malt in Lübeck.<sup>183</sup>

Other records show increased Norwegian contact with German Baltic towns. In 1247 a Norwegian ship was plundered between the southern Danish islands of Møn and Falster; it must have sailed first through the Storebælt, on route to one of the new German towns to the east of Lübeck.<sup>184</sup> Two named Norwegians intended to buy a ship in Rostock in 1260,<sup>185</sup> and two other named Norwegian merchants, citizens of Oslo and Tønsberg, were trading in Rostock in 1309 and 1310.<sup>186</sup> Norwegians were selling boards in Wismar in 1334.<sup>187</sup> There are many references to Norwegian merchants in Stralsund: some had a cargo of beer stolen in 1281;<sup>188</sup> Norwegians selling herring there in 1301 were cheated;<sup>189</sup> in 1307 some Norwegian merchants were brought to justice for incurring debts;<sup>190</sup> and in 1287 the servant of the Norwegian knight Erlend Timme, who was possibly conducting trade on his master's behalf, died in the town.<sup>191</sup> After the Norwegian-Hanseatic war of 1284/5, King Erik of Norway complained that Norwegian merchants had suffered losses in the Baltic.<sup>192</sup>

Evidence for Norwegians trading in German towns to the east of Stralsund is not so clear. Just before 1250, Norwegian merchants suffered losses at Wischlemburg,<sup>193</sup> “the castle on the Wisla river”, which flows into the Baltic between the two Hansa towns of Danzig and Elbing, founded and operating under German law in 1238 and 1237 respectively.<sup>194</sup> I have not been able to identify the castle with any certainty.<sup>195</sup> In 1305 a merchant called Henrik from Norway arrived in Ravensere near Hull with

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181 *Helmoldi cronica slavorum*, p. 169.

182 HUB I nos. 33 and 223.

183 UBStL I nos. 153 and 154 = DN V nos. 1 and 2.

184 *Hákonar saga Hákonarsonar*, chapter 256.

185 *Das älteste Rostocker Stadtbuch*, p. 83.

186 MecklUB XXV nos. 13.855 and 13.861.

187 MecklUB VIII no. 5521.

188 *Das älteste Stralsundische Stadtbuch*, p. 169.

189 *Ibid.*, p. 173.

190 *Ibid.*, p. 163.

191 *Ibid.*, p. 66.

192 HUB I no. 970 = UBStL I no. 471 = MecklUB III no. 1785 = DN V no. 13.

193 UBStL I no. 252 = DN V no. 3.

194 DOLLINGER, *La Hanse*, pp. 49 and 51; English translation, pp. 32 and 34; German translation, pp. 52 and 55.

195 The Dukes of Pommerellen/Pomerania had a castle on a small island in Danzig, which was situated on a branch river of the Wisla called Mottlau (LOEW, *Danzig*, pp. 26–27 and 41).

boards from Elbing,<sup>196</sup> he may have been a Norwegian, or possibly a Norwegian immigrant living in Elbing or another Hansa town.<sup>197</sup>

Norwegian merchants are also mentioned in normative sources east of Stralsund, which demonstrates that local authorities thought it was possible that they might show up there. The Duke of Pomerania granted special privileges in 1302 to merchants from Sweden, Denmark and Norway who visited Anklam and Wolgast.<sup>198</sup> In 1285 Norwegians had to accept that they were not permitted to buy goods directly from vessels in Lübeck, Wismar, Rostock, Stralsund, Greifswald, Riga and Visby, and merchants from these towns could not buy directly from other boats in Norway.<sup>199</sup>

Some Scandinavians settled in the new German towns along the southern Baltic coast as permanent citizens, and the oldest preserved town register (*Stadtbuch*) from Rostock dated 1258–1262 names immigrants from Schleswig, Horsens, Nyköping, and Svendeborg in Denmark.<sup>200</sup> Before 1350, official registers of new citizens normally lack information about their birthplace, but these immigrants often kept the name of their town of origin as a byname, and this could be inherited. A citizen of Rostock called “Hinrik from Dortmund” was not necessarily born in Dortmund, but one of his forefathers probably was.<sup>201</sup> Several known citizens of Rostock, Wismar and Stralsund have bynames pointing to Norway.

Table I.1. Citizens of Baltic towns with the byname “from Norway”, 1250–1350

Name + “from Norway”	Home town	Number of times mentioned
Bernhard	Stralsund	6x 1316–35. Alderman of a guild <sup>(1)</sup>
Henrik	”	9x 1327–39 <sup>(2)</sup>
Nikolas	”	5x 1319–42 <sup>(3)</sup>
Bertram	”	1x 1336 <sup>(4)</sup>
Jacob	”	1x 1345 <sup>(5)</sup>
Borchart	”	1x 1334 <sup>(6)</sup>
Konrad	”	1x 1278 <sup>(7)</sup>
Hermann	Rostock	3x 1254–59. Town councillor <sup>(8)</sup>
Johannes	”	1x 1268 <sup>(9)</sup>
Thidericus	”	3x 1267–9 <sup>(10)</sup>
Hawardus	”	1x 1272 <sup>(11)</sup>

196 PRO – E-122/55/17 = DN XIX no. 442 (Customs accounts Ravensere 04.08.1305).

197 See Table I.1; Henrik from Norway lived in Rostock in 1327–1339. He may have been the same person as Henrik from Norway in Ravensere 1305, or they may have been father and son.

198 HUB II no. 17.

199 HUB I no. 995 = UBStL II no. 63 = RN II no. 401.

200 OLECHNOWITZ, Rostock, p. 16.

201 DOLLINGER, La Hanse, p. 161; English translation, p. 129; German translation, p. 172.

Name + “from Norway”	Home town	Number of times mentioned
Bernhard	Wismar	6x 1291–1301 <sup>(12)</sup>
Lambert	”	1x 1290 <sup>(13)</sup>
Marquart	”	1x 1318 <sup>(14)</sup>
Hermann	”	1x 1326. Shoemaker <sup>(15)</sup>

- (1) *Das älteste Stralsunder Bürgerbuch* no. 267, 488 and 495; *Das älteste stralsundische Stadtbuch* no. 1123 and 2675; PomUB, p. 529 no. 3004.
- (2) *Das zweite stralsundische Stadtbuch*, register.
- (3) *Ibid.* register; *Das älteste Stralsunder Bürgerbuch* no. 77 and 3470.
- (4) *Ibid.* no. 1165.
- (5) *Ibid.* no. 2893.
- (6) *Das zweite stralsundische Stadtbuch* no. 1061
- (7) *Ibid.*, p. 14, III no. 212.
- (8) *Das älteste Rostocker Stadtbuch*, p. 50, 64 og 73.
- (9) *Ibid.*, p. 144.
- (10) *Ibid.*, p. 137, 149
- (11) *Ibid.*, p. 172.
- (12) *Das zweite wismarische Stadtbuch* no. 1865, 2503, 2769, 2697, and 2713; BULL, Bergen og Hansestæderne, p. 199.
- (13) *Das zweite wismarische Stadtbuch* no.1767.
- (14) BULL, Bergen og Hansestæderne, p. 199
- (15) *Ibid.*, p. 199

In this table, only Hawardus has a typically Norwegian first name. Others may have Germanised their Norwegian name, for example Johannes (Jon), Nicholas (Nils), Bernhard (Bjarne) and Thidericus (in German Didrik, in Norwegian Tjodrek). The German first names can also be explained by these men being second or third generation Norwegian immigrants. There is no evidence that Hansa merchants were given the byname “from Norway” just because they frequently sailed to Norway or had been winter residents there for some years.<sup>202</sup>

The byname “from Norway” appears only in the towns between Wismar and Stralsund before the Black Death. The most likely explanation is that Norwegian merchants up to about 1310 were conducting trade in these new Hansa towns, and some of them settled there. They did not keep this as a family name for more than a couple of generations, and the custom seems to have disappeared after about 1350.

Sources indicate that the Norwegian merchants trading actively in the Baltic towns came from eastern Norway. The special relationship which existed between Rostock and Oslo/Tønsberg in the Late Middle Ages seems to have begun in the early 14<sup>th</sup> century, and it may have been initiated by Norwegians. In 1309 a ship belonging to the Bishop of Hamar and a citizen of Oslo, Arnulf Skrupover, was

<sup>202</sup> Silke Jaster has expressed the same opinion when it comes to inhabitants of Rostock with Slavic origins. (JASTER, Skandinaver in Rostock, p. 228). Rostock citizens with surnames pointing to Denmark and Norway had ancestors from these countries (*ibid.* pp. 236 and 238).

seized in Rostock along with its merchandise. The Bishop of Oslo and the commander of Tunsberghus castle sent a letter to the town council of Rostock asking that citizens of Oslo visiting Rostock be protected from any injury, and promising reciprocity for citizens of Rostock in Oslo.<sup>203</sup> The following year Eindride Peine, a citizen of Tønsberg, was suspected of having committed a murder in Rostock; he was able to go free by swearing an oath along with 11 others in his Norwegian home town.<sup>204</sup>

The goods imported by Baltic towns also point to eastern Norway. In Lüneburg in 1278, customs duties had to be paid for herring “which arrives from Norway”.<sup>205</sup> Norwegians also exported herring to Stralsund in 1301,<sup>206</sup> and in 1327 the German merchant Henry from Stratham sailed from Norway to Southampton with a cargo of herring.<sup>207</sup> Norwegian merchants exported boards to Wismar in 1334.<sup>208</sup> Extant sources from 1294,<sup>209</sup> 1302,<sup>210</sup> 1321,<sup>211</sup> 1340,<sup>212</sup> as well as English customs accounts for 1303–11,<sup>213</sup> show timber being exported from the Oslofjord region, but this commodity was also exported from western Norway. However, stockfish, fish oil and other typical products from Bergen are missing from the records. For merchants from eastern Norway, the shipping route to the new German towns was short, and it was possible to sail there using small, inshore craft. For merchants from Bergen, the journey was longer and more demanding.

The German merchants from the new Baltic towns started their expansion into Norway in the region closest to them, eastern Norway. The reliable *Böglunga* saga describes a cog which sailed along the Bohuslän coast on its way to Tønsberg in 1205;<sup>214</sup> the term “cog” at that time always meant a German cargo ship.<sup>215</sup> This is the first evidence of German merchants from the new Baltic towns sailing to Norway. Two years later a band of warriors captured two cogs and seven *ausfararskip* (Norwegian cargo ships which sailed to Baltic ports) in Tønsberg.<sup>216</sup> In their initial expansion phase, the Germans may have followed Norwegian merchants north-

203 MecklUB XXV no. 13.855.

204 Ibid. no. 13.861.

205 HUB I no. 807.

206 *Das älteste Stralsundische Stadtbuch*, p. 173.

207 *Calendar of Inquisitions Miscellaneous* II (1307–1349), p. 250.

208 MecklUB VIII no. 5521.

209 *Hanseakten aus England* no. 16 = DN XIX no. 395.

210 *Calendar of Patent Rolls* 1292–1301, p. 619 = DN XIX no. 415; DN XIX no. 419; *Calendar of Patent Rolls* 1301–1307, p. 183 = DN XIX no. 420.

211 *Calendar of Inquisitions Miscellaneous* II (1307–1349), p. 137.

212 HUB II no. 652 = DN I no. 266.

213 Appendix I table 1; cf. table I.3 and I.12.

214 *Böglunga sögur*, Norse text p. 41; Norwegian translation, chapter 16.

215 NEDKVITNE, *Handelssjøfarten mellom Norge og England*, pp. 210–212.

216 *Böglunga sögur*, Norse text, p. 103; Norwegian translation, chapter 32.

wards. In 1224 a large number of cogs were moored in Sandefjord; they may have been waiting for favourable winds or loading timber, which was abundant in that area.<sup>217</sup>

By 1247 at the latest, German merchants from Baltic towns, with Lübeck in the lead, reached Bergen. A ship which belonged to a merchant from Lübeck was wrecked and later plundered near Tønsberg, and in reprisal Norwegian merchants in Lübeck had their goods confiscated. King Håkon responded by seizing Wendish cogs moored in Bergen; Lübeck is the only town of provenance named. King Håkon wanted to settle this conflict, so he wrote two letters to the town council of Lübeck asking them to send their ships with grain and malt as usual, and to allow Norwegian merchants to buy grain, flour and malt in Lübeck. The food situation in Norway was problematic at that time because there had been a crop failure.<sup>218</sup> During the Norwegian-Hanseatic war of 1284/5, the Hansa prevented “grain, beer and bread” from reaching Norway by closing Øresund to shipping.<sup>219</sup> In 1316, the King decided that only merchants who imported malt, flour and grain would be allowed to export stockfish and butter from Bergen.<sup>220</sup> The main grain-producing area in the Baltic before the Black Death was the hinterland of the Wendish towns of Lübeck, Wismar, Rostock, Stralsund and Greifswald.<sup>221</sup>

Stockfish was at this time an important food source in Lübeck. According to the town’s official *Oberstadtbuch*, in 1338 there were 32 merchants who were permitted to sell stockfish at the Lübeck market; in comparison, 46 traders were allowed to sell herring and salted fish.<sup>222</sup> At this time Lübeck merchants transported large quantities of stockfish from Bergen to Boston in England,<sup>223</sup> so Bergen must have been where the stockfish at the Lübeck market originated.

Which Hansa towns conducted trade in Bergen and eastern Norway? The Kalmar treaty of 1285, which contained trading privileges, was signed by Lübeck, Wismar, Rostock, Stralsund, Greifswald, Riga and the Germans in Visby.<sup>224</sup> In 1294, the King extended these privileges to Stettin, Anklam, Stavoren and Kampen. Bremen was awarded a separate trade concession.<sup>225</sup> In 1312, King Håkon conferred

217 *Håkonar saga Hákonarsonar*, chapter 109.

218 UBStL I no. 153 = DN V no. 1; UBStL I no. 154 = DN V no. 2; *Håkonar saga Hákonarsonar*, chapters 256 and 260.

219 *Detmar* volume 19, p. 364.

220 HUB I no. 284 = NGL III no. 47.

221 DOLLINGER, *La Hanse*, p. 288; English translation, p. 232; German translation, pp. 304–305; VOGEL, *Deutsche Seeschiffahrt*, pp. 250 ff.

222 RÖRIG, *Der Markt von Lübeck*, pp. 131–132.

223 Table I.12 and I.13.

224 *Norske middelalderdokumenter* no. 36 = HUB I no. 993.

225 UBStL I no. 621 = MecklUB III no. 2294 = HUB I no. 1144–1150 = *Norske middelalderdokumenter* no. 41 = DN V no. 23; *Bremisches Urkundenbuch* I no. 502 = MecklUB III no. 2294 = DN V nos. 24 and 25 contain the same privilege for Bremen; cf. *Bremisches Urkundenbuch* I no. 484 = DN V no. 20.

trade privileges only on the Wendish towns of Lübeck, Wismar, Rostock, Stralsund and Greifswald,<sup>226</sup> while in 1343 King Magnus added Hamburg to the list.<sup>227</sup> In the customs accounts from eastern English ports for 1303–11, there are 80 Hansa merchants registered from named Baltic towns and who arrived with merchandise produced in Norway; 46 were from Lübeck, 14 from Stralsund, 8 from Rostock, 7 from Greifswald, 2 from Wismar, 2 from Reval (Tallinn), and 1 from Elbing.<sup>228</sup> Lübeck, Wismar, Rostock, Stralsund and Greifswald recur in all these sources. These so-called Wendish towns along the Baltic coast dominated the Bergen trade even in the Late Middle Ages.

Lübeck assumed political leadership of the Hansa towns that traded in Norway even before the Bergen Kontor was founded in 1366.<sup>229</sup> When the Hansa merchants obtained their first trading privilege in 1278, town councillors from Lübeck negotiated on behalf of all German-speaking merchants.<sup>230</sup> In 1302 they sent a complaint to the King on behalf of the Wendish towns in the Baltic,<sup>231</sup> and in the period 1341–1343 they negotiated about concessions on behalf of all six Wendish towns, including Hamburg.<sup>232</sup> Lübeck was the political leader because it dominated economically. Two Lübeck wills have been preserved from the High Middle Ages in which the testator had interests in Bergen.<sup>233</sup>

Stralsund was second only to Lübeck in conducting commerce between England and Bergen.<sup>234</sup> Two wills exist from the High Middle Ages which were written by Stralsund citizens with interests in Bergen.<sup>235</sup> The town archive kept documents relating to Norway, and these are mentioned in 1336 and 1337.<sup>236</sup>

Rostock merchants in Norway appear in the extant sources when they got into trouble. In 1260 the Norwegian king confiscated 116 marks in money and merchandise from three Rostock merchants, and one of their servants was beheaded.<sup>237</sup>

226 HR I, 1, 104 = HUB II no. 209.

227 UBStL II no. 774 = HUB III no. 13 = MecklUB no. 6339 = *Norske middelalderdokumenter* no. 83 = DN VIII no. 151.

228 Table I.11.

229 Cf. pp. 340–342.

230 UBStL I no. 398 = MecklUB no. 1467 = HUB I no. 818 = *Norske middelalderdokumenter* no. 30 = DN V no. 10.

231 UBStL II no. 155 = HUB II no. 22 = DN V no. 42.

232 UBStL II no. 774 = HUB III no. 13 = MecklUB no. 6339 = *Norske middelalderdokumenter* no. 83 = DN VIII no. 151; DN VIII nos. 141 and 143–145 = HUB II nos. 512, 514 (=UBStL II. no 687), 525 and 526; HUB III nos. 17 and 23. DN, HUB and UBStL date these documents differently. I have followed DN.

233 *Regesten der Lübecker Bürgertestamente des Mittelalters* I nos. 25 and 177, cf. nos. 303 and 421; BRUNS, *Bergenfahrer*, p. 10. There are 292 wills preserved from this period.

234 Table I.11; cf. FRITZE, *Stralsund*, pp. 38–40; HR I, 1, 28.

235 *Stadtarchiv Stralsund*, *Testamente* nos. 105 and 110, both from 1349.

236 *Stralsunder Liber Memorialis* I nos. 4a and 45.

237 *Das älteste Rostocker Stadtbuch*, p. 83.

During the 1284/5 war, records show that citizens of Rostock and Wismar had merchandise of great value stolen.<sup>238</sup> As mentioned above, the Bishop of Oslo and the commander of Tønsberghus castle signed an undertaking in 1309 that Rostock merchants should not suffer any injury in Oslo.<sup>239</sup> And the five Germans who were present in Tønsberg when a citizen of the town took an oath that he was innocent of a murder in Rostock were all probably from Rostock.<sup>240</sup>

The town council of Wismar and the regent (*domina*) of Mecklenburg complained that Norwegians had confiscated the goods of Wismar merchants during the Norwegian-Hanseatic war of 1284/5.<sup>241</sup> In 1292, Wismar and Greifswald were given special privileges in the dukedom of Håkon, which was eastern Norway.<sup>242</sup> In 1341, Wismar obtained another individual letter of privilege, this time covering all of Norway.<sup>243</sup>

Merchants from Greifswald obtained special trading concessions in 1262 as part of a peace agreement between King Håkon, the Duke of Pomerania, and the town council of Greifswald.<sup>244</sup>

Merchants from the Prussian towns of Elbing and Reval sailed between Norway and eastern England during the period 1303–11, and grain was sent from the Prussian town of Thorn (Toruń) to Bergen in 1327.<sup>245</sup>

The main exports from eastern Norway to the new Baltic towns were herring and timber, and from western Norway stockfish. Western Norway received mainly grain products in return – flour, malt and beer. It is not known which goods were shipped back to eastern Norway in return, but they probably included cloth and other western European handicrafts. Norwegian merchants from eastern Norway did sail to the new Baltic towns, although the Germans seem to have dominated the trade from an early date. However, there is no evidence that Norwegian merchants sailed there from Bergen and western Norway; Hansa merchants seem to have held a monopoly on that route from the very beginning.

#### D. CONCLUSION

Between about 1190 and 1350, trade between Norway and the Baltic was completely transformed and was incorporated as part of a European commercial network. Around 1150, the Baltic Sea was commercially still a Scandinavian and Slavic area.

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238 DN I no. 74.

239 MecklUB XXV no. 13.855.

240 Ibid. no. 13.861 (1310).

241 UStL I no. 501 = MecklUB III no. 1839 = HR I, 1, 44; HUB I no. 978 = MecklUB III no. 1734 = DN I no. 74.

242 HUB I nos. 1101 and 1102.

243 HUB II no. 686 = MecklUB no. 6154.

244 HUB I no. 579 = *Pommersisches Urkundenbuch* II no. 722.

245 Table I.11; HUB II no. 467.

Norwegians traded furs in Gotland and Russia, and bought western goods at markets in the southwest Baltic. During the period 1190–1280, the Scania market was important for Norwegians as a distribution centre for western and local goods. From about 1200 in eastern Norway, and from about 1240 at the latest in Bergen, merchants from the Baltic German towns appeared in increasing numbers. Norwegians seem to have stopped sailing to Visby and Russia around 1250, to the Scanian market around 1280, and to the new towns along the Baltic around 1310. After that, the Hansa merchants had no competition in commerce between Norway and the Baltic.

Direct shipping lanes between the North Sea and Baltic ports became established about 1250, and some ships sailed close to the Norwegian coast to avoid the dangerous coasts of Jutland. Many German and English cargo ships were wrecked along the Bohuslän and Agder coasts.<sup>246</sup>

The commercial revolution reached Norway in the 12<sup>th</sup> century. In the first phase, the impetus came over the North Sea, mainly from eastern England but also from ports on the Rhine estuary. At the end of the century, the commercial revolution also started to transform economic realities in the Baltic. New centres driving mercantile activities in Norway were created at the Scania market and in the new German towns along the southern Baltic coast. During the 13<sup>th</sup> century, Norway was commercialised from two directions. What happened when the traditional western Europe trading network came up against the new one based in the Baltic?

### 3. TRADE WITH ENGLAND AFTER THE HANSEATIC EXPANSION

The English connection is by far the best documented sector of Norwegian foreign trade in the High Middle Ages. For this reason alone, it has to be at the centre of any discussion of Norway and the Hansa during this period. However, the economic importance of this trade is contested: Alexander Bugge claimed that England was Norway's main trading partner all through the High Middle Ages,<sup>247</sup> while Schreiner thought the German market was most important.<sup>248</sup>

#### A. THE EXPANSION OF THE WENDISH TOWNS – THE CHRONOLOGY

The year 1226 saw the first mention of merchants from the German Baltic towns in England; that year Emperor Fredrik II prohibited merchants from Cologne and Tiel from taxing Lübeck merchants who were trading in England. Merchants from

246 DN XIX no. 456; Calendar of Close Rolls 1307–1313, p. 325 = DN XIX no. 472.

247 BUGGE, *De norske byers selvstyre og handel*, p. 187.

248 SCHREINER, *Hanseatene og Norges nedgang*, pp. 11 and 23.

towns along the lower Rhine enjoyed a long-established presence in England, and Cologne had its own guildhall in London. The emperor's prohibition indicates that the Lübeck merchants made use of this guildhall.<sup>249</sup> Thirty years later in 1255, records show that the royal household bought furs and wax in London from 13 German merchants who are said to have come from Gotland, Lübeck, Lüneburg, Soest, Cologne and Brielle (western Netherlands). These towns' commercial position was underpinned by the trade route Novgorod–Visby–Lübeck–Westphalia–the Rhine–London. This makes it understandable that the first Lübeck merchants were received at the old Cologne guildhall in London.<sup>250</sup>

In 1266 and 1267, within a period of two months, merchants from Hamburg and Lübeck were granted the right to establish their own organisations or “Hansa” in England.<sup>251</sup> In 1282 a ship from Hamburg carrying goods from Lübeck arrived in eastern England.<sup>252</sup> The route Lübeck – Hamburg had become increasingly important, and the two towns liberated themselves from Cologne's dominance.

The final stage of this expansion involved the *Umlandsfahrt*, ships which sailed directly between the Baltic and North Sea ports. The first evidence for these dates from 1251,<sup>253</sup> and initially this mainly involved merchants from Frisia and the Zuiderzee who sailed from the Scania market to their own home towns. Stralsund was the first Baltic town to send ships around Jutland to the North Sea, if the extant sources are to be believed. In 1278, Prince Wizlaw of Rügen regulated freight charges for ships sailing from Stralsund to English or Flemish ports.<sup>254</sup> During the rest of the High Middle Ages, there is ample evidence that Baltic ships and merchants sailed directly to Flanders and England.

Ships from the Baltic towns sailed to England along the Norwegian coasts of Bohuslän and Agder, and some visited Norwegian ports on the way. During the conflict between the Norwegian king and the Hansa in 1284, the town council of Stralsund wrote that their merchants who traded in England (*mercatorum Angliam visitancium*) had suffered injuries in Norway.<sup>255</sup> Ships from Lübeck on their way to England were attacked along the Norwegian coast during the same conflict.<sup>256</sup> However, a German immigrant who was a citizen of King's Lynn, was able to sail via Norway to the Baltic (Estland) to buy grain, protected by his neutrality.<sup>257</sup> In 1293/1295, a merchant from Elbing in Prussia named Conrad travelled to England, where his ship

249 HUB I no. 205.

250 Ibid. no. 475.

251 Ibid. nos. 633 and 636. Hamburg received its first separate letter of protection in 1252 and Lübeck in 1255 (HUB I nos. 444 and 506).

252 Ibid. no. 892.

253 HUB I no. 411 = UBStL no. 175 = DN V no. 5.

254 HUB I no. 810 = *Pommerisches Urkundenbuch* II no. 1091; FRITZE, Stralsund, pp. 38–40.

255 UBStL III no. 28 = HR I, 1, 28 = HUB I no. 935.

256 DN XIX no. 315 = HUB I no. 974 = UBStL II no. 1010.

257 Calendar of Patent Rolls 1281–1292, p. 116 = DN XIX no. 310.

was wrecked and plundered. The Norwegian king gave him a letter of recommendation to present to King Edward I, asking for restitution.<sup>258</sup> The only possible explanation for this Norwegian intervention must be that Conrad sailed from Elbing to England via Norway. In 1327, a ship from Bremen was chartered in Thorn, Prussia, to transport 40 lasts of grain to Bergen, with an option to extend the journey to England. When the ship reached Skagen in Denmark, the merchant decided to sail to England.<sup>259</sup> The numerous Baltic merchants plying their trade between their home towns, Bergen and eastern English ports in the period 1303–11 must necessarily have sailed a triangular route.<sup>260</sup>

The oldest extant sources show that the new German towns on the Baltic were trading in England through Cologne in 1226; they started to call in at Bergen before 1247, and they sailed to England via Norway in 1284. However, this tradition must have begun somewhat earlier. The Baltic Hansa merchants were to transform Anglo–Norwegian trade profoundly.

## B. ENGLISH CUSTOMS ACCOUNTS

The rich English sources permit a comparatively detailed analysis of the Hansa expansion in trade between England and Norway. In 1303 the English state introduced a new customs duty, to be collected from all foreign import/export merchants using English ports; the King's own subjects were exempted. The commerce between England and Norway involving Norwegian and Hansa merchants was registered in customs accounts, but not for English merchants. Far from all annual accounts have been preserved, and those that have been often cover only a few months. One should not "look a gift horse in the mouth", but rather try to make as much as possible out of the records there are. These English customs accounts offer the only possibility to quantify Norwegian foreign trade, or part of it, during the High Middle Ages before the Black Death.

Trade between Norway and what is today Great Britain during the High Middle Ages (1100–1350) was concentrated at the eastern English ports of King's Lynn, Boston, Hull and Ravensere. The customs accounts from these ports have been examined by Alexander Bugge, and he also printed excerpts from them in *Diplomatarium Norvegicum* volume 19. However, he did not attempt to quantify the trade and did not use quantitative methods. That is understandable, as using these fragmented accounts presents serious methodological challenges. But in my opinion it is worth the effort. It is important both for Norwegian history and Hansa history to know whether the great expansion in the production of and trade in stockfish occurred during the period 1250–1350 or much later, in the 16<sup>th</sup> century.

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258 *Preussisches Urkundenbuch* I no. 640 = DN XIX no. 392.

259 HUB II no. 467.

260 Table. I 11.

Bugge only found evidence of trade with Norway in the customs accounts of the four ports mentioned above. I started by examining customs accounts from other towns. Documents from Newcastle, Yarmouth and Ipswich showed no traces of trade with Norway. We know that a German merchant sailed from Norway to Southampton with a cargo of herring in 1327,<sup>261</sup> but no commerce with Norway is registered in the customs accounts from that town. London is the most likely port outside eastern England where one might expect to find a Norwegian connection. Norwegians were already permitted to set up trade stalls there at the beginning of the 13<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>262</sup> Other evidence includes the fact that in 1286 a citizen of London received a letter of safe conduct to travel to Norway,<sup>263</sup> and in 1312 another had his goods confiscated in Bergen.<sup>264</sup> Around 1330–1400, Hermann Plessing, a merchant from “Northberg in Duchislonde”,<sup>265</sup> demanded that a citizen of London pay his debts. However, the customs accounts from London for the period 1303–1350 are useless for our purposes, since they contain registers of individual merchants without information about where they had sailed from or which merchants arrived on the same vessel. This makes it impossible to identify ships arriving with only typically Norwegian goods on board. But if trade with Norway had been comprehensive, traces of it would be more evident. There are no indications of direct shipping to Norway in the London customs accounts. But many of the Norwegian imports registered in the eastern English customs accounts ended up in London, via local merchants who transported it southwards on inshore craft.<sup>266</sup>

The reality seems to be that during the period 1303–1350, only the four eastern English ports of King’s Lynn, Boston, Hull and Ravensere engaged in trade with Norway on a more or less regular basis. Their customs accounts inform us about which merchants arrived on which ship, as well as the type and value of their merchandise, but we are not told where the ships originated. A precondition for using the accounts in our analysis is that we are able to identify the ships coming from Norway. This can be done by looking at the names of the merchants and the goods on board a ship. Which items were typically Norwegian?

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261 *Calendar of Inquisitions Miscellaneous* II (1307–1349), p. 250; *Calendar of Patent Rolls* 1327–30, p. 92.

262 DN XIX no. 112.

263 *Calendar of Patent Rolls* 1281–1292, p. 241 = DN XIX no. 319.

264 *Calendar of the Letter Books of the City of London*, Liber D, p. 310.

265 HUB II, p. 218 note 5. In medieval sources, Northberg always means Bergen in Norway. In this case one cannot exclude the possibility that there was a misunderstanding, and that Nürnberg in Germany is meant. According to HUB II, the information is taken from a source in the archive of the City of London, which at least in 1879 was unpublished (*City Records, Mayor’s court, Miscellaneous* I, p. 89). The dating is uncertain; HUB puts it at around 1330, but it may also be from the second half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century (RN IV no. 804).

266 Cf. chapter I.3h.

## C. GOODS EXPORTED FROM NORWAY TO ENGLAND

Typical Norwegian imports can be identified through analysing the goods sold by merchants with Norwegian names. We know that Norwegian merchants exported products from Norway to England in the period 1303–1350; there is no evidence that they imported goods to England from other countries. But foreigners may also have transported goods from Norway. During this period, stockfish imports into England came only from Norway. If a foreign merchant in England traded in stockfish, this indicates that he and his cargo had called in at a Norwegian port.

In the tables below, ships found in the accounts have been separated into three categories: those with at least one Norwegian merchant on board; those transporting stockfish but with no Norwegian merchants on board; and those carrying neither Norwegians nor stockfish. The more often a specific item can be found on ships in the two first groups, the more justified is it to label the item typically Norwegian.

Table I.2. Ships carrying hides and furs to Ravensere, Hull and Lynn, 1303–11

<b>Animal source</b>	<b>Ships carrying Norwegian merchant(s)</b>	<b>Ships carrying stockfish but no Norwegian merchants</b>	<b>Ships with no Norwegian merchants or stockfish</b>
goat	43	21	15
he-goat (billy goat)	17	20	9
sheep	16	15	7
cattle	4	1	3
seal	0	0	1
roe deer	4	2	4
deer	2	4	0
reindeer	1	6	1
bear	1	0	0
squirrel	8	5	59
ermine	0	0	4

Imports of both male and female goat hides were typically Norwegian and arrived in large quantities at the eastern English ports. Sheepskins came mostly from Norway, but in smaller quantities because of the large domestic supply in England. Roe deer, deer, reindeer and bear hides were also typically Norwegian. Squirrel and ermine furs mostly originated in the Baltic.

Table I.3. Ships carrying timber to Ravensere, Hull and Lynn, 1303–11

<b>Product</b>	<b>Ships carrying Norwegian merchant(s)</b>	<b>Ships carrying stockfish but no Norwegian merchants</b>	<b>Ships with no Norwegian merchants or stockfish</b>
boards	69	17	194
rafters	19	6	8
beams	15	2	7
masts	1	0	5
table tops	1	1	1
small timber ( <i>spira</i> )	3	0	1
spears	1	0	1
troughs	0	1	65
oars	1	0	31
wainscots	1	0	40
chests	0	1	3
arcs for bows	0	0	49
barrel staves	1	1	42
lath	0	1	0
resin	0	0	3
ash	0	1	82
tar	3	0	109
pitch	2	0	89

Boards dominated timber imports from Norway as well as from the Baltic. The most typical products from Norway were rafters and beams, and to a lesser degree small timber. Masts, table tops, spears, oars, wainscots, barrel staves, tar and pitch were of secondary importance as exports from Norway; most of these came from the Baltic. The typical Baltic products included more refined craft products like troughs, oars, wainscots, arcs for bows, barrel staves, plus ash, tar and pitch. Timber production seems to have been more specialised and professional in the Baltic.

Table I.4. Ships carrying various items to Ravensere, Hull and Lynn, 1303–11

<b>Item</b>	<b>Ships with Norwegian merchant(s)</b>	<b>Ships with stockfish but no Norwegian merchants</b>	<b>Ships with no Norwegian merchants or stockfish</b>
oil ( <i>oleum</i> )	56	30	18
wadmal	2	0	36
butter	3	2	9
moss for dyeing	2	0	7
sulphur	2	0	2

Item	Ships with Norwegian merchant(s)	Ships with stockfish but no Norwegian merchants	Ships with no Norwegian merchants or stockfish
falcons, hawks	2	0	15
whetstones	0	2	0
horses	2	0	0
bears	1	0	0
[hay]forks	1	0	1
harnesses	1	0	0
wool <i>de norweg</i>	0	0	1
cheese ( <i>keces</i> )	0	1	0

Oil from Norway always meant fish oil, although olive oil was imported to other ports. The export of butter is mentioned in Norwegian ordinances from 1282 and 1316,<sup>267</sup> but in practice it was of low economic importance. Wadmál (undyed woven wool fabric) was exported from Iceland to Bergen, but little of it seems to have found its way to the European market. Falcons and hawks were gifts from the Norwegian king to the English king, but they were insignificant as commercial items.

The largest herring fisheries during the High Middle Ages were located along the coast of Scania and in the North Sea. Herring from Scania does not seem to have been imported into eastern England before the Black Death, but large quantities of North Sea herring were imported from July to September.<sup>268</sup> In 1303, German aldermen residing in England complained that when a German cog arrived from Norway with herring, the citizens of Lynn claimed the right to buy it before anybody else.<sup>269</sup> Herring fisheries are highly seasonal, so in order to identify the ships from Norway, it is useful to know what time of year they arrived.

Table I.5. Ships carrying herring from Norway to Lynn, Hull and Ravensere, 1303–11 <sup>(1)</sup>

January	2
February	2
March	4
April	17
May	5
June	1
July-December	0

(1) Included in the table are ships with a Norwegian skipper, ships where the herring is said to be “from Norway”, and a couple of ships carrying typical Norwegian goods in addition to the herring.

267 NGL III no. 2 = *Norske middelalderdokumenter* no. 34; HUB I no. 284 = NGL III no. 47.

268 Cf. pp. 515–518

269 HUB II no. 40 = DN XIX no. 426 = MecklUB V no. 2886.

It can be said with great certainty that 31 herring ships arrived from Norway during this period, 17 of them in April and the rest in the months before and after. March and April were the months when herring fishing normally took place off the Bohuslän coast in the 19<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>270</sup> The North Sea herring season ran from July to November, the Scanian fisheries from September to November.<sup>271</sup> Norwegian herring fetched a lower price than North Sea herring; both could be sold lightly salted, but Norwegian herring had to be transported longer, so its quality may have suffered. The importers were mostly Hansa merchants.<sup>272</sup>

In addition to stockfish and herring, the other fish species imported into Lynn, Hull and Ravensere for the period were sturgeon (14 ships), salmon (6 ships), flounder (5 ships), pike (2 ships), haddock (1 ship) and hake (1 ship). The sturgeon came from the Baltic, never from Norway. All six species were of low economic significance.

Summing up, stockfish, fish oil, goatskins, rafters, beams and herring from January through May are typical Norwegian imports into England at this time. The presence of one or more of these items in a ship's cargo indicates that the vessel came from Norway, or had visited a Norwegian port on its way to England.

#### D. GOODS EXPORTED FROM ENGLAND TO NORWAY

It must be assumed that Norwegian merchants exported the goods they bought in England to Norway; there is no evidence that they sent them to other foreign ports. Most Norwegian merchants sailed from Lynn. The customs accounts for this port give the value of each item exported only for the year 1306/7, which is not sufficient to construct a representative table. But all the accounts list the items exported, even if they don't provide the value of each type of merchandise. In Lynn, 102 merchants are registered in the customs accounts for 1303–1307 as exporting goods on Norwegian ships.

Eighty-two of the Hansa merchants who transported Norwegian merchandise into Boston in 1303 are registered in the export accounts from that year. It cannot be assumed that they all returned to Bergen with English cargo, but some of them did. The export items of these merchants are given in the first column of table I.6.

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270 Sjöstrand 1996, p. 104; HASSELÖF, *Svenska västkustfiskarna*, p. 149; SOLHAUG, *Norske fiskerier*, p. 3.

271 Cf. pp. 81 and 515.

272 NEDKVITNE, *Handelssjøfarten mellom Norge og England*, pp. 40–42 for a more detailed discussion of the importation of Norwegian herring.

Table I.6. Exports of merchants who had arrived with cargo from Norway

<b>Item</b>	<b>Merchants on Norwegian ships in Lynn, 1303–1307</b>	<b>German merchants in Boston via Norway, 1303</b>
woollen cloth	64	56
malt	58	5
honey	45	3
wheat/grain	22	4
spices	6	0
salt	5	25
linen cloth	5	0
lead	4	1
beans	3	7
silk	2	0
flour	2	0
coal	1	0
helmets	1	0
carpets	1	0
gloves	1	0
beer	1	0
lard	1	0
rope	1	0
caps	1	0
mead	1	0
total	102 different merchants	82 different merchants

Source: English customs accounts from the relevant years

Woolen cloth was the main export from England to Norway, but malt, wheat and honey were also important. Cloth, grain (barley and oats) and beer were also produced in Norway, but the imports from England catered for luxury consumption. Spices, linen cloth, lead, silk, carpets, gloves and caps were also meant for the economic elite.

Commerce with England was part of an ancient tradition whereby the Norwegian elite sold the goods they received in land rents in return for prestigious luxury goods. But by 1300 long distance trade catering for more basic needs had appeared, and peasant fishermen were producing stockfish for export in order to receive grain products in return. Baltic rye was now becoming far more important than English wheat and malt.

### E. NORWEGIAN AND GERMAN MERCHANTS AFTER THE HANSEATIC EXPANSION

Knowledge about which goods were typically Norwegian given in section c above can be used to identify which ships registered in the English customs accounts had travelled from Norway. Appendix I lists the ships which are likely to have come from Norway for 1303–11 using this method. For each vessel, the cargo items are given so that the reader can evaluate how probable it is that the ship came from Norway. The results for Lynn and Hull/Ravensere are summarised in table I.7.

Table I.7. Ships listed in the customs accounts for Lynn, Ravensere and Hull carrying merchandise from Norway; annual average for period

Years		Lynn	Hull/Ravensere	Total
1303–11	Ships carrying German merchants	6	11	17
	Ships carrying Norwegian merchants	12	7	19
1322–26	Ships carrying German merchants	3	4.5	7.5
	Ships carrying Norwegian merchants	4	0	4

Sources: Appendix I, tables 1, 2 and 4. Some customs accounts cover less than a year, so I first calculated the average for each month, then added up the monthly averages.

Boston was the main port for imports from Bergen. Only two accounts have been preserved for the period 1303–11. Each month is covered by 1 or 2 accounts, with the exception of October, which is missing. For the years 1326–33, the three important months of July–September are missing.

Table I.8. Number of ships registered in the customs accounts for Boston carrying goods from Norway; monthly averages, with the number of accounts covering the relevant month given in parentheses

	1303–11	1326–33
January	0 <sup>(1)</sup>	0 <sup>(1)</sup>
February	1 <sup>(1)</sup>	0 <sup>(2)</sup>
March	0 <sup>(2)</sup>	0 <sup>(2)</sup>
April	0 <sup>(2)</sup>	3.5 <sup>(2)</sup>
May	3 <sup>(2)</sup>	0 <sup>(2)</sup>
June	2 <sup>(2)</sup>	3 <sup>(1)</sup>
July	6 <sup>(1)</sup>	
August	4.5 <sup>(2)</sup>	
September	10.5 <sup>(2)</sup>	
October		3 <sup>(1)</sup>
November	0 <sup>(1)</sup>	6 <sup>(1)</sup>
December	0 <sup>(1)</sup>	0 <sup>(1)</sup>

Sources: Appendix I, tables 5–8.

Table I.8 indicates that for the period 1303–11, about 30 ships, all Hanseatic, arrived in Boston with stockfish each year. For the period 1326–1333, no totals can be given, but a month-by-month comparison does not indicate that the number of ships had declined.

In the years 1303–11, a total of nearly 50 Hanseatic and 20 Norwegian ships appear to have arrived each year from Norway at the four eastern English ports.

Table I.9. Annual value of exports from Norway to eastern English ports, 1303–11

	<b>Value in £</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Boston <sup>(1)</sup>	3000	61 %
Lynn <sup>(2)</sup>	1095	22 %
Ravensere	686	14 %
Hull <sup>(3)</sup>	120	3 %
all ports	4901	100 %

(1) Appendix I tables 7–9 give the 48 Hansa ships registered as importing goods from Norway to Boston in the period 1303–11. The average ship had goods worth £100 from Norway. As mentioned, about 30 such ships seem to have arrived annually during this period. This makes the value of annual imports from Norway £3000.

(2) For Lynn, the years 1303, 1304, 1305 and 1306 can be considered complete (cf. appendix I, table 4).

(3) For Ravensere and Hull, the years 1305, 1306, 1307 and 1308 can be considered complete (cf. appendix I, tables 1–2).

Norwegian merchants concentrated their trade in King's Lynn, while in all other eastern English ports the Germans dominated as can be seen in table I.10.

Table I.10. Relative value of Norwegian and German merchants' imports into eastern English ports, 1303–11

	<b>Boston <sup>(1)</sup></b>	<b>Lynn <sup>(2)</sup></b>	<b>Ravensere <sup>(3)</sup></b>	<b>Hull <sup>(4)</sup></b>	<b>All ports</b>
Norwegians	0 %	75 %	18 %	30 %	21 %
Germans	100 %	25 %	82 %	70 %	79 %

(1) Appendix I, table 7–8

(2) Appendix I, table 4

(3) Appendix I, table 1

(4) Appendix I, table 2

In 1303–11, an average total of 17 Hansa ships from Norway arrived each year in Lynn, Ravensere and Hull; in 1322–1326, that number had declined to 7–8. Boston may have received about 30 ships annually in 1303–11, and this number did not decline, at least not to the same degree, in the following period. Boston's rise to dominance in the Hansa trade between Bergen and England will be the subject of section 3i.

The Baltic merchants were newcomers to Anglo-Norwegian commerce. Were they already dominant among the Germans in 1303–11?

Table I.11. Home towns of German and other non-English and non-Norwegian merchants carrying goods from Norway, as registered in the customs accounts of eastern English ports, 1303–11

Area	Town	Number listed	Total
German Baltic	Lübeck	46	86
	Stralsund	14	
	Rostock	8	
	Greifswald	7	
	Wismar	2	
	“Estland”	5	
	Reval (Tallinn)	2	
	Elbing	1	
Brandenburg / Mecklenburg	Ratzenburg	1	14
	Brandenburg	5	
	Wittenberg	5	
	Magdeburg	3	
German North Sea	Sternberg	1	12
	Bremen	8	
West German interior	Hamburg	4	63
	Münster	14	
	Dortmund	11	
	Lippstadt	8	
	Lünen	6	
	Coesfeld	5	
	“Westphalia”	4	
	Osnabrück	3	
	Cologne	2	
	Braunschweig	2	
	Stromberg	2	
	Warendorf	2	
	Soest	2	
Minden	1		
Zuiderzee	Celle	1	11
	Kampen	7	
	Stavoren	3	
France	Zutphen	1	3
	Paris	1	
	Bordeaux	1	
Scandinavia outside Norway	Orléans	1	25
	Gotland	21	
	Sweden	2	
	Visby	1	
	Ribe	1	

Source: Appendix I

The Wendish towns dominated Anglo-Norwegian trade at this time, just as they dominated Baltic-Norwegian trade. This provided the opportunity for them to combine the exchange of stockfish from Bergen, grain products from the Baltic, and cloth from England.

The expansion of the Hanseatic League had consequences for Norwegian merchants. In both 1224 and 1256, 11 Norwegian ships were docked in Lynn at the same time;<sup>273</sup> 9 ships are mentioned in 1225,<sup>274</sup> 5 ships in 1233,<sup>275</sup> and 7 ships in 1237.<sup>276</sup> At this time no Baltic merchants participated in the Anglo-Norwegian trade. By the time of the first extant customs accounts from 1303–11, the value of the German trade was four times larger than that of Norwegian merchants,<sup>277</sup> but 19 Norwegian ships still visited eastern England annually.<sup>278</sup> The figures for 1224–1256 indicate how many Norwegian ships were docked in eastern England ports at the same time, while the figures from the customs accounts tell us how many ships imported goods over the whole year. Since the data are not fully comparable, they cannot permit us to draw firm conclusions, but it seems that trade with Norway did not undergo great changes between about 1220 and 1310. The German entry into the trading scenario seems to have expanded commerce greatly without suffocating traditional Norwegian participation. Norwegian fishermen supplied more stockfish, German peasants grew a greater surplus of grain, more cloth was produced in England, and more ships sailed between the countries.

The decline of Norwegian trade came in the following period. In 1312, King Håkon arrested 400 English merchants/sailors in Bergen and confiscated their goods. In Bohuslän, English merchants resisted and killed the Norwegian bailiff and 10 of his men.<sup>279</sup> Arrests and confiscations followed on both sides. Even though three years later the English king granted safe conduct to all Norwegian merchants who visited England, their commerce never recovered.<sup>280</sup> From 1303–07 to the 1320s, the annual registration of Norwegian ships in the customs accounts declined from 19 to 4.<sup>281</sup> The Hansa merchants exploited this crisis by filling the gap, and the Norwegians were unable to regain their former position when the crisis had been settled.

Norwegian merchants continued to ply their trade for some time, but their commerce was only a shadow of its former self. The customs accounts for 1322–

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273 DN XIX no. 159 = Close Rolls I, p. 607a; Close Rolls 1254–1256, p. 443.

274 Paten Rolls 1217–1225 p. 542 = DN XIX nos. 169; Close Rolls II, p. 59b = DN XIX no. 170; Close Rolls II, p. 59b = DN XIX no. 171; Close Rolls II, p. 60a = DN XIX no. 172; Close Rolls II, p. 60a = DN XIX no. 173; Close Rolls II, p. 61a = DN XIX no. 176.

275 Close Rolls 1231–1234, pp. 242 and 247 = DN XIX nos. 210 and 211.

276 Close Rolls 1234–1237, p. 481f = DN XIX no. 230.

277 Table I.10.

278 Table I.7.

279 DN XIX no. 480 = Calendar of Close Rolls 1307–1313, p. 554; cf. above p. 44

280 DN XIX no. 494.

281 Table I.7.

1326 provide evidence that Norwegian shipping to Ravensere and Hull had ceased. A few Norwegian merchants still sailed to Lynn, but all ships with Norwegian merchants on board transported timber or Bohuslän herring as their main cargo, and almost all of them came from eastern Norway. Only 5 of the 22 ships carrying Norwegian merchants had stockfish on board, and even then in small quantities. Non-Norwegian skippers, on the other hand, carried larger quantities of stockfish destined for Lynn.<sup>282</sup> In 1326, when the *Stolberg*, which belonged to “the abbot of Tønsberg”, sailed to Ravensere with timber owned by two citizens of Tønsberg, they are unlikely to have met other Norwegians there.<sup>283</sup> Some time before 1329, two theology students sold their Norwegian goods in Norfolk, probably in Lynn, before continuing to Paris.<sup>284</sup> In 1340, the town council of Lynn asked for legal protection for their merchants who visited Bergen, and promised reciprocity “if it should happen that your citizens and merchants visit us”.<sup>285</sup> The wording indicates that this was unusual in the years immediately before the Black Death. The following year, the English king issued a privilege with the same content.<sup>286</sup> This parallels what happened in the Baltic, where Norwegian merchants’ trade declined after about 1310/20.

#### F. ENGLISH MERCHANTS

The consequences of the Hanseatic expansion were less dramatic for English merchants. During the period 1204–1259, England was permanently at war with France, and English and Norwegian merchant ships were confiscated to ferry troops to the continent. The years 1259–1290 were more peaceful, and merchants are mentioned less frequently in the King’s correspondence.<sup>287</sup> But this does not necessarily mean that trade had declined. In 1263, English merchants were arrested in Norway during Håkon Håkonsson’s campaign in the Hebrides.<sup>288</sup> As a consequence of the conflict with the Hansa from 1282–84, 11 merchants from Yarmouth and other ports in Norfolk had their goods confiscated in Bergen.<sup>289</sup> In 1284 and 1286, English merchants received letters of safe passage from their king for travel to Norway.<sup>290</sup> In the 1290s, England once again waged war in Scotland and on the continent, and from

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282 Appendix I, table 4.

283 *Calendar of Inquisitions Miscellaneous II* (1307–1349), p. 137 = RN IV no. 418a.

284 DN XIX no. 530.

285 DN VI no. 160 = DN XIX no. 557.

286 *Ibid.* nos. 559 and 564.

287 NEDKVITNE, *Handelssjøfarten mellom Norge og England*, p. 31.

288 DN XIX no. 276 = *Close Rolls 1261–1264*, p. 388.

289 DN XIX no. 417 = RN II no. 510.

290 *Calendar of Patent Rolls 1281–1292*, pp. 116 and 241 = DN XIX nos. 310 and 319

1293 a larger number of English merchants reappear in the sources.<sup>291</sup> English merchants were exempted from the new customs duties imposed in 1303 and do not appear in those customs accounts.

As mentioned earlier, King Håkon arrested all English merchants in Bergen on the 24<sup>th</sup> of June 1312.<sup>292</sup> The English claimed that 400 men and merchandise worth £6000 had been seized.<sup>293</sup> In later and more detailed claims, 11 merchants asserted that goods worth £1694 had been taken from them in Bergen alone.<sup>294</sup> According to the customs accounts for 1303–07, Norwegian merchants annually exported to England goods worth £881,<sup>295</sup> which is only half the amount of the English compensation claims. Another three English ships were seized in Tønsberg<sup>296</sup> and at least one in Bohuslän, probably in March 1313.<sup>297</sup> Even if the English claims are greatly exaggerated, the conflict in 1312 reveals significant English commercial interests in Norway.

Three years later, English merchants had resumed trade with Norway,<sup>298</sup> and the two Kings renewed their protection agreement.<sup>299</sup> English merchants appear in our sources in 1321,<sup>300</sup> 1322<sup>301</sup> and 1325.<sup>302</sup> John Thornegg was a citizen of Lynn<sup>303</sup> and the skipper of a ship which visited Norway three times in the years 1322–23.<sup>304</sup> Some of his cargo belonged to Hanseatic and Norwegian merchants.

In 1332, England was drawn into the Scottish civil war,<sup>305</sup> and a general prohibition was issued against exporting food from England.<sup>306</sup> Special licences were awarded in 1332 to four merchants to export grain to Norway.<sup>307</sup> In 1333, eight export licences were granted for 3660 quarteria of grain, which corresponds to six

291 Calendar of Patent Rolls 1292–1301, pp. 17, 227, 244 and 496 = DN XIX nos. 388, 407, 408 and 414; Calendar of Patent Rolls 1301–1307, p. 98 = DN XIX no. 421 etc.

292 *Calendar of the Letter-books of the City of London* Liber D, p. 310 = RN III no. 811.

293 DN XIX no. 480 = Calendar of Close Rolls 1307–1313, p. 554.

294 Calendar of Close Rolls 1307–1313, pp. 523, 573 and 576; Calendar of Close Rolls 1318–1323, p. 144.

295 Calculated by combining tables I.9 and I.10.

296 Calendar of Close Rolls 1307–1313, p. 576.

297 Calendar of Close Rolls 1307–1313, p. 573 = DN XIX no. 485; Calendar of Close Rolls 1307–1313, p. 577 = DN XIX no. 487.

298 Calendar of Patent Rolls 1313–1317, p. 263 = DN XIX no. 493; Calendar of Close Rolls 1317–1321, pp. 190 and 253 = DN XIX nos. 510 and 511.

299 Calendar of Patent Rolls 1313–1317, p. 282 = DN XIX no. 494.

300 Calendar of Patent Rolls 1321–1324, p. 58 = DN XIX no. 513.

301 Calendar of Patent Rolls 1321–1324, p. 134 = DN XIX no. 516.

302 Calendar of Patent Rolls 1324–1327, p. 95 = DN XIX no. 526.

303 Calendar of Patent Rolls 1321–1324, p. 134 = DN XIX no. 516.

304 Appendix I table 4; PRO E-122/93/17 = DN XIX no. 518.

305 NICHOLSON, Scotland, p. 125.

306 Calendar of Patent Rolls 1330–1334, p. 302 = DN XIX no. 536.

307 DN XIX no. 536 = Calendar of Patent Rolls 1330–1334, p. 302; Calendar of Patent Rolls 1330–1334, p. 372.

shiploads of about 600 quarters each.<sup>308</sup> There are registered licences in 1334 for 800 quarters going to Norway,<sup>309</sup> in 1335 for 500.<sup>310</sup> Several licences were awarded without a specified destination.<sup>311</sup> The large volume of such exports in 1333 may be due to conflicts with the German winter residents in Bergen who normally provided the town with most of its grain. In 1331 the Norwegian Council of the Realm prohibited Hansa merchants from staying in Bergen all winter,<sup>312</sup> and the following year inconclusive negotiations were held at Bohus castle about Hanseatic privileges in Bergen.<sup>313</sup> In 1332 fire also destroyed Bryggen in Bergen where the Hansa merchants lived.<sup>314</sup> But these are no more than indications of why English shipping levels may have been extraordinary in 1333.

Edward III launched the Hundred Years' War in 1337, and in October that year and March the next year, Thomas Melchebourne had to obtain a licence to be allowed to send 2000 quarters of grain, corresponding to 3–4 shiploads, and 300 barrels of beer to Norway, Holland and Zeeland.<sup>315</sup> In 1343, the King's treasurer in Bergen was in debt to four English merchants for significant quantities of cloth, malt and grain.<sup>316</sup> In the 1330s and 1340s, English merchants were frequent visitors to Norway;<sup>317</sup> some of them even chartering Hanseatic ships.<sup>318</sup> English merchants continued to export grain to Norway and import stockfish from Bergen after the Black Death.<sup>319</sup>

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308 Calendar of Patent Rolls 1330–1334, pp. 544, 415, 420, 421, 424, 429 and 431; cf. DN XIX nos. 538–543. One quarter was eight bushels, at 35.2 litres per bushel = 282 litres (ZUPKO, *A Dictionary of English Weights and Measures*, entry words “quarter” and “bushel”). Evidence for shiploads of 600 quarters each is found in RN III no. 1123 = PRO, Ancient petitions – SC 8/79/3948 (unprinted); DN XIX no. 624. Shiploads of 300 quarters are mentioned in DN XIX nos. 628 and 621, DN XIX no. 625 says 240 quarters. In the latter cases it is not clear whether the ships were fully loaded. Ship sizes may also have varied.

309 Calendar of Patent Rolls 1330–1334, p. 544 = DN XIX no. 545.

310 Calendar of Patent Rolls 1334–1338, p. 57 = DN XIX no. 546.

311 For example Calendar of Patent Rolls 1334–1338, p. 57.

312 NGL III no. 70.

313 *Detmar* volume 19, p. 470.

314 *Islandske Annaler*, p. 220.

315 Calendar of Patent Rolls 1334–1338, p. 542 = DN XIX no. 554; Calendar of Patent Rolls 1338–1340, p. 46.

316 DN III nos. 214–217; two are said to be from Boston in Lincolnshire.

317 Calendar of Patent Rolls 1334–1338, p. 247f = DN XIX nos. 548; Calendar of Close Rolls 1333–1337, p. 667 = DN XIX no. 549; DN XIX no. 550; DN XIX no. 535; Calendar of Patent Rolls 1340–1343, p. 535 = DN XIX no. 564; Calendar of Patent Rolls 1334–1338, p. 350; DN VI no. 160; Calendar of Patent Rolls 1340–1343, p. 212; Calendar of Close Rolls 1343–46, pp. 274–275; Calendar of Patent Rolls 1348–50, p. 287.

318 Calendar of Patent Rolls 1348–50, p. 313.

319 Table II.27.

English trade with Norway did not suffer the serious decline after about 1310–20 that Norwegian foreign trade did. In 1230, before the Hanseatic expansion, English merchants may have sent at least 10 merchant ships to Norway annually.<sup>320</sup> The detailed snap-shots of English trade we are given for the years 1312 and 1333 show that it was still significant. The organisation of English commerce was as advanced as that of the Hansa merchants. Norwegian merchants succumbed to Hanseatic competition before the Black Death, while the English did not. However, English trade stagnated and did not experience the same expansion as the Hanseatic League. The most likely explanation for this is that they lacked the breadth of the Hansa's network and therefore could not offer Norwegian customers adequate supplies of grain products.

### G. QUANTIFYING STOCKFISH IMPORTS TO ENGLAND

Extant English customs accounts make it possible for the first time to quantify the amount of goods involved in Norwegian foreign trade. During the period 1303–11, nearly 50 Hansa ships and 20 Norwegian merchant vessels sailed between Norway and eastern England annually.<sup>321</sup> This was on top of English shipping. Most vessels came from the Norwegian west coast, in practice Bergen and Trondheim. According to the first customs accounts from Bergen dating 1518–20, 70–90 foreign ships visited the town annually,<sup>322</sup> and about 100 did so in the 1560s and 1570s.<sup>323</sup> During the period 1500–1580, Trondheim no longer had direct shipping to foreign countries; this business had been transferred to Bergen. Trade with England during the period 1303–11 was significant measured by 16<sup>th</sup> century standards.

But counting the number of vessels involved is not an ideal way of measuring the importance of the stockfish trade, because the ships were usually not fully laden with stockfish, and average ship sizes may have increased. Quantifying exports in tons gives a more reliable picture. The first step towards calculating this is to construct a table showing what proportion of the imports from Norway consisted of stockfish in each eastern English port and in total. For all four relevant ports, the value of each commodity is given in some of the accounts, but not in all of them. The values are given in the table notes.

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320 Cf. above p. 20.

321 Tables I.7 and I.8.

322 Table II.1.

323 Table III.1.

Table I.12. Goods on ships arriving from Norway, where the value of each item is given in accounts, 1303–11

	<b>Ravensere</b> <sup>(1)</sup>	<b>Hull</b> <sup>(2)</sup>	<b>Lynn</b> <sup>(3)</sup>	<b>Boston</b> <sup>(4)</sup>	<b>Eastern England</b> <sup>(5)</sup>
stockfish	80 %	17 %	66 %	91 %	82 %
fish oil	6 %	3 %	12 %	7 %	8 %
hides/skin	3 %	8 %	5 %	2 %	3 %
herring	3 %	54 %	3 %	0 %	3 %
timber	7 %	14 %	12 %	0 %	4 %
other	1 %	4 %	2 %	0 %	1 %

- (1) Calculated on the basis of goods worth £3858 and 16 shillings; all relevant ships are among those listed in appendix I, table 1.
- (2) Calculated on the basis of goods worth £736 and 11 shillings; all relevant ships are among those listed in appendix I, table 2.
- (3) Calculated on the basis of goods worth £802 and 8 shillings. The value of each item is only given from June 1306 to September 1307. The relevant ships are listed in appendix I, table 4.
- (4) None of the accounts from Boston for 1303–33 give the value of each imported item. The values appear in two accounts, for 1388 and 1390–91; and 91 % of the cargo was stockfish, 7 % fish oil and 2 % hides (table II.23). The largest Hansa ships docking in Ravensere during the period 1303–11 carried 93 % stockfish, 4 % fish oil, 2 % hides and 1 % timber (table IV.4). The relative importance of goods on large Hansa ships from Bergen seems to have been stable throughout the 14<sup>th</sup> century; I have used the Boston 1388 and 1390–91 figures as representative for Hanseatic imports there for 1303–11.
- (5) The relative importance of the four ports in trade with Norway, given in table I.9, was used when calculating this column.

The average annual value of imports into each port for 1303–1311 was given in table I.9. These figures can be combined with the percentage of stockfish unloaded at each port, given in table I.12, to calculate the average annual value of stockfish imported during this period. In the customs accounts from 1303–11, the price of stockfish is 3.5 shillings for each “great hundred” (=120).<sup>324</sup> There were many sizes of stockfish, but the average size was the so-called “lotfish”. In 1383, one “great hundred” of lotfish was said to weigh 67.9 kg;<sup>325</sup> stockfish probably weighed the same on average in 1303–11. This information makes it possible to quantify the average amount of stockfish imports into each port in tons. However, the customs accounts were kept differently in each of the four ports, so in practice an individual method of calculation has to be used for each port. The different factors taken into consideration are given in the notes in table I.13.

<sup>324</sup> Appendix VIII, section on the prices in the customs accounts.

<sup>325</sup> Table VI.1.

Table I.13. Annual stockfish imports into eastern English ports by non-English merchants, 1303–11.

Port	Stockfish in tons
Ravensere	228 <sup>(1)</sup>
Hull	7 <sup>(2)</sup>
Lynn	281 <sup>(3)</sup>
Boston	1050 <sup>(4)</sup>
total	1566

- (1) The most detailed accounts are those from Ravensere and Hull, where the quantity of stockfish is registered directly in hundreds. In the customs accounts from Ravensere and Hull for 1303–11, not only “lotfish”, but also 11 other sizes and qualities of stockfish are mentioned (NEDKVITNE, *Handelssjøfarten mellom Norge og England*, pp. 39–40), but we do not know the weight for most of them. The best way to handle this is to combine all qualities of stockfish and assume that the average weight is identical to that of the “lotfish”, that is 67.9 kg. for each “great hundred”. For Ravensere, complete accounts have been preserved for 1305, 1306, 1307 and 1308; in those years 1578, 4974, 4034 and 2827 great hundreds of stockfish respectively were imported, averaging 3353 great hundreds annually (appendix I; cf. NEDKVITNE, *Handelssjøfarten mellom Norge og England*, pp. 95–96). This corresponds to 228 tons.
- (2) During this period, Hull received on average 100 great hundreds of stockfish annually, equal to 7 tons (NEDKVITNE, *Handelssjøfarten mellom Norge og England*, p. 97).
- (3) For Lynn, we only have figures for the number of stockfish imported in the year 1306/7. A more representative result can be obtained by extracting data from the annual value of all imports from Norway. The customs accounts for Lynn are complete for the years 1303, 1304, 1305 and 1307; the annual average value of imports from Norway for these years is £1095. About 66% of these imports consisted of stockfish (cf. tables I.9 and I.12), which gives us £723. Based on the price of 3.5 shilling per “great hundred” (appendix VIII, section on the prices in the customs accounts), this gives us 4131 great hundreds, or 281 tons of stockfish.
- (4) About 30 ships arrived in Boston annually during this period with stockfish from Bergen. In 1388 and 1390/91, quantities are registered for 9 ships carrying stockfish from Bergen; they transported on average 487 great hundreds or 33 tons of stockfish. Most of the ships carried small quantities of timber (appendix II, PRO E-122/7/20 – E-122/7/27). In comparison, 23 Hansa ships arrived in Ravensere during 1304–11 loaded with stockfish but carrying no timber (appendix I table 1); they carried on average 551 great hundreds of stockfish each, corresponding to 37 tons. The Hansa ships which docked in Boston in 1303–11 (appendix I tables 7–9) carried no timber, but had additional cargoes of furs and wax which demanded little space. It is therefore reasonable to assume that the 30 ships importing goods into Boston in the period 1303–11 carried between 33–37 tons of stockfish each, closer to 37 tons because they were transporting no timber. This adds up to 990–1070 tons, or about 1050 tons for all 30 ships.

English merchants also exported mainly stockfish from Bergen. After King Håkon confiscated the goods of English merchants in Bergen in June 1312, 11 merchants claimed compensations totalling £1694.<sup>326</sup> But this did not represent the total value of goods that were confiscated; we are told that 26 English merchants were detained as hostages in Bergen while the rest were permitted to go back to England, leaving their merchandise behind.<sup>327</sup> Shortly after their arrest, the English claimed that 400

<sup>326</sup> Calendar of Close Rolls 1307–1313, pp. 523, 573 and 576; Calendar of Close Rolls 1318–23, p. 144.

<sup>327</sup> *Calendar of the Letter-books of the City of London* Liber D, p. 310.

“merchants” (and sailors?) and goods worth £6000 had been seized.<sup>328</sup> Compensation claims are normally exaggerated, and this figure may have represented the price which the Norwegian goods would have fetched when sold in England; the customs accounts listed the purchase price in Norway.<sup>329</sup> At least some of the confiscated goods consisted of unsold English cloth, but a large part of it must have been stockfish. A source of error in the other direction is that the cargo was seized on the 24<sup>th</sup> of June, and the peak of the Bergen stockfish trade was July–September. Compensation claims usually represented the price which the goods would have fetched in the port of destination, and £1694 would have been able to buy 233 tons of stockfish in Lynn. The £6000 represents the value of 815 tons of stockfish in Lynn.<sup>330</sup> English merchants’ exports were significant, but they are not quantifiable. On the basis of these vague claims, it is not possible to accurately quantify the amount of English stockfish exports from Bergen.

Table I.13 suggests that German and Norwegian merchants exported 1500–1600 tons of stockfish to England annually. English merchants included the sources point to England having imported close to 2000 tons of stockfish annually. Because these calculations are necessarily based on the few accounts that have been preserved, it is difficult to estimate how representative the figures are. This makes it impossible to come up with firm minimum figures, but it would be difficult to reconcile the extant evidence with imports of less than 1500 tons.<sup>331</sup>

These customs accounts make it feasible for the first time to discuss the amount of Norwegian foreign trade based on figures. It is well worth the effort of utilising these sources to see how far it is possible to go with them. Quantification is important for an analysis of long-term developments in the Norwegian economy. In 1577/8, Bergen exported about 2500–3000 tons of stockfish to all foreign ports.<sup>332</sup> Measured by 16<sup>th</sup> century standards, in 1303–11 the stockfish trade with England alone was considerable.

#### H. LOCAL DISTRIBUTION OF BERGEN FISH IN ENGLAND IN THE 14<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY

The English source material for the 13<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> centuries is so rich that it is possible to follow Bergen fish from eastern English ports to the consumers. A major proportion of it ended up in the London area. In 1316, 18 named London mer-

328 Calendar of Close Rolls 1307–1313, p. 554 = DN XIX no. 480.

329 Appendix VIII, section on the prices in the customs accounts.

330 For the price of stockfish in eastern English ports, see appendix VIII table 1. I have used 10 shillings per large hundred; this means £1694 would buy 3388 large hundreds of stockfish, and £6000 would buy 12,000. Each hundred weighed 67.9 kg.

331 For a more detailed discussion of the possible sources of errors, see NEDKVITNE, *Handels-sjøfarten mellom Norge og England*, pp. 94–103.

332 Cf. pp. 263 and 265.

chants were granted licenses to buy stockfish, salt fish, herring, hides and oil (= fish oil) in the counties of Lincoln, Norfolk and Suffolk; these were renewed in 1317 and 1318. Licences were needed during those years because England was at war with Scotland, and the King wanted to guard against these provisions being sold to the enemy. The transportation of Norwegian and other fish products southwards along the coast to London was evidently normal at this time.<sup>333</sup> London merchants no doubt bought their stockfish in Boston and Lynn, and herring in Yarmouth. In 1376 the King sent a letter to the authorities in Boston claiming that the import of stockfish into England increasingly had been concentrated in that port. The citizens of Boston were accused of speculative purchases of stockfish, which had increased the prices in Boston and other parts of the realm “to the hurt of all the commons”.<sup>334</sup>

By 1310 at the latest, London had a Guild of Stockfishmongers<sup>335</sup> in addition to a larger Guild of Fishmongers. Members of the first guild received supplies from merchants in Boston and Lynn who imported stockfish. In 1358, the Hansa merchants in Boston were excused from paying some customs duties; two London citizens stood their sureties, and one of these was said to be a stockfishmonger.<sup>336</sup> In 1392, two citizens of Lynn received a licence to send their ships to Norway to buy stockfish, and two London stockfishmongers stood their sureties.<sup>337</sup>

A London guild had no monopoly over its trade, so a stockfishmonger could also trade in other goods if he so wished.<sup>338</sup> Many stockfishmongers were active in the corn trade between eastern English towns and London, which must have grown out of transporting their stockfish from eastern ports to the city.<sup>339</sup> In 1398, a member of the cornmongers’ guild asked to be transferred to the stockfishmongers’ guild because “he has always used the said Mistery of Stockfishmongers and never that of cornmongers”.<sup>340</sup>

In 1364, the fishmongers’ guild was granted a monopoly over the sale of all fish in London “except stockfish which pertains to the Mistery of Stockfishmongers”.<sup>341</sup> Such a monopoly was a special favour, and ran contrary to common practice.<sup>342</sup> In all probability, the Guild of Stockfishmongers was awarded a monopoly over the stockfish trade at the same time – the wording could be interpreted in that way. By 1399 at the latest, stockfish shops were concentrated in “Stockfishmongers’ Row”

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333 Calendar of Patent Rolls 1313–1317, pp. 450, 454 and 674; Calendar of Patent Rolls 1317–1327, p. 215.

334 Calendar of Close Rolls 1374–77, p. 303.

335 *Calendar of the Letter-books of the City of London* Liber D, p. 48.

336 Calendar of Close Rolls 1354–1360, p. 518.

337 DN XIX nos. 618 and 620.

338 THRUPP, Merchant Class of Medieval London, p. 4.

339 Information from Professor Jim L. Bolton, St. Mary’s, University of London.

340 *Calendar of the Letter-books of the City of London* Liber H, p. 443.

341 Calendar of Patent Rolls 1364–1367, pp. 5 and 74.

342 THRUPP, Merchant Class of Medieval London, pp. 75 and 95.

on Upper Thames Street. Their assembly hall, also in Thames Street, was named “Stockfishmongers’ Hall” and was built between 1368 and 1399.<sup>343</sup> Several stockfish tradesmen were prominent citizens of London. John Lovekyn was the guild’s alderman for the years 1347–1368 and was Lord Mayor of London four times.<sup>344</sup> William Walworth was its alderman for the period 1368–1385; he also became Lord Mayor of London, and was finally elevated to a peerage.<sup>345</sup> In the decades after 1438, the merchant guilds of London adopted coats of arms; the stockfishmongers received theirs in 1494.<sup>346</sup> In 1512, after 200 years existence as a separate “Mystery of Stockfishmongers”, the Guild of Stockfishmongers was merged with the larger Guild of Fishmongers.<sup>347</sup>

Carus-Wilson claims that there were guilds of stockfishmongers in several other English towns, such as Coventry, but does not cite any sources for this.<sup>348</sup> But stockfish was sent along the coast to other ports; in 1337/8 and 1340/1, ships carrying stockfish sailed northwards from Boston to Newcastle.<sup>349</sup> Stockfish and “hard fish” (*piscis durus*), which is just another name for stockfish, were sold in northern England from 1307–1348 in units of a “hundred” at local markets in Corbridge, Croft, Hartlepool, Haydon, Northallerton, Richmond, Scarborough and further south in Yarmouth.<sup>350</sup> Probably the greatest proportion of the stockfish imported to England ended up on the tables of private consumers who bought it on Stockfishmongers’ Row in London or in similar retail shops or booths in other towns.

Our best information is about the stockfish sold to the large ecclesiastical and state institutions. In 1364, fishmongers were given a monopoly on the sale of salted and fresh fish in London, with the exception that stockfishmongers were allowed to sell all kinds of fish to the King or his officials.<sup>351</sup> The King’s men also visited eastern English ports in person to make their purchases. In 1317 and 1319, the King’s representative bought herring, sturgeon, stockfish and cod in Norfolk, Suffolk, and Lincolnshire; the ports of Lynn, Yarmouth and Blakeney are named.<sup>352</sup> The King had 100 hundreds (= 6.8 tons) of stockfish and skreyfish (stockfish made from spawning cod) purchased in Boston in 1324,<sup>353</sup> 5 lasts of herring in Yarmouth and

343 HAZLITT, *Livery Companies of London*, pp. 142–143.

344 UNWIN, *Gilds and Companies of London*, p. 113; THRUPP, *Merchant Class of Medieval London*, p. 354.

345 UNWIN, *Gilds and Companies of London*, p. 113; HAZLITT, *Livery Companies of London*, 143; THRUPP, *Merchant Class of Medieval London*, p. 372. She mistakenly calls him Fishmonger.

346 BROMLEY AND CHILD, *The Guilds of London*, pp. VII, 91 and 94.

347 *Ibid.*, pp. 90–95.

348 CARUS-WILSON, *The Ports of the Wash*, p. 191.

349 FRASER, *North East England*, p. 48.

350 *Ibid.*, table opposite p. 66.

351 *Calendar of Close Rolls 1364–1368*, p. 74.

352 *Calendar of Patent Rolls 1317–1321*, pp. 32, 390 and 394.

353 *Calendar of Patent Rolls 1324–1327*, p. 25.

50 hundreds (= 3.4 tons) of stockfish in Boston in 1339.<sup>354</sup> In 1350, the queen's agents bought *piscis durus* in Norfolk.<sup>355</sup> In 1405, the King's officials bought 200 saltfish in Lynn and 20 hundreds of stockfish in Boston.<sup>356</sup> Stockfish was often used as provisions for soldiers in the field, castles and warships,<sup>357</sup> but also in the King's own household, particularly during Lent.<sup>358</sup>

Extant accounts from large ecclesiastical institutions show that stockfish was a permanent part of their diet. These include accounts of the Bishop of Hereford from 1289/90,<sup>359</sup> the nunnery in Durham from 1308/9,<sup>360</sup> Durham Abbey from 1309/10,<sup>361</sup> Battle Monastery in Sussex from 1306/7,<sup>362</sup> Norwich Cathedral Priory from 1369,<sup>363</sup> and St. Swithun Priory, Winchester, from 1337.<sup>364</sup>

England had a limited domestic output of stockfish – dried hake was produced in Devon and Cornwall. In 1306 the King's men bought "hard fish" in the two counties,<sup>365</sup> while in 1364 dried hake was exported from Plymouth to Gascony.<sup>366</sup>

Fish prices were moderate in the High Middle Ages,<sup>367</sup> and stockfish may have been affordable even for the less prosperous.

## I. BOSTON EMERGES AS CENTRE OF THE HANSEATIC STOCKFISH TRADE AFTER 1303

Throughout the 13<sup>th</sup> century, Lynn had been the centre for English as well as Norwegian merchants' trade between the two countries. The first Hanseatic stockfish merchants visited England in the 1280s at the latest and followed their predecessors to Lynn. There was a vigorous expansion in their trade in the last decades of the 13<sup>th</sup> century, and around the turn of the century the Hansa ended up dominating it. In 1303, the German Hansa aldermen in England recorded that between the first of January and end of September the previous year, 22 German merchant vessels (*cog-*

354 Calendar of Patent Rolls 1338–1340, p. 347.

355 Calendar of Patent Rolls 1348–1350, p. 548.

356 Calendar of Close Rolls 1402–1305, p. 456.

357 Calendar of Close Rolls 1389–1392, pp. 440 and 444; Calendar of Close Rolls 1392–1396, pp. 57, 171, 174, 200, 332 and 452; Calendar of Close Rolls 1396–1399, p. 185; Calendar of Patent Rolls 1401–05, p. 513; DN XIX no. 349.

358 Calendar of Patent Rolls 1317–21, pp. 32, 390 and 394.

359 BUGGE, *Handelen mellom England og Norge*, p. 129.

360 FRASER, *North East England*, pp. 51–52.

361 *Extracts from the Account Rolls of the Abbey of Durham*, p. 6.

362 *Accounts of the Cellarers of Battle Abbey 1275–1513*, pp. 47 ff.

363 SAUNDERS, *Obidientary and Manor Rolls of Norwich Cathedral Priory*, p. 96.

364 *Comptus Rolls of the Obedientaries of St Swithun Priory*, p. 246

365 Calendar of Close Rolls 1302–1307, pp. 372–374.

366 Calendar of Patent Rolls 1364–1367, pp. 7 and 11; Calendar of Close Rolls 1364–1368, p. 76.

367 Table VI.2.

*gonēs*) with fish (*piscis*) had arrived in Lynn.<sup>368</sup> This must have been stockfish from Bergen,<sup>369</sup> which indicates that Lynn at that time would have been the Bergenfahrer's main port in England. The following year this changed: the German Hansa aldermen sanctioned a boycott of Lynn, and in the period January–September 1303, 25 Hansa ships loaded with stockfish docked in Boston,<sup>370</sup> to where the Bergenfahrer had moved their operations. The Bergenfahrer remained in Boston until their trade with eastern England ceased in the 1480s.<sup>371</sup>

The change of location from Lynn to Boston also seems to have led to a reorganisation of the Bergenfahrer's commerce with England. Customs accounts for 1303–11 paint a picture of trade which is more differentiated and complex than that found in the Late Middle Ages. This seems to be a reflection of the situation when Lynn was their main market. Lynn had a larger hinterland than Boston, and its market distributed more and a wider range of merchandise. When the Hansa merchants were trading in Lynn, they imported goods from many areas around the North Sea and the Baltic. Ships from the Baltic transported grain products for sale in Bergen, but they also brought wax and furs from the Baltic via Bergen to Lynn. In the customs accounts for Boston from 1303, 13 of the 25 Hansa ships carrying stockfish also had wax and furs from the Baltic on board. In the following set of accounts for 1308–1309, there was no mention of these Baltic goods, and they did not reappear later. These Hansa vessels also participated in the exchange of wool for cloth between England and Flanders. Five of the 25 stockfish ships docked in Boston in 1303 also were importing cloth, probably Flemish, and five of these ships left Boston loaded with wool.<sup>372</sup> This means that the German Bergenfahrer also sailed from Bergen to Flanders. Bergen, Lynn, Bruges, Lübeck and several other ports were included in a complex shipping network which, before 1302, brought a wide array of goods to each of these ports.

The Hansa merchants also transported Norwegian herring to Hull, Ravensere and Lynn during this early period. They bought most of their timber in the Baltic, and the timber imported from Norway was mostly sold by Norwegian merchants.<sup>373</sup> Lynn in this early period must have been one of the cornerstones in a trading network which involved a larger number of ports and a wider array of goods than in the later Boston period.

Skippers evidently were free to hire out cargo space to whomever they wanted. A Captain Adam and a merchant named Johannes, both from Bergen, arrived in Lynn in 1303 on a ship on which a quarter of the goods belonged to a merchant

368 DN XIX no. 426 = HUB II no. 40.

369 For a comparison, see appendix I tables 5–9.

370 Appendix I table 9.

371 Cf. 152–154 and 161.

372 Appendix I tables 5–9.

373 Cf. appendix I tables 1–9.

with the German name of Reginald Penyng.<sup>374</sup> In April-May 1309, the skippers Hermann Hemeler and Albrecht, both citizens of Lübeck, imported stockfish and fish oil to Ravensere; on both ships some of the cargo belonged to Norwegian merchants.<sup>375</sup> In September 1323, 11 Hansa merchants, one of them called Tidemann from Dortmund, another Hinrik Lippe, imported stockfish and fish oil to Lynn on a ship whose captain was John Thornegge, a prominent citizen of Lynn.<sup>376</sup>

Trade between Bergen and eastern England during this period of German expansion seems to have been characterised by few if any restrictions and a diversity of merchant groups, markets and commodities. This evidently benefitted the Germans, who were economically the most efficient.

In 1303 the English king granted a common privilege to all foreign merchants. This *Carta Mercatoria* transferred the power to impose customs on foreign merchants to the state, and in general the King did “as much on behalf of the foreign merchants as local opposition would permit.”<sup>377</sup> But urban authorities could still regulate foreigners’ trade in several ways. The Lynn merchants had become marginalised in the Anglo-Norwegian trade, and in 1303 they took measures to limit German expansion by political means.

The *Carta Mercatoria* was issued on the first of February 1303, and on August 15<sup>th</sup> the German aldermen in England submitted a complaint about conditions in Lynn. It is not clear whether the incidents they refer to took place before or after the charter appeared. They complained that the local authorities prevented them from trading with other foreigners, and they particularly mention that they were no longer allowed to barter their fish for cloth, honey and other goods. When a German cog arrived from Norway with herring, the local citizens demanded the right to buy first, even if a foreign trader had already made an offer. They were also prevented from selling their imported goods in the retail sector; wax, furs, timber, ash, flounder and other goods are mentioned in this connection. According to the charter, foreign merchants could trade with other foreigners, but only on a wholesale basis.<sup>378</sup> The Germans in Lynn were not permitted to sell quern stones in the countryside, since the charter stipulated that they could only trade in market towns.<sup>379</sup> If they bought wheat, they were prevented from renting a building to store it in until it could be exported. In practice, this was an indirect way of limiting foreign traders from staying over the winter; they had to export goods immediately after they were

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374 Appendix I table 4.

375 Appendix I table 1.

376 Appendix I table 4.

377 GRAS, Customs System, pp. 139–140.

378 Ibid., pp. 137 and 260.

379 Ibid., p. 260.

bought. The charter did permit foreigners to reside in English towns as long as they wanted, but the conditions of their stay were left to the various urban authorities.<sup>380</sup>

The Crown demanded the right to be the first buyers of imported goods, at below the market price. In 1302, the King demanded 40,000 stockfish from the citizens of Lynn, and the citizens then forced the Hansa merchants to sell these at below the market price.<sup>381</sup> While the charter stated that the Crown promised to pay the market price when exploiting their “right to buy first” from foreign merchants, it seems that the officials circumvented this paragraph by putting their demands to the citizens of Lynn instead, who in turn demanded the lower price from the Hansa merchants.<sup>382</sup> In England, the King granted formal privileges, but their implementation was left to urban authorities, which found ingenious ways of bypassing them. Since the state did not want to be in conflict with the citizens of Lynn, they did not react to this subterfuge. This was a general problem.<sup>383</sup>

In Bruges, the Hansa were in a similar situation in 1280–1282 and moved to neighbouring Ardenbourg, which welcomed them by granting generous privileges. Bruges wanted them to return and offered concessions.<sup>384</sup> The Hansa merchants tried this approach in England in 1303 by moving from Lynn to neighbouring Boston and organising a boycott of Lynn. Boston welcomed them, since the town lacked a strong merchant class which could view the Hansa as competitors. It is possible that the *Bergenfahrer* expected this ploy to prompt Lynn into awarding them concessions so that they could return to the port; an indication of this is that they ensured the boycott was strictly respected.<sup>385</sup> But their English competitors in Lynn did not want them back, and so the Hansa remained in Boston for nearly 200 years, where they were free from harassment and enjoyed a better legal framework for their trade. It was of no consequence to the English state whether the Hansa were based in Lynn or Boston. But food imports were considered important, and before 1412 Bergen was the only source of stockfish imports to England. The conflict with the Lynn merchants continued as long as both nations carried out commercial trade between Bergen and eastern England. The trade in Baltic goods was transferred from Lynn to the Hanseatic “Steelyard” London, and so Hansa trade with eastern England was reduced to stockfish imports into Boston. The tension between fish merchants from Hansa towns and Lynn moved to Bergen in the Late Middle Ages, and there the Hansa came out strongest.<sup>386</sup>

The final result of this long-lasting conflict was that both parties reached their negative aim of harming their competitor. The *Bergenfahrer* were ousted from Eng-

380 *Ibid.* pp. 137 and 260.

381 DN XIX no. 426 = HUB II no. 40.

382 GRAS, *Customs System*, p. 137.

383 *Ibid.*, p. 259.

384 DOLLINGER, *La Hanse*, pp. 68–69.

385 DN XIX no. 426 = HUB II no. 40.

386 Cf. below pp. 175–183.

land in the 1480s. The English were marginalised in Bergen during the 15<sup>th</sup> century. But impeding the growth of one's competitor is not the same as developing one's own potential. The Bergenfahrer enjoyed their best period of growth and prosperity in England in the decades around 1300, during a period of free trade.

## J. CONCLUSION

The rich English sources make it possible to examine more closely the consequences of two fundamental developments which affected Norwegian foreign trade during the High Middle Ages: the commercialisation of the fish trade, and the expansion of the Hanseatic League.

During the 12<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> centuries, commerce between Norway and England reached considerable proportions compared to the better-known trade situation in the 16<sup>th</sup> century. This commercial revolution inspired specialised production of one commodity only, stockfish. A distribution network was put in place operating from the eastern English ports to London, which had a Guild of Stockfishmongers. English ecclesiastical and state institutions made stockfish part of their diet. The products exported from England in return were mainly cloth, which was a luxury product, as well as wheat and beer, which were also luxuries, but less so than foreign cloth. In the first phase of this trade, the merchants were Norwegian and English.

German merchants seem to have entered the Anglo-Norwegian trade about 1280. The English and Norwegian merchants operated a two-way traffic between ports in England and Norway. The Germans were citizens of Baltic towns, and their route formed a triangle from the Baltic Sea to Bergen and then to England. This made it possible for them to combine the transportation of high quality cloth from England, high quality rye flour and beer from Baltic towns, and Norwegian stockfish. They had established a wider network which enabled them to incorporate more producers and markets. Norwegian peasant fishermen's best markets were in England, but their most desired product, which was grain, came from the Baltic.

This German commercial enterprise grew from nothing to capturing a dominant position over a 30-year period, 1280–1310, without traditional Norwegian and English trade declining. This means that the total volume of trade in Bergen expanded greatly during this period. After around 1310/20, Norwegian merchants' trade almost disappeared. English merchants, however, defended their position in the face of the Hanseatic challenge up to the time of the Black Death. Anglo-Norwegian trade entered the Late Middle Ages with Hanseatic dominance and the English as secondary players.

#### 4. TRADE WITH CONTINENTAL WESTERN EUROPEAN AFTER HANSATIC EXPANSION

The English sources are exceptionally rich in a northern European context. As far as commerce with continental North Sea ports is concerned, there are not enough extant records to enable us to quantify the amount of goods shipped, the merchant groups or trade routes, but even the meagre sources available show that the expansion of Baltic merchants' networks led to profound changes there.

##### A. THE FLEMISH CONNECTION

The Baltic merchants concentrated their trade with continental western Europe in Flanders, and particularly in Bruges, and they developed their Flemish and English commerce in parallel. Their oldest trade route westwards from Lübeck was overland through Westphalia.<sup>387</sup> The next phase involved a combined land and sea route from Lübeck to Hamburg and on to Flanders. In 1243/4, merchants from Lübeck and Hamburg were granted free passage and protection through the Zuiderzee, the rivers and canals in Holland and the Rhine delta, on their way to Flanders.<sup>388</sup> In 1253 the two towns were granted their first privileges in Flanders.<sup>389</sup> The *Umlandsfahrt* sea route to the north of Jutland was the final addition to the network of trade routes between the Baltic and Flanders, starting in 1278 at the latest.<sup>390</sup>

Hansa merchants sailed between ports around the North Sea, selling and buying where it was most profitable, linking Norway to England and Flanders in a commercial network. An undated letter, probably written in 1319, states that "13 large ships which one calls *cogges*" belonging to merchants from Germany (*Dalemayne*) were docked in Lynn loaded with 8000 quarters of grain, malt and flour (*des bleds et de bres et de flour*). Earlier the same year the Germans had exported more than 60,000 quarters of grain from Lynn, corresponding to about 100 shiploads. The Germans had been granted permission to export grain to Norway and buy stockfish and other victuals there which the English king's army needed for troops engaged in the ongoing war in Scotland. But they had sold the grain where it was most profitable, in Flanders, Berwick and Aberdeen, and from there continued on to Norway, where they bought fish and other goods (*peyson et autres mers*). Thus "they have the advantage of all countries" (*ont il les avantages de tous les terres*). This was harmful

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387 WECZERKA, Verkehrsnetz, pp. 43 and 49.

388 HUB I nos. 331 and 334.

389 Ibid. nos. 421, 428 and 432; HÄPKE, Brügge, pp. 101–108.

390 Cf. chapter I.3a on the *Umlandsfahrt* to England.

to England, because food was sold to the King's enemies in Scotland, and the prices of grain in Lynn doubled.<sup>391</sup>

Between February and September 1303, 25 Hansa ships arrived in Boston from Bergen.<sup>392</sup> No information is given about where they headed for when they left Boston. But wool exported from Boston was almost exclusively destined for Flanders; exports to Italy sailed from the south coast.<sup>393</sup> Five of the 25 Hansa ships left loaded with wool, and five merchants who had imported fish from Bergen exported wool on the five ships. Twelve other stockfish importers left Boston on ships which also carried wool on board, but they were not themselves the exporters.<sup>394</sup> Of the 134 merchants and captains who arrived in Boston from Bergen, 17 can be shown to have left for Flanders, and many others may also have done the same.

In December 1294, a storm forced 55 cargo ships to seek refuge in Ravensere, Scarborough and Newcastle. All of them declared that they were on their way to Flanders to sell their goods there. One ship carried on board "rafters of fir and one last of whetstones", all of it belonging to "the duke, brother of the Norwegian king". This refers to Håkon, who at this time was duke of most of eastern Norway; the whetstones were produced at Eidsborg in Telemark, and the captain was "Evitot from Frisia".<sup>395</sup> A ship from Lübeck was loaded with 28 hundreds of stockfish, oil, butter, hides of cattle, goats and sheep, but it also had wax and linen on board. This ship seems to have sailed from the Baltic via Bergen, but it failed to reach Flanders before the winter storms.<sup>396</sup> The remaining 53 ships were *Umlandsfahrer* that evidently came from the Baltic and the Scania market, which ran until the 11<sup>th</sup> of November.<sup>397</sup> Of these, 38 vessels carried timber, which was impossible to transport overland via Lübeck and Hamburg; 22 were transporting herring which they had processed or bought at the Scania market. These ships may have left the Scania market together as a convoy when the market closed, with Flanders as their destination, and sailed along the Norwegian coast, joined by a few ships from eastern Norway and Bergen. Sixteen of the 55 ships were from Stralsund, 5 from Lübeck, 2 from Greifswald, one from Rostock and one from Riga. The remaining 30 came from Frisia and the Zuiderzee. This confirms the traditional view that the majority

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391 PRO, Ancient Petitions - SC 8/79/3948 = RN II no. 1123 (unprinted).

392 Appendix I table 9.

393 POWER, Wool trade in the fifteenth century, pp. 39–41; CARUS-WILSON, The Ports of the Wash, pp. 185–186.

394 E-122/5/8 (customs accounts for wool export) and E-122/5/7 ("petty customs" = customs for export of goods other than wool).

395 *Hanseakten aus England* no. 16 gives registrations for 55 ships: 32 in Ravensere, 12 in Scarborough and 11 in Newcastle. In DN XIX no. 395 only the 32 in Ravensere are registered.

396 *Hanseakten aus England* no. 16, this part of the document is not printed in DN XIX no. 395.

397 DOLLINGER, La Hanse, p. 297; English translation, p. 240; German translation, p. 314.....

of the *Umlandsfahrer* during this early period were from North Sea towns, and the most important Baltic town was Stralsund.

The Baltic–Bergen–Flanders triangular shipping route was taken for granted in the maritime law of Hamburg from 1292. Captains from Hamburg sailed from Gotland, Scania or Bergen to Flanders.<sup>398</sup>

Baltic and other Hansa merchants sailed directly between Bergen and Flanders in the decades before the Black Death. In 1338, Bishop Håkon of Bergen complained that it was difficult to get hold of good wine in the town because so few ships were arriving from England and Flanders; only Rhine wine was for sale, and it was not of the same quality.<sup>399</sup> The Rhine wines probably came via the Zuiderzee, while the wine transported from Flanders and England was probably French, most likely from Gascony. Wolf van de Mylna had visited both Bergen and Flanders many times for trade (*mercandi gratia*), and the same Bishop Håkon presented him with a certificate of good conduct. He probably took his name from Mölln, south of Lübeck.<sup>400</sup> Cloth was no doubt the main merchandise taken from Flanders to Bergen; a law from 1316 regulated the sale of “cloth from Gent” in Bergen.<sup>401</sup> Stockfish were shipped in the opposite direction. The oldest customs tariff, dating from 1252, levied on Lübeck merchants who plied their trade on the river Zwin, which leads to Bruges, mentions stockfish.<sup>402</sup> In 1323, three towns close to Bruges – Damme, Hoke and Monikereede – were granted permission to trade in *sec poisson* (dried fish),<sup>403</sup> and later in 1370 Monikereede alone is called a staple for stockfish.<sup>404</sup> The trade in hides was of secondary importance, but in 1303, fees for brokers of Norwegian and Danish cattle hides were regulated in Bruges.<sup>405</sup>

Norwegians were trading in Bruges in 1268,<sup>406</sup> and Norwegian and Flemish merchants conducted trade between the two countries even after the Hanseatic expansion. In 1308, the Count of Flanders and King Håkon concluded an agreement which granted freedom of trade, protected wrecked ships from plunder, and prohibited new customs being levied.<sup>407</sup> In 1308 at the latest, Bruges had a “Norsemen’s street”,<sup>408</sup> and this street name indicates that they were actively engaged in commerce there at least up to about 1310. Ingelram of St. Omer in Flanders was a Norwegian citizen, and his name indicates where he was born. He traded in Norway

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398 KIESELBACH, *Hamburger Schifffrecht*, pp. 87–88.

399 DN VII no. 155.

400 DN X no. 28.

401 NGL III no. 49, p. 122 = HUB II no. 311 (German translation).

402 HUB I no. 432.

403 HUB II no. 401.

404 HUB XI no. 1235.

405 HÄPKE, *Brügge*, p. 123.

406 BUGGE, *Den norske trelasthandels historie*, p. 113, cf. chapter I.1c.

407 DN XIX no. 459.

408 HUB III, p. 474 note 1.

as the junior partner of a St. Omer merchant<sup>409</sup> and is the only named merchant of Flemish origin who is known to have carried out commerce in Norway.

In the century before 1350, shipping from Norway to continental western Europe was increasingly concentrated in Flanders, and particularly in Bruges. This was due to the fact that Baltic merchants controlled a growing proportion of the trade, and their main market was located in Bruges. Around the year 1150, Norwegians used to travel to Rome via Ålborg, Deventer and Utrecht.<sup>410</sup> But when the nobleman Gregorius Andersson Unge went on a pilgrimage to Rome in 1309, he went via Flanders.<sup>411</sup> Canon Jon Elg from Nidaros (Trondheim) journeyed to Rome via Bruges in 1301.<sup>412</sup>

When the pope's representative, William of Sabina, visited Bergen in 1247, he arrived via England on an English ship.<sup>413</sup> In 1290, three Florentine merchants conveyed the pope's tithes from Norway to Flanders.<sup>414</sup> Three of the pope's messengers stayed some time in a monastery in Tournai in Flanders in 1334/5 on their journey to Norway on horseback; Tournai was a normal stop-over point on the way from Avignon to Bruges.<sup>415</sup> Records show that the papal collector of tithes stayed in Bergen in August/September 1332 and sent the money he collected to Flanders.<sup>416</sup> When a different papal collector of tithes in Norway returned home in 1328, he started from Oslo and first travelled 80 *leucas* south to a place called Sund in Norway.<sup>417</sup> From there he crossed the North Sea on a large ship to Sluis, near Bruges; the ship was Frisian, and most of the sailors were German.<sup>418</sup> The Frisian ship clearly was an *Umlandsfahrer* which had sailed from the Scania market along the Norwegian coasts of Bohuslän and Agder, and from the southernmost part of Agder crossed the North Sea to Flanders. Ships could pick up merchandise and passengers along the Norwegian coast.

At the end of the High Middle Ages, Bruges and London were the main financial centres in northern Europe.<sup>419</sup> Norway had direct shipping lanes to Bruges, but not to London. The extant sources show that Flanders was financially important to Norwegian prelates. In 1333, the Bishop of Stavanger paid the arrears of his tithe to

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409 DN XIX nos. 440 and 441.

410 Cf. chapter I.lc.

411 DN II no. 93.

412 DN III no. 48.

413 *Håkonar saga Hákonarsonar*, chapter 249.

414 DN VI no. 54.

415 *Comptes et documents de l'abbaye de Saint Martin de Tournai* = RN IV no. 1126a.

416 *Pavelige Nuntiers Regnskabs- og Dagbøger*, pp. 120–126.

417 ZUPKO, *Weights and Measures*, entry word "League"; One *leuca* was normally 4.8 km, but it could also be 2.3 km.

418 *Ibid.*, p. 55.

419 HÄPKE, *Brügge*, pp. 151–152.

the papal curia via a citizen of Bruges.<sup>420</sup> Even the Bishop of Bergen did business and exchanged gifts with a citizen of Bruges.<sup>421</sup> The Archbishop of Nidaros on two occasions in 1281 and 1282 deposited sums of money in the Ter Doest monastery outside Bruges,<sup>422</sup> and the Bishop of Hamar went into exile in the same monastery in 1284.<sup>423</sup> Records show that in 1320 a Bergen canon paid off his debt to a citizen of Damme in Flanders.<sup>424</sup> The 1295 treaty between France and Norway stipulated that the Norwegian state should receive French subsidies in Flanders.<sup>425</sup> In the 1308 trade agreement between Norway and Flanders, representatives of the Count of Flanders were given the right to collect unpaid debts in Norway from Norwegians who had incurred this debt in Flanders.<sup>426</sup> In the 1280s, Count Guido sent his servant to Scandinavia on a mission of this type.<sup>427</sup> Hansa merchants were sometimes intermediaries in financial deals. In 1320 in the house of the Hansa merchant Lubbert Hogenschield, a Bergen canon pawned four books belonging to St. Mary's church in Bergen to Johan Thekenborg; this Johannes was probably a Hansa merchant.<sup>428</sup>

These financial and commercial contacts form the background to a letter which the Dominicans in Bruges sent to King Håkon of Norway in 1316. Some Flemish falconers had erected an altar to St. Olav<sup>429</sup> in the church of the Dominicans, and they planned to equip it with an image of the saint and have masses read there. Some of the King's subjects had also requested this. The Dominicans asked the King to send relics and a transcript of the saint's legend, so that "St. Olav can be venerated in Bruges where almost the whole world meets".<sup>430</sup>

Two forces were behind the increasing importance of Flanders. The rising financial demands of the papal curia on the Norwegian church made international channels for money transfers necessary, and these went via Bruges. Norwegian prelates also incurred private debts in Bruges, and even the Norwegian state used the financial services available in the town. The second influence was the fact that in the century before 1350, the Baltic towns came to dominate trade in Bergen, and their main market in continental western Europe was Bruges. Exports from Bergen and eastern Norway to Bruges of stockfish, fish oil, hides, timber and whetstones were on the increase. Going in the opposite direction were cloth and wine.

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420 *Pavelige Nuntiers Regnskabs- og Dagbøger*, p. 101.

421 DN X no. 30 = RN V no. 172 (1338).

422 DN XVII nos. 871–877.

423 DN XVII no. 878.

424 DN II no. 138.

425 DN XIX no. 399.

426 *Ibid.* no. 459.

427 *Ibid.* no. 374.

428 DN II no. 138 = RN IV no. 57.

429 King of Norway from 1015 to 1028.

430 DN VIII no. 48.

In England, the Baltic merchants transferred the bulk of their commerce with Bergen from the traditional ports of Lynn, Hull, Ravensere, Yarmouth and Newcastle to their own preferred port, Boston. On the continent, the Baltic merchants focussed their efforts on their preferred centre, Bruges.

## B. MERCHANTS FROM THE ZUIDERZEE IN NORWAY

Before about 1250, merchants from the Zuiderzee towns of Deventer, Kampen, Zutphen and Zwolle did not conduct trade over the North Sea to Norway or elsewhere.<sup>431</sup> But merchants from Cologne and Westphalia journeyed northwards on the Rhine via Utrecht to Norway, or on its side river the Ijssel past the Zuidezee towns and then over the North Sea.<sup>432</sup> This situation changed around 1250 when merchants from Zuiderzee towns started to sail around Jutland to the Scania market and to Norway.<sup>433</sup>

It is possible their commerce with eastern Norway started as a consequence of their seaborne trade in Scania and the Baltic (*Umlandsfabrrt*). In 1293, merchants from Kampen and Stavoren killed some robbers in Marstrand, which was the centre of the herring fisheries in Bohuslän.<sup>434</sup> Kampen was granted its own privileges in these fisheries in 1305,<sup>435</sup> 1314<sup>436</sup> and 1341.<sup>437</sup> A Frisian ship sailed from eastern Norway to Flanders in 1294 loaded with goods belonging to Duke Håkon.<sup>438</sup> In 1322, a ship from Zutphen arrived in England carrying herring and timber from Norway,<sup>439</sup> and the customs accounts for 1303–11 lists two ships from Kampen and one from Zutphen with Norwegian herring on board.<sup>440</sup>

By around 1300 at the latest, merchants from Kampen also were sailing to Bergen. A merchant named Albert from Kampen imported 5 cargoes of stockfish, fish oil and hides into Lynn and Boston during the years 1303–9.<sup>441</sup> A ship from Stavoren brought stockfish to Ravensere.<sup>442</sup> In 1349, a Kampen vessel picked up stockfish in Bergen, destined for Boston.<sup>443</sup>

431 SNELLER, Deventer, pp. 21–22.

432 *Alfredi Islenzk* I, p. 14.

433 Cf. pp. 53–54 and 80.

434 UBStL I no. 601 = HUB I no. 1114 = HR I, 1, 63 = MecklUB III no. 2223 = DN V no. 21; UBStL I no. 603 = MecklUB III no. 2224 = HR I, 1, 63 = HUB I no. 1115 = DN V no. 22.

435 HUB II no. 76.

436 DN V no. 60 = *Diplomatarium Suecanum* III no. 1974.

437 HUB II no. 676 = DN V no. 151.

438 DN XIX no. 395 = *Hanseakten aus England* no. 16; cf. p. above 81.

439 DN XIX no. 515.

440 L 1305 15/4; H 1309 22/1; R 1311 13/1.

441 L 1303 15/7; L 1304 7/7; L 1305 ?/11; L 1306 14/7; B 1309 20/6.

442 R 1305 8/8.

443 Calendar of Patent Rolls 1348–1350, p. 313f.

Kampen was an active commercial centre for merchant ships sailing to Bergen and Bohuslän, while Deventer was more of a market town with a passive trade.<sup>444</sup> In 1305, Kampen granted privileges to visiting Norwegian merchants in reciprocity for similar conditions granted to their own merchants in Norway.<sup>445</sup> When the Norwegian king renewed these privileges in 1341, there was no reciprocal agreement from Kampen,<sup>446</sup> which indicates Norwegians did not trade in Kampen at that time. A customs tariff from Kampen dated about 1340 mentions merchants from “the Wendish towns, Denmark, Sweden, Norway and England”,<sup>447</sup> so there is a theoretical possibility that Norwegians may have visited the port at this time.

Politically, the Zuiderzee towns often acted together as a group separate from the Wendish towns. They did not participate in the Hanseatic war against Norway in 1284/5, but the Kalmar treaty which ended this conflict includes a paragraph stating that Kampen, Stavoren and Groningen could enter into the treaty.<sup>448</sup> Later, officials from Wismar sent a letter to these cities, plus Zwolle, Deventer, Zutphen and Hardewijk, asking them to contribute to the war expenses and sign the treaty.<sup>449</sup> Kampen agreed to do this.<sup>450</sup> In the following period, Kampen seems to have accepted the leadership of the Wendish towns in Norway. In 1293, when Kampen and Stavoren were in conflict with the Norwegian king, the Wendish towns supported them.<sup>451</sup> The subsequent peace agreement was negotiated by Kampen alone, although the accompanying privileges were granted not only to Kampen and Stavoren but also to nine Baltic towns.<sup>452</sup> But this harmony was short-lived. Håkon V confirmed Kampen’s privileges in 1305,<sup>453</sup> before they were settled for Lübeck in 1306.<sup>454</sup> Kampen for its part promised the King that they would not participate in future blockades of Norway organised by the Wendish towns.<sup>455</sup> The procedure was repeated under the next king, with Kampen’s privileges reconfirmed in 1341<sup>456</sup> and

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444 SNELLER, Deventer, pp. 21–25.

445 DN V no. 47 = HUB II no. 70.

446 HUB II nos. 675–678.

447 Ibid. no. 668.

448 MecklUB III no. 1821 = UBStL no. 484 = HUB I no. 993 = *Norske middelalderdokumenter* no. 36.

449 UBStL I no. 501 = MecklUB III no. 1839 = HR I, 1, 44.

450 HR I, 1, 45.

451 DN V nos. 21 and 22 = UBStL I nos. 601 and 603 = MecklUB III nos. 2223 and 2224 = HUB I nos. 114 and 115; UBStL I no. 605 = HR I, 1, 49 = HUB I no. 1117.

452 UBStL I no. 621 = MecklUB III no. 2294 = HUB I nos. 1144–1150 = *Norske middelalderdokumenter* no. 41 = DN V no. 23.

453 DN V no. 48.

454 UBStL II no. 203 = HUB II no. 87 = DN V no. 51.

455 HUB II no. 70 = DN V no. 47.

456 HUB II no. 678.

those for the Wendish towns in 1343.<sup>457</sup> King Erik and King Håkon both issued letters of protection specifically for merchants from Kampen.<sup>458</sup> As mentioned above, Kampen received their own privileges in the herring fisheries in Bohuslän in 1305, 1314 and 1341. This policy of distancing themselves from the Baltic towns brought them advantages as long as Norwegian authorities enjoyed full military and judicial control in Bergen. But when Norwegian control crumbled in the Late Middle Ages and the Kontor established itself as the prevalent power, the situation grew more difficult for the Zuiderzee towns.

The large imports of Baltic grain into Bergen triggered off an increased production of stockfish, and continental western Europe was an obvious market to be exploited. But stockfish was bulky and overland transport was expensive. The problem for the Baltic towns was that their preferred market was in Bruges, but since the markets for stockfish could best be reached by transporting it on the Rhine, Bruges can't have been their first choice. This opened up the possibility for Kampen and the Zuiderzee towns to ship the fish to their home towns, reload it on barges and transport it southwards on the Ijssel and Rhine. Baltic merchants may have felt that they were well served with this arrangement. More stockfish probably reached the German interior via Kampen and Deventer than via Bruges. Kampen's trade interests in Bohuslän ended around 1341, but Kampen's and other Zuiderzee towns' interests in Bergen were to last for centuries.

### C. MERCHANTS FROM BREMEN AND HAMBURG IN NORWAY

The main shipping lane from Norway to continental western Europe entered the Rhine estuary between Flanders and the Zuiderzee; Bremen and Hamburg were secondary destinations.

There is firm evidence that Bremen merchants visited Bergen around 1250, but there are indications that their presence there may go back to the 12<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>459</sup> In 1303–11, ships carrying Norwegian stockfish with Bremen captains at the helm docked in Lynn, Ravensere and Boston.<sup>460</sup> In 1327, a ship from Bremen was chartered to sail from Prussia to Bergen, undoubtedly with flour and malt.<sup>461</sup>

Politically, Bremen operated independently from the Baltic Hansa towns. In 1278, "German-speaking merchants" were awarded their first privileges in Norway at the request of Lübeck, and the following year Bremen received a separate but identical letter of privileges.<sup>462</sup> In 1284, the Wendish towns waged war against Nor-

457 UBS<sub>t</sub>L II no. 774 = HUB III no. 13 = MecklUB no. 6339 = *Norske middelalderdokumenter* no. 83 = DN VIII no. 151.

458 DN V nos. 18 and 59.

459 Cf. above pp. 34–35.

460 Appendix I, tables 1–4: L 1304 3/10, L 1305 27/8, R 1306 2/9, B 1303 17/5, B 1303 24/7.

461 HUB II no. 467.

462 *Norske middelalderdokumenter* no. 30 = DN V no. 10; DN V no. 11.

way to protect Hansa privileges. Bremen was invited to join the coalition,<sup>463</sup> but it did not respect their trade embargo, and as punishment the town was denied access to the other Hansa ports.<sup>464</sup> When the next set of privileges was negotiated in 1294, Norway and Bremen constituted one side in the negotiations, ten Hansa towns the other. The latter offered Bremen citizens legal protection in these Hansa towns, and Bremen's trading rights there should be the same as they had been at their best.<sup>465</sup> On that occasion, Bremen received a privilege from King Håkon which was identical to that given to the ten Hansa towns.<sup>466</sup> A similar procedure was followed by King Magnus; he confirmed the privileges of the Wendish towns in 1343,<sup>467</sup> and awarded Bremen identical freedoms in 1348.<sup>468</sup>

Bremen pursued the same policy of individuality in Bohuslän. In 1288, the Archbishop of Bremen claimed that Bremen merchants had visited the herring fisheries there before 1280.<sup>469</sup> They received separate privileges in this fishery in 1292,<sup>470</sup> 1294<sup>471</sup> and 1299.<sup>472</sup> Bremen and the Zuiderzee towns tried to steer their own course to preserve their independence.

Hamburg merchants are mentioned as visitors in Norway for the first time in 1264, when some Hamburg citizens were acquitted of manslaughter in Bergen.<sup>473</sup> In 1303–11, captains and merchants from Hamburg participated in the stockfish trade between Bergen and eastern English ports.<sup>474</sup> Hamburg's maritime law dating from 1292 regulated shipping between Hamburg and Norway: "If a ship is chartered to fetch winter fish [= stockfish] in Norway ... and the ship sails from there to England or Flanders ...".<sup>475</sup> The privileges Hamburg was awarded in 1296 included a particularly favourable customs tariff for herring caught in Bohuslän fisheries.<sup>476</sup>

Hamburg was the North Sea town which had the closest ties to Lübeck and the Baltic towns. Hamburg did not take part in the 1284/5 war or the subsequent nego-

463 HUB I no. 931; HR I, 1, 29–30.

464 HUB I no. 989, cf. HR I, 1, p. 17; cf. *Detmar* volume 19, anno 1284.

465 UBStL I no. 621 = MecklUB III no. 2294 = *Norske middelalderdokumenter* no. 41 = DN V no. 23; HUB I nos. 1144–1150.

466 *Bremisches Urkundenbuch* I no. 502 = MecklUB III no. 2294 = DN V nos. 24–25.

467 UBStL II no. 774 = HUB III no. 13 = MecklUB no. 6339 = *Norske middelalderdokumenter* no. 83 = DN VIII no. 151; DN V no. 197, nos. 187–188.

468 DN V no. 197 = HUB III no. 119 = *Bremisches Urkundenbuch* II no. 568; cf. DN XIX nos. 187–188 = HUB III nos. 70 and 72.

469 *Bremisches Urkundenbuch* I no. 444 = DN V no. 17.

470 *Bremisches Urkundenbuch* I nos. 480 and 484 = DN V nos. 19 and 20 = HUB I no. 1095.

471 *Bremisches Urkundenbuch* I no. 503 = HUB I no. 1153 = DN V no. 28.

472 DN V no. 35.

473 *Hamburgisches Urkundenbuch* I, p. 557 = DN V no. 6.

474 Table I.11.

475 KIESSELBACH, *Hamburger Schifffrecht*, pp. 87–88.

476 DN V no. 33 = HUB I no. 1215.

tiations in Kalmar,<sup>477</sup> but it was among the towns whose citizens the Norwegian king promised legal protection to if they visited the country after the war.<sup>478</sup> Hamburg was not included in the privileges issued in 1294, but in 1296 it received separate concessions of a similar nature.<sup>479</sup> King Håkon confirmed Hamburg's privileges in 1318 in a separate letter.<sup>480</sup>

But in the following period, Hamburg made common cause with the Wendish towns of the Baltic. In 1343 Lübeck, Hamburg, Wismar, Rostock, Stralsund, Greifswald "and all merchants of the German Hansa" obtained a collective confirmation of their privileges in Norway.<sup>481</sup> The town's commercial destiny was increasingly connected to Lübeck and the land route between the Elbe and the Trave, and from 1343 Hamburg became the sixth "Wendish" town, even though it was not situated in the former "Wendish" area along the present-day Baltic coast of Germany.

The Baltic towns were the main force behind efforts to create a united German front in Norway, particularly the five Wendish towns, the most prominent of which was Lübeck. German merchants from the North Sea coast had a mixed attitude to these endeavours. Bremen was the town which most consistently kept to an individualistic line. They probably had the longest tradition as active traders over the Channel and the North Sea, particularly in England. The Zuiderzee towns originally dissociated themselves from the Baltic coalition, but in the 1280s and 1290s they came to see the collective efforts to improve privileges as fruitful and joined the Wendish towns. However, after about 1300 they again went their separate way. Hamburg also initially traded with Norway as an independent entity, but did so only up to about 1320.

#### D. THE MARGINALISATION OF WESTPHALIAN MERCHANTS

From 1250 to 1350, commerce between Norway and continental western Europe was gradually concentrated in Flanders, where Baltic merchants dominated, and in Kampen, Bremen and Hamburg, dominated by merchants from those towns. Where did this leave merchants from Cologne and Westphalia, who seem to have been the main forces before 1250?

Trade with Bergen and Norway has to be seen as an offshoot of the more important commerce between the North Sea and the Baltic. Originally, goods were carried on the overland route: Lübeck–Westphalia–the Rhine–Flanders; later, gradually the merchandise was carried more via a sea route: Lübeck–Hamburg–Flanders;

477 MecklUB III nos. 1806–1807 = HR I, 1, 37–38 = HUB I nos. 985–986.

478 DN V no. 13 = HUB I no. 970 = UBStL I no. 471, the dating is corrected in RN II no. 342; cf. UBStL I no. 494 = *Hamburgisches Urkundenbuch* I no. 801 = DN V no. 15.

479 DN V no. 33 = HUB I no. 1215.

480 DN VI no. 97 = HUB II no. 326.

481 UBStL II no. 774 = HUB III no. 13 = MecklUB no. 6339 = *Norske middelalderdokumenter* no. 83 = DN VIII no. 151.

and finally, after about 1250, an increasing portion of goods were sent by sea from a large number of Baltic ports as part of the *Umlandsfabrt*. The German merchants who wanted to participate in the East–West exchange of goods had to be seafarers. The Westphalians, who had a traditional interest in this long-distance trade, reacted by moving to the new German towns along the Baltic.

Merchants from Westphalia and Cologne had probably reached Bergen via the Rhine estuary and the river Ijssel before 1250. Over the next one hundred years, an increasing number of their descendants became citizens of Lübeck and other Baltic towns, from where they could reach Bergen via direct sea lanes. But the marginalisation of the Westphalians was a slow process. As mentioned in section 1c, the first winter resident in Bergen whose name is known was Hermann *Kolnare*, living in Bryggen in the 1250s.<sup>482</sup> After this there is no clear evidence that merchants from Cologne visited Bergen. In 1281 a citizen of Lippstadt in Westphalia wrote to Lübeck council about properties owned by his deceased brother “Konrad from Lippstadt”. From the context we understand that his brother was born in Lippstadt, had become a citizen of Lübeck, where he held most of his property, and from there conducted trade with Bergen, where he died.<sup>483</sup> “Hermann from Osnabrück” was born in Osnabrück but lived in Lübeck and traded with Bergen; in his will dated 1339, he made donations to churches in both Osnabrück and Bergen.<sup>484</sup> The 1307 will of Lübeck citizen Tidemann Wise bequeathed money to a sister in Lippstadt so that, among other things, she would be able to make a pilgrimage to the cathedral in Trondheim.<sup>485</sup> He was probably also born in Lippstadt, and conducted trade between Bergen and Lübeck.

As late as 1316, the Westphalians still played a not insignificant role in the Hansa community in Bergen. That year the King’s treasurer in Bergen confiscated canvas, wax and cloth belonging to eight Westphalian merchants who were caught hiding their goods to prevent the King’s officials from exercising the “right to buy first”.<sup>486</sup> Sometime during the period 1302–1320, the town council of Soest wrote to the Norwegian king on behalf of two of their citizens who were probably carrying out commerce in Norway.<sup>487</sup>

In the English customs accounts for 1303–11, there are 214 listings of home towns for non-Norwegian merchants who imported goods from Norway; 63 of the registered imports were made by merchants who are said to have come from western German inland towns. The two most important of these were Münster (14 listings)

482 DN I no. 122 = *Norske middelalderdokumenter* no. 55.

483 UBStL I no. 409 = RN II no. 260.

484 BRUNS, *Bergenfahrer*, p. 10.

485 BRUNS, *Bergenfahrer*, p. 10; *Regesten der Lübecker Bürgertestamente des Mittelalters* I no. 25.

486 DN I no. 147 = HUB II no. 281.

487 HUB III, p. 434.

and Dortmund (11).<sup>488</sup> But as mentioned in the comments to table I.1, such entries mask an important source of inaccuracy. A merchant named *Johannes Minstre de Gutland* was registered in Lynn in April 1305; he was probably born in Münster but was a citizen of Visby on Gotland, hence his byname.<sup>489</sup> A person's place of birth could also be passed on as a surname from father to son. Many of the merchants with Westphalian second names were probably citizens of Lübeck or other Baltic towns, but that is not always the case. The ship with the most valuable stockfish cargo registered in the customs accounts for 1303–1311 seems to have been chartered by Westphalian merchants. Eight different merchants owned the goods; two of them are said to be from Münster, one from Westphalia, the rest lack geographical bynames.<sup>490</sup>

The Westphalian towns did nothing to obtain separate privileges for their citizens in Norway, and these towns are not mentioned by name in any of the privileges issued by the Norwegian king to Hansa merchants. They did not join the Hansa coalition against Norway in 1284/5; after this war the Wendish towns sent a letter to various towns, among them Osnabrück, Münster, Coesfeld, Soest and Dortmund, asking them to help by making financial contributions, but without results.<sup>491</sup> Because of the close family ties between Westphalian and Wendish towns, and their cooperation in the Baltic trade,<sup>492</sup> it probably posed no problems for the Westphalians to trade under Hansa privileges even in Bergen.

## 5. CONCLUSION

The subject of this chapter has been the trade routes, merchant groups and merchandise connected with Norwegian foreign trade during the High Middle Ages. In northern Europe, “the commercial revolution of the Middle Ages” began around 1100, and the Norwegian stockfish trade was part of it. In its first phase, this revolved around an exchange of goods with merchants at ports in eastern England and the Rhine estuary, and after about 1200 also at the Scania market. Trade involved return voyages between a Norwegian and a foreign port, and the merchants came from Norway, England, Cologne and Westphalia.

The commercialisation of the Baltic started after the founding of Lübeck in 1159, and from the 1240s it led to the increasing importation of Baltic grain into

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488 Table I.12. The figures represent the number of imports, not the number of merchants. If the same merchant imported Norwegian goods on three occasions, the number given in table I.12 is three.

489 DOLLINGER, *La Hanse*, p. 161; English translation, p. 129; German translation, p. 172.

490 Appendix I table 1, Ravensere 10/8 1306 = DN XIX no. 447, pp. 537–538.

491 UBStL I no. 501 = MecklUB III no. 1839 = HR I, 1, 44 = RN II no. 426.

492 DOLLINGER, *La Hanse*, p. 40; English translation, p. 24; German translation, pp. 41–42.

Bergen. By the 1280s at the latest, Baltic merchants were sailing from Bergen to England, and by the 1290s from Norway to Flanders. After 1300 at the latest, Hansa merchants from the Baltic coast and other German towns dominated Norwegian foreign trade to these three main regions. Hansa merchants could now deal in a combination of stockfish from Bergen, grain from the Baltic, and cloth and other craft products from England and western Germany.

After about 1310/20, Norwegian merchants ceased sailing to Flanders, the Zuiderzee, Hamburg, the Wendish towns, the Scania market, Gotland and Russia. Their trade with eastern England became infrequent. The Westphalians disappear from the sources at the same time. The merchants who survived Wendish competition were those from Lynn, the Zuiderzee, Bremen and Hamburg.

How important was the stockfish trade at the end of the High Middle Ages? Can this really be labelled a “commercial revolution”?

An increasing number of peasant fishermen took part in the seasonal cod fisheries during the High Middle Ages. Before 1300, only the fish market in Vågan is mentioned, where stockfish made from spawning cod caught around Lofoten was sold.<sup>493</sup> After the turn of the century, it becomes clear that new regions were participating in the commercial cod fisheries. In 1313, the King decreed that no lawsuits were to be brought in northern Norway (Hålogaland) during the fishing season between the 2<sup>nd</sup> of February and 25<sup>th</sup> of March “in all fishing villages where spawning cod (*skrei*) is caught”. This was the same type of “market peace” that was practiced at the Scania market.<sup>494</sup> Hålogaland is a larger region than Vågan or Lofoten. After 1300, there is evidence of stockfish production in the more southern districts between Trøndelag and Sunnfjord.<sup>495</sup> The introduction of “market peace” indicates that many people were present in the seasonal fishing villages during the fishing season. Imports of stockfish from Iceland to Bergen also started at this time.<sup>496</sup> Ling is primarily caught far from the shore, and the large proportion of dried ling in the exports to eastern England indicates that fishing at some distance from shore was now common.<sup>497</sup>

After the Hanseatic expansion around 1303–11, my calculations suggest that stockfish exports to England alone amounted to nearly 2000 metric tons. The sources provide no basis for quantifying the exports to Flanders, Kampen, Bremen, Hamburg, Lübeck and the other Baltic towns. From 1250 to 1400, the bulk of

493 Cf. above pp. 25–26.

494 NGL III no. 38; *Kulturhistorisk leksikon for nordisk middelalder*, entry word “Skånemarkedet”.

495 SANDNES, Ødetid og gjenreisning, pp. 74–75; JOHNSEN, *Kristiansund*, pp. 40 ff.; KNUDSEN, Askvoll, pp. 199–206.

496 THORLAKSSON, Urbaniseringstendenser på Island, p. 177.

497 DN XIX nos. 447 and 453 (extracts from the customs accounts); NEDKVITNE, *Handels-sjøfarten mellom Norge og England*, pp. 95–96.

imported pottery came from England, but we do not know if this reflects Bergen's foreign trade as a whole.<sup>498</sup> An educated guess is that England was the most important single market for stockfish during the period 1303–11, and that doubling the amount sent to England will give us a good idea of stockfish exports from Norway as a whole: 3–4000 tons. But this figure has to be compared to others to become meaningful.

The earliest reliable figures for population and stockfish exports come from the middle of the 17<sup>th</sup> century. At this time stockfish production and exports were unquestionably important for the Norwegian economy. In the 1650s, Norwegian stockfish exports came to about 6000 tons,<sup>499</sup> and the population of northern Norway in 1665 was about 39,000.<sup>500</sup> There is no consensus about the number of inhabitants in northern Norway in the early 14<sup>th</sup> century before the Black Death. One method of calculating this involves counting the number of known farms and estimating the average number of people living on each farm; this puts the population of northern Norway in 1340 at around 24,000.<sup>501</sup> An alternative method is to compare the density of farm settlements in 1340 and 1665 in selected areas, which yields the same number of inhabitants for northern Norway in 1340 as in 1665 – about 39,000.<sup>502</sup> The research available today thus only makes it possible to offer a very approximate population estimate for northern Norway of somewhere between 24,000 and 39,000 people before the Black Death.

Around the year 1660, exports of stockfish amounted to around 1600 tons per 10,000 inhabitants in northern Norway. The same ratio at the beginning of the 14<sup>th</sup> century results in export figures somewhere between 3800 and 6000 tons. My calculations based on the English customs accounts indicated somewhat less than 4000 tons exported in the period 1303–11. These figures suggest that stockfish production per inhabitant in northern Norway could have been constant over these 350 years, but it is more likely that it had increased.

But the geographical areas which produced these quantities were not the same in 1303–11 and 1660. The stockfish-producing area widened between 1350 and 1650 to include regions north and south of the traditional areas in northern Norway. Because of new production in the northernmost region of Finnmark and the

498 LÜDTKE, *Bryggen Pottery*, p. 24; HERTEIG, *Kongers havn*, p.164.

499 Cf. below p. 265.

500 BALSVIK AND DRAKE, *Menneskene i Nord-Norge*, p. 89

501 Sandnes in 1968 estimated that in about 1340 there were ca 20,000 people living in Nordland and Troms on the farms which are known to have had a settlement (SANDNES, *Garder bruk og folketall*, pp. 280–281), and he added 10% to account for people who did not live on farms. In 1978 he estimated the population to have been 10% higher than his 1968 estimate (SANDNES, *Ødegårdstid i Norge*, p. 61); this gives a figure of ca. 24,000 inhabitants in northern Norway.

502 Kåre Lunden made a direct comparison between settlement densities in 1665 and 1340, and his result was that Nordland and Troms around the year 1340 had ca 30–40,000 inhabitants (LUNDEN, *Gardar, bruk og menneske*, pp. 135–136).

southernmost regions of Trøndelag and Møre, less than 6000 tons of stockfish came from the traditional production areas in northern Norway around 1660. This makes it likely that the increase in stockfish production per inhabitant in northern Norway during these centuries cannot have been large. An increase in stockfish production during the period 1340–1650 was due more to a geographical extension of the traditional production area than to increased productivity.

The normal catch over one season in Lofoten was about 536 kilos. Exports of 3000–4000 tons of stockfish for the period 1303–1311 would then correspond to the combined catch of 5500–7400 fishermen.<sup>503</sup> But not all 3000–4000 tons of stockfish came from Lofoten fisheries – some was produced in Finnmark, Trøndelag, Møre and Iceland. It was also possible to produce stockfish from cod caught at other times of the year outside the spawning season. The number of fishermen mentioned above is therefore a maximum. I estimated that 24,000–39,000 people lived in northern Norway at this time. The 1865 official statistics for northern Norway calculated that 29% of the total rural population were males of working age (15–64 years).<sup>504</sup> Using the same percentage gives us 7000–11,000 men of working age at the end of the High Middle Ages. In the 1860s, two-thirds of all men of working age in Nordland and one-third of those in Troms took part in the Lofoten fisheries.<sup>505</sup> If two-thirds of working-age men in northern Norway participated in seasonal cod fisheries in Lofoten or elsewhere before the Black Death, this would amount to 5000–7000 fishermen. This corresponds well with the number of fishermen needed to produce 3000–4000 tons of stockfish as calculated above. My figures based on the English customs accounts (3000–4000 tons of exports) are thus reconcilable with what is generally known about population numbers, settlements and the economy in the stockfish-producing areas.

The export sector of the Norwegian economy was important even compared to the state's income from taxes. The annual (= fixed) state taxes for Norway in 1325 have been calculated as yielding about 3000 marks of pure silver. This was a maximum level which was probably never achieved in practice.<sup>506</sup> One mark was supposed to contain 214 grams of silver,<sup>507</sup> but in practice 191 grams is a more realistic amount.<sup>508</sup> The 3000 marks would then correspond to 573 kilograms of silver. According to the customs accounts for 1303–11, in Bergen 100 kilograms of stockfish cost the equivalent of about 89 grams of silver.<sup>509</sup> The nominal value of the fixed

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503 Cf. below p. 549.

504 NEDKVITNE, *Mens Bønderne seilte*, p. 346.

505 *Ibid.* p. 208.

506 STEINNES, *Gamal skatteskipnad*, p. 207.

507 STEINNES, *Mål, vekt og verderekning*, pp. 90–91.

508 STEINNES, *Gamal skatteskipnad*, p. 168.

509 Appendix VIII, section on prices in the customs accounts. The average price in Bergen according to the customs accounts was 3.5 shillings per hundred, which corresponds to 89 grams of silver per 100 kg, or 890 grams per ton.

Norwegian state taxes thus corresponds to the value of 644 tons of stockfish at that time. There is no doubt that stockfish exports were several times larger than that. These figures do not give a realistic impression of either the state's income or of earnings from foreign trade. Rents from Crown properties and fines are not included, and they were significantly larger than the fixed taxes.<sup>510</sup> Exports also included other goods from Bergen, as well as from Oslo, Tønsberg, Trondheim and the Bohuslän fisheries.

To conclude, what happened to stockfish exports from Bergen constituted a real “commercial revolution”. Other sectors of the Norwegian economy did not experience a similar level of commercialisation. The Norwegian economy during the High Middle Ages basically functioned according to the principles of subsistence – each household produced what it consumed and what it needed to pay taxes and charges to state and church. Only one economic sector was commercialised, and this was due to impulses from abroad.

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510 LUNDEN, *Norges historie*, p. 309; Knut HELLE: “Nye og gamle synspunkter på det norske middelaldersamfunnet”, in: *Heimen XVII*, Oslo, 1977, pp. 507–522, here pp. 514–15.

## CHAPTER II

### THE BERGEN TRADE IN THE GOLDEN AGE OF THE HANSA, 1350–1537

After the Black Death in 1347–1350, many branches of North European trade entered a period of stagnation and decline. This was also the Golden Age of the Hansa. These two major developments define the issues to be discussed in this chapter. Was there stagnation and decline even in the Bergen trade? Which trade routes and merchant groups dominated trade with Bergen during this period when the Hansa, led by Lübeck, was at its strongest?

#### 1. LÜBECK AS A “STAPLE” FOR BERGEN FISH IN THE LATE MIDDLE AGES?

On the 17<sup>th</sup> of July 1446, the Wendish towns issued statutes for the Hanseatic Kontor in Bergen. One of the paragraphs stipulated the following:

Item wille wy vnde beden den stapel van deme viske to Lubeke to holdende vnde to hebbende, also ene olde wonheit is, vnde hijr an den steden by desser zee belegen; we dar entyegen dede vnde den visch in andere unwontlike hauen vnde stede brachte, de vnde der stadt coplude en sal men hijr myt vns vnde in den steden by desser see belegen nicht steden noch gunnen molth, meel noch andere vitalien effte gudere hyr to kopende vnde with dessen steden na Bergen to schepende ock by vorlust der henze.<sup>1</sup>

We [the Wendish towns] desire and request that the staple for [stock]fish in Lübeck is respected in accordance with ancient customs, and and in the towns along the Baltic. Merchants who do otherwise by bringing fish into other unusual ports and towns, and other merchants from the same town, shall not be permitted to buy malt, flour and other foodstuffs in Baltic towns to ship to Bergen. Those guilty of this shall no longer be permitted to trade under the privileges of the Hansa.

The word *stapel* had two meanings which are relevant here: one broad and general, ‘an important marketplace’; the other narrow and legalistic, ‘a marketplace to which certain commodities were directed through legislation’. This paragraph, because of its ambiguities, has given rise to speculation about the trade routes from Bergen in the Middle Ages.

When Alexander Bugge wrote his Ph.D. in 1899 entitled *The independence and trade of Norwegian medieval towns*, he clearly did not know about this statute

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1 DN VII no. 431 = NGL 2.rk. I no. 395.

from 1446, and he did not discuss the possibility that Lübeck was a staple port. “The trade with England and the Netherlands was in a later period [after about 1350] the foundation stone of the Kontor’s trade. Exports from Bergen to the Hansa towns were negligible compared to those going to English and Flemish towns.”<sup>2</sup>

The following year, Friedrich Bruns wrote with reference to the quoted paragraph: “The Wendish towns mention in 1446 that a staple-right (*Stapelrecht*) in Lübeck for all Bergen fish going to the Baltic was ‘ancient custom’. This staple-right is likely to have originated in the period 1393–1410”.<sup>3</sup> The word *Stapelrecht* does not appear in the original document but is Bruns’ interpretation, and shows that he thought the word implied certain legal trade restrictions. The original text has only the word *stapel*, which leaves the possibility open that this represented what had been a customary practice, without legal restrictions. In Bruns’ interpretation, Lübeck was a staple port only for fish shipped from Bergen to the Baltic market. He emphasised that “the Lübeck Bergenfahrer also used to sell the goods they had bought in Bergen in North Sea ports, namely Boston and Bruges”.<sup>4</sup>

When Bugge wrote his *History of Norwegian shipping* in 1923, he had by then read Bruns and was aware of this paragraph mentioning Lübeck as a staple port. In the century after the Bergen Kontor was established in 1366, “exports from Bergen were more and more channelled to Lübeck. The Wendish towns which dominated the Hansa tried to make Lübeck the staple for the stockfish trade to Central Europe.”<sup>5</sup> Bugge uses the ambiguous term “*Mellem-Europa*” here, by which he probably meant Germany as it was in 1923. So in this later work, Bugge considered Lübeck to be the staple port for what was in practice Germany with its inland market.

In Johan Schreiner’s interpretation, Lübeck together with the other Baltic towns were the traditional staples for all of Bergen’s fish exports. “‘To keep the fish staple in Lübeck and the Baltic towns where it had always had been’, the Wendish towns stipulated in 1446 that merchants who shipped fish elsewhere could not buy flour and malt in the Wendish towns to sell in Bergen.”<sup>6</sup> The main market for Norwegian stockfish was inland western Germany, and in the Late Middle Ages the fish

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2 BUGGE, *De norske byers selvstyre og handel*, pp. 186–187.

3 BRUNS, *Bergenfahrer*, p. XXI; “Vermutlich ist in diesem Zeitraum (1393–1410) das 1446 von den wendischen Städten als ‘alte gewonheit’ bezeichnete lübeckische Stapelrecht an allem ostwärts bestimmten Bergerfisch aufgekommen.”

4 *Ibid.*, p. XLIV.

5 BUGGE, *Den norske sjøfarts historie*, p. 288.

6 SCHREINER, *Hanseatene og Norge*, p. 49.

was brought there via Lübeck.<sup>7</sup> He emphasised that the Lübeck merchants “found good markets for Norwegian fish everywhere in the Baltic.”<sup>8</sup>

In his article “The Hansa and the Norwegian economy in the Late Middle Ages”, Kåre Lunden wrote:

Lübeck had a near monopoly in the exports from Bergen from the beginning of the 14<sup>th</sup> century. Lübeck was the staple, and until the first part of the 15<sup>th</sup> century all stockfish going to continental western Europe was shipped via the town. Lübeck was the hub for goods transported to and from the Baltic. In the 14<sup>th</sup> century some fish was shipped to England, but after 1300 that country could no longer provide the grain which Norwegians needed in return. Excavations in Bergen show that during the 14<sup>th</sup> century, English pottery was replaced by German.<sup>9</sup>

Lunden thus followed Schreiner, except that for Lunden there was a staple only in Lübeck, not in other Baltic towns, and he emphasised the existence of the English market before 1400.

Where exactly was the staple? According to Bruns, Bugge and Lunden it was in Lübeck alone, while according to Schreiner it was in Lübeck and all the towns along the Baltic. In my opinion, the philologically correct reading of the text is Schreiner’s: “in Lübeck and other towns along the Baltic”. In later documents which discuss the matter, the staple is said to be in “the Wendish towns and other ports along the Baltic”.<sup>10</sup>

To which geographic area did the staple market restrictions on stockfish apply? According to Bruns, it was the Baltic; according to Bugge, “Central Europe”; Schreiner claimed it was valid for the entire export of fish; and Lunden for all exports except those to England. In my opinion, the philologically correct interpretation is again Schreiner’s. Summing up, the statute differentiated between towns along the Baltic and the North Sea ports; the former were to be staple towns and receive stockfish directly from Bergen, while the others received it via Lübeck or another Baltic town.

What did it mean for a town to be a staple for a commodity? Bruns refers to Lübeck’s *Stapelrecht*, which implies that he thought the staple was enforced by laws and statutes like the one just described, even though this word is not used in the 1446 statute. Lunden uses the word *Stapeltvang* or ‘enforced staple’; through legislation, merchants were forced to send their goods via staple towns which they would

7 Ibid., p. 371; “Als die Westdeutschen, die um 1200 die wichtigste Exporteure von Nordlands Fischprodukten waren, von der Bergenfahrt verdrängt wurden, mussten sie sich statt dessen den norwegischen Kabeljau über Lübeck beschaffen. Von hier wurde der Stockfish auf Wagen im Rheingebiet und in das innere Deutschland landeinwärts geschafft.”

8 SCHREINER, *Hanseatene og Norge*, p. 365.

9 LUNDEN, *Hanseatane og norsk økonomi*, pp. 118–119.

10 DN XVI nos. 197 and 216 = HR II, 4, 586 §9.

otherwise have avoided for economic reasons.<sup>11</sup> The Low German word *stapel* with its parallels in other languages (*staffel, étaple, staple*) originally meant ‘warehouse’ or ‘important market’, and it retained this meaning throughout the Middle Ages.<sup>12</sup> But the word also acquired the legal meaning of a market where goods were submitted to particularly strict regulations. One such law forced merchants to call in at a town they would otherwise have avoided; another forced merchants who arrived in a town to sell or repackage their goods there, or submit it to quality controls.<sup>13</sup> In the 1446 document, the Wendish towns used the phrase *wille wy unde beden*, ‘we desire and request’. This was meant to be incorporated into the Bergen Kontor’s regulations, and is indeed found in their 1494 statutes,<sup>14</sup> creating a legal obligation on all members of the Kontor. But the Wendish towns’ intentions in 1446 are one thing, and how the stipulations in this paragraph were put into practice in the following period is another.

Lübeck was not the only town to be referred to as a staple for the Bergen trade. The first was actually Bergen – in 1429, the English king told his merchants that the Danish king had established *stapulam suam* in Bergen, and prohibited them to buy fish anywhere else.<sup>15</sup> Bergen was a staple in the legal sense, and foreigners were not permitted to sail north of Bergen for purposes of trade.

The first foreign town to be called a staple for the Bergen trade was Deventer. In 1440, the Wendish towns were at war with Holland, and fearing piracy, they prohibited their merchants from sailing to western Europe.<sup>16</sup> An exception was made for the Bergenfahrer, who were permitted to sail to Øresund:

--- vort na Bergen to segelende unde wedderumme nyne andere stapele to Deventer noch andere nye havene mit eren schepen unde vysschen to zokende, anders in desse stede also van oldynges wontlyk is gewesen.

... and further to Bergen. Returning from Bergen they shall sail to no other staple in Deventer or other new ports with ships and fish, but return to these Wendish towns as is the custom.<sup>17</sup>

Here, Deventer and other new ports are called staples for Bergen fish. The indeterminate number of such staples makes it clear that in this document, the word only means ‘important marketplace’. The legal regulations laid out here prohibit sailing in dangerous waters during wartime, but these restrictions are not a part of general staple policies.<sup>18</sup> If in 1440 there had been statutes in force which determined that

11 LUNDEN, *Kvantitative og teoretiske studiar*, p. 254.

12 GÖNNENWEIN, *Stapel- und Niederlagsrecht*, pp. 2–5.

13 *Ibid.*, pp. 236–274 and pp. 274–342 respectively.

14 NGL 2.rk. II no. 416 §24.

15 *Calendar of Close Rolls 1422–1429*, p. 464 = DN XX no. 776.

16 NGL 2.rk. I no. 389 = HR II, 2, 342 §1 and §2.

17 HR II, 2, 397, cf. no. 342

18 For a different hypothesis, cf. LUNDEN, *Tørrfiskeksperten frå Bergen*, p. 279.

Lübeck was a staple in the legal sense, it is unlikely that the Wendish towns would have referred to Deventer and other new ports as staples. The document quoted above indicates that in 1440 there was no policy which legally established Lübeck and the other Wendish towns as staples, so they were not the only legitimate recipients of stockfish from Bergen.

Summing up, the word *stapel* had two different interpretations at this time, one general and one legal, so for each place and document the intended meaning needs to be determined. Before 1446 there clearly was no staple in its legal sense for Bergen fish. The Wendish towns' intention to create such a staple in 1446 was an innovation.

The 1440 ordinance implies that exporting to Deventer was “new”, and the 1446 ordinance that exporting to Lübeck was an “ancient custom”. In medieval thinking, what was traditional had greater legitimacy than what was new, so the wording may reflect value judgements more than statements of fact. The two ordinances have to be understood in the context of the tensions in the Bergen Kontor during the 1440s between the Wendish towns, led by Lübeck, and the Zuiderzee towns, led by Deventer and Kampen.

How was the policy concerning staple ports implemented after 1446? Skippers sailing from the Baltic to Bergen had to register the merchants who were transporting goods on their ship, and once in Bergen a skipper could demand that these merchants transported their stockfish back to the Baltic on his ship. Those who refused could be forced by the aldermen of the Kontor to pay the costs of the return freight anyway.<sup>19</sup> This arrangement applied to all traders, even those from Baltic towns,<sup>20</sup> but merchants from Deventer and Kampen claimed that in practice these regulations were only used against them.<sup>21</sup> Lending credence to such a claim is the fact that practically all the aldermen of the Kontor were from Lübeck.

Ten months after the Wendish towns adopted this statute, the Zuiderzee towns complained to the Hansa Diet about both the statute itself and the aldermen in Bergen who had seized goods belonging to merchants who refused to abide by it. But the Wendish towns defended their measures, and the Zuiderzee towns had to accept this state of affairs.<sup>22</sup> The filing of the complaint itself and its wording confirm that the statute was new in 1446, and not the renewal of an earlier one. This legislation established the Wendish towns as staples for stockfish from Bergen in the legal sense of the word, and it was the first time staple regulations were applied to

19 DN VI no. 566 §3 and no. 568 §9 = HR II, 6, 186 §3 and no. 188. §9; cf. NGL 2.rk. I no. 396 §16 = HR II, 3, 288 §16.

20 DN VI no. 568 §9 = HR II, 6, 188 §9.

21 DN XVI no. 261 §10 = HR II, 7, 393 §10.

22 NGL 2.rk. I no. 396 §16 = HR II, 3, 288 §16.

the Bergen trade. The statute was renewed in 1458,<sup>23</sup> and new conflicts about this arose in 1469<sup>24</sup> and 1476.<sup>25</sup> The regulations were enforced at least until 1476;<sup>26</sup> an agreement that year between the Bergen Kontor and the Zuiderzee towns brokered by a Hansa Diet does not mention this restriction, which means that the Diet was not willing to endorse it.<sup>27</sup> But it remained in the Kontor’s statutes as late as 1494,<sup>28</sup> and the aldermen may have continued to enforce it without the Diet’s consent. In 1502 a skipper from Kampen was fined in Bergen because he did not agree to join a compulsory convoy in wartime ;<sup>29</sup> the statute from 1446 was cited in the case against him, but this was not the violation he was fined for.<sup>30</sup> Perhaps in 1502 the statute was only enforced under special circumstances. In 1469 the Zuiderzee merchants could already be exempted from this regulation after negotiations (*by vorworden*) with the Kontor aldermen.<sup>31</sup> This may gradually have rendered the provision inoperative.

In 1519, another a conflict flared up between Wendish and Zuiderzee merchants in Bergen, but this time the 1446 statute was not mentioned in the complaints lodged by Zuiderzee towns.<sup>32</sup> In 1535, the Kontor explicitly stated that the ordinance had expired.<sup>33</sup> At the start of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, North Sea merchants experienced no problems in exporting grain from the Wendish towns during normal times, and shipping the stockfish to their home towns.<sup>34</sup> The staple regulations were enforced between 1446 and 1476, in some cases up to about 1502, but by 1519 this had elapsed. It is important to remember that the statute did not prevent merchants from exporting goods from North Sea ports to Bergen and returning with stockfish.

The main motive behind the 1446 statute was to limit grain exports by Zuiderzee merchants from the Baltic to Bergen. This could not be controlled in all Baltic ports, but it could be regulated by the aldermen in Bergen. At this time the Dutch were emerging as a major threat to the Hansa, and one of their main branches of trade was the export of grain from the Baltic to western Europe. Towns in Holland,

23 DN XVI no. 197 = HR II, 4, 586 §9.

24 DN VI nos. 566 and 568 = HR II, 6, 186 §3 and no. 188 §9.

25 NGL 2.rk. II, p. 736 §12 and §14 = HR II, 7, 342 §12 and §14; NGL 2.rk. II, p. 740 §7 = HR II, 7, 343 §7; NGL 2.rk. II, p. 744 = HR II, 7, 391 §10 and §12.

26 NGL 2.rk. II, p. 728 §3 = HR II, 6, 186.

27 HR II, 7, 393.

28 NGL 2.rk. II no. 416 §24. The dating of this version of the statutes is uncertain. According to a later transcript it is from 1494, but it includes a paragraph which in the text is dated to 1522 (§64). The statute is evidently composed of paragraphs of different ages.

29 DN XVI no. 337; HR III, 5, 251 = DN XVI no. 345; HR III, 9, 698 §1.

30 DN XVI no. 340.

31 DN VI no. 568 = HR II, 6, 188 §9.

32 HR III, 7, 153–154.

33 HR IV, 2, 90 §10.

34 HR III, 6, 502 = DN XVI no. 354 (1513); HR IV, 1, 239 (1533 Ende).

Zeeland and on the Zuiderzee were neighbours, and their merchants sometimes cooperated. This legislation might also have been motivated by the desire of Lübeck merchants in Bergen to channel as much stockfish as possible to their home town, as is explicitly stated in the statute. This led to Lübeck and the other Wendish towns along the Baltic being made staples in the legal sense. But the statute at no time tried to give Lübeck a monopoly on stockfish imports.

The guild of the Bergenfahrer in Lübeck organised merchants who lived in Lübeck and traded with Bergen. In 1455 they appointed four “Freight Lords” (*Vrachtherren*). All guild members were required to report their needs for freight capacity to the Freight Lords, who in turn chartered the necessary number of ships in Lübeck and the other Wendish towns for shipments to Bergen. Bergenfahrer in Lübeck who did not use the services of the Freight Lords were fined. The Bergenfahrer in Wismar feared that they would be forced to charter ships through the Lübeck guild, but they received assurances that the arrangement was only binding on citizens of Lübeck.<sup>35</sup>

However, in 1462 the Bergen Kontor, led by aldermen from Lübeck, decided that all merchants who traded under Hansa privileges in Bergen would be required to charter their ships through the Freight Lords of the Lübeck guild.<sup>36</sup> This meant that the arrangement was extended to all Hansa merchants who sailed from the Baltic to Bergen.<sup>37</sup> Those who did not respect the arrangement were fined by the aldermen when the ships arrived in Bergen.<sup>38</sup>

Only the officials in Wismar, Rostock and Stralsund objected; other ports do not seem to have been worried that the Freight Lords would be sent to their towns.<sup>39</sup> In practice, the Lübeck guild did not dispatch Freight Lords to Stralsund until 1584, which left Wismar and Rostock to face the problem alone, under the leadership of Wismar.<sup>40</sup> The town council of Wismar brought this dispute before the Hansa Diet and questioned whether the Kontor in Bergen had the authority to impose such provisions backed up by fines.<sup>41</sup> The Kontor aldermen argued that the representative assembly of the Bergen Kontor had approved this provision, and they were authorised by the Hansa Diet to formulate their own statutes.<sup>42</sup> In 1467, the dispute was finally put before the town councils of Lübeck, Hamburg and Lüneburg for arbitration. They decided that the arrangement should be compulsory only

35 HR II, 4, 337 = NGL 2.rk. II no. 406.

36 HR II, 5, 197.

37 Ibid. no. 345.

38 Ibid. no. 332.

39 HR II, 5, 199–204.

40 NGL 2.rk. II no. 414 = HR II, 5, 232–245 (pp. 240–248).

41 HR II, 5, 200; “*eft de kopman to Berghen sodane upsate (provisions) unde broke (fine) by sik sulves maken moghen edder nicht*”.

42 HR II, 5, 345 = UBStL X no. 382.

for Lübeck citizens, and was to be voluntary for Bergenfahrer who were citizens of Wismar.<sup>43</sup> This may also have been the outcome with regard to Rostock. The merchants of Wismar were required to travel to Lübeck to register with the Freight Lords.<sup>44</sup> Rostock merchants lived further away, and it is unclear whether they also had to make the journey to Lübeck.

Eight years later in 1475, the Kontor made fresh efforts to control all freight between Rostock and Bergen. They argued that the Lübeck Freight Lords and private Rostock Bergenfahrer often chartered cargo space on the same ship, and since it was common for the captains to overbook freight capacity, this resulted in goods belonging to Lübeck Bergenfahrer often remaining on the quay in Rostock and never reaching Bergen.<sup>45</sup> Therefore, the Freight Lords needed to be granted compulsory powers to charter ships for Rostock merchants too. However, this plan seems to have come to nothing, and using the Freight Lords remained a voluntary option for Bergenfahrer from Rostock as well as from Wismar.<sup>46</sup>

The Freight Lords’ services could be seen as a component of a policy to establish Lübeck as a staple port. According to the statute proposed by the Kontor in 1462, they could have sent representatives to several ports, creating problems for Zuiderzee merchants who exported grain from the Baltic to Bergen. Some may have hoped this would force them to abandon the stockfish trade altogether. This would then create a staple port by indirect means, with stockfish exports moving from Deventer to Lübeck. Bruns and Schreiner both argued along these lines.<sup>47</sup> The problem is that no such motives are expressed in the sources.<sup>48</sup>

The main motive given by the Kontor for issuing the statute was that freight costs from Wismar and other Baltic towns to Bergen were higher than from Lübeck; compulsory use of the Freight Lords could reduce those costs.<sup>49</sup> The arbitrations in 1467 solved this problem by deciding that nobody should pay more for cargo sent on the Wismar–Bergen shipping route than the Freight Lords paid from Lübeck.<sup>50</sup> Another problem was the overbooking mentioned above, and sometimes it proved impossible to secure enough shipping capacity.<sup>51</sup> Merchants from Wismar and Ros-

43 HUB IX no. 385 = NGL 2.rk. II no. 420.

44 “...men nyne schepe winnen edder vorfrachten scholde na Bergen to zegelende, he (= the merchant) en queme binnen der stad Lubeke und lete siik vorfrachten...” (HUB IX no. 385 = NGL 2.rk. II no. 420)

45 HUB X no. 418.

46 HR II, 5, 199; DN VI no. 644 = HR III, 5, 114 §2.

47 BRUNS, *Bergenfahrer*, p. XXI; SCHREINER, *Hanseatene og Norge*, pp. 50–51

48 Schreiner quotes DN XVI no. 354 = HR III, 6, 502 in support of his view. But this document regulated convoys during the conflict with the Danish king from 1510 onwards and cannot be used as evidence for the Freight Lords’ regulations in peacetime (SCHREINER, *Hanseatene og Norge*, p. 51).

49 HR II, 5, 197.

50 HUB IX no. 385 = NGL 2.rk. II no. 420.

51 HUB X no. 418; HR III, 6, 564.

tock complained that when they voluntarily chartered ships through the Freight Lords, the latter gave priority to the goods from Lübeck, and their own merchandise remained on the wharf.<sup>52</sup> The winter residents in Bergen, the majority of whom were Lübeckers, may have seen the Freight Lords as providing assurance that their goods would arrive in Bergen even when sent from ports other than their home town. Establishing the Freight Lords represents one of several measures taken by the winter residents from Lübeck in the Bergen Kontor to defend their own interests against competitors, but it is highly debatable whether their aim was to alter trade routes by creating staple markets for specified goods. Between 1491 and 1494, the Novgorodfahrer guild in Lübeck tried to implement a similar arrangement for shipments between Lübeck and Livonia, but the attempt failed, and they and the town council of Lübeck soon abandoned the project.<sup>53</sup>

In 1476, the Kontor aldermen complained that the Zuiderzee merchants did not follow the rules for quality control (*wraken*) of stockfish, which took place at Bryggen in Bergen.<sup>54</sup> As a countermeasure, the Zuiderzee towns proposed that quality control should be moved to the continental ports which received the fish. To prevent fish of inferior quality reaching European markets, they proposed that *staple* for stockfish should be established in Lübeck, Deventer and other ports, and each of these selected ports should employ two controllers.<sup>55</sup> In this way the Zuiderzee merchants hoped to avoid troublesome control from a Bergen Kontor dominated by Lübeck merchants. Their suggested course of action would have established staple markets in the legal sense of the word – Bergen fish would have been channelled to a limited number of ports, and once there submitted to certain inspections and procedures determined by political authorities. But the proposal did not win acceptance, and quality control remained in Bergen.<sup>56</sup>

To sum up, the only policy concerning staple markets which had practical consequences were the measures taken in 1446 to prevent Zuiderzee merchants from shipping grain from the Baltic to Bergen and exporting stockfish to their home towns. It operated for a limited duration, a bit more than 50 years, and exceptions seem to have been granted to the regulations. All the Wendish towns, not just Lübeck, had the status of a staple market for stockfish. The regulations did not prevent return shipping between North Sea ports and Bergen. The measures taken to establish Lübeck as a staple port in the legal sense were much more limited than some historians have imagined.

But Lübeck was a staple town for stockfish in the general sense of being an important marketplace. In 1453, officials in Frankfurt am Main were worried

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52 HR III, 6, 568 §10.

53 GOETZ, *Deutsch-Russische Handelsgeschichte*, pp. 228–229.

54 HR II, 7, 342 §5 and §6 = NGL 2.rk. II, p. 735 §5 and §6.

55 *Ibid.* no. 387 §7.

56 *Ibid.* no. 393 §2.

about the way Bergen stockfish and other fish arriving in the town were packed. Their letter of complaint was sent to Lübeck, which they referred to as an important staple (*ein mercklicher Steffel*) for such goods.<sup>57</sup> An analysis of Lübeck's importance in the Bergen trade demands a comparison with other ports, and sources have to be scrutinized for quantitative information which can be used in discussions.

## 2. HOW IMPORTANT WAS LÜBECK IN BERGEN'S FOREIGN TRADE FROM 1518 TO 1522?

The accounts for Bergenhus castle (*lensregnskap*) for the period 1518–1522 contain the first list of foreign cargo ships visiting Bergen which include the captain's name and home town.

Table II.1 Number of foreign cargo ships paying customs <sup>(1)</sup> in Bergen, 1518–22

Captain's home town	1518 after 4/4	1519	1520	1521 before 30/11	1522 20/4 –1523 2/5
Lübeck	21	26	15	24	0
Rostock	21	19	11	22	0
Wismar	9	14	11	11	0
Stralsund	1	3	3	3	0
<b>all Baltic Hansa towns</b>	<b>52</b>	<b>63</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>60</b>	<b>0</b>
Hamburg	2	4	5	8	14
Bremen	3	4	7	5	6
Kampen	4	2	6	3	1
Deventer	1	0	1	4	1
<b>all North Sea Hansa towns</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>22</b>
all Hansa ships	62	73	59	80	22
Holland/Friesland <sup>(2)</sup>	4	3	7	5	2
Unknown Hansa or Holland	0	3	1	2	2
Scotland	6	5	4	4	2
England	1	1	1	0	0
<b>all foreign ships</b>	<b>73</b>	<b>85</b>	<b>72</b>	<b>91</b>	<b>22</b>

Source: NRJ I-III

(1) A mid 16<sup>th</sup> century source states that each skipper whose home town was Hanseatic or in Holland had to pay a customs duty of one shippound (*talentum*) (136 kg) of flour or malt or the value thereof, which in the period 1518–1523 is estimated at about 66 Danish skillings (appendix VIII table 19). Scottish ships paid ½ last of salt, English ships 30 Danish marks = 480 Danish skillings (cf. pp. 312–313; DN VI no. 773).

(2) Skippers from Holland paid the same customs for their ships as Hansa skippers did (note 1). Merchants on board jointly paid one piece of cloth from Leiden (*ledsk*) (DN VI no 773). Below is a table of ships

57 HUB VIII no. 310.

whose captains and merchants paid customs duties. There were fewer Dutch vessels paying ships customs than there were merchants paying customs duties. This suggests that many of the “unknown” ships who paid ship customs in table II.1 were in fact Dutch.

Year	Ships' customs	Merchants' customs
1518	4	4
1519	3	7
1520	7	7
1521	5	8
Total	19	26

How representative are the figures in table II.1 for a normal year during this period?

For the Baltic Hansa towns, the figures for 1520 are low, and in 1522 no ships arrived at all from those ports. The political tensions which at least partly explain these figures will be discussed in chapter V.5b, so here it is sufficient to expand on the most relevant points.

During this period, the Hansa had tense political relations with the Dano-Norwegian government,<sup>58</sup> and Scottish pirates were a menace along the Norwegian coast.<sup>59</sup> This created serious problems for shipping between the Baltic Sea and Bergen. In 1515 and 1516, Baltic ships travelled in convoys to Bergen,<sup>60</sup> but in 1517 this practice was discontinued. In the autumn of 1519, relations with King Christian II worsened when he demanded a property tax of 10% from the Kontor to finance his war against Sweden.<sup>61</sup> He also taxed the peasant fishermen so heavily that they could not pay the expected instalments on their debts to Hansa merchants.<sup>62</sup> In February 1520, the Kontor sent representatives to Lübeck and Christian II.<sup>63</sup> In March of that year, a meeting of Wendish towns decided that ships already loaded with cargo for Bergen should be permitted to sail, but new shipments had to wait until they received a response from Christian II.<sup>64</sup> Over the months of May and June the matter was settled, but the temporary prohibition probably explains the low number of Baltic ships docked in Bergen in 1520.<sup>65</sup> Early in 1522 the conflict flared up again, and this time a war could not be avoided.<sup>66</sup> In 1522 no Baltic ships arrived in Bergen. The register for 1518 is incomplete because the accounts started on the 4<sup>th</sup> of April, and normally ships started arriving before

58 HR III, 7, 284 §44.

59 HR III, 6, 495 and no. 576.

60 Ibid. no. 647 and p. 624 note 1.

61 HR III, 7, 246 §14, cf. nos. 241–242.

62 Ibid. no. 271 §8 and §9.

63 Ibid. nos. 270 and 276.

64 Ibid. no. 289 §94 and no. 296.

65 Ibid. nos. 316, 317 and 324

66 HR III, 8, pp. 33, 53 and 121; cf. no. 55.

that date. These were troubled years, and only 1519 and 1521 were normal for traffic between Bergen and the Baltic.

The number of ships arriving from North Sea Hansa towns also varied. The Bergen Kontor and the Bergenfahrer in Lübeck accused the North Sea towns of disloyalty during the war in 1510–1512. In the first years after the war, direct sailings to Bergen from Bremen, Deventer and Kampen were prohibited,<sup>67</sup> but the Kontor again permitted these from 1517 at the latest.<sup>68</sup> But the problems continued. In 1519 and 1520, the Zuiderzee towns complained that the Kontor aldermen prevented them for exercising their privileges in Bergen and inflicted damage (*overvaringe*) on their merchants.<sup>69</sup> The Hamburg merchants put more precise complaints before a diet of Wendish towns in March 1520. The Kontor had written to “Hansa towns” that they could send only two ships at a time to Bergen and specified when they could sail.<sup>70</sup> The diet of Wendish towns supported Hamburg, and on the 4<sup>th</sup> of March 1520 they ordered the Lübeck Bergenfahrer, who dominated the Kontor, to stop this practice.<sup>71</sup>

It is not stated clearly how many times a year each western town was permitted to send two ships, but it appears from table II.1 that none of the North Sea Hansa towns sent more than four ships a year in 1518 and 1519, which is two ships twice a year. This interpretation is supported by the fact that the Bergenfahrer in Lübeck organised two convoys a year to Bergen.<sup>72</sup> The abolition of these restrictions in March 1520 explains why the number of ships from North Sea Hansa towns increased from 10 in 1518 and 1519, to 19, 20 and 22 in 1520, 1521 and 1522 respectively. The years 1518 and 1519 were not representative. Even though the traffic was freed up for 1520–1522, it can be questioned whether it had reached a normal level. North Sea Hansa towns had been prevented from engaging in normal traffic to Bergen since 1512, and the underlying conflict with the Kontor arising from the war in 1510–1512 was not solved in March 1520.<sup>73</sup>

As mentioned above, the normal relationship between the winter residents of the Kontor and the peasant fishermen was also disrupted during this period. The Hanseatic credit system in Bergen made the merchants and the King into competitors for the peasant-fishermen's products. In 1519, a 10% tax on capital was imposed on the peasant fishermen, which was the heaviest of a number of extra taxes levied over the years to finance Christian II's war with Sweden. All the stockfish which a fisherman brought to Bergen was supposed to be given as payment to the Hansa merchant to whom he was indebted. Now he was required to give a sig-

67 HR III, 6, nos. 490 and 555; cf. nos. 517 and 579, 457 and 502; DN XVI no. 354.

68 Cf. below p. 480.

69 HR III, 7, 154 §1 and §6, and no. 155.

70 Ibid. no. 284 §41–43.

71 Ibid. no. 284 §45.

72 HR III, 6, 453.

73 HR III, 7, 316 §13 and no. 413 §138.

nificant proportion of his stockfish to the royal bailiff. This meant that, in practice, it was the Hansa merchants who paid these taxes through reduced deliveries from their customers – at least this was how the Kontor presented the problem.<sup>74</sup> In 1521 they wrote: “We give the peasant fishermen our goods on credit, but the payment is delivered at the King’s castle.” If the King’s bailiffs did not stop this practice, they threatened to “close our warehouses and sales booths, and give the *nordfar* [the stockfish producers] no more goods on credit.”<sup>75</sup> It is possible that the Kontor merchants gave the *nordfar* less flour and malt on credit during these years, resulting in fewer of them journeying to Bergen with stockfish. In 1521 the captain of Bergenhus wrote to King Christian II: “The fish haul in northern Norway (*Nordlandene*) has been smaller than usual, and many have lost their lives at sea this winter because of stormy weather. The prices of food are very high, and the people have to eat the bark of trees, and many are dying of hunger.”<sup>76</sup> The source of this statement should be subjected to scrutiny. The captain of Bergenhus needed to explain why he was not sending as much tax revenue as the King had demanded. The real reason may have been that the King’s ruthless taxation policy had unintended consequences which the captain did not dare to explain to the King. Instead, he took the easy way out and blamed the weather. Even the figures for the years 1520–1522 shown in table II.1 may not have been normal for stockfish exports from Bergen.

The period 1512–1521 fell between two wars involving the Wendish towns, Denmark-Norway, Holland and Sweden. The period is characterised by unsettled conflicts from the previous war, and preparations for the next. All this may have made the general conditions for the Bergen trade less favourable than normal, and rendered the figures in table II.1 somewhat lower than in more representative years.

Did the customs accounts for 1518–1522 register all foreign ships which arrived in Bergen? In 1520, three Lübeck skippers transported to Copenhagen goods belonging to the captain of Bergenhus castle; none of the three ships paid customs for their ships.<sup>77</sup> Exemption from customs was evidently part of their payment for shipping the merchandise. This arrangement may have happened on other occasions.<sup>78</sup>

The customs accounts report the home town of the skipper, but not where his ship took on its cargo. In order to utilise these accounts for research on trade routes, it has to be assumed that at this time captains normally sailed between their home towns and Bergen. Hansa skippers entered into freighting agreements both in Hansa towns and in Hansa settlements abroad. In the latter case, they had to give Hansa merchants preference, and the local aldermen ensured that this practice was

74 Ibid. no. 271 §8 = DN VII no. 553.

75 HR III, 8, 3 = DN VIII no. 501. For a discussion of the term *nordfar*, cf. pp. 413–414.

76 HR III, 8, 1.

77 NRJ I, pp. 592, 647 and 662: Hans Holste, skipper Denis and Henning Arntssen.

78 Cf. table II.1 note 3.

respected.<sup>79</sup> The 1494 statutes of the Bergen Kontor ordained that all such agreements had to be registered in the Kontor's rolls.<sup>80</sup> In 1555, traditional customs determined that Hansa ships docking in Bergen without agreements about return freight to Germany had to put on public display a cargo inventory and announce in public that all merchants who were entitled to do so could hire cargo space on the ship.<sup>81</sup> But most freight contracts were made in the Hansa towns, where captains normally were free to enter agreements with whomever they wanted.<sup>82</sup> A Hansa skipper could sail from Bergen to ports other than his home town without problems.

The Lübeck "Freight Lords" mentioned above provided cargo for ships going to Bergen from Wismar and Rostock as well as from Lübeck.<sup>83</sup> But they chartered Rostock ships from Rostock, and Wismar ships from Wismar. The Kontor complained in 1475 that Rostock skippers chartered to sail the Rostock–Bergen route did not keep to their agreements with the Freight Lords.<sup>84</sup> In 1514, the town council of Wismar prohibited Wismar skippers from entering agreements with the Freight Lords; up to then this had been legal.<sup>85</sup> In 1528, 1530 and 1537, the guild of the *Bergenfahrer* in Lübeck asked the town councils of Wismar and Rostock to help the Freight Lords hire ships at the same price as from Lübeck.<sup>86</sup> Such requests would have been unnecessary if the Freight Lords had chartered Lübeck ships to sail between these towns. Other sources confirm that skippers from Wismar,<sup>87</sup> Rostock<sup>88</sup> and Stralsund<sup>89</sup> sailed between their home ports and Bergen. On rare occasions, Hansa captains from Baltic towns sailed to Bergen from ports other than their home town.<sup>90</sup>

Sources from the years 1479–1537 include lists of Baltic ports which sent ships to the Bergen Kontor. Most of them represent convoys in times of political upheaval.

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79 VOGEL, *Deutsche Seeschifffahrt*, p. 389.

80 NGL 2.rk. II no. 416 §32.

81 BRUNS, *Frachtherrenbuch*, p. 63.

82 VOGEL, *Deutsche Seeschifffahrt*, p. 389.

83 HR II, 4, 337 = NGL 2.rk. II no. 406; HUB X no. 418; HR III, 9, nos. 414, 559 and 560; cf. pp. 102–104.

84 HUB X no. 418.

85 HR III, 6, 560–561, cf. no. 568 §9.

86 HR III, 9, nos. 414, 559 and 560; HR IV, 2, 544.

87 BULL, *Bergen og Hansestæderne*, p. 205.

88 HR III, 3, nos. 251 and 252, cf. HUB XI no. 288; HR III, 6, 492 and no. 581 §10; HUB XI no. 464.

89 HR III, 6, 495 and no. 581 §10; HR III, 9, 400; HR II, 3, 4.

90 In 1488, a Rostock skipper sailed from Wismar to Bergen (BULL, *Bergen og Hansestæderne*, p. 207, cf. BRUNS, *Bergenfahrer*, p. 172). In 1523, Lübeck merchants used both Rostock- and Wismar-owned cargo ships between Bergen and Lübeck. This year was extraordinary because that spring, Lübeck used some of its merchant vessels as warships against Christian II (BRUNS, *Bergenfahrer*, p. 394; HR III, 8, 423; HVIDTFELDT, *Danmarks historie*, p. 444).

Table II.2. Baltic Hansa ports sending ships to Bergen, 1479–1537

Year	Ports				Sources
1479	Lübeck	Rostock	Wismar	Stralsund	HR III, I, 179 §20
1483	"	"	"	"	HUB X no. 1038
1487	"	"	"		HR III, 2, 175
1491	"	"	"	Stralsund	HUB XI no. 425
1503	"	"	"	"	HUB III,IV no. 372 §42
1507	"	"	"	"	HR III, 5, 251 §7
1510	"	"	"		HR III, 5, 527 §65; HR III, 6, 87–88
1511	"	"	"	Stralsund	HR III, 6, 92 §23
1512	"	"	"	"	HR III, 6, 457
1514	"	"	"		HR III, 6, 578
1522	"	"	"		HR III, 8, 55
1523	"	"	"	Stettin	HR III, 8, 349
1526	"	"	"		HR III, 9, 262
1537	"	"	"		BRUNS, <i>Bergenfahr.</i> p. XXII note 4

Lübeck, Wismar and Rostock are mentioned in all the sources, Stralsund in half of them, and Stettin in one. This corroborates the data contained in table II.1 indicating that the largest shipments from Baltic towns came from Lübeck, Rostock and Wismar, Stralsund was of secondary importance, import from other ports was occasional.

In times of war, seaborne traffic from the Baltic to Bergen was often prohibited, and a limited number of ships were sent from Baltic ports to protect Germans who were in Bergen and their goods on the way back to their home ports. The quota of ships from each port was probably proportional to the number of ships sent in a normal year.

Table II.3. Number of ships sent from Baltic ports to evacuate Hansa merchants in wartime

Year	Ships from each port	Sources
1503	Lübeck 4, Rostock 2–3, Wismar 2–3, Stralsund 2–3	HR III, 4, 372 §42
1510	Lübeck 4, Rostock 3, Wismar 3	HR III, 5, 527 §65
1511	Lübeck 4, Rostock 3, Wismar 3	HR III, 6, 88
1526	Lübeck 6, Rostock 6, Wismar 3	HR III, 9, 262

Table II.3 also confirms the information in table II.1. The home towns of captains from Baltic towns as shown in table II.1 corresponds to the relative importance of arrivals from Baltic ports as shown in tables II.2 and II.3 and other sources. This means that sailings between Bergen and the Baltic were organized as return voyages between the home town of the skipper and Bergen. There is no reason to assume that this differed from what happened in North Sea ports during the later period around 1520.

As shown above, the years 1519 and 1521 seem to have been normal for trade between Bergen and the Baltic. The number of sailings to Bergen were around 60 (60 and 63); of these, about 41 % came from Lübeck. The most normal years for the traffic to North Sea towns were 1520–22, when an average of about 20 (19, 20 and 22) Hansa ships arrived. It seems that a total of at least 80 Hansa ships arrived in Bergen from eastern and western ports in a normal year; about 30 % of these came from Lübeck. In addition, 6–8 Dutch ships sailed there in a normal year. Lübeck was only one of several distribution centres for goods to and from Bergen.

### 3. BERGEN'S BALTIC TRADE

This section will compare trade between Lübeck and other Baltic ports.

#### A. BERGEN–LÜBECK

The most important source for information about this trade route in the first part of the Late Middle Ages is the *Pfundzoll*. This was a duty which was periodically imposed on commerce from Hansa towns to cover the costs of warfare at sea. For Lübeck, 9 such accounts are extant; 7 of these have been used in this chapter.<sup>91</sup> The remaining two, from 1378 and 1384/5, were not available in 1978 when I was collecting empirical data in the German archives for this book. However, Bruns had used these accounts, and I have incorporated his results where possible.<sup>92</sup> Today, these two sets of accounts are available in the *Archiv der Hansestadt Lübeck*. I chose to include these two new volumes when their data could be expected to change or strengthen significantly the conclusions I drew in 1983 based on the other seven sets of accounts.<sup>93</sup> The footnotes indicate where these two accounts have been used.

Georg Lechner<sup>94</sup> and Curt Weibull<sup>95</sup> have discussed coherently and in detail the methodological challenges which the historian has to tackle when using the *Pfundzoll*.<sup>96</sup> Here I shall only mention that the payments (by ships and merchants) are not dated but are systematised under various headings. The main headings help us to date the period, while the subheadings give the port of destination or departure (“from Bergen”, “to Bergen”, “from Danzig”, “to Danzig” etc.). It is unproblematic to identify shipping to and from Bergen.

91 The accounts cover the years 1368–71, 1379, 1381, 1383/4, 1398, 1399 and 1400.

92 BRUNS, *Bergenfahrer*, p. XLVff.; cf. appendix III.

93 More on this in the introduction to appendix III.

94 LECHNER, *Pfundzollisten*, p. 17ff.

95 WEIBULL, *Lübecks handel*, pp. 7–10; German translation, pp. 7–9.

96 See introduction to appendix VIII.

Is it possible to quantify the amount of goods shipped between Bergen and Lübeck during this period? The *Pfundzoll* normally only gives the value of each merchant's goods, although a few accounts also note down the type of goods, and in even fewer cases the quantity. This makes it impossible to calculate directly the quantity of the various goods sent between the two ports. But we can count the number of merchants registered as carrying a specific commodity in the cases where that is stated.

Table II.4. Commodities mentioned in the *Pfundzoll* sent from Bergen to Lübeck

<b>Commodity</b>	<b>Number of merchants transporting the commodity</b>
fish ( <i>pisces, visches</i> )	202
stockfish ( <i>strumuli, stockvisch, lobben</i> )	5
cloth ( <i>panni, panni anglie</i> )	5
trout ( <i>ore</i> )	4
hides ( <i>hude, cutis</i> )	3
oil from herring ( <i>beringsmer</i> )	1
copper ( <i>copper</i> )	1

Source: *Pfundzoll* from Lübeck, 1368–71, 1379, 1380, 1381, 1383/4, 1398, 1399 and 1400

We cannot draw conclusions from table II.4 about what percentage of the goods sent from Bergen to Lübeck consisted of stockfish, only that this item completely dominated the exports. If we take the total value of these exports as deriving from stockfish, then the quantity of stockfish this represents] will be a maximum, but not far above the actual figure.

Table II.5. Commodities mentioned in the *Pfundzoll* sent from Lübeck to Bergen

<b>Commodity</b>	<b>Number of merchants transporting the commodity</b>
flour ( <i>farina, mele</i> )	204
beer ( <i>cervisia</i> )	105
cloth of linen ( <i>panni linei</i> )	34
malt ( <i>braseum, moltes</i> )	30
cloth of wool ( <i>panni, p. de Magdeburg, Lubic</i> )	10
salt ( <i>sal</i> )	5
cauldrons ( <i>ketel, caldaria</i> )	5
tar ( <i>ter</i> )	4
iron ( <i>osmund</i> )	4
pots ( <i>olla</i> )	4
jars ( <i>amphora</i> )	3
tools ( <i>towes = touwes</i> )	3
linen ( <i>lin</i> )	3

Commodity	Number of merchants transporting the commodity
rye ( <i>siligo</i> )	2
wheat ( <i>frumentum</i> )	2
mead ( <i>medow</i> )	2
wax ( <i>vax</i> )	2
beans ( <i>fabā</i> )	1
hops ( <i>humle</i> )	1
cloth of hemp ( <i>canevas</i> )	1

Source: See table II.4

Rye flour and beer dominated goods travelling in this direction.

Appendix III lists values per ship for the years when the accounts have been preserved. The totals per year for goods sent from Bergen to Lübeck are given in table II.6.

Table II.6. Value of imports sent from Bergen to Lübeck in the *Pfundzoll* accounts

Year	Lübeck marks
1368	4,362
1370	12,680
1378	18,056
1379	17,714
1381	18,821
1383	7,841
1384	20,497
1385	11,346
1398	15,167

Source: Appendix III

In appendix III, the introduction to each annual volume of accounts concludes that political conflicts in 1368 and 1370 prevented normal commercial traffic; the account for 1385 ended before the sailing season had finished, and the 1398 accounts did not register any ships before the 2<sup>nd</sup> of June. If we exclude these four years as being unrepresentative, the remaining five yield an average annual cargo value of 16,586 marks. Three years have figures that are very close to this, ranging between 17,714 and 18,821 marks. The fourth is somewhat higher at 20,497 marks, the fifth considerably lower at 7841 marks. The middle value is 18,056 marks. Friedrich Bruns suggested the low figure in 1383 was due to the bookkeeping and a lost account book, but it may just as likely be due to a poor season for stockfish production. The import value of goods transported from Bergen to Lübeck seems to have been around 18,000 marks in a normal year. The average is 16,586 marks, and the middle value of 18,056 marks, are not far from this.

The customs officials in Lübeck used a standard estimated price of 5 marks per hundred (c) of stockfish, so 16,586 marks corresponds to 3318c or 225 tons of stockfish, and 18,000 marks is 244 tons. In the following analysis, I shall use the latter figure.

Table II.7. Value of exports from Lübeck to Bergen in the *Pfundzoll* accounts

Year	Lübeck marks
1369	5937 <sup>(1)</sup>
1370	8004
1378	6881
1379	7852
1381	9330
1383	5795
1384	8012
1385	9532
1398	5600
1399	10,231

Source: Appendix III

1) 3956 marks “to Bergen”, 1981 marks “to Malmø”, cf. Appendix III table 3

The year 1369 should be considered special for political reasons.<sup>97</sup> In 1398 only seaborne traffic after 2<sup>nd</sup> of June is registered. The account from 1385 ceased before the end of the sailing season, but the figures are nevertheless high, probably because the last ships left Lübeck well before the end of the season to ensure reaching home before winter. Normally, grain shipments to Bergen were completed by August. This leaves us with accounts for 8 full years whose annual average value is 8205 marks. The figures for four years are close to this, ranging between 6881 and 8012 marks; one is somewhat lower at 5795 marks, and three of them higher at 9330, 9532 and 10,231 marks.

The prices used in the *Pfundzoll* accounts were estimated by the customs officials, but the problem is that nearly all of them are for the years 1398–1400.

Table II.8. Prices estimated by customs officials for rye flour and beer per last in the *Pfundzoll* accounts sections labelled “to Bergen”, 1398–1400

	Number of prices	min. – max.	average
flour	21	8–12½ marks	11.0 marks
beer	46	8–12 marks	10.0 marks

Source: PB 1398–1400

<sup>97</sup> Appendix III, comments to table 1.

In the accounts for 1368–1371, there is one estimated price of 11.8 marks per last of flour, which indicates stable values for this commodity over the period 1368–1400. Price estimates for grain are more numerous for the earlier period.

Table II.9. Price estimates by customs officials for rye per last in the *Pfundzoll* accounts sections labelled “to Bergen”, 1368–1400

	Number of prices	min. – max.	average
1368–1371	12	5½–11 marks	8.2 marks
1398–1400	24	6–10 marks	8.1 marks

Source: PB 1368–1400

Estimated prices for rye were stable. According to Abel, market prices for 100 kilograms of rye in “Germany” were 21.6 grams of silver in 1371–80, 20.7g in 1381–90, and 20.8g in 1391–1400.<sup>98</sup> There is no reason to believe that the price differential between grain and flour changed during this period. Tables II.8 and II.9 both indicate stable prices for rye flour. The *Pfundzoll* accounts for goods shipped to Bergen for 1368–1385 do not include beer prices, but it is unlikely that these changed differently from grain and flour.

The annual average value of exports from Lübeck to Bergen was 8205 Lübeck marks during this period. If two-thirds of this was accounted for by flour,<sup>99</sup> and one last of flour cost 11 marks, the annual average export was 497 lasts of flour. One last of flour weighed 1632 kilograms,<sup>100</sup> so 497 lasts corresponded to 811 tons. If one-third of the export value was accounted for by beer,<sup>101</sup> and one last of beer cost 10 marks, the annual average export was 274 lasts of beer. Each last contained 12 barrels of beer,<sup>102</sup> so 274 lasts held 3288 barrels.

These figures for trade in stockfish, flour and beer contain several potential sources of error. The *Pfundzoll* was a duty on goods transported by sea. It was normally paid the first time the goods passed through a Hansa port, and a receipt followed the goods to prevent the *Pfundzoll* being demanded more than once. A consignment of stockfish in transit from Bergen to Lübeck and then to Danzig would normally be listed under the heading “from Bergen” in the accounts. Alternatively it could be

<sup>98</sup> Abel 1966, p. 286; English translation, p. 304.

<sup>99</sup> Cf. table II.5.

<sup>100</sup> Appendix VIII table 16 note 3.

<sup>101</sup> Cf. table II.5.

<sup>102</sup> PB 1368–1371. The customs duty for one barrel of beer was often one skilling, and for one last 12 skillings. The customs was not imposed according to the value of the beer, but was a fixed sum. If the customs officials had followed their instructions and imposed customs according to value, one barrel of beer would have been worth 18 marks, and this price is unrealistically high. Cf. PB 1368–71, p. 625.

recorded when it left Lübeck under the heading “to Danzig”, or the merchant could pay the duty after he had sold the fish at the final destination, in this case Danzig.<sup>103</sup>

A merchant who sent his cargo in the opposite direction, for example from Wismar to Lübeck and then on to Bergen, would normally pay his *Pfundzoll* in Wismar, and there was no reason why his goods should be entered in the Lübeck accounts. The same goes for cloth and other western goods sent from Hamburg to Lübeck and then to Bergen.<sup>104</sup>

*Pfundzoll* was also imposed on ships, even when the goods on board was duty free. It was common for skippers to pay for two trips at once, so they sometimes are mentioned in the *Pfundzoll* only every second time they arrived in Lübeck. If the ships came from another Hansa port, the duty may have been paid there.

It is possible, and even likely, that a significant but indefinable portion of Lübeck’s exports to Bergen may have consisted of transit goods bought in other Baltic towns and therefore not registered in the Lübeck *Pfundzoll*. Lübeck’s surplus of grain was often insufficient for exports to Bergen.<sup>105</sup> The *Pfundzoll* account indicates a significant unregistered consignment of transit goods sent from Wismar and Danzig via Lübeck to Bergen. No such transit goods are documented from Rostock or Stralsund.<sup>106</sup>

The main source of inaccuracies when using the *Pfundzoll* for quantitative analyses concerns these goods in transit, but there are other minor sources that can lead to errors. The limited number of accounts and prices mean that we cannot be certain how representative these figures are, but those that we do have indicate rather stable prices.<sup>107</sup> The percentages of flour and beer we have assumed when calculating the value of exports to Bergen are also tentative. Transhipments mean that the quantifications above represent minimum figures, more so for goods going to Bergen than for stockfish leaving Bergen.

Table II.10. Home town of skippers who, according to the *Pfundzoll*, sailed between Lübeck and Bergen, 1368–1400

Home town of skipper	Certain information about home town <sup>(1)</sup>	Uncertain information about home town	Total
Lübeck	23	22	45 (62%)
Towns in the land of the Teutonic Order	5	5	10 (13%)
Stralsund	3	4	7 (10%)
Rostock	1	1	2 (3%)

103 LECHNER, *Pfundzollisten*, p. 18.

104 LECHNER, *Pfundzollisten*, p. 18; WEIBULL, *Lübeck's handel*, pp. 18–19, German translation, pp. 15–16.

105 HANSEN, *Getreidehandel Lübeck's*, pp. 3–4.

106 Cf. pp. 119–121 and 131–133.

107 Table II.6 and II.7; appendix VIII table 2 note 8.

Home town of skipper	Certain information about home town <sup>(1)</sup>	Uncertain information about home town	Total
Wismar	0	2	2 (3%)
Hamburg	1	1	2 (3%)
Bremen	1	1	2 (3%)
Kampen	1	0	1 (1%)
Holland	1	1	2 (3%)
total	36	37	73 (100%) <sup>(2)</sup>

Source: Appendix IV. The table is organised according to the same principles as tables II.25 and II.26

- (1) There is a grey area between being certain and uncertain about this data, and strictly speaking no information is indisputable.
- (2) In the *Pfundzoll* accounts headed "from Bergen", 176 different skippers are registered. Both first and second names are given for 148 of them; the home towns are unknown for 76 of these captains. We do know the home towns for the other 72, and these are listed in table II.10.

There are several potential sources of error in the identification of these skippers,<sup>108</sup> therefore one can not be certain that the towns which are represented by only one or two captains in the final column actually sailed between Lübeck and Bergen. But there can be no doubt that Lübeck ships did most of the transporting.

There are 850 merchants registered in the *Pfundzoll* accounts as sending goods between Lübeck and Bergen. The exact number is difficult to ascertain because the handwriting is sometimes unclear, so it can be hard to determine whether two names are the same. In chapter V, we see that 105 of these merchants have been identified as winter residents in Bergen, all of them from Lübeck.<sup>109</sup> Many more were Lübeckers, but it is not known whether they were winter residents in Bergen. Only 6 of the 850 can be identified with relative certainty as coming from somewhere other than Lübeck: Bertolt Egel from Stralsund,<sup>110</sup> Hermann Husman from Deventer,<sup>111</sup> Hinrik Koning from Wismar,<sup>112</sup> Bernd Kröpelin from Wismar,<sup>113</sup> Hermann Make from Rostock,<sup>114</sup> and Johan Pape from Rostock.<sup>115</sup>

Our analysis of Lübeck's position in the Bergen trade has so far shown that there were attempts to make Lübeck a staple port in the legal meaning of the word for trade to and from Bergen, but these efforts were limited in duration, geographic range and ambition. Lübeck was, however, a staple in the sense that it was an important port for the trade with Bergen. More than 20 ships were registered as transporting goods to and from Bergen in each direction for the periods 1368–1400 and

108 Cf. comments accompanying table II.25 and 26.

109 Table V.12.

110 PB 1385, p. 91; DN XIX no. 664 §19 = *Hanseakten aus England* no. 345 §19.

111 PB 1380, p. 38; HUB V no. 113.

112 PB 1381, p. 51 and 1383, pp. 82 and 84; MecklUB XXIII no. 13191.

113 PB 1381, pp. 45 and 49; PB 1383, pp. 91 and 92; HUB VI no. 632.

114 PB 1368, LECHNER, *Pfundzollisten*, I no. 491; HUB V no. 121.

115 Appendix III 17) I; MecklUB XXII no. 12561.

1518–1521.<sup>116</sup> The arrangement involving Freight Lords confirms the theory that Lübeck was used as a transit port for flour, malt and beer on its way from several Baltic towns to Bergen. But did merchants from Lübeck and other towns also send goods directly to Bergen from Wismar, Danzig and other Baltic towns?

## B. BERGEN–WISMAR

Next to Lübeck and Rostock, Wismar was Bergen's most important shipping connection to the Baltic in the period 1518–1521.<sup>117</sup> There is evidence for direct shipping between Wismar and Bergen in 1366,<sup>118</sup> 1403,<sup>119</sup> 1409,<sup>120</sup> 1439,<sup>121</sup> 1447,<sup>122</sup> 1450,<sup>123</sup> 1465,<sup>124</sup> 1479,<sup>125</sup> 1483,<sup>126</sup> 1485,<sup>127</sup> 1487,<sup>128</sup> 1489,<sup>129</sup> 1494,<sup>130</sup> 1503,<sup>131</sup> 1507,<sup>132</sup> 1510,<sup>133</sup> 1511,<sup>134</sup> 1512,<sup>135</sup> 1513,<sup>136</sup> 1514<sup>137</sup> and 1515.<sup>138</sup> To this has to be added the evidence listed in tables II.2 and II.3. Wismar citizens were excluded from Bergen in 1393–1410, but this did not prevent other merchants from trading via this route – in 1403 and 1409, captains and merchants from Lübeck, Bremen and England plied this line.

The goods sent from Bergen to Wismar were the same as those exported to Lübeck and all other ports: stockfish.<sup>139</sup> The goods transported in the opposite direction differed from Lübeck's exports; beer was more important, flour less so.

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116 Tables II.20 and II.1.

117 Table II.1.

118 HR I, 2, 1 §7 and no. 2 §9.

119 DN XIX no. 665 §12 = *Hanseakten aus England* no. 329 §12.

120 DN XIX no. 729 = HR I, 6, 80 = Calendar of Patent Rolls 1408–13, pp. 383–385.

121 HR II, 2, 307.

122 NGL 2.rk. I, p. 297 §49 (*Recessus* to Copenhagen).

123 UBStL VIII no. 686.

124 BULL, Bergen og Hansestæderne, p. 201.

125 HR III, 1, 179 §20.

126 BULL, Bergen og Hansestæderne, p. 205.

127 HUB X no. 1211.

128 HR III, 2, 160 §174, no. 164 §23 and no. 175.

129 Ibid. no. 270 §31.

130 HUB XI no. 757.

131 HR III, 4, 372 §42.

132 DN XVI no. 345 §7.

133 HR III, 5, 527 §65.

134 HR III, 6, 92 §23.

135 Ibid. no. 457.

136 Ibid. no. 493.

137 Ibid. no. 578.

138 Ibid. no. 647.

139 BRUNS, Bergenfahrer, p. 175.

Table II.11. Commodities mentioned as exports from Wismar to Bergen, 1350–1537

Year	Commodities	Sources
1403	beer and salt	DN XIX no. 665 §12
1409	beer	DN XIX no. 729
1447	beer	NGL 2.rk. I, p. 297 §49
1450	beer	UBStL VIII no. 686
1463	beer, malt and flour	HR II, 5, 342
1465	malt	BHFS volume 33, p. 201
1487	beer	HR III, 2, 160 §152
1492	beer	HUB IX no. 597
1511	beer	HR III, 6, 92 §23
1521	malt and flour	BULL, Bergen og Hansestæd. p. 209
1524	flour and malt	HR III, 8, 812 §161
1534	grain and flour	HR IV, 1, 321

Lübeck merchants managed a large part of this exchange throughout the Late Middle Ages. In 1366, a ship loaded in Wismar but with its home port in Lübeck was plundered near Marstrand on its way to Bergen.<sup>140</sup> In 1403, another ship was looted on its way from Wismar to Bergen; Lübeckers owned both the ship and its goods.<sup>141</sup> Ships sailed from Lübeck to Wismar and returned from Bergen to Lübeck shortly afterwards.

Table II.12. Ships which according to the Lübeck *Pfundzoll* sailed the route Lübeck–Wismar–Bergen–Lübeck

Name of skipper	Sources
Jacob Beygher	PB 1383, pp. 5 and 84
Hinrik Lange	PB 1398, pp. 5d and 204
Johan Münster	PB 1379, pp. 4d and 52
Reimar Pampow	LECHNER, <i>Pfundzollisten</i> , p. 536
Johan Scherf	PB 1368–71, pp. 398 and 456

The *Pfundzoll* accounts indicate that Lübeck merchants exported more goods from Wismar to Bergen than from any other Baltic port except their own home port. They shipped beer and other goods both directly from Wismar and via Lübeck.<sup>142</sup> This continued to the end of the Middle Ages. The Freight Lords who, after 1455, chartered cargo ships to Bergen on behalf of Lübeck merchants were also active in Rostock and Wismar, particularly the latter.<sup>143</sup> In 1484, a Bergenfahrer from Lübeck

<sup>140</sup> HR I, 2, 1 §7 and no. 2 §9.

<sup>141</sup> DN XIX no. 665 §12 = *Hanseakten aus England* no. 329 §12.

<sup>142</sup> Cf. table II.10 and II.11.

<sup>143</sup> Cf. above pp. 102–104.

travelled to Wismar and Rostock to look after his business interests there.<sup>144</sup> Ships from Wismar freighted grain products to Bergen for Lübeck merchants in 1484 and 1514.<sup>145</sup> Lübeck and Wismar merchants loaded three ships with grain products and sent them to Bergen in 1524; the goods probably came from Wismar, even though this is not stated explicitly.<sup>146</sup> A Bergen “winter resident” from Lübeck bought malt, flour and beer in both Wismar and Lübeck in 1491.<sup>147</sup> Five wills of Lübeck Bergenfahrer dating from 1350–1537 include donations to charities in Wismar.<sup>148</sup> Two Lübeck Bergenfahrer had illegitimate children in Wismar,<sup>149</sup> and one of the two also had an illegitimate daughter in Bergen.<sup>150</sup> Another Bergenfahrer owned landed property in Wismar.<sup>151</sup>

Table II.13 lists all ships which, according to the *Pfundzoll*, arrived from Wismar and shortly afterwards departed for Bergen.

Table II.13. Ships which according to the Lübeck *Pfundzoll* sailed the route Wismar–Lübeck–Bergen

Name of skipper	Value of goods registered from Lübeck to Bergen in marks	Reference in the <i>Pfundzoll</i>
Wineke Brokman	74½	1381 pp. 2 and 44–45
Reimar Dertzow	no goods, only ship	1381 pp. 3 and 45
Hermann Dovel	not listed under “to Bergen” <sup>(1)</sup>	1400 pp. 7 and 138
Johan van Varle	not listed under “to Bergen” <sup>(1)</sup>	1400 pp. 7 and 139
Jacob Vecle	no goods, only ship	1381 pp. 12 and 45
Marquart Vrese	55	1383 pp. 3d and 93
Klaus Gildemester	769	1381 pp. 2 and 44
Heinz Hamburg	32½	1379 pp. 1d and 56
Godeke van Soest	172	1381 pp. 4d and 48

Source: PB 1368–1400

(1) Dovel and Varle are registered as coming “from Wismar” and shortly afterwards “from Bergen”.

Captains Reimar Dertzow and Jacob Vecle paid the *Pfundzoll* for their ships when they departed Lübeck for Bergen”, but there is no record of duty being paid for goods on board. Hermann Dovel and Johan van Varle arrived in Lübeck from Wismar. They left the town without paying the *Pfundzoll* for the ship or goods and are therefore not registered as leaving Lübeck at all. But they must have sailed to Ber-

144 HUB X no. 1145.

145 DN XVI no. 284; BULL, Bergen og Hansestæderne, p. 207.

146 HR III, 8, 812 §161.

147 BRUNS, Bergenfahrer, p. 186.

148 Ibid., pp. 10, 27, 30, 106 and 141.

149 Ibid., pp. 80 and 141.

150 Ibid., p. 141.

151 Ibid., p. 16.

gen, because some time later the ship returned to Lübeck "from Bergen". All four vessels left for Bergen without paying customs duties for any goods.

For the years 1368–1400, 206 ships are registered under the subheading "*versus Bergen*" in the *Pfundzoll* accounts; on average they paid duties for goods worth 368 marks per ship.<sup>152</sup> In table II.13 only Klaus Gildemester's ship paid more than this average, and all the others paid less than half. Of the 206 ships heading for Bergen, four paid customs duties for the ship only and not for any goods.<sup>153</sup> Two of the four were Dertzow's and Vecle's vessels, which had arrived in Lübeck from Wismar a short time before they left for Bergen.<sup>154</sup> It is very likely that all the ships in table II.13, except Klaus Gildemester's, were fully or partially loaded with transit goods from Wismar when they departed for Bergen.

Merchants from Wismar were active in the Bergen trade all through the Late Middle Ages. The earliest evidence shows them trading between Rostock and Bergen in 1330–50,<sup>155</sup> and between Lübeck and Bergen in the 1380s.<sup>156</sup> A ship from Wismar was plundered in 1387 on its way from Bergen to England.<sup>157</sup> In 1426, Bernd Kröpelin, a citizen of Wismar, sold his houses on Audunargard in the Strand quarter of Bergen; he is the first known Hanseatic winter resident and house owner in Bergen who was not from Lübeck.<sup>158</sup> In the period 1440–1537, Wismar seems to have been second only to Lübeck for the number of its winter residents in Bergen.<sup>159</sup> There is evidence for Wismar merchants trading with Bergen from their home town in 1463,<sup>160</sup> 1485,<sup>161</sup> 1494<sup>162</sup> and 1524.<sup>163</sup> Many of them established business partnerships with Lübeck Bergenfahrer.<sup>164</sup> According to earlier literature, there was a guild of Bergenfahrer in Wismar at the beginning of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, but I have found no traces of it in my sources.<sup>165</sup>

Merchants from Wismar and Lübeck did not have a monopoly over exports from Wismar to Bergen. It is mentioned twice, in 1372 and 1409, that English

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152 Appendix III.

153 Reimar Dartzow PB 1381, p. 45; Jacob Vecle PB 1381, p. 45; Johan Westfal PB 1399; Heinz Malchin PB 1383.

154 Table II.13.

155 MecklUB XXV no. 14114.

156 Hinrik Boning (PB 1381, p. 51; PB 1383, pp. 82 and 84; MecklUB XXIII no. 13191); Bernd Kröpelin (PB 1381, pp. 45 and 49; PB 1383, pp. 91 and 92; HUB VI no. 632).

157 Ludeke van der Heide, HR I, 3, 345 §3; appendix II nos. 41) and 159).

158 HUB VI no. 632 = UBStL VI no. 745.

159 Table V.1.

160 HR II, 5, 344.

161 HUB X no. 1211.

162 HUB XI no. 425.

163 HR III, 8, 812 §161.

164 Cf. pp. 353 and 356–357.

165 BRÜCK, *Korporationen der Bergenfahrer*, pp. 137–138 repeats the claim with references to literature from 1929 and 1953, but without references to sources.

merchants participated in this trade,<sup>166</sup> but this information seems to appear in our sources because it was unusual and led to conflict. In 1440, the English planned to resume trading on this route.<sup>167</sup> Hansa merchants from Bremen sent goods from Wismar to Bergen in 1409 and 1513, and Zuiderzee towns did so in 1513.<sup>168</sup>

Wismar was an important port for exporting beer as well as malt and flour to Bergen. Lübeck Bergenfahrer had greater commercial interests in Wismar than in any other Baltic town, and merchants from the two towns cooperated. Bergenfahrer from Bremen, Zuiderzee towns and England only had occasional interests in Wismar. Next to Lübeck, Wismar seems to have had the largest number of winter residents in Bergen. For the most part, goods from Wismar seem to have been sent directly to Bergen, a proportion of it transiting via Lübeck.

### C. BERGEN–ROSTOCK

Ships sailed directly between Rostock and Bergen throughout the Late Middle Ages. Sometime during the years 1330–1350, a ship was chartered to transport goods from Rostock to Bergen.<sup>169</sup> A ship was plundered by the English on this route in 1404.<sup>170</sup> In 1412, a Danzig ship transporting to Bergen grain products which had been loaded in Rostock and belonged to Rostock merchants, was looted at Lindesnes in Agder.<sup>171</sup> Numerous sources provide evidence of direct shipping between the two towns for the period 1430–1518.<sup>172</sup> Somewhere in the region of 19–22 ships arrived in Bergen from Rostock annually during the years 1518–1521; only Lübeck sent more vessels to Bergen.<sup>173</sup>

There is solid evidence that stockfish, called *stockvisch* and *strumuli* in the sources, was consumed locally in Rostock and its hinterland.<sup>174</sup> Some of this may have been produced locally, but a large proportion of it probably was Bergen fish distributed

166 DN XIX no. 584 = HR I, 3, 311; DN XIX no. 729 = HR I, 6, 80 = Calendar of Patent Rolls 1408–13, pp. 383–385.

167 HR II, 2, 354 §10.

168 DN XIX no. 729 = HR I, 6, 80 = Calendar of Patent Rolls 1408–13, pp. 383–385; HR III, 6, 502 = DN XVI no. 354.

169 MecklUB XXV no. 14114.

170 *Hanseakten aus England* no. 329 §15 = DN XIX no. 665 §15.

171 HR I, 6, 76–77.

172 Cf. tables II.2, II.3 and II.14; HUB X no. 977, HR III, 1, 372 (1482); HR III, 2, 160 §61 (1487); HR III, 2, 216 (1488); HR III, 2, nos. 328, 363 and 399 (1490); HR III, 3, 18 (1491); BULL, Bergen og Hansestæderne, p. 198 (1501); HR III, 5, 114 = DN VI no. 644 (1506); HR III, 5, 251 (1507); HR III, 6, nos. 492, 495, 581 and 623 (1514); HR III, 6, 64 (1515).

173 Table II.1.

174 MecklUB XIII nos. 7821 and 7822; MecklUB XIV nos. 8453, 8509 and 8550; MecklUB XVI no. 10112; MecklUB XVIII nos. 10291, 10424 and 10497; MecklUB XXII no. 12748; MecklUB XXV no. 14610; HR I, 6, 598; appendix VIII table 7 note 3.

from Rostock. *Bergervisch* is mentioned in one local account in 1385,<sup>175</sup> and in two from 1416–17.<sup>176</sup> Stockfish was shipped from Bergen to Rostock up to the end of the Middle Ages in 1533<sup>177</sup> and 1536.<sup>178</sup>

Table II.14 Commodities mentioned as exports from Rostock to Bergen, 1350–1537

Year	Commodities	Sources
1486	beer	HUB XI no.6
1491	flour, malt, beer	HUB XI no.464
1494	flour, malt, beer	HR III, 3, 252
1494	beer	HUB XI no.738
1496	beer	HUB XI no.968
1515	flour, malt, beer	HR III, 6, 646
1533	flour, malt, beer	HR IV, 1, 239

Beer is mentioned in all the sources, but malt and flour were also important. The main exports from Rostock, Wismar and Lübeck were grain products, but the first two ports were stronger in beer exports, Lübeck in flour.

Rostock and Wismar are both located in Mecklenburg. A delicate situation arose in 1363 when the son of the Duke of Mecklenburg, Albrecht, was crowned King of Sweden. The ousted King Magnus and his son Håkon retained control of Norway; their enemy King Albrecht was supported by Rostock and Wismar.<sup>179</sup> In the years 1363–1367, Norwegian officials seized 8 ships on their way to or from Bergen<sup>180</sup> whose merchants were citizens of Rostock and Wismar<sup>181</sup> or had loaded their cargo there.<sup>182</sup> The Germans protested by organising a riot in Bergen,<sup>183</sup> and at the forefront of it were Rostockers.<sup>184</sup> The two towns permitted Mecklenburg's privateers to operate from their ports. In 1393 these pirates sacked Bergen, and both Norwegians and Hanseatic winter residents suffered great losses. From 1393 to 1410, Rostock and Wismar citizens were excluded from the Bergen Kontor. As mentioned above with regard to Wismar, this did not prevent citizens of other towns from trading between Wismar and Bergen.<sup>185</sup>

Merchants from Lübeck participated in the trade between Rostock and Bergen. They may have been particularly active in Rostock and Wismar from 1393 to 1410

175 MecklUB XX no. 11661.

176 Appendix VIII table 2 note 9.

177 *Niederländische Akten und Urkunden* I no. 139.

178 HR IV, II, p. 400 note a.

179 HR I, 2, 4 §5.

180 Ibid. no. 1 §7, sub-numbers 1–8.

181 Ibid. no. 2 §12.

182 Ibid. no. 2 §9.

183 Ibid. no. 4 §11.

184 NGL 2.rk. I, p. 601 §9 = HR I, 1, 356 §9.

185 Cf. pp. 118; BRUNS, *Bergenfahrer*, p. XX.

when the two towns' own citizens were excluded from the Kontor. A Lübecker owned one-quarter of a ship which sailed from Rostock to Bergen in 1404.<sup>186</sup> In 1482, the Bergenfahrer guild in Lübeck requested that several ships and their cargoes which were being detained in Rostock were released. It is not stated directly who owned the goods, but it must have been Lübeckers who wrote the letter.<sup>187</sup> A ship from Rostock with goods belonging to Lübeck merchants was looted in 1484.<sup>188</sup> The same year, three Bergenfahrer from Lübeck were trading from Rostock.<sup>189</sup> In 1533, the Dutch seized one ship on its way to Bergen, and two returning from Bergen. The first vessel's home port was Rostock, and its cargo was owned by 15 Rostock merchants, 9 from Lübeck and 6 from Hamburg. The second ship was mainly owned by Rostockers, although a Lübecker owned one-eighth of it; the cargo belonged to 24 different merchants, 9 from Rostock, one from Lübeck and the rest unknown.<sup>190</sup> The third ship was Rostock owned, but was loaded with Bergen fish which had been bought by Lübeck merchants.<sup>191</sup>

Eight Bergenfahrer from Lübeck bequeathed money in their wills to charities in Rostock between 1380 and 1446, but between 1446 and 1537 none did.<sup>192</sup> This may reflect the fact that Lübeck merchants were reorganising their trade operations. Before 1455, the Lübeck Bergenfahrer travelled to Rostock in person to purchase goods and ship them to Bergen. After 1455, Freight Lords were sent to Rostock to charter the necessary shipping capacity on their behalf.<sup>193</sup> At this time the Lübeck Bergenfahrer were also partners with Rostock citizens, who bought the required merchandise and loaded it on ships bound for Bergen.<sup>194</sup> Lübeck traders exported Rostock beer to Bergen throughout the Late Middle Ages.

Merchants from Rostock engaged in trade from Bergen to other Baltic ports and to England. In the Lübeck *Pfundzoll* accounts for 1368–1400, six merchants involved in the export trade to Bergen can be identified as non-Lübeck citizens; two of them were from Rostock.<sup>195</sup> A ship whose home port was Danzig but which had been chartered by Rostock merchants was plundered at Lindesnes on its way to Bergen from a Baltic port, most likely Danzig.<sup>196</sup> Three Rostock traders complained

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186 *Hanseakten aus England* no. 329 §15 = DN XIX no. 665 §15; cf. below pp. 368–370.

187 DN XIX no. 977.

188 HR III, 1, 535 §23.

189 HUB X no. 1145.

190 HR IV, 1, 239.

191 *Niederländische Akten und Urkunden* I no. 139.

192 BRUNS, *Bergenfahrer*, pp. 27, 44, 50, 53, 56, 65, 71 and 78.

193 Cf. p. 102; HR II, 5, 199–201; HUB X no. 418; DN VI no. 644 = HR III, 5, 114 §2; HR III, 6, 568 §9, §10 and §12; HR III, 9, 559; HR IV, 2, 544; BRUNS, *Frachtherrenbuch*, p. 22.

194 Cf. pp. 358–359.

195 Cf. p. 117.

196 HR I, 6, 76–77 (1411).

that their cargo of fish had been seized on the way from Bergen to England.<sup>197</sup> One of them was Johan Pape, who is registered as transporting fish most often in the extant customs accounts from Boston – 16 times between 1378 and 1408.<sup>198</sup> Nine other Bergenfahrer in the Boston customs accounts may have been from Rostock.<sup>199</sup> At the end of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, two Bergenfahrer from Rostock had a grievance with the Kontor in Bergen, and the settlement was arranged in Boston.<sup>200</sup>

Rostock skippers seem to have been even more active in the Bergen trade than Rostock merchants. During the period 1383–1388, ten Hansa cargo ships were raided on separate occasions by Flemish privateers while travelling from Bergen to England.<sup>201</sup> The home towns of six of these skippers are known: Simon Huswacker,<sup>202</sup> Heinz Hagemester<sup>203</sup> and Jacob Snidewint<sup>204</sup> were from Rostock, and the three others were from Wismar, Lübeck and Kolberg.<sup>205</sup> Captains from Lübeck, Rostock and Stralsund were the most numerous among those shipping goods from Bergen to Boston.<sup>206</sup> As was shown above, Rostock captains often freighted goods to and from Bergen for Lübeck merchants.

Merchants and skippers from western Hansa towns were rare visitors in Rostock. In 1501, a captain from Kampen plied the Rostock–Bergen route.<sup>207</sup> In 1513, the Bergenfarer in Lübeck asked the Kontor to prevent merchants from Bremen and Zuiderzee towns from shipping goods from Rostock and Wismar to Bergen.<sup>208</sup> Six Hamburg citizens owned goods on board a ship from Rostock which sailed from the Baltic to Bergen in 1533.<sup>209</sup>

Merchants from Rostock also had important commercial interests in Oslo and Tønsberg, and a guild of Wiekfahrer is mentioned in the sources for the first time in 1470, but it probably had its precedent in a guild of St. Olav which met in the church of St. Mary in Rostock.<sup>210</sup> (Wiek is the ancient name for the Oslo Fjord.) In 1508, Christian II withdrew Hansa privileges in Oslo and Tønsberg, but the trade

197 MecklUB XXII nos. 12557 and 12561 (1393).

198 Appendix II 17) I.

199 Table II.25; cf. appendix V.

200 HUB V no. 456.

201 HR I, 3, 345; HUB V no. 118; HR I, 2, 348.

202 HUB IV no. 791.

203 HR I, 2, 348; HR I, 3, 345 §2; appendix II 22).

204 HR I, 2, 348; appendix II 24) and 45).

205 HR I, 3, 345; HR I, 2, 348.

206 Table II.26.

207 BULL, Bergen og Hansestæderne, p. 198; DN XVI no. 337.

208 DN XVI no. 354 = HR III, 6, 502; HR III, 6, 499.

209 HR IV, 1, 239.

210 BRÜCK, Korporationen der Bergenfahrer, p. 138; in 1566, a Bergen chapel (*Berger Kapelle*) is mentioned in the same church; perhaps the same chapel had been used by the Wiekfahrer earlier. Brück assumes that it was founded ca. 1400 but does not cite sources to support his assumption (BRÜCK, Korporationen der Bergenfahrer, p. 144 note 45).

continued. There was no guild for the Bergenfahrer in Rostock, probably because the town had so few winter residents in Bergen. If their Bergen merchants needed help from the town council in Rostock, they could ask the Wiekfahrer to intervene.

Rostock's and Wismar's commerce with Bergen had distinctive features. The trade out of Rostock was to a larger extent operated by the town's own skippers and merchants. A significant proportion of Wismar's trade with Bergen involved the transit of goods via Lübeck. Rostock enjoyed more of a return traffic with Bergen, with the possibility of extending the route to Boston during the early part of the period. Nearly all Rostock merchants visited Bergen as summer guests; winter residents from Wismar were more numerous.<sup>211</sup> Rostock was more distant geographically from Lübeck and more economically independent of it.

#### D. BERGEN–STRALSUND

The evidence for shipping between Bergen and Stralsund during the first part of the Late Middle Ages (1350–1430) is more scant than for Wismar and Rostock. In 1420, local authorities in Stralsund confiscated a consignment of flour destined for Bergen because it was bought illegally in Stralsund's hinterland.<sup>212</sup> Over the following years, Stralsund merchants continued to export flour to Bergen.<sup>213</sup> In 1422 a ship sailed from Stralsund to Bergen despite a ban.<sup>214</sup> A vessel owned by Stralsund citizens carrying a cargo of Bergen fish and English cloth was looted at Seløy near Lindesnes in 1404; it was probably on its way from Bergen to Stralsund and had perhaps also called in at Boston.<sup>215</sup>

The volume of this commerce does not seem to have increased between 1430 and 1537. In the two normal trade years, 1519 and 1521, three ships captained by Stralsund men docked in Bergen,<sup>216</sup> and tables II.2 and II.3 confirm that Stralsund sent a stable but modest number of ships to Bergen each year. The sources provide further evidence that skippers from Stralsund visited Bergen in 1443,<sup>217</sup> 1452,<sup>218</sup> 1501,<sup>219</sup> 1513,<sup>220</sup> 1522<sup>221</sup> and 1533.<sup>222</sup> In 1513, a ship from Stralsund was plun-

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211 Table V.1.

212 HR I, 7, 263 §4 and no. 264.

213 *Stralsunder Liber Memorialis* III no. 55.

214 HR I, VII 550 §13.

215 DN XIX no. 664 §19 = *Hanseakten aus England* no. 345 §19.

216 Table II.1.

217 HR II, 3, 4.

218 HUB VIII no. 148.

219 BULL, Bergen og Hansestæderne, p. 192.

220 HR III, 6, 495.

221 HR III, 8, 104.

222 *Niederländische Akten und Urkunden* I no. 140.

dered on its way between the two ports.<sup>223</sup> In 1479, negotiations with Christian I were to be held in Bergen concerning problems at the Kontor, but Stralsund only reluctantly agreed to send a representative. They explained that they relented explicitly to please the town council in Rostock.<sup>224</sup>

Unsurprisingly, the sources above show that Stralsund exported flour<sup>225</sup> to Bergen and imported stockfish<sup>226</sup> from Bergen; there was also some transportation of cloth from England.

Lübeck's Bergenfahrer traded in Stralsund, but less so than in Wismar and Rostock. The extant evidence from Stralsund dates from the period after 1440. In 1440, the Lübeck Bergenfahrer Peter Burmester owed money to another Lübeck Bergenfahrer, Konrad Grotehus, which was to be paid with one last of flour in Stralsund on the 17<sup>th</sup> of April the same year,<sup>227</sup> which was the time of year when ships normally left for Bergen from Baltic ports. In 1443, the Bergen Kontor seized a ship from Stralsund. Lübeck requested that the conflict be solved at the Hansa Diet, so that Lübeck Bergenfahrer could trade freely in Stralsund and the Stralsund merchants could trade in Bergen.<sup>228</sup> In 1462, Stralsund joined Rostock and Wismar in a protest against Lübeck's attempts to make it compulsory for all ships sailing from Baltic ports to Bergen to be chartered through the Freight Lords.<sup>229</sup> Lübeck Bergenfahrer did not send their Freight Lords to Stralsund until 1584, which indicates that their purchases there were limited in the Late Middle Ages.<sup>230</sup>

In the High Middle Ages (1250–1350), Stralsund was a pioneer in shipping between the Baltic and the North Sea and, after Lübeck, Stralsund merchants were the most active in trade and shipping between Bergen and Boston. The shipping routes Stralsund–Bergen–Boston and Stralsund–Bergen–Flanders were frequently used by Stralsund merchants.<sup>231</sup> This continued into the Late Middle Ages. In 1382, the ship of skipper Lubbert Vlint from Stralsund was wrecked on its way from eastern England to Bergen.<sup>232</sup> At the end of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, Stralsund merchants and captains still were second only to Lübeck in the traffic between Bergen and Boston.<sup>233</sup> When Bergen was sacked in 1393, a cargo ship (*kreiert*) from Stralsund was in the harbour, and some of the goods on board belonged to Bremen merchants.<sup>234</sup>

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223 HR III, 6, 495.

224 HUB X no. 741.

225 HR I, 7, 264–265 (1420); *Der Stralsunder Liber Memorialis* III no. 55 (1223).

226 DN XIX no. 664 §19 = *Hanseakten aus England* no. 345 §19 (1404).

227 BRUNS, Bergenfahrer, p. 163. From Lübeck's *Niederstadtbuch*.

228 HR II, 3, 4.

229 HR II, 5, 199–201.

230 BRUNS, Frachtherrenbuch, p. 22.

231 Cf. pp. 51, 54 and 81–82.

232 DN XIX no. 606 = Calendar of Patent Rolls 1381–1385, p. 136.

233 Table II.25 and II.26.

234 HR I, 4, 645 §17.

In 1423, a ship owned by Stralsund citizens transported cloth to Bergen, some of it from Leiden in Holland. The ship probably arrived via a Zuiderzee town.<sup>235</sup> In 1477, Martin Bolkow, a Stralsund town councillor, was referred to as a “Bergenfahrer in Boston”.<sup>236</sup> Stralsund’s foreign trade was distinctive, because a larger proportion of its ships extended their journey from Bergen to Boston and Flanders. Stralsund’s trade with Bergen was more free and unfettered than that of the other Baltic towns; during a single trip, its ships and merchants could call in at more towns over a larger area. Its summer visitors to Bergen thus served the needs of winter residents for imports and exports

As will be shown p. 357, there are indications, but no certain evidence, that Stralsund merchants were winter residents and owned houses in Bergen in the Middle Ages. An altar dedicated to St. Olav in the church of St. Nicholas in Stralsund is mentioned for the first time in 1477, but it was not new then. A group of Stralsund councillors and other citizens formed a committee (*Vorstebern*) which was financially responsible for the altar and the masses held in the church. Thomas Brück assumes that they were also leaders of a guild of Bergenfahrer in Stralsund (*Korporation der Lübecker Bergenfahrer*).<sup>237</sup> But the members of the steering committee were not known Bergenfahrer. A guild worthy of that name should have aldermen and statutes, as well as own or hire an assembly building, but there is no evidence that such a guild or corporation for Bergenfahrer existed in Stralsund. The hypothesis that there was a Stralsund Bergenfahrer guild lacks an empirical basis.

#### E. BETWEEN STRALSUND AND DANZIG

Between Stralsund and Danzig were a number of minor towns which only occasionally conducted trade in Bergen. They were without surpluses of flour, malt and beer, nor did they have a populous and rich hinterland where stockfish could be sold.

According to Sartorius’ *Urkundliche Geschichte der Ursprung der deutschen Hanse*,<sup>238</sup> a Bergenfahrer guild was founded in Greifswald in 1356.<sup>239</sup> This is a misunderstanding, as such a guild did not appear until the 15<sup>th</sup> century; it united merchants who traded anywhere in the then realm of the Danish king, including Scania, Copenhagen and Bornholm.<sup>240</sup> This lent it the character of a general merchant’s guild. Concrete evidence for trade with Bergen is lacking, so at best it must have been occasional.

Stettin is better represented in the extant sources. In 1351, Stettin acquired in Rostock a copy of King Magnus’ privileges for the Hansa in Norway as well as the

235 *Stralsunder Liber Memorialis* III no. 36.

236 HUB X no. 599.

237 BRÜCK, *Korporationen der Bergenfahrer*, pp. 141–143.

238 SARTORIUS, *Urkundliche Geschichte*, p. 439.

239 HUB III, p. 152 note 3.

240 BRÜCK, *Korporationen der Bergenfahrer*, pp. 144–147.

peace treaty between the Hansa and King Magnus, both dating from 1343.<sup>241</sup> Stettin had not participated in the negotiations leading up to the awarding of these privileges, and had managed well for 8 years without a copy of the document. The privilege exempted Hansa merchants from all customs duties on goods in Norway; it was also useful at the Bohuslän herring fisheries, and for merchants sailing along the Norwegian coast on their way to the North Sea who conducted trade on the way. In 1438, Bishop Audfinn of Stavanger, the commander of the royal castle of Tunsberghus Eindride Erlendsson, together with two citizens of Stavanger sent a ship to Stettin to purchase goods. One of the two citizens was called Nikolas Pomerensis; Pommerania is the province where Stettin is located.<sup>242</sup> None of these men were from Bergen. In 1462, the town council in Stettin regulated the sale of stockfish, but it is not clear whether the stockfish came from Bergen or was produced locally.<sup>243</sup> In 1523, King Christian II promised that merchants from the Bergen Kontor would be permitted to sail through Danish waters to the Wendish towns and to Stettin when the ongoing war was brought to an end.<sup>244</sup> But the customs accounts from Bergen for 1518–1523 do not mention ships from Stettin,<sup>245</sup> nor do other sections of the accounts from Bergenhus castle for 1516–1523. The best indication that trade existed between Stettin and Bergen dates from 1491, when a Lübeck Bergenfahrer named Hans Kynkel went into partnership with a citizen of Stettin to buy grain in the town.<sup>246</sup> Even though it is not stated explicitly, it is likely that the grain was meant to be shipped via Lübeck to Bergen.

However, there is one fully verified case of trade with Bergen from a Pommeranian town. In 1383, Skipper Tidemann Blok from Kolberg suffered a raid on his ship when sailing from Bergen to Boston loaded with stockfish.<sup>247</sup>

## F. BERGEN–DANZIG

In the works of earlier historians, trade between Bergen and Danzig has been in the shadow of the trade between Bergen and the Wendish towns. This is partly due to the fact that merchants and skippers from Danzig and other Prussian towns came to Bergen only as summer guests. They traded under Hansa privileges, but none of them were winter residents, and it was the winter residents, organised in the Kontor, whose activities are referred to in most of the extant sources.

At the end of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, Danzig embarked on an expansion which was to make it the largest port in the Baltic in the 16<sup>th</sup> century. Its main export was grain

241 MeckUB XXV no. 14361.

242 DN VII no. 409 = HUB VII no. 393.

243 HUB VIII no. 1184 note 1.

244 DN VIII no. 510 = HR III, 8, 349.

245 Table II.1.

246 DN VIII no. 510 = HR III, 8, 349.

247 HR I, 3, 345; HR I, 2, 348.

products, which created interest among the *Bergenfahrer* from the Wendish towns. What we don't have enough information about is how much stockfish was sent in the opposite direction.

In 1395–1404 Stockholm was besieged, but the town received food supplies from Danzig; seven shipments of *Bergervisch* were bought for this purpose.<sup>248</sup> In 1423, a ship was wrecked at Kullen near Helsingborg on its way from Bergen with 8000 stockfish and 120 barrels of trout belonging to 14 merchants from Danzig.<sup>249</sup> Another ship was wrecked at the same place six years earlier, also with Bergen fish on board; a merchant from Danzig owned part of the ship and cargo.<sup>250</sup>

The commercial interests of the Teutonic Order in Bergen are particularly well documented. They had two administrative centres, one in Marienburg south of Danzig, another in Königsberg (Kaliningrad). In 1406, their steward in Marienburg shipped more than 12 lasts of flour to Bergen.<sup>251</sup> In 1404, two Bergen residents owed debts to the same Marienburg steward, and in 1417 one of the debtors still had not settled his debt.<sup>252</sup> Sometime during the years 1400–1402, a “citizen of Bergen” owed 1500 *stockvisschis* to the steward in Königsberg, perhaps as payment for flour.<sup>253</sup>

But the market for Bergen fish in Danzig may have been limited, since stockfish was also produced locally. Some of the stockfish sent to Stockholm in 1395 is said to have been *vlackvisch* and *stockvisch* produced in Kurland and at Hel, outside Danzig.<sup>254</sup> *Vlackvisch* was dried on rocks after the spine was removed, while *stockvisch* was hung over a pole to dry. There are numerous other references to dried fish produced in Prussia.<sup>255</sup> In 1489, Reval's (Tallin's) envoy to Moscow received *rotscher* (stockfish) among other food provisions,<sup>256</sup> and in 1487 Dorpat's (Tartu's) envoy to Novgorod received *rotscher*, stockfish and *vlackvisch*.<sup>257</sup> Along the coasts of Prussia and in the estuaries of the rivers Weichsel, Pregel and Njemen were important fisheries which enabled Danzig to export fish to the Polish interior.<sup>258</sup> In 1492, Danzig exported *vlackvisch* and *rundvisch* to Lübeck, both were types of stockfish. During the years 1492–1494, fish represented 14% of the value of exports from Danzig to

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248 Wojewodskie Archiwuni Panstowie in Gdansk, 369/1, Pfundgelt, Elbing.

249 HR II, 1, 381 §34.

250 Ibid. §33.

251 Ibid.

252 BULL, Bergen og Hansesæderne, p. 125; *Handelsrechnungen des Deutschen Ordens*, pp. 24 and 78.

253 BULL, Bergen og Hansesæderne, p. 125; *Handelsrechnungen des Deutschen Ordens*, p. 122.

254 *Kurschen und Helyschen vlackvisch unde stokvisch*; HR I, 4, 282 §7.

255 STARK, Lübeck und Danzig, p. 142; SCHILLER and LÜBBEN, *Mittelniederdeutsches Wörterbuch*, entry word “*Vlackvisch*”.

256 HUB XI no. 279.

257 Ibid. no. 103.

258 HUB IX no. 589, p. 476 note 2; *ibid.* no. 739 note 3; *ibid.* no. 759 note 2.

Lübeck, grain excluded.<sup>259</sup> Even in 1368, fish was among the commodities sent from Danzig to Lübeck.<sup>260</sup> With this background, there can be little doubt that trade between Danzig and Bergen was driven by the demand for grain in Bergen, and the stockfish trade in the opposite direction was of a secondary nature.

The exchanges between Danzig and Bergen were partly organised as direct shipping between the two towns, but some goods were also transited via Lübeck. The direct route is well documented. In 1393, a ship from Elbing (Elblag) in Prussia was seized in Danish waters on its way from Bergen to Prussia.<sup>261</sup> In 1398, a diet of Prussian towns decided that "... nobody shall sail through Øresund or to Bergen..." because of the threat from pirates.<sup>262</sup> A convoy was to be organised to protect ships sailing to Flanders, but not to Bergen or Scotland.<sup>263</sup> These instances indicate that trade and shipping between Danzig and Bergen was a normal occurrence. Some of the Prussian skippers extended their journey by continuing on from Bergen to Boston, making the itinerary Danzig–Bergen–Boston–Bergen–Danzig.<sup>264</sup>

The Kontor in Bergen was established in 1366, and from the start the winter residents from Lübeck used it to secure their own interests as opposed to those of the summer guests. In 1379, Prussian skippers and summer traders sent a long list of complaints to a diet of Prussian towns about their treatment at the hands of the Kontor's winter residents. They had to pay a duty (*puntgelt*) levied on their ships and goods each time they called in at the Bergen Kontor, whereas earlier they had paid this charge only once a year. Prussian skippers evidently called in at Bergen several times a year. The Kontor's winter residents also agreed among themselves that they would only charter ships if they were given a free extra weight allowance of 16 *liespfund* per last, that is 7% extra capacity. This was a novel arrangement, according to the Prussian skippers. Their colleagues who sailed from the Wendish towns consented to this because they received payment in advance, but the Prussian captains did not. The Wendish skippers evidently were contracted in their home towns and paid by Bergenfahrer who were present there, while the Prussian captains may have received orders from Lübeck by letter in their home towns and were paid by the recipient in Bergen.<sup>265</sup>

This direct trade was supplemented by the transit of goods via Lübeck. During the years 1407–1409, Hildebrand Veckinchusen's representative in Danzig received

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259 STARK, Lübeck und Danzig, pp. 86–87 and 140–145. His source is the *Pfundzoll* from Lübeck for those years. The grain trade is not registered in these accounts.

260 LECHNER, *Pfundzollisten*, pp. 323–331.

261 HR I, 4, 153 §6 and no. 154 §10.

262 *Ibid.* no. 469 §6.

263 *Ibid.* no. 474 §1.

264 Table II.26, cf. II.25.

265 NGL 2.rk. I no. 354 = HR I, 2, 177.

1 *kip*<sup>266</sup> of *Bergervisch* from Lübeck.<sup>267</sup> In 1401, the Steward of the Teutonic Order in Marienburg received 100 *stockvisch* from Lübeck,<sup>268</sup> probably also Bergen fish. The Lübeck *Pfundzoll* accounts normally did not register goods in transit on the route Bergen–Lübeck–Danzig because the duty was paid on arrival in Lübeck, and the consignment was duty-free if it continued its journey to Danzig.<sup>269</sup> An exception is Johan Turegut, registered under the *Pfundzoll* subheading “from Bergen” as transporting stockfish at the end of 1400;<sup>270</sup> in January/February 1401 he sailed to Danzig with two *stuck* (136 kilos each) of stockfish (*strumuli*).<sup>271</sup> He must have obtained a special deferment for the payment until he left Lübeck. A parallel case dates from 1368: Godeke Gote’s name appears in the “from Bergen” list, but it is crossed out and no value is written for his goods; his name reappears in the “to Danzig” list with fish valued at 23 marks.<sup>272</sup>

The transit of goods in the opposite direction, Danzig–Lübeck–Bergen, seems to have been more important. The ships in table II.15 are registered as coming “from Danzig” or another port in the state of the Teutonic Order, and immediately afterwards they are registered under the heading “to Bergen”. The ships were clearly sailing from Danzig to Lübeck and on to Bergen, and thus the whole or part of their cargo may also have been transported over the entire route.

Table II.15. Ships which according to the Lübeck *Pfundzoll* sailed on the route Teutonic Order town–Lübeck–Bergen

Name of skipper	Port of departure	Value of goods registered Lübeck to Bergen in marks	Reference in the <i>Pfundzoll</i>
Bernd van Halle	Riga	15	1368–71, pp. 621 and 656
Radeke Selle	Danzig	133½	1379, pp. 22 and 57
Nicholas Grabow	Danzig	1513	1398, pp. 79 and 189
Johan Luchow	Pernau	466½	1398, pp. 107 and 191
Johan Schoneke	Danzig	541	1398, pp. 80 and 192
Tidemann Swarte	Danzig	652½	1398, pp. 81 and 192
Johan Wicle	Danzig <sup>(1)</sup>	not registered “to Bergen”	1400, pp. 64 and 130d
Ludeke Malchin	Danzig <sup>(1)</sup>	not registered “to Bergen”	1400, pp. 57d and 128
Johan Vrese	Danzig <sup>(1)</sup>	not registered “to Bergen”	1400, pp. 89 and 131

Source: PB 1368–1400

(1) The captains Wicle, Malchin and Vrese are registered under the heading “from Danzig” and shortly afterwards under the heading “from Bergen”.

266 1 *kip* = 50 fish, cf. ZUPKO, *Weights and Measures*, entry word “Kip”.

267 *Briefwechsel eines deutschen Kaufmannes* no. 16.

268 *Handelsrechnungen des Deutschen Ordens*, p. 125.

269 Cf. pp. 115–116.

270 PB 1400, p. 143d.

271 PB 1400, p. 71.

272 *Ibid.*, pp. 163 and 179.

There are 206 ships registered as travelling “*versus Bergen*” for the period 1368–1400 in the *Pfundzoll* accounts, and on average they paid duties for goods worth 368 marks per ship.<sup>273</sup> Four of the nine ships in the table carried goods with a higher total value, all of them in 1398. This can be put down to the fact that in 1398 no *Pfundzoll* was collected in towns in the lands of the Teutonic Order,<sup>274</sup> so the duty for all goods in transit had to be paid in Lübeck. Nicholas Grabow is registered under the heading “from Danzig” as carrying rye, but with no *Pfundzoll* paid for it; however, the customs officials registered a payment for goods worth 1513 marks when he sailed on to Bergen. Other officials may have registered the rye or flour in the “*de Danzig*” list and not mentioned the ship and its goods when it sailed “*versus Bergen*”. The four ships registered in 1398 therefore represent a minimum number of those continuing on to Bergen.

For the other years, the under-registration of transit goods creates an important source of errors, because many ships paid their *Pfundzoll* in Danzig. Two ships are registered as carrying less than the average value of 368 marks in goods; they may have arrived in Lübeck from Danzig partially loaded and supplemented their cargo with goods to the value mentioned in the table. Three ships paid no duty for their vessel or its goods when they left Lübeck, probably because the *Pfundzoll* had been paid in Danzig, but they are registered later as having returned “from Bergen”, and must therefore have sailed to Bergen from Lübeck. Ships plying between Danzig and Bergen sailed between these cities both directly and via Lübeck. The sources do not help us determine which of the two alternatives was the most common.

The involvement of Lübeck merchants could also be responsible for the route Danzig–Bergen–Lübeck. Early in the 1370s, the Lübeck winter resident Johan Wartberg<sup>275</sup> chartered a ship which sailed from Prussia through the Øresund with flour; the name of its skipper was Elard Grawerok.<sup>276</sup> The same skipper transported a cargo of stockfish from Bergen to Lübeck in 1383.<sup>277</sup>

The war between Denmark and the Wendish towns from 1427 to 1433 created a watershed in Danzig's relationship to the winter residents in Bergen. The Wendish towns evacuated from Bergen, but merchants from Danzig continued to trade there. In August 1432, there were four Danzig-owned ships in Bergen harbour,<sup>278</sup> and the goods on board belonged to merchants from Danzig.<sup>279</sup> In 1430, a ship from Danzig was plundered at Notoy in Karmsundet south of Bergen. Some of the rye on

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273 Appendix III.

274 WEIBULL, *Lübecks handel*, pp. 35 and 38; German translation, pp. 29 and 31.

275 Table V.12 note 4; BRUNS, *Bergenfahrer*, index.

276 UBStL IV no. 168.

277 PB 1383, p. 77.

278 HUB VI nos. 1071 and 1075 = BULL, *Bergen og Hansestæderne*, pp. 127–129.

279 HR II, 1, 385 §11.

board belonged to a Danzig citizen.<sup>280</sup> But it was not only Danzig merchants who profited from the absence of the winter residents – so did the up-and-coming Dutch merchants. During the war, a ship owned by Auwel Petersson, a citizen of Amsterdam, loaded with Bergen fish worth 5000 *gulden*,<sup>281</sup> was captured by Wendish warships in the Øresund. The same Auwel Petersson visited Danzig regularly, so he is likely to have been on his way to buy flour for the Bergen market.<sup>282</sup> The Dutch seem to have used the war to establish trade links with Bergen for the first time.

In the eyes of the Wendish towns, Danzig had been disloyal and had broken with Hansa solidarity. Even worse, Danzig and Amsterdam merchants had cooperated and created an open market in Bergen run by summer guests from the east and west. Grain arrived from Prussian towns, and stockfish was sold in Holland. After the war, the Kontor came to look on the summer guests from Prussia with suspicion. Danzig started to become marginalised in the Bergen Kontor.

But the Wendish towns did not try to stop Danzig from trading under Hansa privileges in Bergen after the war. In 1436, Danzig's representatives at a Hansa diet discussed "the sailings to Bergen" with the Wendish towns.<sup>283</sup> In the accounting year 1438/39, the steward of the Teutonic Order in Marienburg sent flour and malt worth almost 200 marks to Bergen and received Bergen goods in return.<sup>284</sup>

During the years 1438–1441, a new war erupted, this time between the Hansa and Holland. Danzig sided with the Hansa but did not participate militarily.<sup>285</sup> The losses suffered by Danzig at the hands of the Hollanders illustrate their commercial interests in Bergen. Skipper Jacob Mus from Danzig had his ship plundered at Skagen on the way from Bergen. It was chartered by Lübeck Bergenfahrer, but a Danzig merchant owned some of the goods.<sup>286</sup> Another ship from Danzig loaded with flour, malt and beer was seized on its way from Ålborg to Bergen; two of the owners of the cargo were from Danzig.<sup>287</sup> A Danzig citizen is registered as the owner of 8 lasts of flour which were on board a ship sailing from Lübeck to Bergen.<sup>288</sup> Another Danzig merchant had his "Bergen fish" taken from the ship of John of Boston, evidently an Englishman who transported goods between Bergen and Boston.<sup>289</sup> A ship belonging to Jochum Svarte from Stralsund was plundered on its way back from Bergen,

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280 BRUNS, *Bergenfahrer*, the index "Notau"; HR II, 1, 381 §62 and §63.

281 A *gulden* was a Dutch gold coin.

282 HUB VII nos. 8 and 20.

283 HR II, 1, 533 §18.

284 HUB VII no. 415.

285 DOLLINGER, *La Hanse*, p. 369; English translation, p. 300; German translation, p. 387.

286 HUB VII no. 767 §29.

287 *Ibid.* §48.

288 *Ibid.* §86.

289 *Ibid.* §107.

and two members of Danzig's town council lost 15,000 Bergen fish, which was a considerable amount.<sup>290</sup>

After the war, it was business as usual. In 1441, a Danzig merchant was sued for a debt he had incurred on a journey to Bergen.<sup>291</sup> In 1442, a ship whose home port was Antwerp sailed from Bergen to Danzig.<sup>292</sup> In 1452, a ship owned by 11 citizens of Danzig travelled to Bergen; our sources mention it because the skipper died in Bergen.<sup>293</sup>

There was yet another war in 1454–1466, this time with Danzig and the other Prussian towns, plus the King of Poland, on one side, and the Teutonic Order and Denmark-Norway on the other. There was large-scale privateering carried out by both sides, and passing through the Øresund was problematic for ships from Danzig. The war also disrupted the grain supplies to Danzig from its hinterland.<sup>294</sup> Norwegian officials seized ships from Danzig,<sup>295</sup> among them a large cargo ship (holk) which had sought refuge in Bergen because of bad weather.<sup>296</sup> Danzig ships carried out raids along the Norwegian coast during this period.<sup>297</sup> The war halted trade between Bergen and Danzig for 13 years.

After peace was established in 1466, trade was not resumed on the same scale as before. In 1479, Danzig declined to participate in negotiations with King Christian I about the Kontor in Bergen because few Danzig citizens traded there; but the city's officials admitted that up till then, Danzig merchants had benefitted from trading under Hansa privileges in Bergen and asked that they still be permitted to do so.<sup>298</sup> Danzig evidently held the opinion that it was the task of the winter residents from the Wendish towns to defend these privileges, since the Kontor primarily looked after their interests. Sailings from Danzig to Bergen did occur, but they were rare. In 1485, a diet of Wendish towns asked Danzig not to let their ships sail to Bergen with flour and malt until after the feast of St. John the Baptist.<sup>299</sup> In 1488, a ship which "was to sail to Bergen in Norway" drifted ashore in Danzig harbour.<sup>300</sup> At the end of the Middle Ages, Danzig citizens may have been more active as skippers than as merchants. In

290 Ibid. §125; Evidence for Jochum Svarte's home town is found in the index to HUB VII.

291 HUB VII no. 689.

292 BULL, Bergen og Hansestæderne, p. 143.

293 HUB VII no. 157.

294 STARK, Lübeck und Danzig, pp. 163–183.

295 HUB VIII no. 1160 §32, §36, §59 and §60.

296 HUB IX no. 46 (1463).

297 HUB VIII no. 1167 §1 and §2.

298 HR III, 1, 184. According to Bruns, the Danzig merchants here claimed that they had been ousted (*nahezu verdrängt*) by Wendish merchants from the Bergen trade. But letter does not tell *why* their trade was limited; Bruns interrupts his quotation in the middle of a sentence so that its meaning is changed (BRUNS, Bergenfahrer, p. XVIII note 3). But other sources confirm that the Danzig merchants felt they had been ousted.

299 HR III, 1, 582 §37 and no. 585.

300 Caspar Weinreich's *Danziger Chronik*, p. 53.

1507, they demanded that the winter residents in Bergen should only be permitted to charter skippers from Hansa towns, and not from Holland.<sup>301</sup> But Danzig skippers were few and far between at that time; the customs accounts from Bergen for the period 1518–1523 did not register a single ship with captain from Danzig.<sup>302</sup>

For the final period, 1460–1530, several years of customs accounts from Danzig, the so-called *Pfalkammer* books, have been preserved. They register the name of a ship's captain, the value of its cargo, the name of the merchants on board, and the quantity of goods for which each of them had paid customs. These accounts have been used in analyses by Victor Lauffer,<sup>303</sup> Henryk Samsonowicz<sup>304</sup> and Johannes Schildhauer.<sup>305</sup> The figures in table II.16 are partly taken from their writings, and partly are result of my own work with the original sources. Table II.16 is based on all extant pre-1537 accounts.

After 1498, the ports which the ships came from or sailed to are not registered. Before that, these ports were registered for some ships, but not for others. This issue is discussed in the table's notes.

Table II.16. Danzig's trade with Norway according to extant *Pfalkammer* accounts, 1460–1537

IMPORTS					
Year	Archive signature in WAP	All ships registered in accounts	Ships where port of departure is registered <sup>(1)</sup>	Registered "from Bergen"	Registered "from Norway"
1460	300/19/1	318	315	0	0
1468	" /3	300	296	0	0
1469	" /3	307	301	0	0
1470	" /3	328	320	1	0
1471	" /3	371	328	0	0
1472	" /3	241	237	1	0
1474	" /?	403	400	2	0
1475	" /5	525	518	1	0
1476	" /5	634	629	6	2
1498/9	" /8	795	port not given	–	–
1506	" /9	1802	"	–	–
1510	" /10	1371	"	–	–

301 HR III, 5, 245 §22.

302 Table II.1. "Skipper Lubbert av Dansken" paid 2.5 marks in customs duties for his ship in Bergen 1519 (NRJ I, p. 341). But ships from Hansa towns paid one ship-pound of flour or malt in customs per ship. If they lacked grain products, they paid instead 3.5 marks 4 skillings (cf. NRJ I, p. 339). Even Norwegians paid customs duties for their ships (cf. NRJ I, p. 331), but the sum varied. Lubbert was probably an immigrant from Danzig who was citizen of Bergen and sailed northwards to the stockfish-producing regions.

303 LAUFFER, *Danzigs Schiffs- und Warenverkehr*.

304 SAMSONOWICZ, *Gdansk*.

305 SCHILDHAUER, *Warenhandel Danzigs*.

EXPORTS				
			Ships where destination is registered	Registered as sailing to Norwegian ports
1460	300/19/1	245	19	0
1471	" /4	603	port not registered	–
1475	" /5a	631	14	0
1490	" /7	720	58	0
1491	" /7	607	111	0
1492	" /7	562	58	0
1530	" /11	674	port not registered	–

Source: Wojewodskie Archiwuni Panstowie, Gdansk (WAP)

(1) A ship can be registered in several ways. It can appear below a heading, e.g.: "From Söderköping (*Van Suderkopint*)"; in the next line: "Jon Nilsson paid customs of 30 marks for his ship" (Wojewodskie Archiwuni Panstowie in Gdansk 300/19/7, p. 108). In these cases, Lauffer assumes that the port named in the heading is the port of departure. Other ships are registered in a different manner: "Klaus Johansson from Amsterdam (*van Amsterdam*) paid customs for his ship..." (Wojewodskie Archiwuni Panstowie, Gdansk 300/19/7, p. 78). In these cases, Lauffer assumes that the home town of the skipper is meant. There is no reason to doubt that Lauffer is right in both cases regarding the accounts he examined for the years 1460–1492.

In the accounts for 1498–1530, however, the home town of the skipper seems to be meant even when it appears as a heading. A large number of ships were explicitly stated as having arrived with cargoes of salt from Brouage and other French ports. But the headings under which these ships are found give the names of a large variety of Dutch towns (cf. Wojewodskie Archiwuni Panstowie in Gdansk 300/19/9, pp. 56, 64 and 153). This means that for the period 1498–1530, ports of departure were not registered.

Under imports into Danzig for the years 1460–76, there are 3427 ships registered, 3344 of them listed with their port of departure. Eleven of these ships arrived "from Bergen" and two "from Norway".

Table II.17. Ships which arrived in Danzig from Norwegian ports, 1460–76

Year	Skipper	Cargo	Port of departure <sup>(1)</sup>	Source in WAP
1470	Detlef Verdu	5 lasts <i>rotscher</i>	Bergen	300/19/3, p. 89
1472	Hemming Hemmingsen	ballast	"	" p. 180
1474	Hemming Hemmingsen	"	"	300/19/5, p. 28
"	Peter Rode	"	"	" p. 32
1475	Albert Brand	"	"	" p. 123
1476	Karsten Span	"	"	" p. 257
"	Hinrik Best	"	Norway	" p. 262
"	Klaus Gent	"	"	" p. 262
"	Peter Kafmester	"	Bergen	" p. 262
"	Bernd Desenk	"	"	" p. 262
"	Olof Prus	"	"	" p. 266
"	Henneke Hendge	"	"	" p. 274
"	Murfot	"	"	" p. 279

(1) Cf. note to table II.16

Twelve of the 13 ships from Bergen/Norway were carrying only ballast, and the remaining one had a modest cargo of stockfish on board. The import of Bergen fish to Danzig at this time must have been negligible.

All or most of the ships in ballast had undoubtedly sailed to Norway with flour and malt; this practice is confirmed in accounts for the *Sundtoll*.<sup>306</sup> But there cannot have been many of these grain ships, between zero and six in the 1470s, which averages two annually. In the 1490s, 227 ships are registered as carrying exports from Danzig, but none of them was destined for Bergen.

The thin evidence for shipping from Danzig to Bergen could be due to the role of Lübeck. At the end of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, Bergen probably received grain from Danzig via Lübeck,<sup>307</sup> as they had done at the end of the 14<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>308</sup>

The effect of the Kontor's policy towards summer guests from Danzig was that shipping became more important than trade for Danzig citizens in Bergen. The conflict in 1379 between Danzig captains and the Wendish merchants described above confirms that the latter hired Danzig captains to sail from Danzig.<sup>309</sup> In 1412, a Danzig ship carrying grain products to Bergen which had been loaded in Rostock and belonged to Rostock merchants was looted at Lindesnes in Agder.<sup>310</sup> Many Danzig skippers transported goods from Bergen to eastern England during this period, but fewer Danzig merchants did so.<sup>311</sup> The town council of Danzig did their best to defend the interests of their skippers in Bergen.<sup>312</sup>

Danzig merchants understood well why their trade in Bergen was not thriving. In 1487, they complained that they were not permitted to trade directly with Norwegian customers, but instead had to sell their goods to the winter residents, who in turn resold it to Norwegians.<sup>313</sup> A diet of all Hansa towns then declared that "those who sail from Danzig to Bergen" should enjoy the same rights as other Hansa merchants.<sup>314</sup> This statement was ambiguous; in practice it meant that Danzig merchants had to accept the rights which the Kontor's statutes gave to other Hanseatic summer guests. In 1511, Danzig demanded that their citizens who stayed at the Bergen Kontor as winter residents (*liggerere*) should be allowed to trade with Norwegians in the same way as winter residents from Lübeck.<sup>315</sup> Lübeck consented to

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306 Appendix VII.

307 STARK, Lübeck und Danzig, pp. 94–96.

308 Table II.10 and II.15.

309 NGL 2.rk. I no. 354 = HR I, 2, 177.

310 HR I, 6, 76–77.

311 Table II.25 and 26.

312 HR III, 5, 245 §22.

313 HUB XI no. 121 §30 and no. 133 §54.

314 HR III, 2, 160 §156.

315 HR III, 6, 192 §3.

this.<sup>316</sup> In 1525, Danzig representatives at a diet of Hansa towns reported home that the negotiations which concerned the problems in Bergen did not apply to Danzig, but only to towns with merchants who participated in the Kontor organisation (*dy dasselbige Komptor halden*).<sup>317</sup> In practice, this meant towns which had winter residents in Bergen. Danzig wanted to have its formal rights in Bergen confirmed, but few Danzig citizens actually used these rights after 1454. Danzig in practice had to accept that their lack of winter residents in Bergen gave them a subordinate role in trade there.

To sum up, during the period around 1360–1454, Danzig and Bergen had important commercial exchanges. Danzig merchants withdrew from and were marginalised in Bergen at the same time that their home port was expanding to become the largest trading port in the Baltic. At the beginning of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, the Dutch began regular grain exports from Danzig to the Netherlands, and this trade increased towards the end of the century.<sup>318</sup> Danzig ships and merchants themselves increasingly sailed around Jutland to the North Sea with grain and other products. In 1468, the English king confiscated the goods of all Baltic merchants in England; the value of Danzig's goods was three times as large as that of Lübeck, and 40 times as large as Stralsund's.<sup>319</sup> Danzig's foreign trade increased at an accelerating pace from the 1470s.<sup>320</sup> Both Danzig and Dutch traders were marginalised through political means by the winter residents of the Bergen Kontor, but they found more than ample compensation in trade between the Baltic and the Netherlands and England.

This parallels what happened in Scania. At the end of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, the Wendish towns gained control of the market there by political means and started to marginalise their competitors from Holland, England and other places. They succeeded in the short term, but from a long term perspective their actions accelerated an ongoing process in the 15<sup>th</sup> century whereby ships increasingly sailed past Scania and strengthened the direct shipping routes between North Sea and Baltic ports. The Wendish towns succeeded in more or less monopolising trade with Bergen as well as Scania, but their competitors responded by concentrating on routes which in the long run turned out to be more profitable.

#### G. BERGEN–LIVONIA (LIVLAND)

Towns in Livonia that are relevant here are Riga, Reval (Tallinn), Pernau, Wolmar and Dorpat (Tartu). They do not appear in the customs accounts from Bergen for

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316 HR III, 8, 35 §8.

317 HR III, 9, 132 §105.

318 VOGEL, *Deutsche Seeschifffahrt*, pp. 328–331.

319 STARK, *Lübeck und Danzig*, p. 194.

320 Table II.16.

1518–23, nor does the Reval *Pfundzoll* from 1426–1435 reveal direct contacts with Bergen.<sup>321</sup> The towns nevertheless exchanged goods with Bergen, but mainly via Lübeck. The Lübeck *Pfundzoll* for 1368–1400 indicates that Lübeck Bergenfahrer shipped goods from Riga and Pernau via Lübeck to Bergen.<sup>322</sup> Other skippers sailed from Lübeck to Riga, probably to load grain there, and returned to Lübeck from Bergen.<sup>323</sup> In 1419, three Lübeck Bergenfahrer complained that a citizen of Wolmar did not deliver 15 lasts of malt as promised.<sup>324</sup> Ships from Reval and Riga sailed along the southern Norwegian coast, but we do not know whether their destination was Bergen, England or Flanders.<sup>325</sup>

On the return journeys came fish. The town council of Reval complained in 1461 about the faulty quality control of trout from Bergen (*Bergerore*) and *rotscher* (stockfish from Bergen).<sup>326</sup> In 1458, a diet of Livonian towns complained about the packaging of “Bergen fish, that is *rotscher* and trout”.<sup>327</sup> Fifty years later in 1517, Riga, Dorpat and Reval asked a diet of Hansa towns to contact the Bergen Kontor about the packaging of *Bergervisz*.<sup>328</sup> In the 1360–70s, *stockvisch* was sold in Reval;<sup>329</sup> the composition of one consignment reveals that it must have come from Lübeck. Lambert Ekey and Bernd van Berne, both Bergenfahrer from Lübeck, sent to a representative in Reval Bergen fish, woollen cloth, linen cloth, herring, and awls for shoemakers.<sup>330</sup> But the importation of fish from Bergen may have been limited since there were local fisheries along the Livonian coast, although they were not as rich as those around Danzig.<sup>331</sup>

## H. BERGEN–SWEDISH AND DANISH PORTS

We do not have evidence for direct shipping between Bergen and Swedish ports in the Late Middle Ages. Bergen fish (*Bergervisch*) appears several times in Stockholm’s municipal accounts after 1460,<sup>332</sup> but this probably arrived via Lübeck.

Denmark, on the other hand, lay along the shipping lane from the Baltic to Bergen. The Limfjord had an important herring fishery in the Late Middle Ages,

321 SASS, Einfuhrhandel in Reval, pp. 32–51. In 1427–33 the Wendish towns were absent from Bergen.

322 Table II.15.

323 Skipper Reimar Tengel, P 1383, pp. 56 and 84.

324 UBStL VI no. 85; BRUNS, Bergenfahrer, p. 50 note 5.

325 HR I, 5, 346; *Liv-, Est- und Curländisches Urkundenbuch* no. 1843.

326 HR II, 5, 101 §7.

327 HR II, 4, 568 §5.

328 HR III, 7, 39 §192–§195

329 *Die ältesten Kammereibücher der Stadt Reval*, pp. 16, 33, 35 and 49.

330 HUB VII no. 346; cf. BRUNS, Bergenfahrer, index about the two Bergenfahrer.

331 SASS, Einfuhrhandel in Reval, p. 87.

332 HUB X no. 62 note 1.

and Denmark had a surplus of grain. It was not unusual for Hansa ships to stop at the market in Ålborg on their way to Bergen. In 1366, two of the best-known Lübeck winter residents of the Kontor, Evert Paal and Werner Coesfeld, along with the otherwise unknown Werner Huning, dispatched a ship from Ålborg to Bergen with flour, malt and salt.<sup>333</sup> One hundred years later, other Lübeck Bergenfahrer did the same with unknown cargo.<sup>334</sup> Some time before 1509, the Ålborg bailiff confiscated some goods belonging to the Lübeck Bergenfahrer Kurt Koning.<sup>335</sup> A Rostock captain sailed from Ålborg to Bergen in 1485,<sup>336</sup> and in 1440 a ship whose home port was Danzig sailed from Ålborg to Bergen.<sup>337</sup> So the Lübeck Bergenfahrer had many options about where they purchased grain, ranging from Riga to Ålborg.<sup>338</sup>

Dano-Norwegian state and church officials carried out trade in Bergen with each other and with merchants. The captain of Bergenhus castle frequently sent gifts to or swapped goods with colleagues in Denmark.<sup>339</sup> In 1529, he negotiated an agreement with a citizen of Malmø whereby each year the latter should send a ship to Bergen with flour, malt and pork, which was to be exchanged for fish.<sup>340</sup> The Dano-Norwegian nobleman Henrik Krummedike planned to send a cargo ship to Bergen "or even further north".<sup>341</sup> In 1442, the Archbishop of Lund had in his service a Bremen merchant who exported stockfish from Bergen to Bremen or Deventer; in Bergen he may have sold some of his see's incomes in grain.<sup>342</sup> "Skipper Børge" was a Dane who called in at Bergen and sold a barrel of bread to the captain of Bergenhus.<sup>343</sup>

It is possible that historians have underestimated the amount of grain exported from Denmark to Bergen because few documents were produced about this trade. The Hansa towns were very literate for their time, their trade often suffered during wars, they were often in conflict with Norwegian authorities, and they paid customs duties, all of which left traces in written records. Danish merchants in Norway came into less written contact with the authorities. But this problem with source material does not affect the impression that trade with Denmark was of little importance.

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333 UBS<sup>t</sup>L III no. 532 = HUB IV no. 192 = DN III no. 350, cf. HR I, 2, 1 §7.

334 HUB VIII no. 925; HUB IX no. 153 (1460-ies).

335 HR III, 5, 403 §42

336 HR III, 2, 11 §4-8.

337 HUB VII no. 767 §48.

338 Unclear evidence for trade between Denmark and Norway: DN XIX no. 663 and HUB VI no. 32.

339 DN VIII nos. 586 and 643; XI no. 588; XII nos. 460 and 466; XIII nos. 527 and 626; XV nos. 490, 537 and 539.

340 DN X nos. 575-576. The captain's name was Esge Bilde.

341 DN XI no. 511 (1529).

342 RGP volume 35 no. 1573.

343 NRJ I, p. 74 (1518).

## I. QUANTIFYING BERGEN'S BALTIC TRADE IN THE LATE MIDDLE AGES

Only Bergen's trade with Lübeck can be quantified in tons and barrels, as was done in section 3a. In addition, we know the home towns of skippers who called in at Bergen during the period 1518–1523. But if we are to take these sets of information as our point of departure in formulating a picture of Bergen's total amount trade with the Baltic, we need a model of how the shipping routes were organised. In this chapter we have discussed two such models.

The first takes Lübeck as a “staple” town for Bergen's Baltic trade, in the sense that goods to and from Baltic ports were shipped via Lübeck. It has been shown that this model is relevant; goods were sent especially from Wismar and Danzig via Lübeck for further transport to Bergen. The second model involves direct return traffic between Bergen and each of the Baltic towns mentioned above. This model is also applicable, since we know that ships made such return voyages from Lübeck, Wismar, Rostock, Stralsund and Danzig.

To complicate matters further, a third model emerges for the period 1368–1400. Many ships and merchants from the Baltic towns just mentioned extended their trade journeys by sailing from Bergen to North Sea towns such as Boston, Bruges and Deventer, and not all of them visited Bergen on their return journey. Baltic skippers are also known to have sailed directly to Flanders and visited Bergen on the return trip. Bergen merchants called in at a large number of towns over a wide expanse of northern Europe, and captains could choose between many ports as the opportunity arose. They engaged in “tramp trade” (i.e. having no fixed schedule) with their home town as their base at the start of the sailing season. During the years 1518–1521, Bergen merchants from the Wendish towns no longer visited North Sea ports, so this third model ceased to apply. Danzig skippers and merchants still sailed to North Sea towns, but no longer to Bergen. During these years, then, only the two first models are relevant.

First we will discuss the third model, that is, evidence that Bergen was a connecting point for trade journeys between the two seas. Hansa captains and merchants who sailed between harbours in the North Sea and the Baltic were called *Umlandsfahrer*. This literally meant a person who sailed around the mainland, here meaning to the north of Jutland. Some of these men travelled via Bergen; English customs accounts show that for the years 1369–1400, an average of 12 ships sailed from Bergen to Boston, and most came from Baltic home ports.<sup>344</sup> Many of them must have sailed the route Baltic port–Bergen–Boston.

The *Pfundzoll* accounts from Lübeck list few sailings from Lübeck around Jutland to England or Flanders. One major reason for this was that if a ship sailed the Lübeck–Bergen–North Sea port–Bergen–Lübeck route, it would be registered in

<sup>344</sup> Tables II.21 and II.26.

the *Pfundzoll* only as sailing to and returning from Bergen. Ships carrying only ballast or goods in transit were also registered inconsistently. Table II.18 thus does not give a complete list of all ships sailing from Lübeck to the North Sea via Bergen during the periods covered by the relevant accounts.

Table II.18. Skippers who sailed from Lübeck to North Sea ports via Bergen

<b>Skipper</b>	<b>Source in PB</b>
<b>Lübeck–Flanders–Bergen–Lübeck</b>	
Rickart Lange	1398, p. 305 and 1399 p. 219
Rickart Lange	1400, pp. 141 and 146
Tidemann van Münster	1398, pp. 203 and 304
Johan van Huning <sup>(1)</sup>	1398, pp. 198 and 304
Gert Vischer <sup>(1)</sup>	1400, pp. 139 and 149
<b>Lübeck–Bergen–Flanders–Lübeck</b>	
Martin van Altzen	1379, pp. 50, 55 and 61
Klaus Gildemester	1381, pp. 44 and 55
<b>Lübeck–Bergen–England–Lübeck</b>	
Godeke van Achim <sup>(2)</sup>	1399, pp. 210 and 102

Source: PB 1368–1400

- (1) It is impossible to determine whether Huning and Vischer sailed the route given in the table or Bergen–Lübeck–Flanders.  
 (2) This ship is registered under the heading “from England”; 19 of the 24 merchants on board are known Bergenfahrer. It must have come directly from Boston, and its previous port of call must have been Bergen.

The shipping route Lübeck–Bergen–Boston–Lübeck is also described in a source from 1436. Officials in Danzig complained that six ships whose home port was Lübeck, had broken a blockade by transporting fish from Bergen to Boston, and from there sailing back to Lübeck with cloth.<sup>345</sup>

No parallel customs accounts exist for journeys between Lübeck and Boston, so it is not possible to follow ships between the two ports. For the years 1368–1400, there are 182 skippers registered in the *Pfundzoll* as sailing to or from Bergen; seven of them are registered in Boston with stockfish cargoes during the same period.

Table II.19. Skippers registered in both the Lübeck *Pfundzoll* accounts going to or from Bergen, and in the customs accounts from Boston with cargoes of stockfish

<b>Skipper</b>	<b>Source</b>
Nicholas Gildemester	B 5/4/1384; Appendix II no. 18
Johan Lüneburg	B 14/10/1401; B 13/4/1404; Appendix II no. 82
Johan Luchow	B 11/11/1401; Appendix II no. 86
Nicholas Rotermund	B 3/11/1400; Appendix II no. 72
Hinrik van Sund	B 26/3/1366, B 4/2/1387; Appendix II nos. 11 and 26

<sup>345</sup> HR II, 2, 87, cf. nos. 26 and 65; More on this conflict below p. 149.

<b>Skipper</b>	<b>Source</b>
Fredrik van Varle	B 30/10/1387, B 8/5/1388; Appendix II nos. 35, 37 and 50
Klaus Vur	B 4/2/1387; Appendix II no. 27

Sources: *Pfundzoll* from Lübeck and customs accounts from Boston

Our evidence does not confirm that the seven skippers in table II.19 visited Lübeck and Boston in the same season, but it is reasonable to assume that they did so. The skippers Klaus Gildemester in table II.18 and Nicholas Gildemester in table II.19 are probably the same man. In 1381 he plied the Lübeck–Bergen–Flanders–Lübeck route, and in 1384 he sailed from Bergen to Boston, probably starting the season in Lübeck. Most skippers during this period used their home town as the port of departure during the season. A captain from a Baltic town who sailed from Bergen to eastern England very probably had started his season by sailing from his home town to Bergen, and then continuing on to England. Many Hansa skippers in Boston came from Baltic home towns.<sup>346</sup>

A closer analysis of shipping between Lübeck and Bergen for the years 1368–1400 confirms the relevance of the third model during this period. Table II.20 shows the number of sailings to Bergen (second column) and sailings from Bergen (third column). But a ship which sailed to Bergen often did not return from Bergen in the same season. The total number of ships which must have called in at Bergen on their way to or from Lübeck in a single season is shown in the last column.

Table II.20. Ships in the Bergen *Pfundzoll* accounts; only complete years are included

<b>Year</b>	<b>Sailings from Lübeck to Bergen</b>	<b>Sailings from Bergen to Lübeck</b>	<b>Ships in Bergen arriving from/ sailing to Lübeck</b>
1379	31	27	41
1381	28	20	40
1383	22	23	37
1384	22	25	33
1399	18	19	32
1400	18	21	35
average	23	23	36

Source: Appendix III. One “sailing” here means a visit to Bergen. A ship could visit Bergen more than once in the same season.

There were on average 23 departures to Bergen and 23 arrivals from Bergen, in all 46 sailings to or from Bergen. On average 10 ships, or 44%, sailed the return route Lübeck–Bergen–Lübeck and 26 ships sailed in one direction to or from a port other than Lübeck, which means that 46 sailings represented 36 different visits to Bergen.

<sup>346</sup> Table II.26.

Most of the 36 annual visits to Bergen were made by skippers who visited the town only once in a season, although a few of them visited Bergen two or even three times. The most probable explanation for these figures is that the skippers were engaged in “tramp trade”. Ships were chartered from Lübeck to Bergen; once in Bergen, they signed new contracts which could take them to a North Sea port or back to a Baltic port. As far as I can tell, the third model is most relevant for the years 1368–1400. But many ships also sailed and traded along the lines of the first two models.

In the period 1518–1523, the Lübeck *Bergenfahrer* sent goods from Wismar and Rostock, their Freight Lords chartered ships in these towns and the skippers sailed directly to Bergen. In the intervening period from 1400 to 1518, Lübeck merchants and skippers gradually ceased to send ships to many ports in the two northern seas, and increasingly engaged in return traffic to their home town.

How many ships may have sailed from all the Baltic ports to Bergen? For the years 1368–1400, we only have figures from Lübeck, and the sailing pattern between relevant ports is complex. We may nevertheless assume that the third model outlined above is the most relevant one. Skippers who sailed from a Baltic port to Bergen enjoyed a free market for the return voyage, and therefore every skipper had an equal chance of returning to any of the Baltic ports which traded with Bergen, proportional to their importance in the Bergen trade. In table II.20 23 ships were registered as travelling from Lübeck to Bergen, and 10 of these returned to Lübeck. An unknown number ( $x$ ) of ships sailed from all Baltic ports to Bergen, and 23 of these are registered as returning to Lübeck. This gives us the equation  $23 \div 10 = x \div 23$ , so  $x$  is 53, which may be a “guesstimate” of how many ships actually sailed annually from the Baltic to Bergen during this period. In the normal years 1518 and 1521, 60 and 63 ships respectively arrived in Bergen from the Baltic,<sup>347</sup> which is not far from our calculation of 53.

There are no clues to help us produce figures for stockfish exports from Bergen to all Baltic ports for the period 1368–1400. In a normal year, 220–250 tons of stockfish were registered as going to Lübeck alone.<sup>348</sup> As was shown above, stockfish was also sent to Rostock and Danzig, probably to Wismar and Stralsund as well. On their return journey from Bergen, the ships sailed empty or half empty, so it was the capacity needs for the northwards journey which determined the number of ships chartered. A large proportion of the imported stockfish was sold in the Baltic towns' hinterland, and because Lübeck had a more populous hinterland than the other Baltic towns, one should assume that stockfish exports to Lübeck were considerably larger than to any other Baltic town.

<sup>347</sup> Table II.1 and the discussion following the table.  $\div$  in the equation means “divided by”.

<sup>348</sup> Cf. pp. 113–114.

#### 4. BERGEN'S ENGLISH CONNECTION

There is a consensus that Bergen's trade with England was important in the High Middle Ages. Less attention has been paid to the English connection in the Late Middle Ages. It should be considered an established fact that trade and shipping to England declined; the open question is how rapidly this happened, and how important Bergen's trade with England was at different points in time compared to its trade with the Baltic and continental North Sea ports.

Earlier research has focused on English merchants and neglected Hansa merchants trading with England. The discussion of causes for the decline in this commerce has therefore in practice involved questions about why English merchants stopped visiting Bergen. Alexander Bugge emphasised "the violent behaviour of the Germans" towards the English;<sup>349</sup> Schreiner that the English merchants had little grain to offer.<sup>350</sup> Postan examined the interests of English merchants all over northern Europe during this era, and emphasised the numerous periods of privateering and open warfare between England and the Hansa towns as the main reason for the decline of English trading in the Baltic and Scandinavia, Bergen included, in the 15<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>351</sup> Bugge and Schreiner agree that the English turned to Iceland from 1412 onwards as a result of problems in Bergen.<sup>352</sup> None of these authors attached much importance to the parallel decline in Hansa trade with England or its causes.

##### A. THE HANSEATIC SETTLEMENT IN BOSTON

The Bergen trade was not the Hansa merchants' only motive for visiting Boston. Around 1300, the export of wool to Flanders was a source of income for Hansa merchants in Boston, the *Bergenfahrer* included.<sup>353</sup> The Hansa lost their position in the wool trade in the 1320s–1330s.<sup>354</sup>

English cloth had been the main Hansa export from Boston from the very start. Bergen was not the only market for this commodity; from England as a whole, the Baltic was the final destination for most of it. From the 1360s, Hanseatic cloth exports from Boston increased and remained at a high level.<sup>355</sup> The highest single year for these shipments was in 1402, with exports of 2934 "cloths of assize".<sup>356</sup> But during the Hanseatic evacuation of Bergen in 1427–33, the export of English cloth

349 BUGGE, *Den norske sjøfarts historie*, p. 300.

350 SCHREINER, *Hanseatene og Norge*, p. 32.

351 POSTAN, *England and the Hanse*, pp. 151–153.

352 BUGGE, *Den norske sjøfarts historie*, p. 300; SCHREINER, *Hanseatene og Norge*, p. 32.

353 Cf. p. 76: ENGEL, *Deutsch-hansischen Kaufleute in England*, p. 446.

354 LLOYD, *English Wool Trade*, pp. 142–143.

355 CARUS-WILSON, *England's export trade*, pp. 77ff.

356 *Ibid.* p. 88.

declined and never regained its former strength.<sup>357</sup> In many years there were no exports of English cloth by Hansa merchants from Boston, and the last year of any significance was in 1491 (146 “cloths of assize”). The export of cloth to the Baltic had been moved to London, where it was still significant. It is not clear when cloth exports from Boston ceased to find a Baltic market and became destined for Bergen only. The main point for our purposes is that Hansa merchants never had a problem finding attractive English exports which were in demand in Bergen as well as the Baltic. They could even supplement their exports of cloth<sup>358</sup> with grain.<sup>359</sup> The reason for their withdrawal from Boston and eastern England was not the lack of exportable goods.

The main commercial interest of Boston merchants throughout the Late Middle Ages was the Bergen trade. In 1383 and later, the community of Hansa merchants in Boston was called *dey Copman van Northbergen dey Engellant hanteren* (Bergenfahrer who visit England regularly).<sup>360</sup> In 1407,<sup>361</sup> 1411<sup>362</sup> and 1413,<sup>363</sup> all Hansa merchants in Boston<sup>364</sup> had to answer for injustices committed against Englishmen in Bergen.

There were Hanseatic winter residents and house owners even in Boston, but not many. In 1411, the English king ordered that merchants who were resident in Boston and shipped goods to Bergen were to be arrested. Nine named Bergenfahrer were detained. The order was issued on the 4<sup>th</sup> of March, which was so early in the sailing season that the detained traders are likely to have been winter residents.<sup>365</sup> In 1394, the Lübeck Bergenfahrer Wilken van Benthem bequeathed in his will “all the houses and equipment which I have in Bergen and England, and which may belong

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357 Ibid. pp. 93–94.

358 BRUNS, *Bergenfahrer*, p. 183; HR II, 3, 531; Calendar of Patent Rolls 1452–1461, p. 348.

359 *Hanseakten aus England* no. 232; Calendar of Patent Rolls 1413–1416, p. 320.

360 DN XIX no. 608 = NGL 2.rk. I no. 357 = HUB IV no. 768 (1383); HUB V no. 1000 (1411); HUB IV no. 791 (1388).

361 DN XIX nos. 705 = HUB V no 757; DN XIX no. 707 = HUB V no. 756; DN XIX no. 708 = HUB V no. 779; HUB V nos. 758–760 included in no. 779.

362 HUB V no. 1000 = DN XIX no. 725; HUB V no. 1012 = HR I, 6, 79 = DN XIX no. 726; HUB V no. 1023 = DN XIX no. 727; HUB V no. 1024 = DN XIX no. 728; cf. HUB VI no. 58 = DN XX nos. 740–741; Partly overlapping with the preceding are the following summaries from HR: HR I, 6, 37 §1, no. 39 and nos. 79–84 (= Foedera VIII, pp. 722, 736, 684, 700 and 736); Calendar of Patent Rolls 1408–1413, pp. 166 and 400.

363 Calendar of Close Rolls 1413–1419, p. 12.

364 *Mercatores de Hansa apud villam de Sancto Bothulfo ad presens existentibus* (HUB V no. 757 = DN XIX no. 705).

365 HUB V no. 1000 = HR I, 6, 82 = *Calendar of Close Rolls* 1409–13, p. 152 = DN XIX no. 725.

to me” to his partner and nephew Sweder van Benthem and his cousin and fellow Bergenfahrer Johan Nybberg.<sup>366</sup> “In England” evidently meant “in Boston”.

In 1303 and 1316/17, German aldermen are mentioned in Boston, which means that they had established an organisation there.<sup>367</sup> In 1350, a Lübeck citizen bequeathed to “the merchants in Boston” a cloth to cover a coffin. It was probably of high quality material and was to be used for many burials,<sup>368</sup> as this was when the Black Death was sweeping through northern Europe. The German colony in Boston at this time was dominated by Bergenfahrer.

The Bergenfahrer in Boston were under the supervision of both the Bergen Kontor and the London Kontor. In 1383, the latter complained that *dey copman van Busten, dey Nortberghen hanteren* had for many years neglected to pay a duty called *schot* into the Hanseatic coffers in London, which Hansa merchants were required to do in other English ports. The aldermen in London exacted this duty because they were “the supreme judicial authority” for all Hansa merchants in England.<sup>369</sup> Even though it not stated explicitly, it is evident that over the preceding years the Bergenfahrer in Boston had looked to Bergen, and not London, as their higher legal authority. The aldermen in London took drastic measures to make the Boston community obey them. They had a protector among the leading citizens in London called the Kontor’s English alderman, who was elected by the Hansa merchants but installed in his office by the King.<sup>370</sup> He summoned the representatives of the Boston Bergenfahrer to London. When they were informed of the London Kontor’s demands, they left the city in defiance of the Kontor’s alderman, who in turn requested that the King arrest all Bergenfahrer in Boston. The merchants capitulated and sent their alderman to London with two other representatives.<sup>371</sup>

These representatives committed the Boston merchants to paying the same amount of *schot* duty to the London Kontor as did all Hansa merchants in London and other English ports, but they were permitted to retain five pounds annually for expenses in Boston. When Hansa privileges were negotiated with English authorities, they were to share the expenses. They promised to appear when summoned to London. The Boston aldermen could submit legal conflicts to the Kontor in London.<sup>372</sup> But it is not stated that individual merchants in Boston could appear their

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366 BRUNS, *Bergenfahrer*, p. 35. On Sweder van Benthem cf. appendix II no. 141) 5, on Johan Nybberg cf. appendix II 103) 1; cf. ENGEL, *Deutsch-Hansische Kaufleute in England 1913*, p. 488

367 HUB II no. 40 = DN XIX no. 426; HUB II no. 299.

368 BRUNS, *Bergenfahrer*, p. XII.

369 HR I, 8, 909.

370 DOLLINGER, *La Hanse*, p. 130; English translation, p. 103; German translation, pp. 138–139; CARUS-WILSON, *Hanse und England*, p. 88; ENGEL, *Deutsch-hansischen Kaufleute in England 1914*, pp. 191ff.

371 Calendar of Close Rolls 1381–1385, p. 286.

372 DN XIX no. 608 = NGL 2.rk. I no. 357 = HUB IV no. 768.

cases or lawsuits to London, so in practice they had not fully given up their legal independence. In 1400, the Bergen aldermen sent two named Rostock merchants to Boston, where their case was settled or judged under the jurisdiction of the Bergen Kontor (*in nostra jurisdictione*).<sup>373</sup> The latter considered itself to be a higher legal authority which could delegate cases to Boston. This did not exclude the London Kontor from exercising similar authority when the nature of the case required it. In 1437, a Hansa Diet prohibited all traffic to England, and the Bergenfahrer in Boston had to answer in London for sailing from Bergen to Boston in violation of the ban.<sup>374</sup> The Hansa settlement in Boston retained this ambiguous judicial and political position as long as it existed.

In times of war and conflict, this could prove to be an advantage. In 1405, a Hansa Diet decided to blockade England, with the sole exception of trade to Bergen.<sup>375</sup> During the years 1433–1437, there was a war between the Hansa and England. In 1434 goods belonging to Wendish merchants were confiscated, but the London Kontor managed to negotiate free passage for goods belonging to Bergenfahrer and Hamburg merchants.<sup>376</sup> The following year the Hansa blockaded England again.<sup>377</sup> But Danzig officials complained that six ships from Lübeck had broken the blockade and sailed with fish from Bergen to Boston, and from there with cloth to Lübeck.<sup>378</sup> The Bergen Kontor had given its permission for this, but the London Kontor ordered two skippers and two merchants to stand trial in London.<sup>379</sup> The case ended up being heard before the town council of London, and it included 12 other representatives of those who had sailed illegally from Bergen to Boston.<sup>380</sup> The Bergen Kontor defended them throughout because it felt this war had nothing to do with the Bergenfahrer.<sup>381</sup>

In 1407,<sup>382</sup> 1411<sup>383</sup> and 1413,<sup>384</sup> English authorities confiscated goods in Boston belonging to Bergenfahrer because English merchants had been treated unjustly

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373 HUB V no. 456.

374 Cf. HR II, 2, 25.

375 HR I, 5, 225 §5.

376 HR II, 1, 320.

377 POSTAN, England and the Hanse, p. 117.

378 HR II, 2, 87, cf. nos. 26 and 65.

379 Ibid. no. 25.

380 Ibid. nos. 28 and 79 §8, cf. no. 88.

381 HR II, 7, 464.

382 HUB V no. 757 = DN XIX no. 705; HUB V no. 756 = DN XIX no. 707; HUB V no. 779 = DN XIX no. 708; HUB V nos. 758–760 are documents quoted in HUB V no. 779.

383 HUB V no. 1000 = DN XIX no. 725; DN XIX no. 726 = HUB V no. 1012 = HR I, 6, 79; HUB V no. 1023 = DN XIX no. 727; HUB V no. 1024 = DN XIX no. 728; cf. HUB VI no. 58 = DN XX nos. 740–741. Partly overlapping with the preceding are the following summaries from HR: HR I, 6, 37 §1, no. 39 and nos. 79–84 (= Foedera VIII, pp. 722, 736, 684, 700 and 736); Calendar of Patent Rolls 1408–1413, pp. 166 and 400.

384 Calendar of Close Rolls 1413–1419, p. 12.

by the Hansa in Bergen. The English considered the Hansa settlement in Boston to be so closely connected to the Bergen Kontor that they held the Boston merchants, and only them, responsible for the actions of their colleagues in Bergen.

There is rich evidence for trade between Bergen and Boston in the 1380s.<sup>385</sup> Between the years 1383 and 1388, 10 ships chartered by Bergenfahrer from Lübeck were plundered by Flemish pirates who were protected by Scottish noblemen. This happened “at sea outside Scotland,” and the ships were loaded with, among other things, stockfish.<sup>386</sup> One of the ships is said to have been chartered by “Bergenfahrer in Boston”;<sup>387</sup> the others are said to have been chartered by “Bergenfahrer”. In reality, all of them must have been sailing on the Bergen–Boston route, or why else would they have been out at sea to the east of Scotland?

In 1440, *de gemene copman der Bergenvarer, nu to Bustene in England wesende* (the community of Bergenfahrer who now are present in Boston in England) wrote to a diet of Hansa towns that English merchants should not be permitted to export grain from the Wendish towns.<sup>388</sup> This letter is the last hard evidence for an organisation of Bergenfahrer in Boston. Bruns has published 229 wills written by Bergenfahrer during the years 1350–1529; interests in Boston or “England” are mentioned in 11 of them. Ten of the 11 are evenly spread over the years 1350–1436,<sup>389</sup> and the last one is from 1483.<sup>390</sup> In 1449, shipping to England by the Baltic Hansa towns, Lübeck included, was dealt a heavy blow from which it never recovered. About 50 Hansa ships carrying salt from France were captured by English pirates in a single attack; 14 were owned by citizens of Lübeck.<sup>391</sup> Following this, the Hansa tried in vain to obtain compensation. The Bergenfahrer received their share of trouble; in 1449, ships owned by merchants from the Kontor in Bergen were plundered in Boston harbour.<sup>392</sup> As a result, Hansa merchants from Lübeck and neighbouring towns reduced their trade with England.

Scattered sources show that Hansa merchants did not stop sailing from Bergen to Boston entirely. In 1447, before the attacks in 1449, goods belonging to “Bergenfahrer in Boston” were confiscated as reparations for losses an English merchant had suffered in Norway.<sup>393</sup> In 1457, four Hansa merchants shipped a large consignment

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385 Calendar of Close Rolls 1381–1385, p. 619; DN XIX no. 613 = *Hanseakten aus England* no. 225; *Hanseakten aus England* no. 232; DN XIX no. 614 = Calendar of Close Rolls 1385–1389, p. 358 = *Hanseakten aus England* no. 241.

386 HUB IV no. 891; HUB V no. 118; UBStL IV no. 506.

387 HUB V no. 132; UBStL IV no. 596; HUB IV no. 791.

388 HR II, 2, 354 §10.

389 BRUNS, *Bergenfahrer*, pp. XII, 14, 17, 25, 35, 42, 45, 47, 54 and 67.

390 *Ibid.* p. 124.

391 HR II, 3, 531; DOLLINGER, *La Hanse*, p. 373; English translation, pp. 303–304; German translation, p. 392.

392 HR II, 3, 531.

393 HR II, 3, 283; HR II, 7, 488 §11; UBStL VIII no. 411.

of cloth from Boston to Bergen.<sup>394</sup> In 1466, the “Gabriel” sailed from Bergen to Boston and was in distress outside King’s Lynn. The merchants on board vowed to donate a large sum of money for St. Olav’s altar in the church of St. Nicholas in Stralsund if the ship was saved. In 1477, two Lübeck citizens handed over this donation in Stralsund; they represented 12 “Englandsfahrer from Bergen” and “many others”, all of whom had probably owned goods on the “Gabriel” on its 1466 voyage. A significant number of Bergenfahrer still had interests in the Boston trade in the 1460s.<sup>395</sup>

The Kontor in Bergen carried out stringent checks to ensure that Hansa merchants from the Zuiderzee did not ship their goods on ships from Holland; they had formulated the general rule that the Bergenfahrer should not use non-Hanseatic shipping if Hansa vessels were available. In the 1460s, Hanseatic merchants shipped their goods to Boston on English ships, and *vice versa*. This should be interpreted as a sign of crisis. Both German and English trade between Bergen and England had declined to a low level, and available cargo capacity had to be exploited, irrespective of nationality. In 1463, 4 of 7 merchants on a ship from Stralsund were English.<sup>396</sup> On the 4<sup>th</sup> of January 1468, an English ship, the “Gabriel of Boston”, arrived in Boston from Bergen; one of the merchants on board was from Lübeck, another from Wismar.<sup>397</sup> We also find Englishmen mentioned on Hansa ships in the records for Lynn from 1390–1402, which was during the final years of Hansa trade in that port.<sup>398</sup>

In 1468–1474, there was again open conflict between England and the Hansa. It started when German merchants in England were arrested and their goods confiscated. At least five were arrested in Boston; the goods listed for two of them included stockfish, fish oil and personal equipment.<sup>399</sup> The Bergenfahrer in Boston were represented by the London Kontor in this conflict.<sup>400</sup> When the Hansa blockaded England starting in 1470, the Kontor in Bergen was warned through a special message.<sup>401</sup>

The war lasted from 1471 to 1474, and after this “some Bergenfahrer” asked a Hansa Diet to be compensated for their losses from an indemnity which the English king had consented to offer all Hansa merchants.<sup>402</sup> This was possibly one of the same merchants who in 1487 received a testimonial from the Bergen Kontor so that

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394 Calendar of Patent Rolls 1425–1461, p. 348.

395 HUB X no. 599.

396 Appendix II no. 147.

397 Appendix II, nos. 151) 1 and 151) 3.

398 Appendix II, nos. 157–169.

399 HUB IX no. 541 section II and section III §6, §7 and §8; HR III, 2, 114.

400 HUB IX no. 439 §30, §31 and §96–98.

401 HR II, 6, 184 §49; *ibid.* no. 356 §38 and §71.

402 HR III, 2, 26 §38; cf. POSTAN, *England and the Hanse*, p. 137.

he could get compensation in Lübeck for losses he had suffered “on his English journey”.<sup>403</sup>

After this conflict ended, the Hansa’s trade to Boston did not really resume again. The last Baltic skipper to be registered in the customs accounts from Boston arrived before the war in 1467; his ship was called “Lyoop of Danzig”<sup>404</sup> After 1474, only two ships are registered with Hansa merchants on board in extant customs accounts in Boston, and both ships were English-owned and from Boston.<sup>405</sup> The Lübeck merchant Hans Brinck is the last known Bergenfahrer in Boston; he died in 1487. He was in partnership with a Bergenfahrer who was also from Lübeck. Brinck sent English cloth to Bergen and received stockfish in return, in the traditional way. He does not seem to have owned a house in Boston, so he may have rented rooms at the Hanseatic *Stalhof* there or lodged privately.<sup>406</sup> Bruns has published 229 Bergenfahrer wills from 1350–1529, and the last one to mention interests in Boston or England dates from 1483, which was the will of Hans Brinck.<sup>407</sup> There is no evidence for trade between Bergen and Boston later than the 1480s.

The extant documents dated after 1468 concerning the Hansa settlement in Boston mostly refer to conflicts about rights. As a result of the 1474 peace agreement, the London Kontor and the settlement in Boston received full property rights to the warehouses with apartments which the Hansa merchants had up till then rented, and the state was to buy a warehouse for Hansa merchants in Lynn.<sup>408</sup> The warehouse in Boston bore the same name as that in London, *Stalhof*. The new warehouse in Lynn was handed over to representatives of the London Kontor,<sup>409</sup> while the warehouse in Boston was handed over to the London Kontor and the guild of Bergenfahrer in Lübeck, who were also to supervise it.<sup>410</sup> In the London *Stalhof*, it was possible for individual merchants to hire both storerooms and living quarters. This was evidently also the case in Boston and Lynn, even though it is not stated explicitly in the extant sources. As mentioned above, earlier in 1394, a Bergenfahrer from Lübeck did own a private house in Boston.<sup>411</sup>

The London Kontor then tried to extend their powers. They demanded that all *shot* duties collected in Boston should be sent to London, and the Boston Bergen-

403 DN XVI no. 293.

404 Appendix II, no. 149.

405 Appendix II, nos. 152 and 153.

406 BRUNS, Bergenfahrer, pp. 124 and 183.

407 *Ibid.*, p. 124.

408 HR II, 7, 44 §12; *ibid.* no. 107 §8; *ibid.* no. 138 §40; *ibid.* no. 142 §8.

409 HUB X no. 411.

410 HR II, 7, 187 = NGL 2.rk. II no. 426.

411 BRUNS, Bergenfahrer, p. 35. Wilken van Benthem left in his will one or more houses “in England” to Sweder van Benthem, who in 1407 and 1411 was the representative of the Bergenfahrer in Boston (HUB V no. 757 = DN XIX no. 705; HUB V no. 1024 = DN XIX no. 728). Cf. ENGEL, *Deutsch-Hansische Kaufleute in England 1913*, p. 488.

fahrer should be formally forbidden to elect their own alderman, as they had done in earlier times (*vortyden*). A Hansa Diet in 1476 consented to the Londoners' demands to receive Boston's *shot*, but the Boston community was to keep their formal right to elect an alderman, even though the diet admitted that the Boston community had not exercised this right for a long time.<sup>412</sup> As mentioned above, there probably had not been an alderman in Boston since the 1440s. Behind this decision can be seen Lübeck's interests. After 1474, the guild of Bergenfahrer in Lübeck supervised the Boston settlement jointly with the London Kontor, and if an alderman was elected for Boston he would almost certainly be from Lübeck. In London, Lübeck's influence was weaker.

The two Lübeck citizens who in 1477 presented the previously mentioned donation for St. Olav's altar in Stralsund called themselves *nu tor tiit vulmechtigen procuratoribus unde umbadeslude der Engelandesvarer van Bergen ut Norwegen to Bustene vorkerende* (at the present time authorised agents and representatives of the England merchants from Bergen in Norway who travel to Boston).<sup>413</sup> The titles "authorised agent" and "representative" indicate that they had been given special authority to carry out this task. If they had represented a permanent organisation, they would have used the title "aldermen".<sup>414</sup>

Boston's loss of control of their own *shot* accelerated its decline. The buildings decayed, and in 1481 the Bergen Kontor, on behalf of the settlement in Boston, asked the London Kontor to contribute financially to the maintenance of the Hanseatic warehouse in Boston *dat welke szere bowfellich is* (which is very dilapidated).<sup>415</sup> Three years later, the *Stalhof* in London had loaned £20 to *de copman van Bergen to Busteyn residerende* (the Bergenfahrers who reside in Boston).<sup>416</sup> That is the last time the Hanseatic settlement is referred to as a collective organisation.

In 1495, the Bergen Kontor wrote to the guild of Lübeck Bergenfahrer saying that they would write to them later about the valuables (*clenodien*) in Boston.<sup>417</sup> It is not stated what the problem was, but probably the settlement in Boston was no longer being visited by Hanseatic merchants, and the Bergen Kontor therefore wanted to take possession of the assets there. But the London Kontor had loaned "large sums" to pay for repairs to the warehouse in Boston and claimed these assets as an instalment.<sup>418</sup>

The Hanseatic settlement in Boston is mentioned in the extant sources for the last time in 1505. The London Kontor claimed that the warehouse in Boston was "very dilapidated" and that "nobody goes there with their goods". They assumed

412 HR II, 7, 338, p. 540 (§7 and §8) and p. 543 (§7 and §8).

413 HUB X no. 599.

414 Cf. HUB IV no. 768 = NGL 2.rk. I no. 357.

415 HR III, 1, 347 §9.

416 Ibid. no. 501 §52.

417 DN XVI no. 319 (10.06.1495).

418 HR III, 5, 58.

that the Bergenfahrer avoided Boston because they were afraid that the London Kontor would pressure them] to repay the large sums which the Kontor had spent on the warehouse repairs. The London Kontor promised to do nothing contrary to the instructions from the Hansa Diets on the matter. Some young Hansa merchants in Bergen planned to resume the traffic, and the London Kontor asked Lübeck to encourage these plans,<sup>419</sup> but nothing materialised. The Bergenfahrer perhaps suspected that the London Kontor's main motive was to get their money back, not to encourage Hansa trade between England and Norway. Distrust between the two Kontors may have cemented the demise of the Boston settlement.

There were more fundamental causes for Boston's decline. It was not tempting ca. 1500 for Hansa merchants to use the Hanseatic facilities in Boston where they had to pay special duties in addition to English customs; moreover, English merchants were by then supplying the English market with stockfish from Iceland. The settlement in Boston fell victim to the problems which at this time broke the Hansa's dominance all over northern Europe: it was an expensive and restrictive organisation which served no practical purposes for the individual merchants, and competitors were growing increasingly strong.

Lynn was a secondary port for Hanseatic shipping between Bergen and England; it is mentioned in 1387, 1411 and 1487.<sup>420</sup> London was a great international port, but it is only mentioned once in the Late Medieval Bergen trade sources, in 1476.<sup>421</sup> Neither of these two ports were of significance for our purposes.

## B. QUANTIFYING THE GOODS OF HANSA MERCHANTS

Hansa merchants primarily imported into England stockfish, in the sources called *pisces que dicuntur stockfish*,<sup>422</sup> *pisces vocatos stockfish*,<sup>423</sup> *stockfish*,<sup>424</sup> *pisces durus*,<sup>425</sup> *vissche*,<sup>426</sup> *Bergervisch*,<sup>427</sup> *langen*, *rakelwissche*, *lotwissche*, *hallefwassene*, *cropelinge* and *titelinge*.<sup>428</sup> Where a variety of commodities are listed for a ship's cargoes, stockfish dominated,<sup>429</sup>

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419 Ibid.

420 *Hanseakten aus England* no. 232; DN XIX no. 726; BRUNS, Bergenfahrer, p. 183.

421 HR II, 7, 343 §13 = NGL 2.rk. II, p. 741 §13.

422 Calendar of Close Rolls 1349–1354, p. 259 = DN XIX no. 569.

423 HUB III no. 197 = Calendar of Close Rolls 1349–1354, p. 297 = DN XIX no. 570.

424 DN XIX no. 568 = Calendar of Close Rolls 1349–1354, p. 167 = HUB III no. 166; DN XIX no. 594 = HR I, 3, 102; HR III, 2, 114; Calendar of Close Rolls 1381–1385, p. 619.

425 *Hanseakten aus England* no. 154 = DN XIX no. 572 = Calendar of Close Rolls 1349–1354, p. 323.

426 UBStL IV no. 506; DN XVI no. 293; HR II, 2, 87; BRUNS, Bergenfahrer, p. 183.

427 HUB IX no. 541, section IV §2; HR II, 7, 343 §13 = NGL 2.rk. II, p. 741 §13; HR I, 5, 225 §5.

428 UBStL IV no. 506.

429 Ibid.

and when only one commodity is mentioned, it is always stockfish.<sup>430</sup> Other itemised goods include fish oil (*oleum*),<sup>431</sup> seal blubber (*zelesmolte*),<sup>432</sup> skins of beaver, otter, squirrel, stoat (*ermine*) and marten, and hides from sheep, goats and cattle.<sup>433</sup>

In 1376, the King of England wrote to his bailiff in Boston that stockfish was imported there in larger quantities than to any other port, and he ordered the bailiff to take measures so that there would be no dearth of it in the realm.<sup>434</sup> English authorities gave the Hanseatic stockfish merchants special treatment. In 1350–1351, Hansa merchants protested against a new customs duty which English authorities had imposed on them. The outcome was that Hansa merchants who arrived in Boston from Norway with stockfish were exempted from this.<sup>435</sup> Earlier, eight Hansa ships in Boston carrying cargoes of Norwegian stockfish had obtained individual exemptions from this duty.<sup>436</sup> Later the same year, an English merchant in Sluys in Flanders was killed by a Hansa merchant,<sup>437</sup> so all Hansa merchants in England had their goods seized, with the exception of those transporting Norwegian stockfish to Boston.<sup>438</sup> Two Hansa ships arriving in Boston from Bergen had earlier received individual exemptions from the same seizures.<sup>439</sup> The English chancery evidently attributed great importance to the stockfish imports from Norway.

The basis for quantifying stockfish exports from Bergen to England in the Late Middle Ages is the same as for the High Middle Ages: the English customs accounts.<sup>440</sup> The extant accounts for all eastern English ports from Newcastle to Yarmouth plus London have been examined. Appendix II lists all ships registered with Hanseatic, English and Norwegian skippers and merchants whose goods are likely to have been taken on board in Norway.

All Hansa ships transporting cargoes of stockfish or fish are registered in Appendix II; these were the most typical Bergen commodities. If the other goods loaded on the ship are also known to have been export commodities from Norway, and

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430 HUB III no. 197 = Calendar of Close Rolls 1349–1354, p. 297 = DN XIX no. 570; *Hanseakten aus England* no. 154 = DN XIX no. 572 = Calendar of Close Rolls 1349–1354, p. 323; Calendar of Close Rolls 1381–1385, p. 619 .

431 DN XIX no. 568 = Calendar of Close Rolls 1349–1354, p. 167 = HUB III no. 166; DN XIX no. 569 = Calendar of Close Rolls 1349–1354, p. 259.

432 UBS<sup>t</sup>L IV no. 506.

433 Ibid.

434 Calendar of Close Rolls 1374–1377, p. 303 (1376).

435 HUB III no. 197 = Calendar of Close Rolls 1349–1354, p. 297 = DN XIX no. 570.

436 HUB III no. 166 = DN XIX no. 568 = Calendar of Close Rolls 1349–1354, p. 167; DN XIX no. 569 = Calendar of Close Rolls 1349–1354, p. 259.

437 Calendar of Patent Rolls 1350–1354, p. 183.

438 *Hanseakten aus England* no. 154 = Calendar of Close Rolls 1349–1354, p. 323 = DN XIX no. 572.

439 *Hanseakten aus England* no. 147 = Calendar of Close Rolls 1349–1354, p. 385 = DN XIX no. 571.

440 Cf. chapter I.3g.

there were merchants on board who other sources recognise as Bergenfahrer, this strengthens the assumption that the ship came from Bergen. Appendix II demonstrates that Hansa ships fulfilling these criteria almost exclusively are to be found in the customs accounts from Boston, a few also in King's Lynn. Records from Newcastle, Hull, Yarmouth and London have none. The two last Hansa ships from Bergen arrived in Boston in 1484.<sup>441</sup> The analysis of the other sources in the preceding section (4a) shows the same pattern geographically and chronologically. Fish imports to England from Iceland started about 1415.<sup>442</sup> Until 1475, the Hansa had negligible commercial interests in Icelandic waters.<sup>443</sup> The only Hansa ships which may have arrived from Iceland are two vessels which docked in Boston in 1484.<sup>444</sup> But this is unlikely, since both had known Bergenfahrer on board. Appendix II demonstrates that the criteria mentioned above are sufficient to identify Hansa ships sailing from Bergen and other ports in Norway. These criteria were worked out on the basis of sources other than the customs accounts, and can be used as a methodological tool to analyse the accounts. A more detailed discussion of the problems connected with these criteria in the identification of Hansa ships coming from Bergen is to be found in the introduction to Appendix II.

Table II.21 gives the annual average for the number of ships and the value of their cargoes imported into Boston from Bergen. The customs accounts from the time of the Black Death up to 1400 are examined separately, because they cover the same period as the Lübeck *Pfundzoll* accounts. There are 16 accounts for Boston from 1365 to 1400 which have been preserved. Only two of them cover one year or more; the others are only fragments and cover only certain months. To include the latter in the averages, I have calculated the average import value for each month, and then added them together to arrive at the annual value. If an account starts or ends part way through a month, this will appear as a decimal portion in the table.

Table II.21. Value of goods shipped from Norway to Boston, 1365–1400; monthly and annual averages

Month	Number of accounts <sup>(1)</sup>	Value in £	Number of ships
January	6	0	0
February	6	522	0.83
March	6	705	1.67
April	5.87	589	1.36
May	6.27	317	0.64
June	6	0	0
July	6	55	0.17
August	5	0	0

<sup>441</sup> Appendix II nos. 152 and 153.

<sup>442</sup> CARUS-WILSON, *The Iceland Trade*, pp. 161–162.

<sup>443</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 181.

<sup>444</sup> Appendix II nos. 152 and 153.

Month	Number of accounts <sup>(1)</sup>	Value in £	Number of ships
September	5	550	0.80
October	6.50	1974	4.15
November	7	1270	2.14
December	8.23	131	0.24
annual average		6113	12.00

Source: Appendix II

(1) There are 16 extant customs rolls from this period. Two of them, covering the periods 26/8/1377–30/6/1378 (PRO E-122/7/13) and 8/3–16/6/1390 (PRO E-122/7/21), are for the most part unreadable, and the last part of the first one has been destroyed by rot. These have been excluded from the table. The period 29/9/1390–29/9/1391 is covered by two parallel accounts (PRO E-122/7/22 and 23), the period 29/9–8/12/1391 by three (PRO E-122/7/24, 26 and 27). The 14 readable accounts deal with 11 different periods. The archive references for the relevant accounts are found in appendix II.

The registration period is normally stated in the introduction to the accounts. The introduction to the 1388 account is unreadable (PRO E-122/7/20), but the first ship is registered on 8/5, the last on 16/5. I have assumed that this account covers the period between these dates. The register from 1392–1393 is said to take in the whole fiscal year from Michaelmas to Michaelmas (29/09/1392–29/09/1393), but there are marks showing that the last sheets have been removed, and the summery is missing at the end. The last entry is for 06/04/1393, and I have considered this the end date for the account (PRO E-122/7/30). The register for 1393–4 lacks the start and end dates, but the first ship is registered on 01/10/1393, the last on 01/08/1394. The final sheets have also been removed here (PRO E-122– 7/17). The account from 29/9/1397–29/9/1398 is missing registrations between 13/10 and 10/4 (PRO E-122/7/31), which were destroyed by rot. PRO E-122/8/1 has no start date, but the first ship is registered on 10/04/1400. This means that several accounts have to be dated by their first or last entry. As a consequence, the averages in table II.21 are maximum figures.

How much of the £6113 annual average calculated in table 21 can be accounted for by stockfish? Separate values are declared for each commodity only in the accounts from 1388 and 1390/91.

Table II.22. Value of cargo on 9 ships in Boston carrying stockfish, 1388 and 1390/91

	Value in pounds and shillings	Percentage
stockfish	4384–15	91 %
fish oil	357–09	7 %
hides from domestic animals	100–00	2 %
total	4842–04	100 %

Sources: PRO E-122/7/20 and E.122/7/22, cf. appendix II.

If 91 % of all goods accounted for in table 21 was stockfish, the average annual value of stockfish imported from Bergen to Boston was £5563. At this time a standard customs price of one pound per hundred (large hundred = 120) of stockfish was used,<sup>445</sup> so £5563 was the value of 5563 hundreds. Unspecified stockfish in the customs accounts should be considered as having the same weight as the average-

<sup>445</sup> This price is used in the two accounts which are the source for table II.22. Cf. appendix VIII, section on the customs prices.

sized “lotfish”, which was 67.9 kg per hundred.<sup>446</sup> This gives an annual import of 378 tons of stockfish. Two of the extant accounts cover one year or more. In the 13 months from 28/11/1386–08/12/1387, 545 tons were imported, and in the 14 months from 29/09/1390–08/12/1391, imports amounted to 409 tons. These two figures are higher than the annual average.

The only other English port visited by Bergenfahrer was Lynn. Five of this town’s accounts have been preserved for the period 1350–1400.<sup>447</sup> All months are represented, and each month is covered by from two to four accounts, averaging three per month over the whole year. These show that Hansa stockfish imports into Lynn were insignificant. Only two visits to Lynn are registered for Hansa ships carrying stockfish: in 1394, a ship from Bremen imported half a ton of stockfish, and the same ship imported a similar quantity the following year.<sup>448</sup> The same skipper Wilhelm Pyke visited Boston in 1393 with known Bergenfahrer on board.<sup>449</sup> He seems to have plied the route Bergen–Boston/Lynn–Bremen. Neither London nor Bristol, which in the following century was to become a leading port in the Icelandic fish trade, were visited by Hansa ships which may have come from Bergen.

The figures of 378, 409 and 545 tons of stockfish which, according to the calculations above, were imported into Boston on Hansa ships should be considered reliable. The average number of extant accounts for Boston is six per month, which should be sufficient to allow us to draw conclusions about the quantities shipped. For the period 1365–1400, the names of Hansa merchants appearing in the English customs rolls can be compared to the names of Bergenfahrer in the Lübeck *Pfundzoll* for 1368–1400. It appears from appendix II that Hansa ships carrying stockfish from Bergen can therefore be identified with great reliability. However, there are some minor potential sources of error. I have in several cases assumed that accounts started with the first registered ship and ended with the last, but this yields registration periods which are too short, and therefore the averages are too high.<sup>450</sup> In addition, there may have been smuggling, corruption, and traders who were exempted from paying customs duties.

For the first half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, there are 12 existing accounts from Boston, all of them from the years 1401–1413.

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446 Cf. table VI.1 and pp. 498–500.

447 Appendix II.

448 Appendix II nos. 163 and 165.

449 Appendix II no. 63.

450 Table II.21 note 2.

Table II.23 Value of goods shipped from Norway to Boston, 1401–13, monthly and annual averages

Month	Number of accounts <sup>(1)</sup>	Value in £s	Number of ships
January	6.93	0	0
February	5	513	1.2
March	5	699	1.2
April	5	820	2.0
May	5.27	56	0.2
June	5.83	0	0
July	5.80	154	0.3
August	6	0	0
September	5.23	361	0.6
October	6	555	1.2
November	6	2014	4.7
December	6	0	0
annual average		5172	11.4

Source: Appendix II

- (1) There are 11 extant accounts from Boston for 1401–13. PRO E-122/8/8 has no end date; the last registered ship arrived on 12/11/1404, but it is likely that it covers the period until 10/02/1405 when the next account starts (PRO E-122/8/7).

During the years 1401–1413, there were several open conflicts between the Hansa and England. In the spring of 1411, all Hanseatic ships in Boston were seized to provide compensation to merchants from Lynn who had suffered unjust treatment at the hands of Hansa merchants in Bergen (DN XIX nos.725 and 728). The conflict is mentioned for the first time on 15<sup>th</sup> of May, when the English chancery ordered all goods belonging to Bergenfahrer in Boston to be released against a security in money (DN XIX no.725). On the 26<sup>th</sup> of June, the King wrote a letter to the aldermen of the Bergen Kontor, asking them to compensate the English merchants (DN XIX no. 726). A Hansa Diet protested to the English king on the 15<sup>th</sup> of July (HR I, 6, 37 and 39), and the Bergen Kontor urged Norwegian authorities to confiscate English goods in Bergen (DN XIX no. 728). The English king in turn prohibited the Hansa from exporting goods from Boston (DN XIX no. 727). The Hansa merchants then put their case before the English king, and on the 23<sup>rd</sup> of September he returned their bail money and permitted them to resume their trade (Calendar of Close Rolls 1409–13, pp. 166 and 400). The Bergenfahrer in Boston promised the English merchants friendly treatment in Bergen in the future. King Henry IV sent a letter to the authorities in Bergen detailing this settlement and asked that English goods there be released (DN XIX nos.727 and 728).

English merchants were dissatisfied with the compensation they received in Bergen. A year or so later in the spring of 1413, four named English merchants complained that their goods had been seized in Bergen and kept there for a long period (*per tempus non modicum*); probably this was connected to the conflict in 1411. In the meantime, two English merchants had been killed in Bergen. The Hanseatic Bergenfahrer evidently had not adhered to the agreement undertaken with the English in September 1411, and the conflict had continued into 1412. The English king responded by retaliating again, and on 20/05/1413 the King ordered that "all Hansa merchants who are in the habit of visiting Bergen in Norway and who are now in Boston" and their goods should be seized (Calendar of Close Rolls 1413–1419, p. 12 = DN XIX no. 731). We do not know how this conflict ended.

An extant account from Boston covers the period 29/09/1410–29/09/1411. The last Hansa ship in the account arrived on 14/02/1411 (appendix II no. 139). The absence of Hansa ships between 14/02/1411 and 29/09/1411 was evidently due to the conflict just mentioned. In the Boston account from 20/06/1412–29/09/1412, no ships are registered as coming from Bergen, and in the account from 12/04/1413–29/09/1413 there is only one (appendix II no. 141). It arrived one and a half months after King Henry had issued his arrest order; the skipper probably had not been informed of this development. Because of this political turbulence, the accounts from 01/03/1411 to 29/09/1413 have not been used in table II.23.

If we assume that 91 % of the value of goods in table II.23 was from stockfish,<sup>451</sup> the annual imports of this commodity to Boston was £4707. The customs officials at this time used a standard price for stockfish of £1 per hundred (=120).<sup>452</sup> The same calculation that was used for the values in table II.21 gives an annual import of 320 tons of stockfish, somewhat less than that for 1365–1400. This quantity was freighted in 11–12 ships, approximately the same number as in 1365–1400. No other English port received Hanseatic ships with stockfish during this period.

No customs accounts have been preserved for Boston between 1413 and 1459. In June 1468, English authorities confiscated all Hanseatic goods in England,<sup>453</sup> which was the start of an open conflict that lasted until 1474.<sup>454</sup> I have therefore chosen to group all accounts from 01/01/1459–01/06/1468 in a separate table. In these accounts, the quantity of goods was registered, so it is not necessary to calculate values first.

Table II.24. Quantity of stockfish shipped from Norway to Boston, 01/01/1459– 01/06/1468, monthly and annual averages

Month	Number of accounts <sup>(1)</sup>	Stockfish in hundreds	Number of ships
January	3	67	0.33
February	3	114	0.33
March	2.3	101	0.43
April	3	205	0.67
May	2.8	0	0
June	1	0	0
July	1	0	0
August	1	0	0
September	2	0	0
October	2	0	0
November	2	260	1
December	2.5	0	0
annual averages		747	2.76

Sources: Appendix II

(1) During the period 1459–68, there were no conflicts between the Hansa and English authorities (Postan 1933, p. 132). But the Bergen–Boston trade encountered another threat. Karsten van Geren in his Chronicle of the Bergen Kontor writes that Olav Olavsson, the son of Olav Nilsson, during the years 1463–65 carried out piracy from a base in England against Hansa ships to avenge his dead father. Since the Bergen-fahrer had killed his father, their shipping to England was under special threat. Geren lists eight ships which he captured. In 1465 the Hansa equipped 500 men in order to end his piracy. Geren writes that Olav had to flee, and “sank into the ocean to the devils whom he served” (BRUNS, *Bergenfahrer*, p. 356). In the two customs accounts for the years 1463–65, only one Hansa ship from Norway is registered, which arrived on 12/12/1463 (E-122/10/4–6). These two accounts have not been used in the table.

<sup>451</sup> Table II.22.

<sup>452</sup> Appendix VIII the section on the customs prices.

<sup>453</sup> POSTAN, *England and the Hanse*, p. 133.

<sup>454</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 137.

The average of 747 hundreds of stockfish (at 67.9 kg/hundred)<sup>455</sup> corresponds to 51 tons. The customs accounts provide evidence for a strong decline in the Bergen–Boston trade some time between 1413 and 1460 (cf. table II.23). This confirms that the piracies in 1449 may have been one of the causes for decline.<sup>456</sup>

After the 1468–1474 war was over, Hansa merchants returned to England in 1475. There are 12 customs accounts from Boston which have been preserved for the years 1477–97, covering nine different periods.<sup>457</sup> Only in 1484 are there Hanseatic merchants registered as transporting stockfish and other typical Bergen goods, and these were carried on two ships which arrived in March and November.<sup>458</sup> But the ships and skippers were English and were from Boston. The war of 1468–1474 seems to have ended independent Hanseatic shipping on the Bergen–Boston route for all practical purposes; the last few Bergenfarer who called in at Boston chartered English shipping for their goods. Other sources confirm that this trade ended in the 1480s.<sup>459</sup> There are no records of Bergen goods arriving in other English ports in the second half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century.

English officialdom was the most literate and kept the best archives in all of northern Europe in the 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> centuries. It is therefore possible to get a clearer picture of Norwegian trade with England than with any other country or town. Summing up, in the years 1303–1311, 40–50 Hansa ships arrived in England from Norway annually, bringing herring, timber and fish oil, but above all stockfish. Boston was the main port, receiving about 30 ships from Norway. After the Black Death in the years 1365–1413, Hanseatic traffic was reduced to about 12 ships annually, and all of them sailed between Bergen and Boston. One reason for this decline was obviously the aftermath of the Black Death in both countries. It is also possible that in 1303–11, Baltic merchants sailed to Boston not only because of the stockfish market there but also to participate in the export of English cloth and wool to ports other than Bergen. Later in the 14<sup>th</sup> century, the Hanseatic Boston merchants withdrew from the wool trade, and their cloth exports to German lands were transferred to London. This made a visit to Boston less profitable. It is difficult to ascertain when the final decline of Hanseatic shipping between Bergen and Boston started, but it seems to have been between 1413 (table II.23) and the capture of the Bay Fleet in 1449.<sup>460</sup> About 1460, only about three ships arrived in Boston from Bergen each year (table II.24), and the last remnants of this traffic disappeared in the 1480s.

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455 Table VI.1.

456 Cf. p. 150.

457 Appendix II introduction.

458 Appendix II nos. 152 and 153.

459 Cf. pp. 152–153.

460 Cf. p. 150 on the capture of the Bay fleet.

Hansa merchants had established an organisation in Boston in 1303 at the latest. It disappeared around 1440 as a permanent organisation, which is an expected consequence of the decline in trade between Boston and Bergen. The Kontors in Bergen and London both claimed to have legal and political authority over the Boston organisation from 1383 at the latest. This dispute was not cleared up during the entire time that Hanseatic merchants held interests in Boston.

It is possible to compare the Hanseatic stockfish exports to Lübeck and eastern England for the period 1365–1400. My calculations resulted in annual averages of 244 tons of stockfish sent to Lübeck and 378 tons to Boston. Bergen's exports to Boston were about 55% higher, if the approximate figures are used as our base. Thus we can see that England was an important market for the Hanseatic Bergenfahrer in the first part of the Late Middle Ages.

### C. THE HANSEATIC MERCHANTS' HOME TOWNS

Trade with England is the best documented aspect of Bergen's and Norway's foreign commerce in the Late Middle Ages. In Boston, merchants from all Hansa towns worked under the same privileges and were given equal treatment. The home towns of Bergenfahrer trading in Boston should indicate the relative importance of the home towns of Hansa merchants in Bergen.

Bruns pointed out that most aldermen and other representatives of the Boston organisation were known to come from Lübeck, just like the representatives of the Bergen Kontor.<sup>461</sup> At the negotiations in London in 1383 mentioned above,<sup>462</sup> the Boston alderman Johan Stenhus was a Bergenfahrer from Lübeck,<sup>463</sup> and so was one of the other representatives, Albert Grote.<sup>464</sup> The third representative was Klaus Stobelow, who is mentioned in the Bergen section of the *Pfundzoll* for that year; there is no evidence that he was a Bergen winter resident, but he probably was.<sup>465</sup> Five of the six Germans who negotiated on behalf of the Boston organisation in 1407<sup>466</sup> are mentioned in Lübeck sources concerning trade to Bergen: Hermann van Minden,<sup>467</sup> Johan Pape,<sup>468</sup> Johan Busch,<sup>469</sup> Sweder van Benthem<sup>470</sup> and Johan

461 BRUNS, *Bergenfahrer*, p. XII.

462 DN XIX no. 608 = HUB IV no. 768.

463 Appendix II no. 81) 1.

464 Called "Grote" in Calendar of Close Rolls 1381–1385, p. 286, "Platere" in DN XIX no. 608 = HUB IV no. 768; Cf. BRUNS, *Bergenfahrer*, p. 37 and PB 1398, p. 197.

465 PB 1383, p. 79.

466 HUB V no. 757 = DN XIX no. 705.

467 Appendix II no. 21) 7.

468 Appendix II no. 17) 1.

469 Appendix II no. 72) 3.

470 Appendix II no. 141) 5.

Klinkendorp.<sup>471</sup> The home town of the sixth man, Albert Strode, is unknown. Of three representatives for the Boston merchants in 1411,<sup>472</sup> Sweder van Benthem was from Lübeck,<sup>473</sup> and the home towns of the two others, Albert Strode and Wilhelm Leuwencamp, are unknown. Ludeke Nyenborg<sup>474</sup> and Hans van Reydeken,<sup>475</sup> both from Lübeck, issued a letter on behalf of the Boston community in 1437 when the alderman Hinrik Greve from Braunschweig was absent on a mission to London.<sup>476</sup> In 1474, representatives of the guild of Lübeck Bergenfahrer and the secretary of the London Kontor took possession of the Hanseatic warehouse in Boston from English authorities on behalf of Hansa merchants who traded on the Bergen–Boston route.<sup>477</sup> Three years later, two Lübeck merchants were described as “procurators and representatives” of the “Englandsfahrer who sail from Bergen to Boston”.<sup>478</sup> The only non-Lübeck citizens among the known Boston aldermen is Hinrik Greve from Braunschweig (1437).<sup>479</sup> He was also one of the very few spokesmen for the Bergen Kontor who was not from Lübeck.<sup>480</sup>

Lübeck's dominance was equally strong among ordinary merchants. In the customs accounts from Boston, 327 different merchants are registered for the period 1365–1413. No information is given in the accounts about their home towns, which have to be discovered with the help of other sources.

Table II.25. The home towns of Hansa merchants registered as exporting goods from Bergen in the customs accounts from Boston, 1365–1413

Home town	Identified merchants <sup>(1)</sup>		% of the 198 identified	% of all 327 registered merchants
	Certain	Uncertain		
Lübeck	99	54	78 %	47 %
Stralsund		12	6 %	3 %
Rostock	2	8	5 %	2 %
Bremen		6	3 %	2 %
Towns in the land of the Teutonic Order		6	3 %	2 %
Western German inland		4	2 %	1 %

471 PB 1399, pp. 192 and 204; PB 1400, pp. 140 and 144.

472 HR I, 6, nos. 82 and 84 = HUB V nos. 1000 and 1024 = DN XIX nos. 725 and 728.

473 Appendix II 141) 5.

474 BRUNS, Bergenfahrer, pp. 74, 80 and 105.

475 Ibid., p. 72.

476 HR II, 2, 28.

477 HR II, 7, 187 = NGL 2.rk. II no. 426.

478 HUB X no. 599; “*Hans Schulten unde Hinrick van den Bure, borgere to Lubeke, nu tor tiit vulmechtigen procuratoribus unde Umbadeslude der Engelandesvarer van Bergen ut Norwegen to Bustene vorkerende.*”

479 HR II, 2, 28 and no. 79 §8.

480 HR II, 3, 309 §3, §13, §14 and §24.

Home town	Identified merchants <sup>(1)</sup>		% of the 198 identified	% of all 327 registered merchants
	Certain	Uncertain		
Deventer	1	2	2 %	1 %
Lüneburg		1		
Boitzenburg on the Elbe		1		
Greifswald		1		
Parchim (Mecklenburg)		1		
total	102	96	100 %	58 %

Source: Appendix V

(1) “Certain” and “uncertain” identification is explained in the introduction to appendix V

More merchants came from Lübeck than from all the other towns added together. How reliable is this conclusion?

The main potential source of error here is that the quantity of relevant names available for identification varies between the towns. The two largest collections of relevant sources, the *Hanserecense* and *Hansisches Urkundenbuch*, cover all Hansa towns. They are supplemented with local source editions; the main deficiency is that the *Preussisches Urkundenbuch* stops at 1361. The largest quantity of relevant sources are for Lübeck. There are 6368 extant wills from Lübeck citizens written before 1500.<sup>481</sup> Friedrich Bruns identified 231 wills written by Bergenfahrer before 1530, and they list the names of numerous Bergen merchants, their relatives and trading partners. Most Lübeck traders in the customs accounts from Boston have been identified with the help of these wills, Lübeck’s *Niedestadtbuch* and the “Bergen” sections of the *Pfundzoll* accounts. Lübeck merchants are definitely over-represented in table II.25, while merchants from Danzig, on the other hand, may be under-represented.

Another potential source of error is that different people could have similar names. The number of such false identifications will be divided between the towns in the same proportion as the number of names available for identification. The total number of names from all the other relevant towns is much larger than that for Lübeck on its own. Name similarity means that the figures for both Lübeck and the other towns are maximum numbers, but those for Lübeck are less so than for all the other towns taken together.

A third potential source of error is the identification of the home towns of the merchants named in the Boston accounts. If a merchant bought property in a specific town, or appeared in courts of law there, or entered into a written agreement with a trading partner there, I have assumed that this was his home town, unless other information to the contrary is given. This is a minor source of error, and I cannot see that it influences the relative importance of the towns as shown in table II.25. False identifications through similarity of names should also be considered a

<sup>481</sup> *Regesten der Lübecker Bürgertestamente des Mittelalters* I, p. 6.

secondary source of error. This discussion of the sources of error indicates that the figure of 78 % Lübeckers in table II.25 is a maximum.

Table II.25 shows that 99 of the 327 registered merchants can be identified with great reliability as Lübeckers, which is 30 %. If the uncertain identifications are included, 153 or 47 % of the 327 merchants were from Lübeck, and 11 % came from other Hansa towns. The remaining merchants cannot be identified. Among them there are probably relatively few from Lübeck, because we have comparatively richer source material available for the name of Bergenfahrer in Lübeck. From this we can conclude that more than 47 % of the Hansa merchants visiting Boston were from Lübeck, but 78 % should be considered a maximum estimate, and the real percentage probably was closer to 78 % than 47 %.

Among the other ports along the Baltic and the North Sea, Stralsund, Rostock and Bremen were the most important. Table I.11 shows the same situation for 1303–11. West German inland towns should be excluded from this comparison because many merchants with by-names pointing to inland towns in reality were citizens of Lübeck and other Baltic towns.<sup>482</sup>

Other sources confirm Lübeck's dominance in Boston around 1360–1440. In 1383, six "trustworthy German merchants of the Hansa in Boston, who used to visit Bergen in Norway" testified for some Hansa merchants whose goods had been plundered on their way from Bergen to England.<sup>483</sup> Five of the six are known from documents issued in Lübeck concerning the Bergen trade, although one of the five, Johan Scheve, was a citizen of Rostock.<sup>484</sup> In 1436, 14 named Hansa merchants and two skippers broke a prohibition against sailing between Bergen and Boston.<sup>485</sup> Seven of them are mentioned in sources issued in Lübeck concerning the Bergen trade,<sup>486</sup> one merchant came from Braunschweig and another from "Westphalia".

As mentioned above, Hanseatic shipping and trade between Bergen and Boston declined around 1449 at the latest and almost disappeared after the 1468–1474 war. Did the Lübeck merchants dominate it to the very end? In the customs accounts for Boston for 1459–1484, there are fewer merchants listed per ship, normally one to three. All together there are 16 different Hansa merchants listed on 10 ships,

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482 Cf. chapters I.4d and II.5g.

483 HUB IV no. 791.

484 Elard Minden: appendix II no. 19) 3; Jacob van Sehusen: appendix II no. 36) 6; Hinrik van Olden: appendix II no. 22) 3; Johan Scheve: PB 1381, p. 45; cf. HUB IV no. 791 and HUB V no. 118; Hinrik Bornholm: appendix II no. 19) 2.

485 HR II, 2, 25 (4 names), no. 28 (12 names) and no. 79 §8.

486 Hans Brant (BRUNS, Bergenfahrer, pp. XII and 95); Hinrik Gerenrode (BRUNS, Bergenfahrer, p. 57); Hinrik Müller (BRUNS, Bergenfahrer, pp. 87, 106 and 116); Ludeke Nyenborg (BRUNS, Bergenfahrer, pp. 74, 80 and 105; HUB VII, p. 222 note 1); Hinrik Wentmark (BRUNS, Bergenfahrer, pp. 70, 79 and 97); Lambert Westendorp (BRUNS, Bergenfahrer, p. 78); Hinrik van Reydeken (BRUNS, Bergenfahrer, p. 72).

skippers not included. For eight of them the home town has been identified. Hans Möller,<sup>487</sup> Johan Northoff<sup>488</sup> and Marquart Petersson<sup>489</sup> were from Lübeck, Martin Bolkow<sup>490</sup> and Karsten Nitsell<sup>491</sup> from Stralsund, Hermann Schepeller<sup>492</sup> and Klaus Witte<sup>493</sup> from Wismar, and Hemming Gruter was from Braunschweig.<sup>494</sup> These are the same towns represented in 1303–11 and 1365–1413.<sup>495</sup> In 1477, 14 Bergenfahrer in Boston donated a sum of money for the altar of St. Olav in Stralsund.<sup>496</sup> The two who handed over the gift are called Lübeckers; two others are mentioned in documents connected to the Bergen trade issued in Lübeck and were probably also from Lübeck, two were from Wismar and two from Hamburg;<sup>497</sup> and finally, Martin Bolkow is referred to as town councillor in Stralsund. So four of these nine identifiable merchants seem to have been from Lübeck.

These sources taken literally may indicate that Lübeck's dominance was less pronounced at the end of the period. But the sources after 1450 are so scarce that no such conclusions should be drawn. Lübeck certainly remained the most important single town in the Boston settlement throughout its 200-year history.

Among ship's captains, Lübeck's dominance was less pronounced. The customs accounts and other sources name 114 different skippers who sailed between Bergen and eastern England during the period 1350–1440. For 16 of them, the home town is stated in the source itself, while the others have been identified using the same methods as for table II.25.

Lübeck was the home port of 24% of the skippers. This is probably a maximum figure for reasons which are discussed under table II.25. The Baltic towns of Stralsund, Rostock and Danzig are also strongly represented. In records covering the 1460s and 1480s, the home towns are given for the 10 captains who, according to the customs accounts, freighted goods for Hansa merchants from Bergen to Boston: 3 came from Boston, 3 from Stralsund, 2 from Danzig, 1 from Kampen and 1 from

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487 Appendix III no. 147) 3.

488 BRUNS, *Bergenfahrer*, pp. 127 and 172.

489 HR III, 2, 511 §15.

490 HUB X no. 599.

491 HUB IX no. 519 §13.

492 BRUNS, *Bergenfahrer*, p. 186.

493 BULL, *Bergen og Hansestæderne*, p. 202.

494 HUB VIII, p. 176 note 3.

495 Tables I.11 and II.25.

496 HUB X no. 599.

497 Lübeck: Hans Engelke and Wessel Busch (BRUNS, *Bergenfahrer*, p. 117; *Archiv der Hansestadt Lübeck*, Trese Norwagia 76a and b, cf. BULL, *Bergen og Hansestæderne*, p. 173). Wismar: Klaus Witte and Hermann Schepeller (BULL, *Bergen og Hansestæderne*, p. 202; BRUNS, *Bergenfahrer*, p. 186). Hamburg: Ludeke Mertens and Klaus Pragerank (HR II, 6, 347).

Table II.26. Home towns of Hansa skippers who sailed from Bergen to eastern England, 1350–1440 <sup>(1)</sup>

Home town	Identified in source	Certain identification	Identified by similar name	Total identified	Not identified
Lübeck	1	6	7	14 (24 %)	
Stralsund	1	7	5	13 (23 %)	
Rostock	3	0	6	9 (16 %)	
Towns in the land of Teutonic Order	4	3	1	8 (14 %)	
Bremen	3	2	1	6 (10 %)	
Wismar	2	0	0	2 ( 3 %)	
Stettin	0	2	0	2 ( 3 %)	
Hamburg	1	0	0	1 ( 2 %)	
Kolberg	1	0	0	1 ( 2 %)	
Gotland	0	1	0	1 ( 2 %)	
Wolgast	0	0	1	1 ( 2 %)	
total	16	21	21	58 (100 %)	56

Source: Appendix VI

(1) For a discussion of sources and methodological problems, see the introduction to appendix V and the discussion accompanying table II.25.

Braunschweig. It is striking that no skipper's home town was Lübeck, and that Hansa merchants had started to charter English ships. In the 15<sup>th</sup> century, ships' captains from the Wendish towns gradually reduced and finally stopped sailing the North Sea from Bergen. But the Kontor in Bergen still prospered, and a few of its members from time to time wished to sell their stockfish in England.

The trade between Bergen and Boston was mainly run by Lübeck and the other Wendish towns throughout its 200 years history. The decline of this trade in the half century before 1490 should therefore be seen as part of the general development of the Hansa's trade with England. According to the English historian Jim Bolton, trade from all Baltic towns to eastern England experienced a huge decline around 1430.<sup>498</sup> They even had problems trading in London, but in 1438/9 Baltic merchants nevertheless controlled 9 % of the imports and 11 % of the exports made by foreign traders in London and Southampton.<sup>499</sup> Danzig gradually became the dominant Baltic town. In 1468, the English king confiscated the goods of all Hansa merchants, except those from Cologne. Merchants from Danzig owned 41 % of these seized goods, Dinant 20 %, <sup>500</sup> Lübeck 14 % and Hamburg 13 %; other towns had less than 4 % each, and of the remaining Baltic towns, Stralsund owned about

498 BOLTON, *Alien Merchants in England*, p. 170.

499 *Ibid.*, p. 34.

500 Dinant is a Francophone town in Flanders. It never attended a Hansa Diet, but nevertheless enjoyed Hansa privileges in England, and only there.

1 %.<sup>501</sup> The decline in the trade between Bergen and Boston in the 15<sup>th</sup> century was part of a general decline in the Baltic towns' trade with England, with the exception of Danzig. The Wendish towns' commerce declined, Danzig held its position much better, and Cologne, which almost exclusively sailed to London, even enjoyed a period of growth after about 1440.<sup>502</sup>

#### D. ENGLISH MERCHANTS

There is a consensus among historians that there was a decline in the activities of English merchants in Norway in the Late Middle Ages, but there is disagreement about its causes. Schreiner emphasised problems with the grain supplies, while Postan put it down to political problems.<sup>503</sup>

English trade with Norway was concentrated in Lynn, just as the Hansa trade with England was concentrated in Boston. Lynn is mentioned in 38 documents from 1350–1491 in connection with the trade to “Bergen” or “Norway”.<sup>504</sup> Evidence that merchants from Lynn exported goods from ports other than their home town is scarce. Lynn had the largest supply of surplus of grain in eastern England, and significant exports of cloth. These were the commodities most in demand in Norway, so it was unnecessary to conduct trade from other ports.

But Lynn did not have a monopoly on this trade, and Boston also exported some grain to Norway. In 1393 and 1394, two Lynn merchants received a licence to export grain products from “Lynn, Boston and neighbouring ports”.<sup>505</sup> In the 14<sup>th</sup> and the beginning of the 15<sup>th</sup> centuries, merchants from Lynn,<sup>506</sup> Hull<sup>507</sup> and London<sup>508</sup> shipped grain from Boston to Bergen. Merchants from Boston who were engaged in commerce with Bergen are mentioned in 1432<sup>509</sup> and 1448.<sup>510</sup> Direct seaborne trade between London and Bergen is documented on three occasions for

501 STARK, Lübeck und Danzig, p. 194.

502 BOLTON, *Alien Merchants in England*, pp. 156, 170 and 171.

503 Cf. above p. 146.

504 DN XIX and XX nos. 609, 618, 619, 620, 624, 628, 629, 631, 729, 730, 758, 771, 775, 786, 787, 808 and 830; DN VII no. 423; HUB VI nos. 528 and 1075; HUB IX no. 523; HR II, 2, 354; HR III, 2, 511 §11ff.; Calendar of Patent Rolls 1354–1358, p. 29; Calendar of Patent Rolls 1364–1367, pp. 189, 292 and 314; Calendar of Patent Rolls 1367–1370, p. 293; Calendar of Patent Rolls 1370–1374, pp. 70 and 89; Calendar of Patent Rolls 1374–1377, pp. 5 and 121; Calendar of Patent Rolls 1391–96, p. 266; Calendar of Close Rolls 1389–1392, p. 7; Calendar of Close Rolls 1392–1396, p. 287; Calendar of Close Rolls 1405–1409, pp. 174 and 177; Calendar of Close Rolls 1413–1419, p. 316.

505 Calendar of Patent Rolls 1391–1396, p. 266; Calendar of Close Rolls 1392–1396, p. 287.

506 Ibid.

507 RGP volume 66 no. 1075.

508 Calendar of Patent Rolls 1358–1361, p. 440.

509 HUB VI no. 1075; HR II, 1, 385 §11.

510 DN VII no. 437 = NGL 2.rk. II no. L.

the Late Middle Ages, all of them in the 1440s.<sup>511</sup> Merchants from Hull are mentioned in 1430 and 1447,<sup>512</sup> from Newcastle in 1433 and 1529,<sup>513</sup> and from Yarmouth four times in 1369–74.<sup>514</sup> Even smaller ports like Blakeney, Wells and Burnham<sup>515</sup> traded with Norway.<sup>516</sup> In 1448, the Norwegian council of the realm notified London, Lynn and Boston that they were officially allowed to visit Bergen.<sup>517</sup> The only time several English ships are listed as being in Bergen at the same time is in 1432, when 17 ships whose home ports were “Lynn, Boston and Newcastle” were there.<sup>518</sup> The situation was extraordinary: this is when the Hansa merchants were evacuated from Bergen because of a war with the Danish king. This presentation of sources demonstrates that trade from ports other than Lynn was sporadic and was often connected to political crises.

In several documents, “Norway” is mentioned as the destination for English ships. Other documents are more specific: 49 mention Bergen,<sup>519</sup> two Langesund,<sup>520</sup> and one Sandefjord.<sup>521</sup> Ships bound for the two latter destinations in eastern Norway left from Yarmouth, York and Cley in Norfolk, and not from Lynn. The majority of English merchants' trade with Norway in the Late Middle Ages was organised by merchants from Lynn, who sailed between their home town and Bergen.

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511 DN II no. 746; DN VII no. 437 = NGL 2.rk. II no. 1; DN XX no. 829.

512 DN XX no. 850; RGP volume 66 no. 1075.

513 HUB VI no. 1075; DN VIII nos. 600 and 635.

514 Calendar of Patent Rolls 1367–1370, p. 293; Calendar of Patent Rolls 1370–1374, pp. 70 and 457; Calendar of Patent Rolls 1374–1377, p. 5.

515 The context indicates that Burnham was in Norfolk, since two persons from that county were his sureties. The port is therefore likely to have been Burnham Norton, north of King's Lynn.

516 Calendar of Patent Rolls 1367–1370, p. 293; Calendar of Patent Rolls 1370–1374, p. 70; Calendar of Patent Rolls 1374–1377, p. 5; DN XIX no. 624; cf. Calendar of Close Rolls 1396–1399, p. 494.

517 DN VII no. 437 = NGL 2.rk. II no. L.

518 HUB VI no. 1075; HR II, 1, 385 §11.

519 DN I no. 756; DN II no. 746; DN VII no. 419; DN XIX and XX nos. 590, 591, 603, 618, 621, 625, 628, 629, 661, 726, 729, 732, 758, 771, 775, 776, 779, 785, 830 and 850; NGL 2.rk. I no. 366; *ibid.*, p. 656; *ibid.* no. 29; NGL 2.rk. III no. 52; *Diplomatarium Islandicum* XVI no. 92; *Islandske Annaler*, pp. 285 and 291; RGP volume 66 no. 1075; HUB VI nos. 528, 1075 and 1080; HUB IX no. 523; HR I, 2, 41; HR I, 6, 385; HR II, 2, 354; HR II, 3, 283 §44; HR III, 2, 511 §11; HR III, 5, 58; Calendar of Close Rolls 1392–1396, p. 287; Calendar of Close Rolls 1405–1409, pp. 174 and 177; Calendar of Close Rolls 1413–1419, pp. 316 and 388; Calendar of Patent Rolls 1391–1396, p. 266; Calendar of Patent Rolls 1452–1461, p. 348.

520 DN XIX no. 666, pp. 833 and 835 = UBStL V no. 138 = HR I, 5, 290.

521 *Hanseakten aus England* no. 323 = DN XIX no. 713 §6

Alexander Bugge wrote in 1923 that the Bergen merchants in Lynn had their own guild in 1411, just as the Bergenfahrer had in Hansa towns.<sup>522</sup> But in Lynn, records show that the town had one guild for all merchants who were citizens of Lynn, regardless of where they traded, called *Congregatio generalis omnium mercatorum*.<sup>523</sup> When specific problems arose, merchants trading with a certain country or port could be summoned and act as an organised group to protect their interests. In 1411, “merchant citizens of Lynn who visit Bergen in Norway” (*mercatores villae de Lenn partes de Berne in Norwegia frequentantes*) sent a wide-ranging letter of complaint to King Henry IV.<sup>524</sup> In the years 1423–1428, political relations with both the Hansa and the Danish king seem to have demanded the guild’s special attention. In 1423, all merchant citizens of Lynn who traded with Prussia, Scania, Bergen and Portugal (*omnes burgenses mercatorie visitantes Pruc, Scone, Berne et Burdegal*) elected four people whose task it was to raise money for a delegation to Parliament in order to have Hanseatic privileges in England curtailed.<sup>525</sup> In 1424, Lynn merchants who traded with Norway elected two representatives who were to collect a duty or tax, and merchants trading with Iceland, Prussia and “other merchants” did the same.<sup>526</sup> In 1426, the town council of Lynn received a letter from the Danish king concerning trade with Iceland, which was translated into English and read aloud to a meeting of all merchants who traded with Prussia, Scania and Bergen (*omnium mercatorum Pruciam, Scone et Norbern visitantium*). The merchants visiting Prussia and Scania were concerned because they could become the victims of Danish reprisals when they sailed through Øresund.<sup>527</sup> In April 1428, *Vitaliner* pirates, who were in the service of the Wendish towns in their war against the King of Denmark 1427–1433, attacked Bergen, and among other things drove the English merchants out of the town by force. The merchant guild of Lynn (*Congregatio omnium mercatorum Lenn*) held meeting on the 7<sup>th</sup> of May to discuss the matter. Here “all merchants who visited Bergen” (*omnes mercatores Norbern visitantes*) entered the guildhall at the same time as a group and voiced their complaint.<sup>528</sup> There is no evidence that the Bergen merchants had a separate guild with aldermen and statutes; rather, they belonged to the general merchants’ guild. But on several occasions they are mentioned as acting as a group alongside merchants who traded with Prussia, Scania, Portugal and Iceland, which demonstrates that they were influential and made their voice heard in Lynn.

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522 BUGGE, *Den norske sjøfarts historie*, p. 278.

523 DN XX no. 795.

524 DN XIX no. 729 = HR I, 6, 80 = *Calendar of Patent Rolls 1408–1413*, pp. 383–385.

525 HUB VI no. 528.

526 CARUS-WILSON, *The Iceland Trade*, p. 163.

527 DN XX no. 758.

528 *Ibid.* no. 771.

The English traded in the same goods as the Germans did. In Bergen, English merchants bought stockfish, called *piscis durus*,<sup>529</sup> *stockfish*,<sup>530</sup> *fungea*<sup>531</sup> and *piscis*.<sup>532</sup> On one occasion "herring, fish and other goods" is mentioned. The herring had possibly been purchased on the Bohuslän coast.<sup>533</sup> Fish oil (*oleum*) is mentioned once.<sup>534</sup> Listed most frequently as exports from England to Norway are grain products: wheat,<sup>535</sup> rye,<sup>536</sup> barley,<sup>537</sup> oats,<sup>538</sup> grain (*bladum*),<sup>539</sup> flour,<sup>540</sup> malt,<sup>541</sup> beer,<sup>542</sup> mashlum (*meslin*),<sup>543</sup> beans<sup>544</sup> and peas.<sup>545</sup> Grain products are no doubt overrepresented in our sources, because the king frequently restricted their export in years of bad harvests or to prevent provisions reaching enemy armies. Other export goods include salt,<sup>546</sup> hides,<sup>547</sup> tin,<sup>548</sup> coal,<sup>549</sup> wine,<sup>550</sup> and above all woollen cloth.<sup>551</sup> Eng-

529 DN XIX no. 729 = HR I, 6, 80 = Calendar of Patent Rolls 1408–1413, pp. 383–385.

530 DN XIX nos. 618, 620, 624 and 631.

531 HUB IX no. 523 §5; HR III, 2, 511 §11.

532 DN XIX no. 729 = HR I, 6, 80 = Calendar of Patent Rolls 1408–13, pp. 383–385; DN XX nos. 776, 779, 785 and 796; Calendar of Patent Rolls 1354–1358, p. 29; Calendar of Patent Rolls 1374–1377, p. 5.

533 Calendar of Patent Rolls 1374–1377, p. 95.

534 HUB IX no. 523 §5.

535 Calendar of Patent Rolls 1354–1358, p. 29; Calendar of Patent Rolls 1358–1361, p. 440; Calendar of Patent Rolls 1364–1367, pp. 292 and 314; Calendar of Patent Rolls 1367–1370, p. 293.

536 Calendar of Patent Rolls 1354–1358, p. 29.

537 DN XIX no. 624; Calendar of Patent Rolls 1374–1377, p. 5; Calendar of Close Rolls 1396–1399, p. 494.

538 Calendar of Patent Rolls 1374–1377, p. 5.

539 DN XIX no. 609 = Calendar of Patent Rolls 1381–1385, p. 237.

540 Calendar of Patent Rolls 1354–1358, p. 29.

541 DN XIX nos. 609, 618, 619, 620, 621, 624, 625, 628, 629 and 631; Calendar of Patent Rolls 1354–1358, p. 29; Calendar of Patent Rolls 1364–1367, pp. 189 and 292; Calendar of Patent Rolls 1367–1370, p. 293; Calendar of Patent Rolls 1370–1374, pp. 70 and 121; Calendar of Patent Rolls 1391–1396, p. 266; Calendar of Close Rolls 1392–1396, p. 287; Calendar of Close Rolls 1396–1399, p. 494; Calendar of Close Rolls 1405–1409, p. 177.

542 Calendar of Patent Rolls 1364–1367, p. 314.

543 *Ibid.*, p. 292. Mashlum is a mixture of grains, particularly wheat and rye (*Oxford English Dictionary*, [www.oed.com](http://www.oed.com)).

544 Calendar of Patent Rolls 1364–1367, p. 314.

545 *Ibid.*

546 Calendar of Patent Rolls 1354–1358, p. 29; NRJ I, p. 479; NRJ II, p. 547.

547 NRJ I, p. 51.

548 HR III, 9, 482 §3.

549 NRJ I, p. 56.

550 Calendar of Patent Rolls 1370–1374, p. 457.

551 *Hanseakten aus England* no. 323 = DN XIX no. 713 §6; DN XX no. 730 = Calendar of Close Rolls 1413–1419, p. 7; *Diplomatarium Islandicum* XVI no. 92; Calendar of Close Rolls 1405–1409, pp. 174–177; Calendar of Close Rolls 1413–1419, p. 388; Calendar of Patent Rolls 1354–1358, p. 29.

lish woollen cloth is mentioned frequently in the accounts of Bergenhus castle for 1517–23, but it is not clear whether at this time they were being sold in Bergen by English merchants or arrived in Bergen via Dutch ports.<sup>552</sup>

To conclude, English merchants' trade was concentrated in Lynn, but the occasional ship also sailed from London, Hull, Boston, Yarmouth and minor ports along the east coast. Stockfish and fish oil are the only goods mentioned as being imported from Bergen, while grain products, woollen cloth and smaller quantities of salt, skin, tin, coal and wine were sent in the opposite direction.

English merchants were not required to pay the import and export customs which were introduced in 1303,<sup>553</sup> therefore fewer sources are available for historians seeking to quantify the amount of goods they traded. But from the 1340s, the English king imposed a new customs duty on foreign trade, called *subsidiium* (subsidies) or *tunnage and poundage*.<sup>554</sup> Parliament normally sanctioned these duties for a few years at a time.<sup>555</sup> All merchants had to pay them, English as well as foreign.

The oldest extant account for Lynn only covers one month, from 20/3 to 24/4/1388<sup>556</sup> during which English merchants imported one shipload of stockfish containing 23 lasts.<sup>557</sup> In the 18 months from 01/04/1390–29/09/1391, six English ships imported 158 lasts of stockfish.<sup>558</sup> In the two and a half months between 22/8 and 6/11/1402, two ships together imported 43 lasts of stockfish.<sup>559</sup> The period 5/3 to 2/12/1405 covers the whole sailing season, but only one ship with 18 lasts of stockfish is registered.<sup>560</sup> In 1405, England and the Hansa were on the brink of war,<sup>561</sup> and on the 12<sup>th</sup> of March that year the Hansa declared a boycott of England, excluding only *Bergervisch* exported from Norway.<sup>562</sup> The customs accounts from Boston indicate that it was business as usual for the Bergenfahrer there.<sup>563</sup> It was deemed more important for the German Bergenfahrer to continue this trade because the winter residents had paid in advance for fish being shipped to Bergen through their credits, and long-term planning was needed to ship grain from the Baltic. The English may have been affected more by political turbulence.

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552 NRJ I-III, indexes.

553 Cf. p. 55.

554 So called because it was levied with a certain sum per ton of wine and per pound sterling for other goods.

555 GRAS, Customs System, pp. 80–81.

556 E-122/94/9.

557 Appendix II no. 154.

558 E-122/93/31 and E-122/94/12; appendix II nos. 155, 157, 159 and 162.

559 E-122/95/8 and 12; appendix II nos. 167 and 168.

560 E-122/95/27; appendix II no. 169.

561 POSTAN, England and the Hanse, p. 109.

562 HR I, 5, 225 §5.

563 Appendix II nos. 95ff.

It is not possible to calculate average imports on the basis of the three fragments of accounts from 1388, 1390/91 and 1402. But the accounts from 1390/91 suggest that the annual stockfish imports to Lynn may have been about four ships carrying around 25 lasts each, with an English last of stockfish being ten hundreds.<sup>564</sup> The annual average imports would thus amount to about 68 tons.<sup>565</sup> The surviving accounts for 1389–1405 suggest that English stockfish imports from Bergen were regular during this period, and an annual average of four ships.

In the extant accounts for the *subsidium* covering 1350–1430 for ports other than Lynn, one ship from Bergen with English merchants aboard is found in Hull<sup>566</sup> and another in Boston.<sup>567</sup> During this period, most of the surviving accounts from these two ports are for the *subsidium* and would have registered English shipping if there had been any. The customs accounts confirm what the analysis of other sources revealed above – that trade between Bergen and ports other than Lynn was sporadic.

There are no customs accounts of any kind for Lynn covering 1405–1440, for Boston for 1413–1459, or Hull for 1405–1453. But we know from other sources that important changes took place in English merchants' stockfish trade over this period. In the 1420s and 1430s, English merchants started to sail directly to Iceland and other northern parts of the Dano-Norwegian realm to buy stockfish. In 1442 and 1443, there were 14 and 19 cargo ships respectively which were granted licences to trade in Iceland or other northern areas, although not all licences may have been used, and others vessels may have sailed without a licence.<sup>568</sup> In the 1390s the majority of English stockfish supplies came from Bergen on Hanseatic keels,<sup>569</sup> while in the 1440s most arrived from Iceland on English keels.

In most cases it is impossible to decide whether an English ship registered in the customs accounts after the 1440s as carrying stockfish arrived from Iceland or Bergen. Elanore Carus-Wilson has pointed out that in the customs accounts from Bristol there are three ships transporting stockfish which are registered as coming "from Bergen",<sup>570</sup> but we know from other sources that they actually arrived from Iceland; the merchants gave false information because they lacked valid licences to sail to Iceland.<sup>571</sup> The customs officials could not tell whether the ships came from Iceland or Bergen, and nor can we in most cases. In 1460, the *Katerin* of Boston arrived in

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564 CARUS-WILSON, Bristol, p. 337.

565 Table VI.1. One hundred fish = a large hundred of 120 fish; each fish is estimated to have the same weight as the "lotvisch".

566 Appendix II no. 170.

567 Appendix II no. 132.

568 CARUS-WILSON, *The Iceland Trade*, p. 169.

569 Table II.21.

570 The customs accounts for Bristol are not the only ones where the overseas destination or port of departure is registered.

571 CARUS-WILSON, Bristol, pp. 125 and 215.

her home town with stockfish and wadmal.<sup>572</sup> Both commodities may have come from Bergen, but wadmal more often originated in Iceland, and most likely the ship came from there. In 1467, the *Botolf* of Boston arrived in her home town with a cargo consisting only of stockfish. In this case it is impossible to tell where she came from. The customs accounts after 1440 cannot be used to quantify stockfish imports from Bergen by English merchants.

In Bergen, the English merchants organised their trade in approximately the same way as the Hansa merchants did. When the *Vitaliner* pirates attacked Bergen in 1393, they set fire to 21 houses which belonged to English merchants.<sup>573</sup> These were probably concentrated in one residential complex or *gård*, because in 1413 Icelandic annals report that the Englishmen's *gård* (singular) was consumed by fire.<sup>574</sup> This *gård* was of the same size as the largest Hanseatic ones at Bryggen, which in 1522 had a maximum of 24 houses. The modest number of English winter residents in Bergen is illustrated by the fact that the English only had one *gård*, while the Germans at the end of the Middel Ages had 22.<sup>575</sup> The English houses were located in a quarter of the town called Vågsbotn, close to Bryggen.<sup>576</sup>

Living close to each other, it was natural for the English merchants to organise themselves. In 1408, King Henry IV permitted English merchants in Norway, Sweden and Denmark to formulate statutes in order to regulate relationships and solve conflicts between Englishmen internally. They could also elect aldermen (*gubernatores*) who were authorised to adjudicate about violations of the statutes.<sup>577</sup> There was an English alderman in Bergen as late as 1468, when Hansa merchants broke open “the house of the English alderman”.<sup>578</sup> In a treaty between King Hans and the English in 1490, the latter were permitted to “elect their own aldermen ... in Bergen or other places in Denmark, Sweden or Norway”, and were given protection for “building sites and buildings ... in Bergen in Norway, and Lund, Landeskrone and Dragør in Denmark, and Lødöse in Sweden”.<sup>579</sup>

The English offered credit for goods they sold in Bergen. When the Englishmen's houses were burnt by pirates operating from Rostock and Wismar in 1393, *obligationes et alias securitates* worth £1000 were destroyed in the fire.<sup>580</sup> An *obligatio* was an acknowledgement of debt which was due to be paid on a certain date; *secu-*

572 Appendix II no. 144; wadmal is a coarse, dense, usually undyed wool fabric.

573 DN XIX no. 666 = UBStL V no. 138 = HR I, 5, 290.

574 *Islandske Annaler*, p. 291.

575 Table V.3.

576 LORENTZEN, *Gård og grunn i Bergen*, p. 92.

577 DN XIX no. 722 = NGL 2.rk. I no. 369 = Foedera IV part 1, p. 125.

578 HR II, 6, 187 §7; HR II, 7, 342 §25 and no. 391 §23.

579 NGL 2.rk. III no. 52 §8 and §9. Cf. chapter V.4 concerning English compared to Hanseatic privileges in Bergen.

580 DN XIX no. 729 = HR I, 6, no. 80 = Calendar of Patent Rolls 1408–13, pp. 383–385.

*ritates* were probably acknowledgements of debts where a pledge or security had been given.<sup>581</sup> It is not stated who owed this money to the English merchants, but it is most likely that the English were offering credit to stockfish producers and other Norwegian customers, just as the Germans did. The standard estimated valuation used in the English customs accounts at this time was £1 per one hundred (1c) of stockfish.<sup>582</sup> Using this price, a debt of £1000 corresponded to 1000c of stockfish weighing 68 tons, which was equivalent to the cargoes of 2–3 ships.

During the Late Middle Ages, English merchants organised their trade in the same way as the Hansa winter residents did: they owned a complex of houses, they exercised internal jurisdiction, had an elected alderman, and they offered credit to Norwegians, who were probably *nordfar*.<sup>583</sup> The trade organisation of the English was as advanced as that of the Hansa.

Over the course of the Late Middle Ages as a whole, English trade with Bergen declined. What is more, the English trade was of a less stable character than the Hansa's Bergen trade, and it reached its height when the dominant Germans had problems. The German winter residents evidently felt that the English merchants were intruding on their territory, and this created fertile ground for conflicts. In the spring of 1368, Hansa merchants had to leave Bergen because of a war, and they did not return until the end of 1369. The English took advantage of their absence to reinforce their position, and in 1372 members of the German Kontor attacked them. The English were forced to depart, "leaving behind commodities and goods worth more than 10,000 marks",<sup>584</sup> which corresponds to the value of 350 tons of stockfish.<sup>585</sup> But demands for reparations were normally overstated, and this sum probably included equipment and goods imported into Bergen. The figure nevertheless indicates that the English had acquired important commercial interests in Bergen during the war of 1368/9.

After this confrontation, England's trade with Bergen seems to have fallen back to normal levels again. In 1393, Bergen was attacked by *Vitaliner* pirates operating from Rostock and Wismar, and some of the victims were English merchants. After peace had been restored, the English demanded compensation; delayed claims pre-

581 POSTAN, *Private Financial instruments*, pp. 29–31.

582 Appendix VIII section on prices in the customs accounts.

583 For a discussion of the term *nordfar*, cf. pp. 413–414.

584 DN XIX no. 591 §1 = HR I, 3, 318.

585 The complaint was sent by English merchants to the English king and his council and was written in French, so there is no doubt that English marks are meant. One English mark =  $\frac{2}{3}$  English pound, which means that 10,000 marks corresponded to 6700 pounds (CARUS-WILSON, *Bristol*, p. 337). In demands for compensation for damages it was common to estimate the value of the lost goods in the port where it was meant to be sold, in this case in East England. At this time the price of one hundred stockfish can be estimated to ca 26 shillings in Boston (appendix VIII table 2 note 2). 6700 pounds would then buy (6700 x 20) ÷ 26 = 5154 c or 350 tons of stockfish. Cf. table VI.1 on the weight of one hundred stockfish.

sented in 1404–1412 agree that the loss of commodities, equipment and 21 burned houses amounted to about 1800–2000 English pounds,<sup>586</sup> corresponding to the value of 94–104 tons of stockfish.<sup>587</sup> The sum claimed for was certainly exaggerated, and goods other than stockfish were included. However, not all the fish bought in Bergen over the whole year was stored there when the town was sacked in 1393. As mentioned above, the customs accounts from 1390/1 indicate that 4 English ships left Bergen annually carrying a total of about 68 tons of stockfish, which is not too far off the amount calculated on the basis of the compensation demands from 1393.

During the years 1427–1433, the winter residents from the Wendish towns were again absent from Bergen for political reasons, and in 1428 privateers in the service of these towns attacked Bergen and drove away the English.<sup>588</sup> But the English merchants continued to visit Bergen in 1429<sup>589</sup> and 1430,<sup>590</sup> and in 1432 they sailed in a convoy of 17 ships from Lynn, Boston and Newcastle to Bergen, evidently for better protection.<sup>591</sup> In the last year mentioned, the English used their position of strength in Bergen to seize four ships from Danzig in compensation for their losses in 1428, but the town council of Danzig assured the English that Danzig citizens had in no way been involved in the sacking of Bergen that year.<sup>592</sup> The customs accounts show that around the year 1400, Hansa merchants exported 12 shiploads of stockfish from Bergen to Boston, and the English sent 4 shiploads to Lynn, which makes 16 shiploads in all.<sup>593</sup> This indicates that exports from Bergen to England continued at the same level during the Hansa's absence, the difference being that for the years 1427–1433 English merchants managed this trade alone. English merchants had the capacity and desire to conduct more trade in Bergen, but Hansa competition prevented them from doing so.

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586 In 1404 the damages suffered in 1393 are estimated to 5400 nobles or £1800 pounds which included loss of goods, houses destroyed by fire, and ransoms for captured merchants (DN XIX no. 661 §19 = *Hanseakten aus England* no. 322 §19). In 1405 the English side claimed that three named and several unnamed merchants from Lynn had lost 1815 pounds, to this they added 21 houses destroyed by fire worth £147 (440 nobles), total losses £1962 (DN XIX no. 666, p. 837 = UBStL V no. 138 = HR I, 5, 290). In 1412 the demand for damages was higher. It was £2000 (3000 marks) for burnt houses, merchantable commodities and other goods, written acknowledgements of debts, probably from Norwegians, worth £1000, and finally losses and expenses incurred when they fled from Bergen estimated at £1000, the sum was now £4000 (DN XIX no. 729 = HR I, 6, 80 = Calendar of Patent Rolls 1408–13, pp. 383–385).

587 The price used is 26 sh. per hundred fish which is a price from Boston 1383 (appendix VIII table 2 note 2). The procedure is the same as used in the footnote above when I estimated losses during and after the assault in 1372. The price used is 26 sh. per hundred fish.

588 DN XX no. 771.

589 *Ibid.* no. 775.

590 RGP volume 66 no. 1075.

591 HUB VI no. 1075.

592 *Ibid.*

593 Table II.21 and 23 concerning Hanseatic shipping.

After 1433, English trade seems to have fallen back to normal levels again. It also has to be borne in mind that at this time English merchants and fishermen could use Iceland as an alternative to Bergen. In 1441 and 1442, at least one ship left London for Bergen,<sup>594</sup> and in 1441 a ship from Hull was confiscated by the captain of Bergenhus castle.<sup>595</sup> In 1442, Lynn merchants complained that Danish state officials had imposed illegal economic burdens ("extortions and unlawful charges") on them in Bergen, Lödöse and at the Scania market.<sup>596</sup> In 1443, three English merchants are mentioned in Bergen; at least one of them came from Lynn.<sup>597</sup>

Later in the century, sources on English trade in Bergen are more scarce, and those that have survived describe attacks on English commerce and shipping. In 1454, the Hansa seized two English ships loaded with cloth in Karmsundet, south of Bergen.<sup>598</sup> In 1467, two English ships arrived in Bergen, and 14 of their English merchants were wounded when they were assaulted by Hansa merchants.<sup>599</sup> Both in 1489 and 1490, Hansa merchants plundered English ships on their way home from Bergen loaded with stockfish.<sup>600</sup> According to the earliest surviving customs accounts for Bergen, only one English ship visited the town annually in 1518, 1519 and 1520, but in 1521 no English ship is registered.<sup>601</sup> To sum up, trade between England and Bergen declined from a level of about four ships in a normal year around 1400, to two ships in 1454 and 1467, down to one ship for the years 1518–1520.

The final question addressed in this section is: why did English trade with Bergen decline and almost disappear in the Late Medieval period? Johan Schreiner thought that English merchants were unsuccessful in Bergen because they did not have a large enough surplus of grain for export. The extant licences issued by the English chancery to export grain from England to Norway do not account for all the exports.<sup>602</sup> Such licences were only required under special circumstances, and in normal years merchants exported grain without a licence, or licences were issued locally.<sup>603</sup> On the other hand, there is no guarantee that a licence was actually used, and in a few cases it is stated explicitly that it was not.<sup>604</sup>

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594 DN II no. 746; DN XX no. 829.

595 DN XX no. 850.

596 *Ibid.* no. 830.

597 DN VII no. 419, cf. DN XX no. 830.

598 BRUNS, *Bergenfahrer*, p. 384; HR II, 4, 349 §4 = DN XVI no. 291.

599 HUB IX no. 523 §5.

600 HR III, 2, 511 §11–§14, §16 and §19–§22.

601 Table II.1; NRJ I, pp. 87, 340 and 556; NRJ II, p. 536.

602 Table II.27.

603 NEDKVITNE, *Handelssjøfarten mellom Norge og England*, p. 32.

604 *Calendar of Close Rolls 1396–1399*, p. 494; *Calendar of Close Rolls 1392–1396*, p. 287.

Table II.27. Licences for English merchants to export grain to Norway, 1350–1537

Year	Number of ships <sup>(1)</sup>	Destination	Source
1354	several	Norway/Germany	CPR 1354–58, p. 29
1360	1?	Norway	CPR 1358–61, p. 440
1366	1?	Norway	CPR 1364–67, p. 189
1366	2?	Calais, Zeeland, Gascony, Norway	CPR 1364–67, p. 292
1366	2?	Calais, Zeeland, Gascony, Norway	CPR 1364–67, p. 292
1366	2?	Flanders, Zeeland, Holland, Gascony, Norway	CPR 1364–67, p. 314
1369	1?	Scotland, Norway	CPR 1367–70, p. 293
1371	1?	Norway	CPR 1370–74, p. 70
1371	1?	Norway	CPR 1370–74, p. 89
1374	?	Scotland, Norway	CPR 1370–74, p. 457
1374	2?	Norway	CPR 1374–77, p. 5
1375	2?	Norway	CPR 1374–77, p. 121
1383	1?	Norway	DN XIX no. 609
1389	1	Norway	CCR 1389–92, p. 7
1392	2	Norway = Bergen	DN XIX nos. 618 and 628
1392	2	Norway	DN XIX no. 619
1392	2?	Norway	DN XIX no. 620
1392	2?	Norway, Øresund	DN XIX no. 624; CCR 1396–99, p. 494
1393	2?	Bergen	CPR 1391–96, p. 266; CCR 1392–96, p. 287
1394	4?	Bergen	DN XIX no. 629
1396	3?	Norway	DN XIX no. 631
1407	1	Bergen	CCR 1405–09, p. 117
1407	1	Bergen	CCR 1405–09, p. 174
1416	2	Bergen	CCR 1413–19, p. 316
1417	1	Bergen	CCR 1413–19, p. 388
1443	1	Holland, Bergen	RGP volume 66, p. 817

(1) Where only the quantity of goods was registered, I have calculated that 300 quarts were carried per ship. This is the size of a shipload given in DN XIX nos. 628 and 621; DN XIX no. 625 puts it at 240 quarts. Large cogs could carry 600 quarts (cf. p. 68, footnote). Question marks denote the cases in which the number of ships given is based on this calculation CCR = Calendar of Close Rolls.

In every decade from 1350 to 1420, English merchants received licences to export grain to Norway, which indicates that in normal years up to around 1420, England had a surplus of grain to support at least some level of exports. From the 1370s, English merchants visited Danzig, where grain was readily available.<sup>605</sup> Neverthe-

605 SCHULZ, *Hanse und England*, p. 15; POSTAN, *England and the Hanse*, p. 97.

less, grain may have been a problematic commodity with regard to exports to Norway. The quantities licensed in table II.27 were not sufficient to satisfy the Norwegian market, and the English surplus was probably not sufficient to meet the Norwegian demand even in normal years. The English merchants were in the same situation as those from Bremen and the Zuiderzee: they exported cloth and other craft products to Norway and imported stockfish. To satisfy all of Norway's import needs, they depended on Baltic merchants for grain products, or they had to import grain from Danzig themselves.<sup>606</sup>

Another major problem was that the English government prohibited grain exports in wartime, and Bergen needed a predictable amount of grain coming in. England had a strong state, and the Crown was capable of preventing exports of foodstuffs from England to the king's enemies; alternatively, the English army could be given first priority in the market. The Bergenfahrer in Lübeck were politically stronger and normally managed to protect grain supplies to Bergen even when Lübeck and its allies were at war with Denmark-Norway.

The English historian Michael Postan sees England's commercial problems in Bergen as part of a general decline in English foreign trade during the Late Middle Ages due to political conflicts with the Hansa, and to some extent with Denmark.

These conflicts affecting England's trade with Bergen took place partly on the local level, and the opposing party was the Bergen Kontor. As shown above, goods belonging to English merchants trading with Bergen were plundered or confiscated in 1372,<sup>607</sup> 1393,<sup>608</sup> 1407,<sup>609</sup> 1411,<sup>610</sup> 1413,<sup>611</sup> 1428,<sup>612</sup> 1454,<sup>613</sup> 1467,<sup>614</sup> 1489 and 1490.<sup>615</sup> The Bergen Kontor passed statutes which they implemented by force against English and other foreign merchants, and many of them were harmful to English trade. This will be the subject of chapter V, and particularly V.4.

But many conflicts started outside Bergen and Norway, and they only affected Bergen's trade because the English and Germans chose to settle their differences in

606 More on the importance of grain imports in chapter VI.4.

607 DN XIX no. 591 §1 = HR I, 3, 318.

608 DN XIX no. 661 §19 = *Hanseakaten aus England* no. 322 §19.

609 HUB V no. 757 = DN XIX no. 705; HUB V no. 756 = DN XIX no. 707; HUB V no. 779 = DN XIX no. 708; HUB V nos. 758–760 are documents quoted in HUB V no. 779.

610 DN XIX no. 725 = HUB V no. 1000; DN XIX no. 726 = HUB V no. 1012 = Foedera IV part 2, pp. 7–8; DN XIX no. 727 = HUB V no. 1023; DN XIX no. 728 = HUB V no. 1024; cf. DN XX no. 740 = HUB VI no. 58; DN XIX no. 741 = Foedera IV part 2, pp. 151–152 = HUB VI no. 58; HR I, 6, 81 = Calendar of Patent Rolls 1408–1413, p. 400; HR I, 6, 37 §1 and no. 39; Calendar of Patent Rolls 1408–1413, p. 166.

611 Calendar of Close Rolls 1413–1419, p. 12.

612 DN XX no. 771.

613 BRUNS, Bergenfahrer, p. 384; HR II, 4, 349 §4 = DN XVI no. 291.

614 HUB IX no. 523 §5.

615 HR III, 2, 511 §11–§14, §16 and §19–§22.

Norwegian waters. According to Postan, the English state gave a low priority to the interests of its merchants.<sup>616</sup> The magnates who governed England in the middle of the 15<sup>th</sup> century considered piracy a profitable source of income, and political tensions between England and the Hansa was in their interests.<sup>617</sup>

In the years after 1400, the English government restricted the trading rights of Hansa merchants. In 1401 it also demanded that Prussian merchants stop trading with the king's enemies in Scotland. The Prussians refused, with the result that the Crown permitted its subjects to seize not only Prussian ships, but all Hansa ships.<sup>618</sup> These English acts of piracy began when two Bremen ships were captured by Newcastle privateers in 1402. In the same year fishermen-pirates from Hartlepool on the east coast sank a ship from Danzig and plundered another from Kampen. Sixteen Hansa ships were looted, captured or destroyed in 1402, 20 in 1403, and 16 in 1404. The worst incident involving loss of life concerned three ships from Riga packed with valuable Russian wares: one ship was known to have been captured and brought to Hull, while the fate of the other two was unknown, but many believed that the ships had been looted and sunk and the crews drowned.<sup>619</sup> In 1405–06, negotiations over these problems were planned, but nothing happened to stop the piracy.<sup>620</sup>

A serious incident which was part of this feud took place off the western Norwegian coast. In 1406, the Bergen Kontor equipped 500 armed men on several ships to patrol the Norwegian coast from Lindesnes and Lista, at the southern tip of Norway, along the shipping lane to Bergen. The Hansa clearly feared more English piracy. This was in July, the high season for Hansa shipping to Bergen. Around this time, English fishermen had started to exploit fisheries in the North Sea not only for herring but also for cod.<sup>621</sup> German warships encountered English fishermen at a location called *Itro*. Just west of Lindesnes and Lista there is a large island today named Hydra, but around 1406 it was called Hitrøy.<sup>622</sup> Ships coming from the east, along the Bohuslän coast, often waited there for more favourable winds to take them northwards to Bergen, and ships arriving from the south – Bruges, Zuidezee, and Bremen – would also sail via Lindesnes/Lista. The English fishermen claimed that the Germans lay in wait for them near Hydra. That is not likely; these vessels were probably waiting for Hansa ships needing an escort to Bergen.

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616 POSTAN, *England and the Hanse*, p. 99.

617 *Ibid.*, pp. 126–133.

618 LLOYD, *England and the German Hanse*, pp. 109–112.

619 *Ibid.*, pp. 113.

620 *Ibid.*, pp. 116–118.

621 Cf. p. 523 and 525.

622 Norwegian historians have found that the most reasonable interpretation would be Hitra north of Bergen. This is unlikely, as the Germans ventured north of Bergen only exceptionally, and it was Hanseatic shipping which was threatened, not Norwegian shipping from northern Norway to Bergen.

When the Englishmen discovered the armed Germans, they became frightened. They must have known how their fishermen colleagues from Hartlepool had treated Hansa merchants, and also feared retribution for the long series of other English acts of piracy since 1402. The fishermen themselves came from Cromer, but they evidently did not believe that this would make any difference to the Hansa merchants. But the Hansa merchants may also have been afraid. The English fishermen were armed, and the Germans knew from experience that they could use their weapons. Perhaps they suspected that the fishermen intended to attack the *Bergenfahrer*. The English fishermen sailed as fast as they could northwards to a place called *Wynforde*. Norwegian historians have assumed that this must be the *Vindafjord*, south of Bergen and close to the shipping lane between Lindesnes and Bergen. The fjord has many arms, making it possible to hide there. The Englishmen explained that they sailed to *Wynforde* because they hoped to gain protection from the Dano-Norwegian authorities; the area is close to Bergen, where there was a Norwegian garrison. But the armed Germans found them, and they sent 200 men ashore to take the English fishermen prisoner; the remaining 300 stayed on board their ships to prevent the Englishmen from escaping by sea. The German leaders (*gubernatores*) deliberated for two days on whether the prisoners should be “sauvés ou mis à mort” (saved or killed), possibly waiting for the aldermen to arrive from the Bergen Kontor before taking their final decision. In the end the prisoners' hands and feet were bound, stones were put inside their clothes, they were transported out to sea and thrown overboard.<sup>623</sup>

How many were killed? The law stated that a victim's closest heir was entitled to compensation. A formal complaint was sent to the King by 85 inhabitants of Cromer, and it seems as if each demanded compensation for one victim. But this document has never been published in full, so the details are not certain; for example, a father may have demanded compensation for more than one son. It is safest to assume that 85 fishermen or more were killed.<sup>624</sup> In the letter from the English officials to the Dano-Norwegian king, the number of murdered fishermen is said to be “a maximum of 96 persons” (*usque ad numerum quaterviginti et sexdecim personarum*).<sup>625</sup>

Why did the Germans murder the 85–96 fishermen from Cromer? They may have thought that they were out to plunder the *Bergenfahrer*'s ships, as English

623 HUB V no. 756 = DN XIX no. 707; *Diplomatarium Danicum* 4.rk. X no. 426.

624 HUB V no. 756 = DN XIX no 707. The document is kept in Archiv der Hansastadt Lübeck, Anglicana no. 60d.

625 *Diplomatarium Danicum* 4.rk. X no. 426. The Danish translator in *Diplomatarium Danicum* has translated the Latin as meaning as “a maximum of 24 and 16 persons”, but this does not make sense. The Norwegian translator in *Regesta Norvegica* IX no. 255 rendered this as “between 24 and 16 fishermen”, which makes sense but is not correct. Neither of them realised that this passage is a translation into Latin of the French number *quatre-vingt-seize* or 96. French was the language of the Norman nobility in England.

pirates had often done before, and for all we know they may have been right. They may also have wanted to teach the English a lesson, and revenge may have been the most effective way of protecting themselves. The English king wrote a letter to the Danish king demanding reparations but did not receive an answer.<sup>626</sup> The English king then demanded that representatives of the Hansa merchants in Boston appear at his chancery in London to answer these charges. They did, and they had to pay an assurance of 2000 marks that they would respect the decision of the Chancery Court in the matter.<sup>627</sup> The Chancery Court asked the victims' heirs to accept a monetary settlement. If they refused this, the court would acquit the Boston merchants of the murders, and they would receive nothing. From a legal standpoint, this is a pragmatic mixture of individual and collective guilt: the court imposed a fine on people who were blameless but who belonged to the same organisation as the guilty perpetrators. The Chancery Court was powerless to bring the real murderers to stand trial in England.<sup>628</sup> The affair was not really a concern of Norway and the Norwegian authorities.

During the year 1449, a new round of piracy began when English pirates seized more than 50 Hansa ships on their way from Bourgeneuf with salt.<sup>629</sup> In 1454, the Bergen trade was drawn into the situation when English privateers captured 8 ships with goods belonging Bergenfahrer close to Skagen. Shortly afterwards, two English trading ships appeared in Karmsundet, which was on the shipping route to Bergen. When the news reached Bergen, the Kontor's leadership sent two ships southwards and seized the English ships and their goods. The bailiff of Ryfylke, which included Karmsundet, was called Olav Nilsson. He enlisted the help of the Bishop of Bergen, and they sent out Norwegian ships which liberated the Englishmen. The frustration of the Hansa merchants is understandable, as they were the main victims of English piracy, and now Norwegian authorities not only refused to assist them but also refused to let them take their revenge when in Norwegian waters.<sup>630</sup> In September the following year, Olav Nilsson was appointed captain of Bergenhuss castle. Below it will be shown that the Hansa merchants in Bergen captured Olav Nilsson's 9 ships in Bergen harbour, evidently as compensation for their losses due to piracy, and ended up killing both Nilsson and the Bishop.<sup>631</sup>

Throughout the Late Middle Ages, English merchants had conflicts with the Hansa. In Bergen, the Hansa was the strongest and most aggressive group, while in England it was the English merchants and magnates. This resulted in problems at both ends of the trade chain. After 1412, the English found an alternative source of fish in the North Sea and Iceland. The combination of problems and an alternative

626 *Diplomatarium Danicum* 4.rk. X no. 426.

627 HUB V no. 757 = DN XIX no. 705.

628 HUB V no. 779 = DN XIX no. 708.

629 *Ibid.*, pp. 127 and 130.

630 BRUNS, *Bergenfahrer*, p. 354 (van Gheres chronicle): cf. DN XVI no. 291.

631 Cf. pp. 378, 383 and 424.

supply of fish led to the decline of both Hanseatic and English trade between Bergen and England.

#### E. BERGEN-SCOTLAND

Orkney and Shetland were part of the Norwegian realm until 1468. Up to that time, commerce between Norway and these islands was not considered foreign trade, and merchants from Orkney had to pay foreign customs duties in Edinburgh and Leith.<sup>632</sup> In 1445, German merchants who seem to have been citizens of Oslo traded with the Scottish mainland.<sup>633</sup>

Scottish merchants do not appear in surviving Bergen sources until 1509. That year, Bergen citizens were given the first-buyer rights for all goods imported by English and Scottish merchants, while Hansa traders had to wait for two weeks before they could purchase British goods.<sup>634</sup> The customs accounts for Bergen from 1518–21 registered six Scottish ships in 1518, five in 1519, four in 1520 and four in 1521.<sup>635</sup>

Salt was the main commodity shipped from Scotland to Bergen, and several Scottish skippers paid their customs duties in salt.<sup>636</sup> Scottish salt was much in demand at Bergenhus castle.<sup>637</sup> In addition to incomes from customs payments, the commander of the castle made many purchases of salt, one of them as much as 5½ lasts.<sup>638</sup> The Scots also sold them wine, cloth and lime.<sup>639</sup> The main return freight was probably timber, but the commander also sold the Scots tar,<sup>640</sup> wax imported from the Baltic,<sup>641</sup> and copper.<sup>642</sup> The Scots do not seem to have exported stockfish.

A number of Scots settled in Bergen, bought a house, brought their wife and children, and even became Bergen citizens.<sup>643</sup> In 1512, Scottish pirates plundered three ships belonging to Hanseatic Bergenfahrer, and the Kontor in Bergen responded by seizing a Scottish ship in Bergen.<sup>644</sup> In 1523, state authority broke down in Bergen because of the rebellion against Christian II. Hansa merchants used the occasion to settle accounts with the Scots. They assaulted Scottish-born Bergen

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632 DN XX nos. 788 and 857.

633 DN II nos. 764 and 765.

634 NGL 2.rk. III no. 213.

635 Table II.1.

636 NRJ I, pp. 520, 574, 607, and 692; NRJ II, p. 658.

637 Cf. NRJ I-III, index.

638 NRJ I, pp. 354, 390, 480 and 391; NRJ II, p. 657.

639 DN VIII no. 591; HR III, 8, 1; NRJ I, pp. 139 and 202.

640 NRJ I, p. 544.

641 Ibid., pp. 341 and 420.

642 Ibid., pp. 339 and 443.

643 DN V no. 1039; HR III, 9, 482.

644 HR III, 6, 488 §6.

citizens and confiscated their goods in compensation for Scottish pirates' attacks over the 11 previous years. Since this incident took place during the night of November 7<sup>th</sup>, i.e. during the winter, the victims must have been living permanently in Bergen. The detailed claims for damages show that the Scots not only exchanged Scottish imports for Norwegian exports, but at their sales booths also sold imports from all over northern Europe.<sup>645</sup> "Little Thomas", one of the Scottish victims who was an urban councillor in Bergen,<sup>646</sup> had chartered a ship from Scotland in 1519.<sup>647</sup> He evidently carried out trade with his native country after he had become citizen of Bergen.

## F. CONCLUSION

During the period 1365–1400, Hansa merchants seem to have imported about 378 tons of Bergen fish to Boston annually, while the English imported about 68 tons to Lynn; all together, somewhere in the region of 450 tons of fish were imported into England annually. This is almost the double of the 244 tons which were sent to Lübeck annually in the same period. These figures contain a margin of error, but there is no reason to doubt that this difference is realistic. The exports to eastern England were significantly higher than those to Lübeck.

Hansa merchants imported far more stockfish into England than the English did themselves, may be 5–6 times as much around the year 1400. Lübeck merchants, and to some extent those from other Wendish towns, dominated the Hanseatic trade, and the Lübeck traders seem to have controlled more than half of it. On the other side of the North Sea, merchants from Lynn were dominant among English merchants. Hansa merchants sailed almost exclusively to Boston, while English traders used Lynn as their centre of commercial shipping.

Both Hanseatic and English trade between Bergen and England declined in the 15<sup>th</sup> century. The last Hanseatic Bergenfahrer visited eastern England in the 1480s. English merchants normally sent only one ship a year to Bergen in the decades around 1500.

The last licence issued for shipping English grain to Bergen was in 1443.<sup>648</sup> But the importation of English cloth to Bergen continued, and the commander of Bergenhus castle bought significant quantities of it.<sup>649</sup> This cloth may have been transported on the single English ship which arrived annually in the years 1518–1521, or it may have come via Deventer, Amsterdam or another port in the Netherlands.

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<sup>645</sup> HR III, 9, 482.

<sup>646</sup> DN VI no. 694; NRJ III, index.

<sup>647</sup> NRJ I, p. 336. He paid customs for it, and must therefore have chartered the ship or was its owner.

<sup>648</sup> Table II.27.

<sup>649</sup> NRJ I-III.

England found alternatives to Norwegian fish. English merchants, many of them from Lynn, sailed directly to Iceland from about 1412 and bought stockfish there. But English trade with Iceland] encountered opposition from the Danish government, and it declined from the 1470s, and even more so after about 1540. English fishermen started to catch cod and herring in the North Sea and salt it from about 1370, and from 1412 they also fished for cod near Iceland. Merchants who bought stockfish produced by Icelanders and fishermen who produced salt fish themselves sailed in different types of ship, but the fishermen dominated more and more.<sup>650</sup> Both stockfish and salt fish from Iceland and Icelandic waters replaced Bergen stockfish on the English market.<sup>651</sup>

From about 1420, German merchants also sailed directly to Iceland. At first, some of them seem to have sold their Icelandic stockfish in England, but gradually, and particularly after 1500, direct sailings to markets in Hamburg and other Hansa towns prevailed.<sup>652</sup> The German merchants cooperated with the Danish authorities to some extent, but they also took matters in their own hands. In 1532, the Germans stormed the English settlement at Grindavik in Iceland and killed 15 Englishmen.<sup>653</sup> The post-Reformation Danish state attempted to monopolise the Iceland trade for the Danish king's subjects, and shortly after 1600 Danish merchants were given a monopoly over trade with Iceland.<sup>654</sup>

The withdrawal of German and English merchants from trade between Bergen and England fits into a larger pattern. During the 15<sup>th</sup> century, the Wendish Hansa towns gradually withdrew from trade and shipping to North Sea ports. The English correspondingly withdrew from or reduced their trade with the Baltic. The Dutch took over, and the English could buy their Baltic goods at markets in the Netherlands.<sup>655</sup> England's commerce with Bergen suffered a different fate because it almost ceased. The reason seems to have been that Icelandic fish replaced Bergen fish, and political tensions between England and the Hansa made trade across the North Sea hazardous and destroyed profits for merchants from both England and the Wendish towns.

The trade between Norway and England illustrates the type of interaction between Hansa merchants and other northern European merchants which characterised the Hansa in general. German merchants did not create the Bergen–England trade; they took over an existing exchange system and expanded it quantitatively in the 13<sup>th</sup> century by combining this with the new exports of grain from Baltic ports.

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650 CARUS-WILSON, *The Iceland Trade*, p. 181; THORSTEINSSON, *Hansestæderne og Island*, pp. 165–195.

651 Cf. pp. 525–526 and 528–529.

652 THORSTEINSSON, *Hansestæderne og Island*, p. 175.

653 *Ibid.*, p. 182.

654 The information about Iceland is mainly taken from THORSTEINSSON, *Hansestæderne og Island*, pp. 169–195.

655 POSTAN, *England and the Hanse*, pp. 135 and 152–153.

The Germans marginalised and eliminated their Norwegian and English predecessors in the 13<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> centuries. But the English changed their defeat in Bergen into a new beginning: in the 15<sup>th</sup> century, they started to fish for and process cod from the North Sea, Icelandic waters, and later New Foundland. The Hansa had unintentionally helped the English to flourish as a sea power.

## 5. TRADE BETWEEN THE WESTERN EUROPEAN CONTINENT AND BERGEN

For a discussion of the Bergen trade during the Late Middle Ages, the relevant areas of the western European continent are today's Netherlands, Belgium and the western part of Germany. Throughout the Middle Ages, this was the most commercialised region of the northern European continent. Goods from Scandinavia and the Baltic could reach this area through two important distribution centres at its western and eastern fringes: Bruges in the west and Lübeck in the east. Other distribution centres were located on estuaries along the North Sea coast, Hamburg (on the Elbe), Bremen (the Weser), Kampen and Deventer (the Ijssel), Amsterdam and Middelburg (the Rhine). Goods could be sent there by sea and transported inland by river boats or overland carriage.

### A. BERGEN–FLANDERS

There are fewer sources of information for Bruges' trade with Bergen than for Boston's. This is partly because England has preserved its sources better than any other state in medieval northern Europe. The Hansa settlement in Boston also used Bergen as its main overseas base, and their letters to English state authorities would often deal specifically with matters connected to Bergen. Bruges served as a market for goods from all over Europe – stockfish was only a small part of it – and letters from the Bruges Kontor would deal with the legal framework for Hansa trade in a more general way. This scarcity of sources should be borne in mind when discussing how important Bergen fish was in Bruges and Flanders.

The trade between Bergen and Bruges resembled that between Bergen and Boston in so far as it declined after about 1440. As will be seen below, after that date, evidence for trade between Bergen and Bruges is rare.

Norwegian goods continued to be sold in Bruges after the Black Death. A customs tariff for German merchants in Flanders in 1360 lists as goods *Wiker sparren*, *Bergher sparren*, *Ghotensche sparren*.<sup>656</sup> Even though several places in northern Europe are called *Wik* and *Bergen*, there can be little doubt that this is referring to

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656 HUB III no. 499.

rafters from Viken and Bergen in Norway; rafters were a common export commodity from Norway. *Ghotensche* may refer to Gotland or to Götaland, to the northeast of present-day Gothenburg.<sup>657</sup> In 1437, Duke Phillippe of Burgundy issued a ruling that timber from Norway, Denmark and Germany could be sold in Sluis on the river Zwin, which connects Bruges to the sea.<sup>658</sup> In 1393, a great tournament was held in Bruges, and the prize was a falcon bought from Conrad van Norwegen.<sup>659</sup>

Stockfish must have been a common commodity in Flanders. Sluis was located on the estuary of the river Zwin. There the stockfish seems to have been reloaded to barges. In 1409 Hildebrand Veckinchusen paid 30 grot to transport 1500 stockfish worth 3615 grot from Sluis to Bruges.<sup>660</sup> Barges travelling on from Sluis would first arrive at the village Monikereede, then Damme, and finally Bruges. Monikereede is called a *stapel van den drogen* [dried] *vische* in a customs tariff.<sup>661</sup> The oldest extant transcript of that tariff was written sometime between 1400 and 1457, but the original list is said to have been composed by a named customs official who owned a house in Sluis in the years 1371–80.<sup>662</sup> Monikereede's role as a "staple of stockfish" must have originated in the 1370s or earlier. The status of being a staple meant that stockfish could be sold in Monikereede, but it did not exclude the possibility that barges could transport the fish up to Bruges. In the same manuscript, customs tariffs are also listed for Bruges with the same grades of stockfish and the same customs fees as in Monikereede. The fees were to be paid in the village of Damme just before the barges arrived in Bruges itself.<sup>663</sup> Among the types of *drogen vische* (dried fish) listed for both Monikereede and Damme are *stocvischen*, *screien* (Norwegian *skrei*), *darsch clene* (small cod – Norwegian torsk, German Dorsch), and *darsch groot ende vulwassene* (large mature cod).<sup>664</sup> Of these, the *screien* must have been Norwegian because of the name, while *darsch* may have come from either Norway or the North Sea. Some other species of dried fish, such as skate and carp, probably had been produced locally. In 1437, Duke Phillippe decided that the staple for stockfish (*poisson sec*) should be moved from Monikereede to Sluis or Bruges.<sup>665</sup>

Customs payments made in Monikereede belonged to the Duke of Flanders. In addition, the Lord of Duzeele (outside Bruges) demanded duties from Hanseatic stockfish importers. The latter refused to pay, but Bruges town council in 1422

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657 Table 1.3.

658 *Inventaire des Archives de Bruges* V, p. 148, cf. p. 244.

659 *Ibid.* IV, p. 473.

660 *Die Handelsbücher des Hildebrand Veckinchusen*, pp. 15 and 350.

661 HUB XI no. 1235 §73b. The medieval village Monikereede no longer exists, but there is a Monnikerestraat in Damme.

662 *Ibid.* introduction, p. 774. The tariff account is preserved in the town archive of Sluis.

663 *Ibid.* §49, cf p. 777.

664 *Ibid.* §73. Other species mentioned are skate and shark.

665 *Inventaire des Archives de Bruges* V, p. 148, cf. p. 244.

ruled against the German merchants.<sup>666</sup> Three years later, the Kontor in Bruges again complained about “the great damage because of this customs duty suffered every day by Hansa merchants who bring stockfish into this country”.<sup>667</sup> The correspondence of Hildebrand Veckinchusen shows that he traded in stockfish when he lived in Bruges during the period 1401–1425.<sup>668</sup> In 1438, a merchant at the Kontor in Bruges asked the town council to help him obtain compensation for 26,000 stockfish (18 tons) which a citizen of Bruges had taken from him illegally.<sup>669</sup> Merchants from towns along the Rhine bought stockfish from Hanseatic merchants at the Bruges Kontor.<sup>670</sup>

It was not only the Bergen Kontor that was concerned when merchants started sailing to the North Atlantic after about 1412 – the Bruges Kontor was too. In 1416, a Hansa Diet (*Hansetag*) passed a decree which prohibited Hansa merchants from visiting the Norwegian *schatland*, which at that time seems to have meant the North Atlantic islands of the Faeroes, Shetland and Orkney. The decree was publicised at all four Kontors, which were at that time Bruges, London, Bergen and Novgorod.<sup>671</sup> Eighteen years later in 1434/5, the Bruges Kontor asked a *Hansetag* if the prohibition against visiting Iceland, Shetland, Orkney and the Faeroes was still in force. The Bruges Kontor must have sent this query because some of its members had asked them to. The Bergen Kontor was strongly in favour of concentrating all the stockfish trade in Bergen, so the merchants who wanted to sail directly to the *schatland* had to promote their interests through another Kontor. The question sent by the Bruges Kontor to the Hansa Diet was an open request for clarification of what Hansa policy was. This suggests that members of the Bruges Kontor held differing opinions on the matter. The *Hansetag* answered by confirming the prohibition, but promised to look more closely into what was “for the common good”.<sup>672</sup> This confirms that Hansa merchants in Bruges had interests in the stockfish trade.

The main export from Bruges was high-quality cloth, and Norway was no exception in wanting this commodity. In 1384, the Norwegian king decreed the maximum prices to be paid for various goods, including broadcloth from Bruges and cloth from Ghent and Ypres.<sup>673</sup> In 1381, a building site in Oslo was bought and the payment given in kind with, among other things, “a woman’s cloak with a hood

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666 HUB VI no. 449.

667 HR I, 7, 801 §9 (1425).

668 LESNIKOV, *Handelsbücher des hansischen Kaufmannes Veckinchusen*, pp. XXII and 317; *Briefwechsel eines deutschen Kaufmannes*, nos. 59, 161, 173 and 174.

669 HUB VII no. 389 §7.

670 HUB VI nos. 225 and 560.

671 NGL 2.rk. I, pp. 662–663 = HR I, 6, 275.

672 HR II, 1, 393 §12 and no. 394 §10 = NGL 2.rk. I, no. 385. Hansa merchants sailing to Iceland seem to have become a problem between 1416 and 1434.

673 NGL III no. 120, p. 219, cf. no. 114, pp. 205 and 208 = RN VII nos. 773 and 1177.

from Bruges". This must have been a luxury item, because its price was high – 10 marks.<sup>674</sup>

There can be little doubt that Hansa merchants in Bruges received stockfish from Bergen since, as just mentioned, one grade of stockfish in the customs accounts there is called *screien*, a Norwegian word. Did this come directly from Bergen or via other ports?

In 1430, the Hansa merchants boycotted Bergen, and that year a ship from Dordrecht exported 450 stockfish from Hull to Flanders.<sup>675</sup> During this special period, the Flemish market received stockfish from English merchants, who had bought it in Bergen or Iceland. Hildebrand Veckinchusen was a member of the Hanseatic Kontor in Bruges, and in 1409 he received a consignment of stockfish from Lübeck via Hamburg.<sup>676</sup> In 1400, Captain Johan Lüneburg sailed from Bergen to Lübeck with a cargo of fish, and shortly afterwards he sailed to Flanders and paid customs for one *stuck* of stockfish for this westward journey.<sup>677</sup> It has been claimed that such transshipments via Lübeck were the normal means of sending fish from Bergen to Flanders in the Late Middle Ages.<sup>678</sup> But these exports also demanded direct shipping connections.

Merchants from the Bergen Kontor sent their goods to Flanders and Zeeland in 1437.<sup>679</sup> But this was not a normal year, since the Hansa was boycotting both England<sup>680</sup> and Deventer.<sup>681</sup> In 1439, during the Dutch–Hanseatic war, the Bruges Kontor asked a Hansa Diet to bring in a prohibition against sailing to Flanders from Prussia, Livonia, "Bergen in Norway" and Hamburg because of Dutch piracy on the North Sea.<sup>682</sup> This means that in normal years there were direct sailings from Bergen to Bruges. In about 1389, a ship loaded with goods belonging to *mercatores Bergenses* (Bergenfahrer) who were citizens of Lübeck was plundered on its way from Flanders. The pirates were inhabitants (*incoles*) of Yorkshire towns, where they sold the looted goods.<sup>683</sup> The ship seems to have been sailing along the English coast en route from Flanders to Bergen.

In 1417, Hildebrand Veckinchusen who was a member of the Bruges Kontor, asked his representative in Lübeck, Tidemann Brekevelde, to send him at least 2000 stockfish. Brekevelde answered that there was a shortage of stockfish even in Lübeck.

674 DN VI no. 306 = RN VII no. 986.

675 RGP volume 65 no. 1027, note 2.

676 *Briefwechsel eines deutschen Kaufmannes* no. 22.

677 PB 1400, p. 158d. One *stuck* of stockfish was 1½ Hanseatic shippound à 136 kg.

678 LUNDEN, *Kvantitative og teoretiske studiar*, p. 255.

679 HR II, 7, 464.

680 HR II, 2, 87–88.

681 *Ibid.* no. 35.

682 HR II, 2, 303.

683 DN XIX no. 665 §21 = *Hanseakten aus England* no. 329 §21.

They were expecting shipments from Bergen, “but it serves no purpose that I send some to you, because I assume that when ships sail from Bergen to here [Lübeck] they will also sail to Flanders”.<sup>684</sup>

Brekevelde considered it normal that Bruges was provided with stockfish directly from Bergen. Veckinchusen also corresponded with the Bergenfahrer Tidemann Semme in Lübeck.<sup>685</sup> In an undated letter from Semme to Hildebrand written somewhere between 1395 and 1421, Semme ended by saying: “Tell my servant [in Bruges] that if [in Bruges] there is no ship ready to sail to Bergen, he shall come to Lübeck”.<sup>686</sup>

During the Hansa blockade of Bruges in 1358 and 1388, only ships which had already been chartered in France, Spain, Scotland or Norway to sail through the Channel, on their way to or from the salt markets in France and Spain, were allowed to call at Bruges on the way.<sup>687</sup> In 1407, the Bruges Kontor collected the *Pfundzoll* from all ships sailing “westwards or to Norway, Sweden, Denmark and other towns which are not in the Hansa”,<sup>688</sup> the Hansa Diet which ordered this arrangement must have considered it likely that ships would sail from Bruges to a Norwegian port without calling at a Hansa port on the way. In the *Pfundzoll* accounts from Lübeck for 1368–1400, there are at least three, perhaps five, examples of ships that plied the route Lübeck–Flanders–Bergen–Lübeck, and two examples of ships that sailed Lübeck–Bergen–Flanders–Lübeck.<sup>689</sup>

In cases where ships are said to have arrived in Bruges from “Norway”, one cannot be sure that this meant they came from Bergen. A German, probably a sailor, was punished in Sluis, the outport for Bruges, for getting into a fight in Norway, which indicates that Sluis was his first port of call after leaving Norway.<sup>690</sup> If the incident had taken place in Bergen, the source would probably have said so. Shipping between Bruges and Norway may have been part of a larger pattern which saw vessels sailing between the North Sea and the Baltic on a route that took them along the Norwegian coast in order to avoid the dangerous west coast of Jutland. These ships followed the south Norwegian coast of Agder, which was thinly populated and had no towns or manned forts to defend the shipping lane. In the Late Middle Ages, the area became a refuge for foreign pirates, who plundered Hansa ships which were on their way to Norwegian ports or were sailing between the Baltic and the North Sea. Hildebrand Veckinchusen sent four ships from the Bruges Kontor loaded with goods to Danzig in the year 1417 alone, and all of them used the Norwegian coastal

684 *Briefwechsel eines deutschen Kaufmannes* no. 173 and 463.

685 BRUNS, *Bergenfahrer*, p. XLIX.

686 *Briefwechsel eines deutschen Kaufmannes* no. 463.

687 HR I, 1, 212 §2 and note 2; HR I, 3, 381 §2 and §3.

688 HR I, 5, 392 §15. The year is 1407.

689 Table II.18.

690 HUB V no. 690, introduction. The year is 1404.

route.<sup>691</sup> A large merchant vessel (*bolck*) on its way from Reval to Bruges was looted by pirates from Friesland on 30/11/1409 at Skjernøysund, near present-day Mandal in southern Norway.<sup>692</sup> The Bruges Kontor was informed in 1400 that pirates had left Friesland and Stavoren and had now established operations in Norway, and it asked Lübeck to take measures to ensure that Hansa ships suffered no harm.<sup>693</sup>

There are no indications that Hansa shipping from Bruges to the Baltic along the Agder coast led to any significant trade between the locals and the merchants.

Extant sources indicate that Lübeck merchants were as dominant in the trade between Bergen and Bruges as they were between Bergen and Boston. A ship which was raided on its way from Flanders to Bergen in 1389 was carrying goods belonging to Lübeck merchants.<sup>694</sup> As mentioned elsewhere, the Lübeck citizens and Bergenfahrer Tidemann Semme,<sup>695</sup> Hermann Oveneter<sup>696</sup> and Johan Sina<sup>697</sup> had servants or representatives in Bruges. Merchants from other German towns are not mentioned as trading between Bergen and Bruges.

How did the Lübeck Bergenfahrer organise their commerce between Bergen and Flanders? Johan Sina, Hermann Hesse and Simon Hake entered a partnership in 1444; Sina was a town councillor in Lübeck and had most of the capital,<sup>698</sup> Hesse is called a “Bergenfahrer” and lived in Bergen, where he ran the business and carried out most of the practical work. He seems to have been citizen of Wegeleben in Westphalia.<sup>699</sup> Hake lived in Bruges. In 1460 Hake died in Sluis, the outpost for Bruges where the staple for stockfish was located at that time,<sup>700</sup> and he left behind an account book with details of his partnership with Sina and Hesse.<sup>701</sup> We know that some time before 1460 Hesse chartered a ship to sail from Bergen to an unknown port, and that the skipper was a citizen of Tiel, on the lower Rhine. The destination was probably also a port close to the Rhine estuary, perhaps Sluis.<sup>702</sup> This partnership between a Bergenfahrer and a member of the Kontor in Bruges is not unique. Another Bergenfahrer from Lübeck, Hermann Oveneter, owed his trading partner (*Lieger*) in Bruges 100 marks in 1472.<sup>703</sup> In the second half of the

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691 *Briefwechsel eines deutschen Kaufmannes*, nos. 139 and 177.

692 HUB V no. 963 = RN IX no. 604; HUB V no. 982 = RN IX no. 662.

693 HR I, 4, 629 = RN VIII no. 883.

694 DN XIX no. 665 §21 = *Hanseakten aus England* no. 329 §21.

695 *Briefwechsel eines deutschen Kaufmannes* no. 463.

696 BRUNS, *Bergenfahrer*, p. 178.

697 HUB VIII no. 986; cf. BRUNS, *Bergenfahrer*, pp. 172–173 and 83.

698 BRUNS, *Bergenfahrer*, pp. 172–173.

699 *Ibid.*, pp. 83 and 172. Cf. p. 232, footnote on Hesse’s citizenship.

700 See above in this section; the staple was moved to Sluis in 1437.

701 HUB VIII no. 986.

702 *Ibid.* nos. 889 and 1193.

703 BRUNS, *Bergenfahrer*, p. 178.

15<sup>th</sup> century, the Kontor in Bruges organised all Hansa trade in the southern Netherlands,<sup>704</sup> and business partners in Flanders may have bought goods at markets other than Bruges.<sup>705</sup>

It was not only German merchants but also Flemish ones who sailed between Bergen and Flanders. In preparation for the Hansa blockades of Bergen in 1368 and 1427–1433, Hansa authorities wrote to Flemish officials requesting in the first instance that they ban their merchants from visiting Norway and Denmark,<sup>706</sup> and in the second from trading with Denmark, Sweden and Norway.<sup>707</sup> In 1368, the Bergen Kontor expressed fears that English and Flemish merchants would take over their trade when they evacuated from Norway.<sup>708</sup> In 1372 in the aftermath of the blockade, the Bergen Kontor asked a Hansa Diet to prevent English and Flemish merchants during future blockades from buying goods in Hansa towns which they could send on to Bergen.<sup>709</sup> The Bergen Kontor passed statutes which restricted the trade of Hansa merchants with other foreigners in Bergen. In 1411 the Kontor complained that some Hansa merchants were trading with “Flemish, English and other non-German merchants”, contravening the statutes.<sup>710</sup> But the Flemish trade between Norway and Flanders must have been negligible compared to the Hanseatic trade, since it has left no traces in Norwegian sources.

Bergen was not the only Norwegian port with direct sailings to Flanders. Around the year 1370, Bartholomeus Goldsmith (*Gulsmyd*), a citizen of Oslo, sailed to Flanders with his goods.<sup>711</sup> In 1397, Henneke (= Johan) van Demen from Oslo was expelled from the German Hansa in Bruges because he had ignored a ban on trading with the enemy.<sup>712</sup> Both men seem to have been ethnic Germans living in Oslo. During the 14<sup>th</sup> century, Germans who lived permanently in eastern Norway, Denmark and Sweden could enjoy Hansa privileges abroad; in practice, they seem to have held a kind of double citizenship. This was not possible in Bergen, because the Kontor prevented it. When German merchants who lived permanently in Norway, Denmark or Sweden came to the Bruges Kontor, they belonged to and paid their dues to the Gotland–Livonian group (*derdendeel*).<sup>713</sup> German merchants who traded

704 DOLLINGER, *La Hanse*, pp. 131 and 386–388; English translation, pp. 104 and 314–315; German translation, pp. 140 and 405–407.

705 Cf. chapter II.5b.

706 HR I, 1, 469 §22.

707 HR I, 8, 111 = UBStL VII no. 7.

708 DN VIII no. 184.

709 NGL 2.rk. I no. 349 §26.4 = HR I, 2, 41 §4.

710 NGL 2.rk. I, p. 656 = HR I, 6, 38 §1.

711 DN I no. 409.

712 HUB V no. 254. The enemy in this case was probably Margareta, Queen of Norway. Demen probably means “from Damme”. There is a town called Damme both in Flanders and in Westphalia, north of Osnabrück.

713 HR I, 7, 487 §20 = NGL 2.rk. I no. 381 (1422).

mainly with ports in Norway or Denmark but stayed for long periods in Bruges belonged to the Lübeck–Saxon group.<sup>714</sup> This rather loose distinction caused conflicts. After this period, in 1466, Andries Colennée (= from Cologne?), a “skipper from Norway”, transported three lasts of Swedish iron (*osemont*) and hides to Sluis, the outpost for Bruges. His name indicates that he was a German immigrant living in Norway, while his goods point to eastern Norway.<sup>715</sup>

Not all who sailed from Norway to Bruges were merchants. In the Late Middle Ages, the Norwegian church continued to channel its travellers and financial transactions with the Roman curia via Bruges.<sup>716</sup> They could use Hansa merchants as intermediaries in their money transfers.<sup>717</sup>

The best sources for information about Bruges’ role in Norway’s foreign trade date from 1367–1368. In 1367, Hansa Diets decided to declare war and a naval boycott against Denmark and Norway. In June that year, a representative from the Bergen Kontor asked that messages be sent to Bergen if threats should arise. If they could not be dispatched through the Øresund directly from Lübeck or another Wendish town, he requested that such messages be sent from Flanders, and the Bergen Kontor was willing to cover the expenses.<sup>718</sup> When Flanders was chosen, it must have been because ships would be there ready to sail to Bergen anyway.

The following December and January, Hansa Diets planned the evacuation of the Bergen Kontor in more detail. Four ships were to be sent to Bergen with orders for the merchants to leave the town before Easter of 1368. They were permitted to sail from Bergen to Flanders. Rostock was allowed to send two small ships to Tønsberg to evacuate Hansa merchants from eastern Norway.<sup>719</sup> In February, a letter was sent to the Bruges Kontor to inform them that a Hansa Diet had authorised the Bergenfahrer to send empty ships from Flanders to Bergen, and merchants who had partners (*socii*) in Tønsberg and Oslo had been permitted to send ships there.<sup>720</sup> The same day, another letter was sent to the Bergen Kontor telling them to evacuate the town, including “equipment and goods”. They could use ships they had chartered in Bergen, or those which had been sent for their rescue. The warships of the Hansa towns were waiting at Marstrand, north of present day-Gothenburg, and would escort the ships coming from Bergen through the Øresund. Winter residents who

714 HUB VI no. 903 (1466).

715 HUB IX, p. 166 note 2; *Cartulaire de l'ancienne estaple de Bruges* II, p. 146.

716 The Norwegian church’s contact with Rome is outside the scope of this book, but a survey of relevant sources is readily found through the indexes of the volumes of RN: RN VI nos. 13, 172, 192, 360, 392, 399, 702, 979, 983 and 1028; RN VII nos. 53, 179, 181, 294, 322, 323, 349 and 428. RN gives summaries of the content, and references to where the source is printed.

717 DN VI no. 292; cf. chapter I.4a.

718 HR I, 1, 402 §13 = NGL 2.rk. I no. 344.

719 NGL 2.rk. I, pp. 608–610 = HR I, 1, 420 §14–§15 and no. 421 §14–§15; HR I, 3, 302.

720 HUB IV no. 238 = HR I, 1, 428.

preferred evacuating to Flanders, England or Hamburg were allowed to do so.<sup>721</sup> The Lübeck *Pfundzoll* accounts show that stockfish was transported on 12 ships sailing from Bergen to Lübeck that year.<sup>722</sup> Later, the Bergenfahrer complained that they had chartered ships in Flanders and England that spring at a cost of 4500 marks but were unable to use them because of the order to evacuate from Bergen.<sup>723</sup> It should be seen as part of their normal practice that they chartered ships in west European ports to bring stockfish directly to North Sea markets, primarily to Flanders and Boston. In August 1368, a cease-fire was agreed between King Håkon VI of Norway and the Hansa, but a message was sent to Hansa merchants in Flanders and England that the boycott of Norway was to continue.<sup>724</sup>

When the Bergen Kontor was evacuated in the spring of 1368, the merchants could choose which ports they wanted to be evacuated to. There is no reason to doubt that when Bergenfahrer chartered ships in Flanders and England that spring, with plans for return voyages from Bergen to Flanders, England, Hamburg or the Baltic, this was representative of the Bergen trade at this time. Among the North Sea ports, Flanders and eastern England seem to have been the two main regions importing Bergen stockfish.

In the first part of the Late Middle Ages, up to about 1440, there were important commercial exchanges between Bergen and ports along the river Zwin. Apart from documents related to the merchants Hermann Hesse and Hermann Oveneter, all evidence for Hansa trade between Bergen and Flanders comes from the period before 1440. Bergen's trade with Bruges and Boston had in common that it was dominated by merchants from Lübeck and declined after about 1440.

## B. BERGEN–ZEELAND AND BRABANT

The decline of Bruges's trade with Bergen was not an isolated phenomenon. According to Dollinger, "the decline of Bruges, which benefitted Antwerp, is already noticeable in the mid-15<sup>th</sup> century, and is evident after the third quarter".<sup>725</sup> The main market for Baltic products moved north to Amsterdam.<sup>726</sup> The trade from western Germany and England to the Netherlands shifted to markets in Zeeland and Brabant, and above all to Antwerp, but also to Bergen-op-Zoom and Middelburg, which were all close to the river Schelde.<sup>727</sup>

721 NGL 2.rk. I no. 345 = HR I, 3, 302.

722 LECHNER, *Pfundzollisten*, pp. 163 and 226; cf. appendix III table 1.

723 DN VIII no. 184.

724 HR I, 1, 475 §14.

725 DOLLINGER, *La Hanse*, pp. 367–368; English translation, p. 299; German translation, p. 385.

726 HOUTTE, *Economic History of the Low Countries*, pp. 94–98; DOLLINGER, *La Hanse*, pp. 240–246; English translation, pp. 192–195; German translation, pp. 253–257.

727 HOUTTE, *Economic History of the Low Countries*, pp. 104–109, cf. p. 186.

The markets in Brabant on the Schelde estuary attracted some of the Bergen trade which Bruges lost. *Stokvisch* and *Berger vis* are mentioned in the customs accounts from Bergen-op-Zoom in 1418,<sup>728</sup> 1486–88<sup>729</sup> and 1494–96.<sup>730</sup> From there the stockfish was distributed to other markets in the Netherlands.<sup>731</sup> During the Anglo-Hanseatic war in 1470–74, England received stockfish from Bergen-op-Zoom.<sup>732</sup> At least some of the fish originated in Bergen; in the customs accounts it is called *Berger vis* in one case.<sup>733</sup> Merchants from the Bergen Kontor visited Bergen-op-Zoom around 1475.<sup>734</sup> The Antwerp customs accounts mention stockfish as early as 1369/70,<sup>735</sup> and stockfish was sent to England from Antwerp.<sup>736</sup> In 1395, 1400, 1409 and 1431, the Hansa privileges in Antwerp were confirmed, and all of them include customs tariffs for *stockvisch*.<sup>737</sup> In 1442, skipper Klaus Gerbrandsson from Antwerp was arrested in Bergen.<sup>738</sup> Antwerp received at least some of its stockfish from Bergen.

Middelburg and other minor ports in Zeeland were outports for Antwerp and Bergen-op-Zoom.<sup>739</sup> Over the course of 1413–14, Hanseatic Bergenfahrer (*den coopluden van Northbergen*) negotiated for privileges in Middelburg.<sup>740</sup> Urban authorities helped them to obtain trading rights in the whole of Zeeland and Holland.<sup>741</sup> The Duke of Holland in the same two years issued letters of free passage (*geleyde*) to members of the Bergen Kontor (*den gemenen coopman van der hanze van Noortbergen*).<sup>742</sup> In 1437, the Hansa boycotted Boston and Deventer, and Bergen merchants shipped their goods to Flanders and Zeeland instead.<sup>743</sup> In 1462, a ship sailed from Bergen to Arnemuiden, close to Middelburg, with stockfish.<sup>744</sup> The town councils of Deventer and Kampen wrote in 1476 that *die coepman toe Bergen* sent their goods to “England, Zeeland and particularly Deventer and Kampen”; Bruges seems to have no longer been an alternative.<sup>745</sup> In 1487, a ship sailed from

728 RGP volume 29 no. 201.

729 Ibid. nos. 353, 375 and 377 .

730 Ibid. nos. 487 and 493.

731 RGP volume 75 no. 337 (1489).

732 RGP volume 66 no. 1668.

733 RGP volume 29 no. 377 (1488); other terms are *stockvisch*, *droge visch* or *piscis siccis*.

734 HUB X nos. 382 and 445.

735 *Comptes du tonlieu d'Anvers 1365–1404*, p. 201.

736 RGP volume 66 no. 1574 (1467).

737 HUB V nos. 219, 424 and 874; HUB VI no. 916

738 BULL, Bergen og Hansestæderne, p. 143. Andorra = Antwerp, cf. HUB VII reg.

739 HOUTTE, Economic History of the Low Countries, pp. 108–109.

740 RGP volume 61 no. 205, pp. 271–273.

741 Ibid. no. 206.

742 HUB V nos. 1103 and 1127 = HR I, 6, nos. 128 and 129.

743 HR II, 7, 464

744 HUB XI no. 1261

745 DN XVI no. 261; HR II, 7, 391 §10 = NGL 2.rk. II, p. 746 §10.

Zeeland to Bergen despite a Hansa ban, and a Hansa Diet decided that this act was to be punished “if the ship has a Hanseatic home town”.<sup>746</sup> A merchant from Kampen imported timber from Norway to Vlissingen in Zeeland, on the estuary of Westerschelde, in 1423.<sup>747</sup> A quick look at a map reveals that the relevant ports in Zeeland are all situated on the Walchern peninsula along the estuary of the Schelde, and they should be considered outports for Antwerp, which also is on the Schelde but lies further inland in Brabant. The markets for selling the stockfish were organised in a similar way to what occurred along the river Zwin leading up to Bruges. Only some of the stockfish was sold in the main ports (Bruges and Antwerp), and the rest was offered for sale in outports (Monikereede, Sluis, Middelburg, Arnemuiden and Vlissingen). Perhaps it was more practical to reload the stockfish on barges for transport further inland in these outports.

The Bruges Kontor in theory was in charge of all Hansa merchants who traded in Zeeland as well as Flanders, but in 1453 the Hanseatic *Bergervaers in Zeeland* refused to pay them the *schot* duty.<sup>748</sup> For merchants trading in Zeeland, the Bruges Kontor had outlived its usefulness; as was shown above, the Bergenfahrer negotiated rights and privileges without the help of this Kontor. The Hansa merchants who sold stockfish in Zeeland were citizens of Zuiderzee<sup>749</sup> and Wendish towns.<sup>750</sup>

The earliest extant evidence for stockfish exports by Hansa merchants from Bergen to Zeeland and Brabant dates from the 1413/14,<sup>751</sup> the last from 1487/88.<sup>752</sup> It seems that this market was important over a limited period as Bruges’s trade to Bergen declined during the 15<sup>th</sup> century.

Merchants from Norway are mentioned in a customs tariff for Antwerp from around 1420–28.<sup>753</sup> It is not clear whether they came from Bergen or eastern Norway.

After about 1430, merchants with home towns in Zeeland increasingly conducted trade with Norway themselves, and they seem to have followed in the footsteps of the Hansa merchants. Zierikzee in Zeeland was among the first Dutch towns to obtain written privileges in Norway, “and particularly Bergen”, in 1443;<sup>754</sup> cloth was already being exported from there to Norway in 1435.<sup>755</sup> Merchants from Westerschouwen<sup>756</sup> were also early visitors to Norway in 1440. Both Zierikzee and

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746 HR III, 2, 160 §175.

747 HUB VI no. 514 §5.

748 HR II, 4, 161 §6.

749 HUB VI no. 514 §5; HUB X nos. 382 and 445.

750 NGL 2.rk. II, p. 746 §10 = HR II, 7, 391 §10.

751 RGP volume 61 no. 205, pp. 271–273.

752 HR III, 2, 160 §175; RGP volume 29 no. 377.

753 HUB VII no. 748 §5.

754 NGL 2.rk. I no. 125.

755 RGP volume 35 no. 1225.

756 RGP volume 66 no. 1184 note 3 (1440)

Westersvhouwen are situated on Schouwen, which is a neighbouring island to Walchern. Merchants from Veere, on Walchern, sailed to Norway starting in 1456 at the latest.<sup>757</sup> In 1472 and 1478, stockfish was exported from Veere to England, but it cannot be verified that the fish originated in Norway.<sup>758</sup> Zeeland's and Holland's active trade with Bergen started at the same time, around 1430, and is part of the initial phase of the great Dutch commercial expansion.<sup>759</sup>

### C. BERGEN–THE ZUIDERZEE

The central markets for Bergen stockfish in the Late Middle Ages were towns along the Rhine and its tributaries. The most direct route there was via the Zuiderzee and the river IJssel. Several towns along the Zuiderzee (today's IJsselmeer) and the rivers draining into it were members of the German Hanseatic League. Merchants from Kampen and Deventer already visited Bergen at the end of the 13<sup>th</sup> century, and Kampen received its first privileges in Norway then.<sup>760</sup> It can be shown that Kampen, Deventer, Zutphen, Zwolle, Stavoren and Elburg conducted commerce in Bergen in the Late Middle Ages. Their trade survived the Black Death but was modest up to about 1440. By this time, the Bohuslän fisheries no longer existed, so there was no reason for Zuiderzee merchants to visit parts of Norway other than Bergen. During the period 1350–1438, Bergen is mentioned five times as a destination from the Zuiderzee, but no other Norwegian ports are.<sup>761</sup> Six extant documents from the war period 1438–1441 concern shipping between “Bergen” and the Zuiderzee towns,<sup>762</sup> and two documents mention freight between “Norway” and the Zuiderzee.<sup>763</sup>

In the 14<sup>th</sup> century Kampen, like Bremen and other North Sea towns, seems to have been uncertain about how closely it wanted to ally itself with the increasingly powerful Baltic towns represented at the Bergen Kontor. One year after the founding of the Kontor, in June 1367, a Kampen citizen was accused of having robbed Lübeck merchants of their goods in Norway.<sup>764</sup> In December 1367, a Hansa Diet wrote that “the representatives of Kampen and others from the Zuiderzee towns promised to have a discussion among themselves about the ships which were burned in Norway, so that in our next meeting they can give us a satisfactory answer.”

757 Ibid. no. 1456 (1455/6).

758 Ibid. nos. 1664 and 1840.

759 Cf. chapter II.5d.

760 Cf. chapter I.4b.

761 HR I, 1, 510; HR I, 6, 579; HUB V no. 113 and p. 39 note 1; DN XIX no. 665 §22 = *Hanseakten aus England* no. 329 §22.

762 HR II, 2, 35, no. 232 §6 and no. 397; RGP volume 35 no. 1573; HUB VII no. 403; SNELLER, Deventer, p. 31.

763 HUB VII no. 699 = NGL 2.rk. I, p. 686 footnote 3; RGP volume 35 no. 1621.

764 HR I, 1, 402 §8.

In November 1367 Kampen nevertheless joined the alliance against Denmark and Norway,<sup>765</sup> and in December 1367 the Hansa Diet wrote to the Bergen Kontor: “If armed ships (*classis*) arrive from the Zuiderzee, you can be confident and entrust them with your goods and people, because we have made an agreement about it”.<sup>766</sup> The Hansa Diet’s plan was that the fleet from the Zuiderzee towns should escort the winter residents from Bergen through Danish waters into the Baltic;<sup>767</sup> the Lübeck *Pfundzoll* account from 1368 shows that 12 ships arrived safely from Bergen in May and June that year.<sup>768</sup>

The Hanseatic war with Norway in 1368 is interesting because it demonstrates the central role of Kampen, as well as giving us a general picture of how the Hansa conducted their wars outside Germany. King Håkon VI, in a letter of complaint from 1370, claimed that the escort ships manned by “citizens of Kampen and several towns along the Western Sea [= North Sea]” had conducted raids on their way from Bergen to the river Göta in Sweden. Ten warships arrived in Bergen from the Zuiderzee, and they tried to set fire to Bergenhus castle without succeeding, but they did manage to demolish parts of it. On their way southwards, they burned and plundered named locations along the shipping route: a forest on Selbjørnen, farms along Karmsundet, the King’s residence on Avaldsnes, farms in Ryfylke, Jæren, Sokndal and Egersund, all lying between Bergen and Lindesnes.<sup>769</sup> The warships also carried out raids in eastern Norway, i.e. east of Lindesnes, but it is unclear whether this happened while they were escorting the Bergenfahrer between Bergen and Lübeck, or after the ships had completed their escort duties. The Icelandic annals relate that “people from Kampen (*kamparar*) and Germans” came to Norway east of Lindesnes and destroyed 15 parishes in Agder through arson and raids. They continued on to Marstrand, where they set fire to the town, along with monasteries and churches and three parishes on Hisingen [north of today’s Gothenburg]. They also burnt the towns of Konungahella and Lödöse and all houses which were outside the walls of Bohus castle.<sup>770</sup> In August 1368, a truce was concluded between King Håkon and the Hansa.<sup>771</sup> Kampen and the Zuiderzee towns had demonstrated their loyalty to the Hansa during the war. But the author of the Icelandic annals evidently did not consider Kampen to be “German”.<sup>772</sup>

In 1369 a Hansa Diet decided that merchants from Deventer, Elburg and Zutphen should enjoy the same rights at the Bergen Kontor as other Hansa mer-

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765 HR I, 1, 413.

766 NGL 2.rk. I, p. 610 §5 and §7 = HR I, 1, 420 §5 and §7.

767 HR I, 3, 302 = HUB IV no. 239 = NGL 2.rk. I no. 345 = DN VIII no. 182.

768 Appendix III table 1.

769 HR I, 1, 4 = NGL 2.rk. I, pp. 615–619 = DN XIX no. 583.

770 *Íslandske Annaler*, pp. 361–362.

771 HR, I, 1, 475 §14.

772 The Hanseatic warfare in Norway 1368 has also been described by SCHÄFER, *Hansestädte und König Waldemar*, pp. 480–481.

chants.<sup>773</sup> In the following period, Kampen and the other Zuiderzee towns seem to have considered themselves to be members of the Hanseatic League, but the other Hansa towns were not so sure. In 1383, Kampen and Stavoren asked a Hansa Diet if they could be permitted to enjoy any privileges which the Hansa towns would acquire in the future in Norway, Denmark, Holland and Flanders. The Diet made it a condition that merchants from the two towns subordinated themselves to Hansa jurisdiction in all towns where it was in force, and postponed the decision to the next meeting of the Diet.<sup>774</sup>

But Zuiderzee towns continued to trade in Bergen. In 1389, a ship which had departed from Deventer was plundered by English pirates south of Bergen at the entry to Karmsundet.<sup>775</sup> It is not stated explicitly that its destination was Bergen, but it is difficult to imagine what other business may brought the ship there. In 1392, the town council of Deventer recalled “our citizens who are on their way to Bergen” (*onse burger die tot Bergen solden varen*) from the island of Texel at the western rim of the Zuiderzee, where they perhaps were waiting for favourable winds. The reason for this directive was probably that reports had reached Deventer about threats from *Vitaliner* pirates.<sup>776</sup> The best known of the 14<sup>th</sup> century Bergenfahrer from the Zuiderzee is Hermann Husman, a citizen of Deventer. Flemish pirates stole his goods from a ship which probably was on its way from Bergen to Boston.<sup>777</sup> He is mentioned twice in the customs accounts from Boston, in 1387 and 1388. He also carried out trade between Lübeck and Bergen in 1380.<sup>778</sup> The extant documents do not state explicitly that he traded with his home town, but there can be no doubt that he did.

Up till 1399, the Hansa towns kept an open mind as to who could operate under their privileges.<sup>779</sup> After that time, they became more exclusive, and Kampen evidently had problems in deciding whether to stay outside or inside the organisation. In 1417, a Hansa Diet authorised “Kampen and the other Zuiderzee towns which are members of the Hansa” to collect *pfundgeld*, which was a duty collected from Hansa merchants to pay war expenses.<sup>780</sup> But Kampen’s status seems to have been unclear, because a complaint from the Bruges Kontor in the same year claims that “some merchants who are not members of the Hansa, particularly Hollanders, Zeelanders and citizens of Kampen” are allowed to trade in Livonia, and this should

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773 HR I, 1, 510 §7 = NGL 2.rk. I, p. 614.

774 HR I, 2, 266 §8 = RGP volume 35 no. 475.

775 DN XIX no. 665 §22 = *Hanseakten aus England* no. 329 §22.

776 HUB V, p. 39 note 1.

777 HUB V no. 113 = HR I, 4, 95, cf. HR I, 3, 345. The piracy took place 1383–1388, while the document containing the complaint is from 1393.

778 Appendix II 34) IV and 36) XI.

779 Cf. p. 337–338; HR I, 4, 541 §11 = NGL 2.rk. I no. 364.

780 HR I, 6, 397 §30.

be stopped.<sup>781</sup> In 1423, the authorities in Holland and Zeeland confirmed that ships from Kampen were exempt from paying anchorage fees for their merchant ships, “because they do not belong to the Hansa” (*also sij in der Hanze niet behoeren*).<sup>782</sup> Since it was necessary to have this confirmed in a charter, it cannot have been self-evident to the Duke’s officials.<sup>783</sup>

The problem in the period before 1438 may have been that the merchants from Kampen and Stavoren who traded with Norway, Denmark and Livonia found it to their advantage to trade under Hansa privileges, while merchants who traded with Holland and Flanders and possibly other places found it advantageous to operate outside Hansa privileges and cooperate with merchants from Holland.<sup>784</sup> Merchants from Zuiderzee towns wanted to choose individually whether or not to trade under Hansa privileges.

This issue came to a head during the first war between Holland and the Hansa in 1438–1441, because during wartime the Hansa had to demand loyalty. At this time Deventer was an important market for Bergen stockfish, and many or all of the merchants who sold goods from Bergen in Deventer traded under Hansa privileges. In February 1437, representatives of a Hansa Diet warned Hansa merchants in Bergen “who are in the habit of traveling to Deventer with their goods” (*de gewontliken plegen to vorsoken to Deventer mit eren guderen*) against pirates from Holland;<sup>785</sup> the wording implies that shipping between Bergen and Deventer was a normal practice. Kampen was caught in the middle in this war. In 1438, Kampen and Deventer cooperated in seeking an agreement with Amsterdam that would allow their trade with Bergen to continue despite the war.<sup>786</sup> The negotiations succeeded, and Kampen and Deventer concluded a separate truce with Holland.<sup>787</sup> Later on during the war, Holland, with the approval of the Duke of Burgundy, accepted the task of protecting ships from Kampen along the Norwegian coast, except near Bergen, on the condition that Kampen did not trade with the Wendish towns.<sup>788</sup> Kampen probably entered into the agreement without the knowledge of Lübeck and the other Wendish towns, who must have regarded this as disloyalty in a war situation. In March 1441, a Hansa Diet formally readmitted Kampen.<sup>789</sup> It is not clear how long Kampen had been excluded from the Hanseatic League; and was this

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781 HR I, 6, 400 §13.

782 HUB VI no. 519. DAENELL, *Blütezeit*, p. 281.

783 HUB VI no. 514.

784 HR I, 6, 400 §13. Cf. above about the conflict in 1417.

785 HR II, 2, 35.

786 HR II, 2, 232 §5–§8 (1438).

787 DAENELL, *Blütezeit*, pp. 289–290 and 315; HR II, 2, 231.

788 NGL 2.rk. I no. 391 footnote 3 = *Register van charters en bescheiden in het oude archief van Kampen*, I 177 no. 560.

789 HR II, 2, 439 §18 = NGL 2.rk. I no. 391.

exclusion a consequence of the agreement with Holland during the war, or had they been considered to be outsiders even earlier?

Before their readmission, Kampen had been absent from the Hansa Diets for 34 years. In 1407, Kampen, Deventer, Nijmegen, Hardewijk, Elburg and Zutphen were present at a Hansa Diet;<sup>790</sup> the next time Kampen attended a Diet was in March 1441.<sup>791</sup> The report (*recess*) from this meeting states explicitly that Kampen was readmitted to the Hansa (*nachdeme se nu in de henze sin gekomen*) on this occasion, and a letter was sent both to the Bergen Kontor and to the Dano-Norwegian king that Kampen was now to enjoy Hansa privileges in Bergen.<sup>792</sup> After that there is no doubt that Kampen was a Hansa town.

Justyna Wubs-Mrozewicz in her 2008 doctoral thesis argued that Kampen should be considered as being outside the Hansa during the period 1407–1441, when the only Zuiderzee member town was Deventer.<sup>793</sup> The most useful definition of a Hansa merchant is a person who was permitted to trade under Hansa privileges and was protected by the aldermen at the Kontors and other Hansa settlements. Towns could fail to appear at Diets for long periods if they thought the issues being discussed did not concern them, or if others represented their interests. This did not affect their merchants' access to the Kontors.<sup>794</sup> Kampen may have been in a kind of limbo in the preceding decades, trying to ride two horses at the same time, but the war forced them to choose sides.

The underlying problem between Zuiderzee and Wendish towns before 1441 had been their relationships with the towns in the neighbouring provinces of Holland and Zeeland, and this problem did not disappear. Zuiderzee skippers were accused of shipping to Bergen the goods of merchants who did not belong to the Hansa; they are not named, but undoubtedly this means merchants from Holland.<sup>795</sup> Zuiderzee traders were considered to have introduced the newcomers from Holland to the Bergen market. During the Hansa–Holland war in 1437–1442, sources describing the problematic triangle between the winter residents organised in the Bergen Kontor, Zuiderzee merchants and Holland merchants started to multiply.<sup>796</sup> The conflict dragged on until the end of the Middle Ages. In 1449, the town council of Deventer “and other Hansa towns” appealed to a Hansa Diet to resolve the conflict. They asked that “our merchants in Bergen” (*onse coeplude to Bergen*) should be allowed to charter ships which did not belong to Hansa skippers, which in prac-

790 HR I, 5, p. 283; HR I, 5, 392.

791 HR II, 2, 439.

792 HR II, 2, 439 §18 = NGL 2.rk. I no. 391, footnote 3.

793 WUBS-MROZEWICZ, Lübeckers, Overijsslers and Hollanders, pp. 48–50.

794 HR I, 8, 712 §15; SELZER, *Mittelalterliche Hanse*, pp. 59–60.

795 HR I, 6, 579.

796 HR II, 2, 232 §6; HUB XI no. 84; RGP volume 36 no. 2504.

tice meant ships from Holland.<sup>797</sup> Kampen and Deventer argued that they lacked sufficient cargo capacity for their trade with Bergen.<sup>798</sup> The Hansa Diets prevented the Lübeck-dominated Kontor from implementing measures against the Zuiderzee merchants which were too onerous, but they were also reluctant to intervene in the internal affairs of the Bergen Kontor.

The increasing number of documents about trade between Bergen and the Zuiderzee was partly due to the use of more written communication between Hansa towns, but there are also indications that commerce itself increased. Several documents referred to shipping from Bergen to Deventer as “new”. During the war in 1440, the Wendish towns banned all sailings from Bergen to Deventer and “other new ports”.<sup>799</sup> In 1446, the Wendish towns described stockfish exports to Lübeck and other Baltic towns as ancient custom (*olde wonheit*); the Zuiderzee ports on the other hand were unusual (*unwontlike*) destinations.<sup>800</sup> Lübeck and the Baltic towns had political and economic motives for referring to exports to the Zuiderzee as “new” and “unusual”.<sup>801</sup> Trade between Bergen and the Zuiderzee went back to the 13<sup>th</sup> century. But claims about the newness of the trade indicate that this traffic gained importance in the 1430s and 1440s.

In the second half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, Deventer was an important market for Bergen stockfish. From the 1460s, the Bergen Kontor and Lübeck tried to impose uniform rules for packing and quality assessment of stockfish in Bergen, but the Zuiderzee towns opposed it.<sup>802</sup> Their counter-proposal was that the classification and quality control should be moved to the continental towns which received the fish, in “Lübeck, Deventer and other ports”.<sup>803</sup> The proposal was rejected, and the Zuiderzee towns had to accept the fact that controls continued to be carried out in Bergen,<sup>804</sup> but the fact that the proposal was made shows that imports to Deventer were significant. In 1479, the Bergen Kontor decided that nobody should export loose, unpacked *rotscher* (a grade of stockfish) either to the Baltic or to the Zuiderzee (*noch in de Osterzee noch in der Zuderzee*).<sup>805</sup> This provision was incorporated into the statutes of the Kontor and appears as a paragraph in 1494.<sup>806</sup> In 1501, the Bergen aldermen permitted two Baltic ships and one Zuiderzee ship to stay in Bergen throughout the winter.<sup>807</sup> The wording in these documents indicates that the

797 HR II, 3, 546 §8, no. 552 §1 and §5.

798 HR III, 9, 698 §2 (1507).

799 Ibid. no. 397.

800 DN VII no. 431 = NGL 2.rk. I no. 395.

801 Cf. chapter II.1.

802 HR II, 7, 338 §158–160; HUB X no. 592; cf. above chapter II.1.

803 HR II, 7, 387 §7.

804 HR II, 7, 393 §2.

805 HR III, 1, 255 = NGL 2.rk. II no. 440.

806 NGL 2.rk. II no. 416 §69.

807 BULL, Bergen og Hansestæderne, p. 192.

Zuiderzee was the most important western European area importing Bergen stockfish in the second half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century.

This impression is confirmed in a letter of complaint from the Bergen Kontor to the Bergenfahrer guild in Lübeck in 1507: “The old Norwegian Kontor flourished (*in flor*) above all other [Kontors] at the time when it was visited by Saxon and Westphalian merchants and others who were obedient... But later one has admitted too many [Zuiderzee merchants], therefore the Kontor has experienced a decline which we are reluctant to admit... [Merchants from Kampen] have threatened to move from Bryggen [where Hansa merchants lived] to ruin the Kontor, even though they now have more influence, trade and houses there than all their predecessors (*vorvaren*) put together. We would have freely permitted this if only they had been obedient.”<sup>808</sup> Even though the aldermen exaggerated the situation to get their message across, trade with the Zuiderzee must have been considerable if the aldermen were to be taken seriously when they claimed that the Zuiderzee merchants had caused the entire Kontor to decline, and that the existence of the Kontor was threatened if they left.

It is difficult to quantify trade between Bergen and the Zuiderzee towns in the century before the Reformation. Sometime between 1493 and 1505, probably in 1495, Kampen sent a letter to the captain of Muiden castle on the Zuiderzee and to Amsterdam asking for safe passage. Merchants from Kampen and some from Deventer had arrived from Norway on 18 ships loaded with *bergervische*, and were then at Utrecht. The skippers wanted to take their ships up to the Zuiderzee, but they had to pass close to Muiden castle and Amsterdam. The Kampen ships wanted protection against *den Vossen*, pirates who were engaged in a feud with Kampen and who were operating in the Zuiderzee.<sup>809</sup> The Bergen merchants had evidently taken a detour that year to avoid pirates when returning to Deventer. They must have sailed through Zeeland, up the river Lek or the “Hollandish Ijssel” to Gein, from there up the river Vecht past Utrecht and Marssen, and into the Zuiderzee at Muiden.<sup>810</sup>

Were these 18 ships loaded with a cargo of *bergervische* ocean-going ships or river barges? The word *schepe* normally implies a larger vessel. Before about 1350, when Hansa ships journeyed from Flanders to Hamburg, the normal itinerary was the one just described.<sup>811</sup> But fully laden ocean-going vessels could not travel from Gein past Utrecht to Marssen; the cargo had to be reloaded onto barges.<sup>812</sup> It is not clear whether ocean-going ships, with or without a reduced cargo, could navigate the river Vecht between Gein and Marssen. Vogel thinks they could,<sup>813</sup> while Wilk-

808 HR III, 5, 251.

809 HUB XI no. 909; cf. no. 956; HUB XI, index, entry word “Vossen”.

810 VOGEL, *Binnenfahrt durch Holland und Stift Utrecht*, the map opposite p. 36.

811 WILKENS, *Niederländischer Handel*, pp. 185 and 189.

812 *Ibid.*, pp. 184–189.

813 VOGEL, *Binnenfahrt durch Holland und Stift Utrecht*, pp. 15 and 22.

ens thinks they could not, and that the ocean-going ships had to stop and turn around at Gein.<sup>814</sup> Since ships from Bergen normally sailed into the Zuiderzee and directly to Kampen, it is most likely that the 18 ships were ocean-going vessels from Bergen and that the skippers planned to sail as far as Deventer and Kampen. But the possibility cannot be excluded that the 18 “ships” were river barges.<sup>815</sup>

In the customs accounts from Bergen for the four years 1518–1521, there are 15 ships registered whose skippers were citizens of Kampen, and six whose captains were Deventer citizens. In both of the two normal years 1520 and 1521, seven ships arrived in Bergen from the two towns, which means that a quarter of all ships arriving there from continental North Sea towns came from the Zuiderzee.<sup>816</sup> Seven ships are not much compared to the 18 ships mentioned in 1495. The comments to table II.1 explain that special conditions may have reduced shipping from the Zuiderzee in the years 1518–1523, and shipping between Bergen and the Zuiderzee may have experienced a general decline from 1495 to 1518. The 15<sup>th</sup> century saw the commercial flowering of the Zuiderzee towns not only in Bergen but in general. Their decline in the 16<sup>th</sup> century was mainly due to competition from Amsterdam, but what made matters worse was the fact that ocean-going ships grew larger and the river IJssel silted up more; as a result, ships could no longer sail to Deventer, but had to unload their goods at the estuary in Kampen.<sup>817</sup>

In 1473 we find the first reference to a guild of Bergen merchants in Deventer; the editors of HUB have translated the name of the guild as “the community of Bergenfahrer from Deventer” (*die gemeinen Bergenfahrer von Deventer*).<sup>818</sup> Three years later in 1476, we are informed that the guild had St. Olav as its patron saint and had an alderman.<sup>819</sup> Already in 1445, *de Bergenvaareders te Deventer* were given an iron cannon from the town council, probably to defend their ships, but this does not mean that they had an organisation of their own at that time.<sup>820</sup> “Bergenfahrer” can mean both a merchant who traded with Bergen and a member of a Bergenfahrer guild. Deventer was the second Hansa town after Lübeck to have a guild of Bergenfahrer.<sup>821</sup>

The expansion in the Zuiderzee towns’ stockfish trade after about 1440 was evidently a consequence of the decline of Bruges, and indirectly of Boston, during that period. Baltic merchants who had handled the majority of the exports to Bos-

814 WILKENS, *Niederländischer Handel*, pp. 184–189.

815 Kampen’s *Pfundzoll* shows that even river barges could be called “ships”.

816 Table II.1.

817 SUIR, Deventer, pp. 305–306; GROOTEN, Kampen, p. 301.

818 HUB X, p. 113 note 1.

819 HR II, 7, 391 §20.

820 RGP volume 36 no. 1774.

821 BRÜCK, *Korporationen der Bergenfahrer*, p. 159 claims that Bergenfahrer guilds were founded in Wismar, Rostock, Stralsund and Greifswald at the beginning of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, but gives no evidence for his claim.

ton and Bruges withdrew from the North Sea trade and left more of it to merchants from North Sea ports.

The accounts of Bergenhus castle for 1518–21 make it possible for the first time to quantify the relative importance of different commodities that the Zuiderzee merchants traded with Bergen.

Table II.28. Goods bought by Zuiderzee merchants from Bergenhus castle, 1518–21

<i>rotscher</i> (a grade of stockfish)	4445 marks
seal blubber	1209 marks
German flour	81 marks
butter	15 marks
salmon	5 marks
total	5755 marks

Table II.29. Goods sold by Zuiderzee merchants to Bergenhus castle, 1518–21

cloth	939 marks
building materials	365 marks
weapons	355 marks
lead	38 marks
hops (for brewing beer)	71 marks
iron	23 marks
total	1791 marks

Source: NRJ I-III; Where only the quantity but not the price is given, prices from other entries in the same account have been used.

The Zuiderzee towns mainly bought stockfish and seal blubber, which was boiled to produce oil. The Zuiderzee merchants mainly sold cloth, weapons and building materials, i.e. roofing tiles, bricks and cement. Weapons and materials for stone masonry were sent specifically to the commander of Bergenhus castle, but cloth was the main commodity in the exchanges with all their customers in Bergen. In 1476, the aldermen at the Kontor recorded that the Zuiderzee merchants brought woollen cloth, linen cloth, and other commodities to Bergen.<sup>822</sup>

Who operated this trade between Bergen and the Zuiderzee? The preceding pages demonstrate beyond doubt that this was mainly carried out by citizens of the Zuiderzee towns. But merchants from Lübeck and the other Wendish towns were also active in this trade. The preparations for the war against King Waldemar and King Håkon in 1367–1368 were mentioned above. The Bergen Kontor was told in

822 HR II, 7, 342 §24.

December 1367 that they could safely let their men, ships and goods be evacuated by a fleet (*classis*) from the Zuiderzee because an earlier conflict with Kampen had been settled.<sup>823</sup> The wording of the letter shows that the merchants who were to be evacuated from Bergen were not from the Zuiderzee, but the crew of the rescue ships were. The escort fleet from the Zuiderzee continued on to Marstrand and Øresund to offer protection to the merchants through Danish waters to the Baltic, which indicates that the evacuees were winter residents from Lübeck. Merchant ships were also permitted to sail unescorted from Bergen to North Sea ports where the Danes could not reach them; Flanders, England and Hamburg are mentioned in this regard. These merchants could have been citizens of any Hansa town.

Lübeck merchants traded in Deventer. In 1389, a ship whose home port was Deventer was plundered, and some of the goods on board belonged to Bergenfahrer from Lübeck.<sup>824</sup> The Wendish towns decided in 1440 that their merchants should not sail from Bergen to Deventer during the on-going war with Holland.<sup>825</sup> This prohibition implies that they did so in normal years. In 1476, the Bergen Kontor complained that skippers from the Zuiderzee refused to transport goods belonging to merchants from Baltic towns.<sup>826</sup> Kampen and Deventer denied this, and claimed that eight named and several unnamed Baltic merchants over the preceding years had sent goods to Kampen on ships whose home ports were Deventer and Kampen.<sup>827</sup> In 1498, a Bergenfahrer from Lübeck belonging to the Bergen Kontor had his goods confiscated in Deventer.<sup>828</sup> In 1514, Lübeck complained to Rostock that their “citizens and merchants have loaded goods on some ships which are to sail from Rostock to Bergen and further to Kampen to be unloaded there.” This was in breach of an ordinance to sail in convoy.<sup>829</sup> In 1519, the Bergen Kontor complained that merchants from Baltic towns had to pay customs duties in Zuiderzee towns which were “higher than is ancient custom and reasonable”.<sup>830</sup> During the war between the Wendish towns and Holland in 1510–12, the Zuiderzee towns received safe conduct from Holland on condition that they did not carry Wendish goods.<sup>831</sup> In order not to offend the Lübeck merchants, the Zuiderzee towns permitted Baltic merchants to charter separate ships between Bergen and Kampen, but Zuiderzee merchants refused to carry Wendish goods on ships which also carried their own goods.<sup>832</sup> This was an arrangement which the Lübeck traders felt exposed their

823 Cf. pp. 197–198; NGL 2.rk. I, p. 610 §5 = HR I, 1, 420 §5.

824 DN XIX no. 665 §22 = *Hanseakten aus England* no. 329 §22.

825 HR II, 2, 397.

826 HR II, 7, 342 §20 = NGL 2.rk. II, p. 737 §20.

827 DN XVI no. 261; NGL 2.rk. II, p. 748 §18 = HR II, 7, 391 §18.

828 HUB XI no. 1067.

829 HR III, 6, 623. The conflicts about these convoys are discussed in connection with table II.1.

830 HR III, 7, 153 §3 and no. 154 §4.

831 *Ibid.* no. 154 B §1.

832 *Ibid.* no. 154 A §6 and no. 154.B §1.

goods to piracy, and nine named Lübeck merchants complained that they had been prevented from exporting goods from Zuiderzee ports because of this.<sup>833</sup> Bergenfahrer from the Baltic traded with Deventer throughout the Late Middle Ages. The sources for this are scant before about 1440 but much richer in the following period.

To sum up, the decline in Bergen's trade with Boston and Bruges in the 15<sup>th</sup> century resulted in an expansion of Bergen's commerce with the Zuiderzee towns. Zuiderzee merchants operated most of this expanding trade, and they grew more important at the Bergen Kontor. But Lübeck and other Wendish merchants also conducted trade between Bergen and the Zuiderzee. The mostly Wendish winter residents in the Bergen Kontor received stockfish from Norwegian producers. Some of the stockfish was sold to Zuiderzee merchants in Bergen, who thus owned the fish while it was transported from Bergen to Kampen. But the winter residents also sold stockfish to partners who lived in the Zuiderzee towns, and this fish was the property of the winter residents while it was being transported from Bergen to Kampen.

#### D. BERGEN-HOLLAND

Merchants from the province of Holland started trading with Scandinavia and the Baltic in the second half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century. At first they traded under Hansa privileges, and the Hansa towns on the opposite side of the Zuiderzee were their close neighbours. Merchants from the Zuiderzee towns had visited Scania since about 1250,<sup>834</sup> and those from Holland now followed in their footsteps. The Hollanders joined the war against King Waldemar Atterdag in 1367–1370, and at the peace negotiations in Stralsund in 1370 they received the same privileges as others did at the Scania market.<sup>835</sup> In the 1390s, Holland merchants penetrated further into the Baltic, and in 1391, 42 of their ships were registered as embarking from Danzig.<sup>836</sup> Around the year 1410, they started to sail directly to Livonia.<sup>837</sup> From about 1420, they exported salt from France to Prussia and Livonia.<sup>838</sup> This *Ummelandsfahrt* between the eastern Baltic and Holland/France meant it was unnecessary to use Scania as a location for exchanging goods transported between the North Sea and the Baltic. The Hollanders also developed their own herring fisheries in the North Sea,<sup>839</sup> and at the beginning of the 15<sup>th</sup> century they discontinued their visits to the Scanian market.<sup>840</sup> This seriously reduced their common interests with the Hansa

833 HR III, 6, 579; HR III, 7, 45 §92.

834 Cf. p. 54.

835 SPADING, *Holland und die Hanse*, p. 7.

836 *Ibid.*, p. 10.

837 *Ibid.*, p. 11.

838 *Ibid.*, p. 74.

839 Cf. pp. 521–523 and 528.

840 SPADING, *Holland und die Hanse*, p. 9.

merchants, and 1396 was the last time that Amsterdam was represented at a Hansa Diet.<sup>841</sup> Holland and the Hansa became competitors.

Norway had supported King Waldemar in the 1367–1370 war against the Hansa, and as part of the peace settlement the Norwegian king confirmed Hansa privileges in Norway in 1376. A councillor from Amsterdam was one of the negotiators, and all towns in Holland and Zeeland were to enjoy Hansa privileges.<sup>842</sup> It is possible that Holland merchants visited Bergen and traded under Hansa privileges there at the end of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, but we have no evidence for this. After about 1400, the Hansa Diets wanted to draw a clearer line between towns and merchants who were in the Hansa and those who were not. The first evidence of this in Bergen is a letter from a Hansa Diet to the Bergen Kontor in 1418 in which Bremen and Deventer were defined as being in the Hansa, and some unnamed merchants, probably Hollanders, were deemed not to be. The letter claimed that skippers from unnamed Hansa towns were transporting goods for unnamed non-Hansa merchants, and this had to cease. It is implicit in the letter that the Kontor's aldermen knew who these unnamed offenders were, but later events make it highly probable that the non-Hansa merchants were mainly Hollanders and that the Hansa captains were from the Zuiderzee towns and possibly from other North Sea towns. We get the impression that the Hansa under Lübeck's leadership now wanted to define more sharply who was to enjoy Hansa privileges. The anonymity of the culprits may be due to a disagreement among the towns present at the Diet; Deventer, Zutphen, Zwolle, Hardewick and Elburg were among the participants, but not Kampen.<sup>843</sup> It could also be an admission that the offenders may have acted out of ignorance of the regulations. The punishment for citizens of Hansa towns who in the future disobeyed the statute was that they would no longer be permitted to trade under Hansa privileges (*by vorlust der henze und des gudes*).<sup>844</sup> So while the Hollanders seem to have followed in the footsteps of the Zuiderzee towns to Bergen, after 1418 they were forced to trade there on their own.

During the war of 1427–1433 between the Wendish towns and Denmark, Amsterdam acted independently from the Hansa in Bergen, and the first indisputable evidence of trade between Holland and Bergen dates from those years. In 1430, Captain Bartholomeus Jan Betson from Amsterdam sailed to Bergen (*Norbarn*).<sup>845</sup> At this time the Bergen Kontor had been evacuated because of the war with Denmark. During this war, a ship belonging to Auwel Petersson, a citizen of Amsterdam, was captured by Hansa warships in the Øresund on its eastward journey, loaded with Bergen fish worth 5000 guilders. The same Auwel Petersson and his son

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841 *Ibid.*, p. 97.

842 HR 1, 2, 124 = HUB IV no. 549 = UBStL IV no. 309 = DN VIII no. 199; see also HR 1, II, 125 = HUB IV no. 550.

843 HR 1, 6, 556.

844 HR I, 6, 579.

845 RGP volume 66 no. 1075.

traded on a regular basis with Danzig, and one can assume that he was on his way there to take grain on board to sell in Bergen.<sup>846</sup> Bruns and Schreiner thought that the earliest evidence of Holland's trade with Bergen dates from 1438 and 1440.<sup>847</sup> This view has to be adjusted.

After the Hansa traders returned to Bergen, the Bergen Kontor complained to the town council in Lübeck that "Hollanders with their cloth and other commodities harm the Kontor greatly, as we have written to you earlier. We have asked, and still ask, for remedies against this."<sup>848</sup> The Kontor seems to have called for political action against a commercial competitor. The Holland–Hansa war in 1438–1441, in which Denmark–Norway was allied with Holland, gave the Kontor an opportunity to take the matter into their own hands. In 1440, the Norwegian council of the realm (*riksråd*) received a letter of complaint from the town council in Bergen: "The German merchants broke into the shops of the Holland merchants at *Strandsiden*, used force, beat and maltreated them, threw their goods out of the shop and into the mud and trampled on them. The poor Hollanders could not be protected by law and justice."<sup>849</sup> The Bergen Kontor expressed fears in 1440 that the Holland merchants could take over the Hansa's trade there if the German merchants were forced to evacuate the town again, as had happened in 1427–33.<sup>850</sup>

Their strong-arm policy against the Holland merchants did not lead to the result they were aiming for. Holland had been allies of the Dano-Norwegian king, and in 1443 and 1444, King Christoffer bestowed trading privileges in Norway on the citizens of Amsterdam, Zierikzee, Monnikendam, Brielle, Schiedam and Hoorn. The documents setting out the privileges for Amsterdam and Hoorn explicitly mentioned their trade in Bergen.<sup>851</sup> These privileges merely stated that the royal officials should protect the Hollanders according to Norwegian law, but all foreign merchants could visit Norway and be protected by the law, so this gained them no new rights.<sup>852</sup> But a confirmation of state protection was probably felt to be necessary because of what had happened during the 1438–1441 war. The other side of the story is that the royal officials probably would have been unable to deliver on their

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846 HUB VII nos. 8 and 20.

847 BRUNS, *Bergenfahrer*, p. XIII; SCHREINER, *Hanseatene og Norge*, p. 34.

848 HR II, 7, 464 (1437).

849 NGL 2.rk. I, p. 246 §3 = HUB VII no. 543.

850 HR II, 2, 397.

851 NGL 2.rk. I nos. 121, 124 (= DN V no. 720), 125, 128 and 129; RGP volume 36 no. 1692.

852 Wubs-Mrozewicz discusses whether the privileges given to Hollanders in 1443/4 should be seen as supporting them against the Hansa (WUBS-MROZEWICZ, *Lübeckers, Overijsslers and Hollanders*, p. 67). Her discussion is inadequate because she does not realise that all foreign merchants were supposed to respect local laws and receive protection according to these laws. The privileges only laid out rights which came in addition to the law of the land, or legal rights which needed to be underlined because they were not being respected.

promise of protection if the Kontor had decided to take action against the Holland traders.<sup>853</sup>

Holland's privileges were renewed several times in the 1440s and 1450s. Such renewals were, of course, made at their own request, but this did not bring them any rights beyond legal protection. Wubs-Mrozewicz interprets these repeated requests for renewal as evidence that "the trade contacts of Amsterdammers with Bergen were lively".<sup>854</sup> This was undoubtedly true, but I would also interpret the renewals as evidence of Holland's desire for state protection against the Hansa merchants. In 1449, merchants from Deventer asked both the Bergen Kontor and a Hansa Diet for permission to charter one or two ships a year from Holland for their Bergen trade,<sup>855</sup> despite a Hansa prohibition enacted two years earlier against chartering non-Hansa ships.<sup>856</sup> There were repeated conflicts about this in the following decades, which indicates that shipping from Holland must have been significant.

In the years 1469–1498, the Bergen Kontor conducted an offensive against Holland, with the Dano-Norwegian king now as their ally. The background to this was the King's efforts to include Sweden into a Nordic union. The final phase of this bitter struggle lasted from about 1470 to 1520, and it was important for the King to have the Hansa as an ally. In 1469, the Bergen Kontor complained to King Christian I that the Hollanders were visiting Bergen "with many ships retailing many kinds of goods (*kramerie*) and spices ... more than is legal and customary". The King responded by issuing an ordinance stating that the Holland merchants in Bergen should trade according to custom. This is a vague statement, so the ordinance explained that it meant that they would only be permitted to send one or two ships annually to Bergen.<sup>857</sup> The following year, Amsterdam and Monnikendam received special privileges: they were permitted one ship each in their trade with Bergen, and the merchants could send it to Bergen as many times in a year as they wished. They were explicitly permitted to trade goods in small quantities. This partly neutralised the Hansa-inspired limitation on the number of ships allowed, and it legitimised Holland merchants being able to trade goods from booths in small quantities, which was the core of their activities in Bergen.<sup>858</sup> Although 1518 is the first year for which we know the number of booths the Holland traders owned, it is clear that these must already have been numerous in about 1440.<sup>859</sup>

The height of Hanseatic efforts to limit Holland's trade through royal legislation came in a privilege awarded to the Bergen Kontor in 1471. Its background was that

853 Cf. chapter V.1g.

854 WUBS-MROZEWICZ, Lübeckers, Overijsslers and Hollanders, p. 68.

855 HR II, 3, 546 §8, no. 549 §3 and no. 552 §5.

856 Ibid. no. 288 §79.

857 NGL 2.rk. II no. 121 = HUB IX no. 672 = DN VII no. 468 = HR II, 6, 275.

858 Amsterdam's privilege from 1470: HUB IX no. 729 = RGP volume 36 no. 2413 = NGL 2.rk. II no. 123 = DN V no. 869.

859 NGL 2.rk. I, p. 246 §3 = HUB VII no. 543.

a Hansa Diet that year had supported the Dano-Norwegian king in his war against Sweden.<sup>860</sup> The limit of two ships annually is repeated in this privilege. In the following years this is not mentioned again, and we should assume that this limit wasn't being observed, if it ever had been. But a new restriction on Holland's commerce was introduced: they were limited to trading from two housing complexes (*gharden*, in modern Norwegian *gårder*) situated in the *Strandsiden* area of the town. A *gård* is a complex made up of several houses.<sup>861</sup> In a small *gård* there would barely be room for more than two sales booths opening onto the street, and in a large one four. In the 1470s, if there were 50–60 stall-owners from Holland in town, most of them would have to move their booths to the inner courtyards of the two complexes, or to locations away from the main street where there were fewer customers. This evidently suited Hanseatic interests, but it is difficult to see what benefits it held for Norwegian customers and officials. In 1490, the Norwegian Council of the Realm confirmed that the Holland merchants could also use a third *gård*, “as has been usual” (*na older gewonte*). This third complex was situated in the Vågsbotn quarter close to the church of the Holy Cross, which still survives.<sup>862</sup> It gave its name to Hollenderstretet, which in 1518 had become the name of a new quarter in the town.<sup>863</sup>

Christian I gave privileges to those who asked for them and offered something in return, but he did little or nothing to implement them. The ordinance from 1469 limiting Holland's shipping to two ships was to be enforced by the commander of Bergenhus castle, with help from the Kontor if necessary (*unnse vogede unde amptmanne mit des kopmans hulpe, offi des behuffis*).<sup>864</sup> This could be interpreted as agreeing to let the Hansa enforce laws which were to their own advantage and detrimental to Hollanders. The restriction on Holland traders to two *gharden* was prescribed by the King in 1471, but the merchants from Amsterdam complained in 1481 that it was the Kontor (*de kooplieden der Duitse Hanze te Bergen resideerende*) who forced them to practice it, and the Holland merchants claimed that they were “harassed and hindered daily” by members of the Kontor.<sup>865</sup> Three years later, the city council of Amsterdam complained to the Kontor that Amsterdam merchants in Bergen were the victims of “great abuse of power, injury, harassment and violence” (*groete foertse, laste, verdryte, ende geweldde*) because Hansa merchants “forced and ordered” them to “build their sales booths away from from the street, where no trade takes place and which merchants do not visit”.<sup>866</sup>

860 HR II, VI, p. 398.

861 NGL 2.rk. II no. 127 = HR II, 6, 432 = DN VII no. 471 = HUB X no. 13 (1471); cf. pp.174 and 574–577 on the concepts „gård“ and “house”.

862 NGL 2.rk. III no. 57 = DN VI no. 610 = HR III, 2, 369.

863 NRJ I, pp. 80 and 84; cf. STEINNES, Hollendarstretet.

864 HR II, 6, 275 = NGL 2.rk. II no. 121 = HUB IX no. 672 = DN VII no. 468.

865 RGP volume 36 no. 2744; cf. chapter V.4.

866 HUB X no. 1143 (1484).

During King Christian I's long reign (1450–1481), the Crown did not have a trade policy but only reacted to external pressures. In 1470, he received a message from the Duke of Burgundy asking him to issue a privilege allowing Holland merchants to trade in small quantities, which the King did.<sup>867</sup> In the following year, he received a delegation representing Hansa towns and the Bergen Kontor, who persuaded him to issue an ordinance prohibiting Holland merchants from trading in small quantities (*by ellen unde klene wicht*).<sup>868</sup> If the King had made a serious effort to enforce this, it would have effectively put a stop to Holland merchants trading from booths. But the King evidently limited his involvement to collecting the fee for the trade privilege, and left the practical implementation of the regulations to the two parties.

In 1498, all restrictions on Amsterdam's commerce and winter residency were abolished. The King permitted them to trade in Norway, and particularly in Bergen, at all times of the year like members of the German Hansa did (*gelyck andern der dudeschen hensze kopluden*), as long as they did not harm the citizens of Bergen.<sup>869</sup> The phrasing of this last clause is ambiguous. Holland claimed in 1504 that that they had the same privileges in Bergen as the six Wendish towns, and the 1498 privilege justifies this claim, at least for the Amsterdam merchants.<sup>870</sup>

During the years 1469–1498, the Hansa had tried to limit the activities of Holland traders in Bergen by influencing the King's policies. The restriction to conducting sales out of only two, later three, *gård*er was nominally in force for 27 years, from 1471 to 1498. Despite their efforts, the Hansa did not succeed in getting the Hollanders to respect the ordinance. Before the restriction was introduced, the Hansa complained that Holland merchants brought too many ships to Bergen and stayed there longer than was customary.<sup>871</sup> In 1487 and 1490, they protested that the Hollanders were still staying in Bergen "in large numbers" despite the restrictions laid out in the 1471 privilege,<sup>872</sup> and in 1494 they complained that they were trading in the Stranden quarter, in contravention of a decision by the Norwegian council of the realm in 1490.<sup>873</sup> The Hansa's efforts did create problems for the Hollanders but did not prevent them from coming to Bergen to trade. Their efforts probably limited Holland's main branch of trade in Bergen, which was selling goods from booths. It may also have prevented them from engaging in the stockfish trade with the stockfish producers, including issuing them with credits.

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867 Privilege from 1470: HUB IX no. 729 = RGP volume 36 no. 2413 = NGL 2.rk. II no. 123 = DN V no. 869; RGP volume 36 no. 2414.

868 NGL 2.rk. II no. 127 = DN VII no. 471 = HR II, 6, 432.

869 NGL 2.rk. III no. 126 = DN VI no. 626.

870 HR III, 5, 5 §9.

871 NGL 2.rk. II no. 121 = HUB IX no. 672 = DN VII no. 468; NGL 2.rk. II no. 127 = DN VII no. 471 = HR II, 6, 432.

872 HUB XI no. 133 §60; HR III, 2, 369 = NGL 2.rk. III no. 57 = DN V no. 610.

873 NGL 2.rk. III no. 81 §13 = HR III, 3, 336 §13.

Christian II became vice-king of Norway in 1508, from that time the Hollanders could expect the state to be more active. In 1514, King Christian II and Norwegian representatives claimed that Hansa merchants had thrown into the sea some Hollanders and Englishmen who were attempting to buy hens, lamb and other victuals in Bergen.<sup>874</sup> In 1524, the Hansa wanted to include a paragraph in their privileges forbidding traders from Holland, Scotland and other non-Hansa locations from boarding *nordfar* vessels to buy fish or from using the booths of Norwegian merchants to sell their own goods in small quantities.<sup>875</sup> The proposal was not accepted.<sup>876</sup>

The tense relationship between the Hollanders and the Kontor in Bergen is illustrated by a paragraph in the statutes of Amsterdam's Bergenfahrer guild from 1539. "If it happens that the Bergenfahrer [from Amsterdam] are summoned (*ontboden*) by the Council of the Realm or by the aldermen of Bryggen, and three or four of the most suitable men are ordered (*geordonnert*) by the Bergenfahrer to go before the [Kontor's] aldermen, then in the period when they carry out their duty as representatives, the booths of the Bergenfahrer shall be shut, and no trade shall be done before they have returned."<sup>877</sup> Only the Kontor's aldermen, and not the Council of the Realm, are mentioned in the second clause, so the most likely explanation for the temporarily suspension of trading is that if the negotiations failed, one could not exclude violence from the Kontor.

The Holland traders sold their goods from "*boder*" (booths); the word *bod* means a room or small house not meant for habitation. This could be a storeroom, workshop or room for the sale of beverages or any commodity.<sup>878</sup> The Holland merchants had *opene boden*,<sup>879</sup> that is, sales booths open to all. These were situated in the quarter of the town called Strandsiden or Stranden; "the booths of the Hollanders at *Stranden*" are mentioned for the first time in 1440,<sup>880</sup> and again later in the century.<sup>881</sup> They must have been situated close to each other, because in the Bergenhus accounts a woman called Agnes is registered as working "in the booths of the Hollanders".<sup>882</sup> These structures could be detached, small houses, and several such booths could still be found along the western side of Strandgaten as late as the second half of the 16<sup>th</sup>

874 HR III, 6, 615 §9.

875 DN XVI no. 426.

876 HR III, 8, 826.

877 CUTLER, *Bergenfarergildet i Amsterdam*, pp. 127–128.

878 DN II no. 223; *Glossarium til Norges gamle Love*, entry word "Bod"; NGL 2.rk. I, index "Bod".

879 HR III, 2, 160 §176.

880 NGL 2.rk. I, p. 246 §3 = HUB VII no. 543.

881 NGL 2.rk. III no. 81 §13 = HR III, 3, 336 §13; NGL 2.rk. III no. 57 = HR III, 2, 369; NGL 2.rk. II no. 121 = HUB IX no. 672 = DN VII no. 468.

882 NRJ II, pp. 12, 576 and 613; NRJ III, p. 572.

century.<sup>883</sup> A *bod* could also be a room in a large house; in 1561, one of the housing complexes (*gård*) along Strandgaten had four sales booths opening onto the street.<sup>884</sup>

How many sales booths did Holland traders own in Late Medieval Bergen? In 1518, “the Hollanders at Stranden” gave 56 cheeses in payment of a property tax on their booths (*aff theris bodtier*).<sup>885</sup> This must mean cheeses from Holland, which evidently were a desirable commodity and easy to sell. It is not stated how many cheeses each booth owner had to give to cover his tax. But in 1520, the Hollander Arnt Redersen paid 12 skillings “instead of the cheese [singular] which he should have given”;<sup>886</sup> this suggests that each booth owner was expected to give one cheese. Three Holland stall owners paid a total of 36 skillings for cheeses they should have given to the commander of Bergenhus castle, which is 12 skillings each.<sup>887</sup> Both payments demonstrate that 12 skillings was the estimated price of a cheese from Holland.<sup>888</sup> The conclusion is that the 56 cheeses used in payment of the property tax in 1518 must have been for 56 booths. The 1539 statutes of Amsterdam’s Bergenfahrer guild ordained that “no merchant shall have two booths in Bergen”.<sup>889</sup> From this we may conclude that 56 Holland merchants owning one booth each were trading at Strandsiden in 1518. In 1521, the commander of Bergenhus listed among his “income” 66 cheeses from Holland.<sup>890</sup> Since even purchased goods were referred to as “income” in his accounts, it is not certain that all his 66 cheeses were given in payment for the property tax on booths.

In 1522 there were about 250 Hanseatic firms (*stuer*) at Bryggen, managed by 157 merchants.<sup>891</sup> Each firm employed 5–7 people.<sup>892</sup> The Hollanders’ 56 booths in 1518 also employed servants (*knecht*),<sup>893</sup> but certainly not as many as the firms at Bryggen did. There must have been many times as many Kontor members as Hollanders there, and the Hansa’s share of Bergen’s trade must have been many times larger than that of Holland. According to the customs accounts for Bergen from about 1520, 70–80 Hansa vessels visited the town annually, but only 5–7 were from Holland and Friesland.<sup>894</sup>

Most Hollanders were summer guests, but there were some winter residents among them. In 1481, the Amsterdam city council sent a letter of complaint to

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883 LORENTZEN, *Gård og grunn i Bergen*, p. 232.

884 *Absalon Pedersøns dagbok*, p. 10. The name of the *gård* was *Saltoen*.

885 NRJ I, p. 102.

886 *Ibid.*, p. 567 (1520).

887 *Ibid.*, p. 566.

888 “Arent Bitby 12 sk for en ost” (NRJ I, p. 567).

889 BULL, *Bergensfarerne i Amsterdam*, p. 98.

890 NRJ II, p. 668.

891 Table V.3.

892 *Cf.* p. 378.

893 BULL, *Bergensfarerne i Amsterdam*, p. 101.

894 Table II.1.

Bergen on behalf of their citizens who sailed to Bergen every year (*jaarliken*).<sup>895</sup> This phrasing indicates that most of them were summer guests. But there were exceptions. In 1469, Hansa representatives complained that Holland merchants in Bergen “themselves and through their representatives practice trade the whole summer and all through the year” (*den gantzen somer unde jare dor*).<sup>896</sup> Privileges awarded in 1490 and 1498 permitted them to trade “at all times of the year like other Hansa merchants”.<sup>897</sup> In 1507, the future King Christian II tried to limit Holland to having only 3 or 4 winter residents,<sup>898</sup> but this restriction is not mentioned later. The Bergenhus accounts for 1518–22 show that the commander traded with the Hollanders even during the winter months,<sup>899</sup> although most transactions took place during the main market season when ships arrived from foreign ports. Another indication that many Holland merchants lived in Bergen all year round is that some brought their wives. The commander of Bergenhus used a man called Paul Hollander as an important trading partner;<sup>900</sup> sometime after the 15<sup>th</sup> of September 1520, “Paul Hollander’s wife” paid for 150 *våger* of stockfish.<sup>901</sup> There were both summer guests and winter residents from Holland, and some of them settled permanently in Bergen as citizens.<sup>902</sup>

Some of the Hollanders in Bergen were agents for capitalists in their home towns. In 1507, the future Christian II prohibited Hollanders from trading there in winter, but “in spring when the merchants or their representatives (*fuldmectige bud*) return to make use of their property in Bergen ...”.<sup>903</sup>

The statutes from 1539 provide evidence that traders from Holland lacked a permanent leadership in Bergen. A person with authority to represent the Bergen community had to be appointed by *de gemeene Bergevaeders*, an assembly of the Amsterdam guild of Bergenfahrer whose members included all merchants who traded with Bergen at that time.<sup>904</sup> Friedrich Bruns and Johan Schreiner claimed that this guild existed as early as 1438.<sup>905</sup> Bruns’ evidence for the guild is a letter from Danzig city council to the Duke of Burgundy dated 1438. Warships from Holland had captured 23–24 merchant vessels from Prussia and Livonia. “Their commanding officers were Bergenfahrer from Amsterdam, Johan Klausson, Evert

895 RGP volume 36 no. 2744.

896 NGL 2.rk. II no. 121 = DN VII no. 468 = HUB IX no. 672.

897 NGL 2.rk. III no. 51 = DN VI no. 609; NGL 2.rk. III no. 126 = DN VI no. 626.

898 NGL 2.rk. III no. 191 = DN VI no. 647.

899 NRJ I, pp. 34, 62–65, 491, 492 and 544; NRJ II, pp. 12, 536 and 541.

900 NRJ I, pp. 91, 101, 103, 152, 153, 186, 561 and 659.

901 *Ibid.*, p. 561.

902 About citizens from Holland, cf. chapter V.5d.

903 NGL 2.rk. III no. 191 = DN VI no. 647.

904 BULL, Bergensfarerne i Amsterdam, pp. 102, VII.

905 BRUNS, Bergenfahrer, p. XIII; SCHREINER, Hanseatene og Norge, p. 34.

Jacobsson, Johan Bole, Johan Riike, Arnt Klausson, a young nobleman from Zeeland, Johan van Schenger and some others”.<sup>906</sup> The first two commanders mentioned, Klausson and Jacobsson, were the two mayors of Amsterdam,<sup>907</sup> while the others were privateers in the service of Amsterdam city council.<sup>908</sup> Three years later in 1441, two city councillors from Danzig who resided in Lübeck sent a letter home to their colleagues in Danzig informing them that “Hollanders have equipped eight ships manned with Bergenfahrer and Zeelanders ...”.<sup>909</sup> The term “Bergenfahrer” was used both for a merchant trading with Bergen and a member of a guild of Bergenfahrer.<sup>910</sup> In this case it is not stated whether these merchants and sailors belonged to an organisation, so the most likely interpretation is that they traded with Bergen. The Danzig officials probably exaggerated the role of the Bergenfahrer in Amsterdam’s privateering during the years 1438–1441. The first solid evidence for a Bergenfahrer guild in Amsterdam dates from 1486, in the form of the first list of the town’s guilds, and the Bergenfahrer guild seems to have been founded shortly before this list was published.<sup>911</sup> In 1503, the guild owned a house in Amsterdam.<sup>912</sup> The oldest extant edition of its statutes is dated 1539.<sup>913</sup> But there must have been at least one older version, since the 1539 statutes mention Bergen’s Council of the Realm, which was abolished in 1536.<sup>914</sup>

The relationship between Hansa and Holland merchants in Bergen differed from the situation in northern Europe in general at this time. According to the three oldest surviving accounts of customs paid by ships passing through the Øresund (*Sundtoll*), 71 % of the skippers were from the Dutch provinces in 1497, 70 % in 1503 and 60 % in 1528.<sup>915</sup> These are maximum figures, because many ships from the Wendish towns were exempted from paying the tariff. The figures nevertheless demonstrate that the Dutch dominated shipping between the North Sea and the Baltic at this time. After about 1400, the Dutch received most of their fish from their own extensive herring and cod fisheries on the North Sea banks.<sup>916</sup> But the purpose of trade is not only to acquire desirable commodities; it is also to reap prof-

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906 HR II, 2, 264.

907 HR II, 2, index.

908 RGP volume 36 no. 1759.

909 Ibid. no. 452.

910 There are numerous examples that the term *Bergenfahrer* is used in the sense “merchant who trades with Bergen”. In 1439, Lübeck officials wrote to Wismar and asked them to impose certain restrictions on their *Bergenfahrer* (HR II, 2, 307). There are no indications that there was a guild of Bergenfahrer in Wismar.

911 BULL, Bergensfarerne i Amsterdam, p. 96.

912 BUGGE, Bergensfarernes gilde i Amsterdam, p. 393.

913 BULL, Bergensfarerne i Amsterdam, p. 100.

914 Ibid., pp. 102, VII.

915 BANG, Tabeller I, pp. 2–4. These are maximum figures, because the Wendish towns were partly exempted from the *Sundtoll*.

916 Cf. pp. 521–523 and 528.

its from the exchanges, and there were profits to be made in the stockfish trade. Holland merchants would probably have participated more in the trade between Bergen and the Rhine area if the Kontor had not made conditions difficult for them in Bergen.

Did other merchants conduct trade between Holland and Bergen? Three Kampen merchants related that they imported goods from Bergen in Norway to Brabant and Holland in the four years 1471–1474.<sup>917</sup> A ship which sailed from Bergen to Amsterdam in 1476 had on board a skipper and at least one merchant from Kampen, one from a Baltic town (*Oosterling*) and one from Norway; the latter left the ship during the journey.<sup>918</sup> Kurt Remme, a Hansa merchant in Bergen, dispatched goods to Amsterdam in 1474.<sup>919</sup> In 1525, a Lübeck-owned ship sailed from its home town to Bergen, and then on to Holland.<sup>920</sup> In 1480, Amsterdam threatened to take reprisals against Hanseatic Bergenfahrer if the Bergen Kontor prevented their traders from enjoying their legal rights in Bergen.<sup>921</sup> If no members of the Bergen Kontor had had economic interests in Amsterdam, this would have been an empty threat. There is evidence that Norwegian ships visited Holland in the Late Middle Ages, but where information about the export cargo is given, it turns out to be timber. The only exception is a ship which the Archbishop's representative in Bergen, Jon Teiste, sent to Amsterdam in 1528. The cargo is said to be "goods" (*guet*) but must have consisted mainly of stockfish.<sup>922</sup> This somewhat modifies the impression that the Hollanders themselves controlled nearly all trade between Holland and Bergen.

Merchants from Holland in Bergen did not limit their activities to trading from booths. They bought stockfish from the commander of Bergenhus which he had received as taxes,<sup>923</sup> and they also purchased stockfish from the Archbishop<sup>924</sup> and probably other "free" magnates who were not tied to the winter residents. They bought fish from German winter residents; in 1519, the Zuiderzee towns claimed that the Lübeck merchants sold them second-class thin stockfish,<sup>925</sup> as well as seal blubber and fish oil.<sup>926</sup> Holland traders also bought some stockfish from Zuiderzee merchants who were winter residents and who sourced their stockfish directly from

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917 HUB X no. 382; the document is dated 1475.

918 Ibid. no. 504.

919 Ibid. nos. 405 and 408.

920 HR III, 9, 94 §102.

921 HR III, 1, 247.

922 DN XVI no. 510.

923 Table II.30 and II.31.

924 DN XII no. 429.

925 HR III, 7, 154 §8.

926 HR II, 7, 343 §15 = NGL 2.rk. II, p. 741 §15 (1476); HR II, 7, 391 §19.

the *nordfar*.<sup>927</sup> But there is no evidence that the Hollanders issued credits to the *nordfar* during the Middle Ages as the English did. If they had done so, the Kontor would probably have included this in one of their numerous complaints.<sup>928</sup>

The accounts for Bergenhus castle make it possible for the first time to quantify the amount of goods traded by Hollanders in Bergen; unsurprisingly, they mainly sold cloth and bought stockfish.

Table II.30. Goods bought by Hollanders from Bergenhus castle, 1518–21

<i>rotscher</i> (a quality of stockfish)	2684 marks
tallow	191 marks
hides	38 marks
wax	18 marks
butter	10 marks
German flour	9 marks
cows	3 marks
sheep	2 marks
grain	2 marks
feathers	6 <i>løber</i>
total	2957 marks

Source: NRJ I-III; Where the price is not given, prices from other entries in the same account have been used. The figures for Skell Klaus are not included here, see note 1 to table II.31.

Table II.31. Goods sold by Hollanders to Bergenhus castle, 1518–21 <sup>(1)</sup>

cloth, canvas	424 marks
iron	59 marks
hops (for brewing beer)	53 marks
building materials (tiles, cement)	49 marks
gunpowder	45 marks
ship's equipment	17 marks
salt	15 marks
vinegar	12 marks
hemp	11 marks
spices and peas	7 marks
baskets	2 marks
paper	2 marks
candlesticks	1 marks

<sup>927</sup> HR II, 7, 342 §21.

<sup>928</sup> The Kontor complained in 1458 that merchants from the Zuiderzee towns and Holland bought grain products for coins in Bergen (NGL 2.rk. II no. 409 §2 = HR II, 4, 586). They may have resold this grain to permanent customers among the *nordfar*, and if they had such customers, they would most likely have also offered them credit. But this is only a hypothesis.

oil	5 skillings
hats	5 skillings
hammers	2 skillings
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total	697 marks, 12 skillings

- (1) The figures for Skell Klaus from Amsterdam are not included above. He traded more goods than all the other identifiable Hollanders put together. He sold a great deal of ship's equipment and weapons, and bought large quantities of hides, which Bergenhus probably had received in land rents. Skell Klaus evidently had a special commission from the commander of Bergenhus castle.

<b>Bought from Bergenhus</b>	
hides	2125 marks
<i>rotscher</i>	1101 marks
tar	5 marks
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total	3231 marks
<b>Sold to Bergenhus</b>	
ship's equipment	617 marks
weapons	190 marks
cloth, canvas	94 marks
salt	18 marks
gold	4 marks
sinoper (a mineral used as pigment)	5 marks
soap	4 marks
cement	2 marks
<hr/>	
total	944 marks

Export and import data confirm this picture. During the war in 1427–33, an Amsterdam ship sailed through the Øresund carrying 5000 Bergen fish.<sup>929</sup> The customs accounts from Kampen for 1440–1441 show that during the Holland-Hansa war, 27 merchants from Holland, Zeeland and Friesland transported *Berger vissch* and *stocvisses* up the Ijssel river.<sup>930</sup> Later, stockfish is mentioned as being exported from Bergen to Holland in 1476,<sup>931</sup> 1519,<sup>932</sup> 1524,<sup>933</sup> 1529<sup>934</sup> and 1536,<sup>935</sup> seal blubber and cod-liver oil in 1476.<sup>936</sup> In 1437, Hollanders sold “cloth and other commodities” in Bergen.<sup>937</sup> In 1440, Hansa merchants in Bergen threw the Hollanders' goods out of their shops and trampled them into the mud, which must have been an effective way of destroying the market value of cloth.<sup>938</sup> Other items were

929 HUB VII no. 20.

930 *Het Kampen pondtollregister van 1439–1441*, pp. 237ff.

931 HUB X no. 504.

932 HR III, 7, 154 §8.

933 HR III, 5, 243 §184–§185.

934 DN XII no. 429.

935 *Niederländische Akten und Urkunden* I no. 291.

936 HR II, 7, 343 §15 and 391 §19 = NGL 2.rk. II, pp. 741 and 748.

937 HR II, 7, 464.

938 NGL 2.rk. I, p. 246 §3 = HUB VII no. 543.

linen cloth,<sup>939</sup> spices,<sup>940</sup> and roof tiles.<sup>941</sup> In earlier times Hollanders had imported wine into Bergen, but in 1521 this was said to be a thing of the past.<sup>942</sup>

The Hollanders traded in the same kind of goods as merchants from western Hansa towns and England. There are no indications that they transported grain to Bergen, and there are even instances listed of them buying grain from Bergenhus castle.<sup>943</sup> During the period discussed in this chapter, we know that Holland traders exported grain from Danzig and other Prussian ports. Did Hansa merchants prevent them from selling it to Norwegian stockfish producers? We shall return to this in chapter V (sections 2a and 2b).

#### E. BERGEN–BREMEN

The Hanseatic settlement in Bergen before 1366 was a community of individual German merchants. If their trading rights in Bergen were seriously challenged, an alliance of German maritime towns took action, and from 1278 the towns negotiated with the Norwegian authorities for written privileges which applied to all German merchants. The town of Bremen was not party to these alliances and common privileges, but instead obtained separate privileges for themselves. The last time this happened was when the alliance of maritime towns obtained common privileges in Norway in 1343, but Bremen obtained a separate privilege with similar content in 1348.<sup>944</sup> Bremen merchants enjoyed the same legal framework as members of the “merchants’ Hansa” in Bergen, but the town of Bremen was not member of the “town Hansa” which had negotiated these privileges.<sup>945</sup>

After 1366, the local “merchants’ Hansa” in Bergen was subjected to the control of the “town Hansa”, which was organised through the Hansa Diets. It was not possible for Bremen and its merchants to be members of the first group but not the second. After 1366, the Bremen merchants accepted the authority of the Bergen Kontor’s aldermen, and Bremen city council sent representatives more or less regularly to the Hansa Diets. There is little evidence of conflicts between Bremen and the Bergen Kontor in the Late Middle Ages; Bremen merchants seem to have been loyal members of the Kontor. Bremen was less oppositional than the Zuiderzee towns. The reason for this may partly have been that Bremen had more limited interests in Bergen during the years 1366–1537, but also that the Zuiderzee towns had closer ties to Holland, which was the main source of conflicts.

939 HUB X no. 405 (1475).

940 NGL 2.rk. II nos. 121 and 127 (in 1469 and 1471 respectively).

941 HR III, 8, 1 (dated 1521).

942 Ibid.

943 Table II.30.

944 HUB III no. 119 = *Bremisches Urkundenbuch* II no. 568 = DN V no. 1977.

945 More about this in chapter I.4c.

The subject of this section is trade and shipping between Bergen and Bremen. Bremen skippers and merchants also carried out trade from Bergen to England and Lübeck, but this will be discussed under these ports. Their winter residents in Bergen will be discussed later in connection with table V.2.

In 1387, England was engaged in a naval war with France and Spain, and the English king ordered his officials to seize all ships and commodities arriving in his realm from these countries.<sup>946</sup> That year a ship called the *Cruceberg*, whose home port was Bremen “*in Almain*”, took on board in Bremen goods owned by traders who were “of the fellowship of merchants of the Hanse”. Their spokesman was called John van Buren in the English source, and other merchants with goods loaded on the vessel were “merchants of Bremen”. The ship arrived in England somewhere outside Grimsby and was seized by the mayor, the baliff and customs officials of Grimsby. The men claimed that they were arrested because they were wrongly taken to be French subjects. Hansa merchants were only permitted to trade in England in towns which had customs officials, so it is possible they also were arrested for customs evasion.<sup>947</sup> Johan van Buren seems to have been the most important merchant on board; a Lübeck man with the same name is known to have been an active Bergenfahrer at this time. In 1395 he owned part of a house in the Einarsgård complex at Bryggen in Bergen,<sup>948</sup> and as early as 1365 he owned a house in Lübeck<sup>949</sup>. He is registered in the *Pfundzollbücher* as importing and exporting goods between Lübeck and Bergen in 1368, 1370, 1398 and 1399.<sup>950</sup> In 1368, he also traded at the Scanian market.<sup>951</sup> Johan van Buren is registered numerous times in the *Lübecker Niederstadtbuch 1363–99*, as giving and receiving credit.<sup>952</sup> All these documents date from within a 36-year period between 1363 and 1399. The combination of Lübeck and English source material makes it possible to get a picture of how the Bergenfahrer operated in the early period before 1400. Their trade with Bergen was part of an extensive network in the Baltic and the North Sea, in this case including Lübeck, Scania, Bergen, Bremen, eastern England and probably other towns for which we have no information. Merchants from Baltic and North Sea towns transported goods on the same ships.

When Bergen was attacked by the *Vitaliner* pirates in 1393, at least four Bremen merchants had their goods stolen. This happened early in the season, on the 22<sup>nd</sup> of April, before the fish transports from the north had arrived, so the four were probably winter residents. Several other Bremen merchants also had their goods plun-

946 McKISACK, *History of England*, p. 446.

947 *Calendar of Close Rolls 1385–1389*, pp. 225–226.

948 UBS<sup>t</sup>L IV no. 624 = HUB V nos. 193 and 196.

949 *Das Lübecker Niederstadtbuch (1363–1399)* I, p. 81 (original p. 67.1).

950 LECHNER, *Pfundzollisten*, pp. 163 and 226; PB 1370, p. 526; PB 1398, p. 189; PB 1399, p. 211.

951 LECHNER, *Pfundzollisten*, p. 246.

952 *Das Lübecker Niederstadtbuch (1363–1399)* II index, p. 36.

dered by the *Vitaliner*, but it is not stated whether this took place in Bergen or elsewhere.<sup>953</sup>

In 1418, a Hansa Diet complained that merchants from Bremen and Deventer were conducting trade at unconventional places in Bergen, on streets, quays and in churches.<sup>954</sup> At this time the dominant Lübeck merchants were trying to establish a closed trading system with the Norwegian stockfish producers, whereby the latter delivered all their fish to a specified winter resident and received their provisions from him alone. Merchants from North Sea towns had problems adjusting to this, since they had cloth, and other craft products which they found it more natural to retail for cash in small shops or booths. The Bremen merchants seem to have adapted to the closed system set up by the Lübeckers and other Baltic merchants, while the Holland and Zuiderzee merchants never did.

During the Holland-Hansa war in 1438–1441, some Hollanders plundered a Bremen *kreiert* on its return voyage from Bergen with stockfish,<sup>955</sup> and the same happened to a ship sailing from “Bremen or Deventer” to Scania with stockfish, suits of armour, cloth, beer and bread.<sup>956</sup> From the 1440s at the latest, there were winter residents from Bremen in Bergen,<sup>957</sup> and we have the correspondence dating from 1442/3 of a Bremen firm which owned two houses at Bryggen.<sup>958</sup> There is little extant material relating to Bremen’s Bergen trade before 1484. The main reason for this is probably that the Bremen merchants had no conflicts with the Kontor during this period, and conflicts create correspondence. But the Bergen trade after 1440 is so well documented that this cannot be the entire explanation; the Bremen trade must have been of limited importance. In 1479, the Kontor decided that *rot-scher* which had not been graded should be exported “neither to the Baltic nor to the Zuiderzee”. The lawmakers did not find it worth mentioning other destinations.<sup>959</sup>

After 1484, the source material grows richer, and most of it involves complaints from the Lübeck-dominated Kontor against the disobedient Bremen traders. From 1484 to the Reformation, the Hansa conducted a series of naval wars with Denmark-Norway and Holland, and the Kontor and the Wendish towns tried to organise convoys to Bergen. In 1484/5, Bremen skippers refused to join the convoy;<sup>960</sup> two ships sailed unescorted from Bremen in 1486<sup>961</sup> and again 1501.<sup>962</sup> In 1502 the

953 HR I, 4, 645.

954 HR I, 6, 579.

955 RGP volume 35 no. 1665.

956 Ibid. no. 1573, dated March 1442. The complainant, who worked in the service of the Archbishop of Lund, wrote that the goods were freighted on a ship from Bremen, but he himself owned the goods.

957 Table V.1.

958 *Aus bremischen Familienpapieren*, pp. 53ff; cf. chapter V.3a.

959 HR III, 1, 255 = NGL 2.rk. II no. 440.

960 HR III, 1, 582 §37 and §38; HR III, 2, 11 §5.

961 HR III, 2, 160 §175; DN V no. 932; HUB XI no. 133 §59.

962 BULL, Bergen og Hansestæderne, p. 192 no. 7.

Bergenfahrer in Lübeck tried to persuade Bremen to adhere to new regulations for sailing to Bergen,<sup>963</sup> and in 1507 and 1512 there are documents stating that merchants from Bremen, Hamburg, Rostock, Stralsund, Wismar, Lübeck and Zuiderzee towns participated in such convoys.<sup>964</sup> In the years 1510 and 1514 Bremen merchants sent ships to Bergen despite a boycott.<sup>965</sup> In 1523, the Bergenfahrer were permitted to sail from Hamburg, Bremen, Kampen and Deventer to Bergen.<sup>966</sup> The Kontor accused Bremer merchants of infringing other statutes as well. In 1487 they were accused of importing substandard flour from Bremen – one suspects that the Lübeckers disliked all grain imports from Bremen.<sup>967</sup> It was alleged in 1498 that they did not respect the rules for the quality classification of stockfish (*wraken*),<sup>968</sup> in 1521 that they carried out trade directly with peasants in the countryside,<sup>969</sup> and in 1535 that they traded with nobles, clerics and bailiffs, all in violation of Hansa statutes.<sup>970</sup>

Lübeck dominated the Kontor, and the Zuiderzee and Bremen merchants were outsiders who were likely to come into conflict with the ruling group. As shown above, this happened to the Zuiderzee towns from the 1440s, and to Bremen from the 1480s. Both groups had traded in Bergen since the 13<sup>th</sup> century. The most likely explanation for this difference is that the Zuiderzee's trade experienced a boom or at least strong growth from the 1440s, while that for Bremen came later, in the 1480s.

In the customs accounts from Bergen for the two normal years 1520 and 1521,<sup>971</sup> there are 7 and 5 ships respectively registered as arriving from Bremen, compared to 7 ships each of those years from the Zuiderzee. In 1486, two Bremen ships arrived before the 24<sup>th</sup> of June, and in 1501 two arrived before Easter.<sup>972</sup> More Bremen ships must have come later, since most inshore cargo ships from the north (*jekzt*) arrived in July-September.

In 1443, two Bremen merchants owned at least part of a cargo of fish which was plundered between Bergen and Bremen; this is our only information about who owned the cargo on any ship sailing between the two ports in the Middle Ages.<sup>973</sup>

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963 DN XVI no. 338.

964 DN XVI no. 345 = HR III, 5, 251 §7; HR III, 6, 457.

965 HR III, 6, 92 §23 and nos. 490 and 555.

966 HR III, 6, 579; HR III, 7, 45 §92; DN VIII no. 510 = HR III, 8, 349; DN X no. 573.

967 HR III, 2, 160 §152 and §162; *ibid.* no. 164 §19 and §24.

968 HR III, 4, 79 §228 and §198.

969 HR III, 7, 413 §126 and §127.

970 HR IV, 2, 24.

971 Cf. comments to table II.1.

972 HR III, 2, 160 §175; DN V no. 932; HUB XI no. 133 §59; BULL, Bergen og Hansesestæderne, p. 192 no. 7.

973 RGP volume 35 no. 1665.

The numerous documents referring to Bremen merchants in Bergen make it highly likely that Bremen citizens controlled nearly all of it.

Merchants from North Sea ports imported cloth to Bergen and exported stockfish, and Bremen merchants were no exception.

Table II.32. Goods sold by Bremen merchants to Bergenhus castle, 1518–21

cloth	150 marks
vinegar	12 marks
weapons	3 marks
total	165 marks

Table II.33. Goods bought by Bremen merchants from Bergenhus castle, 1518–21

stockfish	1873 marks
hides	81 marks
total	1954 marks

Source: NRJ I-III; Where the price is not given, prices from other entries in the same account have been used.

Other sources confirm this picture. Only stockfish is mentioned as being transported from Bergen to Bremen.<sup>974</sup> The main market for this stockfish may have been Bremen itself and its hinterland, but some of it was evidently taken further south to Westphalia. Officials of Herford in Westphalia complained in 1498 to a Hansa Diet that fish from Shetland and Bergen was being combined and sold together, and the Diet wrote to Cologne, Bremen, Deventer and Kampen about this problem. The Diet evidently thought that Westphalia received part of its Bergen fish supplies from Bremen.<sup>975</sup>

Bremen did not make enough cloth for export; the cloth sold to Bergenhus castle was produced in Leiden and Deventer. In 1453, a Bremen merchant imported a consignment of cloth directly from Deventer to Bergen.<sup>976</sup>

Bremen merchants imported grain products to Bergen all through the Late Middle Ages. Some of it was processed in Bremen's own hinterland, (*mele van Bremen to Bergen gesand werde*), but as shown above, the aldermen at the Kontor on some occasions classified this flour as substandard.<sup>977</sup> The Lübeck majority at the Bergen Kontor wanted grain to be imported from the Baltic, and Bremen merchants obliged. When the *Vitaliner* pirates attacked Bergen in 1393, a *kreiert* from Stralsund was plundered, including goods belonging to two Bremen merchants. Two other Bremen merchants had their flour (*mele*) taken on the same occasion. It had prob-

974 Ibid. nos. 1573 and 1665; HUB VIII no. 803; HR III, 7, 39 §192.

975 HR III, 4, 79 §12, §76, §194, §198 and §228 (1498).

976 UBStL IX no. 169.

977 HR III, 2, 160 §152; DN V no. 932.

ably been stored in their warehouses at Bryggen.<sup>978</sup> The firm owned by the Bremen merchant Hinrik van Hude imported grain from Lübeck and Wismar in the 1440s.<sup>979</sup>

Bremen beer is mentioned occasionally in the accounts for Bergenhus castle.<sup>980</sup> In 1525, Vardøhus castle in Finnmark in today's Vardø received Bremen beer as provisions.<sup>981</sup> In 1535, the German watchmen who guarded Bryggen created an uproar because they were given Bremen beer and not Lübeck beer. One suspects that the dissatisfied watchmen were from Lübeck.<sup>982</sup>

#### F. BERGEN–HAMBURG

The commercial exchanges between Bergen and the North Sea towns examined above mainly took the form of stockfish for cloth. Was this also the case for Hamburg? Again, the accounts for Bergenhus castle are our oldest quantifiable source.

Table II.34. Goods bought by Hamburg merchants from Bergenhus castle, 1518–21

<i>rotscher</i>	1763 marks
butter	32 marks
smoked meat	5 marks
total	1800 marks

Table II.35. Goods sold by Hamburg merchants to Bergenhus castle 1518–21

hops (for brewing beer)	69 marks
flour	40 marks
bows	38 marks
vinegar	10 marks
Hamburg beer	9 marks
halters (for horses' harnesses)	3 marks
grain ( <i>gryn</i> )	3 marks
Lüneburg salt	2 marks
empty barrels	1 marks
total	173 marks

Source: NRJ I-III; Where the price is not given, prices from other entries in the same account have been used.

Hamburg merchants bought considerable quantities of stockfish, the value of which was the same as that bought by merchants from Bremen (table II.33), but Hamburg

978 HR I, 4, 645 §17.

979 *Aus bremischen Familienpapieren*, pp. 53ff.

980 NRJ I-III index.

981 DN VIII no. 533.

982 BRUNS, *Bergenfahrer*, p. XVII; Archiv der Hansestadt Lübeck, Trese Norvagica no. 93.

traders purchased far less stockfish than those from Holland and the Zuiderzee towns.<sup>983</sup> One explanation for this is that Hamburg's market for stockfish was along the Elbe, Bremen's was along the Weser, and Holland and Zuiderzee's was along the Rhine, and the catchment area for the Rhine was much more densely populated than that of the other two rivers.

Hamburg merchants could send their fish far inland on the Elbe via Magdeburg to the market in Leipzig.<sup>984</sup> In 1459, Braunschweig planned to build a canal which would connect the town to the river Weser and Bremen. This would enable Braunschweig to compete with its neighbour Magdeburg, which received imported goods from Hamburg via the Elbe. A conflict arose between Magdeburg, Lüneburg (also on the Elbe) and Braunschweig. A compromise was reached, and Braunschweig was allowed to build its canal on condition that they did not use it to transport Bergen fish or herring. This area of the German interior had traditionally received its fish products via the Elbe, and the towns who profited from that did not want any competition from a new Weser route.<sup>985</sup> An unknown portion of the imported stockfish was consumed in Hamburg. The 1353–1387 accounts for the municipality of Hamburg show that stockfish (*strumuli*) was consumed in the town.<sup>986</sup>

It also seems that Bremen and Hamburg merchants had less cloth to sell than those from the Zuiderzee and Holland; the production areas for high-quality cloth were near the estuary of the Rhine in today's Belgium and Netherlands. Zuiderzee and in Holland were in a favourable position, since they could transport valuable cargoes of cloth to Bergen and had a larger market for their return freight of stockfish.

These may seem like broad conclusions to draw from the trade with Bergenhus castle alone, but other sources offer only small modifications. Only stockfish<sup>987</sup> and cod liver oil are mentioned as cargoes transported from Bergen to Hamburg.<sup>988</sup> But Hamburg beer seems to have been more prominent in that town's general trade with Norway than it was in transactions with Bergenhus. In 1469, a ship carrying 32 lasts of Hamburg beer was plundered near Skudesnes, south of Bergen.<sup>989</sup> In 1511, merchants from Hamburg shipped beer to Bergen despite the on-going war.<sup>990</sup> Norwegian merchants sold Hamburg beer from their shops and *Bierstuben* in the

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983 Tables II.28 and II.30.

984 HUB VII no. 761; cf. DN XVI no. 319; BRUNS, *Bergenfahrer*, p. 162.

985 HUB VIII nos. 803 and 804.

986 *Kämmereirechnungen der Stadt Hamburg* I, p. 25.

987 HR III, 9, 444 §45 and no. 445 §20; HR IV, 1, 344 §104.

988 BRUNS, *Bergenfahrer*, p. 114.

989 *Ibid.*, p. 358.

990 HR III, 6, 92 §23.

Stranden quarter of Bergen outside Bryggen,<sup>991</sup> and this beer was even drunk in the Archbishop's household.<sup>992</sup>

Like their counterparts from Bremen, Hamburg merchants exported grain from the Baltic to Bergen; in 1533, the cargo of grain products on a ship sailing from Rostock to Bergen were owned by 15 merchants from Rostock, 8 from Lübeck and 5 from Hamburg.<sup>993</sup>

If Lübeck was an important centre for distributing fish from Bergen to the western European continent, it may be assumed that this was partly organised through overland transport from Lübeck to Hamburg, and from there by sea to other North Sea ports.<sup>994</sup> Three Hamburg customs accounts exist from the first part of the period we are focussing on, specifically from 1369,<sup>995</sup> 1399–1400<sup>996</sup> and 1418,<sup>997</sup> and all have appeared in print. The problem is that these customs duties (*Pfundzoll*) were imposed in times of war when commercial patterns were not normal.

The accounts from 1369 register all goods exported from Hamburg by sea; even goods which had arrived from Lübeck and for which customs had already been paid, were listed if they were re-exported from Hamburg by sea.<sup>998</sup> The account book covers the period from the start of the sailing season to the end of the year.<sup>999</sup> The commodities on board are always specified, but there are no traces of typical Bergen goods on any of the 599 ships in the account. The Hansa blockaded Bergen in 1369, and fish exports from there to Lübeck were not resumed until 1370.<sup>1000</sup> No general conclusions can be drawn from this record.

The accounts for 1399–1400 provide a register of goods imported into Hamburg by sea.<sup>1001</sup> In most cases the commodities are specified, but in a few cases they are summarized as *bona* (goods). Fish was imported, but it was mostly packed in barrels as was customary at that time. Shipped alongside this were other commodities indicating that the fish came from Friesland and the Netherlands.<sup>1002</sup> Nothing indicates that any of the 417 registered ships arrived from Bergen or carried Bergen goods. The years 1399–1400 were not normal times, as this was when the *Vitaliner* pirates, based in Friesland, were most active and created a severe threat to Ham-

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991 HR III, 9, 482 §7.

992 *Olav Engelbriktsens rekneskapsbøker*, p. 136.

993 HR IV, 1, 239.

994 LUNDEN, *Kvantitative og teoretiske studiar*, p. 255.

995 *Das hamburgische Pfundzollbuch von 1369*.

996 *Das hamburgische Pfund- und Werkzollbuch von 1399 und 1400*.

997 *Das Hamburger Pfundzollbuch von 1418*.

998 *Das hamburgische Pfundzollbuch von 1369*, pp. XXII–XXIV.

999 *Ibid.*, p. XXI.

1000 Appendix III table 2.

1001 *Das hamburgische Pfund- und Werkzollbuch von 1399 und 1400*, p. XXVII.

1002 *Ibid.*, pp. XLIX ff.

burg's shipping. Hamburg sent an armed fleet to pursue them, and in April 1401 their leader Claus Störtebecker was captured at Helgoland and later executed in Hamburg.<sup>1003</sup> In these circumstances, Hamburg merchants may have preferred to import stockfish via Lübeck. No general conclusions can be drawn from this account either.

The 1418 customs account registered exports shipped via the North Sea, except those to Flanders and the Hanseatic Zuiderzee towns.<sup>1004</sup> A merchant on one of the ships exported *Berger vichsche* valued at 360 marks to an unnamed port.<sup>1005</sup> If prices from the Lübeck *Pfundzoll* are used, this sum corresponded to  $360 \div 5 = 72$  large hundreds = 4.9 tons of stockfish.<sup>1006</sup> The consignment of 4.9 tons had been shipped on the Bergen–Lübeck–Hamburg route, and from there it may have been transported onward to Holland or England. It greatly reduces the usefulness of the 1418 account that goods shipped to Flanders and the Zuiderzee were not registered. There are other qualitative sources showing that this route was used: for example, Hildebrand Veckinchusen sent 15 hundreds of stockfish (= 1020 kg) from Lübeck via Hamburg to Bruges in 1409.<sup>1007</sup> For a comparison, during the period 1368–1400, Lübeck imported on average about 244 tons of stockfish a year.<sup>1008</sup>

The same accounts from 1418 also listed imports from the North Sea, except those from Flanders and Hanseatic Zuiderzee towns. Imports could be sold in Hamburg duty-free; only transit goods incurred the tariff.<sup>1009</sup> Johan van Heide,<sup>1010</sup> a town councillor and Bergenfahrer from Lübeck, together with another merchant, imported 3 packages (*stucke*) of *vichsches*,<sup>1011</sup> which corresponds to about 600 kilos.<sup>1012</sup> It is not said where the fish came from, but the most reasonable hypothesis is that it came directly from Bergen to Hamburg, and was re-exported to the German interior.<sup>1013</sup> There may have been more stockfish on the same ship, but if it was sold in

1003 Ibid., pp. XVIII ff.

1004 *Das Hamburger Pfundzollbuch von 1418*, p. 53.

1005 Ibid., p. 39. The customs was 20 skillings. One Witte ( $\frac{1}{3}$  skilling) was paid as the fee for 6 marks' worth of goods (ibid., p. 43).

1006 Appendix VIII table 2 note; table VI.1.  $\div$  means "divided by".

1007 *Briefwechsel eines deutschen Kaufmannes* no. 22; c = a great hundred or 120 fish. I have calculated  $1c = 67.9$  kilos (table VI.1).

1008 Cf. p. 114.

1009 *Das Hamburger Pfundzollbuch von 1418*, p. 53. About the export: "... vier teilweise fünf Vierteljahr den Hamburger Export in Richtung Nordsee mit Ausnahme der nach Flandern und zu den Süderseestädten gerichteten Waren." On the import: "Vom Import fehlt ausser dem Handel Flanderns und der Süderseestädte das Warenkontingent, das in Hamburg selbst verbraucht, bzw. Umgeschlagen wurde."

1010 Appendix II 4) VI.

1011 *Das Hamburger Pfundzollbuch von 1418*, p. 19.

1012 BRUNS, Bergenfahrer, p. LXXIV. One *stuck* of most qualities of stockfish was ca. 1,5 ship-pounds à 136 kilos, that is ca. 204 kilos. Three *stucke* will then be ca. 600 kilos.

1013 Ibid., p. LXXIV.

Hamburg in either large or small quantities, it would not be registered. Customs accounts are excellent sources for our purpose, but the three from Hamburg are of little help.

The Hamburg *Pfundzoll* for 1485/6 was imposed on export and imports on the Elbe. Each merchant is registered separately, and it is not possible to see which merchants came or left on the same ship. Stockfish (*rotscher*, *rekling*) is registered, but it is impossible to see whether it came on a ship directly from Bergen, or via Lübeck. In 1485 the Hamburger trader Fredrik Sneppe exported from his home town 16 barrels of *rotscher* plus dried halibut,<sup>1014</sup> he also paid customs for several consignments of Baltic goods which evidently came via Lübeck. In 1468, the same Fredrik Sneppe<sup>1015</sup> had in his storeroom in London, among other commodities, *Barger titling* and *Barger kroplinck*, both of which were grades of Bergen stockfish.<sup>1016</sup> His trade in stockfish was evidently a minor part of his business, and he seems to have sent it Bergen-Lübeck-Hamburg-London. In the period October 22. – December 24. 1485 15 merchants paid customs for *rotscher* or *rekling* in Hamburg, these are qualities of stockfish which are likely to have originated in Bergen. The goods may have come on one or two ships directly from Bergen.<sup>1017</sup> The following autumn 1486 fewer merchants paid *Pfundzoll* for *rotscher* or *rekling*, but between September 2. – September 14. nine merchant paid for *yslandesche vische*.<sup>1018</sup> The fish most likely arrived on one ship directly from Iceland.

Some of the stockfish to Hamburg may have come via Lübeck, but the major part of it probably was shipped directly from Bergen. In the Hansa Diet's evacuation order of 1368, Hamburg is mentioned as one of several evacuation routes from Bergen.<sup>1019</sup> In 1469, a ship departed from Hamburg but was plundered at Skudesnes, south of Bergen.<sup>1020</sup> A Bergenfahrer from Hamburg called Klaus Petersson was in Bergen when the German quarter (*Bryggen*) was consumed by fire in 1476.<sup>1021</sup> The same year Jacob Scroder, who was the brother of a Hamburg citizen called Lambert, died in Bergen.<sup>1022</sup> From the 1490s, the evidence for permanent, direct shipping from Hamburg to Bergen is beyond dispute. In this period, the Hansa was engaged in several armed conflicts with Denmark, and this made the shipping lane through

1014 *Die Hamburgisch- Lübschen Pfundzollisten 1485–1486*, p. 152.

1015 HUB X, index.

1016 HUB IX no. 541, pp. 413–414.

1017 *Die Hamburgisch- Lübschen Pfundzollisten 1485–1486*, pp. 143–154.

1018 *Ibid.*, pp. 223–240

1019 HR I, 3, 302 = NGL 2.rk. I no. 345.

1020 BRUNS, *Bergenfahrer*, p. 358.

1021 *Ibid.*, p. 114.

1022 HUB X, pp. 322–323 note 4. It is not stated directly that Jacob also was a Hamburger. But the urban council of Hamburg wrote directly to the Bergen Kontor to make them hand out his inheritance. If Jacob had been citizen of for example Lübeck, the Hamburgers would probably have written to Lübeck in the matter.

the Øresund hazardous. Hamburg was point of departure for convoys to Bergen in 1490, 1491, 1506, 1507, 1510–12, 1512 and 1514.<sup>1023</sup> The customs accounts for Bergen from 1518–21 show that in the two normal years 1520 and 1521, 5 and 8 ships respectively arrived there from Hamburg. That is the same level of trade as for Bremen and the Zuiderzee towns.<sup>1024</sup>

Most of the Hamburg merchants seem to have been summer guests, and few were winter residents. In 1479, a Diet of Hansa towns planned a meeting with King Christian I about conditions in Bergen. Hamburg accepted an invitation to participate, “even if this does not concern us much”,<sup>1025</sup> on condition that the Bergen Kontor covered the expenses of their envoys.<sup>1026</sup> Since the Kontor organised trade in Bergen to suit Lübeck’s interests, they were expected to cover the expenses for the renewal of privileges themselves. But from 1516 at the latest, there were winter residents from Hamburg in Bergen.<sup>1027</sup>

There is no evidence that merchants other than those from Hamburg traded between Hamburg and Bergen in times of peace. In times of war with Denmark, the traffic between Hamburg and Bergen increased significantly, because Bergenfahrer from Lübeck sent their goods via Hamburg when sailing through the Øresund became too risky. This is likely to have happened in 1368,<sup>1028</sup> but certainly in 1506,<sup>1029</sup> 1509–12,<sup>1030</sup> 1522–23<sup>1031</sup> and 1533–35.<sup>1032</sup> In the war year 1522, no ships sailed between Lübeck and Bergen, but 15 Hamburg vessels visited the town, against 5 and 8 respectively the two preceding years.<sup>1033</sup> Letters could also be intercepted. In 1502, the Lübeck Bergenfahrer sent several letters to the Bergen Kontor on the

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1023 In 1490 ships sailed from Hamburg and Rostock to Bergen in violation of an embargo (HR III, 2, 399 §45). The following year Hamburg, Stralsund and Wismar refused to accept Lübeck’s regulations of the shipping to Bergen (HUB XI no. 425). In 1507 and 1512 the Bergen Kontor stated that convoys to Bergen normally were organised through correspondence with Bremen, Hamburg, Rostock, Stralsund, Wismar and the Zuiderzee towns (HR III, 5, 251 §7; DN XVI no. 345; HR III, 6, 457). In 1506 Hamburg wrote to Lübeck to obtain information about shipping to Bergen (HR III, 5, 240). During the war with Denmark 1510–12 Hamburgers sailed to Bergen in violation of an embargo (HR III, 6, 92 §23 and no. 336). In 1514 two ships in Hamburg harbour were ready to sail for Bergen despite an order to join a convoy (HR III, 6, 566).

1024 Table II.1.

1025 HR III, 1, 179 §6.

1026 NGL 2.rk. II no. 446 = HR III, 1, 320; *Kämmereirechnungen der Stadt Hamburg* III, p. 463.

1027 Table V.1.

1028 NGL 2.rk. I no. 345 = HR I, 3, 302.

1029 DN VI no. 644 = HR III, 5, 114 §8.

1030 HR III, 5, 470 §77; HR III, 6, nos. 88, 89, 457 and 579; HR III, 7, 45 §92.

1031 DN VIII no. 510; DN X no. 573; HR III, 8, 110 §77.

1032 *Niederländische Akten und Urkunden* I no. 132; *Hamburgische Chroniken*, p. 85; HR IV, 2, nos. 170–178.

1033 Table II.1.

“Hamburg Lent ship”.<sup>1034</sup> The Bergen Kontor promised to send back some copies of letters on “the Hamburg ship”.<sup>1035</sup> They did not send the letters directly through Danish waters because of the on-going conflict with Denmark.<sup>1036</sup> This situation was repeated in 1522<sup>1037</sup> and 1526.<sup>1038</sup>

Lübeck authorities regarded the increasing trade and shipping from Hamburg at the end of the Middle Ages as a problem, and they tried to solve it through political action. In 1528, the town council of Lübeck made a proposal to Rostock, Stralsund and Wismar at a meeting in Lübeck that a letter should be written to the Bergen Kontor about limiting “the unusual exports from Hamburg to Bergen in Norway (*ungewonhlyken afschepinge van Hamborch*)” and “the inappropriate shipments in the opposite direction of fish (*unbehorlike wedderschepinge des visches na Hamborch*). Merchants who continued this trade would be forbidden to export grain from the Wendish towns. Based on what has been said above, it can be questioned how “unusual” this shipping lane really was. The proposal had evidently been agreed between Lübeck and the Bergen Kontor in advance. But the representatives of other Wendish towns politely declined to support the proposal, stating they had to discuss it with their town councils at home.<sup>1039</sup> Lübeck had now entered its period of decline, and tried to eliminate economic competition through political measures. But the other Wendish towns were now reluctant to follow them. Hamburg’s Bergen trade increased significantly from the 1490s, partly because the repeated conflicts with Denmark meant that the Lübeckers periodically were forced to conduct their Bergen trade via Hamburg.

## G. MERCHANTS FROM GERMAN INLAND TOWNS

Most German merchants in the Bergen trade lived in seaports, but Bruns has shown that a large proportion of the citizens of Lübeck who traded with Bergen were immigrants from western German inland towns.<sup>1040</sup> Some of them maintained trade relations with their region of origin. In 1436, the Lübeck merchant Johan Parys<sup>1041</sup> owned goods and owed outstanding debts in both Westphalia and Lübeck.<sup>1042</sup>

Some Bergenfahrer conducted their trade with Bergen from western German inland towns even in the Late Middle Ages, continuing a tradition dating from the

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1034 DN XVI nos. 337 and 338.

1035 BULL, Bergen og Hansestæderne, p. 187.

1036 DN XVI no. 338, cf. HAMRE, Norsk historie frå 1400, p. 148.

1037 HR III, 8, 104.

1038 DN VI no. 620.

1039 HR III, 9, 444 §45.

1040 BRUNS, Bergenfahrer, p. CXL.

1041 UBStL VII, index indicates that he was a Lübecker.

1042 BRUNS, Bergenfahrer, p. 48 note 2.

High Middle Ages.<sup>1043</sup> Most of them seem to have used Lübeck as their port of departure. The Bergenfahrer Johan Bylevelt from Bielefeld was involved in two court cases in Lübeck in 1440;<sup>1044</sup> he must have used Lübeck as the port of departure for at least part of his Bergen trade. The same goes for Didrik Tolner from Hannover, who traded with Bergen in partnership with the Lübeck Bergenfahrer Hans Rese.<sup>1045</sup> Hermann Hesse was a citizen of Wegeleben, outside Halberstadt on a tributary of the Elbe, and was a winter resident in Bergen.<sup>1046</sup> He had formed a partnership with Johan Sina, who was a Lübeck town councillor and provided most of the capital.<sup>1047</sup> Hans Krevet from Padeborn in Westphalia was in partnership with the Lübeck councillor Johan van Hamelen; when the latter died, Krevet bought Hamelen's stake.<sup>1048</sup> Krevet was an alderman at the Bergen Kontor in 1453,<sup>1049</sup> and at this time he may have become citizen of Wismar.<sup>1050</sup> Bergenfahrer who were citizens of Lüneburg probably also sent their goods via Lübeck. Linen cloth (*louwande*) and undyed cloth (*sulphar*) were produced in Lüneburg and shipped to Bergen.<sup>1051</sup> In 1452, a Bergenfahrer from Lüneburg bought goods for 113 marks in Wismar, probably for the Bergen market.<sup>1052</sup>

Towns in the catchment areas of the river Weser also traded with Bergen, but it may have been to their advantage to send their goods via Bremen. Hinrik Greve from Braunschweig dispatched fish from Bergen to Bremen in 1442.<sup>1053</sup> In 1436 he traded between Bergen and Boston,<sup>1054</sup> and in 1437 he was alderman of the settlement in Boston.<sup>1055</sup> In 1447 he was an authorised representative in the Bergen Kontor.<sup>1056</sup> Skipper Hinrik Kideman from Braunschweig sailed with a cargo of stockfish from Bergen to Boston in 1460.<sup>1057</sup> In 1403, another citizen of Braunschweig died in Bergen.<sup>1058</sup>

Citizens of several other inland towns in Westphalia and Niedersachsen traded with Bergen, but we have no clues as to where they sailed from. Johan Berch from

1043 Cf. chapter I.4d.

1044 HUB VII, p. 168 note 1.

1045 HUB IX no. 157 = NGL 2.rk. II no. 418 (1465); BRUNS, Bergenfahrer, p. 166; cf. *ibid.*, index.

1046 BRUNS, Bergenfahrer, p. 83; HUB VIII no. 1193.

1047 BRUNS, Bergenfahrer, p. 172.

1048 *Ibid.*, p. 55 (1445).

1049 HR II, 4, 351 = DN III no. 830; cf. HR II, 7, 528 §14.

1050 BRUNS, Bergenfahrer, p. XXIII.

1051 HR III, 6, 488 §4 and §5 (1513).

1052 BULL, Bergen og Hansestæderne, p. 201.

1053 Aus bremischen Familienpapieren, p. 65.

1054 HR II, 2, 25 and no. 79 §8.

1055 HR II, 2, 28.

1056 BRUNS, Bergenfahrer, p. XXVI.

1057 Appendix II 142).

1058 HUB V, p. 313 note 1.

“Westpahlia” was one of the merchants who sailed the Bergen–Boston route in 1436.<sup>1059</sup> In 1433 we are told that Kurt bi dem Borne, a citizen of Göttingen, “has sailed to Bergen in Norway”.<sup>1060</sup> In 1393, probably during an attack by Vitaliner pirates, another citizen of Göttingen was killed in Bergen.<sup>1061</sup> Two citizens of Hildesheim were arrested by aldermen at the Bergen Kontor in 1427.<sup>1062</sup> Towns along the lower Rhine, represented by Kleve<sup>1063</sup> and Arnhem in present-day Netherlands,<sup>1064</sup> also sent stockfish merchants to Bergen. In 1351, two citizens of Münster died in Bergen,<sup>1065</sup> and the Wendish towns claimed in 1504 that Münster had winter residents (*dar liggende*) in Bergen.<sup>1066</sup> From table V.1 it appears that named winter residents also came from the inland towns of Hannover and Wegeleben.

In the High Middle Ages, western German inland towns had important commercial interests in the Bergen trade.<sup>1067</sup> During the 14<sup>th</sup> century they withdrew from trade with Boston<sup>1068</sup> and their general interests in the Bergen trade declined, but they were active throughout the 15<sup>th</sup> century. As mentioned above, there is evidence that merchants from Münster, Braunschweig, Hannover, Halberstadt and Wegeleben were winter residents in Bergen, and Hans Krevet from Padeborn was an elected alderman there.<sup>1069</sup>

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1059 HR II, 2, 25 and no. 79 §8.

1060 HUB VI no. 1085.

1061 HUB V no. 139.

1062 HUB VI, p. 386 note 2.

1063 WILKENS, *Niederländischer Handel*, p. 317.

1064 HUB XI no. 1261.

1065 HUB III no. 199 note 1.

1066 HR III, 5, 1 §136; cf. HR II, 4, 458 §21.

1067 Cf. chapter I.4d.

1068 Cf. table II.25 and pp. 165–166.

1069 This section on German inland towns was part of my 1983 doctoral thesis. Mike Burckhardt’s 2009 doctoral thesis has a chapter on “Kaufleute aus dem Binnenland” pp. 106–112. He added some more examples by using the unpublished *Niederstadtbuch* from Lübeck, and which was inaccessible before 1989 in DDR and the Soviet Union. His results support my view that some merchants from German inland towns continued to trade in Bergen up to the end of the Middle Ages. He does not refer to my thesis in his study, but begins his own treatment of the subject by saying: “A group of merchants who have always been left out in the accounts of the Bergen trade are merchants from the [German] interior” (*Eine Gruppe von Kaufleuten, die in den Darstellungen zum hansischen Handel in Bergen bisher immer ausser Acht gelassen wurde, sind Kaufleute aus den binnenländischen*) (p. 106). The present discussion of inland towns was, however, from my doctoral thesis.

## H. TRADE ROUTES FROM BERGEN TO MARKETS ALONG THE RHINE

Some of the stockfish imported from Bergen was consumed in the immediate vicinity of the coastal towns where it arrived. But in those locations it was cheaper to consume fish which was caught locally. Stockfish weighed little in relation to its nutritional value and was still edible after a year, therefore it suited inland markets which required lengthy transport routes.

Frankfurt am Main was the main distribution centre for stockfish in the southern part of the German interior; at least this was the case when the sources become more informative after about 1440. A good indication of this central role is that Frankfurt normally took the responsibility for assessing the quality of the stockfish distributed in southern Germany. Seven complaints or references to complaints about the quality of Bergen stockfish dating from 1440–1500 have been preserved. Three of them were sent by Frankfurt officials alone,<sup>1070</sup> while the remaining four were drawn up jointly by Frankfurt and other upper Rhine towns.<sup>1071</sup> Three of Frankfurt's letters of complaint<sup>1072</sup> were written at the request of towns further up the Rhine: Strasbourg, Speier, Worms and Mainz. Another town which received stockfish from Frankfurt was Nürnberg. The account books of the Müllich brothers dating from the end of the 15<sup>th</sup> century provide evidence that they sent Bergen fish from Frankfurt to Nürnberg,<sup>1073</sup> and they were not alone in doing this.<sup>1074</sup> Even Basel received fish from Bergen via Frankfurt.<sup>1075</sup>

Further east, other trade routes were used, and fish came to the market in Leipzig on the Elbe river via Magdeburg.<sup>1076</sup> The Rhine area south of Cologne was called the *Oberland*. In 1514, the Bergen Kontor complained that this area had started receiving Icelandic stockfish from Hamburg, Bremen and Amsterdam and that, as a result, Bergen fish was in danger of being supplanted by it in this market.<sup>1077</sup> The area between Frankfurt and Leipzig seems to have been supplied via three rivers, the Rhine, the Elbe and the Weser.<sup>1078</sup>

Frankfurt received Bergen fish overland from Lübeck or via the Rhine from ports on its estuary. In 1519, the Bergen Kontor claimed that merchants from

1070 HUB VIII no. 310 = NGL 2.rk. II no. 412 and *ibid.* note 2 (1454); HUB VIII no. 1184 (1462).

1071 DN VII no. 431 = NGL 2.rk. I no. 395 §5 (1446); HR II, 7, 338 §159 (1476); NGL 2.rk. II no. 432 = HR II, 7, 368 (1476); DN XVI no. 319 (1495).

1072 NGL 2.rk. II no. 412 = HUB VIII no. 1184 = UBStL X no. 227; NGL 2.rk. II no. 412 note 2.

1073 RÖRIG, *Einkaufsbüchlein der Nürnberg-Lübecker Mulichs*, pp. 298 and 348.

1074 NGL 2.rk. II no. 432 = HR II, 7, 368; DN XVI no. 319; BRUNS, *Bergenfahrer*, pp. 73, 103 and 219.

1075 NGL 2.rk. II no. 432 = HR II, 7, 368.

1076 HUB VII no. 761; cf. DN XVI no. 319 and BRUNS, *Bergenfahrer*, p. 162.

1077 HR III, 9, 737 §3.

1078 Cf. chapter II.5e and II.5f.

Kampen and Deventer were placing substandard and high-quality stockfish in the same packages and sending it to “Frankfurt and other markets along the Rhine”. This was very damaging to merchants who “send fish from here to there”; “here” clearly means Lübeck, where the letter was written (*hiir to Lubeke*).<sup>1079</sup> We understand that both classifications were sold as “Bergen fish”, and the customers were unable to see the difference between packages which contained only high-quality fish from Lübeck and those which held fish of mixed quality from Deventer. The authorities in Frankfurt discussed this problem, and decided in 1521 that stockfish from the two towns should be sold separately, because the fish from Lübeck was of a better quality. Frankfurt merchants who distributed stockfish from Deventer claimed that their fish was just as good as that from Lübeck, because “all of it has been shipped from Bergen, bought at the Kontor there, the fish developed and was caught in the same waters and was bought from the same Norwegian merchants and have the same quality, and this can be proved.” (*alle zu glich zu Bergen in Norwegen geholt und uss dem contor daselbst erkaufft, in eyn wasser gewachsen, gefangen, und von den selbigen kauffleuten von Norwegen erkaufft werden, und eins guts, als zu bewissen ist*). In connection with this conflict, Deventer, Kampen, Zwolle and Lübeck are all mentioned as towns importing Bergen fish.<sup>1080</sup>

In 1446, 1454, 1462, 1476 and 1495,<sup>1081</sup> Frankfurt and other towns along the Rhine complained to Lübeck about substandard stockfish. In 1519–21, Lübeckers at the Bergen Kontor and the Bergenfahrer guild in Lübeck took the initiative about stricter quality controls in Frankfurt. Whose actual responsibility was it to assure that the customers received a quality product? This illustrates a general problem in the Hansa organisation. In the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> centuries, Holland started exploiting herring and cod fisheries in the North Sea on a large scale. The salt fish and herring they produced attracted a good price because the authorities in their home ports organised strict quality control. A barrel of salted Dutch herring or cod, branded with the mark of the controller, could be bought with confidence because the buyer knew what he was paying for. Such centralised quality control was impossible or difficult for the Hansa to organise, since Lübeck and the Zuiderzee towns held different opinions on the matter. The Zuiderzee towns evidently suspected that Lübeck’s initiatives were intended to benefit Lübeckers at a cost to themselves, and they were not entirely wrong in this.

Summing up, in the period from about 1440 to the end of the Middle Ages, Frankfurt was the main distribution centre for stockfish going to southern Germany, and it received these goods both overland from Lübeck and via the Rhine

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1079 HR III, 7, 153 §5.

1080 SNELLER, Deventer, p. 12. He used unprinted sources from Frankfurt’s archive.

1081 DN VII no. 431 = NGL 2.rk. I no. 395 (1446); HUB VIII no. 310 = NGL 2.rk. II no. 412 and *ibid.* note 2 (1454); HUB VIII no. 1184 (1462); HR II, 7, 338 §159 (1476); NGL 2.rk. II no. 432 = HR II, 7, 368 (1476); DN XVI no. 319 (1495).

from Cologne. Frankfurt's letter of complaint in 1462 was sent to both Cologne and Lübeck.<sup>1082</sup>

First we will discuss the river route via Cologne. Kuske claimed that Cologne received all its stockfish from ports along the Zuiderzee. If so, why then didn't Frankfurt send its letter of complaint in 1462 directly to the Zuiderzee towns, bypassing Cologne? Cologne functioned as an intermediary for trade between *das Niederland*, present-day Netherlands and Belgium, and *das Oberland*, the catchment area of the upper Rhine and its tributaries.<sup>1083</sup> Cologne practiced strict regulations as a staple for fish. It had to be transported to a *Fischkaufhaus* and stored there for three days.<sup>1084</sup> The quality was checked and barrels branded as a sign of quality. Some fish was repacked.<sup>1085</sup> "The staple for fish gave Cologne important political powers over commerce. It was the representative of the Upper Rhine area towards the Netherlands, of the inland area towards the coast..."<sup>1086</sup> "Complaints about problems in the fish trade were sent to Cologne from all sides."<sup>1087</sup>

Even though herring was the main kind of fish transported to Cologne, Kuske claims that "Stockfish was hardly less important than herring" (*Dem Hering stand an Wichtigkeit der Stockfisch kaum nach*).<sup>1088</sup> Kuske takes it as a matter of course that the stockfish sold in Cologne originated in Bergen, in the 15th century also in Iceland.<sup>1089</sup> The quality classification system used by the Bergen Kontor was also used in Cologne.<sup>1090</sup>

From the 1440s and up to the end of the Middle Ages, there is no evidence for stockfish being transported to Cologne from Lübeck.<sup>1091</sup> No Lübeck or other Baltic merchants can be shown to have sold stockfish in Cologne.<sup>1092</sup> Kuske has good reasons for claiming that after 1440, Cologne received its Bergen fish from the Zuiderzee. In 1453, a customs duty was collected on *stockvisch* brought up the Ijssel river.<sup>1093</sup> Transportation from the Zuiderzee towns to Cologne was partly organised by

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1082 NGL 2.rk. II no. 412 = HUB VIII no. 1184.

1083 KUSKE, *Kölner Fischhandel*, pp. 240–241, 260 and 280–281.

1084 *Ibid.*, pp. 286–291.

1085 *Ibid.*, pp. 255–258.

1086 *Ibid.*, p. 260.

1087 *Ibid.*, p. 259.

1088 *Ibid.*, p. 261.

1089 *Ibid.*, pp. 264–267.

1090 *Ibid.*, pp. 269–270.

1091 *Ibid.*, p. 268 mentions an unpublished source from the end of the Middle Ages which gives evidence of Cologne merchants travelling through the Münster region with stockfish. It is unclear whether they brought the fish from Cologne to Münster or from Lübeck through Münster to Köln.

1092 KUSKE, *Kölner Fischhandel*, p. 268.

1093 HUB VIII no. 290.

merchants from Cologne,<sup>1094</sup> partly from the Zuiderzee towns. In 1469, merchants from Deventer complained about duties on stockfish at the *Fischkaufhaus* in Cologne.<sup>1095</sup> Stockfish merchants from the Zuiderzee towns were still visiting Cologne in the 1540s and 1550s.<sup>1096</sup>

From Cologne, some of this stockfish continued on to Frankfurt, but Cologne was also a distribution centre in its own right. Its main market seems to have been in Westphalia, to the northeast of the town. Officials of Herford in Westphalia complained to a Hansa Diet that fish from Shetland and Bergen was being combined and sold together, and the Diet wrote to Cologne, Bremen, Deventer and Kampen about this problem. The Diet evidently thought that Westphalian towns received Bergen fish from the Zuiderzee, via the Weser river or from the staple in Cologne.<sup>1097</sup>

Cologne supplied Frankfurt's distribution centre for southern Germany, but it was also a distribution centre in its own right for the middle reaches of the Rhine in Westphalia.

As mentioned above, the alternative route for Norwegian stockfish to Frankfurt was via Lübeck and then overland. From the second half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century and throughout the rest of the Middle Ages, many kinds of commodities were transported along this route by merchants from Lübeck, Frankfurt and Nürnberg,<sup>1098</sup> including stockfish. It can be shown that stockfish was sold on the way between Lübeck and Frankfurt, in Lüneburg,<sup>1099</sup> Braunschweig,<sup>1100</sup> Hildesheim,<sup>1101</sup> and Kassel.<sup>1102</sup> In 1435, the Lübecker Bergenfahrer Hinrik Goldenbogen<sup>1103</sup> sold stockfish to a citizen of Frankfurt;<sup>1104</sup> the transaction took place in Lübeck. Both in 1488 and about 1490, the Nürnberg merchant Müllich sent stockfish from Lübeck to Frankfurt.<sup>1105</sup> Other merchants from Nürnberg bought *Bergerfisch* and *stockfisch* in Lübeck

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1094 KUSKE, Kölner Fischhandel, pp. 268 and 278; Kuske here mentions three unprinted sources showing that merchants from Cologne bought stockfish in the Zuiderzee towns in the second half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century and at the beginning of the 16<sup>th</sup>.

1095 Ibid., p. 269.

1096 Ibid., pp. 268–269.

1097 HR III, 4, 79 §12, §76, §194, §198 and §228 (1498).

1098 RÖRIG, Einkaufsbüchlein der Nürnberg-Lübecker Mulichs; DOLLINGER, La Hanse, pp. 283–284; English translation, pp. 228–229; German translation, pp. 299–300; HR II, 2, 342 and no. 389 §6; BRUNS, Bergenfahrer, pp. 73, 103 and 219.

1099 HUB XI no. 802; cf. BRUNS, Bergenfahrer, p. 162.

1100 HUB VIII nos. 803 and 804.

1101 BRUNS, Bergenfahrer, p. 87.

1102 DN XVI no. 319.

1103 BRUNS, Bergenfahrer, index.

1104 Ibid., p. 73.

1105 RÖRIG, Einkaufsbüchlein der Nürnberg-Lübecker Mulichs, pp. 293, 298 and 348.

in 1436, 1448 and 1540.<sup>1106</sup> As mentioned above, Frankfurt complained to Lübeck about how stockfish was packaged in 1454 and 1462. The letter of complaint was sent to Lübeck because “in the stockfish trade there is an important staple and trade in your town” (*in solicher vorgerurten keuffmanschafft ein mercklicher steffel und handel in uwere stad sij*),<sup>1107</sup> and that “this commodity in your town is handled, packed and delivered” (*solicher kauffmanschafft so bi uch [in Lübeck] gehandelt, gepacket und geliebert werden*).<sup>1108</sup> In 1446, Frankfurt and four other towns along the Rhine complained to the six Wendish towns about the quality classification of stockfish at the Bergen Kontor.<sup>1109</sup> During the war against Holland in 1440, wagons which transported wine to Lübeck were permitted to load herring and stockfish as return freight.<sup>1110</sup> They probably returned to Frankfurt or another town along the Rhine.

In the period between 1440 and 1540, Frankfurt was the main stockfish distribution centre for southern Germany, as Cologne was for Westphalia and central Germany. Cologne received its fish only from the Zuiderzee. Some of Frankfurt’s fish arrived on Rhine barges via the Zuiderzee and Cologne, and some came overland from Lübeck, but it is not possible to measure the relative importance of the two transportation routes.

Sources on this subject are rarer before 1440, not only for the stockfish trade but for Hansa trade in general. A conclusion based on the absence of evidence that the Rhine area meant little as a market before 1440 is therefore not well-founded. Schreiner<sup>1111</sup> and Kuske<sup>1112</sup> both assumed that the Rhine’s catchment area was an important market for Bergen fish a long time before 1440 without arguing explicitly for this. Are they right?

The earliest evidence that stockfish was transported to the German interior dates from around 1400, when three merchants from Cologne had a consignment of stockfish confiscated in Soltau on the Lüneburg moor.<sup>1113</sup> They were probably travelling from Lübeck to Cologne. In 1418–19, war made transportation on the Rhine between Bruges and Cologne risky.<sup>1114</sup> Johan Kornelisson from Nijmegen, close to the Rhine in today’s Netherlands, had a consignment of stockfish confiscated on the way up the Rhine to Cologne.<sup>1115</sup> We know more about this merchant; he bought

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1106 BRUNS, *Bergenfahrer*, pp. 73, 103 and 219.

1107 HUB VIII no. 310.

1108 NGL 2.rk. II no. 412 = HUB VIII no. 1184.

1109 DN VII no. 431 = NGL 2.rk. I no. 395.

1110 HR II, 2, 342 §5.

1111 SCHREINER, *Hanseatene og Norge*, p. 371.

1112 KUSKE, *Kölner Fischhandel*, pp. 264–269.

1113 HUB V no. 454. The goods is called “fish”, but it is packed in “packages” (*stucke*) and only dried fish was transported in *stucke*.

1114 HUB VI no. 225; *Briefwechsel eines deutschen Kaufmannes*, nos. 195, 199, 200 and 205.

1115 HUB VI no. 225.

stockfish at the Bruges Kontor, and he also traded in Dortmund in Westphalia, but we do not know whether he sold stockfish there.<sup>1116</sup>

Stockfish was for Hildebrand Veckinchusen a minor commodity, but he is important because he is our best documented inland trader. He bought the fish in Bruges and Lübeck and sold it in Cologne and Frankfurt. Normally he lived in Bruges, and in 1409 he bought 15 hundreds stockfish from a skipper in Bruges, and sent it on to his brother in Cologne.<sup>1117</sup> In 1418/1419 he was in Lübeck, probably because war made communications from Bruges on the Rhine difficult.<sup>1118</sup> In October 1418 he bought 1,2 tons of stockfish in Lübeck and sent it to his brother Sivert in Cologne, who sent it further up the Rhine to Frankfurt, Speier and Mainz.<sup>1119</sup> The same year Hildebrand bought another 2,4 tons of stockfish from the Lübecker Bergenfahrer Ludeke van der Heide. He sent it from Lübeck to his companion Johan van Erghesem in Frankfurt and it was sold there.<sup>1120</sup>

It is impossible to generalise on the basis of these scattered sources covering only the years 1400–1420. But later sources also point to the distribution centres in Cologne and Frankfurt and the two main import routes from the Rhine estuary and Lübeck. The difference is that the relevant port on the Rhine estuary before ca. 1420 was Bruges, and after 1440 the Zuiderzee towns, but that comes as no surprise based on what has been said above.<sup>1121</sup>

The intermediary trade in stockfish between seaports and inland market towns seems to have given passable profits. Hildebrand Veckinchusen in 1418 bought 6 stück stockfish for 121 Lübeck marks in Lübeck, and his costs on it when it arrived in Cologne had increased to 164 Lübeck marks, which is an increase of 36%.<sup>1122</sup> His brother Sivert sold it in Cologne for 189 Lübeck marks which should give a profit of 15%.<sup>1123</sup> Another consignment was the same year bought for 252 Lübeck marks in Lübeck and sold for 322 Lübeck marks in Frankfurt, which is an increase of 28%.<sup>1124</sup> In this increase is included both transport costs and profits for the merchant. Hildebrand in both cases made a servant follow the goods to its destination.

Did the German interior become important as a market for Bergen stockfish in the 15<sup>th</sup> century when the English market was lost, or had it been important since the

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1116 Ibid. no. 560.

1117 *Die Handelsbücher des Hildebrand Veckinchusen*, pp. 15, 268 and 350

1118 *Briefwechsel eines deutschen Kaufmannes*, nos. 208–230.

1119 *Die Handelsbücher des Hildebrand Veckinchusen*, pp. 497–498 and 525; *Briefwechsel eines deutschen Kaufmannes*, no. 195, cf. nos. 198–205 and 213.

1120 *Die Handelsbücher des Hildebrand Veckinchusen*, p. 527.

1121 Cf. chapters II.5a and II.5c.

1122 187 Rheinisch guilders; *Die Handelsbücher des Hildebrand Veckinchusen*, p. 525; 14 Lübeck sh. per guilder, JESSE, p. 216.

1123 *Briefwechsel eines deutschen Kaufmannes*, no. 213.

1124 368 Rheinisch guilders; *Die Handelsbücher des Hildebrand Veckinchusen*, p. 527

High Middle Ages? The relevant evidence comes partly from information about stockfish transported to the German interior, but such sources do not exist for the period before 1400. Inferences can also be drawn from information about imports to ports which are known to have provided the German interior with stockfish later on.

The first Germans who visited Bergen in the second half of the 12<sup>th</sup> century were probably from Cologne.<sup>1125</sup> They may have initiated a tradition whereby their home town became a centre for the distribution of stockfish. The fish was probably transported up the Ijssel and Rhine rivers. Around the year 1200, merchants from Westphalia, northeast of Cologne, became numerous in Bergen, and they probably utilised this same trade route as well as the market in Cologne. In the second half of the 13<sup>th</sup> century, the Wendish Hansa towns expanded their presence in Bergen, and they sent their stockfish to the German interior both via Bruges and via Lübeck. At the same time, merchants from the Zuiderzee towns took over most of the exportation business up the Ijssel river.<sup>1126</sup> The situation during the period 1400–1440, with Bruges, the Zuiderzee towns and Lübeck serving as harbours for imports and Cologne and Frankfurt as market centres, may stretch back to the end of the 13<sup>th</sup> century. After about 1440 Bruges' trade declined, but the Zuiderzee towns, Amsterdam and some Zeeland towns grew in importance in the Bergen trade. After about 1480, even Bremen and Hamburg expanded.

To sum up, the best supported hypothesis is that the western German interior was an important market from the second part of the 12<sup>th</sup> century until the end of the Middle Ages. Up to about 1440, the German interior and England were the two most important markets, but after that the western German interior became the undisputed superpower for importing and distributing stockfish.

## 6. CONCLUSION: TRADE ROUTES AND MERCHANT GROUPS, 1350–1537

The point of departure for this analysis of trade routes, merchant groups and quantities of goods shipped in the Late Middle Ages was Schreiner's theory that Lübeck was a staple for the export of fish from Bergen to western Europe, and Bugge's and Lunden's theory that Lübeck was a staple for stockfish exports to the western European continent. Not until about 1440 were trade routes established going directly to the Zuiderzee towns, Amsterdam and Bremen.

In the High Middle Ages, most of the stockfish was shipped directly to North Sea ports; eastern England was the largest single market. In the Late Middle Ages,

1125 Cf. above pp. 33–34.

1126 Cf. chapter I.4a and b.

the English customs accounts for the period 1365–1400 indicate that there were stockfish exports to Boston and Lynn of about 450 tons annually, which is double the amount shipped to Lübeck during the same period. Lübeck was not a staple for stockfish exports to the whole of western Europe, as was claimed by Schreiner, and a significant level of exports of this commodity to England continued during the 14<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>1127</sup>

A hypothesis with more limited scope is that all fish going to the western European continent was distributed from Bergen via Lübeck.<sup>1128</sup> But there were direct connections by sea from Bergen to Flanders, the Zuiderzee towns and Bremen in the years 1350–1400; during the 15<sup>th</sup> century, Middelburg, Amsterdam and Hamburg can be added, while Bruges's contacts with Bergen ended. Quantifying the amount of goods traded in each port is not feasible. A minimum interpretation of the traffic before about 1430 could be that it involved a couple of ships sailing to Bruges and Bremen annually, and somewhat more to the Zuiderzee.<sup>1129</sup> Even if we take into consideration the fact that ships destined for western Europe carried larger cargoes of exports than those going to Lübeck,<sup>1130</sup> it is possible to defend the hypothesis that Lübeck imported more fish from Bergen than all the continental North Sea ports put together. This does not mean that Lübeck held a monopoly or even a near monopoly on importing Bergen fish to the western European continent, but it would have made Lübeck the most important single port in this trade.

The preceding analysis makes it possible to advance an alternative theory about trade routes and merchant groups for this period. I shall start with an analysis of the years before about 1430.

In the second half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, Bergen had direct shipping routes to eastern England, Bruges, the Zuiderzee towns and Bremen on the North sea, and to Lübeck, Wismar, Rostock, Stralsund and Danzig on the Baltic; merchants from the Wendish towns controlled most of this trade. Hansa stockfish imports into Boston were roughly estimated to be 5–6 times greater than the English fleet's imports into Lynn. Lübeck and the other Wendish towns were dominant among the Hansa Bergenfahrer in Boston, and Lübeck alone may have controlled well above half of the Hansa trade there.<sup>1131</sup> In Bruges, merchants from the Lübeck-Saxon *derdendeel* traded with Norway, and the Wendish towns formed the core of this group.<sup>1132</sup> The Wendish towns also traded with the Zuiderzee towns, but the local merchants from

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1127 LUNDEN, *Hanseatane og norsk økonomi*, p. 119.

1128 *Ibid.*, p. 118.

1129 The ships from the Zuiderzee are called a "fleet", and that implies more than two, cf. pp. 198 and 203–204.

1130 Appendix VII table 4 ; Cf. pp. 246–247.

1131 Cf. table II.25.

1132 Cf. pp. 192–193.

Kampen and Deventer seem to have dominated this.<sup>1133</sup> Bergen's trade with Bremen seems to have been limited, and this is the only port where the Wendish towns cannot be seen to have had commercial interests.

In the Baltic, Lübeck merchants controlled nearly all trade from their home town to Bergen, and they probably dominated trade from Wismar. They were active in shipping from Rostock even though the Rostockers themselves held a strong position there. There is no evidence that anyone other than Stralsunders sailed between Stralsund and Bergen in the 14<sup>th</sup> century, but this trade is poorly documented and was probably of less importance. The Wendish towns seem to have operated most of the shipping between Danzig and Bergen.

As mentioned above, local merchants from local ports were active alongside Wendish merchants in Lynn, Flemish ports, Zuiderzee ports, Bremen and Danzig. In eastern England, where it is possible to quantify shipped goods, it turns out that the English merchants played a subordinate role to the Wendish merchants. This was probably the case for the other local merchant groups. The traditional view that trade with Bergen during the period 1350–1430 was dominated by Lübeck and to some degree by the other Wendish towns has been confirmed in the present chapter. My analysis has led to the conclusion that this trade did not take the form of a shuttle service between Lübeck and Bergen. The Wendish towns at this time had contacts in all major ports along the North Sea and the Baltic, and they incorporated Bergen into their international trading network.

From about 1430, the Wendish towns were gradually marginalised in the northern European long-distance trade between the east and west. Local merchants in several towns along the North Sea and Baltic acquired a stronger role in these long-distance exchanges, and at the same time they became more established as middlemen operating between local producers and export merchants. This made Hanseatic settlements in Kontors and “factories” less useful; long-distance traders like those from Holland could now buy products from local middlemen more easily. The Wendish towns had been the core of the Hansa organisation, but now this core had weakened.

In Bergen, no such local merchant class developed in the 15<sup>th</sup> century; it happened there 100–200 years later. In the meantime, winter residents from the Wendish towns continued to dominate at Bryggen. But the changes mentioned above nevertheless had important repercussions. The Bergenfahrer in Boston, dominated by Lübeckers, lost ground to English stockfish merchants who started importing their stockfish from Iceland.<sup>1134</sup> After about 1440, the Wendish towns ceased sailing between Bergen and Flanders, but they continued with limited trade

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1133 Cf. pp. 205–207.

1134 Cf. p. 173.

to Brabant and Zeeland in the south of the Netherlands.<sup>1135</sup> They are mentioned as being there for the last time in 1487/8, at the same time that the Bergenfahrer disappeared from Boston. In 1522, the Wendish towns of Rostock and Wismar declared that they had no or few interests in England, Bruges and Antwerp.<sup>1136</sup> But starting in the 1440s at the latest, merchants from the Zuiderzee dominated the increasingly important trade from their own home towns to Bergen. From the 1430s, Holland merchants started to import fish from Bergen into Amsterdam. At the end of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, the Wendish towns exported grain from Danzig to Bergen, but this trade suffered badly during the war of 1454–1466 and ceased around 1490.<sup>1137</sup> Bergen's trade to these destinations shows a common pattern. The Wendish towns had a leading, probably dominant, role in the 14<sup>th</sup> century, but their trade declined from about 1430–1450 and ceased around 1480–1490. Later the Bergenfahrer from Wendish towns limited themselves to trading between Bergen and their home towns.

Lübeck's efforts to promote the trade routes between Bergen and the Frankfurt market after about 1440 must be seen against this background. As the Wendish winter residents withdrew from direct shipping to North Sea ports, they had to distribute Bergen fish to continental western Europe in a different way. The most common alternative seems to have been to sell it to North Sea merchants from the Zuiderzee and Holland in Bergen. Another was for the winter residents to enter into an agreement by correspondence with a merchant resident in Deventer who would sell the stockfish there. A third alternative was to ship the stockfish to Lübeck, and then have it transported overland to Frankfurt.<sup>1138</sup> The political authorities in Lübeck wanted this last alternative because it would provide Lübeck exporters with return freight on their way back from Bergen and would have beneficial, long-lasting effects on economic life in Lübeck. Lübeck's town council and Bergenfahrer guild, as well as the Bergen Kontor, all advocated this option. But it seems that many individual winter residents from Lübeck preferred the first alternative of selling their stockfish to other merchants in Bergen.

The consequences of this change can be specified and made more concrete. Ships owned by skippers and merchants from Wendish towns were replaced by those owned by citizens of other towns, as shown above. At the same time, commerce was being carried out in a different manner. Hansa merchants had used written correspondence in their business dealings since the end of the 13<sup>th</sup> century,<sup>1139</sup> but after about 1440 its use was extended. Before that time, the winter residents had often travelled in person to several overseas ports to arrange purchases and sales.

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1135 Cf. chapter II.5b; HR II, 7, 391 §10 = NGL 2.rk. II, p. 746 §10.

1136 HR III, 8, 33 §5 and note 1.

1137 Cf. chapter II.3f.

1138 Cf. chapter II.5h.

1139 Cf. pp. 277–278.

After that, they ordered grain products and other goods in Baltic towns by letter to a greater extent, and sent stockfish and other goods to merchant colleagues in Deventer and other towns with written instructions as to how it should be sold. The winter residents became even more settled than they had been before.<sup>1140</sup>

This marginalisation of the Wendish towns was part of a wider northern European development. England in the 14<sup>th</sup> century had received most of its Baltic imports through Wendish merchants. They sailed to eastern English ports and to London, some via Hamburg, some through the Skagerrak.<sup>1141</sup> From the end of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, English merchants started to sail to the Baltic themselves, first and foremost to Danzig.<sup>1142</sup> Later in the 15<sup>th</sup> century, English merchants withdrew from the Baltic; instead they increasingly bought Baltic goods from Holland merchants in the Netherlands. At the same time, merchants from Danzig started trading actively with England.<sup>1143</sup> The Wendish towns lost their dominance in the exchanges of goods between the Baltic and England.<sup>1144</sup>

In the 14<sup>th</sup> century, exchanges of goods between the Netherlands and the Baltic took place at the largest markets, which were in Bruges and Scania. At both locations, Lübeck and the other Wendish towns played the central role.<sup>1145</sup> Bruges and Scania both declined as markets for these goods in the 15<sup>th</sup> century. In the first decades of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, merchants from towns in Holland started expanding into several Baltic towns. Wendish merchants lost their dominant position in exchanges between the Baltic and the Low Countries.<sup>1146</sup>

In the easternmost part of the Baltic, Lübeck and other Hansa merchants had bought furs from Russian producers in Novgorod in the High Middle Ages. In the second half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, a new trade route was opened from production areas in the Russian interior to Riga, Reval (Tallinn) and other towns along the Baltic coast. Here local merchants of German origin acted as intermediaries, selling the furs to long-distance traders from Lübeck. The next step was that in the 15<sup>th</sup> century, Holland took over an increasing part of the shipping between these Baltic

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1140 Chapter V.3a.

1141 CARUS-WILSON, *Hanse und England*, pp. 91–98; DOLLINGER, *La Hanse*, pp. 56–57; English translation, p. 39; German translation, p. 60.

1142 CARUS-WILSON, *Hanse und England*, p. 102; POSTAN, *England and the Hanse*, pp. 106ff.

1143 POSTAN, *England and the Hanse*, pp. 143–144; VOGEL, *Deutsche Seeschifffahrt*, pp. 285–288.

1144 STARK, *Lübeck und Danzig*, p. 194.

1145 HÄPKE, *Brügge 1908*, pp. 101ff. and 112–117; HOUTTE, *Economic History of the Low Countries*, pp. 98–100; On Scania chapter I.2b.

1146 VOGEL, *Deutsche Seeschifffahrt*, pp. 186 and 328–331; DOLLINGER, *La Hanse*, pp. 367–368; English translation, p. 299; German translation, p. 385; HOUTTE, *Economic History of the Low Countries*, pp. 103 and 184.

towns and Dutch ports, side-lining the Lübeckers altogether.<sup>1147</sup> Wendish merchants became marginalised in the long-distance trade between the eastern Baltic and the North Sea.

Schreiner claimed that the basic change in the Bergen trade during the century before the Reformation was that stockfish exports were gradually transferred from Lübeck to North Sea ports. Schreiner takes normative sources written by Lübeck authorities at their face value, but these officials wanted to present Lübeck's direct exchanges with Bergen as traditional, and the restoration of these traditions as a key to future prosperity. An alternative hypothesis is better supported by the descriptive sources. What happened was not a change in trade routes but in merchants: Wendish traders were replaced by those from western European towns in the export business from Bergen to western Europe.

Accepting the latter hypothesis has important consequences for our attempts to quantify Bergen's foreign trade in the Late Middle Ages. It means that it is no longer possible to measure the amount of trade through the Lübeck *Pfundzoll* accounts alone, since other ports along the North Sea and the Baltic must also be taken into consideration.

## 7. CONCLUSION: QUANTIFYING THE GOODS EXCHANGED 1350–1537

Stockfish was the main export from Bergen to all relevant ports, and Bergen's imports were dominated by cloth from North Sea ports and grain products from Baltic ports.<sup>1148</sup> The first extant customs accounts for Bergen date from 1518–1522. Before that, parallel customs accounts exist for Lübeck and eastern England for the period 1365–1400.

In the years 1365–1400, Boston received on average about 12 Hansa ships annually from Bergen, and together they carried an average of around 378 tons of stockfish.<sup>1149</sup> Lynn received about 4 English ships annually carrying in the region of 68 tons of stockfish.<sup>1150</sup> This adds up to around 446 tons of fish annually imported into eastern England.<sup>1151</sup> Lübeck received on average around 244 tons annually car-

1147 VOGEL, *Deutsche Seeschiffahrt*, pp. 222ff. and 332ff.; DOLLINGER, *La Hanse*, pp. 289–290 and 361–363; English translation, pp. 233–234 and 293–295; German translation, pp. 306–307 and 378–380; GOETZ, *Deutsch-russische Handelsgeschichte*, p. 223.

1148 Lübeck: table II.4 and 5; Wismar: table II.11; Rostock: table II.14; Boston: table II.22; Zuiderzee: table II.28 and 29; Holland: table II.30 and 31; Bremen: table II.32 and 33; Hamburg: table II.34 and 35; cf. the sections for each port in this chapter.

1149 Cf. chapter II.4b.

1150 Cf. chapter II.4d.

1151 Cf. chapter II.4f.

ried on 23 ships. Thus we can calculate that an annual average of about 690 tons of stockfish was exported from Bergen to these three ports.

The lack of sources makes it impossible to quantify exports to other ports, and any such discussion will be little more than guesswork. The question is nevertheless so important for our subject that discussing it can be justified. Section 6 in this chapter shows that other ports must have received significant quantities of fish from Bergen. Is it possible to estimate a minimum figure? If Bruges and the Zuiderzee received two shiploads each, and one shipload was dispatched to each of the ports of Bremen, Wismar, Rostock, Stralsund and Danzig, that gives us 9 shiploads. The average shipload sent to Boston contained 32 tons of stockfish,<sup>1152</sup> so 9 shiploads of that size comes to 288 tons. The total amount of stockfish exported from Bergen during this period will then be about 1000 tons.

But exports from Bergen must have been greater than that. In section 5h, it was argued that the Rhine area must have been an important market for Bergen fish even in the 14<sup>th</sup> century, and that the imports primarily were shipped via Bruges and Deventer. If Bruges and Deventer each were as important as Boston, then they received about 756 tons (378 x 2) of stockfish. Added to the figures from eastern England (446 tons) and Lübeck (244 tons), the total for all these ports is 1446 tons. Exports to Bremen and the Baltic ports east of Lübeck seem to have been of little importance. The figures apart from those for England and Lübeck are “guesstimates”, but in my view we are justified in rounding up the source-based calculations for England and Lübeck to 1000–1500 tons.

The amount of exports at the end of the Late Middle Ages have to be calculated on the basis of the customs accounts from Bergen for 1518–1522.<sup>1153</sup> The years 1520 and 1521 were closer to being normal years in trade and shipping between Bergen and North Sea towns than those immediately before and after.<sup>1154</sup> In these two years, 19 and 20 ships respectively are registered as arriving in Bergen from western Hansa towns, and 7 and 5 from Holland/Friesland.<sup>1155</sup> How much stockfish did these 26–25 North Sea ships carry?

The Hanseatic ships which imported stockfish to Boston in the years 1365–1400 carried on average 32 tons per ship.<sup>1156</sup> In the customs accounts for 1577/8, 39 western Hansa ships exported on average 34 tons per ship from Bergen,<sup>1157</sup> although the quantities per ship are under-reported, so this is a minimum.<sup>1158</sup> The years 1520–1521 fall chronologically between the two other periods, and I have assumed that the western Hansa ships exported on average about 34 tons each during those years.

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1152 378 tons on 12 ships, see above.

1153 Table II.1.

1154 Cf. chapter II.2.

1155 Table II.1.

1156 Cf. above on this page.

1157 Table III.8; 1827 *våger* à 18,5 kilos per ship.

1158 Cf. pp. 259–263.

There is no reason to believe that Holland merchants used smaller ships than the western Hansa towns did.<sup>1159</sup> Thus in 1518–21, the 25–26 North Sea ships may have exported about 867 tons of stockfish (34 x 25.5).

The ships from Bergen to the Baltic were rarely fully laden, and the number of ships chartered was determined by the needs of the grain importers, so it is not possible to quantify stockfish exports by counting the ships. But there is an alternative method for doing this. In 1577/8, 71% of the exported stockfish was shipped directly to western Europe, the rest to the Baltic.<sup>1160</sup> Using this percentage for 1520–21 yields total exports of stockfish from Bergen of 1221 tons.<sup>1161</sup> This is a minimum figure, since ships carrying goods to Copenhagen for the commander of Bergenhus castle did not pay customs even if they continued on afterwards to a Baltic Hansa port. In 1520, at least three ships fall into this category.<sup>1162</sup> The total amount of stockfish exports for 1520–21 may have been close to 1500 tons. If we compare this to the tonnage calculated on the basis of the figures from 1365–1400, this suggests a stagnation in the trade during the Late Medieval period, and supports the calculation of 1000–1500 tons.

There can be little doubt that the stockfish trade declined significantly after the Black Death. In the first decade of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, approximately 30 Hansa ships carrying stockfish visited Boston annually, but in 1366–1400 this had declined to 12. Annual exports to eastern England may have been about 1500–2000 tons in 1303–11, compared to about 450 tons in 1366–1400. Total exports from Bergen are only educated guesses, but our discussion suggests a decline from 3000–4000 tons to half that or even less. This comes as no surprise, since the 14<sup>th</sup> century was a period of commercial decline all over western Europe because of the Black Death and its consequences.

The German community at Bryggen prospered despite a declining volume of trade. This was due to favourable pricing, which will be discussed in chapter VI.1. The built-up area expanded in Bergen in the Late Middle Ages. The main reason for this seems to have been that around 1000 Germans settled there permanently as winter residents, and they needed living quarters. They bought the houses of the Norwegian inhabitants in the Bryggen quarter of town, and the Norwegians founded a new quarter called Stranden.<sup>1163</sup> It also seems that the householders wanted more space; perhaps the new German inhabitants set new and higher standards.<sup>1164</sup> This development should not be interpreted as a consequence of commercial expansion but rather of increasing profits.

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1159 Appendix VII; NEDKVITNE, *Ship Types*, pp. 30–31.

1160 Table III.8.

1161 (867 tons : 71) x 100 = 1221 tons.

1162 Cf. p. 108 (exemptions) and pp. 259–263 (underregistration in 1577/8).

1163 Cf. p. 339.

1164 HELLE, *Bergen*, p. 721.

During the High Middle Ages, the stockfish trade from Bergen was of significant value compared to the state's incomes, and this situation continued after the Black Death.<sup>1165</sup> In the accounting year 1520/21, the commander of Bergenhus castle received an income of 10,500 Danish marks.<sup>1166</sup> That year he collected additional taxes, so his income was higher than normal.<sup>1167</sup> According to his own accounts, one *våg* of stockfish cost 1.5 marks in Bergen,<sup>1168</sup> which put his total income at a value of 7000 *våger*, or 130 tons of stockfish. This probably corresponded to less than 10 % of the total value of exports from Bergen at this time. The commercial sector was important compared to the finances which the state had at its disposal in western and northern Norway.

There are figures from the other three Kontors in London, Bruges and Novgorod which make it possible to compare the values of exports and imports in Bergen. These values have to be converted into their equivalent in silver. In the period 1441–1500, the value of 100 kg of stockfish corresponded to about 158 g of silver,<sup>1169</sup> which gives 1500 tons of stockfish the value of 2.4 tons of silver. To arrive at the total value of Bergen's foreign trade, imports have to be added, which means that the two figures perhaps need to be doubled.

Hildebrand Veckinchusen was an alderman for the Lübeck-Saxon group (*derdendeel*) at the Bruges Kontor, and his account books indicate that the goods for which sales and purchase tax (*schot*) was paid were worth about 28 tons of silver in the accounting year 1419.<sup>1170</sup> In the accounting year 1417/18, goods exported and imported by sea were calculated by Stein to be worth 38 tons of silver.<sup>1171</sup> Overland trade to towns along the Rhine have to be added to this. The Bruges Kontor's commerce was significantly more valuable than that of the Bergen Kontor.

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1165 Cf. chapter I.5.

1166 UTNE, Høvedsmannsinstusjonen, pp. 275–76 and 165. The region administered from Bergenhus consisted of the smaller “castle fief” (*slottslen*) where practically all taxes and dues belonged to the castle. 1520/1 it consisted of Lista, today's Rogaland *fylke*, Sunnhordland, Nordhordland, Sogn, and the whole area from Namdalen to Troms, Andenes and Trondenes parishes excluded. From the remaining parts of Western and northern Norway only a part of the permanent taxes, but all extra taxes, belonged to the castle.

1167 NRJ I, pp. 560, 584 etc.

1168 Appendix VIII table 12 note 2.

1169 Table VI.2.

1170 From the Lübeck/Saxon “third” was in 1419 paid *Schot* for goods worth ca. 50.000 pound grot, for the whole Bruges Kontor Stein estimated the annual turnover at 118.000 pound grot (STEIN, *Handel der Hanse in Flandern und den Niederlanden*, p. 227). In 1419 the value of one *grot* was 0,945g silver, 118.000 pound would then correspond to 28 tons of silver (JESSE, *Wendischer Münzverein*, p. 221).

1171 The accounting year went from September to September. This year *Pfundzoll* was paid from goods worth 153.600 pound grot. This was only goods shipped by sea (STEIN, *Handel der Hanse in Flandern und den Niederlanden*, p. 230). One grot contained in 1417 1,023g silver, 153.600 pound then corresponded to 38 tons of silver (JESSE, *Wendischer Münzverein*, p. 221).

When the Russians closed the Novgorod Kontor in 1494, they confiscated goods worth 96,000 Lübeck marks,<sup>1172</sup> corresponding to 2 tons of silver.<sup>1173</sup> Their total commerce in the summer and winter seasons must have been worth significantly more than this. At the time, the Hansa's trade in Novgorod had been in decline for half a century,<sup>1174</sup> and German merchants may have stayed away in 1494 because of the political situation.

According to the English customs accounts for the accounting year 1438/9, Hansa merchants in London exported and imported goods worth 17,227 pounds,<sup>1175</sup> corresponding to 3.7 tons of silver.<sup>1176</sup> This figure has to be halved if it is to be compared to those for Bergen, which is for exports only. English customs accounts used estimated values which were lower than market values because they corresponded to the purchase price, which for imported goods would be the cost in the overseas port.<sup>1177</sup> The Hansa merchants' commerce in London for 1438/9 seems to have been at approximately the same level as that in Bergen.

In 1368, Lübeck imported and exported by sea goods worth 548,000 Lübeck marks,<sup>1178</sup> corresponding to 34 tons of silver based on the *Pfundzoll* accounts.<sup>1179</sup> This is a minimum figure, since goods for which the *Pfundzoll* had already been paid in another port were not registered.<sup>1180</sup>

In the years 1379–1384, Reval's seaborne commerce was worth 150,000–300,000 Lübeck marks annually (9–18 tons of silver),<sup>1181</sup> based on the *Pfundzoll*. Reval had approximately the same number of inhabitants as Bergen, and the German merchant class in Reval and the number of German winter residents in Bergen was about the same, around 1000 persons. Nevertheless, Reval's foreign trade was significantly larger than Bergen's.

These figures indicate that the foreign trade of the Bruges Kontor and the port of Lübeck was far above Bergen's level; Reval's foreign trade was also significantly higher. But the Bergen Kontor's commerce was on the same level as that of the London Kontor in 1438/9. Comparisons with the incomes of the Norwegian state and commerce in other Hansa Kontors and Hansa towns confirm that Bergen's trade in the Late Medieval period was significant.

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1172 GOETZ, *Deutsch-Russische Handelsgeschichte*, p. 184.

1173 JESSE, *Wendischer Münzverein*, p. 211.

1174 ANGERMANN, *Die Hanse und Russland*, p. 276.

1175 BOLTON, *Alien Merchants in England*, p. 134. The figure includes both London and Southampton, but Hansa trade to the latter port was insignificant.

1176 WIEBE, *Preisrevolution*, p. 69.

1177 Appendix VIII, the section on the customs prices.

1178 LECHNER, *Pfundzollisten*, p. 48.

1179 JESSE, *Wendischer Münzverein*, p. 211.

1180 Appendix III, introduction.

1181 DOLLINGER, *La Hanse*, p. 267; English translation, p. 214; German translation, p. 281.

## CHAPTER III

# THE BERGEN TRADE AND THE COMMERCIAL REVOLUTION OF THE 16<sup>th</sup> CENTURY

The breakthrough of Norwegian stockfish into the European market ca. 1100–1320 was part of the commercial revolution of the High Middle Ages. The subject of this chapter is the next commercial revolution, which occurred in the 16<sup>th</sup> century. The Dutch and later the English became the leading merchants involved in North European long-distance trade. Timber became the second major export item for Norway. Johan Schreiner thought that although Bergen's foreign trade increased in absolute terms during the 16<sup>th</sup> century, compared to the general growth in trade and shipping between the Baltic and the North Sea, it "declined significantly".<sup>1</sup> Lunden disagreed; he believed that Bergen's foreign trade did not experience its greatest period of growth until the 16<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>2</sup>

## 1. QUANTIFYING THE GOODS

### A. IMPORTS

It is only possible to quantify imports of grain products into Bergen for this period, but the sources do not permit us to distinguish between malt, beer and flour. For this reason, I have calculated the imports of grain products in lasts, without differentiating between the various types of commodities.

Two kinds of customs duties were collected on foreign trade in Bergen in the second half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century. The "ship toll" was a fixed duty paid by each vessel which unloaded or loaded goods in Bergen. The duty on ships which took on timber varied with the size of the cargo.<sup>3</sup> Table III.1 gives the number of ships which paid the "ship toll", but does not include those exporting timber, since this is not central to our purposes.

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1 SCHREINER, *Hanseatene og Norge*, p. 341. His exact words are "voldsom tilbakegang".

2 LUNDEN, *Fisket og norsk økonomi*, pp. 145–147 and 148; LUNDEN, *Om norskproduserte varer*, pp. 60f.

3 *Norske lensrekneskapsbøker 1548–1567* IV, p. 67. Hansa towns paid one "ship pound". (*Schiffspfund*, *skippund*) of flour or malt, the Dutch gave the same or its value in coins, the Scots offered ½ last of salt, while the English paid a sum of money (DN VI no. 773; cf. table II.1 footnotes 1 and 2).

Table III.1. Foreign ships which paid the “ship toll” in Bergen, 1567–1599

<b>Skipper's home town</b>	<b>1567</b>	<b>1577</b>	<b>1597–1599 (average)</b>
Lübeck	20	13	35
Rostock	12	19	34
Wismar	8	4	11
Stralsund	3	5	23
Treptow	1	1	0
Kolberg	0	1	1
other Baltic towns	0	0	6
<b>all Baltic Hansa towns</b>	<b>44</b>	<b>43</b>	<b>110</b>
Bremen	10	21	51
Hamburg	11	0	20
Kampen	8	0	0
Deventer	4	15	5
Molkwerum <sup>(1)</sup>	1	6	15
Stavoren	13	2	2
<b>North Sea Hansa towns</b>	<b>47</b>	<b>44</b>	<b>93</b>
<b>all Hansa towns</b>	<b>91</b>	<b>87</b>	<b>203</b>
Holland/Friesland	16	1	9 <sup>(2)</sup>
England	2	5	1
Scotland	10	2	8
France	0	2	1
<b>all foreign ships</b>	<b>119</b>	<b>97</b>	<b>222</b>

Sources: *Norske lensrekneskapsbøker 1548–1567*, pp. 6–12 (for the years 1566–67); Riksarkivet, Oslo, RK, Bergenhus Len, eske 11, Bergenhus slottsregnskap 1577–1578; Riksarkivet, Oslo, RK, Bergenhus Lensregnskap, eske 15, 1597–1598; *ibid.* eske 25, 1598–1599; *ibid.* eske 31, 1599–1600.

(1) Molkwerum is a village close to the Hansa town of Stavoren; both are situated on the shores of the Zuiderzee. Inhabitants of villages often traded or sailed under Hansa privileges if a neighbouring Hansa town agreed to this arrangement. Both Molkwerum and Stavoren had many skippers in Bergen, but few if any merchants. It appears from the table that Stavoren had many skippers when Molkwerum had few, and vice versa.

(2) Citizens of Bergen owned shares in or chartered several ships whose skippers were from Holland.

The customs accounts from the Øresund (*Sundtoll*) can supplement and help corroborate the reliability of the customs accounts from Bergen. Most annual volumes of accounts from 1536 onwards have been preserved.<sup>4</sup> The *Sundtoll* accounts should in theory register all shipping which passed through the Øresund,<sup>5</sup> but it was possible for ships sailing to and from Norway to avoid registration. Ships from the Wendish towns had special permission from Danish authorities to sail through the Storebelt between Sjælland and Fyn, where no customs were collected. The *Sundtoll* consisted of four components. The Wendish towns were exempted from paying the two most important ones – the “ship toll” (*skibstoll*) and “cargo money” (*lastepenge*)

<sup>4</sup> BANG, *Tabeller I*, p. III.

<sup>5</sup> Appendix VII introduction.

– even when passing through the Øresund. The other two components<sup>6</sup> of the tax were set at such a low rate that it was no great sacrifice for the Danish state treasury to abstain from collecting them in the Storebelt.<sup>7</sup> It is possible that for this same reason the customs officials may have neglected to enter the Wendish ships on the register even in the Øresund. The *Sundtoll* therefore provides an incomplete picture of Wendish shipping between Bergen and the Baltic, but shipping from other towns should have been fully registered. Despite these deficiencies, the *Sundtoll* accounts make it possible for us to check the reliability of the Bergen customs accounts.

In calendar year 1577, 57 ships were registered as paying the *Sundtoll* on their way to Bergen, but only 33 of them (58%) were subsequently listed in the Bergen customs accounts. The heading of that year's accounts stated that record-keeping started on May 1<sup>st</sup>, but the first ship was not registered until May 24<sup>th</sup>. A comparison of the two accounts shows that no ship took less than 11 days to sail from the Øresund to Bergen. Twenty-two of the ships which were registered in Øresund on their way to Bergen but not in Bergen passed through the Øresund on May 21<sup>st</sup> 1577 or earlier. This indicates that the Bergen customs records actually began on May 24<sup>th</sup>, in spite of what was written in the heading. As many as 20 ships may have arrived in Bergen before the start of registration.<sup>8</sup>

Keeping this source of error in mind, it is possible to estimate how many ships sailed from the Baltic to Bergen in 1577. As mentioned above, 57 ships were registered as paying the *Sundtoll* on their way to Bergen in 1577, and the first of these ships passed through the Øresund on March 26<sup>th</sup>. The Bergen customs accounts list an additional 11 Baltic skippers who must also have sailed from the Baltic that year, and who may have passed through the Storebelt. Yet another five Baltic skippers were registered in the *Sundtoll* accounts on their way from Bergen to a Baltic port between 11/06/1577 and 10/03/1578 without being registered either in Bergen or as passing through the Øresund on their way to Bergen. It is likely that all five had sailed from the Baltic to Bergen in the calendar year 1577. This means that we have good evidence to show that probably 73 ships (57 + 11 + 5) sailed from the Baltic to Bergen in the calendar year 1577. Eight of these had North Sea home ports, and 65 had Baltic home ports.<sup>9</sup>

The ships' cargoes are given in lasts in both accounts, but the two figures are rarely identical. However, there was no systematic under-registration. The averages for the 32 ships which are registered in both accounts are 38 lasts in the Øresund *Sundtoll* accounts and 37 in the Bergen customs accounts.<sup>10</sup>

6 "Lighthouse money" (*fyrpenge*) and "barrel money" (*tonnepenge*).

7 SCHREINER, *Hanseatene og Norge*, pp. 331–333; cf. appendix VII introduction.

8 Appendix VII table 3.

9 The sources register the home town of the skipper, which is in practice the only way to determine the home town of the ship.

10 Appendix VII table 3.

In the Bergen customs book for 1577, there are 2037 lasts of grain products in the register, but that does not account for all the grain which arrived in Bergen that year. There were 24 ships registered in the *Sundtoll* in 1577 on their way to Bergen which were not registered in Bergen, and they were carrying cargoes of 1001 lasts of grain products.<sup>11</sup> What is missing are figures for the cargo on the five Baltic ships which were only registered in the Øresund on their way *from* Bergen, but not *to* Bergen.<sup>12</sup> It must be assumed that they were transporting grain products when they had sailed *to* Bergen. Each ship may have carried 41 lasts,<sup>13</sup> which makes 205 lasts. The total grain imports into Bergen between 01/05/1577 and 30/04/1578 adds up to 3243 lasts (2037 + 1001 + 205). It is problematic to work out exactly which ships found in the *Sundtoll* accounts arrived in Bergen in the accounting year between those dates, so this figure is an estimate. We can nevertheless draw the conclusion that the importation of grain products into Bergen in the one accounting year 1577/8 was a little over 3000 lasts. This is about 50 % more than the 2037 lasts which were registered in the Bergen customs accounts.

Another source which can help corroborate Bergen's 1577 accounts are the *Pfahlbücher* from Stralsund. These are registers of all ships which exported goods from Stralsund to foreign ports. Ten ships are listed as leaving for Bergen during 1577, and all ten also appear in the *Sundtoll* accounts; the last six ships to leave Stralsund are also found in the Bergen accounts. The reason that the four first ships were not registered<sup>14</sup> is probably that they arrived in Bergen before at the beginning of June, when the accounts were being kept reliably. The four ships passed through the Øresund between 29/4 and 20/5. Table III.2 lists the 6 ships which can be followed from Stralsund via the Øresund to Bergen.

Table III.2. Ships sailing from Stralsund to Bergen in 1577, as registered in Stralsund's *Pfahlbuch*, the *Sundtoll* accounts, and the Bergen customs accounts, with quantities of goods given in lasts

Skipper + goods	Stralsund	Øresund	Bergen
<b>Martin Krisow</b>		(20/5)	(14/6)
flour	31.5		30
malt	6		10
beer	10		10
	total	<b>47.5</b>	<b>48</b>
<b>Jochum Bors</b>			
flour	23		
malt			

11 Appendix VII table 3.

12 The number five is found by comparing appendix VII tables 3 and 4.

13 According to the customs register from Bergen for 1577/8, 1728 lasts of grain products were imported on 42 ships whose skippers were from the Baltic, and this works out as 41 lasts per ship.

14 Skippers: Hans Schinilbonn, Wiicke Annis, Peter Hansen and Herre Hollikens.

<b>Skipper + goods</b>	<b>Stralsund</b>	<b>Øresund</b>	<b>Bergen</b>
beer	4.5		
total	<b>27.5</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>33</b>
<b>Klaus Krommike</b>		(15/6)	(8/7)
flour	13		15
malt	9		15
beer	0		10
total	<b>22</b>	<b>48</b>	<b>40</b>
<b>Agge Annis</b>		(25/6)	(8/7)
flour	33.5		47.5
malt	6		
beer	10		
total	<b>49.5</b>	<b>44</b>	<b>47.5</b>
<b>Jochum Stekenes</b>		(11/7)	(13/8)
flour	15.5		20
malt	3		0
beer	5.5		25
goods	6		
total	<b>30</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>45</b>
<b>Reimar Martens</b>		(16/7)	(17/8)
flour	2	48 <sup>(1)</sup>	40
malt	5.5	0	0
beer	6.5	0	0
total	<b>14</b>	<b>48</b>	<b>40</b>

Source: Stadtarchiv Stralsund, Rep II, K 1,3 (Pfalbuch)

(1) The *Sundtoll* lists this as salt. But the skipper's home town was Anklam, and grain products, not salt, were exported from there (*Sundtoll* 1577, pp. 224 and 627). The Bergen accounts list this as flour, and I have assumed that it is correct.

The table confirms that both the *Sundtoll* accounts and the Bergen customs accounts recorded almost all of the trade from the Baltic to Bergen during the period when the Bergen accounts were kept reliably, from the beginning of June onwards. The quantities are approximate both in the *Sundtoll* and in the Bergen accounts. The *Pfahlbücher* gave considerable lower quantities for 3 of the 6 ships, which indicates that the figures in the other two accounts provide more reliable information about the quantities of goods on board the ships when they arrived in Bergen.<sup>15</sup>

Is 1577/8 representative for the level of imports into Bergen from the Baltic during the last half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century? First, were the political relations between Dano-Norwegian authorities and the Hansa normal during those years? In 1574, the Danish king ordered the customs officials in the Øresund and the commander of

15 Why did the accounts in Stralsund give lower figures? One possibility is fraud. Another is that the ships picked up more goods on the way in Rostock, Wismar or Lübeck.

Bergenhus castle to seize ships and goods from Hamburg, and 30 ships were taken.<sup>16</sup> The background to this was a conflict about Hamburg's right to control shipping on the Elbe.<sup>17</sup> In September 1575, the other five Wendish towns asked the King to release these ships as a favour to the Bergen Kontor, but the King declined.<sup>18</sup> The commander of Bergenhus placed the goods he had seized into the custody of the Bergen Kontor, and in return the Kontor promised to pay him the value of the goods if the King and the Hamburg officials did not reach an agreement.<sup>19</sup> The King demanded to be paid the agreed upon value of the goods before Easter 1576, but the Kontor refused to pay.<sup>20</sup> The King then ordered all Hansa ships in Bergen to be impounded when the *nordfar* arrived with their fish around Michaelmas (29/9). That was the peak of the trading season, when there was a maximum number of German merchants, fishermen and commodities in the town. The commander does not seem to have executed the order, because on 02/02/1577 the King demanded an explanation for why he had received no report on the matter.<sup>21</sup>

The situation in Bergen was now evidently tense. On March 27<sup>th</sup> that year, a skipper from Rostock received a letter of safe conduct from the King stating that: "If ships from Rostock and from other Hansa towns, which visit our town Bergen, are seized by our commander of Bergenhus castle because of a promise made by the Kontor concerning goods and ships from Hamburg, and because [the skipper who receives the safe conduct] fears that he may be arrested if he sails to Bergen....", the recipient should be protected from being arrested.<sup>22</sup> On the 21<sup>st</sup> of May, the King asked the commander of Bergenhus to make renewed efforts to force the Kontor pay the sum, but he issued no order to confiscate Hanseatic goods.<sup>23</sup> The first entry in the customs accounts from 1577 used in table III.1 is from May 24<sup>th</sup>, three days later; it is possible that it was noted down and preserved because it was to be used in the impasse with the Kontor. In 1579, the value of the goods still had not been repaid,<sup>24</sup> but in July that year Hamburg and Denmark reached an agreement which ended the conflict.<sup>25</sup> Our sources do not say directly that trade in Bergen in 1577 was lower than normal, but the Hamburg merchants were absent,<sup>26</sup> and the tense situation may even have caused other Hansa towns to reduce their sailings. The letter of safe conduct quoted above points in that direction.

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16 *Danmark-Norges Traktater* II, p. 467.

17 *Ibid.*, p. 463.

18 *Ibid.*, p. 468.

19 *Norske Rigs-registranter* II, p. 179.

20 *Ibid.*, pp. 179 and 195.

21 *Ibid.*, p. 206.

22 *Ibid.*, pp. 213–214.

23 *Ibid.*, p. 218.

24 *Ibid.*, p. 318.

25 *Danmark-Norges Traktater* II, p. 463.

26 Table III.1.

The Bergen customs accounts from Michaelmass (29/9) 1566 to the same day in 1567 record only the name of the skipper and whether customs duties had been paid, but not the date or the cargo.<sup>27</sup> In the *Sundtoll* accounts for 1567, 17 ships are explicitly registered as having been on their way to Bergen, and 15 of them are also registered in the Bergen customs accounts. In the same *Sundtoll* ledger, 10 ships are listed as coming *from* Bergen, and 9 of those are registered in the Bergen accounts.<sup>28</sup> The dates when the ships missing from the Bergen accounts passed through the Øresund show that they must have visited Bergen during the period when the customs accounts were being kept. In 1567, 24 ships were registered in the *Sundtoll* ledgers as sailing either to or from Bergen or both, and of these 22 ships (92 %) are also registered in the Bergen customs book.<sup>29</sup> This indicates that the Bergen customs account was reliable. The reason for the small under-registration in Bergen may be that skippers sailing between Bergen and the Baltic transported goods or men from Bergen to Copenhagen, or vice versa, and were exempted from customs as part of their pay.

There are 44 skippers from Baltic towns listed in the Bergen accounts between 29/09/1566 and 28/09/1567.<sup>30</sup> If 92 % of the ships which paid the *Sundtoll* were registered in the Bergen's ledgers, as suggested above, then 48 ships with skippers from Baltic towns visited Bergen that year. In addition to them, 13 captains from North Sea towns transported grain products from Baltic towns to Bergen according to the *Sundtoll* accounts, and there is no reason to doubt that this registration was complete.<sup>31</sup> This means that 61 ships (48 + 13) sailed from the Baltic to Bergen that year.<sup>32</sup> As shown above, the corresponding figure for 1577/8 was 73 ships. The figures for both years are estimates based on an analysis of the relevant sources, and there were normal variations from year to year. Even in 1566/7, the imports into Bergen must have been close to 3000 lasts of grain products.

For the three accounting years running from 01/05/1597 to 30/04/1600, an average of 110 ships annually were listed in the Bergen customs accounts with skippers

27 *Norske lensrekneskapsbøker 1548–1567* IV, pp. 6–12, cf. V, p. 269; cf. table III.1.

28 Appendix VII tables 1 and 2.

29 The under-registration may have been larger. One skipper could sail twice to Bergen during one season. Since neither the date nor the quantity of goods is given in the Bergen customs, it is difficult to decide whether a ship's registration in the Bergen customs accounts and the registration of its passage through the Øresund relate to the same voyage.

30 Table III.1.

31 Appendix VII table 1 and introduction to appendix VII on how customs duties were collected.

32 The premise is that all Baltic skippers who visited Bergen had sailed from a Baltic port, and at this time it is highly likely that they had.

from the Baltic.<sup>33</sup> If we adjust for under-registration, the figure will be about 118 ships.<sup>34</sup>

Cargoes are not specified in the Bergen customs accounts for the years 1597–1600. Ships whose cargo was listed in the *Sundtoll* on average were transporting 39 lasts of grain products.<sup>35</sup> Using these figures, we can calculate that the annual imports into Bergen of grain products amounted to 4602 lasts (118 x 39) during this period. In addition, based on the *Sundtoll* accounts, an average of 12 ships whose skippers were from North Sea towns sailed annually from the Baltic to Bergen carrying grain products. Ships from North Sea home ports were not permitted to sail through the Storebelt, so this should represent the total. These 12 ships together carried on average 565 lasts of grain products annually, according to the accounts. This brings the total exports of grain products from the Baltic to Bergen up to 5167 lasts (4602 + 565). Ships from Bremen and other North Sea towns transported only negligible quantities of grain products from their home towns to Bergen. In 1577/8, this amounted to 2–300 lasts, and there is no reason to believe that the quantity was significantly higher for the period 1597–1600. The number of ships which sailed from the Baltic to Bergen annually between 1597 and 1600 was, according to our calculations, 130 (118 + 12).

The number of Baltic ships which visited Bergen may have been ca. 60 around 1520 and ca. 65 in 1577.<sup>36</sup> In 1567 and 1577 the import of grain products was about 3000 lasts, in 1597–1600 more than 5000 lasts, and in the years 1650–1654 more than 8000 lasts. The small increase from about 1520 to 1567 and 1577 may be explained by the fact that only in the two later years is it possible to correct the figures for under-registration by using the *Sundtoll* accounts. But the increase between 1577 and 1650–54 is indisputable; during that period, grain imports must have increased by nearly 150% as measured in lasts.<sup>37</sup>

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33 Table III.1.

34 For the period 20/4/1597–5/4/1600, there were 252 ships registered in the *Sundtoll* accounts as being on their way to Bergen (Rigsarkivet, Copenhagen *Sundtoll* 1597–1600). Of these, 234 (93%) are also registered in the Bergen customs accounts, which means that 18 ships listed in the *Sundtoll* ledger as being on their way to Bergen were not registered in Bergen. The last of the unregistered ships passed through the Øresund on 22/12/1599, and there can be no doubt that it must have reached Bergen before 30/04/1600 when the customs account in Bergen ended. If the number of calls by Baltic skippers in Bergen are adjusted using this percentage, the adjusted figure will be an annual average of 118 ships  $[(110 \times 100) \div 93]$ .

35 For the years 1/5/1597–1/5/1600, there are an average of 68 ships registered per year passing through the Øresund on their way to Bergen captained by Baltic skippers. The 68 ships carried on average 2622 lasts of grain products, which works out as 39 lasts per ship.

36 Cf. table II.1 and p. 282.

37 Cf. table III.3. A source of error here is that in the 16<sup>th</sup> century, only foreign merchants paid customs. In the first half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, even Danish and Norwegian merchants had to pay customs duty on their grain imports to Bergen. This was abolished in 1652 for goods imported from Denmark (*Norske Rigs-registraranter* X, pp. 487 and 491; FOSSEN, Bergen, pp.

The figures in table III.3 give the proportion of the various grain products imported in the specified years.

Table III.3. Relative importance of different grain products imported into Bergen

Product	1577–1578 <sup>(1)</sup>	1597–1600 <sup>(2)</sup>	1650–1654 <sup>(3)</sup>
flour	37 % (745 lasts)	40 % (3856 lasts)	1 % (98 lasts)
grain (not milled)	0 %	0 %	55 % (4880 lasts)
beer	57 % (1154 lasts)	58 % (5521 lasts)	7 % (660 lasts)
malt	7 % (137 lasts)	2 % (184 lasts)	36 % (3182 lasts)

- (1) Figures for 1577/8 are taken from customs accounts for Bergenhus 1577–78 (Riksarkivet, Oslo, RK, Bergenhus Len, eske 11, Bergenhus slottsregnskap 1577–78);
- (2) Figures for 1597–1600 are taken from ships registered in the *Sundtoll* said to be on their way to Bergen with grain products.
- (3) Figures for 1650–54 are taken from EDVARDESEN, Bergen, p. 353. Most of the grain is in this source quantified in barrels: 49.766 barrels of rye and 7.789 barrels of barley. In Norwegian sources from the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries are normally reckoned on 12 barrels of grain products per last (*Norsk historisk leksikon*, entry word “Lest”), this can be shown to be the case in the customs accounts for Bergenhus 1598/9 (Riksarkivet, Oslo, RK Bergenhus lensregnskap 1598/9, Indteckt Tholdt aff Dantziker och Colberger). Some of the beer is counted in large barrels called vats (*fad, vat, Fass*) corresponding to ½ last (VOGEL, Deutsche Seeschiffahrt, pp. 558–559).

Imports into Bergen from Lübeck during the years 1368–1400 were dominated by flour and beer,<sup>38</sup> and this seems to have been the situation up to at least 1600. Between 1600 and 1650, there was a transition from the processed and more expensive products – flour and beer – to raw materials – grain and malt. The monetary value of the imports must therefore have increased less than the quantity. The reason for this may have been that the citizens of Bergen had taken over much of the importing from the Kontor’s merchants and may have wanted to process the grain themselves in Bergen.<sup>39</sup> Also, more of the grain came from Danzig and Denmark, which may have lacked the capacity to mill it, just as the Wendish towns did.<sup>40</sup>

In this section on imports, I have only analysed grain products because they played a special role in the history of the Bergen Hansa, and we have records only for grain products over the long period from 1250 to 1600. But there were also

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171–172). This means that in the years 1650–52, customs duties were collected on Danish grain products, and in 1653–4 they were exempted from this. In 1669, Danish grain products made up 13 % of the rye and 54 % of the malt imported into Bergen (FOSSEN, Bergen, pp. 421 and 425). In 1577, ten ships whose home port was Bergen passed through the Øresund on their way northwards, all transporting unspecified cargo (BANG, Tabeller I, p. 74). That year, a total of 59 ships whose home ports were Holland and German Hansa towns sailed through the Øresund on their way to Bergen, so ten ships is a considerable number in comparison (appendix VII table 3). An unknown number of Danish ships also have to be added.

38 Table II.5.

39 FOSSEN, Bergen, pp. 246 and 248.

40 FOSSEN, Bergen, pp. 185 and 191; LOEW, Danzig, pp. 70–75.

significant amounts of salt imported into Bergen. The quantities imported of cloth, wine, English coal, iron, lead, hemp, rope, glass and “smallwares” cannot be estimated because normally only the most important goods carried on a ship were noted down in the accounts from 1577 onwards.

## B. EXPORTS

The customs accounts for 1577/8 are the only ones from 16<sup>th</sup> century Bergen in which the quantity of goods were registered. But even then, it was only the main commodities on board each ship which were listed. In practice, this means that we have reliable enough figures only to establish the quantity of fish products. The first column of table III.4 gives the terms used in the accounts for the different qualities of dried fish: *rundfisk*, *rotscher*, *skrufisk* and *sporder* are types of dried cod, and *rav* is dried halibut.

Table III.4. Fish exports from Bergen based on the customs accounts, 1577–8 <sup>(1)</sup>

Quality of fish	Quantity as given in the source <sup>(2)</sup>	In våger	In kilos
<i>Rundfisk</i>	37,215½ <i>våger</i> <sup>(3)</sup>	37,215	686,553
<i>Rotscher</i>	417½ lasts and 2893½ barrels	55,325	1,023,513
<i>Skrufisk</i>	13 ” and 72 ”	1,596	29,526
<i>Rav</i>	7 ” and 170 ”	1,778	32,893
<i>Sporder</i>	3 ” and 565 ”	4,207	77,829
ling	6 ”	42	777
salmon (salted) <sup>(4)</sup>	15 ”		
total stockfish		100,163	1,852,911

(1) Source: Riksarkivet, Oslo, RK, Bergenhus Len, eske 11, Bergenhus slottsregnskap 1577–78. Historians have disagreed about how the quantities in *våger*, lasts and barrels should be converted into weight units, i.e. kilos or *våger* (18½ kilos). Nicolaysen was the first to use these accounts, but he did not try to convert them into a common unit (Norske Magasin II, pp. 80–81), nor did Harald Widerøe (WIDERØE, Økonomiske forhold i Bergen, pp. 165–166). The first to attempt this was Johan Schreiner, and by his calculations the total for this year came to 39,195 *våger* (SCHREINER, Hanseatene og Norge, p. 354). He does not explain how he arrived at this figure, but one of his sources stated that 21 *våger* of loose *rundfisk* was to be counted as one last when stowed on board a cargo ship (SCHREINER, Hanseatene og Norge, p. 406 note 18). Schreiner took this to mean that one last of 12 barrels of stockfish also contained 21 *våger*, which is too low. A last was a measure of how much space a specific commodity needed when stored in a ship, and it is an empirical question as to whether one last of loose *rundfisk*, and one last of *rotscher* packed into 12 barrels had the same weight or not. Kari Lindbekk used Schreiner's figure in her 1974 article (LINDBEKK, Norsk tørrfiskhandel, p. 383). Kåre Lunden referred to Nicolaysen's table in 1976 and claimed that the exports that year must have been 59,165 *våger* (LUNDEN, Fisket og norsk økonomi, p. 147). He does not explain how he arrived at this figure. My own calculations in 1977 were based on 12 barrels per last and 112–136 kilos of stockfish per barrel (NEDKVITNE, Handelssjøfarten mellom Norge og England, pp. 88–89 and 113). In 1978, I used Nina Bang's specification, taken from the *Sundtoll* accounts, that each barrel contained on average 7 *våger* or 129.5 kilos (NEDKVITNE, Stapelreguleringer, p. 1; BANG, Tabeller I, p. 55). Using this figure, exports were 17–1900 barrels, or about 100,000 *våger* (NEDKVITNE, Handelssjøfarten mellom Norge og England, p. 113). This is considerably more than Schreiner's and Lunden's estimates. In his *Bergens Historie II*, Anders Bjarne Fossen utilised my 1978 estimate (FOSSEN, Bergen, p. 194), and so does *Norsk Økonomisk Historie I*, p. 60.

- (2) One last contained 12 barrels (*Norsk historisk leksikon*, entry word “Lest”). The number of kilos in each barrel is more problematic. In 1480, a Hansa Diet decided that the norm for the net weight of stockfish (*rotscher*) in one barrel was to be 100 Lübeck pounds, or 49 kg. If there was more or less fish in a barrel, the price would be adjusted accordingly (HR III, 1, 259 §29 = NGL 2.rk. II no. 444). In the accounts of Bergenhus castle (*lensregnskap*) for 1518–21, the actual net weight of one barrel of stockfish is given in four instances: 2 *våger* (= 37 kg), 2¼ *våger* (= 42 kg), 3 *våger* (= 56 kg) and 3¼ *våger* (= 60 kg) (NRJ I, pp. 241–242). The gross weight (including the barrel) of 93 barrels of *rotscher* brought to the Heilig-Geist Hospital in Lübeck during the years 1524–31 varied from 169 to 294 Lübeck pounds. The mean value was 212 pounds, or 103 kg (BRUNS, *Bergenfahrer*, p. LXXVIII). These large disparities can partly be explained by the difference between gross weight and net weight. But the main explanation is that in Lübeck a screw-press (*skrupresse* in Norwegian) was used to pack the fish tightly into the barrel, so far more fish could be packed into a barrel there (BRUNS, *Bergenfahrer*, p. LXXVIII). The 1559 account book of a Bergenfahrer from Bremen shows that he sold 13 barrels of *rotscher* weighing 3011 pounds net, which is 232 pounds per barrel (= 113 kg, or 6.1 *våger*) (Staatsarchiv Bremen, 2R Igg 2a 1, 11–4). In the *Sundtoll* accounts, the customs officials estimated one barrel net weight of fish to be 7 *våger* (= 129½ kg) (BANG, *Tabeller I*, p. 55). The same weight was used in an agreement about freight from 1571 between a Bergenfahrer from Bremen and a skipper (Staatsarchiv Bremen, 2R Igg 2a 1, 11–20). Among the goods sent from Bergenhus castle to Copenhagen (“forsendt fra Bergenhus til København”) in 1577–78 were 18 barrels of *skrufisk*, 2 of the barrels weighing 7 *våger*, 6 weighing 7.2 *våger*; the average for all 18 barrels was 6.4 *våger*. In 1599 the captain of Bergenhus sent 6 barrels of *skrufisk* to Denmark, containing 8 *våger* of fish (Riksarkivet, Oslo, RK, Bergenhus Lensregnskap eske 31 1599–1600, p. 67d). The net weight of one barrel of *rotscher* increased throughout the 16<sup>th</sup> century, mostly because the screw-presses became more efficient, and possibly the barrels may have become larger. In the 1570s, 7 *våger* of fish per barrel was normal.
- (3) One *våg* is 18½ kilos in this case.
- (4) I have never come across dried salmon packed in barrels, so it must have been salted.

Of the 100,163 *våger* of fish exported, 29,001 travelled on ships with captains from the Baltic, and 71,162 on ships with captains from the North Sea.<sup>41</sup>

How complete are the figures in table III.4? The number of Baltic skippers can be checked against the *Sundtoll* ledgers.<sup>42</sup> The accounts in Bergen officially registered all ships which left Bergen between 01/05/77 and 30/04/78. Normally a ship needed two weeks or less to travel from Bergen to the Øresund. The 36 Baltic skippers registered as having passed through Øresund on their way from Bergen two weeks or more after the Bergen accounts officially started in 1577 and two weeks or less after the Bergen accounts were officially terminated in 1578, that is 15/05/77–15/05/78, must have *left* Bergen during the period when registration there was officially being carried out. Of these, only 23 ships (64%) were actually registered in the Bergen accounts.<sup>43</sup>

<sup>41</sup> Table III.8.

<sup>42</sup> Appendix VII table 4.

<sup>43</sup> Appendix VII table 4. The accounts in Bergen officially covered the period 01/05/1577–30/04/1578. During the period 15/5/1577–14/5/1578 the *Sundtoll* accounts list 36 ships travelling “from Bergen”. The first of these ships which is also registered in the customs accounts from Bergen left Bergen on 24/5 and sailed through the Øresund on 11/6. The Øresund *Sundtoll* accounts for the following 11 days list 6 ships travelling “from Bergen”, and all of them are also registered in the Bergen accounts. They had taken 2, 5, 7, 7, 17 and 18 days respectively to get from Bergen to the Øresund. In the following period 26/6–11/7, four ships passed through the Øresund coming “from Bergen”, and none of them were registered in the Bergen accounts, even though there can be no doubt that they must have left Bergen after 1/5. This confirms that the Bergen accounts are particularly unreliable in the first weeks of

A similar comparison of the *Sundtoll* and Bergen accounts can be made for ships sailing in the opposite direction, from the Baltic to Bergen. The 50 Baltic ships passing through the Øresund bound for Bergen between 15/04/1577 and 15/04/1578 must have arrived in Bergen while registration there was officially taking place, 01/05/1577–30/04/78, but only 33 (67%) of these were actually registered in the Bergen ledgers.<sup>44</sup> This significant under-reporting of Baltic ships was due to the fact that the Bergen customs accounts were not fully operative until the end of May or the beginning of June.<sup>45</sup> These accounts missed the spring months when a large proportion of the Baltic ships arrived in Bergen with grain.

The account book written by a Bremen citizen who was a winter resident (*vin-tersitter*) in Bergen makes it possible for us to corroborate amounts shipped to North Sea ports.<sup>46</sup> He lived at Bryggen and kept an account of all goods he received and sent abroad. Between 01/05/77 and 30/04/78 he dispatched goods on 18 ships; all these were piloted by skippers from Bremen, and it is virtually certain that their destination was Bremen. According to the Bergen accounts, 21 Bremen skippers visited Bergen during this period, and it seems that this Bremen winter resident tried to split up his cargo on as many different ships as possible.<sup>47</sup> The first ship listed in the Bremen merchant's account book after the first of May left Bergen on the 14<sup>th</sup> of June, captained by Fredrik Krog from Bremen; it was not registered in the Bergen customs accounts. The remaining 17 ships in his accounts sailed from Bergen between 11/07/77 and 01/04/78, and all of them are found in the Bergen customs accounts, with small discrepancies in the dating. Shipping going westwards was also imperfectly registered in May and June, but later in the year the customs accounts seem to be reliable. Since most stockfish exporters from North Sea ports visited Bergen during the "Bergen fair" (*stevnetida*) in late summer or autumn, the under-reporting is less of a problem for North Sea ships than for Baltic ships. The accounts of the Bremen winter resident suggest that 94% (17 of 18) of his ships were registered in Bergen.

The quantity of goods being transported was registered in both the Bergen and Øresund accounts for 19 ships on the same Bergen–Baltic journey,<sup>48</sup> and both accounts list 9 of these ships as carrying ballast. The Bergen account records another

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May (cf. chapter III.la). In the following period, 22/07/1577–10/03/1578, 20 ships travelling "from Bergen" passed through the Øresund, and 17 of them (85%) were also registered when they left Bergen. I have assumed that all 36 ships which passed through the Øresund coming "from Bergen" in the 12-month period 14/05/1577 – 15/05/1578 actually left Bergen while the Bergen customs accounts were officially being recorded (appendix VII table 4). This means that only 67% (24 of 36) of all ships which left Bergen during the registration period were actually registered in Bergen's customs accounts.

44 Appendix VII table 3.

45 Cf. p. 252.

46 Staatsarchiv Bremen 7,2053.

47 Table III.1.

48 Appendix VII table 4.

four ships as carrying ballast when the *Sundtoll* ledger has them as transporting cargoes of 7 lasts, 4½ lasts, 6 lasts and 29½ lasts. The Bergen register shows the remaining 6 ships carrying a total of 111 lasts of stockfish and 100 *våger rundfisk* (= 116 lasts of stockfish),<sup>49</sup> while the *Sundtoll* account registered the same six ships as having 175 lasts of stockfish. This points to serious under-reporting of fish exports to the Baltic in the Bergen customs accounts. It was not until the end of the accounting period, in November, that the Bergen officials started to specify the commodities in ships' cargoes.<sup>50</sup> Before that, only the most important commodity was noted down, and in practice this meant ballast or *rotscher* even if the ship carried other goods. The amount of cargo transported in lasts is sometimes accurate (e.g. Rasmus Nilssen) but is usually too low, sometimes much too low (e.g. Theus Lange and Hans Rike). We lack sufficient source material to be able to quantify the under-reporting in percentages.

The account of the unnamed *vintersitter* from Bremen does not offer us the same opportunity to corroborate the quantities of goods in the Bergen customs, because he never filled a ship with his goods alone. Nevertheless, a comparison shows that even exports westwards were under-reported. According to the Bergen customs accounts, skipper Evert Schröder left the town in ballast on 07/08/1577, probably destined for Bremen. But we know that the unnamed Bremen merchant exported 12 barrels of *rotscher* and other commodities on this ship. It would have been odd if a vessel had sailed from Bergen to Bremen in ballast, since in North Sea shipping it was journeys in the opposite direction which normally encountered problems attracting freight. Ships owned by Gert Hermansen (17/8), Kurt Winters (17/8) and Fredrik Krog (31/8) carried cargoes consisting exclusively of *rundfisk*, if we are to believe the Bergen customs accounts – 3000 *våger* in all, which averages out as 1000 *våger* or 48 lasts per ship.<sup>51</sup> The unnamed Bremen merchant exported *rotscher* on all three of these ships, but *rotscher* is not mentioned in the Bergen accounts. The customs officials not surprisingly used the same procedure as they did for ships sailing to the Baltic – they only recorded the most important commodity being transported.

It is difficult to estimate the under-recording of exports in terms of *våger* and tons. If only 67% of the Baltic ships and 94% of the North Sea ships were registered in the Bergen customs ledgers, it will be necessary to adjust the registered stockfish exports of 100,163 *våger* upwards to 121,018 *våger*.<sup>52</sup> But we must also

49 According to a source from Bremen quoted by Schreiner, 21 *våger rundfisk* was counted as one last when stowed in a ship (SCHREINER, *Hanseatene og Norge*, p. 406 note 18).

50 Appendix VII table 4.

51 21 *våger* rundfisk per last (SCHREINER, *Hanseatene og Norge*, p. 406 note 18).

52 See table III.8 for exports registered in Bergen. To this we must add  $(29,001 \times 100) \div 64 - 29,001 = 16,313$  *våger* for Baltic skippers not registered in Bergen, and  $(71,162 \times 100) \div 94 - 71,162 = 4,542$  *våger* for North Sea skippers not registered in Bergen. The registered and unregistered stockfish exports added together come to 121,018 *våger*.

take into consideration the fact that there was significant under-recording per registered ship in some cases. Customs in Bergen were paid per ship and not on the goods carried, so for customs purposes it was not important to register the goods. In addition, the citizens of Bergen exported stockfish which did not attract customs duties. In 1577, 10 ships captained by Bergen citizens sailed through the Øresund,<sup>53</sup> and one must assume that at least some of them were carrying stockfish. It is not known how many ships with Bergen skippers sailed to North Sea ports. The real quantity of exports may have been around 150,000 *våger*, corresponding to about 2800 tons.

The customs accounts from 1566/7 only show the customs duties paid per ship; the goods are not mentioned. The number of ships was approximately the same as in 1577/8.<sup>54</sup> Exports are likely to have been at the same level in the two accounting years.

A customs account from 1563 for ships sailing between Bergen and the fishing districts between Finnmark and Sunnmøre has been preserved ("*Skipsskatt fra de nordlandske len*"). A total of 125,000 *våger* of stockfish arrived in Bergen from the fishing districts, and the customs were collected on arrival. Fish owned by the skipper was exempt from this charge, so 125,000 *våger* is a minimum quantity.<sup>55</sup> The skippers were often local landowners and merchants (*knaper*), and they received fish from their servants and peasant customers who normally were indebted to them.<sup>56</sup> Calculations from 1577/8, 1566/7 and 1563 all point to stockfish exports of well above 100,000 *våger*, and most likely approximately 150,000 *våger*, or about 2800 tons per year.

Another relevant source for determining quantities of exports is the 1567 tithe on stockfish from the counties of Nordland and Troms, which were the core of the stockfish-producing coastal area. The tithe was only paid on stockfish sold; the fishermen were required to give up 9 fish for every 120 sold. The King received 1/3 of this tithe. In 1567, 1148 *våger* were paid in tithes to the King from these two counties.<sup>57</sup> The quantity of stockfish sold which formed the basis for this payment must have been 45,920 *våger* ( $[1148 \times 120] \div 3$ ). These are minimum figures, because some producers were exempt from paying the tithe, and it is unclear how effective the tithe collectors were in remote fishing villages and farms. It was easier to collect customs duties on ships arriving in Bergen's harbour than on fish being dried in innumerable fishing villages and farms along the long Norwegian coast.

53 BANG, Tabeller I, p. 74.

54 Table III.1. The relative balance of Baltic and North Sea skippers is also approximately the same.

55 Cf. table V.7 note 2.

56 Cf. chapter V.2f.

57 *Norsk økonomisk historie* I 1979, pp. 37–38. This was the arrangement in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, and it had undoubtedly been like that since the Reformation in 1537.

From 01/05/1597 to 30/04/1600, records show that 2437 lasts of stockfish “from Bergen” passed through the Øresund, which corresponds to 68,236 *våger* annually.<sup>58</sup> Some ships, particularly those on their way to Lübeck, may have sailed through the Storebelt; but otherwise, stockfish exports eastwards should have been reliably registered in the *Sundtoll* accounts.<sup>59</sup> Of the ships which were registered in the *Sundtoll* ledgers as coming “from Bergen”, 93 % had also been registered in the Bergen customs accounts.<sup>60</sup> Fish exports from Bergen to the Baltic were recorded in a largely reliable manner in both accounts.

The Bergen customs accounts only recorded the number of ships, but not what goods they carried. Over this period, an average of 93 ships with skippers from *western* Hansa towns were registered annually in these accounts. If we employ the same registration percentage that we assumed for Baltic exporting ships (93 %), the resulting figure is 100 ships ( $[93 \times 100] \div 93$ ) arriving in Bergen annually captained by skippers from western towns during the years 1597–1600. With an average of 1620 *våger* of stockfish carried per ship, the average exports to western Hansa towns would have been 162,000 *våger* annually for this period.<sup>61</sup> Total annual exports from Bergen thus would have been 230,236 *våger* (162,000 + 68,236).

How reliable is this figure? Stockfish exports to the North Sea towns are calculated on the basis of the amount of cargo per ship for 1577/8. As shown above, there was an under-registration of stockfish exports per ship in the accounts, which also makes the 1597–1600 figures too low. Exports in an easterly direction are based on the *Sundtoll* accounts. Some ships returning to Lübeck may have sailed through the Storebelt, and exports transported on Norwegian ships were exempt. The real export figure for the period 1597–1600 is likely to have been 250,000 *våger* or more, i.e. more than 4500 tons.

58 The figure of 2437 lasts corresponds to 204708 *våger* ( $2437 \times 12 \times 7$ ) for the three years, and 68,236 *våger* on average per year. Cf. table III.4 note 2.

59 BANG, Tabeller II, pp. 192 ff. lists several ships with unspecified cargo for these years. These are ships which paid *tonnepenger* collected per ship, but not *fyrpenger* (lighthouse money) collected according to the value of the cargo. Hansa ships which did not pay lighthouse money had no cargo on board – they sailed with ballast.

60 During the period 02/06/1597–06/05/1600 exactly 200 ships passed through the Øresund “from Bergen”; of these, 187 or 93 % were also registered in the Bergen customs accounts. The first of the unregistered ships paid the *Sundtoll* on 10/09/1597, and there is no doubt that it left Bergen after 01/05/1597 (*Sundtoll* in Rigsarkivet, Copenhagen 1597–1600). The figure of 93 % is precisely the same percentage that we calculated for ships sailing in the opposite direction from the Øresund to Bergen (p. 257, footnote).

61 The Bergen customs accounts for 1577/8 registered 71,267 *våger* of stockfish on the 44 ships with skippers from North Sea Hansa towns, which amounts to 1620 *våger* per ship. I have assumed that ships sailing to western Hansa towns had the same quantity of stockfish on board in 1597/1600.

For the five-year period from 1650–54 we can calculate that stockfish] exports from Bergen averaged 330,000 *våger* annually,<sup>62</sup> which is approximately 6000 tons.

Calculations based on the customs accounts for 1518–21 gave us stockfish exports of about 1500 tons. In the 1560–70s, this had risen to about 2800 tons (150,000 *våger*), in the period 1597–1599 to more than 4500 tons (250,000 *våger*), and for the years 1650–1654 to 6000 tons (330,000 *våger*). These figures fall somewhere between calculations and estimates, but they suggest that exports grew by approximately 300% or increased fourfold during the 130-year period between 1520 and 1650.

The expansion in grain imports is more difficult to measure because we do not have figures for the relative importance of flour, grain, beer and malt until 1577/8.<sup>63</sup> Measured in lasts, grain imports must have trebled between 1520 and 1650.<sup>64</sup>

According to *Norsk Økonomisk Historie*, western Norway, Trøndelag and northern Norway had 64–88,000 inhabitants ca. 1520, and in 1665 the population had increased to 240,000. This represents an increase of 173%–275%, or to put it in more approximate terms, the population had trebled.<sup>65</sup> What is more relevant is the fact that in 1520 there were only about 15,000 people living in northern Norway,<sup>66</sup> while in 1665 the population had increased to about 39,000,<sup>67</sup> or 2.6 times the earlier level. These figures indicate that the grain/fish trade increased somewhat more than the population during this period. There may have been commercialisation in the sense that more coastal farmers prepared stockfish for sale, or each peasant fisherman produced more for sale. Stockfish prices sank, and the fishermen responded by increasing their production in order to retain the same standard of living.

The stockfish trade was still significant compared to the income of the Norwegian state. In 1567, the Crown's incomes from the present-day counties of Nordland, Troms and Finnmark (*Nordlandske len og Finnmark*) was 7711 *daler*,<sup>68</sup> which corresponds to the value of about 8000 *våger* of stockfish.<sup>69</sup> In 1563, ships (*jekter*) whose skippers lived in these three counties brought approximately 80,000 *våger* of stockfish to Bergen, which was ten times as much as the taxes collected from Bergen

62 EDVARDESEN, Bergen, p. 352.

63 Table III.3.

64 Cf. p. 257.

65 *Norsk økonomisk historie* I 1979, p. 18.

66 DYBDAHL, Bøsetning og folketall, p. 309 writes that there were 2495 taxpayers in northern Norway in 1520. An average of 6 persons per household gives 15,000 people in northern Norway at that time. Cf. *Norsk økonomisk historie* I, p. 18.

67 BALSVIK AND DRAKE, Menneskene i Nord-Norge, p. 89.

68 FLADBY, Hvordan Nord-Norge ble styrt, p. 82.

69 Appendix VIII table 13 note 3. According to the same accounts, the captain of Bergenhus castle sold one *våg* of stockfish for a bit less than one *daler*.

in 1567.<sup>70</sup> In about 1520 in Bergen, stockfish exports also seem to have been ten times larger than the state's income collected at Bergenhus castle.<sup>71</sup>

Taxes and duties, customs excluded, from northern Norway, Trøndelag and areas under the administration of Akershus and Bergenhus castles in 1623/24–1625/26 amounted to 100,326 *daler*,<sup>72</sup> corresponding to about 125,000 *våger* of stockfish.<sup>73</sup> This area included the largest and richest part of Norway at that time. For the period 1597–1600, stockfish exports were more than 250,000 *våger* annually, and in 1650–54 they came to 330,000 *våger*.<sup>74</sup>

We shall return to the interaction between population increase and commercial fisheries in chapter VI.3.

## 2. TRADE ROUTES

The customs accounts from the 16<sup>th</sup> century are the first sources which make it possible to measure the relative importance of different ports in Bergen's foreign trade. But in all of these accounts, it is the home town of the ship's captain which was registered, and not the port of departure or destination. Before table III.1 can be used as a point of departure for discussing Bergen's shipping connections to foreign ports, it has to be ascertained whether foreign skippers mainly or exclusively sailed to their home ports. Chapter II.2 showed that this was not the case around 1400, but the situation changed during the 15<sup>th</sup> century, and it was mainly true in the decades around 1500. The richer sources after 1560 make it possible to examine the issue more closely.

Rostock's register of nautical letters (*Seebriefregister*) for 1586–1605 listed all skippers who were citizens of Rostock and who sailed from Rostock through the Øresund. Christlieb combined this register with the *Sundtoll* accounts, which made it possible for her to create a complete list of all captains, from Rostock as well as from other towns, who sailed the Rostock–Øresund route. The only skippers missing were subjects of the Danish king.<sup>75</sup> There were 8092 Rostock–Øresund voyages made by skippers from Rostock and Warnemünde, and only 62 by skippers from

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70 Table V.7.

71 Cf. chapter II.7.

72 FLADBY, *Hvordan Nord-Norge ble styrt*, p. 84.

73 One *våg* of stockfish in the years 1623–1625 sold for 0.8 *daler* per *våg* in Bergen (NEDKVITNE, *Mens Bønderne seilte* p. 603).

74 Cf. pp. 264–265.

75 CHRISTLIEB, Rostock, p. 24. The unprinted manuscript by the same author in Rostock's University library contains a list of these foreign skippers.

other Baltic or North Sea towns.<sup>76</sup> Captains from Rostock sailed more than 99 % of the merchant ships from their home towns to ports on the other side of the Øresund. During the 20 years between 1586 and 1605, only 15 voyages were made by non-Rostock captains from Rostock to Bergen.

In the three calendar years 1597, 1598 and 1599, an average of 33 ships left Rostock annually for Bergen, all with Rostock skippers.<sup>77</sup> In the three fiscal years 01/05/1597–01/05/1600, the Bergen customs accounts registered an average of 34 ships per year captained by Rostock men.<sup>78</sup> At the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, Rostock skippers who visited Bergen plied almost exclusively a shuttle service between Rostock and Bergen. According to Christlieb, there were political reasons for this situation – the protectionist attitude of Rostock skippers, which excluded competitors from Rostock.<sup>79</sup>

A similar situation occurred for Lübeck. There were 1052 departures from Lübeck to Bergen, undertaken by 189 different skippers, during the period 1581–1610;<sup>80</sup> 152 skippers (80 %) were from Lübeck, 13 % were from Wismar, Rostock, Hamburg, Bremen or Molkwerum, and 7 % were of unknown origin.<sup>81</sup> Each Lübeck captain on average made more voyages than non-Lübeckers, which means that Lübeck skippers sailed far more than 80 % of the ships departing from Lübeck and bound for Bergen.<sup>82</sup> In the 30-year period between 1581 and 1610, Lübeck Bergenfahrer engaged only three Lübeck skippers to sail to Bergen from ports other than Lübeck; two left from Danzig and one from Greifswald.<sup>83</sup> In the three fiscal years 01/05/1597–31/04/1600, the Bergen customs accounts registered on average 35 ships annually whose skippers were from Lübeck, and the Freight Lords of the Lübeck Bergenfahrer chartered on average exactly the same number of ships during

76 Fifteen of the 62 captains were from Denmark and Norway. Since they were exempted from *Sundtoll*, their ships were not systematically entered in the *Sundtoll* register.

77 CHRISTLIEB, Rostock, pp. 82–89.

78 Table III.1.

79 CHRISTLIEB, Rostock, p. 21: “Wie die Bürger anderer Städte, so nahmen auch die Rostocker das Recht für sich in Anspruch, dass nur ihnen die Wareneinfuhr und -ausfuhr nach und von Rostock zustehe. Nur den Schiffern, die in Rostock ansässig und im Besitz des Bürgerrechts waren, stand freie Schifffahrt zu. ---Die von Schonen- und Bergenfahrern im Jahre 1566 gegründete Schiffergesellschaft versuchte mit allen Mitteln für die ihr angeschlossenen Schiffer die Schifffahrt von und nach Rostock zu monopolisieren und alle fremden Schiffer möglichst davon auszuschliessen.”

80 BRUNS, Frachtherrenbuch, pp. 24–26. Source: The registers of Lübeck's Freight Lords.

81 Among the unknown skippers are probably several from Lübeck. “Hinrik Werdener”, who according to the Freight Lords' register sailed to Bergen in 1597, is probably identical to “Hinrik Weigener” who sailed through the Øresund to Bergen on 5/9 and from Bergen on 2/12.

82 BRUNS, Frachtherrenbuch, p. 25.

83 *Ibid.* p. 65.

the period 1597–1599 to sail from Lübeck to Bergen.<sup>84</sup> Bruns claimed that this situation arose from the protectionist attitude of the Lübeck skippers and merchants: “It was only natural that the Bergenfahrer from Lübeck preferred skippers from their home town for the voyages to Bergen. But the urban council had the same attitude and in 1539 told them to charter skippers from Lübeck instead of foreigners if the former did not demand unreasonable remuneration. The urban council sent a similar ordinance to the Bergen Kontor.”<sup>85</sup>

The picture in Stralsund is mainly the same, even though Stralsund seems to have been a more open town.

Table III.5. Port of departure for skippers from Stralsund who sailed westwards through the Øresund, 1560–1599

Port of departure	Trips through the Øresund	
Stralsund	1635	(93 %)
Danzig	63	( 4 %)
Riga	9	
Rostock	7	
Königsberg	6	
Greifswald	5	
Lübeck	4	
Anklam	3	
Wismar	2	
Other German towns	10	
Swedish and Danish towns	19	
	total	1769

Source: ZOELLNER, Vom Strelasund zum Oslofjord, p. 161; He has gathered these figures from the *Sundtoll* accounts.

Stralsund welcomed foreign skippers more than Lübeck and Rostock did. These captains were almost exclusively citizens of North Sea ports.

Table III.6 Home town of all skippers who sailed from Stralsund westwards through the Øresund, 1560–1599, excluding Danish and Swedish skippers.

Home town of skippers	Trips through the Øresund	
Stralsund	1635	(73 %)

<sup>84</sup> Table III.1; BRUNS, Frachtherrenbuch.

<sup>85</sup> BRUNS, Frachtherrenbuch, p. 24, cf. p. 26; “Es was nur natürlich, dass die Lübecker Bergenfahrer die Schiffer ihrer Heimatstadt für die Fahrten nach Bergen bevorzugten. Zudem waren sie 1539 vom Rate angewiesen worden, die Lübecker Schiffer vor allen anderen zu befrachten und ihnen an Fracht “mer und nycht myn” als den auswärtigen zu geben, sofern sie nicht etwa übertriebene Forderungen stellen würden; eine gleiche Anweisung war damals auch an die Kontorischen ergangen.“

Home town of skippers	Trips through the Øresund	
Netherlands	376	(17%)
Norway	123	( 5%)
Bremen	55	
British Isles	53	
Danzig	1	
other towns	3	
	total	2246

Source: ZOELLNER, *Vom Strelasund zum Oslofjord*, pp. 161–162; He has gathered these figures from the *Sundtoll* accounts.

Some of the North Sea skippers in table III.6 sold the grain products in Bergen.<sup>86</sup> Stralsund seems to have been the first Baltic town whose merchants sailed around the cape at Skagen directly to North Sea ports ca. 1280.<sup>87</sup> There were few if any winter residents from Stralsund in late medieval Bergen (1350–1537), and they mainly conducted trade there as skippers and summer guests.<sup>88</sup> This meant that the Kontor, which was dominated by Lübeck, held less power over Stralsund citizens.

But the most open Baltic port was Danzig, and at the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century it was also the largest grain exporter. North Sea skippers who bought grain for the Bergen market most frequently visited Danzig.

Table III.7. Ports of departure for North Sea skippers on their way from the Baltic to Bergen, 01/05/1597–31/04/1600

Port of departure	Trips through the Øresund	
Danzig	15	
Stralsund	4	
Riga	1	
Königsberg	1	
Greifswald	1	
Stockholm	1	
	total	23

Sources: *Sundtoll* accounts and the Bergen customs accounts for the relevant years

Lübeck<sup>89</sup> and Rostock<sup>90</sup> were also visited by North Sea ships, but more rarely.

Direct shipping from Bergen to North Sea ports is more poorly documented, and there are no sources comparable to the *Sundtoll* accounts. An unnamed winter

86 Appendix VII table 1. The *Sundtoll* accounts for 01/05/1597–31/04/1600 registered 23 ships from North Sea towns carrying grain products from the Baltic to Bergen.

87 Cf. p. 54 and 127–128.

88 Cf. p. 357; table V.1 and V.2.

89 BRUNS, *Frachtherrenbuch*, p. 25.

90 CHRISTLIEB, unprinted manuscript, pp. 237–241.

resident from Bremen who resided at Bryggen in Bergen exported goods in the four years between 1575–78 on 72 ships; 66 of them sailed to Bremen, 4 to Hamburg, 1 to Wismar and 1 to Lübeck.<sup>91</sup> He exported his fish almost exclusively to his home town. Another Bremen Bergenfahrer, this one resident in Bremen, sent goods to Bergen on 20 ships and received goods from Bergen on 55 ships between 01/01/1598 and 30/04/1600. All the skippers were from Bremen.<sup>92</sup> This is an indication that North Sea merchants dominated the trade to their own home towns.

Summing up, Hansa ships which traded with Bergen mostly sailed back and forth between their home towns and Bergen. This can be well documented for Lübeck and Rostock, although the tendency was somewhat less pronounced for Stralsund. The exception is that some North Sea skippers shipped grain products from Danzig and to some degree also from Stralsund, but this seems to have been of limited importance. This means we are justified in concluding that the home towns of skippers as given in table III.1 shows where Bergen's exports and imports went to and came from.

This conclusion makes it possible to use the 1577/8 Bergen customs accounts to quantify Bergen's commercial exchanges with Lübeck in comparison with other Baltic and North Sea ports.

Table III.8. Bergen's exchange of goods with foreign ports in the fiscal year 1577/8

	Skippers from Lübeck		Skippers from other Baltic towns		Skippers from North Sea towns		Total
flour in lasts	199	27%	354	47%	193	26%	746
malt in lasts	50	36%	81	69%	6	4%	137
beer in lasts	462	40%	582	50%	110	10%	1154
all grain products in lasts	711	35%	1017	50%	309	15%	2037
stockfish in <i>våger</i>	15,992	16%	13,009	13%	71,267	71%	100,268

Source: Riksarkivet, Oslo, RK, Bergenhus Len, eske 11, Bergenhus slottsregnskap 1577–78.

Sixteen percent of the stockfish exports were shipped to Lübeck, and 35% of the imported grain products came from there. Lübeck was at that time far from being a staple for either exports and imports. But more stockfish went to Lübeck than to all the other Baltic towns together, which indicates that it was a transit port. The relative importance of *rundfish* and *rotscher* points in the same direction. *Rundfish* comprised 46% of exports to North Sea towns and 28% to Lübeck, but this commodity is completely absent in exports to other Baltic towns. *Rundfish* was easier to transport over land because it was bound together in bundles, while the *rotscher* was packed in 138 kg barrels. This indicates that exports to the German interior came

91 Staatsarchiv Bremen 7,2053.

92 Ibid. 7,2058.

mostly from Bremen and the Zuiderzee towns, but also from Lübeck. The main market for stockfish continued to be the German interior, particularly the Rhine area, until the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>93</sup>

Which North Sea ports received stockfish from Bergen?

Table III.9. The relative importance of continental North Sea towns in shipping to Bergen in the 16<sup>th</sup> century

	1520–21	1566–67	1577–78	1597–1600
Hamburg	25 %	17 %	0 %	20 %
Bremen	24 %	16 %	47 %	50 %
Zuiderzee/Molkwerum	27 %	41 %	51 %	22 %
Holland/Friesland	24 %	25 %	2 %	9 %
total	100 %	99 %	100 %	101 %

Source: Table II.1 and III.1

Holland and Friesland controlled about a quarter of the shipping in 1520–21 and 1566–67, but in 1577–78 they had dropped out of this activity almost completely. This must be due to the political disturbances in the Netherlands after 1566 and their war with the Spanish from 1572. In the years 1597–1600 they still had not regained their former market share.

The Zuiderzee towns' shipping is likely to have been unusually low in 1520–21 for political reasons.<sup>94</sup> Until 1577/8, the Hansa towns on the Zuiderzee, Molkwerum included, normally were at the forefront of shipping between Bergen and the North Sea ports.<sup>95</sup> Their subsequent decline was part of a general falling-off in trade conducted by the Zuiderzee towns during this period.<sup>96</sup>

The political troubles in the Netherlands, combined with the general decline of the Zuiderzee towns, created an economic gap in the Bergen trade which was filled by Bremen. In 1576, Bremen claimed that they were expanding, and that the number of Bremen firms (*stuer*) located at Bryggen had increased over the previous 20 years from 5 or 6 to 40.<sup>97</sup> A firm or *stue* consisted of a winter resident and his servants.<sup>98</sup> In 1615, there were 119 *stuer* at Bryggen, owned by winter residents from Bremen (43), Lübeck (36), Hamburg (26), Deventer (10), Rostock (3) and Wismar (1).<sup>99</sup> A document from 1604 states that shipments up the Ijssel and Rhine rivers

93 SCHREINER, *Hanseatene og Norge*, pp. 349, 354–355 and 308; cf. chapter II.5h.

94 Cf. pp. 107–108.

95 Molkwerum was a town of skippers and seamen who leased their ships to Hansa merchants. It had no merchants who traded independently with Bergen.

96 GROOTEN, *Kampen*, p. 301; SUIR, *Deventer*, p. 306.

97 SCHREINER, *Bremerne i Bergen*, p. 293.

98 Cf pp. 375–378 for the meaning of the Norwegian term *stue*, in Low German *stave*.

99 SCHREINER, *Bremerne i Bergen*, p. 294. This is the first register of house ownership, which is preserved in the Staatsarchiv in Bremen.

had declined over the previous years and that overland distribution of goods from Bremen had increased.<sup>100</sup> Table III.9 confirms that the Zuiderzee towns and Holland lost their market share to Bremen between 1567 and 1577, and this development continued from 1578 to 1597. Bremen's expansion seems to have started immediately after 1567, and by the end of the century Bremen's shipping to Bergen equalled that of all other North Sea towns together.

These shifts did not favour the long-term economic development of Bergen. The town's fish exports continued to be closely tied to Hansa towns which now were on the decline, and Bergen was isolated from the expanding commercial centres of northern Europe. In the 16<sup>th</sup> century, Danzig emerged as the leading commercial centre and grain exporter in the Baltic, but the town was not important to Bergen. Lübeck, Rostock, Wismar and Stralsund continued to be Bergen's main Baltic partners, as they had been since the 13<sup>th</sup> century. As late as 1597–1600, 110 ships sailed annually from the Baltic to Bergen; only 6 of these departed from Danzig, 5 with skippers from North Sea towns, and only one with a captain from Danzig.<sup>101</sup>

Along the North Sea, the economic power-houses of the 16<sup>th</sup> century were Amsterdam, London and Antwerp. Amsterdam and London were important to the expanding Norwegian timber trade, but none of the three were significant for the fish trade, at least after Amsterdam withdrew from it around 1567. Instead, Bergen's main shipping routes were to Bremen and Hamburg, which were peripheral towns in the commercial revolution of the 16<sup>th</sup> century.

The basic reason for this situation was that the Hansa managed to keep their competitors at bay in Bergen through local political measures. The Dano-Norwegian state was not strong enough to provide foreign merchants with an equal chance to compete. If this had been the case, the most innovative merchants would probably have gained the upper hand, and in the North European fish trade of the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> centuries, these merchants came from the southern and northern Netherlands and England, where Antwerp, Amsterdam and London were the main centres.

In the Hansa's earliest phase (1250–1440), it promoted economic development in Bergen and in the Norwegian fishing districts. During the following period (1440–1600), it did the opposite. Bergen did not get access to new preservation methods and new markets, which benefitted the fish trade of other northern European nations.

100 SCHREINER, *Hanseatene og Norge*, p. 308.

101 Table III.1, III.7, cf. WIDERØE, *Økonomiske forhold i Bergen*, p. 177.

## 3. THE MERCHANTS' HOME TOWNS

The previous section showed that skippers mostly sailed on shuttle runs between their home towns and Bergen. But this does not necessarily mean that the merchants who owned the goods organised their trade in the same manner. Around the year 1576, Bremen had as many winter residents in Bergen as Lübeck,<sup>102</sup> and they needed grain from the Baltic. Merchants from North Sea towns increasingly bought grain products in the Baltic and sold the stockfish in their home towns. Bremen's trade network gradually grew wider than Lübeck's.

North Sea merchants sent some of their goods from the Baltic to Bergen on Baltic ships. These goods were registered separately in the *Sundtoll* accounts, because North Sea merchants had to pay this duty while merchants from Wendish towns were exempt from parts of it.<sup>103</sup> North Sea merchants also engaged skippers from North Sea towns to pick up grain in Baltic ports. If a North Sea skipper sailed from a Baltic port through the Øresund to Bergen with grain, it is highly likely that the goods on board belonged to North Sea merchants, because Bergenfahrer from Wendish towns were obliged to or inclined to use skippers from their home towns. As shown above, both the authorities in Wendish towns and the Freight Lords exerted pressure on them to do so.<sup>104</sup> The goods of North Sea merchants were reliably registered in the *Sundtoll* accounts.

Table III.10. North Sea merchants' exports of grain products from the Baltic to Bergen in last years per year

	<b>Estimated total exports from the Baltic to Bergen <sup>(1)</sup></b>	<b>On North Sea ships</b>	<b>On Baltic ships <sup>(2)</sup></b>	<b>North Sea merchants' % of total grain exports</b>
1566/7	ca. 3000	793 <sup>(3)</sup>	– <sup>(4)</sup>	over 26 %
1577/8	ca. 3000	396 <sup>(5)</sup>	785	39 %
1597–1600	ca. 5000	565 <sup>(6)</sup>	478	20 %

Source: Figures in the two middle columns are taken from the *Sundtoll* accounts for the relevant years

(1) See chapter III.la

(2) If merchants from North Sea towns transported grain on Baltic ships, this would be listed separately in the *Sundtoll* accounts because they had to pay full customs duties while merchants from Wendish towns were partly exempt. The goods in this column in one case were listed as "Deventer gods", in 19 cases "bremerisk gods". Hamburg belonged to the exempted Wendish towns, and it is not possible to separate its goods from those of the Baltic Wendish towns. The figures in this column are therefore minimum figures for the goods of all North Sea towns because Hamburg had to be left out.

(3) The figure is taken from appendix VII table 1: 4 ships from Bremen, 3 from Hamburg, 3 from Stavoren, 2 from Kampen, and 1 from Hoorn.

102 SCHREINER, *Bremerne i Bergen*, pp. 293–294.

103 Appendix VII introduction.

104 Cf. pp. 102–103, 109 and 206–208.

- (4) In 1566–67, is not indicated whether ships from Wendish towns had non-Wendish goods on board.  
 (5) The figure is taken from appendix VII table 3. All 8 ships were from Molkwerum, a port on the Zuiderzee.  
 (6) Source: Rigsarkivet, Copenhagen, *Sundtoll* accounting years 1597–1599. In these three years taken together, 17 ships came from Bremen, 7 from Molkwerum, 2 from Hamburg, and 2 from Kampen.

The figures in the last column contain various sources of error. The percentage for 1577 is too high because all ships from North Sea towns that year came from Molkwerum in today's Netherlands, and skippers from that town also transported goods for Lübeck merchants.<sup>105</sup> The figure for 1567 is too low because North Sea goods on Baltic ships were not registered that year. Despite these sources of error, North Sea merchants, headed by those from Bremen, seem to have owned around 30 % of the grain products which arrived in Bergen from the Baltic in the last third of the 16<sup>th</sup> century. Extant account books for Bremen Bergenfahrer for the years 1575–78 and 1598–1619 confirm that North Sea merchants sent cargoes of grain from Wendish towns to Bergen regularly.<sup>106</sup>

Rostock's register of nautical letters (*Seebriefe*) confirms that many ships captained by Rostock skippers were loaded partly or entirely with goods belonging to merchants from foreign towns when they sailed from Rostock to Bergen.

Table III.11 Home towns of merchants who owned goods on 275 ships which sailed from Rostock to Bergen, 1586–92

Home town of merchants	Ships on which all goods belonged the town's merchants	Ships on which some of the goods belonged to the town's merchants
Rostock	139 (51 %)	88
Lübeck	4 ( 1 %)	76
Bremen	31 (11 %)	21
Deventer	11 ( 4 %)	4
Hamburg	0 ( 0 %)	7
total	185 (67 %)	90 (33 %)

Source: Stadtarchiv Rostock, *Seebriefe*. The home town of the merchants who owned the goods on the ship is stated in these sources. A typical entry may read: “[The ship had a cargo of] 40 lasts of beer and 20 of lasts flour which belonged to citizens of Rostock and Bremen”. We are not told what proportion of the beer and flour was owned by these merchants. The figures in the table are based on the 7 first annual volumes of the register, dating from 1586 to 1592.

As mentioned above, up to 99 % of the ships which sailed from Rostock to North Sea towns had Rostock skippers, including ships sailing to Bergen.<sup>107</sup> But table III.11 shows that only 51 % of the ships sailing from Rostock to Bergen carried cargoes which were exclusively owned by Rostock merchants; 11 % of the cargoes

<sup>105</sup> BRUNS, *Frachtherrenbuch*, pp. 65–66.

<sup>106</sup> Staatsarchiv Bremen 7, 2053 and 7,2058.

<sup>107</sup> Cf. pp. 266–267.

were exclusively owned by Bremen merchants, 4 % by Deventer merchants and 1 % by Lübeck traders.

On 33 % of the ships there were mixed cargoes, owned by merchants from several towns. In order to determine what proportion of goods transported on the Rostock–Bergen route were owned by Rostock merchants, we need to add in the 88 ships on which they owned only some of the cargo. If we assume that Rostock traders owned half of the goods on these ships,<sup>108</sup> they sent 183 shiploads (139 + 44) to Bergen, which is 67 % of the 275 shiploads. Using the same procedure for the calculations, Bremen merchants owned 15 % of the shiploads, Lübeck 15 %, Deventer 5 % and Hamburg 1 %. Because the proportion of the shipload owned by merchants from each town is not registered,<sup>109</sup> this is no more than an estimate, but it demonstrates that North Sea towns at this time may have owned around 20 % of the goods shipped from Rostock to Bergen. The captain's home town as listed in table III.1 does not necessarily correspond to the home towns of the merchants in the Bergen trade.

In the 16<sup>th</sup> century, Wendish merchants' trade from Bergen to North Sea ports was only a shadow of its former self. Ships from Lübeck normally did not continue on from Bergen to North Sea ports, but there were exceptions.<sup>110</sup> In the period 1581–1613, the Lübeck Freight Lords chartered seven ships captained by Lübeck skippers to sail from Bergen to Amsterdam with stockfish, and one ship to Bremen. The Lübecker Bergenfahrer Hinrik tor Straten owned two ships which were hired independently to sail regularly between Bergen and North Sea ports, mainly Bremen, during the years 1584–1593. The Lübeck Bergenfahrer also imported some cloth into Bergen on ships from Bremen.<sup>111</sup> Lübeck had limited interests in North Sea ports like Bremen and Amsterdam.

Rostock merchants' interest in trade between Bergen and western Europe was equally modest. Several ships from Rostock continued on from Bergen to Spain and Portugal with timber, and a couple went to Scotland, but not one of these vessels sailed to Bremen, Deventer or other North Sea ports with fish.<sup>112</sup>

Between 1300 and 1440, merchants from Lübeck, and on a more modest scale from other Wendish towns, had played a leading role in Bergen's foreign trade with their shipping to Boston and Bruges in the west, and to Wismar and Danzig in the east. Starting in about 1440, Bergenfahrer from Lübeck and the other Wendish towns increasingly concentrated on exchanges between their home towns and Bergen. Sources from the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century demonstrate that this led to ships

108 The last column in table III.11 indicates that there were 196 partial loads transported on 90 ships, which amounts to about a half shipload per consignment.

109 Table III.11 note 1.

110 BRUNS, *Frachtherrenbuch*, p. 63.

111 *Ibid.*, pp. 65–67.

112 *Stadtarchiv Rostock, Seebriefe 1586–1592.*

from Wendish towns largely providing shuttle freight services between their home towns and Bergen. But winter residents on Bryggen still traded to both seas, the difference was that now they were citizens of Bremen and other North Sea ports. North Sea merchants in the 16<sup>th</sup> century increasingly practiced the same kind of triangular trade from the North Sea via Bergen to Baltic ports which Lübeck and its Wendish neighbours had practiced so successfully before 1440.

## CHAPTER IV

### HOW THE HANSA ACHIEVED ITS DOMINANT POSITION IN BERGEN, 1250–1380

Hansa merchants gained control of most Norwegian foreign trade during the last hundred years of the High Middle Ages (1250–1350) and remained dominant until 1600, long after they had been marginalised in the rest of northern Europe. The reasons behind the Hanseatic League's expansion during this period will be the subject of this chapter, and how they managed to retain their dominance will be discussed in chapter V. The aim of these two chapters is to discuss specific issues, not chronological periods; consequently, there will be a small chronological overlap.

Earlier discussions of what led to Hanseatic expansion have concentrated on three main factors:

- the Hansa's trade practices
- the trade policy of the Norwegian state
- Norwegian dependence on Hanseatic grain imports.

The economic factors referred to in the first point are not controversial. P.A. Munch and Alexander Bugge claimed that the Germans organised their trade in a manner which made them superior to Norwegian competitors. Ultimately this was due to the fact that Hansa merchants were professionals to a greater degree than Norwegian merchants. No one has subsequently questioned this analysis, and this factor may turn out to be sufficient to explain German dominance.

The trade policy of the Norwegian authorities went through several phases during this period, and it is necessary to discuss whether the changing legal framework also influenced the German presence in Bergen.

Norwegian dependence on Hanseatic grain imports will be discussed in chapter VI, which has focuses on the consequences of Hanseatic trade for the coastal population to the north of Bergen.

#### 1. ECONOMIC FACTORS

Until the first part of the 13<sup>th</sup> century, northern European merchants who were engaged in long-distance trade travelled to annual markets. Supply and demand of goods were determined by the number of sellers and buyers who were physically present at the market that year. This functioned well as long as small quantities of luxury goods were exchanged, because for such items it mattered less whether prices fluctuated. In the 13<sup>th</sup> century trade increased, luxury goods became marginalised,

and mass-produced commodities such as grain, timber, salt, cloth, wine, herring and stockfish dominated more than in the previous century. This made it necessary to secure more stable prices and establish a more effective way of regulating supply and demand.

Hanseatic long-distance traders accomplished this through extensive reliance on writing from about 1250.<sup>1</sup> Literacy made it possible for a merchant to write business letters and keep accounts not only for his own transactions but also for goods he bought and sold on behalf of colleagues who lived in other towns. He could stay in his home town and manage his business from his private office. By the middle of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, there were Hansa towns stretching from today's Netherlands to the Baltic states. Merchants lived there who spoke the same language and often were relatives; they trusted each other and could conduct trade on each other's behalf in the way just described.

In regions where no Hansa towns existed, communities of German merchants organised themselves on foreign soil. A Hansa merchant living in his home town could station a representative abroad whose duty it was to sell goods sent by his employer, inform him about prices, and establish contacts with local producers. He kept written accounts which were overseen by his employer.

Did Norwegian merchants adopt similar practices, or did these developments in the period 1250–1350 open up a “technology gap”? The basic precondition for the way Hansa merchants organised their trade was that they were professional, full-time merchants. This was not always the case in Norway.

#### A. LANDOWNERS AND PROFESSIONAL MERCHANTS IN NORWEGIAN FOREIGN TRADE

The account that the chieftain Ottar related to King Alfred at the end of the 9<sup>th</sup> century provides evidence that in the Viking Age, wealthy and powerful Norwegians sailed to England bringing goods which they had received as payment for taxes and other dues.<sup>2</sup> Around the years 1115–1120, the future Earl of Orkney, Kale Kalsson, sailed from Norway to Grimsby for purposes of trade.<sup>3</sup> In 1225 the nobleman (*lendmann*) Jon Stål received a letter of safe conduct for a journey to England with his goods,<sup>4</sup> and we know from the saga of Håkon Håkonsson that he travelled to England in person.<sup>5</sup> In 1235 another nobleman, Ivar Nev, received a letter of safe conduct from the English king for his journey home from England with his “men,

1 RÖRIG, *Grosshandel und Grosshändler in Lübeck*, pp. 217–218.

2 Cf. p. 25.

3 *Orkneyinga saga*, Norse edition chapters 59 and 60; English translation, chapters 59 and 60; Norwegian translation, p. 115.

4 Patent Rolls 1217–1225 p. 542 = DN XIX no. 169.

5 *Håkonar saga Håkonarsonar*, chapter 130.

horses, harness and goods”.<sup>6</sup> His journey was possibly undertaken not only for purposes of trade. *The King’s Mirror*, a book written at the Norwegian court around 1250, gives advice to young and aspiring noblemen. It advises young aristocrats to start their working life as a merchant, in order to earn money and acquaint themselves with foreign countries, which would be useful in their later career in the King’s service.<sup>7</sup> All men of property sold goods they received as land rents, but according to *The King’s Mirror*, it was not dishonourable to engage in intermediary trade, that is, to “buy cheap and sell dear”.<sup>8</sup> This was seen as part of an aristocrat’s education.

Wealthy Norwegians continued their trade with England up to the early 14<sup>th</sup> century. An English letter of complaint from 1306/7 claimed that several named Norwegian magnates, among them the well-known Snare Aslaksson and Bjarne Erlingsson, “are merchants and send ships and goods to Lynn and other English towns”.<sup>9</sup> There are no indications that during this late period such men travelled to England in person. English customs accounts in Lynn list a man called Omund on three separate occasions: on 03/08/1304, where he is said to be from Tønsberg; on 15/05/1305, from Bergen; and on 01/08/1307, from Trondheim. Each time this Omund is named as the skipper of a ship called the *Imbos*, so this must have been the same man trading in several towns. He seems to be a match for a person who in other sources is called Omund Imba. The latter is mentioned in 1324 as one of the heirs to the *Stofreim* estate which had formerly belonged to Lady (*Fru*) Thorbjørg, a woman of noble stock who was related to the magnate Vidkun Erlingsson of Bjarkøy and Giske.<sup>10</sup> Omund Imba served as a witness in 1319 and 1325 in Oslo when a farm changed hands.<sup>11</sup> If Omund Imba and Omund the captain of the *Imbos* were the same person, he owned land in Sogn and traded in Oslo, Bergen and Trondheim. He was thus most likely a minor landowner from a prominent noble family who in his younger days sailed on his own ship to foreign markets.

Sigurd Jatgeirsson Lande was a rich landowner from Trøndelag. In 1322, he was a witness to a legal settlement at the royal residence in Trondheim, appearing as the third in a list of nine names.<sup>12</sup> In 1329, he bore the noble title *Herr* and was the representative of the regent of Norway, Erling Vidkunsson, in a private property transaction on Orkney.<sup>13</sup> His will dating from 1332 reveals that he owned extensive

6 Calendar of Patent Rolls 1235–1247, p. 90 = DN XIX no. 215.

7 *Konungs skuggsiá* Norse original, pp. 4 and 38; Norwegian translation, pp. 23 and 83.

8 *Konungs skuggsiá* Norse original, p. 6; Norwegian translation, p. 26; “... wise merchants buy steadily and sell rapidly.”

9 DN XIX no. 456 = PRO Ancient petitions no. 8024.

10 DN I no. 177; MUNCH, *Det norske Folks Historie* IV del 2, p. 286.

11 DN I nos. 158 and 183.

12 DN III no. 127. The witnesses were enumerated according to rank.

13 DN II no. 168.

landed properties, and his death was registered in the Icelandic Annals.<sup>14</sup> According to local custom, his father's name should have been Jatgeir Lande. In 1305, skipper Johannes Wyte from Norway arrived in Lynn, and one of the merchants on board his ship was Jadderus Land, who was importing timber, stockfish, fish oil and goats' hides.<sup>15</sup>

Eindride Peine was a citizen of Tønsberg and owned a house there, but he was also a member of the King's permanent retinue (*hird*) and carried out administrative duties in the town for the King. He visited Rostock in 1310, most likely for purposes of trade, and was accused of involvement in a murder there.<sup>16</sup>

At this time it may have been common for wealthy men to send agents to trade for them in foreign ports, in which case the agent's name would normally be registered in the customs accounts and other sources. The magnate Snare Aslaksson owned a ship called the *Rauku* which was used in trade with England in 1313.<sup>17</sup> Ten years earlier, a ship with the same name (*Rauke*) was registered in the customs accounts in Lynn as carrying boards and rafters worth £14 and stockfish worth £2.<sup>18</sup> The merchants involved were named Vidar and Stein, and the low stockfish value indicates that they were not Bergen traders. They may have been Snare's agents who were hired to sell timber produced on Snare's farms on Lista in Agder.<sup>19</sup>

Other magnates may have retired from active trade and operated as ship owners. The *Isaksbussen* most likely belonged to Isak Gautesson, who had his residence on Sjernarøy in Ryfylke near Stavanger. When this ship arrived in Lynn in 1306, two merchants from Bergen were listed as owners of the cargo, which consisted of stockfish with a high value (£70), fish oil worth £4, and boards worth £6, a typical Bergen cargo. A landowner from southwest Norway would not receive those commodities in land rents. In 1303 and 1304, the *Isaksbussen's* cargo belonged to five Bergen merchants;<sup>20</sup> they most likely chartered the ship from Herr Isak or his son.

Prominent members of the royal family also sent goods and ships abroad. Duke Skule Bårdsson was the King's father-in-law, and his merchants sailed to Lynn on his ship in 1224 and 1225, and on the latter occasion they brought home grain.<sup>21</sup>

14 DN IV no. 199 = RN IV no. 900; other documents about him and his will can be found in RN IV and RN V, indexes.

15 DN XIX no. 442 = RN III no. 269.

16 MecklUB XXV no. 13861; NGL III nos. 33 and 35; DN IV no. 121.

17 DN XIX no. 500 = Foedera II, p. 293.

18 L 24/8–03.

19 HELLE, *Konge og gode menn*, p. 597.

20 Relevant English customs accounts are printed in their original language in DN XIX, and RN has summaries in Norwegian; RN III nos. 122, 123, 176, 348, cf. no. 295 = DN XIX nos. 422 and 436. Isak Gautesson died shortly after 1302, if he was dead in 1303–6, his son Gaute Isaksson owned the ship.

21 Patent Rolls 1217–1225, p. 459 = DN XIX nos. 162; Close Rolls II, p. 59b = DN XIX no. 170.

In 1294, a ship on its way to Flanders carried goods belonging to Duke Hákon, the King's brother.<sup>22</sup>

The Norwegian king bought grain in Lynn in 1228, 1246 and 1252.<sup>23</sup> His ship or goods are mentioned as being in an eastern English port in 1223, 1254, 1259 and 1312.<sup>24</sup> In 1275, the King's merchant and ship were in Lynn.<sup>25</sup> English customs accounts from 1305 list the King's ship carrying a cargo which belonged to seven individual merchants. The ship's captain may have been conducting trade for the King, but the skipper owned only 15 % of the goods on board, which consisted of stockfish, fish oil, hides and boards.<sup>26</sup> As late as 1340, the King had a ship in Bergen which was being prepared for a trade journey,<sup>27</sup> but it is not stated whether this vessel was to be sent abroad.

Landowners and royals sold commodities they received as land rents, sold timber from their own forests, rented their ships to others, and bought and sold marketable commodities. The *King's Mirror* confirms that buying and selling for profit was not a dishonourable pursuit for aristocrats.<sup>28</sup>

In the 12<sup>th</sup> century, the Norwegian church's dioceses and monasteries attracted considerable incomes. Most of the English chancery rolls start in 1201 and demonstrate that Norwegian ecclesiastical institutions traded with English ports throughout the 13<sup>th</sup> century. As early as 1203, the Archbishop of Nidaros received permission to export one shipload of grain and other victuals from England, even in years when harvests had failed. This is said to be a confirmation of an earlier permit dating back to the time of Henry II and Richard I,<sup>29</sup> which was renewed by Henry III's regents in 1222<sup>30</sup> and by Henry III himself in 1241.<sup>31</sup> In 1226 there was a general ban on grain exports from England, but the King nevertheless permitted the Norwegian archbishop to export his shipload.<sup>32</sup> In 1306, the Archbishop's skipper and agent, named Sigurd Skallerot, sailed to England.<sup>33</sup> In 1303 and 1304, the same Sigurd

22 *Hanseakten aus England* no. 16 = DN XIX no. 395.

23 Close Rolls 1227–1231, p. 80 = DN XIX no. 191; Close Rolls 1242–47, p. 484; Close Rolls 1251–53, p. 169.

24 Close Rolls I, p. 559 = DN XIX no. 146; Close Rolls 1253–1254, p. 118 = DN XIX no 259; Close Rolls 1253–1254, p. 129 = DN XIX no. 260; Close Rolls 1256–1259, p. 475 = DN XIX no. 268; DN XIX no. 478.

25 Patent Rolls 1272–1281 p. 111 = DN XIX no. 289.

26 RN III nos. 267 and 283 = DN XIX nos. 442 and 436; English customs accounts for Ravensere 8/8–05 and Lynn 15/10–05.

27 DN VIII, p. 135.

28 *Konungs skuggsiá* Norse original, pp. 4 and 6; Norwegian translation, pp. 4 and 6.

29 *Rotuli Chartarum* I, 1, p. 110b = DN XIX no. 80.

30 Patent Rolls 1216–1225, p. 338 = DN XIX no. 138.

31 Patent Rolls 1232–1247, p. 259 = DN XIX no. 233.

32 Close Rolls II, p. 139a = DN XIX no. 177.

33 DN XIX nos. 445 and 446; cf. DN XIX no. 463 = RN III no. 541.

had exported stockfish, fish oil and boards to Lynn, and on both occasions took on board malt and honey, in 1303 also cloth and spices.<sup>34</sup> Malt and honey were used for brewing; the stockfish and fish oil no doubt came from the Archbishop's tithes and land rents.

The Archbishop's trade with eastern England was extensive and continuous. He owned two ships which were used in this trade; one was called *St. Olav's Help*,<sup>35</sup> the other *St. Olav's Buss* after the guardian saint of the archdiocese. Both vessels were in England at the same time in 1233 and 1236,<sup>36</sup> and there is evidence that one of them was in England in 1223, 1226, 1233,<sup>37</sup> 1235<sup>38</sup> 1236,<sup>39</sup> 1303, 1304<sup>40</sup> and 1306.<sup>41</sup> In 1301 the Archbishop travelled in person to Bruges on one of his ships.<sup>42</sup> Only some of the goods sent to England on the Archbishop's ship belonged to him. In 1226, the cargo on his ship belonged to several merchants, and in 1304 *St. Olav's Buss* transported goods owned by three merchants.<sup>43</sup>

The Bishop of Bergen issued a letter of safe conduct for travel to England for two of his servants in 1322, and to Orkney in 1340.<sup>44</sup> Since he referred to them as his *famuli*, without an ecclesiastical title, their mission was probably commercial rather than religious. In 1341, the Bishop sent a cargo ship to Iceland.<sup>45</sup>

A ship belonging to the Bishop of Stavanger arrived in Ravensere on 06/06/1308; four named merchants owned the goods on board, and one of them was said to be from Bergen. The Bishop owned houses (a *gard*) in Bergen. The skipper, who probably was the Bishop's agent, was transporting timber worth 195 shillings, hides worth 40 shillings, and stockfish valued at 11½ shillings.<sup>46</sup> The timber could have come from the Bishop's own land, while he may have received the hides and stockfish as land rents or tithes. The remaining cargo space seems to have been leased by Bergen merchants.

The Bishop of Oslo is mentioned once in the customs accounts from 1309, when cloth was exported from Hull in his name.<sup>47</sup> On 02/04/1304 *Bischoppesbu-*

34 RN III nos. 121, 183 and 189 = DN XIX nos. 422 and 436; English customs accounts.

35 "*Le Elp sancti Olavi*"; DN XIX no. 446.

36 Close Rolls 1231–1234, p. 24 = DN XIX no. 210; Calendar of Patent Rolls 1232–1247, p. 144 = DN XIX no. 222.

37 Close Rolls I, p. 559a = DN XIX no. 146; Close Rolls II, p. 139a = DN XIX no. 177; Close Rolls 1231–1234, p. 242 = DN XIX no. 210.

38 Close Rolls 1234–37, p. 195.

39 Calendar of Patent Rolls 1232–1247, p. 144 = DN XIX no. 222.

40 RN III nos. 121, 183 and 189 = DN XIX nos. 422 and 436; English customs accounts.

41 DN XIX no. 446.

42 DN III no. 48.

43 RN III no. 183 = DN XIX no. 436; English customs accounts.

44 DN IV nos. 153 and 246.

45 DN VIII no. 147.

46 RN III no. 490 = DN XIX no. 454; English customs accounts.

47 DN XIX no. 461 = RN III no. 568; English customs accounts.

*sche* (The Bishop's Buss), captained by Einar Blonese, arrived in Lynn with a cargo of herring and took on cloth and lead for the return voyage. At that time, herring was exported almost exclusively from Bohuslän, which belonged to the diocese of Oslo, so the Bishop of Oslo probably owned this ship.<sup>48</sup> Herring is not known to have been used to pay land rents, so either the Bishop bought and sold herring for profit, or the ship had been chartered.

In 1309, a cargo ship belonging to the Bishop of Hamar and a citizen of Oslo was impounded in Rostock along with the merchandise on board.<sup>49</sup>

All five bishoprics on the Norwegian mainland owned ships which were used for purposes of trade. Church law prohibited clergymen from "buying cheap and selling dear", and the sources before 1360 do not provide conclusive evidence that they did so. The goods on board may have been received as rents and other duties, or produced on the prelates' own farms. The sagas indicate that these ships were also used to transport the Bishop himself and his retinue.

Of all the Norwegian monasteries, the Cistercian Abbey of Lyse near Bergen operated the most extensive trade with England. Visits to their mother institution, Fountains Abbey in Yorkshire, were combined with trade and emissaries on behalf of the Norwegian king. The English King John died in 1216, and two years later his successor renewed the letter of safe conduct to the monastery.<sup>50</sup> In 1223, the ship owned by Lyse Abbey was exempted from customs duties,<sup>51</sup> and in 1225 one of the monastery's monks bought grain in Lynn.<sup>52</sup>

The mother institution of the Cistercian monastery of Hovedøy near Oslo was Kirkstead in Lincolnshire. In 1224, 11 Norwegian ships were impounded in Lynn; one of them belonged to the Abbot of Hovedøy.<sup>53</sup> In 1237, seven Norwegian ships were seized in Lynn, among them one belonging to the Abbot of Hovedøy which was carrying one of his monks (*monachus*) and goods owned by the abbot.<sup>54</sup> A man named Erik from Bergen's Benedictine monastery called Munkeliv exported malt from Lynn in 1304; he was probably a lay brother, since he is not given an ecclesiastical title in the accounts.<sup>55</sup> Brother (*frater*) Goswan from the Benedictine monastery named Nidarholm near Trondheim was a skipper and merchant on the monastery's ship in Ravensere in 1304. But only 12% of the goods on board this ship – stockfish worth 26 shillings, fish oil worth 35 shillings, hides valued at 14 shillings, and timber at 20 shillings – belonged to the captain. The first three commodities may have been paid to the monastery as land rents, while the timber could

48 RN III no. 163 = DN XIX no. 422.

49 MecklUB XXV no. 13, p. 855.

50 Close Rolls I, p. 382a = DN XIX no. 121.

51 Patent Rolls 1216–1225, p. 384 = DN XIX no. 151.

52 Close Rolls II, p. 61a = DN XIX no. 176.

53 Close Rolls I, 606b = DN XIX no. 159.

54 Close Rolls 1234–1237, p. 481f = DN XIX no. 230.

55 RN III. no. 176 = DN XIX no. 436; English customs accounts.

have come from the monastery's own forests.<sup>56</sup> The Augustinian monastery of Utstein located outside Stavanger owned the *Utsteinbussen*, which sailed to Lynn twice; the captains, Tor Gaut and Johannes Lang, were probably both merchants from Bergen who chartered the ship from the monastery.<sup>57</sup> In 1326, a ship belonging to the Premonstratentian monastery of St. Olav in Tønsberg arrived in Ravenser outside Hull; its cargo was the property of two merchants from Tønsberg.<sup>58</sup>

A ship named the *Draxmorch* arrived in Lynn in 1305 carrying herring and butter, and its skipper was from Tønsberg.<sup>59</sup> To judge by its name, the ship belonged to the Premonstratentian monastery of Dragsmork in Bohuslän. But this is not certain, because in 1331 a ship with this name (*Dragxmorken*) was owned by a man called Guttorm, who was a canon of the royal chapel of St. Mary in Oslo.<sup>60</sup> He had probably bought the vessel from the monastery.

The Church of the Apostles (*Apostelkirken*) in Bergen was another royal chapel. It owned a ship called the *Langside*. This ship appears twice in the customs accounts; both skippers lack ecclesiastical titles, so it seems that the church rented their vessel to laymen. On its first registered voyage, the ship was transporting herring.<sup>61</sup>

The royal chapel of Avaldsnes, situated between Bergen and Stavanger, was the likely owner of the ship *Avaldsnesbussen*, which called in at Lynn three times in the years 1303 and 1305,<sup>62</sup> captained by a Bergen skipper each time. On its first voyage it only carried timber; on its second it had timber, hides and fish oil; and only on the third voyage did it carry stockfish. It is possible that on the first two occasions the skippers were selling goods produced by the church.

In the case of some ships and merchants, we know that they were connected to the church but lack information about which particular institution. *Pristesbusce* (the priests' buss), captained by a Tønsberg skipper, arrived in Lynn on 11/05/1305 with herring and stockfish.<sup>63</sup> Frater Osbertus from Oslo exported large quantities of herring and hides to Lynn on 16/03/1304; later the same year (18/10/1304) he arrived in Hull with timber, and the following year on 16/05/1305 he brought herring to Lynn. The ship he sailed on to Lynn was named the *Monkered*.<sup>64</sup> Osbertus must

56 RN III no. 264, cf. no. 287 = DN XIX no. 442, p. 525; English customs accounts.

57 RN III no. 133 and 258 = DN XIX nos. 422 and 436; English customs accounts (dates: L. 17.10.1303 and 12.07.1305).

58 *Calendar of Inquisitions Miscellaneous* II, p. 137 = RN IV no. 418a; Premonstratentians were also called Norbertines, or White Canons in Britain and Ireland.

59 DN XIX no. 436 = RN III no. 238; English customs accounts.

60 DN III no. 160.

61 DN XIX no. 460 = RN III no. 540; RN III no. 79 = DN XIX no. 422.

62 RN III nos. 86, 249 and 290 = DN XIX nos. 422 and 436; English customs accounts (dates L. 01.06.1303, 19.06.1305 and 18.10.1305).

63 RN III no. 242 = DN XIX no. 436.

64 RN III nos. 159, 244, 211 = DN XIX nos. 422 and 436; English customs accounts.

have been a monk who traded in herring and timber for his monastery, which most likely was Hovedøy in Oslo.

It is possible that the monasteries were less strict than the bishoprics about observing the prohibition against buying cheap and selling dear. Many of their ships traded in herring. But it is often unclear who owned the goods on board the church's ships; it may have been merchants who chartered the vessels. It is difficult to draw firm conclusions on the basis of the available evidence.

Throughout the Middle Ages, lawmakers in Norway tried to prevent peasants and men belonging to their households from working as traders, but it is not clear whether this referred to foreign trade or local trade with the nearest town. The Frostating law (ca. 1260)<sup>65</sup> prohibited people who had less than 3 marks from engaging in trade, because peasants (*bondum*) lacked men (*vinnumenn*) to work on their farms;<sup>66</sup> this was evidently aimed at servants who found the occupations of sailor or pedlar more attractive. This prohibition was renewed in 1364, 1421 and 1490.<sup>67</sup> However, the 1490 ordinance differed somewhat: first, it was only valid in eastern Norway and so did not affect Bergen and northern Norway; and second, it only prohibited peasants from owning and operating large ships for foreign trade, while it remained lawful for them to own small boats in order to conduct trade domestically. But even this version of the law restricted both owning and working on ships. However, it seems that the prohibition was only enforced when someone put pressure on the authorities. The interests of peasants and landowners who lacked workers and tenants is explicitly laid out in all of these laws; the interests of Bergen citizens who considered peasants as competitors in trade with the fishing districts are expressed in the 1421 version, while the interests of citizens of eastern Norwegian towns can be seen in the 1490 prohibition. It is not clear how seriously the legislation limited foreign trade conducted by the peasantry.

Peasant traders sailed to Greenland and Iceland. Leksa is a farm at the estuary of the Trondheim fjord. In 1325, Olav from Leksa and other Greenland traders from Trøndelag refused to pay the tithe in Bergen, where they sold their goods, but insisted instead on paying it in Trøndelag, where they resided in the winter. The Archbishop, whose diocese included Trøndelag, supported this. He wrote that seafaring merchants (*siglingarmenn*) who only sold their goods in Bergen were under no obligation to pay their tithe there, but should pay it where they owned property and had grown up.<sup>68</sup> Fifteen years later in 1340, the Archbishop demanded that Nicholas of Leksa and others who sailed to Iceland should pay the tithe on all their goods, and not only on *wadmál* (locally made woollen cloth) as was previously the

65 *Frostatingslova*, Norwegian translation, p. IX.

66 *Frostatingslova*, Norse edition, p. 125 §20.

67 NGL III no. 95; NGL 2.rk. I no. 55; DN II no. 963.

68 DN VII nos. 103 and 104 "... *sem their eigi bade godz oc barnfoede.*"

case.<sup>69</sup> Nicholas and his son seem to have perished at sea shortly afterwards. Their heirs, who were from a farm named Garten close to Leksa, donated a farm on the island of Hitra to the chapter of Nidaros cathedral in return for masses being held for the souls of the deceased.<sup>70</sup> These documents provide examples of peasants who lived on the farms where they had grown up but at the same time traded in Greenland and Iceland. They stayed in Bergen only as long as it was necessary to sell their goods. They must have operated as independent merchants and not agents, otherwise they would not have been held responsible for paying the tithe on goods sold.

Trade with Greenland was considered to be domestic commerce, but peasant traders also crossed the North Sea. In the year 1300, two Norwegian merchants from Rugfolk were driven by a storm to Ravensere near Hull, where their goods were plundered.<sup>71</sup> They were most likely from Ryfylke, the fjord region north of Stavanger. In 1312, Ivar de Skerfhungre was arrested in Lynn.<sup>72</sup> His byname might be derived from Skerfangr, a farm which belonged to the parish church of Selje in Nordfjord.<sup>73</sup> In 1300, the goods of Snare and Bård from Falkestede in Norway were confiscated in Lynn; Snare is later referred to as being from Trondheim.<sup>74</sup> Was he a peasant from Folkestad (near Volda) in Sunnmøre who had bought his goods in Trondheim? Torkel de Oustnesse arrived in Ravensere in 1311; he may have lived on the farm called Osnes (Ostness in the Middle Ages) in Ulstein in Sunnmøre.<sup>75</sup>

The Norwegian merchants mentioned so far engaged in trade and shipping as a secondary occupation, while their main incomes came from land rents, employment in the service of the church and king, and farming their land. In some respects they acted as professional merchants: the wealthiest of them had agents who sailed overseas, and they rented their ships to others. But they differed from them in important respects. They did not have permanent trade representatives in foreign ports, because they did not conduct trade every year. Professionals tended to reinvest their profits in trade, while non-professionals tended to invest in land or conspicuous consumption. *The King's Mirror* advises young aristocrats to cease trading and invest in land when they had accumulated enough capital to continue with a career in the more honourable service of the state and king.<sup>76</sup> If too many Norwegians had followed this line of thinking, it would have stunted commercial growth.

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69 DN II no. 235.

70 Ibid. no. 250.

71 DN XIX no. 416 has Rugsolk; Calendar of Patent Rolls 1292–1300, p. 620 has Rugfolk. Patent Rolls are normally more reliable.

72 Calendar of Close Rolls 1307–1313, p. 553 = DN XIX no. 478.

73 *Norske Gaardnavne* XII, p. 403; *Bergens kalvskind*, p. 8b. The farm paid 4 *lauper* in land rent, and must therefore have been of a middling size.

74 Calendar of Close Rolls 1307–1313, pp. 235 and 209 = DN XIX nos. 469 and 471.

75 *Norske Gaardnavne* XIII, p. 51.

76 *Konungs skuggsiá* Norse original, pp. 6–7 and 38; Norwegian translation pp. 27–28 and 82–83.

But there were professional merchants even among the Norwegians. *The King's Mirror* advised young aristocrats to invest some of their capital with men who lived permanently in a town and were skilled traders.<sup>77</sup> The urban law from 1276 states that "we townsmen earn much of our living from trade".<sup>78</sup> Were these merchants only retailers, or did some of them also send their goods to foreign ports?

In 1309 and 1310, here are records showing that two Norwegian merchants sold their goods in Rostock; one is referred to as a citizen (*cives*) of Oslo, the other of Tønsberg.<sup>79</sup> They seem to have been townsmen who engaged in foreign trade as an important part of their business. Many Norwegian merchants are named in English sources, but none of them are explicitly called citizens or townsmen of a particular Norwegian town. But it is possible to discover the origins of some Norwegian traders by comparing their names in English sources to those of urban councillors (*råd-menn*) and house owners in Norwegian towns.<sup>80</sup> The Norwegians often gave their names orally to an English clerk, and the written version was therefore frequently distorted.

A Norwegian merchant who appears several times in the customs accounts with slightly different second names is *Gunne Breter/Bret/Baret/Prat de Tonnesberg*.<sup>81</sup> This is possibly the same man who was called *Gunnor Sut* de Tonnesberg in Lynn's accounts in 1306.<sup>82</sup> *Gunni Brattr* was a witness to a property transaction in Oslo in 1315,<sup>83</sup> carrying out a function which we frequently ascribe to urban councillors. There was a housing complex (*gard*) called Bratten in Tønsberg in 1391.<sup>84</sup> Andreas Sappe, who also appears in the customs accounts, may have been from the *gard* called Sappen in Tønsberg.<sup>85</sup> But most of the identified merchants originated from Bergen.

*Ellyng Breyde de Norwag* arrived in Lynn in 1304 as a skipper on the *Nicholas*.<sup>86</sup> Its cargo of boards, stockfish and fish oil point to it coming from Bergen or its catchment area. Erling *Brædir* was a witness at the sale of some houses in the Bella-

77 *Konungs skuggsiá* Norse original, pp. 6; Norwegian translation, p. 28.

78 *Magnus Lagaboters Bylov*, VII 6.

79 MecklUB XXV nos. 13855 and 13861.

80 English sources: Close Rolls, Patent Rolls, Fine Rolls, Pipe Rolls and the customs accounts. Norwegian sources: DN with *Norske Gaardnavne* as reference. Norwegian merchants disappear from English sources during the first half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, and there are practically none after ca. 1350.

81 RN III nos. 405, 160, 219, 207 and 240 = DN XIX nos. 422, 436 and 443; English customs accounts.

82 RN III no. 343 = DN XIX no. 436.

83 DN II no. 121.

84 DN I no. 532.

85 JOHNSEN, Kristiansund, p. 306; DN XIX no. 520, English customs accounts.

86 RN III no. 154 = DN XIX no. 422, English customs accounts; cf. BUGGE, *De norske byers selvstyre og handel*, p. 149.

gard housing complex in Bergen in 1312,<sup>87</sup> fulfilling a function frequently carried out by a town councillor.<sup>88</sup>

*Olavus le Lung de Norwag* arrived in Lynn in 1305 as the skipper of the *Selefsbussen*, which was transporting stockfish and fish oil.<sup>89</sup> In 1304, Olav Lang *de Berghe* had some of his goods confiscated in Boston, and *Oloffus de Lung* arrived in Ravensere later the same year with a small cargo of timber.<sup>90</sup> In 1316, a small group of local merchants were given the right of first purchase for goods imported into Bergen by foreign merchants, and one of the locals was *Olaf Langr*.<sup>91</sup> *Ollaver Langr* was a witness when the housing complex Bellagard in Bergen was divided among heirs in 1315,<sup>92</sup> serving in the role of an urban councillor.<sup>93</sup> Olav Lang from Bergen is mentioned in 1325 as being the brother of the *lagmann* (royal judge) in Orkney.<sup>94</sup>

Orm Desting arrived in Lynn in 1325;<sup>95</sup> he may have lived in the Destingen *gard* in the Stranden quarter of Bergen. At the end of the 14<sup>th</sup> century there was a family in Bergen bearing that name.<sup>96</sup>

The Norwegian historian Alexander Bugge thought that he could identify more house owners and town councillors from Bergen among the named Norwegian merchants in the English customs accounts.<sup>97</sup> Because he built his conclusions on identical first names only, these identifications are dubious and of little value.

*Alvinus Crok*, who arrived in Ravensere in 1308 on a ship from Trondheim,<sup>98</sup> is the likely owner of the *gard* called Kroken in that town.<sup>99</sup>

In 1306, *Barthol Riker* imported stockfish, fish oil, timber, and hides of goats and reindeer into Ravensere.<sup>100</sup> In 1328, the estate of the deceased *Bredor Rikr* was settled in Trondheim; he had left behind significant quantities of stockfish, fish oil, and hides of goats and cows, and he owned part of the housing complex called *Tannagard* in that town.<sup>101</sup> Bredor demonstrates how difficult it is to separate landowners and rich farmers, on the one hand, from merchants who lived exclusively from

87 DN I no. 134.

88 SOLBERG, Rådmenn i Bergen, p. 120.

89 RN III no. 257 = DN XIX no. 436; BUGGE, De norske byers selvstyre og handel, p. 147.

90 DN XIX no. 429; PRO – E 122/55/17 = RN III no. 213, English customs accounts.

91 NGL III no. 49 = HUB II no. 311 (German translation); this group of local merchants is mentioned in chapter IV.31.

92 DN I no. 146.

93 SOLBERG, Rådmenn i Bergen, p. 123.

94 DN XII no. 67.

95 RN IV no. 341 = DN XIX no. 524; English customs accounts.

96 LORENTZEN, Gård og grunn i Bergen, p. 215.

97 BUGGE, De norske byers selvstyre og handel, pp. 146–150; cf. “Introduction. Earlier research” in this book.

98 RN III no. 505 = DN XIX no. 454; English customs accounts.

99 BLOM, Trondheim bys historie, p. 227.

100 RN III no. 351 = DN XIX no. 447.

101 DN V no. 75.

trade, on the other.<sup>102</sup> Bredor Rikr also owned 12 *markebol* of land and 35 cows; two *markebol* is considered to be the size of an average farm,<sup>103</sup> so his land holdings corresponded to six average farms.

Two merchants from Stavanger provide another example of how trade and farming could be combined. In 1308, *Haslak Heupa* sailed from Bergen to Ravensere as the skipper on a ship belonging to the Bishop of Stavanger.<sup>104</sup> In 1322, Aslak “in” Aupu was a witness when a ship was sold in Stavanger; “in” as part of a byname indicates that the person lived on and cultivated the named farm as an owner or tenant.<sup>105</sup> The documents state that the ship had formerly belonged to the Bishop of Stavanger; it was probably the same vessel which sailed to Ravensere in 1308. The *Haslak Heupa* found in the customs accounts and Aslak in Aupu mentioned in the Stavanger documents in 1322 must have been the same man. There were 11 witnesses at the sale of the ship, and Aslak in *Aupu* is listed just after Arne in *Aupu*. This makes it likely that the two were brothers. In 1311, “Aslak in Skagen<sup>106</sup> and Arne his brother” were nominated by the Bishop of Stavanger to sit on a jury.<sup>107</sup> The fact that the two men were brothers and at this time were in the service of the Bishop strongly suggests that the Aslaks named in the documents from 1308, 1322 and 1311 were the same man. In the jury list from 1311, the brothers Aslak and Arne are mentioned last, while they appear as no. 6 and 7 of 11 witnesses in 1322. Such lists were ordered according to the person’s rank, so their position on these documents indicates that they did not have high status, which points to them being merchants or peasants. *Aupu* probably denotes a farm called Aubø on the island of Sjernerøy, north of Stavanger, which was spelled *Aupø* in the 16<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>108</sup> Aslak was most probably a merchant who traded in England from his residence in the *gard* called Skagen in Stavanger, but at the same time he cultivated the farm at Aubø. Like Bredor Rikr, he combined being a peasant and an urban merchant. It is not likely that Aslak was a landowner like Bredor, because then his social status would have been higher. We do not know how usual it was to combine trade with agriculture and land ownership in this way.

Alexander Bugge assumed that if a merchant was mentioned in the customs accounts as coming from Bergen, Trondheim, Tønsberg or Oslo, this provides sufficient evidence that he was one of the “ordinary merchants, citizens of the towns”<sup>109</sup>

102 BUGGE, *Handelen mellom England og Norge*, p. 41.

103 *Kulturhistorisk leksikon for nordisk middelalder*, entry word, “Markebol”.

104 RN III no. 490 = DN XIX no. 454.

105 DN IV no. 152.

106 HELLE, Stavanger, p. 150; Skagen was a *gard* in Stavanger.

107 *Ibid.* no. 90.

108 *Norske Gaardnavne X*, p. 306.

109 BUGGE, *De norske byers selvstyre og handel*, p. 140.

But Aslak *i Aupu* cited above is said to have come *de Northberge*.<sup>110</sup> The customs officials asked merchants where they were from, and Aslak must have furnished the name of the town he had sailed from, where he had loaded his goods. As we saw above, a man called Omund was registered in Lynn three times as the captain of a ship called the *Imbos*, the first time coming *de Tonesberg*, the second *de Berwen* and the third *de Thorndeyn*.<sup>111</sup> Hansa merchants, however, always furnished the names of the German town where they held citizenship, even if their goods had been loaded in Norway or Flanders. The Norwegian towns did not have formal citizenship at this time, and the most likely explanation for Omund's variety of bynames is that he did not live permanently in a town, but combined the professions of merchant, peasant and possibly landowner and was able to take on goods in several towns. Thus the byname *de Bergen* does not provide sufficient evidence that the merchant lived permanently in Bergen.

Bugge's definition of the merchant class entailed that its members lived in a town and supported themselves by engaging only in wholesale trade.<sup>112</sup> However, Norwegian foreign trade in the early Middle Ages was conducted by landowners and peasants. In the 13<sup>th</sup> century, foreign trade was increasingly specialised and concentrated in the towns, but many of these merchants still gained substantial income from agriculture. Norwegian merchants' trade with England varied strongly from one year to the next.<sup>113</sup> At the beginning of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, there were hardly any Norwegian merchants who made a living solely from foreign trade, but some domestic traders, house owners and town councillors obtained part of their incomes from trade with eastern England.

Commercial exchanges carried out by the clergy and Crown found their way into the written sources more easily than those of secular magnates, townsmen and peasants because they received special treatment in English ports and other destinations. The latter group had to obey general export restrictions, and therefore rarely appear by name in the English chancery rolls. Even when their names do appear no title is given, which makes it problematic to determine their social background. A cleric was often listed in the accounts with a title such as *clericus*, *frater* or *monachus*, or we are explicitly told that he was the abbot of a particular monastery. The name of a peasant or townsman normally stands without additional information. In the discussion above, I tried to match names from the English customs accounts and chancery rolls with names in extant Norwegian charters and other letters. Members of the secular and ecclesiastical elite are overrepresented in the latter sources. For these reasons, it is not possible to infer that the many identified clerics, royals and

110 *Northberge* was the usual name used for Bergen in the English customs accounts, to distinguish it from Bergen-op-Zoom in the Netherlands.

111 Appendix I table 4.

112 BUGGE, *Handelen mellom England og Norge*, pp. 40–41.

113 Table IV.3.

magnates in the relevant written sources reflect their actual dominance in commerce. Johan Schreiner does draw this conclusion, which in my opinion is a methodological mistake.<sup>114</sup>

The only possible way to determine the importance of ecclesiastical institutions in foreign trade is to examine lists of skippers and merchants and count how many of them had ecclesiastical titles. In 1224, eleven impounded Norwegian ships were released in Lynn, and three of the skippers had ecclesiastical titles.<sup>115</sup> The captain of one of seven ships seized in Lynn in 1237 had a religious title.<sup>116</sup> In 1250, the English Crown bought furs from nine Norwegian merchants, none of whom had ecclesiastical titles.<sup>117</sup> In 1308, eight Norwegian ships were impounded in Lynn; one of the skippers was said to be in the service of a Bishop (*Corges* [= Torgeir], *episcopi*), and another ship belonged to the King (*Kyngescogge*).<sup>118</sup>

In the extant customs accounts from eastern England for 1303–11, merchants who in my opinion were Norwegian were registered as importing goods 205 times.<sup>119</sup> Their titles and other documents demonstrate that 16 of them were either clergymen or worked for ecclesiastical institutions. However, the customs accounts have limited value in this context because only the name of the person who was present in the English port was normally written down, and the owner of the goods may have been a different person or institution. Most Norwegian merchants seem to have travelled to England themselves, but ecclesiastical institutions often used agents. Nor did the customs accounts consistently note the titles of the skippers and merchants who were on board the church's ships. A man called Osbertus from Oslo is registered in the customs accounts seven times; three times he is called *frater*, and four times has given no title. Ecclesiastical institutions often used secular agents. In 1306, Sigurd Skalleroth worked as an agent for the Norwegian archbishop, and in neither the correspondence from the English chancery nor in the customs accounts was he given an ecclesiastical title.<sup>120</sup> The full extent of trade conducted by the church cannot be quantified through an analysis of the names of skippers and merchants in the customs accounts and chancery rolls.

The customs accounts for Lynn from 1303–11 give the names of most ships which traded in the port. There were 47 named Norwegian ships, one belonging to

114 SCHREINER, *Hanseatene og Norges nedgang*, pp. 16–17.

115 *Close Rolls I*, p. 606b = DN XIX no. 159.

116 *Close Rolls 1234–1237*, p. 481f = DN XIX no. 230.

117 *Calendar of the Liberate Rolls 1245–51*, pp. 273 and 315.

118 *Calendar of Close Rolls 1307–1313*, p. 553 = DN XIX no. 478. It is unusual that a Norwegian owned a “cog”. Normally the Norwegian ships were called “busse”, the German ones “cogs”. This refers to different types of ship. It is no coincidence that the cog belonged to the King. On his campaign in Scotland in 1263, King Håkon Håkonsson had at least one cog which he used to transport supplies (*Håkonar saga Håkonarsonar*, chapters 324–326).

119 Appendix I.

120 DN XIX nos. 445 and 446: DN XIX no. 463 = *Calendar of Close Rolls 1307–1313*, p. 127; cf. customs accounts RN III nos. 121, 183, 189 = DN XIX nos 422 and 436.

the King,<sup>121</sup> two to secular magnates,<sup>122</sup> and at least 10 to ecclesiastical institutions.<sup>123</sup> At least  $\frac{1}{4}$  of the ships belonged to the landowning class. But several landowners limited their commercial interests to renting out their ships, so counting their ships will overestimate their level of involvement in trade. The Archbishop of Nidaros and the Abbot of Hovedøy only owned part of the cargo carried on their ships in 1226<sup>124</sup> and in 1237<sup>125</sup> respectively. The customs accounts provide similar examples. But ecclesiastical institutions also transported their goods on ships belonging to laymen.

Landowners and rich peasants had significant interests in Norwegian foreign trade during the High Middle Ages, but we do not know whether they dominated it. Even professional merchants in Hansa towns invested in land or urban housing, which was a sensible way of building up assets in a society without banks. But this combination of trade and property investments functioned differently in the two societies. In Norway, it provided a method for households which earned most of their income from agriculture and land rents to acquire liquid capital and additional income. In the Hansa towns, it provided a method for people whose incomes came mainly from investments of liquid capital in commerce to ensure that they had a safe haven for reserve capital.

## B. CAPITAL

Did the Hansa merchants have more capital to invest than Norwegians? If so, they would have been able to take larger risks, investing higher amounts in each transaction.

Table IV.I. Import value per merchant and ship of goods shipped from Norway to eastern English ports, 1303–11. Number of merchants and ships in parentheses

	Value per merchant	Value per ship	Merchants per ship
by Germans to Boston	£ 21 (252)	£ 97 (50)	4.6
by Germans to Ravensere	£ 17 (187)	£ 72 (45)	4.2
by Germans to Lynn	£ 27 (46)	£ 39 (33)	1.4
by Germans to Hull	£ 16 (32)	£ 20 (27)	1.3
by Norwegians to Lynn	£ 41 (82)	£ 52 (69)	1.3
by Norwegians to Ravensere	£ 10 (73)	£ 22 (28)	2.2
by Norwegians to Hull	£ 15 (15)	£ 20 (11)	1.3

Sources: Cf. appendix I.

121 *Kyngesbusse*.

122 *Rauke* and *Isaksbusse*.

123 *Avaldsnesbusse*, *Biskopsbusse*, *Dragsmork*, *Langside del Postelkyrke*, *Monkereth*, *Olavsbusse*, *Pre-stebusse*, *Laurentiusbusse*, *St. Olav*, *Utsteinbusse*.

124 Close Rolls II, p. 156b = DN XIX no. 180.

125 Close Rolls 1234–1237, p. 481f = DN XIX no. 230.

The most striking figure in the first column is the high value per merchant of goods imported by Norwegian traders into Lynn: it was four times that of Norwegian merchants importing into Ravensere and double the value of Germans bringing goods into Boston. These high values per merchant stem from the fact that for Norwegian ships the customs accounts in Lynn normally only registered one merchant, although the ships' cargoes were of average value. Even the Germans carried on average only 1.4 merchants per ship into Lynn. This is striking and gives rise to suspicions that the customs accounts were kept according to different principles in Lynn. This can be checked by comparing the registration of ships which entered both Ravensere and Lynn on the same trip. The ships in table IV.2 unloaded goods from Norway in Ravensere and continued to Lynn to purchase other goods.

Table IV.2. Norwegian ships visiting Ravensere and Lynn on the same trip, 1305–06

Date	Ravensere	Date	Lynn
20/6–05	Johs. le Long (skipper) and 2 named merchants	12/7–05	Johs. Lung
21/8–05	Frater Goswan (skipper) and 5 named merchants	18/10–05	Frater Goswan de Thrunden et socii sui
8/8–05	Haquin de Thrunden (skipper) and 7 named merchants	15/10–05	Haquin de Thrunden et socii sui
10/8–05	Johs. le Whyte de Norwag (skipper) and 3 named merchants	18/10–05	Johs. Quite de Northberg et socii sui
14/5–06	Johs. le Whyte (skipper) and 3 named merchants	17/7–06	Johs. Quite et socii sui

Source: Appendix I

In Ravensere, each merchant's name and value of his goods was registered, while in Lynn the total value of all goods on the ship was given and the amount of customs paid were listed under the skipper's name. In Boston, registration was carried out as in Ravensere. Captain Johan Wale imported stockfish to eastern England twice in 1303. The first time was on June 4<sup>th</sup> in Lynn, where customs for goods which had a value of £82 were paid under the name of the skipper *et socii sui*. The second occasion was on August 29<sup>th</sup> in Boston, where customs for goods from Norway which had a value of £125 were paid individually by the skipper and 7 other named merchants. The phrase *et socii sui*, which occurs repeatedly in the accounts from Lynn, meant "and his partners" in a legal, financial sense.<sup>126</sup> The customs officials in Lynn must have interpreted this phrase in the looser sense of "companions on a sea voyage" or "merchants sailing on the same ship".

Since the high values per Norwegian merchant in Lynn are not accurate, that leaves us with the figures from Ravensere, Hull and Boston. The Germans imported

<sup>126</sup> POSTAN, *Credit in Medieval Trade*, p. 16.

higher average values per merchant into Boston, Ravensere and Hull than the Norwegians did into Ravensere and Hull. The average value of goods imported by the 73 Norwegians into Ravensere was around half the average value brought by the 252 and 187 Germans respectively into Boston and Ravensere. This quantity of source material should be sufficiently large to prove that the average Hanseatic *Bergenfahrer* invested more in each transaction than his Norwegian counterpart. The comparison between values of ships' cargoes should be made between Germans in Boston and Ravensere and Norwegians in Lynn and Ravensere, since the two merchant groups concentrated their trade in these respective ports. Hansa merchants imported a higher value of goods per ship into these towns, just as they had per merchant.

The reality behind these figures is that Hansa merchants had more capital, so they could afford to buy larger consignments of goods and could take greater risks by sending them all on one ship. Transporting twice as much cargo per ship doubled the value of sales in England, while the organisational and transportation costs increased to a lesser extent. Merchants who traded in large quantities thus must have received larger profits on their capital outlay.

### C. COMMERCIAL NETWORKS

Merchants who engaged in foreign trade as a secondary or part-time occupation were at a disadvantage when they tried to create a commercial network for themselves. Commercial correspondence and written accounts made it possible for professional Hansa merchants to buy and sell through their representatives in several towns at the same time.<sup>127</sup> A *Bergenfahrer* in Lübeck normally had a permanent representative in Bergen. These representatives would have established permanent contacts with a number of fishermen, which made the delivery of stockfish reasonably predictable. From Bergen, they could export the fish to the Hanseatic settlement in Boston, where it was sold through intermediaries to stockfishmongers in English towns.<sup>128</sup> Some of the imports into Bergen came from Baltic towns and from Hanseatic settlements in Boston and Bruges. Such a complex network presupposed predictability.

Norwegian merchants were no strangers to these innovative practices. In 1304, three merchants from Boston and Lynn bought honey and other goods in their home towns on behalf of three Norwegian merchants living in Bergen.<sup>129</sup> The Bergen merchants may have provided similar services for their English colleagues. If so, this would be the same as using agents, which is a service that citizens of different Hansa towns performed for each other. Documents from 1302 tell the story of a

<sup>127</sup> Cf. 277–278.

<sup>128</sup> Chapter I.3h.

<sup>129</sup> DN XIX no. 429 = PRO - Ancient correspondence vol. XXVIII no. 90.

Norwegian merchant who entered into an agreement about the delivery of timber of a certain type and size to a citizen of Holkham in Norfolk. When he arrived with the timber the following year, the Englishman refused to pay the agreed price.<sup>130</sup> The timber trade, just like the stockfish trade, required long-term planning, which at least was an advantage. Predictability was a problem when trade was a secondary occupation.

Table IV.3. Value of Norwegian merchants' exports from and imports into Lynn

	<b>Exports</b>	<b>Imports</b>
1303	£ 218	£ 447
1304	£ 962	£ 1177
1305	£ 1551	£ 1301
1306	£ 346	£ 394
1307	£ 170	£ 340

Source: Appendix I table 4

Norwegian merchants' trade with eastern English ports varied greatly from one year to the next. This indicates that most of them did not organise trade through permanent agents or pre-arranged agreements about deliveries, but rather based it on irregular visits to market towns where prices were reputed to be favourable that year. Norwegian merchants concentrated their foreign trade in eastern England in the period 1100–1310, and at the Scanian fair from about 1190 to 1280; visits to other North Sea and Baltic markets were occasional. An alternative to foreign trade for many of them must have been retail trade in Bergen or Trondheim, or domestic trade with the northern stockfish-producing regions or with Iceland.

Norwegian merchants lacked the Hansa merchants' wide-ranging, permanent network which relied on written correspondence, because this type of organisation presupposed the existence of professional merchants. About the year 1300, the majority of Norwegian merchants carried out commerce in a manner which long-distance traders in Hansa towns had left behind half a century earlier.

#### D. SPECIALISATION

Permanent commercial networks and more capital gave Hansa merchants significant competitive advantages in the expanding stockfish trade during the last part of the High Middle Ages.

<sup>130</sup> DN XIX no. 420 = Calendar of Patent Rolls 1301–1307, p. 183; DN XIX no. 419 = PRO - Ancient Correspondence vol. XIX no. 174.

Table IV.4. Relative value of commodities imported from Norway in customs accounts from Lynn, Ravensere and Hull, 1303–11, on ships where this was registered

Goods	German ships with cargoes worth over £50		German ships with cargoes worth less than £50		Norwegian ships <sup>(1)</sup>	
	£	%	£	%	£	%
stockfish	£ 2677	93 %	£ 335	31 %	£ 749	52 %
fish oil	£ 113	4 %	£ 29	3 %	£ 217	15 %
hides	£ 71	2 %	£ 78	7 %	£ 69	5 %
herring	£ 0	0 %	£ 476	45 %	£ 59	4 %
timber	£ 18	1 %	£ 112	11 %	£ 336	23 %
other	£ 3	0 %	£ 37	3 %	£ 21	1 %

Sources: Appendix I. In Boston the value of individual commodities was never registered.

(1) Ships where Norwegian merchants owned at least half of the cargo's value

The largest German ships operated a specialised trade in dried cod and cod liver oil; 97 % of their imports consisted of these two commodities. Smaller German and Norwegian ships carried a wider range of goods, and herring and timber played an important role for them alongside stockfish.

The Hanseatic trade organisation was created to handle commodities which required predictability in both supply and demand. This gave them a decisive advantage in dealing in mass-produced goods. Stockfish was such a commodity, and table IV.4 shows that Hansa merchants had a strong competitive edge in this trade. Bohuslän herring does not seem to have been the object of large-scale specialised Hanseatic investments around 1300; if it was, the market for this herring was not in England. The Hansa specialised in the timber trade in the Baltic, particularly in Prussia. The time for Norwegian timber came in the 16<sup>th</sup> century, for Norwegian herring in the 18<sup>th</sup>, and the trade in both was not organised by German merchants.

## 2. THE LEGAL FRAMEWORK IN A PERIOD OF FREE TRADE, 1247–1299

The legal framework for trade is always crucial for merchants. Did the Norwegian authorities seek to protect native merchants? Did they try to create conditions which – in their eyes – would ensure that the Hansa's commerce served the interests of Norwegian customers better?

In the 13<sup>th</sup> century it was common for English as well as continental urban communities to restrict the trade of foreigners and favour that of their own citizens. Bristol received a privilege from the town's lord in 1195 which limited the stay of foreign merchants in the town, prohibited foreigners from trading with each other, and limited their retail sales. The statutes of London town went even further in

favour of its citizens.<sup>131</sup> German towns implemented similar statutes starting in the 12<sup>th</sup> century,<sup>132</sup> and these grew increasingly important in the 13<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>133</sup>

German emperors and English kings worked against the protectionism of the local urban communities and promoted free trade in their realms.<sup>134</sup> In 1290, Edward I gave the following reason for this policy: “the King understands that foreign merchants are useful for the magnates”,<sup>135</sup> who were the largest consumers of imported goods. In 1390, the English parliament petitioned for foreign merchants in England to be given the same trading conditions as English merchants had in the foreigners’ homelands. The King answered: “The King desires that they should be treated with justice and courtesy to encourage their coming”.<sup>136</sup> Trade policies were compromises between the King and urban communities.

It will prove fruitful to divide the discussion of the relationship between merchants and the Norwegian state into three periods. The first source on the subject appears in 1247, but up until 1299 state authorities were rather passive and in practice oversaw a policy of “free trade”. King Håkon V, who reigned from 1299 to 1319, initiated an active trade policy. After 1319, Norway entered into the first in a long series of Scandinavian unions; the court moved to Sweden, and local urban communities were left to fend for themselves. I have chosen to discuss these last two periods under one chronological heading, 1299–1380, since there is a clear thematic continuity between them.

#### A. LAWS, ORDINANCES AND PRIVILEGES

Norwegian authorities formulated the legal framework for trade through laws, ordinances issued by the King or urban communities, and privileges awarded to the Hansa and other specific groups. The Hansa and other merchant groups were protected by Norwegian law even without their privileges.

Initially, laws were made on a regional basis in Norway, and each town enacted its separate urban law (*Bjarkøyrett*). From about 1150, Norwegian kings worked to unify the laws under state control. This resulted in the national law of 1274 (*Landsloven*) and a supplementary urban law dating from 1276 (*Byloven*), which were in force throughout the Middle Ages. The King could supplement and change the laws through ordinances (*rettarbøter*). The urban law and ordinances were both part of the legal framework the Hansa traded under in Norway. Norwegian authorities claimed that they could issue such regulations without the consent of the foreigners

131 SCHANZ, *Englische Handelspolitik*, pp. 383–384.

132 GÖNNENWEIN, *Stapel- und Niederlagsrecht*, for example p. 304.

133 *Ibid.*, pp. 23–29; HIBBERT, *Economic Policies of Towns*, p. 185.

134 GÖNNENWEIN, *Stapel- und Niederlagsrecht*, p. 23; SCHANZ, *Englische Handelspolitik*, pp. 389–399; SALZMAN, *English Trade*, p. 99.

135 SALZMAN, *English Trade*, p. 99.

136 *Rotuli Parliamentorum* III, p. 281; SALZMAN, *English Trade*, p. 100.

affected by them, and that these were valid until the King decreed otherwise. In 1331, King Magnus complained that the Hansa did not respect many ordinances issued by King Håkon V (d. 1319).<sup>137</sup> The Hansa accepted the King's right to issue laws and ordinances without their consent even if it affected their framework of trade, but only on the condition that such regulations did not violate Hansa privileges. This was the subject of much controversy during this period.

Hansa privileges were issued by the king but were the result of negotiations between the two parties. After a privilege was issued, it could only be changed if both the king and the Hansa consented. Håkon VI had confirmed the Hansa's privileges in 1361. Later he regretted awarding these concessions and in 1372 tried to contest the validity of the 1361 privileges during heated negotiations with the Hansa.<sup>138</sup> After King Håkon VI's death in 1380, the captain of Akershus castle in Oslo pointed out to the Hansa that privileges expired when the king who had issued them died.<sup>139</sup> During his negotiations with the Hansa in 1372, King Håkon VI had demanded economic compensation from them because, since the start of his reign in 1355, Hansa merchants had exercised privileges awarded by his predecessor without his confirmation.<sup>140</sup> The Hansa accepted the underlying principle, but responded that his predecessor, King Håkon's father, was still alive, and he had confirmed their privileges in 1343. Legally a privilege was valid only during the issuing king's reign, and a new king had to confirm a privilege awarded by his predecessor or issue a revised one.

In 1372, the Hansa tried to circumvent these time-consuming and expensive negotiations about privileges every time a new monarch took over by asking the king to confirm Hansa privileges forever (*perpetuo*), but he refused.<sup>141</sup> Negotiations about privileges were a good occasion for the state to demand political concessions or large fees in return! The Hansa in principle accepted that their privileges could be changed through negotiations, but in practice they never gave up privileges which previous kings had given them. When privileges were renegotiated, it was a standard demand that the king should confirm all earlier privileges,<sup>142</sup> which he mainly ended up doing. The Hansa followed the same practice as the church: Hanseatic privileges could only be augmented, never diminished.

As will be shown below, there were originally few legal restrictions on foreign merchants' trade in Norway. It was unnecessary to spell out many of their practices and rights explicitly when issuing privileges because they were not contested. Under Håkon V (1299–1319), many traditional practices were forbidden through royal ordinances. The Hansa could not claim that this cancelled out their privileges,

137 HUB II no. 502 = NGL III no. 70 = DN VII no 135.

138 HR I, 2, 40 §14–16.

139 NGL 2.rk. I no. 356.

140 HR I, 2, 40 §14.

141 HR I, 2, 43 §4.

142 Ibid.

because the privileges said nothing about them. It now became important to have “ancient customs”, which had never been committed to paper, confirmed. In 1312, the Wendish towns on the Baltic were given legal protection in Norway, and they were to “enjoy all their freedoms and rights which for a long time they have possessed and have been granted, as it is contained in privileges and agreements with [King Håkon V] and his predecessors”.<sup>143</sup> The 1343 document listing the Hansa’s privileges also confirms only the rights that had been given in writing.<sup>144</sup> In 1354, the town council of Rostock asked the King to permit its citizens in Oslo to “enjoy their rights, privileges and customs held from ancient times, confirmed and granted (*confirmatis et indultis*) by your predecessor Kings and princes of Norway.”<sup>145</sup> However, in the ceasefire agreements between the King and the Hansa in 1352 and 1359, the King confirmed all the Hansa’s “rights, freedoms and other customs, as they have enjoyed them at their freest in our realm”.<sup>146</sup> It was a novelty for the King to confirm all customs (*consuetudines*) without specifying that he meant only those that were written down. This made the phrasing ambiguous, since in the Middle Ages *consuetudines* could mean both written and non-written traditional practices.<sup>147</sup> The agreements from the 1350s can be interpreted as an acceptance of practices which had never been granted in writing. At least the Hansa wanted them to be interpreted in that way.

During negotiations in 1370–76, the Hansa demanded a general confirmation of their “customs” in Norway without clarifying the term.<sup>148</sup> King Håkon asked them to produce the relevant privileges in order to stop them exercising rights for which they had no written legal title.<sup>149</sup> The final agreement in 1376 nevertheless contained a confirmation of unspecified “ancient customs”.<sup>150</sup> The King made this concession because he needed support from the Hanseatic League for his son to be chosen King of Denmark.<sup>151</sup> The following year, the King issued an ordinance where he made it clear that only the Hansa’s ancient written rights had been confirmed.<sup>152</sup>

The diffuse status of “ancient customs” made it possible for Hansa merchants to ignore new state legislation by claiming that it was contrary to the “ancient customs” which their privileges gave them a legal entitlement to exercise.

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143 UBStL II no. 299 = HR I, 1, 104 = HUB II no. 209.

144 UBStL II no. 203 = HUB II no. 87 = DN V no. 51; HR I, 1, 104; HUB III no 13 = UBStL II no. 774 = DN VIII no. 151 = *Norske middelalderdokumenter* no. 83.

145 DN VIII no. 162.

146 *Diplomatarium Suecanum* VI no. 4838 = HUB III no. 248 = *Diplomatarium Danicum* 3.rk. III no. 581; DN III no. 303.

147 NIERMEYER, *Mediae latinitatis lexicon*, entry word “*Consuetudines*”.

148 HR I, 2, nos. 1, 43 and 46.

149 HR I, 2, 89 = NGL 2.rk. I, no. 351, p. 628 §7.

150 HUB IV no. 549 = HR I, 2, 124 = UBStL IV no. 309 = DN VIII no. 199.

151 TARANGER, *Norges historie*, volume 3, part 1, p. 157.

152 HUB IV no. 579 (German translation) = NGL III no. 111.

## B. DEVELOPMENTS UNTIL THE NATIONAL URBAN LAW OF 1276

Before the national law (*Landsloven*) of 1274 and the urban law of 1276 were enacted, foreign merchants enjoyed the protection of regional Norwegian laws and the relevant courts. The *Gulathing* law, which was valid in western Norway, included the general rule that “foreign men who come to this land shall be given the same legal treatment as peasants” (*Aller adrer utlenzker menn er hingat koma til landz, tha eigu boanda rett*). If a foreigner could provide witnesses to swear that he held a higher status, for example was a cleric or noble, he would be treated in court accordingly. Icelanders also enjoyed a more favourable treatment.<sup>153</sup> It is sometimes claimed that foreign merchants had no legal rights in early societies, but this was not the case in Norway in the High Middle Ages.

The first Norwegian king known to have made a statement on trade policy was King Sverre, in a speech given in Bergen in 1186.<sup>154</sup> At that time, Norwegian foreign trade started to become important, and this was seen as a positive development by the King as long as the foreigners imported goods which were useful. The Germans created a problem by importing so much Rhine wine that it became as cheap as beer, which led to heavy drinking. The King restricted himself to delivering a moralizing sermon about this, but he did not take measures to stop these imports.

Norway’s first known trade agreement with a foreign country was with England in 1223. King Henry III sent an open letter to all his officials stating that the subjects of his friend the King of Norway would be under his protection when they came to England to trade. They were to be treated according to English law and could use the king’s courts of justice to claim their rights, and his officials were to ensure that their verdicts were implemented. Norwegian merchants had to pay the customary duties, and nothing was mentioned about special rights.<sup>155</sup> Norway’s next extant trade agreement was with Lübeck in 1250, and it contains the same guarantee that the town’s merchants would enjoy the protection of Norwegian law and the king’s courts. Only one special right was mentioned. King Håkon stated that according to Norwegian tradition (*usus*), people [= the owners of the seashore?] had the right to plunder wrecked ships. But to improve relations with Lübeck, the King ordered his officials to change (*mutare*) this tradition in the future and offer restitution to Lübeck merchants whose goods had been plundered. He ended his letter by requesting that Lübeck merchants import grain and malt, but not beer, “because this does not improve our realm”.<sup>156</sup> But this was a wish, not a legal proscription. What was most important to foreign merchants was the offer of protec-

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153 *Gulatingsslova* §200.

154 *Sverris Saga*, chapter 104.

155 Patent Rolls 1216–1225, p. 384 = DN XIX no. 147; cf. Close Rolls I, p. 336b = DN XIX no. 114.

156 UBStL I no. 153 = DN V no. 1; UBStL I no. 157 = DN V no. 4.

tion through royal courts of justice, and the state's main concern was that useful goods were imported.

In subsequent agreements with Pomerania (in 1262),<sup>157</sup> Scotland (1266)<sup>158</sup> and England (1269),<sup>159</sup> the main issue was that foreign merchants from these countries had the right to be protected by Norwegian law. This simply confirmed an existing right: before 1276, every Norwegian town had its own urban laws, which also applied to foreigners. The right of Lübeck merchants to salvage their shipwrecked goods appeared in the agreements with England and Scotland, and it was also specified that they could hire people to help with this task. At some point this passage was incorporated into Norwegian law; the 1274 national law brought in by King Magnus Lagabøter ("the Law-mender") permitted shipwrecked merchants to call on neighbouring peasants for help.<sup>160</sup> No other controversial issues are mentioned. The foreigners did not demand special treatment, and the King did not treat them differently.

What has been discussed so far concerns the summer guests in Norway. But what about foreigners who stayed in Bergen and other Norwegian towns for 6 months, 12 months or more? Starting in the 1250s, Bergen had such residents from Hansa towns. The first coherent information about their status is found in Magnus Lagabøter's 1276 urban law.

The summer guests in Norway had few public duties. They were required to go on night patrols in the streets,<sup>161</sup> keep watch on a neighbouring mountain top for bonfires signalling the approach of enemy warships or armies (*vetevakt*),<sup>162</sup> and participate in hauling large merchant ships ashore for repairs (*skipdrått*).<sup>163</sup>

If foreigners prolonged their stay, their public duties increased. The main duty in urban communities was called the *leidang*, which in peacetime consisted of a tax and in times of war included participation in the urban militia and an additional tax. A paragraph in the Frostathing law imposed both forms of *leidang* on foreigners who had resided for 12 months in Nidaros.<sup>164</sup> The 1276 urban law states that foreigners who owned or rented at least  $\frac{1}{4}$  *gård* for 12 months or more "should have the same duties as the townsmen". Such people were called "men with permanent residence" (*husfaste menn*), irrespective of their nationality, and they had to share the

157 *Pommerisches Urkundenbuch* II no. 722.

158 DN VIII no. 9 = *The Acts of the Parliament of Scotland* I, pp. 78–79.

159 DN XIX no. 284 = *Foedera* I, part 1, pp. 480–481.

160 *Magnus Lagaboters landslov*, VII 23 and *Magnus Lagaboters bylov*, IX 11.

161 *Magnus Lagaboters bylov*, VI 3.

162 *Ibid.*, III 4.

163 *Ibid.*, VI 17.

164 *Frostatingslova* VII 11. This paragraph was probably written in the reign of Håkon Håkons-son (1217–1263) but may date back to the time of Archbishop Eysteinn, ca. 1170.

burdens of the *leidang* as described above.<sup>165</sup> King Håkon Håkonsson also imposed the tithe and other dues which Norwegians paid to the church on foreigners who rented a house in Bergen for 12 months or more.<sup>166</sup> All “men with permanent residence” had a duty to attend the urban assembly called the *Thing*, with no exemptions for foreigners.<sup>167</sup> Since these foreigners had the same duties to the state, church and urban community as natives, it must be assumed that they also enjoyed the same rights. Merchants who had established their own households in Norway for more than a year were considered to be naturalized Norwegians.

Foreigners who rented a house for less than 12 months but stayed in a Norwegian town during the winter months (14/9–3/5) had to pay the same taxes to the state as natives did in peacetime (*halv almenning*), but they were exempted from the extra wartime duties.<sup>168</sup> They were also not subject to paying the tithe in Norway, but they were required to attend the urban *Thing*. It is not stated what trading rights this category of foreigners were given, but they are also referred to as “men with permanent residence”<sup>169</sup> and probably enjoyed the same rights as natives.

The only discriminatory provision in the 1276 urban law applied to all foreigners. When a foreigner died and no heir claimed the possessions of the deceased within a year, these became the property of the King. But when a Norwegian died, the King had to wait for 10 years before this happened.<sup>170</sup> This paragraph did not influence foreigners’ ability to compete with native merchants on an equal footing.

Before 1276, Norwegian authorities conducted a policy of free trade, and foreign merchants who wanted to stay in Norway for a lengthy period operated under the same legal framework as natives. Sweden had the same policy during this period. In the 1250s and 1260s, the Swedish regent Earl Birger gave merchants from Lübeck and Hamburg the first privileges we know of. Summer guests were to be judged in the royal courts according to Swedish laws; merchants had the right to salvage their goods from a shipwreck; heirs had the right to claim the goods of Germans who died in Sweden within a year; and if a German made a Swedish woman pregnant, he had to pay a compensation to her household. Citizens of Lübeck and Hamburg were released from paying Swedish customs on condition of reciprocity. Winter

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165 *Magnus Lagabøters bylov*, III 6.

166 DN I no. 122 = *Norske middelalderdokumenter* no. 55.

167 *Magnus Lagabøters bylov*, VII 16.

168 *Ibid.*, III 6. The laws’ definition of “winter” falls between the feasts of the Holy Cross in autumn and in spring.

169 *Ibid.*, VII 16.

170 *Magnus Lagabøters bylov* and *Magnus Lagabøters landslov*, V 11. Another paragraph in the urban law which may seem discriminatory mentions the King’s right to pre-emption of the goods of foreigners only. But the *Landsloven* states that this was to be applied to all merchants (*Magnus Lagabøters bylov*, VI 18 and *Magnus Lagabøters landslov*, VIII 9).

residents “should obey the law of the land and be called Swedes”. Germans were to have the same legal rights as local citizens in Swedish towns.<sup>171</sup>

This accommodating policy by the Norwegian and Swedish authorities can only be explained by a desire to draw as many merchants to the country as possible, which would increase the supply of goods and lower prices. Scandinavian towns were small, with a semi-professional merchant class. Enticing the German merchants to stay was no doubt seen as a means of strengthening Norwegian commerce and urban communities.

English and German kings also displayed an accommodating attitude to foreign merchants, although English and German urban communities conducted trade policies which discriminated against them.<sup>172</sup> In Scandinavia, urban communities were too weak to implement their own trade policy, so this became the preserve of the state.

### C. PRIVILEGES AND ORDINANCES IN THE YEARS 1278–1299

King Magnus’ national urban law, issued in 1276, stipulated general norms for the treatment of foreigners. Two years later, Norwegian kings started to issue more detailed provisions which applied to specific groups of foreign merchants. Did the privileges issued between 1278 and 1299 signal a new and discriminatory attitude to foreigners? To determine this, it is important to know whether the privileges were meant for summer guests only, or whether they were intended to apply to all merchants from relevant foreign towns, “men with permanent residence” (*husfaste menn*) included. Nineteenth-century historians like P.A. Munch,<sup>173</sup> Yngvar Nielsen<sup>174</sup> and Alexander Bugge<sup>175</sup> held the first view, while Johan Schreiner held the latter.

A lexical analysis provides no conclusive answer. The Hansa’s oldest privilege, dating from 1278, regulated the trade of all German “guests and visitors” (*hospites et adventes*),<sup>176</sup> while the 1294 privilege refers to German “guests” (*hospites*).<sup>177</sup> The term *hospites* could include foreigners with permanent residence (*husfaste menn*), later called “winter residents” (*vintersittere*).<sup>178</sup>

171 KUMLIEN, *Sverige och hanseaterna*, pp. 87–106, particularly p. 93.

172 Cf. above pp. 296–297.

173 MUNCH, *Det norske Folks Historie* IV del 2, p. 243.

174 NIELSEN, Bergen, p. 178.

175 BUGGE, *De norske byers selvstyre og handel*, p. 185.

176 HUB I no. 818 = UBStL I no. 398 = DN V no. 10 = *Norske middelalderdokumenter* no. 30.

177 UBStL I no. 621 = MecklUB III no. 2294 = HUB I nos. 1144–1150 = *Norske middelalderdokumenter* no. 41 = DN V no. 23.

178 *Kulturhistorisk leksikon for nordisk middelalder*, entry word “Vinterliggare”.

Another approach is to trace provisions related to specific issues. The 1276 urban law required summer guests to participate in night patrols.<sup>179</sup> In 1278, Germans who rented accommodation (*hospicia*) for less than six months, i.e. summer guests, were exempted from this obligation. This concession was presented as a new royal favour.<sup>180</sup> In 1294, all German “guests” (*hospites*) were exempted from night patrols,<sup>181</sup> but a 1320 ordinance specified that “foreign winter residents” (*utlendskir vetrsetar*) were not exempted.<sup>182</sup> Later documents from the 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> centuries demonstrate that keeping night watch was the duty of Bergen’s house owners, foreigners as well as natives.<sup>183</sup> The 1294 privilege can only be reconciled with the other provisions if “guest” in 1294 meant “summer guest” or “foreigner who does not have permanent residence”. This is confirmed by the privileges Duke Håkon awarded in 1292 to “temporary guests” (*hospites temperantes*) from Greifswald and Wismar who visited his eastern Norwegian dukedom.<sup>184</sup> This wording states explicitly that the privilege only applied to summer guests. But in 1296, the King granted a privilege to all citizens of Hamburg (*burgenses de Hamborg*).<sup>185</sup> The explanation for this is probably that Hamburg at that time did not have winter residents in Norway. The privilege states that if a ship owned by Hamburg citizens arrived in Norway in the wintertime, it would be allowed to stay there until spring without paying the tithe or taxes. This was clearly meant to apply to summer guests who through bad luck were unable to reach their home port before the winter storms began; they were released from paying taxes and duties which were normally required of winter residents. The conclusion is that the privileges issued to German towns during the year 1278–1299 were intended for summer guests and not for “men who have permanent residence” in Norway. The latter were subject to the same legal framework as Norwegian merchants.

Lübeck and its neighbouring towns along the Baltic called themselves “German maritime towns”, and they received their first privilege in 1278.<sup>186</sup> Most of the provisions only confirm paragraphs in the 1276 urban law, but there are some exceptions. According to the urban law, summer guest had to participate in night patrols,<sup>187</sup> but as mentioned above, German summer guests were exempted from this in 1278. The urban law decreed that all merchants who stayed more than three

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179 *Magnus Lagaboters bylov*, VI 3.

180 HUB I no. 818 = UBStL I no. 398 = DN V no. 10 = *Norske middelalderdokumenter* no. 30.

181 UBStL I no. 621 = MecklUB III no. 2294 = HUB I no. 1144 = *Norske middelalderdokumenter* no. 41 = DN V no. 23.

182 HUB II no. 364 = NGL III no. 64 = DN VII no. 91.

183 NGL III no. 78; NGL 2.rk. II no. 65 and no. 416 §52.

184 HUB I nos. 1101 and 1102.

185 HUB I no. 1215 = *Hamburgisches Urkundenbuch* I, pp. 743–745 = DN V no. 33.

186 HUB I no. 818 = UBStL I no. 398 = DN V no. 10 = *Norske middelalderdokumenter* no. 30.

187 *Magnus Lagaboters bylov*, VI 3.

nights in a town were required to help haul large ships ashore,<sup>188</sup> but the privilege exempted all German summer guests from this. Ships were normally drawn ashore in autumn and launched in spring. Since Germans performed this task in their home towns, the exemption would have seemed reasonable. The 1276 urban law stipulated that “all seafarers” were required to buy and sell from “houses”, which were dwellings with storerooms, or at marketplaces, and not from their ships or boats.<sup>189</sup> German summer residents were now allowed to buy “small-wares”, hides and butter on a retail basis on quays, streets and from boats.<sup>190</sup> These concessions may have removed irritations, but they did not change the legal framework for competition between Hanseatic and Norwegian merchants. The first Hansa privilege in 1278 was an attempt to adapt the 1276 urban law to existing practices and what was reasonable.

Four years later in 1282, a meeting of the citizens of Bergen, with the consent of the king’s council, limited the rights of all foreigners, including “those who stay here during the winter”.<sup>191</sup> The main provision was that winter residents who did not import grain products into Bergen would not be allowed to buy butter, skins or stockfish during the winter (14/9–3/5). Bugge and Schreiner thought the regulation aimed to stop the Hansa’s trade with England, because Hansa merchants would have problems obtaining a return freight of grain from England.<sup>192</sup> But merchants from Baltic towns dominated exports of stockfish to England;<sup>193</sup> they also imported large quantities of grain from their home towns, and would therefore not be prevented by the 1282 ordinance from exporting fish. An almost identical provision was renewed in 1316, with the justification that many Germans imported nothing but “strong beer and finery which our land does not need” and exported “what we need most and cannot do without, which is stockfish and butter”.<sup>194</sup> These are the same ideas that were voiced in 1247 about beer being harmful and grain being useful to the country.<sup>195</sup> The main motive behind this Norwegian trade policy was to provide abundant supplies of useful commodities.

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188 Ibid. VI 17.

189 Ibid. VI 16.

190 It is not clear what smallwares (*smowarningr*) were, but an English ordinance from 1378 mentions as examples silk and gold thread (*Rotuli Parliamentorum* III, p. 47; cf. SALZMAN, English Trade, p. 100). Buying such goods cannot have been important; hides and butter may have been more relevant.

191 NGL III no. 2 = *Norske middelalderdokumenter* no. 34.

192 BUGGE, *Den norske sjofarts historie*, p. 208; SCHREINER, *Hanseatene og Norges nedgang*, p. 27; HELLE, *Norge blir en stat*, p. 254.

193 Table I.11.

194 HUB I no. 284 = NGL III no. 47.

195 UBStL I no. 153 = DN V no. L.

The Germans also reacted against a second provision in the 1282 ordinance, which banned winter residents from buying domestic animals for slaughter in the countryside around Bergen. Schreiner interpreted this as an attempt to reserve local trade between the town and countryside for Norwegian merchants.<sup>196</sup> But looking at later Norwegian legislation in this area, it is more likely that the motive was to make sure that animals to be slaughtered were offered for sale in the town market which everybody in Bergen had equal access to, and so that the King could exercise his right of pre-emptive purchase.<sup>197</sup> The dominance of consumer interests is illustrated by the fact that most of the paragraphs in the ordinance regulated wages and prices. Through the 1282 ordinance, Norwegian authorities for the first time abandoned the principle of free trade and equal treatment of natives and foreigners. But their aim was the same: to protect consumer interests.

The 1282–1285 conflict has been poorly understood by several historians. Stephan Selzer writes in his recent history of the Hansa that this war broke out “after repeated illegal actions against German merchants and their possessions in Norway” (*nachdem es gegen [Deutsche Kaufleute] und ihren Besitz mehrfach Übergriffe in Norwegen gegeben hatte*).<sup>198</sup> In reality, the war represented a confrontation between the Norwegian state’s laws and a group of foreign merchants who insisted that if such legislation applied to them, it could not be implemented unless they first accepted it.

The 1282 ordinance was one of the causes of the war in 1284 between Norway on the one hand and Hansa towns and Denmark on the other. These regulations taken in isolation are not dramatic, and one might wonder why they resulted in a war, but they did involve certain basic principles. The ordinance taken as a whole was the first breach of the policy of equal treatment for foreigners and natives, and this was brought in without the Germans’ prior consent. This represented an attack on winter residency as it was developing in Bergen at that time, and if taken further it could have endangered the way Hansa merchants organised their increasingly important stockfish trade. But there were other causes of the war involving political tensions between Denmark and Norway and which are outside the scope of this monograph.<sup>199</sup>

The war ended with a peace treaty arbitrated by the Swedish king in Kalmar in 1285. The regulations concerning stockfish exports and the purchase of animals for slaughter in the countryside were abolished; Germans were given the right to buy and export all kinds of goods anywhere in Norway under the same conditions

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196 SCHREINER, *Hanseatene og Norges nedgang*, p. 26; cf. HELLE, *Norge blir en stat*, p. 254.  
197 Cf. chapter IV.3i.

198 SELZER, *Mittelalterliche Hanse*, p. 38.

199 More about the causes of this war can be found in chapter V.1a. HELLE, *Norge blir en stat*, pp. 254–255 explains the Danish dimension of this conflict.

enjoyed by native Norwegians.<sup>200</sup> The treaty of 1285 reintroduced the principle of equal treatment and free trade from the urban law of 1276.<sup>201</sup>

Norwegian authorities claimed the right to determine the legal framework under which foreign merchants operated on Norwegian soil; this right to be the supreme legislator in their own territory was claimed by all western European states at this time. The Hansa, on the other hand, regarded the legal framework for trade as an agreement between two parties which could only be changed by mutual agreement. In 1285, the Hansa was strongest, and the Norwegian attempt to impose legislation on the Hansa to which they had not consented had failed.

The second Hanseatic privilege is dated 1294. Some Hansa merchants had executed pirates in Marstrand without the King's consent, which was in violation of the state's legal rights; after negotiations, this privilege was issued as part of a settlement to the conflict.<sup>202</sup>

This privilege clarified certain points in the 1276 urban law where it was felt to be necessary. The right to stand bail was an integral part of Norwegian law; it was reiterated for German merchants in their first privilege in 1278, and was further clarified in the privilege from 1294. If a German was brought before a Norwegian court on charges which did not entail corporal punishments, and had to wait for his case to be heard, he could avoid being detained if he was able to stand bail. Bail could be paid by himself, by two other Germans, or by the owner of the house he rented. If a German avoided appearing in a Norwegian court by fleeing to his home town, those who had helped him escape could be punished for his crime, but it was not permitted to hold other citizens from the criminal's home town responsible. The principle of individual guilt was entrenched in the 1274 Norwegian national law and the 1276 urban law, and was also to be applied to Germans in Norway.

The King now levied the first customs duty on Germans in Bergen – one ship-pound (*Shiffpfund*) of grain per vessel.<sup>203</sup> Germans were prohibited from sailing north of Bergen. Both provisions remained in force until the end of the Middle Ages.

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200 UBStL no. 484 = MecklUB III no. 1821 = HUB I no. 993 = *Norske middelalderdokumenter* no. 36.

201 Cf. HELLE, Norge blir en stat, p. 256.

202 UBStL I no. 601 = HUB I no. 1114 = HR I, 1, 63 = MecklUB III no. 2223 = DN V no. 21; UBStL I no. 603 = MecklUB III no. 2224 = HR I, 1, 63 = HUB I no. 1115 = DN V no. 22; UBStL I no. 621 = MecklUB III no. 2294 = HUB I no. 1144 = DN V no. 23 = *Norske middelalderdokumenter* no. 41; MUNCH, *Det norske Folks Historie* IV del 2, pp. 206 ff and 234 ff.. Some historians have claimed that this was the final settlement after the war in 1284/5. In UBStL I no. 605 = HR I, 1, 49 = HUB I no. 1117 the King states that the parties disagreed on the interpretation of some paragraphs in the Kalmar treaty of 1285. But this treaty was final.

203 One Norwegian ship-pound = 148 kg, cf. *Norsk historisk leksikon*, entry word "Skippund"; cf. below chapter IV.3c.

Ships were permitted to dock alongside the quay in Bergen without asking state officials for permission, but the skipper had to obtain authorisation from the captain of Bergenhus castle before goods could be unloaded. Goods were subject to Norwegian law after they were unloaded, and the King then could exercise his traditional right of pre-emptive purchase for three days. The King obliged the Germans to sell all goods they had imported within the borders (*takmarken*) of a Norwegian town. Transit goods remaining on the ship were not subject to this or the obligation to sell in town, and thus could be sent “wherever the merchants want inside or outside the realm (*regnum*)”.<sup>204</sup>

These paragraphs imposed new burdens and restrictions on the Hansa merchants, but the privilege gave them one minor new right: the property of deceased Germans was to pass to the King after 1½ years, not 1 year, as was previously the case.<sup>205</sup> Other exemptions only amounted to confirmations of rights awarded to them earlier.<sup>206</sup> This second privilege was not as favourable to the Hansa as Schreiner has claimed.<sup>207</sup> Germans and Norwegians could hardly have seen it as a decisive break with the traditional principle of free trade and competition on equal terms.

Having few restrictions on foreign trade could be seen as an indirect way of making Bergen attractive to foreign merchants. The prohibition against trade in rural areas, a monopoly on stockfish exports for grain importers, and the obligation to sell goods which had been unloaded from ships all served to make a variety of useful commodities openly available for sale in towns.

At the end of this period in 1299, the Hansa must have been satisfied with the legal framework they enjoyed in Bergen and the rest of Norway. Free trade and competition on equal terms with natives was more favourable than the conditions which existed for merchants in most other countries they visited. Their most important and controversial claim was that the legal framework for their commercial dealings in Norway should be the result of negotiations between themselves and Norwegian authorities, to be formulated in privileges which were agreed to by both parties. This was in theory unacceptable to the state at the time, but in practice Norwegian authorities in 1285 and 1294 accepted the principle. This principle became the seed for future conflicts.

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204 *Magnus Lagabøters bylov*, VI 18; cf. UBStL I no. 621 = MecklUB III no. 2294 = HUB I no. 1144 = DN V no. 23 = *Norske middelalderdokumenter* no. 41 §1.

205 *Magnus Lagabøters landslov* and *Magnus Lagabøters bylov*, V.11.

206 The summer guests were exempted from following men condemned to death to the place of execution, which was a duty the law only required of men with permanent residence (*Magnus Lagabøters bylov*, VII 16). They were exempted from producing their weapons before the King's official once a year. The law also imposed service in the urban militia only on men who were permanent residents (*Magnus Lagabøters bylov*, II 6). Summer guests had already been exempted from night patrols in 1278 (HUB I no. 818 = UBStL I no. 398 = DN V no. 10 = *Norske middelalderdokumenter* no. 30).

207 SCHREINER, *Hanseatene og Norges nedgang*, p. 33.

### 3. THE LEGAL FRAMEWORK IN A PERIOD OF ACTIVE STATE LEGISLATION, 1299–1380

As mentioned above, the effort to bring the legal system in mainland Norway under unified state control was accomplished through the national law of 1274 and the urban law of 1276. In 1299, King Håkon V succeeded to the throne. He clearly thought that the time had now come to subject visiting foreign merchants to Norwegian law and make them serve the interests of the state and Norwegian society. After his death in 1319, this type of innovative legislation ceased. Between 1319 and 1380, Norway was in a union with Sweden, and during this period the kings tried to defend the legislation instigated by Håkon V, but with diminishing determination and success.

The main legally recognised categories of merchants engaged in trade with Norway up to 1299 were “men with permanent residence” and “summer guests”. After 1299, another distinction became more important, that between native and foreigner (*utlendzsker kaupmenn*). A foreigner was defined as a person born outside Norway, who could only be naturalised if he married a Norwegian woman or had been forced to flee his country of birth because of unfortunate circumstances (*saker ainna hvarra sinna illfella thurfi sitt foedoland at ryma*), bringing along his wife and children.<sup>208</sup> A foreigner was therefore defined differently from a summer guest; in the first case the criterion was place of birth, in the second where he and his household resided. What they had in common was that they were “the others”.

In the following pages, I shall discuss the legal framework the Norwegian state created for Hansa shipping and their merchants who were trading in Bergen during the years 1299–1380.

#### A. SHIPWRECKS

Hansa ships from the Baltic sailed along the then Norwegian coast of Bohuslän, and when they reached Marstrand or even further north, turned west and headed for the coast of Agder. From there they would follow the coastline westwards to Lindesnes and then north to Bergen. The navigation methods of the time made it desirable to keep to the coastline if possible.<sup>209</sup> This made it likely that wrecked ships and their cargo would end up on the shore. Those who owned the seashore traditionally saw this as welcome additional income, since goods and wrecks which reached the shore became the property of the landowner.

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208 HUB II no. 502 = NGL III no. 70 = DN VII no 135.

209 The sources give evidence of where Hansa ships were shipwrecked and plundered by pirates along the Norwegian coast. This shipping lane described above is reconstructed on this basis.

In such cases, the state gave the unfortunate skippers and merchants full support, at least from 1250. Foreign merchants had the legal right to salvage their goods and hire people to help them with this task, and from 1274 even to call on local peasants to do this. The royal courts of law were meant to support the merchants against recalcitrant local landowners.<sup>210</sup>

## B. PROHIBITIONS AGAINST SAILING FURTHER NORTH THAN BERGEN

No foreign ship was permitted to sail north of Bergen. The main motive behind this restriction was undoubtedly that the authorities wanted imported goods to be offered for sale in Bergen, where the King could make use of his right of pre-emptive purchase, and wealthy citizens and other local people could find the goods they needed. The desire to retain a monopoly for native Norwegians in the extensive trade between Bergen and the fishing districts may also have been a motive. This provision appeared for the first time in the privilege given to Hansa towns in 1294,<sup>211</sup> and the King renewed it in 1302–13<sup>212</sup> and 1348.<sup>213</sup> The Bergen Kontor was founded in 1366, and from 1369 at the latest it punished Hansa merchants who sailed on “forbidden journeys” to northern regions.<sup>214</sup> The Germans were evidently not interested in sailing far north to the Vågan market in Lofoten with their large ships, but preferred to meet those who produced or traded stockfish in Bergen.

Was this prohibition respected? In 1348, the King complained that foreign merchants were sailing to the forbidden northern regions (*thill skatlande varo*), which included Iceland,<sup>215</sup> and in 1369 the Bergen Kontor penalized its members who made “forbidden journeys” there.<sup>216</sup> The prohibition was violated by individual skippers, but when both the Kontor and Norwegian authorities tried to enforce it, the violators must have been few and far between. Such trade was permitted for Norwegians, and in 1302–13, authorities in Bergen prohibited foreigners from entering into a partnership with Norwegians in order to take goods to Iceland or other northern regions (*skatland*).<sup>217</sup>

The ban on sailing north of Bergen had its parallel in the compulsory staple ports, which from the 13<sup>th</sup> century prevented ships from sailing beyond a certain

210 Cf. p. 300.

211 UBStL I no. 621 = MecklUB III no. 2294 = HUB I no. 1144 = *Norske middelalderdokumenter* no. 41 = DN V no. 23.

212 NGL III no. 53 = *Norske middelalderdokumenter* no. 59.

213 HUB III no. 136 = NGL III no. 83.

214 HR I, 1, 511 = NGL 2.rk. I no. 346 §11. On the meaning of “forbidden journey”, cf. HR I, 6, 262 § 89–90 = NGL 2.rk. I no. 377 §89–90.

215 HUB III no. 136 = NGL III no. 83. *Skatland* was Norwegian territory in the sense that people there paid taxes to the Norwegian king.

216 HR I, 1, 511 = NGL 2.rk. I no. 346.

217 NGL III no. 53 = *Norske middelalderdokumenter* no. 59.

point along German<sup>218</sup> and English<sup>219</sup> rivers. The staple in Bergen had its closest parallel in Stockholm's staple for trade to Finland and the Bay of Bothnia. The oldest source to mention this is the 1350 Swedish urban law, so the influence flowed from Norway to Sweden.<sup>220</sup>

### C. CUSTOMS DUTIES

When sailing into Bergen harbour, Hansa ships passed Bergenhus castle, where they had to pay customs.

Hansa merchants were not the first ones obliged to pay customs duties in Bergen and Norway. As early as the 11<sup>th</sup> century, the King demanded *landøre* (landing money) from all ships arriving from Iceland.<sup>221</sup> This was abolished in 1262, when Icelanders formally became Norwegian subjects and were required to pay state taxes.<sup>222</sup> By 1360 at the latest, the King had imposed a special new duty on commerce from Iceland, called *sæckiagiald*.<sup>223</sup> There is no extant evidence that ships arriving from the other countries which had been colonised by Norway (Greenland, the Faeroes, Shetland, Orkney, the Hebrides) paid the *landøre*.<sup>224</sup>

The Crown had a traditional right of pre-emptive purchase on imported goods and often paid less than the market value for them; this right may have served the same purpose as customs duties. In 1294, Norwegian authorities imposed a levy of one shippound of grain (*annone*) on all Hansa ships which imported goods into Norway.<sup>225</sup> According to Schreiner, this was a reduced level of an older customs duty.<sup>226</sup> But there is no mention of customs in Bergen before 1294, while on the other hand there is solid evidence that such customs were collected at the herring fisheries along the Bohuslän coast.<sup>227</sup> In 1288, the King was unable to pay an instalment on a debt to the German maritime towns, and therefore released them from paying customs on herring.<sup>228</sup> In 1306 the King still had not settled his debt, but

218 GÖNNENWEIN, Stapel- und Niederlagsrecht, p. 21.

219 SCHANZ, Englische Handelspolitik, p. 384.

220 *Kulturhistorisk leksikon for nordisk middelalder*, entry word "Handelstvång" and "Stockholmshandel".

221 NGL I, pp. 437–438 = *Norske middelalderdokumenter* no. 1; cf. *Islendingabok* chapter 1.

222 NGL I, pp. 460–461.

223 NGL III no. 91; Literally, a customs duty paid per sack.

224 Cf. *Kulturhistorisk leksikon for nordisk middelalder*, entry word "Handelsavgifter".

225 UBStL I no. 621 = MecklUB III no. 2294 = HUB I no. 1144 = *Norske middelalderdokumenter* no. 41 = DN V no. 23.

226 SCHREINER, Hanseatene og Norges nedgang, p. 34.

227 *Bremisches Urkundenbuch* I no. 444 = HUB I no. 1040 = DN V no. 17; *Bremisches Urkundenbuch* I no. 480 = HUB I no. 1095 = DN V no. 19; HUB I no. 1045 = UBStL I no. 527.

The herring customs duties probably are as old as the Bohuslän herring fisheries, which started to be commercially exploited in the 1270s (chapter I.2b).

228 HUB I no. 1045 = UBStL I no. 527.

this time he compensated them by granting an exemption from customs for both ships and herring.<sup>229</sup> This is an indication that the ship levy had been introduced in the meantime. According to the privilege issued in 1294, only ships carrying a cargo of grain were obliged to pay the new customs duty, but a special privilege given to Hamburg in 1296 states that all ships, regardless of their cargo (*quascunque res apportaverit*), had to pay this duty,<sup>230</sup> and the Hansa privilege from 1343 reiterates that “each ship” had to pay it.<sup>231</sup> Customs accounts for Bergen from 1518 onwards show that all Hansa ships paid one shippound of flour or malt in duties, as did all Dutch ships, but not those from England.<sup>232</sup>

Håkon V continued to introduce new customs duties. In an ordinance from 1302–13, he imposed a special tax on imported wine and vegetable oil.<sup>233</sup> In 1316 came the first Norwegian export duty, which was imposed on goods owned by foreigners, with the rate of taxation varying between commodities from 1/12 to 1/48 of their value.<sup>234</sup> This was a heavy tax by the standards of the time, and it was abolished in 1343 as part of a peace agreement between Lübeck and King Magnus.<sup>235</sup> Lübeck paid a large sum of money to the King for this privilege.<sup>236</sup> Later, the Bergen Kontor established a tradition of celebrating this as a significant victory.<sup>237</sup> The export duty must have been collected in the years between 1316–1343, otherwise the Germans would not have paid so much to get rid of it or celebrated its abolition.

English merchants did not pay the ship levy imposed in 1294, which applied only to Hansa ships. The earliest extant accounts for the commander of Bergenhus castle, which date from 1518–1523, show that at this time each English ship had to pay a customs fee of 30 Danish marks, which was equivalent to 480 Danish skillings.<sup>238</sup> This evidently was the export tax brought in by King Håkon V in 1316, which in the meantime had been converted into a fixed sum per ship to make it easier to collect. Hansa ships paid a much lower ship levy of one shippound (*talentum*) (= 136 kg) of flour or malt, which in 1518–1523 had a value of 64 Danish skillings.<sup>239</sup> The customs privilege from 1343 gave Hansa merchants a competitive advantage over English merchants.

229 UBStL II no. 204 = HUB II no. 88 = DN V no. 52.

230 HUB I no. 1215 = *Hamburgisches Urkundenbuch* I, pp. 743–745 = DN V no. 33.

231 HUB III no. 13 = UBStL II no. 774 = DN VIII no. 151 = *Norske middelalderdokumenter* no. 83.

232 Cf. footnotes to table II.1.

233 NGL III no. 54.

234 HUB I no. 284 = NGL III no. 47.

235 HUB III no. 13 = UBStL II no. 774 = DN VIII no. 151 = *Norske middelalderdokumenter* no. 83; cf. TARANGER, *Norges historie*, volume 3 part 1, p. 73.

236 HUB III no. 17.

237 BRUNS, *Bergenfahrer*, pp. VII and 348.

238 DN VI no. 773.

239 Appendix VIII table 18.

Vessels from Holland were included in the 1294 ship levy, although no Holland merchants were sailing to Bergen at that time. In 1376 the Norwegian king granted Amsterdam the right to trade under Hanseatic privileges in Norway,<sup>240</sup> but it is uncertain whether merchants from Holland had started visiting Bergen by that time, although they did so shortly after 1400. The Bergen Kontor may have allowed them to use their privileges then, even though we have no evidence for this. Holland merchants were subject to the lower customs duty of 136 kg of flour or malt which was paid by all Hansa ships, and they were still paying this tax to Bergenhus castle in the years 1518–1523.<sup>241</sup> But Holland merchants' Kontor membership must have been short lived; the Kontor excluded them from 1433 at the latest, so they no longer benefitted from Hansa privileges. As a consequence, they had to start paying the high duty on goods instituted by Håkon V. In the years 1518–1523, all merchants on board ships from Holland paid a duty of one piece (*stuck*) of cloth from Leiden (*ledsk*).<sup>242</sup> Most likely this was Håkon V's 1316 export tax which had been converted into a fixed sum per ship to make it easier to collect; in the Bergenhus accounts for 1518–1521, the value of one piece of Leiden cloth was close to the 480 Danish skillings paid by the English.<sup>243</sup> The result of this development was that in 1518, merchants from Holland had to pay both the 1294 ship levy, which was equivalent to 64 skillings, and Håkon V's 1316 customs duty on goods, which amounted to about 480 skillings. Merchants from Holland were less favoured than either the Hanseatic or the English merchants.

Imposing customs duties on trade by foreigners was common during this period in ports which were well known to Norwegians. England was Norway's main trading partner, and in 1275 it imposed a heavy customs on wool, and in 1303 a lighter duty on all other exports and imports by foreigners.

The King may have imposed customs exclusively on foreigners in order to protect his own subjects. But in 1316, nearly all of Norway's foreign trade was in foreign hands, so exempting Norwegians from these taxes cannot have been a great sacrifice to the state treasury. The Hansa obtained their customs privilege in 1343 as part of a political agreement between Lübeck and the Swedish-Norwegian king. In the final part of the Late Middle Ages, merchants from Holland paid duties of 540 skillings per ship, Englishmen 480 skillings, and Germans 60 skillings. These differences were not the result of a long-term trade policy. They were rather the result of a series of political events where the King's only motive was financial.

240 HR 1, II, 125 = HUB IV no. 550 = DN VIII no. 199.

241 Cf. table II.1.

242 NRJ V, p. 35; DN VI no. 773.

243 Examples of this: 432 skillings (NRJ III, p. 89), 448 skillings (NRJ III, p. 121) and 480 skillings (NRJ III, p. 125). Most entries in the Bergenhus accounts concern smaller quantities of cloth measured in *alen*. One piece of cloth from Leiden measured 22 alen (NRJ III, pp. 652, 599 and 691) and one alen cost 22 skillings (NRJ III, p. 628; NRJ V, pp. 16 and 17). This gives a price of 484 skillings per "piece".

Hansa merchants in Bergen also came up against another fiscally motivated measure which was older than the customs duties.

#### D. THE CROWN'S RIGHT TO PRE-EMPTIVE PURCHASE

From Bergenhus castle, the Hanseatic merchants' vessels were manoeuvred into the protected waters in front of Bryggen where the winter residents had their houses. These contained both dwelling and storerooms on different levels. Some ships berthed alongside the quay if space permitted. Larger ships anchored on the *rede*, a part of the harbour which was a short distance from the shore. In a letter to the town councillors of Lübeck in 1480, Kampen officials describe how their merchant vessels had been anchored in Bergen harbour waiting to be loaded with stockfish, with winter storms approaching (*oire schepen op de rede legen, die winter anstaende were...*).<sup>244</sup> From there, goods were freighted ashore in rowing boats.

The 1274 national law established that "the King or his representative have the right of pre-emptive purchase for all commodities which are offered for sale by natives or foreigners." The King's local representative was to be notified before a ship was unloaded, and for three days after this the imported goods had to remain in a storeroom or warehouse; only the King had the right to buy these goods during this time.<sup>245</sup> The most important legal basis for the King's right of first purchase was the 1274 national law, which continued to be valid up to 1604. But the provision was reiterated in state ordinances or Hansa privileges throughout the period under discussion: in 1278,<sup>246</sup> 1285,<sup>247</sup> 1294,<sup>248</sup> 1296,<sup>249</sup> 1355,<sup>250</sup> 1358,<sup>251</sup> 1360,<sup>252</sup> 1373<sup>253</sup> and 1377–80.<sup>254</sup> This right was enforced: in 1316, eight Hansa merchants had their goods confiscated in Bergen because the King's representative had not been permitted "to buy what the King needed".<sup>255</sup> The King's right of first purchase seems to have been practiced up to the end of our period, in 1380.

244 HR III, 1, 257 = NGL 2.rk. II no. 442.

245 *Magnus Lagaboters landslov*, VIII 9; *Magnus Lagaboters bylov*, VI 18; UBStL I no. 621 = MecklUB III no. 2294 = HUB I no. 1144 = DN V no. 23 = *Norske middelalderdokumenter* no. 41 §1.

246 HUB I no. 818 = UBStL I no. 398 = DN V no. 10 = *Norske middelalderdokumenter* no. 30.

247 UBStL no. 484 = MecklUB III no. 1821 = HUB I no. 993 = *Norske middelalderdokumenter* no. 36.

248 UBStL I no. 621 = MecklUB III no. 2294 = HUB I no. 1144 = *Norske middelalderdokumenter* no. 41 = DN V no. 23.

249 HUB I no. 1215 = *Hamburgisches Urkundenbuch* I, pp. 743–745 = DN V no. 33.

250 NGL III no. 87.

251 NGL III no. 89 = *Norske middelalderdokumenter* no. 89.

252 NGL III no. 91.

253 *Ibid.* no. 104.

254 *Ibid.* no. 114.

255 DN I no. 147 = HUB II no. 281.

There may have been disagreements as to when exactly the King's bailiff was permitted to exercise this right. In 1477, Norwegian officials in Bergen complained that the Kontor did not allow them the right of first purchase until Hansa vessels were berthed along the quay (*tor bruggen to leggende*) and secured to land with a rope (*lanttow ut to forende*).<sup>256</sup> Later on, in 1524, the Hansa asked the King to confirm that when Hansa ships were anchored on the *lede*, the King's bailiff could not buy their goods unless the merchants consented. *Lede* is probably the Norwegian word *led*, which is a stretch of

sea which is deep enough to enable larger ships to sail between islands and through fjords. In our context it has the same meaning as *rede* above. The problem seems to have been that many Hansa ships were anchored in the middle of Bergen bay, and goods were transported ashore to several customers in smaller rowing boats. The right of pre-emptive purchase was supposed to take place when the merchants had decided which goods they wanted to sell in the town and had stored these in houses ashore, while the other goods remained on the ship to be sold in the next port of call.<sup>257</sup> For the King's representative it may have been easier to go on board the ship before it had been unloaded and buy what they wanted.

The national law of 1274 stipulated that the King was to pay the same price for goods as "others will pay for it".<sup>258</sup> In 1316, however, foreign merchants complained that the King's bailiff (*febirde*) paid  $\frac{1}{3}$  less than the actual value of the goods he purchased, and the King therefore repeated the instructions that he should offer the full price.<sup>259</sup> But doubts can be raised about the King's sincerity. Later the same year he stipulated that "no townsman shall make a higher bid for the goods than the *febirde* and the *febirde* shall not make a higher bid than the townsmen".<sup>260</sup> In practice this meant that during the first three days after goods were unloaded in Bergen, the King's bailiff could offer the merchants a certain price, and nobody was permitted to make a higher bid. The bailiff could then claim that he had offered the same price as others, as stipulated by law. Later in the 15<sup>th</sup> century, the Hansa continued to complain that the King paid insufficient amounts for their goods.<sup>261</sup>

An interesting parallel is to be found in London at the time of King John (1199–1216). The English king's official had the right of pre-emptive purchase of foreigners' goods for the period of "three tidal waters", and payment was to be made within 14 days.<sup>262</sup> In Norway, the time limit for first purchase was three days, but the payment time was the same, 14 days.<sup>263</sup>

256 HR III, 1, 60 = NGL 2.rk. II no. 156 = DN VII no. 482.

257 DN XVI no. 426.

258 *Magnus Lagaboters landslov*, VIII 9.

259 HUB I no. 284 = NGL III no. 47.

260 NGL III no. 49 = HUB II no. 311 (German translation).

261 HR II, 2, 590 = UBStL VIII no. 741 = NGL 2.rk. I, p. 208.

262 GRAS, Customs System, p. 18.

263 HUB I no. 1215 = *Hamburgisches Urkundenbuch* I, pp. 743–745 = DN V no. 33.

## E. HANSA MERCHANTS' LEGAL OBLIGATION TO SELL

A measure which benefitted all Norwegian townsmen, the King included, was a legal obligation imposed on foreign merchants to sell all goods they had imported into a Norwegian town.

Hansa ships often stayed only a few days in Bergen, but summer guests from Hansa towns might need weeks to sell their goods and buy new commodities. As early as 1294, the King demanded that goods which Germans had unloaded in a Norwegian town had to be sold there and not re-exported. If the goods remained on the ship, they could be re-exported.<sup>264</sup> This left the merchant with the possibility of keeping goods on the ship for longer periods while negotiating with customers ashore about the price. In 1302, King Håkon tried to prevent this by decreeing that eight days at the most after a foreign merchant arrived in a Norwegian port, the goods which he wanted to import had to be unloaded and stored on shore.<sup>265</sup> The merchant could no longer keep the goods on the ship for a longer period and threaten to take them to the ship's next port of call if the King or other buyers did not offer a satisfactory price.

The 1294 privilege was confirmed in 1312,<sup>266</sup> 1343<sup>267</sup> and 1376,<sup>268</sup> and the obligation to sell was therefore in force throughout the period 1294–1380. This was abolished in 1361, since the King needed the Hansa's support to regain Scania from Denmark.<sup>269</sup> But this alliance with the Hansa was short-lived, and in 1372 King Håkon of Norway declared the 1361 privilege invalid.<sup>270</sup>

Did Norwegian authorities manage to enforce the obligation to sell? All we know is that in 1302, King Håkon complained that foreigners were re-exporting goods which they should have sold according to the terms of the 1294 privilege.<sup>271</sup>

Bans on the re-export of imported goods were common in German towns,<sup>272</sup> and this was also the practice in London from about 1250 at the latest.<sup>273</sup>

264 UBStL I no. 621 = MecklUB III no. 2294 = HUB I no. 1144 = *Norske middelalderdokumenter* no. 41 §1 = DN V no. 23; cf. pp. 307–308 concerning the 1294 privilege.

265 NGL III nos. 13 and 15 = HUB II nos. 15 and 24.

266 HR I, 1, 104 = UBStL II no. 599 = MecklUB V no. 3528 = *Diplomatarium Danicum* 2.rk. VI no. 425.

267 HUB III, no 13 = UBStL II no. 774 = DN VIII no. 151 = *Norske middelalderdokumenter* no. 83; cf. TARANGER, *Norges historie* volume 3, part 1, p. 73.

268 HR I, 2, 124 = HUB IV no. 549 = USL IV no. 309 = DN VIII no. 199.

269 HUB IV no. 28; cf. p. 321 concerning the special circumstances of this privilege.

270 HR I, 2, 40 §16.

271 HUB II no. 24 = NGL III no. 15.

272 GÖNNENWEIN, *Stapel- und Niederlagsrecht*, pp. 276 ff. and 288–292.

273 SCHANZ, *Englische Handelspolitik*, p. 384.

## F. BANS ON THE EXPORT OF NORWEGIAN GOODS

Norwegian authorities prohibited the export of goods produced in Norway only in extraordinary circumstances, such as times of famine and when armies were in need of provisions. Around 1170, the King permitted the Archbishop to export 30 lasts of flour to Iceland “when the yield in the church province permits it”.<sup>274</sup> A settlement between the church and state in 1277 says these exports could take place “when the Archbishop thinks it is needed, particularly when the yield in the realm permits it.”<sup>275</sup> The Archbishop was to be exempted from temporary prohibitions issued by state authorities, and could judge for himself when grain yields permitted such exports.

In 1282, the authorities ordained that only winter residents who imported grain products were permitted to buy [for export] butter, hides, furs and stockfish during the winter months (14/9–3/5).<sup>276</sup> The ordinance was abolished in the treaty of Kalmar in 1285, and was replaced by a provision that Germans should be subject to the same restrictions on exports as natives.<sup>277</sup> During the great famine of 1316, the King again prohibited the export of stockfish by merchants who did not import grain and, in accordance with the treaty of Kalmar, the prohibition applied even to Norwegians.<sup>278</sup> The purpose of this was to lower the price of grain in Norwegian towns.

In England there were periodic bans on the export of food produced there, particularly grain, up to the year 1355. After that, the ban on grain exports was made permanent,<sup>279</sup> which affected exports of English wheat to Norway.<sup>280</sup>

Between 1319 and 1380, no bans on exports from Bergen are mentioned. The King resided in Sweden, and his visits to Norway were rare. He did not feel responsible for the town’s food supply, particularly since the imports of grain from the Baltic were well organised by the Hansa. After the Black Death, the supply of food-stuffs generally improved.

All known bans on the export of goods produced in Norway concerned food, with the exception of hides and furs in 1282. In normal years, the authorities desired lower food prices, and in years of famine they may also have feared revolts. The bans on stockfish exports represented indirect efforts to increase imports of grain and lower its price.

274 NGL I, p. 443 = *Norske middelalderdokumenter* no. 10.

275 NGL II, pp. 467–8.

276 NGL III no. 2 = *Norske middelalderdokumenter* no. 34.

277 UBS $\bar{t}$ L no. 484 = MecklUB III no. 1821 = HUB I no. 993 = *Norske middelalderdokumenter* no. 36.

278 HUB I no. 284 = NGL III no. 47.

279 SCHANZ, *Englische Handelspolitik*, p. 638.

280 Cf. table II.27.

## G. PRICE REGULATIONS

The regulations described in sections e and f above were intended to provide the urban population with more and cheaper goods. Price regulation was a direct way of doing this, but it was a risky strategy, since goods might disappear from the market.

The state was on safe ground when it fixed wages for workers and craftsmen, which it did in 1282 and 1302. In the latter year, the profits of retailers who sold flour and herring were also fixed, but not the sales price.<sup>281</sup> State authorities could fix retail prices, but mostly of less important commodities like caps (1282 and 1302), gloves (1282 and 1302), silk (1282 and 1302), silk thread (1282 and 1302), lead (1282), linen (1282) and wax candles (1302). The sellers of small-wares (*kram*) were ordered to keep to their prices at the customary level. These were goods which the authorities considered to be less necessary, so it did not matter if merchants kept them off the market. The price of butter was regulated in 1302; this was an important commodity, but it was produced in Norway and not imported. During the 1316 famine, King Håkon ordained that “nobody shall pay more for a barrel of German beer than one mark”; by doing this, he no doubt hoped the Germans would prioritise exports of flour.<sup>282</sup> This is the only known case of price-fixing for one of the major commodities of Bergen’s foreign trade (stockfish, fish oil, flour, malt, beer, cloth). The authorities seem to have understood that Hansa merchants had to organise their international exchanges according to the principles of a free market, and they kept price and export regulations within limits in order to respect this.

Norwegian price regulations had parallels in England. In 1202, bakers’ profits were regulated, but not the price of their raw material, grain.<sup>283</sup> From the middle of the 13<sup>th</sup> century, wine retailers’ profits were regulated, but the import price was left to the free market.<sup>284</sup> Food prices were expected to be reasonable compared to the customary and general price level at a particular time. Urban authorities and justices of the peace could intervene against people who made unreasonable profits.<sup>285</sup> Setting prices was left to the market, but the authorities supervised developments and intervened in extraordinary circumstances. Price regulations in the export and import trade were rare indeed and temporary, since the authorities understood that a consequence could be that the importers failed to appear.

After Håkon V’s reign, there were no more price regulations in Bergen, but in times of war they still occurred in eastern Norway.

281 NGL III no. 2 = *Norske middelalderdokumenter* no. 34; NGL III no. 13.

282 NGL III no. 49 = HUB II no. 311 (German translation).

283 SCHANZ, *Englische Handelspolitik*, p. 637.

284 *Ibid.*, p. 643.

285 *Ibid.*, p. 623.

## H. WINTER RESIDENCY AND THE TAXATION OF FOREIGN MERCHANTS

During the period discussed in this chapter, Hansa merchants must have encountered problems when they tried to organise their commerce in Bergen. Most native merchants in Bergen would probably not have been able to write accounts and letters, which were an essential element of the Hanseatic trade organisation. This made it difficult or impossible for a Hansa merchant to use a native merchant as his permanent local representative in Bergen. If there was a commercial dispute between a Norwegian and a German merchant, the German could find the Norwegian courts' handling of the case inadequate. The solution was to place German representatives in Bergen; legal disputes could then be settled in the court of the Hanseatic home town, according to German law. The Bergen trade was increasingly based on Hansa merchants giving credit to stockfish producers, and debts had a great potential for creating conflicts. The extension of credits to many customers in Bergen made it desirable to have a permanent representative there. We do not know when credit became a normal and essential part of the Bergen trade, but it must have been in the 14<sup>th</sup> century, probably in the second half.<sup>286</sup>

The urban law of 1276 permitted foreigners to stay during the winter (14/9–3/5) in Norwegian towns on payment of the ordinary state tax called the *leidang*.<sup>287</sup> Before that, King Håkon Håkonsson (1217–1263) had issued an ordinance requiring foreign winter residents to pay the tithe.<sup>288</sup> The Hansa privilege from 1294, repeated for Hamburg in 1296, stated that foreigners who left Norway before Christmas did not have to pay the *leidang*. The premise underlying this stipulation must be that winter residency was permitted if the *leidang* was paid.<sup>289</sup> In peacetime, the *leidang* was in essence a sales tax of 2 % on all merchandise and on incomes from house rents.<sup>290</sup> If a merchant traded in several towns, he had to pay where he had generated the taxable income.<sup>291</sup> In wartime, the *leidang* was an obligation to participate in and contribute financially to the urban militia.<sup>292</sup>

King Håkon V wanted to limit winter residency for foreigners. In 1311, the supreme judge for Bergen and western Norway, the *lagmann* of Gulating, issued a ruling on the duty of winter residents in Bergen to pay the tithe in which he also wrote that “the law states that no foreigner shall be a winter resident in Bergen

286 Cf. pp. 402–403; chapter V.2a-2b.

287 *Magnus Lagaboters bylov*, III 6.

288 DN I no. 122 = *Norske middelalderdokumenter* no. 55; cf. p. 302 and 319–320.

289 UBSL I no. 621 = MecklUB III no. 2294 = HUB I no. 1144–1150 = *Norske middelalderdokumenter* no. 41 = DN V no. 23; HUB I no. 1215 = *Hamburgisches Urkundenbuch* I, pp. 743–745 = DN V no. 33.

290 *Magnus Lagaboters bylov*, III 6.

291 NGL III no. 114 = RN VII no. 773.

292 Cf. pp. 301–302; *Frostatingslova*, VII 11 and *Magnus Lagaboters bylov*, III 6.

between the feasts of the Holy Cross (14/9–3/5).” But the King had it in his power to permit foreigners to stay during the winter, even though the law stipulated otherwise. He also held the right to set the conditions for their winter residency, one of which was that they paid the tithe.<sup>293</sup> Five years later, the King banned winter residence in Bergen, Oslo and Tønsberg “longer, differently or beyond what is written in the urban law”.<sup>294</sup> Neither the urban law of 1276 nor the extant ordinances (*rettarbøter*) before July 1316 prohibited winter residency for foreigners, so it is not at all clear which parts of the urban law were being referred to by the *lagmann* in 1311 and the King in 1316. Their message may have been that winter residents had to pay *leidang* and fulfil other public duties, and then the state would grant them the right to stay in Bergen. It may also have been a way of preparing the ground for a future prohibition on winter residency. The King felt he had the right to change the law within the borders of his realm, but the Hansa claimed that they had to consent to new laws which concerned them. References to obscure, ancient laws may have been a way out of a potential conflict.<sup>295</sup> P.A. Munch’s claim that winter residency traditionally had been prohibited in Norway cannot be defended on the basis of extant laws and other documents.<sup>296</sup>

The first known prohibition against winter residency dates from November 1316. Foreign merchants were given six weeks to finish their business in summer as well as winter. Those who stayed longer were prohibited from trading.<sup>297</sup> There was a famine in 1316, and the main purpose of this decree was to prevent foreign merchants from staying on longer in Bergen waiting for the price of grain to rise even higher towards the end of the winter season. Members of the large German settlement in Bergen were also important consumers. The prohibition does not seem to have been formally abolished when the famine ended in 1317. The King renewed the prohibition for Bergen in 1331:

From the feast of the Holy Cross in autumn (14/9) to the same feast in spring (3/5), we prohibit all foreign men, except those who are married here to Norwegian women, to stay here [in Bergen] or rent a house or practice any kind of trade. Everyone who does so shall know that all goods which he sells or buys between the feast of the Holy Cross in autumn and the same feast in spring shall be confiscated and become our property.

If a merchant arrived after 14/9, the royal officials were to monitor him to ensure that he only stayed long enough to sell his goods and buy new commodities.<sup>298</sup> But these formal prohibitions were not enforced. The 1331 ordinance for Bergen states that Håkon V’s 1316 prohibition was not being respected, and the town was full of

293 DN XXIII no. 5 (Norse original) = HUB II no. 193 (German translation).

294 HUB I no. 284 = NGL III no. 47 (1316).

295 Chapter IV.2a above.

296 MUNCH, *Det norske Folks Historie* IV del 2, p. 243.

297 NGL III no. 49 = HUB II no. 311 (German translation).

298 HUB II no. 502 = NGL III no. 70 = DN VII no 135.

foreign men all winter. If the local officials had attempted to evict the numerous Hansa winter residents in Bergen, there would have been references to this in the extant sources.

In June 1361, King Håkon VI confirmed the privileges for Bergen, but he specified that if these contradicted existing privileges given by former Norwegian kings to the merchants from German maritime towns who were “winter residents and Hansa brothers” (*vætersæter ok Hensza bröder*) in Bergen, the Hansa merchants’ privileges were to be given priority.<sup>299</sup> How should this be interpreted? No former privilege had formally legalised winter residency in Bergen, nor had the privileges prohibited it. The King describes winter residency as normal and legal. The King was not awarding Hansa merchants a new right, but was describing a fact.

Three months later in September 1361, the Kings of the Swedish-Norwegian union issued a joint privilege for Hansa merchants trading in their countries. The concessions were exceptionally favourable since the Kings needed support from the Hansa to retake Scania from Waldemar Atterdag. Among other things, they were permitted to travel with their merchandise anywhere they chose, and to stay there when and as long as they wanted.<sup>300</sup> The alliance with the Hansa was short-lived, and in 1372 Norwegian authorities refused to recognise the validity of this privilege, claiming that the 13 representatives of the two Kings who had put their seals on the document had exceeded their authority.<sup>301</sup> Even though it is indisputable that King Håkon’s representatives ratified this privilege,<sup>302</sup> it was evidently not considered valid in Norway.<sup>303</sup>

After 1372 the Hansa could claim that the 1361 privilege gave them a legal basis for their winter residency. Norwegian authorities claimed that they had not awarded them this right but nevertheless accepted their winter residency in Bergen as a fact. After that, winter residency caused no conflicts until the 1440s.<sup>304</sup> The Kontor’s argument was strengthened by the fact that the 1276 urban law permitted foreigners to be winter residents if they paid the *leidang*,<sup>305</sup> and this codex was valid throughout the Middle Ages. In the 1520s there were German winter residents in Bergen and they still paid the *leidang*,<sup>306</sup> and there are no indications that they had stopped doing so at any time.<sup>307</sup> The legal situation was confused, but the reality was

299 NGL III no. 92.

300 HUB IV no. 28 §1 = RN VII no. 790 §1 (*quoruscumque et quociens ipsis placuerit, tam per acquas quam per terras, et in regnis ac dominiis nostris undique moram faciendi seu manendi, quando et quamdiu voluerint, et mercaturas suas inibi exercendi*).

301 HR I, 2, 40 §3, §5, §16.

302 HR I, 1, 265 = DN XXI no. 106; cf. TARANGER, *Norges historie* volume 3, part 1, p. 110.

303 Cf. NGL III no. 111 = HUB IV no. 579 (German translation); NGL III no. 114.

304 HR II, 2, 590; NGL 2.rk. I no. 130 = DN VIII no. 324; Cf. pp. 423–424.

305 *Magnus Lagaboters bylov*, III.6.

306 NRJ III, pp. 634 ff; NRJ I.

307 NGL 2.rk. I no. 130 §14 and p. 251 provide evidence of the situation in the 1440s.

that the local authorities lacked the power to evict the winter residents and many of them probably had no desire to do so because they saw the Kontor merchants as useful for the country.

The model for Norwegian policy in this area came from German and English towns. Limitations on the duration of merchants' stays were common in German towns: in Cologne in 1259 it was six weeks, the same as in Norwegians towns in 1316.<sup>308</sup> In the middle of the 13<sup>th</sup> century, non-citizens were only permitted to stay in Lübeck for three months.<sup>309</sup> In England a limit of 40 days was common, as was the case in Bristol as early as the 1190s,<sup>310</sup> and in London from the 1250s at the latest.<sup>311</sup> King's Lynn had a limit on the time foreigners were permitted to rent a house in the town.<sup>312</sup> In 1434, after the period discussed in this chapter, a Hansa Diet ordained that non-Hanseatic merchants were permitted to stay a maximum of three months in a Hansa town, and their residency was totally prohibited during the *wynterdage*, 11/11–22/2.<sup>313</sup> But since these kinds of regulations in practice were the responsibility of the individual Hansa town, each case must be examined to see whether and how they were implemented.

#### I. PROHIBITIONS AGAINST TRADING IN THE COUNTRYSIDE

Hanseatic winter residents of Bryggen in Bergen wanted to purchase food for their own consumption directly from peasants in the countryside, above all "cattle, sheep and hens".<sup>314</sup> The authorities prohibited foreigners in Bergen from buying animals for slaughter in the countryside for the first time in 1282,<sup>315</sup> but the provision was abolished three year later.<sup>316</sup> In 1299, they prohibited all trade in rural areas for Norwegians as well as foreigners;<sup>317</sup> they renewed this restriction for foreigners in 1302–13,<sup>318</sup> and for both Norwegians and foreigners in Bergen in 1331.<sup>319</sup> The background to this evidently was the fact that the households of king, churches, magnates and other consumers in Bergen also wanted a good supply of fresh meat,

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308 GÖNNENWEIN, Stapel- und Niederlagsrecht, p. 302.

309 BRANDT, Tysk-svenska förbindelser, p. 212.

310 SCHANZ, Englische Handelspolitik, p. 383–4.

311 Ibid., p. 384.

312 HUB II no. 40 = DN XIX no. 426.

313 HR II, 1, 321 §27.

314 HUB II no. 502 = NGL III no. 70 = DN VII no 135.

315 NGL III no. 2 = *Norske middelalderdokumenter* no. 34.

316 HUB I, pp. 340–3; cf. pp. 306–307.

317 NGL III no. 12 = *Norske middelalderdokumenter* no. 45.

318 NGL III no. 53 = *Norske middelalderdokumenter* no. 59.

319 HUB II no. 502 = NGL III no. 70 = DN VII no. 135.

but they were best served if the meat was offered for sale in the town. The King could then make effective use of his right of pre-emptive purchase.<sup>320</sup>

King Magnus complied with German demands in 1350 when he permitted Germans in Bergen to buy food for their own consumption “outside of and within the marketplace, and the borders of the town” (*emere tam extra quam intra forum, et limites dictos takmark*).<sup>321</sup> Many Norwegians clearly disliked this. One year later, the Bishops of Nidaros and Bergen issued a document which was supposedly a Middle Low German translation of King Magnus’ letter in Latin, but the two Bishops changed its meaning: it permitted Germans to purchase food for their own consumption anywhere “within the borders of the town”,<sup>322</sup> but permission to do so in the countryside was omitted.<sup>323</sup>

The exceptionally favourable Hansa privileges awarded in 1361 were mentioned in the previous section. In these, Hansa merchants were also granted permission to travel and trade in Sweden, Norway and Scania “wherever and as much as they want on sea and land”.<sup>324</sup> As mentioned above, the King retracted this in 1372. In 1377, King Håkon ordered all foreigners to make their purchases only in towns, and then only at marketplaces<sup>325</sup> which means that he abolished both the 1350 privilege, even in its Low German version, and the 1361 privilege.

After 1380, the legal situation was confused even on this point. In 1447, the Kontor claimed that their privileges gave them the right to trade their foodstuffs “within and outside Bergen” (*bynnen unde buten Bergen*), but the King disputed this.<sup>326</sup> On this occasion the two parties ended up with an agreement that the Hansa merchants were not allowed to conduct trade in the countryside, “except foodstuffs for their own consumption”.<sup>327</sup> In reality there were divided opinions among the winter residents on this issue; it was easier for them and provided more equal opportunities for buyers if the peasants brought the foodstuffs to the market in Bergen. In 1494, the Kontor statutes included a paragraph outlining the punishment for Kontor members who “harmed others by sailing northwards or southwards to buy fresh food”.<sup>328</sup> The emergence of a strong state in the 16<sup>th</sup> century created entirely new

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320 *Magnus Lagaboters landslov*, VIII 9.

321 DN III no. 272 = HUB III no. 169.

322 DN XVI nos. 11 and 12.

323 In 1447 this controversy still was not settled. After negotiations in Copenhagen between the King and the Hansa, the Recess document written by the Hansa states that this point was undecided (*unbeslaten*). The King had insisted that it should be done according to the “lawbook”, but the law was against the Hansa privilege which said “de copman sine vittallien bynnen unde buten Bergen mach kopen” (HR II, 3, 312 §22).

324 HUB IV no. 28.

325 NGL III no. 111 = HUB IV no. 579 (German translation).

326 HR III, 3, 312 §22.

327 HR III, 3, 312 §11.

328 NGL 2.rk. II no. 416 §60.

rules for this kind of trade. In 1528, the citizens of Bergen received a monopoly for trade between the town and the countryside.<sup>329</sup>

The prohibitions against trade in rural areas have parallels in other European countries. England had its “chapmen” or peddlars who bought cloth and merchandise in London and other towns and sold it in their rural home districts where they travelled around.<sup>330</sup> The scattered Norwegian settlements made this practice difficult there. In Germany, most towns had a *Bannmeile*, a certain area around a town where all market trade was banned, so that exchanges had to take place in the town. The extent of this area depended upon the power of the town or its lord.<sup>331</sup> Foreigners’ trade was limited to towns in the English *Carta mercatoria* dating from 1303.<sup>332</sup> In a large town like London, the sale of food was only permitted in specific market-places within the town’s borders.<sup>333</sup> The purpose of regulating where food and other commodities could be sold was to make its availability more reliable for town dwellers. It was also commonly believed that direct contact between the producer and consumer at a market led to the goods being cheaper.<sup>334</sup>

#### J. PROHIBITIONS AGAINST HANSA MERCHANTS’ RETAIL TRADE

Winter residents of Bergen primarily wanted to sell their goods on a retail basis to the *nordfar* who arrived during the Bergen fair which was held from July to September, but they also wanted to retail their goods throughout the year, which would give them welcome supplementary incomes. The German summer guests stayed in town during the Bergen fair and also wanted to retail their goods to the *nordfar*. Both groups competed with native retailers.

The 1276 urban law stipulated that all seafaring merchants could sell their goods on a retail basis from a building or marketplace without any restrictions.<sup>335</sup> This applied to foreigners and natives alike. Håkon V tried to bring even retail trade under stricter state control, but only during the famine year of 1316 did he prohibit foreigners from retailing goods they had imported themselves. Foreigners could only sell wine, honey, beer, malt, flour, grain, wax and pork to Norwegian townsmen as wholesale goods.<sup>336</sup> This provision was modified for Tønsberg after the fam-

329 HR III, 9, 459 = NGL 2.rk. IV no. 113 §21 and §22 = *Norske Rigs-registraranter* I, p.14 = DN V no. 1055; cf. NGL 2.rk. II no. 68 and p. 266.

330 BARRON, *London in the Late Middle Ages*, p. 81.

331 GÖNNENWEIN, *Stapel- und Niederlagsrecht*, pp. 236–251; *Lexikon des Mittelalters* I, entry word “Bannmeile”.

332 GRAS, *Customs System*, p. 260.

333 BARRON, *London in the Late Middle Ages*, p. 51.

334 *Ibid.* p. 58.

335 *Magnus Lagaboters bylov*, VI 16.

336 NGL III no. 49 = HUB II no. 311 (German translation).

ine was over in 1318.<sup>337</sup> The same was probably done for Bergen, although no evidence for this has survived.

However, King Håkon V thought that retailers often were unnecessary intermediaries, and he therefore regulated this trade without violating the foreign merchants' right to retail goods they had imported themselves. All commodities which had been brought to a town for sale were to be offered to consumers before the intermediaries who sold in retail (*mangarar*) could make a bid for them.<sup>338</sup> If there were to be intermediary traders, he felt that as many of them as possible should be Norwegians. He prohibited foreigners from purchasing goods produced in Norway or goods imported by other foreigners in Bergen on a wholesale basis in order to resell them there later.<sup>339</sup> After his death, all or parts of this ordinance were reiterated in new ordinances, which is an indication that it had not been observed in the previous period. In 1320, the prohibition against foreigners retailing goods produced in Norway (*norrönan varningh*) was repeated in a new ordinance.<sup>340</sup> In 1331, this was extended to all goods bought in Norway, both imported and Norwegian.<sup>341</sup> The King made only two exceptions: foreign merchants were permitted to retail small-wares (*glys*) imported by others,<sup>342</sup> and to resell *wadmal* produced in the Norwegian realm if they had received it in payment of a debt.<sup>343</sup> The prohibitions applied to retail sales only; Hansa merchants and other foreigners were never prevented from buying Norwegian goods in small quantities for export.<sup>344</sup>

King Håkon VI brought the issue up again during negotiations in 1370 following the war of 1368/9. He complained that Hansa merchants in Norway sold "cloth in ells [in Norway, about 0.6 meters] and other goods in pennies [small values] in our towns, contrary to the laws and customs of our realm. Neither our forefathers nor ourselves have permitted them to do this in the privileges we have given them."<sup>345</sup> The King was right that he had never granted merchants a privilege enabling them to retail goods they had imported themselves, but this was not necessary for such sales to be considered lawful. The legal authority was vested in the urban law of 1276, as mentioned above. Hansa merchants sold their imported goods on a retail basis throughout the Middle Ages, and they had a legal entitlement to do so.

The winter residents' credit system at this time made efforts to regulate retail sales irrelevant. Hansa merchants bartered goods with stockfish producers and other

337 NGL III no. 51 (Norse original) = HUB II no. 320 (German translation) = *Norske middelalderdokumenter* no. 65 (Norse original and Norwegian translation).

338 NGL III no. 13 (1302).

339 NGL III no. 53 = *Norske middelalderdokumenter* no. 59 (1302–13).

340 HUB II no. 364 = NGL III no. 64 = DN VII no. 91.

341 HUB II no. 502 = NGL III no. 70 = DN VII no 135.

342 NGL III no. 53 = *Norske middelalderdokumenter* no. 59.

343 HUB II no. 502 = NGL III no. 70 = DN VII no 135.

344 Cf. HUB I, p. 340.

345 HR I, 2, 4 § 4 = NGL 2.rk. I, p. 616 §4.

Norwegians who were indebted to them. A merchant had lists of debts owed to him by each stockfish producer, which was revised after each season. This rendered regulations for retailing difficult to enforce and harmful to the peasant-fishermen. It seems that the authorities tacitly recognised this. In the treaty between Håkon VI and the Hansa signed in 1376, this issue was not mentioned, and Hansa merchants continued conducting their retail trade as they previously had.<sup>346</sup>

The retail sale of imported cloth was regulated more strictly than other goods. The 1276 urban law permitted natives and foreigners to sell cloth from house or marketplace,<sup>347</sup> and those who had paid the *boeargjald* duty could also sell cloth from booths or on the street.<sup>348</sup> This principle was confirmed in negotiations between the Norwegian king and the Hansa in 1285.<sup>349</sup> In 1316, Håkon V made the regulation more precise by stipulating that foreign traders could only sell cloth on a wholesale basis from houses, and those who wanted to sell cloth on a retail basis, i.e. in ells of 0.6 meter, had to do so from booths along the streets (*stretis budir*).<sup>350</sup>

The 1276 urban law placed no limitations on the right to brew and serve beer in Norwegian towns. In 1282, men with permanent residence (*busfaste menn*) were given a monopoly over this,<sup>351</sup> which was renewed in 1302.<sup>352</sup> This law may seem superfluous, since in practice it was only possible for people who owned or rented a house with storerooms to brew and serve beer. Among the foreigners in Bergen, brewing beer was practicable only for winter residents, and they seem to have been permitted to do this until 1377.<sup>353</sup> The Kontor consented in the 15<sup>th</sup> century to the local citizens being awarded a monopoly on brewing beer for sale to Norwegians, while the winter residents only sold beer to other Germans.<sup>354</sup> During the famine year of 1316, foreigners had to sell imported beer wholesale in “lasts” of 12 barrels. From 1318, the minimum quantity was one barrel, and this restriction seems to have been in force throughout the period covered here.<sup>355</sup>

346 DN VIII no. 199 = HR I, 2, 124 = HUB IV no. 549 (1376).

347 *Magnus Lagaboters bylov*, VI 16.

348 *Ibid.* VII 8 and III 8.

349 UBStL no. 484 = MecklUB III no. 1821 = HUB I no. 993 = *Norske middelalderdokumenter* no. 36.

350 NGL III no. 49, p. 122 = HUB II no. 311 (German translation). *Stretis budir* were shops with their doors or counters turned towards the street.

351 NGL III no. 2 = *Norske middelalderdokumenter* no. 34. On the term *busfaste menn*, cf. chapter IV.2b. They owned or hired a house for at least one year.

352 NGL III no. 13.

353 HUB IV no. 579 (German translation) = NGL III no. 111.

354 NGL 2.rk. I no. 130, p. 237 §2–3, pp. 251–252 §2–§3, p. 289 §1–§2; NGL 2.rk. II no. 164.

355 NGL III no. 49 = HUB II no. 311 (German translation); NGL III no. 51 (Norse original) = HUB II no. 320 (German translation) = *Norske middelalderdokumenter* no. 65 (Norse original and Norwegian translation).

Prohibitions against foreigners conducting retail trade were common in German towns;<sup>356</sup> in London such a prohibition existed around 1250 at the latest,<sup>357</sup> and in King's Lynn in 1303.<sup>358</sup> The *Carta mercatoria* which regulated the trade of foreign merchants in England after 1303 only permitted them to trade on a wholesale basis.<sup>359</sup> In the privileges for London dating from 1319, foreigners were prohibited from retailing their wares within the city and its suburbs.<sup>360</sup> Even in an international commercial centre like Bruges, retail and intermediary trade was the monopoly of local citizens.<sup>361</sup>

#### K. PROHIBITIONS AGAINST GUESTS TRADING WITH EACH OTHER

An indirect way of protecting Norwegian intermediaries and retail traders was to prohibit foreigners from trading with each other. The 1276 urban law followed a principle of free trade even on this point. During the famine of 1316, foreign merchants were required to sell their goods to a committee of native townsmen. After the famine in 1318, this body was abolished in Tønsberg, but a prohibition against foreigners trading with each others remained, called "guest trade".<sup>362</sup> We should assume that a similar ordinance was issued for Bergen, but it has not been preserved. In 1331, the King reiterated that foreign merchants could not resell goods in Norway which they had bought there from other foreigners.<sup>363</sup>

This legal situation was not satisfactory to the Hansa merchants. The winter residents mostly came from Baltic towns, although a few were from North Sea towns, and they bought imported goods from each other and from summer guests in order to be able to offer their Norwegian customers a wider range of products. Winter residents from Lübeck bought large amounts of cloth from other Hansa merchants whose home towns lined the Zuiderzee. Goods changed hands between Baltic and North Sea merchants and between winter residents and summer guests. But the Hansa Kontor passed statutes stating that their merchants were not allowed to trade with English merchants in Bergen. When the English complained about this in 1379, the Kontor did not refer to their own statutes, but answered that "it is law in Bergen that foreign merchants are not permitted to trade with each others, but only with Norwegians".<sup>364</sup> The Kontor retrieved the long-forgotten legislation

356 Cf. GÖNNENWEIN, Stapel- und Niederlagsrecht, p. 304.

357 SCHANZ, Englische Handelspolitik, p. 384.

358 HUB II no. 40 = DN XIX no. 426.

359 BARRON, London in the Late Middle Ages, pp. 93–94.

360 Ibid., pp. 38–39 and 79.

361 HÄPKE, Brügge 1908, pp. 255 and 257.

362 NGL III no. 51 (Norse original) = HUB II no. 320 (German translation) = *Norske middelalderdokumenter* no. 65 (Norse original and Norwegian translation).

363 HUB II no. 502 = NGL III no. 70 = DN VII no. 135.

364 HR I, 2, 210 = DN XIX no. 600 §3.

of Håkon V from their archives to justify their boycott of English merchants, but ignored the same legislation when it came to trade between Hansa merchants.

Prohibitions against guests trading with each other were common, and instances of this could be found in German towns, London and Lynn.<sup>365</sup>

#### L. PRE-EMPTIVE PURCHASE RIGHTS WHICH BENEFITTED THE INHABITANTS OF NORWEGIAN TOWNS

The right to pre-emptive purchase was used to protect Norwegian merchants who served as intermediaries between foreigners and local customers. Until Håkon V's reign, only the Crown held rights to pre-emptive purchasing in Norwegian towns. After this right had been exercised, the Germans were free to sell their goods to anyone<sup>366</sup> and buy all kinds of goods "in the same manner as the inhabitants of the place where they arrive".<sup>367</sup>

King Håkon brought in legislation to ensure an intermediary role in the timber trade for urban house-owners. A town ordinance from 1302–13 decreed that when in Bergen, rural citizens had to sell their timber to the Crown, urban councillors or house-owners, and foreigners had to buy timber from these third parties.<sup>368</sup> This pre-emptive right provided urban households with easy access to timber for their own use, and gave local merchants the possibility to profit from reselling it to foreigners. This regulation seems to have remained in force formally to the end of our period in 1380, but we do not know to what degree it was enforced.

Other pre-emptive purchase regulations were temporary. The years 1315–16 saw the two worst years of famine in the Middle Ages. No single year during the period 1250–1350 saw grain prices go so high, and in these two years of crisis they were about three times as high as in 1312–13 and 1318–19.<sup>369</sup> In this extraordinary situation, the King ordered foreigners to sell their goods to "Norwegian townsmen", and the latter were forbidden from reselling it to Norwegians who lived outside the town or to foreigners. During the winter months, a committee of local house-owners (*gårdeiere*) was appointed and given a monopoly over buying goods from foreign merchants. They had to resell these at the purchase price, first to the King, next to the Bishop, abbots, monastic communities, and finally to other townsmen.<sup>370</sup> This

365 GÖNNENWEIN, Stapel- und Niederlagsrecht, p. 298; SCHANZ, Englische Handelspolitik, p. 384; BARRON, London in the Late Middle Ages, p. 38; HUB II no. 40 = DN XIX no. 426.

366 UBStL I no. 621 = MecklUB III no. 2294 = HUB I no. 1144 = *Norske middelalderdokumenter* no. 41 = DN V no. 23 (the Hansa privilege of 1294).

367 UBStL no. 484 = MecklUB III no. 1821 = HUB I no. 993 = *Norske middelalderdokumenter* no. 36 (the Kalmar verdict from 1285).

368 NGL III no. 53 = *Norske middelalderdokumenter* no. 59.

369 ROGERS, Agriculture and Prices I, p. 230.

370 NGL III no. 49 = HUB II no. 311 (German translation).

right of pre-emptive purchase was meant to ensure that the households of the King and the most prominent church institutions had their basic needs satisfied. When the crisis was over in 1318, these rights were abolished in an extant ordinance for Tønsberg, and it must be assumed that the same was done for Bergen.<sup>371</sup>

During Håkon V's reign, such rules of pre-emption favouring consumers were common in Germany.<sup>372</sup> The committee of house-owners in 1316 had its parallel in the trade agreement between Norway and Kampen in 1305, in which Norwegians in Kampen only could sell their goods to citizens who had been authorised to buy them (*incolis ad hoc specialiter deputatis*).<sup>373</sup> In 1303, Hansa merchants complained that a committee of four citizens from King's Lynn had been give a monopoly for buying and reselling millstones which Hansa merchants imported into Lynn.<sup>374</sup>

#### M. THE COLLAPSE OF THE KING'S TRADE POLICY IN BERGEN, 1319–1380

Were the laws and ordinances discussed in this section respected in 1319? We do not know. What is certain is that in Bergen, King Håkon V's trade policy was gradually dismantled after his death until almost nothing was left of it in the decades before 1380. In eastern Norway, the ordinances were enforced to a larger degree, so the collapse was due to special conditions in Bergen.

No new trade policies were introduced after 1319. The King defended his own financial interests by holding firm to his right to purchase pre-emptively, to levy the *leidang* on winter residents, and to impose the ship levy, but he abandoned the customs duty on exports which had been introduced in 1316.<sup>375</sup>

Among his regulations which benefitted local consumers, the obligation to sell goods which had been imported into the town<sup>376</sup> and the right of townsmen to the pre-emptive purchase of timber<sup>377</sup> remained in force, but it is uncertain whether these were observed. The King banned merchants from trading in rural areas in 1299, but after 1350 it is unclear whether this prohibition formally remained in force, and even more unclear whether Hansa merchants respected it.<sup>378</sup> Price regulations had always been temporary measures; we have examples of them in Bergen dating from 1282, 1302 and 1316, but none after 1319.<sup>379</sup> Also of a temporary

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371 NGL III no. 51 (Norse original) = HUB II no. 320 (German translation) = *Norske middelalderdokumenter* no. 65 (Norse original and Norwegian translation).

372 GÖNNENWEIN, Stapel- und Niederlagsrecht, p. 279–282.

373 HUB II no. 70 = DN V no. 47.

374 HUB II no. 40 = DN XIX no. 426.

375 Cf. chapter IV.3h, 3c and 3d.

376 Cf. chapter IV.3e.

377 Cf. chapter IV.3l.

378 Cf. chapter IV.3i.

379 Cf. chapter IV.3g.

nature were measures which sought to increase grain imports by prohibiting stock-fish exports by men who did not import grain; such regulations were introduced in 1282 and 1316, but never again after 1319.<sup>380</sup> At the end of our period, none of the consumer-friendly measures enacted during the reign of Håkon V can with certainty be said to have still been enforced.

Among the provisions to protect local trade, the prohibition against foreigners sailing north of Bergen remained in force and was respected, which gave Norwegian merchants a protected but limited possibility of economic survival. There were prohibitions against foreigners' retailing goods they had bought in Norway,<sup>381</sup> and against guests trading with other guests,<sup>382</sup> but the Hansa did not respect these. The 1316 prohibition against winter residency for foreign merchants was formally abolished in 1361, but the King retracted that concession in 1372. The legality of winter residency was contested, but the practice continued.<sup>383</sup>

Why was the trade policy dismantled? The Norwegian kings in the period 1319–1380 became increasingly involved in struggles with Denmark and Sweden. This made the Hansa an important ally, and the King's trade policy was reduced to a way of gaining the support of the Hanseatic League in these struggles. As part of the peace agreement with the Hansa in 1343, King Magnus abolished the 1316 customs duty on exports. In 1350, German merchants were permitted to buy food in the countryside around Bergen at a time when King Magnus wanted the Hansa to support a trade blockade against Novgorod.<sup>384</sup> When Kings Magnus and Håkon needed the Hansa's help to reconquer Scania in 1361, they formally abolished King Håkon V's prohibition against winter residency in Bergen. Later the same year, the two Kings issued the Greifswald privilege, which abolished prohibitions against trade in rural areas, against sailing north of Bergen, against winter residency anywhere in Norway, and the obligation to sell goods brought ashore. In 1376 Håkon VI recognised for the first time Hanseatic merchants' right to practice their "ancient customs" in Norway, which was their remuneration for support in getting his son Olav installed on the Danish throne.<sup>385</sup> The most comprehensive of his trade ordinances date from 1377 and 1378, and the motivation behind them was to secure

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380 Cf. chapter IV.3f.

381 Cf. chapter IV.3j.

382 Cf. chapter IV.3k.

383 Cf. chapter IV.3h.

384 KUMLIEN, *Sverige och hanseaterna*, p. 178; SCHREINER, *Hanseatene og Norges nedgang*, p. 74; cf. p. 323; Schreiner claimed that the concession was given to secure German grain imports immediately after the Black Death. But the Norwegian bishops opposed the concession, and it is unlikely that they cared less for the population's need for grain than King Magnus did.

385 Cf. pp. 298–299.

provisions for the King's army in the war against Sweden.<sup>386</sup> The restrictive legal framework for foreign merchants in Bergen was dismantled on the formal and judicial level in the decades after 1343, because dynastic interests had now become the main motivating force behind the Norwegian-Swedish kings' policy towards the Hansa.

In Bergen, the situation at the end of this period was that the King had managed to defend his financial interests fairly well, but the rest of the legislation about trade dating from before 1319 had fallen to the wayside.

#### 4. WHY THE HANSA MERCHANTS PREVAILED

The main conclusion of this chapter is that the Hansa sidelined the Norwegians in Bergen's foreign trade because the German merchants were professionals and organised their trade more efficiently. This confirms traditional views and is not controversial. The trade of English merchants was not sidelined, nor did it experience expansion similar to that of the Hansa. The English did not pay English customs before the Black Death, so the amount of goods they traded cannot be quantified, but other sources give an impression of stagnation.<sup>387</sup> English merchants at this time organised their trade as professionally as the Germans did, with one notable exception – they did not have such a wide-ranging network as the Hansa merchants did. This must have been a serious handicap in Bergen, since they could not offer the large quantities of grain products which were in demand there.

The collapse of the state's trade policy has to be seen in a wider social context. The main purpose of King Håkon V's legislation was to protect the interests of all consumers who bought their provisions in Bergen, most importantly the royal court and the secular and ecclesiastical elite. The royal court moved to Sweden after 1319, which means that it no longer purchased provisions in Bergen. A garrison remained on Bergenhus castle, but it had more modest requirements. One of the consequences of the Black Death in 1349 was that the incomes of the landowning elite were reduced to a fraction of what they had been. They could afford fewer of the expensive commodities that were symbols of their status. The court's and the elite's motivation had vanished for getting legislation enacted that would secure their supply of imported goods.

The King's ordinances also aimed to channel a supply of rye flour and beer onto the open market in Bergen, where it could be bought by the *nordfar*. After the Black Death, this was no longer a problem. The price of stockfish was so favourable that

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386 HUB IV no. 579 (German translation) = NGL III no. 111; NGL III no. 114 = RN VII no. 773.

387 Cf. p. 69.

the fishermen in practice could afford to buy as much flour as they wanted, and the winter residents created a closed system based on credit which provided the fishermen with predictable deliveries. Neither the elite nor fishermen saw any problems in the way the Hansa merchants organised their trade. The problems which trade ordinances were meant to solve did not exist any more, but not because of legislation.

A secondary aim of King Håkon's legislation had been to protect the domestic trade of Norwegian merchants. Once a thousand winter residents had established themselves on Bryggen<sup>388</sup> and created ties based on credits to thousands of fishermen, this proved unrealistic. There were still Norwegian retailers in Bergen, and some citizens of Bergen still sailed northwards, but the economic realities created by Hansa merchants and peasant fishermen marginalised them. The Hansa merchants gained their dominant position in Bergen during the years 1250–1380 through economic efficiency and rendered the state's trade policy irrelevant.

The state had tried during the years 1278–1380 to shape trade practices in Bergen through legislation. This failed because the Hansa established economic practices which benefitted the majority of Norwegian customers better. In the decades after 1380, neither the state nor the Kontor had a specific trade policy in Bergen. But after about 1430, trade relations in Bergen again became more complex and the position of the winter residents weaker. Now it was the Kontor which felt the need to instigate an active trade policy to defend their threatened positions against emerging economic forces. This will be the subject of chapter V.

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388 Cf. chapter V.1f.

## CHAPTER V

### HOW THE HANSA RETAINED ITS DOMINANT POSITION IN BERGEN, 1366–1537

In the High Middle Ages and the first part of the Late Middle Ages, the German Hansa dominated Norwegian foreign trade for the same reasons they did in other northern European countries: their commercial organisation was more effective, and the states gave a low priority to protecting their own merchants. After about 1430, the German merchants' position in northern European trade became more precarious. In Bergen, however, Hansa merchants retained an almost undiminished economic supremacy until the Reformation in the 1530s, and they did not start to be marginalised until about 1560. The last Kontor merchant sold his house in Bergen as late as 1766.<sup>1</sup> This chapter, therefore, aims to address two key questions: first, what consequences did the general decline of the Hansa in Europe after about 1430 have in Bergen; and second, why did the Hansa manage to defend their dominant position in Bergen longer than in other foreign countries?

Norwegian historians have offered two main answers to the second question. Many have emphasised the role of the strong Hansa organisation in Bergen. The present chapter will examine as thoroughly as the sources permit how the Bergen Kontor was organised and how it was used to protect Hanseatic interests. Some writers have also pointed out that the Norwegian coastal population was particularly dependent on Hanseatic grain imports. This issue will have to wait until Chapter VI.4, which focuses on the consequences of Hanseatic trade for the coastal population north of Bergen.

#### 1. THE KONTOR – THE ORGANISATION OF THE WINTER RESIDENTS

Chapters II and III looked into who owned the goods shipped between Bergen and overseas ports during the period 1350–1600. We found that the merchants involved were not always the so-called winter residents of Bergen, German merchants who lived permanently or for several years in the town and traded with Norwegian customers. The winter residents could send goods produced in Norway abroad as their own property or sell them to other Hanseatic or non-Hanseatic merchants who visited Bergen as summer guests. The winter residents were the linchpin of the Bergen trade, and the Kontor looked after their interests.

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1 FOSSEN, Bergen, p. 684.

The official purpose of all Hansa Kontors and settlements was to defend the Hansa merchants' rights in foreign towns. In the words of Bergen Kontor's aldermen in 1476, this meant "to protect Hansa merchants through Hansa privileges against the commander of Bergenhus castle and Norwegian authorities" (*to bescher-mende myt der ghemene stede privilegie jegens de voghede unde herschop des landes*).<sup>2</sup> But the Bergen Kontor also had other responsibilities. German historians have been especially interested in the winter residents' relations to the larger Hansa organisation.<sup>3</sup> Norwegian historians have been particularly concerned with the Kontor's efforts to regulate the relationship between winter residents and their Norwegian customers.<sup>4</sup> Both have discussed measures the Kontor took against the winter residents' competitors – Hanseatic summer guests, Holland merchants, and Englishmen.<sup>5</sup>

#### A. THE FOUNDING OF THE BERGEN KONTOR IN 1366

There was a long lead-up to the founding of the Bergen Kontor. German merchants began to appear in Bergen and Norway in the 1180s at the latest, and initially they probably came from Cologne.<sup>6</sup> The authorities in Cologne stipulated, with reference to their merchants who visited England, that if four traders from Cologne were present in a foreign town, they were required to elect an alderman and obey him. Lübeck had a similar rule.<sup>7</sup> One should assume that this was common practice among German long-distance traders; since all merchants from the same town or region were held responsible for the trespasses of any individual townsman, they had to keep an eye on each other. This makes it probable that the German merchants in Bergen were organised in some way from the 1180s onwards. Since these merchants were summer guests only, their organisational structures would have been temporary.

The sources give no details about how Bergen summer guests organised themselves during this early period, but it is probable that merchants from each town had their own organisation, as suggested above. Kampen was a Hansa town, but their merchants had a separate organisation in Bergen as late as 1476. Town councillors of Kampen explained this arrangement to a Hansa Diet as follows: "The town of Kampen appoints for their citizens, according to their old customs and rights, not only in Bergen but also in other towns in *Oestland*, an alderman, who shall judge and correct them in foreign countries if they behave riotously or for other reasons." Merchants from Deventer elected an alderman for the guild of St. Olav in their

2 HR II, 7, 342 §1 and no. 391 §23.

3 This will be discussed chapter V.1.

4 This will be the subject chapter V.2.

5 This will be discussed in chapter V.3 and V.4.

6 Cf. pp. 33–34.

7 DOLLINGER, *La Hanse*, p. 132; English translation, p. 105; German translation, p. 141.

home town, but it is not clear how often he was present in Bergen. The Kontor's aldermen objected to this arrangement because it reduced their authority and deprived them of revenue from fines.<sup>8</sup> The representatives from these Zuiderzee towns assured the Hansa Diet that they obeyed the Kontor just as all Hansa merchants in Bergen did.<sup>9</sup> Such dual allegiances were common in the Middle Ages, and the Zuiderzee towns denied that it was a problem. One could interpret this as a late example of a conflict which had taken place perhaps 150 years earlier for other towns.

An increasing number of Hansa merchants became winter residents in Bergen from the 1250s onwards.<sup>10</sup> At some point in time, they established their own organisation, which gained strength from the fact that its members knew the economic and political conditions in Bergen best. The organisation also became more influential because most winter residents were citizens of Lübeck, the most powerful Hansa town. The aldermen of the separate towns must have been gradually marginalised, and in practice they would have lost influence before 1366, when the winter residents' association was recognised by the Hansa Diets as the voice of all Bergen traders. The reason Kampen and Deventer retained their separate aldermen later than this will be discussed below.

It is possible to follow the emergence of the winter residents' organisation in Bergen starting in the 1290s. A state ordinance for Bergen from 1293/4, repeated in 1299 and 1320, prohibited both natives and foreigners from establishing organisations or making laws or statutes of their own; this could only be done with the consent of the King and his councillors. The craft guilds were the main target of this ordinance, but a German merchants' guild would also have been included under this prohibition.<sup>11</sup> The Germans were not given special mention, which indicates that their society did not differ significantly from the guilds that were common among Norwegian townsmen.

After 1320, state authorities abandoned their general resistance to guilds in Bergen, since these were common in most medieval towns. In 1344, a new ordinance was issued against guilds, now directed against foreign merchants and craftsmen who refused to respect Bergen's urban law. They did not appear in court or pay their fines, and to avoid detention the offenders hid from the King's officials. If they were detained, friends of the detainees rioted to set them free. The King ordered his officials to seek the help of native townsmen in creating respect for the law. His chief concern was clearly to ensure the rule of law in Bergen.<sup>12</sup> In 1352, the identity of

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8 HR II, 7, 342 §22 = NGL 2.rk. II, p. 737 §22.

9 HR II, 7, 391 §20 = NGL 2.rk. II, p. 748 §20.

10 DN I no. 122.

11 NGL III nos. 6 = DN XIX no. 397 = *Norske middelalderdokument* no. 40; NGL III no. 11 and 64.

12 NGL III no. 75 = HUB III no. 26.

those violating the law was made explicit: it was “merchants called Hansa brothers from the maritime towns” (*mercatores de civitatibus maritimis dictos hensebrodere*).<sup>13</sup>

Parallel to this, the “Hansa brothers”, in practice the winter residents, drew up their own statutes (*willekor*) for internal use. In 1360, delegates from several Hansa towns met for negotiations, and among other things they discussed a new tax which the winter residents in Bergen recently started demanding from merchants the first time they visited the town. The delegates agreed that this should be discontinued, but there clearly was no established channel for giving such orders to the Bergen organisation. They therefore decided that each town should tell its own Bergen-fahrer to stop demanding the tax, and they clearly expected that this would compel a meeting of the winter residents in Bergen to abolish the practice.<sup>14</sup>

In 1365/6 this line of command was formalised. In 1365, “merchants and aldermen in Bergen” sent a letter to a Hansa Diet asking them to approve several paragraphs in their statutes; one permitted the Bergen organisation to collect a new customs duty (*schot*) from German merchants visiting Bergen, and another allowed them to exercise limited jurisdiction over German merchants in Bergen, with the Hansa towns functioning as courts of appeal and helping to carry out the verdicts.<sup>15</sup> The Bergen organisation clearly had already drawn up the statutes, and they sought permission for these regulations because they could not enforce them against recalcitrant members without their home towns’ consent. This is the first time the German aldermen (*oldermannos*) and statutes (*willekor*) are mentioned with reference to Bergen.<sup>16</sup> In 1366, a Hansa Diet approved statutes for the Bergen organisation for the first time. The main issue in the new statute was to define the jurisdiction of the King, the Bergen Kontor and the merchants’ home towns. The winter residents who were organised in the Kontor were now formally responsible to the Hansa Diet, which had been established ten years earlier in 1356.<sup>17</sup>

The Kontor’s structure changed little over the two centuries covered by this chapter. Its main gathering was the *Morgensprache* (morning discussion). Each firm in Bergen consisted of one manager (*faktor*) and about five employees, and the morning discussion was a general meeting of all *faktors*; if all of them attended, this amounted to about 150 people.<sup>18</sup> The meeting was probably held in the parish church of St. Mary’s, to which most winter residents belonged, or if few attended, in the administrative building of the Kontor (*Kjøpmannsstuen*). At the Stalhof in London, the *Morgensprache* was held once a week, on Wednesdays, but the frequency in Bergen

13 HR I, 1, 177.

14 HR I, 1, 233 §6 = NGL 2.rk. I no. 339.

15 HR I, 1, 357 = NGL 2.rk. I no. 341.

16 HR I, 1, 357–358, and no. 356 §9 and §18 = NGL 2.rk. I no. 341.

17 Selzer wants to date the establishment of the “town Hansa” which had more or less regular meetings to 1358 (SELZER, *Mittelalterliche Hanse*, p. 51, cf. p. 44).

18 Table V.3. The figure is from 1522.

is not known.<sup>19</sup> On normal days, information was disseminated about decisions taken by the Kontor leadership, but the gathering had real power because it approved changes or additions to the statutes and elected the aldermen.

The aldermen exercised the executive and judicial powers of the Kontor. Originally there were six aldermen, evidently in imitation of the Bruges Kontor. In the 15<sup>th</sup> century the number of aldermen was reduced to two, with only one serving at any given time. The Bruges Kontor was divided into three geographic sections, and each of them elected two aldermen. This was done to give all interests a voice in the Kontor. But this was superfluous in Bergen, where Lübeck's dominance was overwhelming. The aldermen's duties were to negotiate with non-German powers in Bergen and the Hansa towns, and to serve as judges in the situations mentioned above.<sup>20</sup> Hansa merchants in Bergen normally brought weapons with them, and the aldermen also functioned as the commanding officers of this militia.

The aldermen were assisted by 18 elected merchants (*achteinen* or *achteinmannen*), but these had no independent duties. This idea was also copied from Bruges. These assistants are mentioned for the first time in 1450, but the institution was probably older.<sup>21</sup>

The Bergen Kontor had formal membership. In 1481, an individual who was protected by the Bergen aldermen under their privileges was called a "member of the Hansa" (*lithmate var der Hensze*).<sup>22</sup> Such members had to swear an oath before the aldermen to respect the statutes, which was similar to oaths taken by new members of any guild.<sup>23</sup> But it was not at all clear who was permitted to become a member.

It seems that in the Kontor's early history, the aldermen decided this on an individual basis. In 1356, the first Hansa Diet was held. Up to the year 1399, the Hansa towns seem to have kept an open mind as to who could trade under their privileges. But in 1399, a Hansa Diet in Lübeck passed a resolution stating that:

no one shall use Hansa privileges if he is not a citizen of a Hansa town, and no one shall be an alderman or *achteienen* in Bruges or alderman in Bergen if he is not citizen of a Hansa town. No Hansa merchant is allowed to buy or sell goods under Hansa privileges if the goods belong to a person outside the Hansa.<sup>24</sup>

19 JÖRN, *Der Londoner Stalhof*, p. 286.

20 BRUNS, *Bergenfahrer*, p. VIII; BRATTEGARD, *Über die Organisation und die Urkunden des hansischen Kontors zu Bergen*, p. 256.

21 BRUNS, *Bergenfahrer*, p. VIII; BRATTEGARD, *Über die Organisation und die Urkunden des hansischen Kontors zu Bergen*, pp. 256–257.

22 HR III, 1, 350 = DN VI no. 589.

23 *to holdende vormiddelst eden hebben bevestiget*; HR II, 7, 342 §2 = NGL 2.rk. II, p. 734 (1476).

24 HR I, 4, 541 §11 = NGL 2.rk. I no. 364.

This evidently made the Kontors uncertain where to draw the line for membership, and in 1407 the Bruges Kontor asked a Hansa Diet if merchants from Lödöse in Sweden, Ribe in Denmark and Oslo in Norway could trade under Hansa privileges. It received the cryptic answer that those who were in the Hansa could use Hansa privileges, those who were not in the Hansa could not.<sup>25</sup> But at least it was now clear that the merchants' citizenship was to be the criterion, and in 1430 this was made somewhat clearer: only citizens of towns which sent representatives to Hansa Diets, or made formal arrangements for other larger towns to represent them there, would be allowed to use Hansa privileges (*der hanze rechticheyde ... bruken*).<sup>26</sup>

Membership in the Bergen Kontor depended on citizenship of certain towns, but it was still not quite clear which towns these were. In 1447, a Hansa Diet decided that if doubts arose about which towns belonged to the Hansa, the Diet would make the final decision.<sup>27</sup> The explanation for them wanting this control was probably the fact that some merchants at times conducted commerce as Hanseatic traders and sometimes as Dutch or Scandinavian traders, depending on what was the most profitable for them. In 1494, a Hansa Diet sent the following instruction to the Bergen Kontor:

The Bergen Kontor shall promote the interests of merchants belonging to the Hansa. Those who are not members of the Hansa shall not be admitted to the Kontor's privileges. If the aldermen are in doubt about someone, they shall ask him to bring a written certificate from the relevant town(s) confirming that he belongs to the Hansa.<sup>28</sup>

But requesting a Diet to make a ruling each time doubts arose was clearly impractical, since years could pass between meetings. In 1535, the Bergen Kontor asked a Hansa Diet for a list of those towns who were allowed to enjoy Hansa privileges in Bergen: "Since no non-Hanseatic merchant or servant may use the Kontor, we ask to be informed about who is in the Hansa and may use the Hansa privileges" (*Nachdem neyn uthhensisch vor kopman edder knecht dat cuntor mach bruken, bogerth de copman tho wetende, welcker ytz in der ansse und der ansse rechticheide bruken mogen*). The Diet answered: "Nobody is allowed to trade at the Kontor unless he is a citizen, or has paid his fee for citizenship, and has his household in a Hansa town."<sup>29</sup> This did not make the matter much clearer, but it was the clearest definition which the Kontor received from the Diet before the Reformation.

Similar problems arose at the London Kontor in 1473 and 1491, but there it was the English authorities who wanted to control access to Hansa privileges. They claimed that in practice Lübeck decided which towns had access to the privileges,

25 HR I, 5, 392 §26.10 = NGL 2.rk. I no. 368.

26 HR I, 8, 712 §15; decision by a Hansa Diet.

27 HR II, 3, 288 §69.

28 HR III, 3, 353 §151 (*unde de nicht von der hanze sint ime kuntore nicht to latende*).

29 HR IV, 2, 90 §18 and §21 (*... he sy borger edder he hebbe borgergelt und bore in de ansse steder tho huss.*).

but this power rightfully belonged to the English Crown. In order to exercise this right, the Crown needed a list of the Hansa towns, but they never received it. In England, the Hansa merchants paid significantly lower customs than other foreign merchants, so it was important for the customs officials to have control over who enjoyed the privilege. At the Stalhof, this power was used to exclude disobedient towns; the best-known case is the expulsion of Cologne from the London Kontor in the 1470s.<sup>30</sup> In Bergen, the royal officials showed no interest in controlling which summer guests were given access to Hansa privileges, probably because in practice it would have been impossible for them to overrule the Kontor aldermen on this point.

German merchants gradually took over the oldest and most attractive quarter of Bergen. This quarter appears for the first time in the extant sources in 1410, where it is called “the Quay” (*vidh Bryggiona*), with an understanding that it was the part of town where the Germans lived.<sup>31</sup> In 1498, we find the first extant source in which this quarter was called *copmanns bruggen*;<sup>32</sup> *de copman* was the German term for the Kontor, but it was also used as a collective name for all the winter residents. So *copmanns bruggen* can be translated as “The Kontor’s Quay” or “The winter residents’ Quay”. Norwegians continued to call this quarter of the town *Bryggen* also after the Reformation. “The Kontor” was the name of their organisation, and “the Quay” was the name of the part of the town where they lived.

Exceptionally the name “The German Quay” or *Tyskebryggen* was used in the 16<sup>th</sup> century if misunderstandings were possible, since “*bryggen*” also was a common name meaning “quay”. St. Mary’s was the last German parish in Bergen, and in 1855 the church ceased to have German as its only language. At this time people in Bergen felt that a valuable tradition was disappearing. From 1857 to 1945, the quarter’s official name was *Tyskebryggen*.

The manager of a firm in Bergen normally had a partner or superior in Lübeck. In the 14<sup>th</sup> century, the latter organised themselves into a Bergenfahrer guild in Lübeck. In 1343, the Hansa merchants’ privileges were confirmed by King Magnus, and the King’s representative received 382 pure silver marks for this “in the town of Lübeck from merchants who belong to the German Hansa and who visit Norway from the same town”.<sup>33</sup> The Bergenfahrer of Lübeck paid for the privilege, but this does not necessarily mean they were organised as a guild at the time. One hundred years later, the secretary of the Kontor in Bergen, Karsten van Geren, wrote that the Bergenfahrer guild in Lübeck was founded in 1380. In 1393 it was an incorporated organisation which could be sued for money. The guild had six aldermen at that

30 JÖRN, *Der Londoner Stalhof*, pp. 147–148 and 252–269; On customs payments: *ibid.*, pp. 291–293; On the exclusion of Cologne: *ibid.*, pp. 81 and 102–118.

31 DN XII no. 148.

32 HUB XI no. 1108 = NGL 3.rk. I no. 126.

33 UBStL II no. 778 = HUB III no. 17 = RN V no. 665.

time, but only three after 1460.<sup>34</sup> They had no independent authority to sit as judges, but the Bergen Kontor delegated to them the power to adjudicate over breaches of the Kontor statutes (*wyllekor*) if the culprit was found in Lübeck.<sup>35</sup>

How did the home towns of the Bergen merchants protect the settlement in Bergen before the Kontor came formally under the protection of the Hansa Diets in 1366? When discussing this question, it is important to realise that trade was only one of several causes of war and political conflict between Lübeck and Norway during this period.

Norway and Lübeck became involved in an armed conflict for the first time in the years 1247–1250, but this had nothing to do with German trading rights in Norway. In 1278, the first privilege given to German merchants in Norway was negotiated peacefully by the town council of Lübeck, and these rights were to be enjoyed by all German-speaking merchants.<sup>36</sup>

In 1284/5 a war broke out between Norway and an alliance of German towns, northern German princes and Denmark. Many Hansa historians have wanted to see this as a war over trading rights in Bergen, but this was only partially the case.<sup>37</sup> The background to the war was an “alliance for peace” formed in 1283 which involved towns and principalities in northern Germany (*Der Rostocker Landfrieden*). They were joined in 1284 by Denmark, which was embroiled in its own conflict with Norway. The alliance was led by Lübeck and was directed against the Prince of Brandenburg, who was threatening several independent towns in the area.<sup>38</sup> In 1282, Norway had restricted the trading rights of foreign merchants in Bergen, and Lübeck mobilised this alliance to force Norway to repeal these restrictions. Without this pre-existing alliance, Lübeck would probably not have been able to wage the war. The conflict ended with an arbitrated settlement in 1285 whose terms met all the commercial demands of Lübeck and its allies.<sup>39</sup>

In 1294, a new conflict arose because merchants from Kampen and Stavoren hanged some pirates in Marstrand without the King’s consent, which challenged the state courts. The subsequent negotiations were conducted in Tønsberg by representatives from Lübeck, Wismar, Rostock, Stralsund, Greifswald, Kampen and Stavoren.<sup>40</sup> Lübeck did not act as the leader of the group, and the resulting privileges

34 BRUNS, *Bergenfahrer*, pp. CXI–CXII.

35 *Ibid.*, p. CXII footnote 6.

36 HUB I no. 818 = UBStL I no. 398 = DN V no. 10 = *Norske middelalderdokumenter* no. 30.

37 SELZER, *Mittelalterliche Hanse*, p. 38; “... völlig sicher ist, dass die initiative zur Bildung einer Koalition von den im Norwegenhandel engagierten Fernhändlern und nicht von ihren Heimatstädten ausging“.

38 HØRBY, *Danmarks historie*, pp. 141–144; HELLE, *Konge og gode menn*, pp. 254–256.

39 Cf. pp. 305–307.

40 UBStL I no. 601 = HUB I no. 1114 = HR I, 1, 63 = MecklUB III no. 2223 = DN V no. 21; UBStL I no. 603 = MecklUB III no. 2224 = HR I, 1, 63 = HUB I no. 1115 = DN V no. 22;

(*privilegiis*) were intended to be valid for the towns involved as well as some other named Baltic towns. In 1306, Lübeck alone had its privileges renewed,<sup>41</sup> but in 1312 there was a collective renewal of privileges for the “maritime towns” of Lübeck, Rostock, Wismar, Greifswald and Stralsund, after peaceful negotiations in both instances.<sup>42</sup>

Lübeck is geographically situated close to Denmark, and to the powerful county of Holstein and Duchy of Mecklenburg. Denmark had been Lübeck’s feudal superior during the years 1221–1227, and there was a real fear in Lübeck that the town might be subjugated to one of its neighbours. In 1332, the Danish province of Scania was pledged to King Magnus of Sweden/Norway, who had borrowed money from Hansa merchants to acquire it. In 1339/40, King Waldemar of Denmark started his reconquest of Scania, with help from the Hanseatic towns. Waldemar succeeded in retaking both Scania and Gotland in 1360/61, which led to an alliance between Hansa towns, Norway and Sweden against Denmark. There was a replay of this conflict in 1368 in which Norway became Waldemar’s ally against the Hansa.<sup>43</sup> These protracted wars were not clashes over trading rights in Norway.

Lübeck’s new power and self-confidence, gained through these wars, came to the fore in the struggle to revoke King Håkon V’s onerous export customs which had been imposed in 1316 on foreign merchants’ goods.<sup>44</sup> During the period 1335–1343, Lübeck worked hard for this outcome<sup>45</sup> and conducted negotiations with King Magnus on their own.<sup>46</sup> In 1343, the customs duties were abolished as part of a peace agreement between Lübeck, on the one side, and King Magnus and Holstein on the other,<sup>47</sup> and the Lübeck Bergenfahrer alone paid the fee for the concession.<sup>48</sup> However, Lübeck was to share this privilege with Hamburg, Wismar, Rostock, Stralsund, Greifswald “and all merchants of the German Hansa”.<sup>49</sup> This privilege served the Kontor well for several centuries. About 180 years later ca. 1520, both Dutch and Hanseatic skippers were required to pay a ship levy in Bergen, but Hansa merchants were exempt from an additional customs duty on

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UBStL I no. 621 = MecklUB III no. 2294 = HUB I no. 1144 = *Norske middelalderdokumenter* no. 41 = DN V no. 23.

41 UBStL II no. 203 = HUB II no. 87 = DN V no. 51.

42 UBStL II no. 299 = HR I, 1, 104 = RN III no. 761.

43 JAHNKE, *Silber des Meeres*, pp. 50–56; HOFFMANN, Lübeck, pp. 147–152.

44 Cf. pp. 312.

45 UBStL II no. 615 = HUB II no. 511; UBStL III no. 88 = HUB II no. 508.

46 HUB II nos. 512, 513, 525, 526 = DN VIII nos. 141, 143, 144 and 145; HUB II dates these negotiations to 1332, and DN to 1341. I have accepted DN’s dating, see RN V no. 470 note 1.

47 HUB III, no 13 = UBStL II no. 774 = DN VIII no. 151 = *Norske middelalderdokumenter* no. 83; TARANGER, *Norges historie* volume 3, part 1, p. 73.

48 UBStL II no. 778 = HUB III no. 17 = RN V no. 666.

49 HUB III no 13 = UBStL II no. 774 = DN VIII no. 151 = *Norske middelalderdokumenter* no. 83.

imported goods which merchants from Holland had to pay.<sup>50</sup> Lübeck merchants made up the majority of those who resided at the Kontor, and the town's leadership of the Bergen Kontor was a reality from the time the first privilege was awarded in 1278. The new development after 1366 was that the Hansa Diet, whose leading member was Lübeck, was granted the formal right to control and approve the statutes of the Bergen Kontor.

In retrospect, it is not self-evident that the German merchants in Bergen would end up with a strong Kontor. In Visby on Gotland, the starting point was the same. The first known German merchants to visit Gotland arrived in 1161 as summer guests sailing from Lübeck. In 1225, St. Mary's church in Visby was consecrated by the Bishop of Linköping. It was constructed and founded by Germans (*per manus Thetonicorum fundatorum*), and three groups of Germans were given use of the church: German citizens of Visby, for whom it was their parish church and who elected its parson; *hospites recedentes* (resident guests) and *hospites venientes* (visiting guests) could also worship in it and be buried there. "Visiting guests" in Visby were the counterpart of Bergen's "summer guests", and their "resident guests" paralleled Bergen's "winter residents". In both towns, the German merchants' organisations developed from a temporary community of summer guests led by an alderman or bailiff during the time they were sailing to or trading at the market. When some of these summer guests became winter residents, they established a permanent organisation, but still with an alderman and a council. In Bergen, and probably also in Visby, the resident merchants' organisation overruled and marginalised that of the German summer guests. The final stage was that some of the winter residents became citizens (*burgenses*) of these towns and took seats on the town council. In Visby, the latter process was underway in 1225, while in Bergen the Kontor prevented this possibility for German merchants until after about 1560. The result was that during the Late Middle Ages, German merchants in Visby were ruled by a town council which had many German members, while in Bergen they were ruled by the Kontor.<sup>51</sup>

## B. THE EMERGENCE OF A HANSA IDENTITY AMONG THE BERGENFAHRER

When did German merchants in Bergen start considering themselves to be "Hanseatic"? In the earliest period of the Bergen trade, the word "Hansa" was not used. The first privilege awarded to German merchants in Norway was granted in 1278 and was negotiated by the town council of Lübeck, supported by "the German maritime

<sup>50</sup> Table II.1 note 1 and 2.

<sup>51</sup> HUB I no. 191; KATTINGER, *Die gotländische Genossenschaft*, pp. 52–54.

towns” (*civitatium maritimarum theutonice*). The rights they secured were to be enjoyed by all German-speaking merchants (*mercatoribus lingue theutonice*).<sup>52</sup>

During the war of 1284/5, did the towns involved consider themselves a pragmatic alliance of independent towns, or did they enjoy a common identity? In the final arbitrations concerning their relationship to Norway, they are presented as an alliance of named towns: Lübeck, Wismar, Rostock, Stralsund, Greifswald, Riga and Germans in Visby.<sup>53</sup> In most documents, the alliance partners are collectively referred to as “the maritime towns”;<sup>54</sup> they were united by a common interest in commercial shipping. The Norwegians also identified them by their nationality, as “German maritime towns”.<sup>55</sup> In several documents Visby is mentioned as one of these towns, but only “the Germans in Visby” were meant.<sup>56</sup> All the towns involved in the final war arbitrations were located on the Baltic, and in one document they are referred to as “the maritime and eastern towns”.<sup>57</sup> Hamburg is the only North Sea town mentioned as part of the alliance, but the reality behind this can be doubted since their participation is only mentioned in documents written by non-Hamburg officials. The extant sources suggest that in 1284/5, the alliance was a pragmatic coalition of towns whose inhabitants had their strongest ties to their home town. But they also had a common identity based on geography and language, in addition to shared economic interests.

In 1312, there was a collective renewal of privileges for the “maritime towns” of Lübeck, Rostock, Wismar, Greifswald and Stralsund.<sup>58</sup> Merchants who visited Bergen in 1331 were referred to by Norwegian authorities as coming “from the German land” (*af thydssko lande*).<sup>59</sup> King Håkon V’s trade legislation was directed against “foreign merchants”. In the eyes of the Norwegians the merchants had an ethnic identity, while in their own eyes their identity was based on maritime trade.

Before 1343, the term “Hansa” had been used among German traders to refer to merchant associations whose members were citizens of the same town or county and who were staying in a foreign land.<sup>60</sup> An example of this is found in 1266, when the English king granted the merchants of Hamburg permission to organise a *Hansa* in England; the following year the merchants of Lübeck received the same permis-

52 HUB I no. 818 = UBStL I no. 398 = DN V no. 10 = *Norske middelalderdokumenter* no. 30.

53 UBStL no. 484 = MecklUB III no. 1821 = HUB I no. 993 = *Norske middelalderdokumenter* no. 36.

54 UBStL I no. 470 = *Diplomatarium Danicum* 2.rk. III no. 109; UBStL I no. 479 = HR I, 1, 38; UBStL I no. 494 = DN V no. 15.

55 UBStL I no. 494 = DN V no. 15.

56 UBStL I no. 479 = HR I, 1, 38; UBStL I no. 484 = *Norske middelalderdokumenter* no. 36.

57 UBStL IV no. 53 = HUB I no. 931.

58 UBStL II no. 299 = HR I, 1, 104.

59 HUB II no. 502 = NGL III no. 70 = DN VII no 135.

60 DOLLINGER, *La Hanse*, p. 10; English translation, pp. XIX-XX; German translation, p. 12.

sion.<sup>61</sup> In 1282, the German merchants residing in London's Stalhof drew up an agreement with London town, and in this document they are referred to as Hanseatic (*mercatores de hansa Almanie in eadem civitate tunc morantes*).<sup>62</sup>

The 1343 privilege negotiated by Lübeck for Norway used the term differently. The privilege was to be shared by the inhabitants of Lübeck, Hamburg, Wismar, Rostock, Stralsund, Greifswald "and all merchants of the German Hansa" (*ipsis civitatibus iam dictis et earum incolis, necnon universis mercatoribus de Hansa Theuthonicorum*).<sup>63</sup> According to Dollinger, this is the first time in the Hanseatic League's history that the word "Hansa" was used to designate "all north German merchants, and not only merchants who were present at a particular locality outside Germany" (*la communauté entière des marchands de l'Allemagne du Nord, en non plus seulement une groupe localisé à l'étranger*).<sup>64</sup>

Lübeck had negotiated an earlier privilege in Norway in 1278, which was extended to "German-speaking merchants". Why was there this change in the criterion for who should enjoy the privileges in Norway from language in 1278 to membership of an organisation in 1343? Everybody was competent to judge who was "German-speaking". The phrase "Hansa merchants" was more vague, and someone then had to decide who was to be included or excluded under this term. One should assume that this change was made because Lübeck wanted it, and it is striking that the word "Hansa" is used six times in the short privilege from 1343.

The wording of the document makes it clear that the Wendish towns were included, but its applicability to other towns seems to have been decided by Lübeck. This was so because Lübeck had negotiated and paid for the privilege, and also because the majority of winter residents in Bergen were from Lübeck. The right to decide who should enjoy such concessions traditionally belonged to the state which issued the privilege. As mentioned above, the English Crown resented the fact that the Hansa in practice deprived them of this right, and so did the Norwegian king. In 1370, the King complained to Hansa negotiators that the maritime towns were admitting new towns into their Hansa (*ad se et in hanzam*) without seeking his consent. The King emphasised that the Hansa privileges were only valid for the towns (*civitates*) named in the written privileges (*litteris nominate*).<sup>65</sup> Nothing more was said about this later; the Norwegian state seems to have given in, and in practice it was not feasible to control which towns had a presence at Bryggen. This deprived the state of the possibility of splitting the German towns by awarding them different privileges, and it gave Lübeck and the Hansa Diet a powerful instrument for

61 HUB I nos. 633 and 636.

62 HUB I no. 902.

63 HUB III, no 13 = UBStL II no. 774 = DN VIII no. 151 = *Norske middelalderdokumenter* no. 83.

64 DOLLINGER, *La Hanse*, p. 10; English translation, pp. XIX-XX; German translation, p. 12.

65 HR I, 2, 4 §2 = NGL 2.rk. I, p. 616 §2.

pressuring summer guests from many towns to obey the leaders of the German settlement in Bergen.

In 1350, the King issued new privileges to “the excellent men, merchants of the German Hansa who reside in our town Bergen” (*discreti viri mercatores de hansa Theotunicorum in civitate nostra Bergensi existentes*). It should be assumed that the German negotiators wanted the word “Hansa” to be used on this occasion.<sup>66</sup> But the Norwegians also started to adopt the term in documents which had not been influenced by Lübeck. In the confirmation of Bergen’s privileges in 1344, the visitors are still called “foreign merchants”,<sup>67</sup> but in the next confirmation of the same privilege in 1361, they are referred to as “winter residents and Hansa brothers” (*vætersæter ok Hensza brödr*).<sup>68</sup>

At this time, the representatives of the German towns seem to have been unsure of what to call those who were allowed to enjoy the privileges. In September 1361, they obtained from the Kings of Sweden and Norway a privilege which was valid for both countries. This was issued for twelve named towns, nine of them on the Baltic, plus Hamburg, Bremen and Stade on the North Sea. In addition, the privilege applied to a more indeterminate group called both “towns and merchants of the German Hansa” (*universis et singulis civitatibus ac mercatoribus Hanse Teuthonicorum*) and “towns and merchants of the Roman empire” (*universis civibus ac mercatoribus civitatum Romani imperii*).<sup>69</sup> The latter phrasing in 1361 is unique in a Norwegian context.

Selzer writes that towns started being described as belonging to the Hansa after the first Hansa Diet in 1356/8; earlier on, only the merchants themselves were labelled Hanseatic.<sup>70</sup> This was the case even in Norway. In the privilege from 1361 cited above, not only the merchants but also the towns are referred to as Hanseatic for the first time in a Norwegian source.<sup>71</sup>

To sum up, the oldest collective name for German merchants in a Norwegian context is “German-speaking merchants”, and for their home towns “maritime towns”, the latter mostly used for towns on the Baltic Sea. In 1343, the word “Hansa” started being used first for merchants, and from 1361 for towns. In other regions, the chronology of the terminology was different.<sup>72</sup>

But the main trend was the same in Norway as in other countries visited by German merchants. The ties between these traders were first seen as depending on language and geography, then the merchants were perceived as being members of a

66 HUB III no. 169 = DN III no. 272; translated into Low German as *de ghemene kopman van der Dudeschen henze de an unser stadt ligghen to Berghen*.

67 NGL III no. 75 = HUB III no. 26.

68 NGL III no. 92.

69 HUB IV no. 28 §1 = HR I, 1, 261.

70 SELZER, *Mittelalterliche Hanse*, p. 57.

71 HUB IV no. 28 = HR I, 1, 261.

72 SELZER, *Mittelalterliche Hanse*, p. 35.

large organisation. Individual more-or-less independent towns sought cooperation among themselves to thwart regulations drawn up by kings and princes; at the same time, individual merchants sought mutual cooperation at the local markets against the kings and princes who exercised military and judicial powers there. In 1366, the towns and merchants coordinated these efforts under Lübeck's leadership; their local organisation became the Bergen Kontor, and their central organisational body was the Hansa Diet.

### C. THE GERMAN COMMUNITY AT BRYGGEN AS AN HONOUR GROUP

The potential existed for the peaceful integration of German merchants with the native Bergen community. They shared the same religion. The Germans spoke Middle Low German (*Mittelniederdeutsch*) and the natives Middle Norwegian (*Mellomnorsk*). The two languages were more similar to each other than modern German and Norwegian are and were mutually comprehensible, almost like Norwegian and Danish today. After about 1400, Danish was used for writing in Norway, and although Middle Low German and Middle Danish were distinct written languages, literate Norwegians were able to read both without learning them as foreign languages. In 1529, Lübeck's urban council wrote two letters in Middle Low German about Protestant preachers in Bergen, one to the Norwegian Council of the Realm and the other to the Archbishop of Trondheim; they assumed that Norwegian nobles and prelates could read Low German.<sup>73</sup>

Absalon Pederssøn Beyer was a clergyman in Bergen Cathedral and taught at the school there. During the years 1552–1572, he wrote a diary which, among other things, offers interesting glimpses of the social relations between Germans and Norwegians in the town.<sup>74</sup> The winter residents of Bryggen owned pubs (*Bierstuben*, *Ølstuer*) which served good German beer and were popular among the natives. Bergen had a wine cellar in the same building as the town hall, which enjoyed a monopoly on serving wine in the town. Such *Ratskellers* were well known in Hansa towns. Bergen's was operated by the town council up to the beginning of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, but as it was situated at Bryggen, it was subsequently run by the Kontor.<sup>75</sup> Norwegians who visited the pubs and wine cellar at Bryggen would have had no problems communicating with the Germans.

There were social contacts at the official level, at least after the Reformation. In February 1563, the commander of Bergenhuis castle invited the entire leadership of the Kontor to a banquet. One of the castle's officers grew violent, beat some of the Germans, and pulled their beards. The main victim was the alderman Themme Lynning. When Lynning died six years later, Absalon described him as:

<sup>73</sup> HR III, 9, 477 = DN XI nos. 522 and 523.

<sup>74</sup> *Absalon Pederssøns dagbok*.

<sup>75</sup> HELLE, Bergen, pp. 197 and 283.

pious, silent, polite and God-fearing, against whom nobody had any complaints. All churches, even the hospital and the Cathedral, rang their bells for him, which had not been done before. He was buried with great dignity in St. Mary's [the largest German parish church] in a coffin under the floor in front of the altar.<sup>76</sup>

The town of Bergen hosted two distinct societies, and the relationship between them was characterised by both confrontation and respect. There was less confrontation and more respect after the Reformation.

The potential for integration was not realized mainly because the German community wanted to retain their separate identity not only as a legal entity but also as an "honour group". Honour can be defined basically as the respect a person enjoys among those who know him. The English social anthropologist Julian Pitt-Rivers has defined "honour" as "the value of a person in his own eyes and in the eyes of his society".<sup>77</sup> Anthropologists often call this society an "honour group"; it consists of people who know or have heard about the person and who share his values or "code of honour". The Germans at Bryggen constituted such a group. An honour group exerts strong powers over its members because an individual's self-respect depends on what the members of the group think of him.

The Germans at Bryggen collectively were keenly aware of their own worth in relation to outsiders. They regularly used the word "honourable" (*erbar, ersam*) with reference to institutions or people belonging to their own group. The meeting of all merchants at Bryggen was called *ersamen gemenen kopmane*, the leadership of the Kontor was *der ersame kopman*, the town council in Lübeck was *erbarenn radeth tho lubeke*, and the Hansa Diet was *dudischenn erbarnn anse steder*.<sup>78</sup> This vocabulary was for internal use and expressed their own self-esteem.

The winter residents frequently stressed their common ethnic origins. The Kontor statutes opened with the following words: "To the praise of the almighty God, to promote the common good, and particularly to protect and preserve this precious settlement for people of German birth".<sup>79</sup> All people in Bergen were highly conscious of ethnic differences. In a letter of complaint dated 1440, the town council of Bergen called their opponents "the Germans" or "the German merchants".<sup>80</sup> The people at the Kontor were – unsurprisingly – proud of being German, but they were also proud of being citizens of a Hansa town, and of being merchants. Their identity was tied to language, geography and occupation.

The Kontor leadership wanted to draw a clear line between themselves and those who were not Germans. In 1411, the Kontor aldermen asked a Hansa Diet to issue

<sup>76</sup> *Absalon Pedersøns dagbok*, pp. 24 and 145.

<sup>77</sup> PITT-RIVERS, Honour and social status, p. 21.

<sup>78</sup> NGL 2.rk. II no. 416 §15, §22, §74, §98 and §100 (Kontor statutes of 1494).

<sup>79</sup> NGL 2.rk. II no. 416 (*Iefflicher residentie dudischer nation*).

<sup>80</sup> NGL 2.rk. I, pp. 245–248.

a prohibition against Kontor merchants trading with “the Flemish, the English and non-Germans (*undudeschen*).”<sup>81</sup> The statutes prohibited Hanseatic house owners from giving board and lodging to those who were not members of the Hansa.<sup>82</sup> The merchants at Bryggen were also prohibited from participating in “guilds, fraternities or similar banquets” with “citizens of Bergen or Norwegians”, and from drinking beer in pubs which were open to anyone (*in apenbare kroge to bere gan*). After 9pm in the winter and 10pm in the summer, no member of the Kontor was allowed outside Bryggen.<sup>83</sup> Those who revealed the Kontor’s statutes or other Kontor secrets to non-Hanseatic people (*udthansstedheschenn*) were to be expelled from the Kontor. The aldermen accused the Zuiderzee towns of revealing such secrets to the local authorities in Bergen. The Zuiderzee towns denied this, which means that they accepted that secrecy was the norm.<sup>84</sup> Many of the statutes just mentioned must in practice have been meant for winter residents only, since they were the ones whose German and Hanseatic identity was threatened. There are no indications that the Norwegians felt the same need to keep the Germans at a distance. Perhaps it is natural that this need was felt only by the minority population.

Was the community at Bryggen a place for a future merchant to learn an appropriate “code of honour”? The young, unmarried Germans in Bergen had a reputation among Norwegians, as well as in Hansa towns, for riotous behaviour. This is mentioned as a problem in the Kontor’s first statute in 1366, and at the end of our period, in 1530, a Hansa Diet ordered that rioting and disobedience by the young apprentices and journeymen (*upror und ungehorsam der jungen gesellen*) in Bergen was to be punished.<sup>85</sup> As mentioned above, the young merchants had to observe a curfew in Bryggen.<sup>86</sup> But Bryggen also had a good reputation as place for young men to learn the skills necessary for becoming a successful merchant. Esge Bilde was a commander of Bergenhus castle and a Danish nobleman. A contact back in Schleswig-Holstein sent his son to Bergen and another sent his nephew, requesting that Esge find them apprenticeships at Bryggen where they could learn to become good merchants. The potential masters of the two boys had to be “good and pious” and “pious, of good repute and wise”. The father explicitly stated that he did not want his son to grow up among the soldiers in the castle. The master merchants were to educate the young men morally, by teaching them wisdom, honour, virtue, discipline, and by keeping them from “beer and bad company”, vices and dishonour.<sup>87</sup> A Hansa Diet in 1521 no doubt was expressing a commonly held opinion

81 HR I, 6, 38 (1411 before 15.07).

82 NGL 2.rk. II no. 416 §18.

83 Ibid. no. 416 §87 and §96.

84 Ibid. no. 416 §82; HR II, 7, 342 §7 = NGL 2.rk. II, p. 735 §7; HR II, 7, 391 §5 = NGL 2.rk. II, p. 745 §5.

85 HR III, 9, 588 §265.

86 For more on riotous behaviour, see pp. 381–384.

87 DN X nos. 568 and 591.

when it described the Bergen Kontor as a place where “many became successful men from nothing and with little money”, and they felt it would be a great loss if it were to be closed down.<sup>88</sup> But the picture was ambiguous – the same Hansa Diet recommended that those who were disobedient should be put forcibly on a ship and sent back to their home town.<sup>89</sup>

At the Bergen Kontor, apprentices received a good, professional education from their merchant employers, probably because both had little else to do during the long winter months. However, tedium and too many young men living together in a ghetto-like environment created fertile soil for collective violence against outsiders. But there are no indications that the Germans at Bryggen were more violent towards outsiders and each other than others were in Bergen.<sup>90</sup>

The internal ties between the winter residents at Bryggen had to be strong. In 1372, only six years after its founding, the Bergen Kontor asked a Hansa Diet to prohibit married men from bringing their wives to Bergen, and in 1379 and again in 1498, the Diet consented to this request.<sup>91</sup> This was evidently respected, and no sources mention that winter residents were accompanied by their wives. But these sources do not prohibit winter residents from having a wife in their home town. A description of Bergen from 1584 called *Den norske So* (The Norwegian Sow), written by a German who had been living there, states that only unmarried men were sent to Bergen as winter residents at that time, and in living memory. The Kontor did not accept married men as winter residents.<sup>92</sup> This may have been their practice, but there was no prohibition against marriage in the statutes.

Each of the ca. 22 housing complexes (*gård*) at Bryggen had its own communal living room (*schuttinge staven*) “where everybody shall go and sit on winter days.”<sup>93</sup> Each *gård* drew up its own separate statutes which supplemented those of the Kontor. The main purpose of the oldest extant *gård* statute, written down in 1529, was to educate particularly the young men in polite manners. It stipulated fines for men who vomited after having drunk too much, who started quarrels or fights, or smashed a neighbour’s tankard either on purpose or inadvertently.<sup>94</sup> Young men who carried swords, spears, halberds, axes, knives and other weapons “naked”, i.e. without a sheath, were fined.<sup>95</sup> Fights with weapons did not break out every year. In 1550, two neighbours in the Jacobsfjorden *gård* wounded each other with knives,

88 HR III, 7, 413 §51.

89 HR III, 7, 413 §133.

90 For more on violence in Bergen in the Late Middle Ages, see NEDKVITNE, *Ære, lov og religion*, chapter VII.

91 HR I, 2, 41 §2 = HUB IV no. 426 (1372); DN XIX no. 600 (1379); HR III, 4, 79 §86 cf. §87 = NGL 2.rk. III no. 391 §86 cf. §87 (1498).

92 *Den norske So*, p. 25.

93 NGL 2.rk. II no. 416 §57 (the Kontor statutes).

94 Jacobsfjorden §7 and §8.

95 *Ibid.* §55.

but the next internal knife fight seems to have taken place ten years later, in 1560.<sup>96</sup> To avoid quarrels which could escalate, the *gård* statutes decreed that if someone sitting in the communal living room had a complaint against a neighbour, he should walk across the floor, place four shillings on a table, and explain the problem. Then his opponent should put four shillings on the same table and give his version of the argument. Finally, those present should decide who had the best case, and the losing party also lost his stake money.<sup>97</sup> Men with a strong sense of honour were easily offended, and a small dispute could quickly escalate out of control. Thus it was a wise strategy to bring in the voice of the honour group at an early stage. If the losing party prolonged the dispute, it would weaken his status within the honour group.

This procedure also discouraged slander and brought rumours out into the open where they could be refuted. Defamatory gossip was taken seriously in a group where social status to a large extent was based on one's honour. If a man was rumoured to have behaved dishonourably and this could not be proved, he, along with 12 other men, could swear that he was innocent. This was done in the presence of the Kontor's honourable winter residents (*ersamenn gemenen kopmanne*) at the *Morgensprache*. After such an oath was taken, nobody was supposed to speak about the incident, and the rumour-mongers were to lose their status as men of honour. This meant that they would lose face, but it could also weaken their testimonies in court cases.<sup>98</sup> Material punishments awaited a slanderer: Hinrik Rust was fined 50 kilos of flour and made to confess in front of the other residents in the communal living room that he had uttered defamatory words when drunk, and state that he knew nothing about the slandered person which was not appropriate for a good merchant's servant.<sup>99</sup>

The Kontor leadership could marginalise disobedient merchants by humiliating and shunning them. Three merchants from Kampen were found guilty of having sent goods from Bergen to Kampen on a ship from Holland, in contravention of the Kontor's statutes. As punishment, nobody was allowed to eat or drink with them, and their servants were not allowed to perform any kind of work. They had effectively been excluded from the Kontor community. To be reintegrated, they first had to pay a fine consisting of money and wax. Then a meeting was called of all heads of households (*die ganse gemente*), where the three culprits had to approach the aldermen and beg for mercy, dressed only in their night shirts, which were long enough to cover what was most necessary to conceal.<sup>100</sup> This humiliating treatment may have marginalised the three merchants within the honour group, perhaps even after the ritual was over.

<sup>96</sup> Ibid. §19 and §49.

<sup>97</sup> Ibid. §35.

<sup>98</sup> NGL 2.rk. II no. 416 §9 and §74.

<sup>99</sup> Jacobsfjorden §60, cf. §61.

<sup>100</sup> NGL 2.rk. II, pp. 727–728 (1469) = HR II, 7, 394; NGL 2.rk. II, pp. 742–743 = HR II, 7, 388 (1476).

The so-called *Bergen spill* in Low German *spil* had a similar purpose. The word *spil* is in Low German dictionaries given several related meanings, but the most relevant one is “entertainment”.<sup>101</sup> Today these “entertainments”, carried out in the presence of the victims’ colleagues at Bryggen, would be considered to be mild torture. A new arrival had his buttocks beaten bloody with birch whips, was strung up in the smoke above a fireplace, thrown naked from a boat into Bergen harbour, and whipped by people in surrounding boats while in the water.<sup>102</sup> In my view this humiliating treatment must be understood against the background of this prevalent ideology of honour. Hansa merchants came from different social backgrounds, and by humiliating all of them in the same manner, their family’s status was stripped from them before they started their career in Bergen. In the eyes of their local community and in their own eyes, they became members of a community of equals. Obtaining higher status in their new community had to be accomplished in relation to the code of honour at Bryggen. According to a late source, the winter residents made the “entertainments” compulsory in 1478,<sup>103</sup> but they are mentioned for the first time in a contemporary source in 1507 when a Hansa Diet tried to stop them,<sup>104</sup> and then in detail in contemporary sources from 1529 and 1560.<sup>105</sup> At the end of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, the boom times for the stockfish trade were drawing to a close, and a majority of winter residents may have wanted to make it less attractive for members of well-to-do merchants’ families to take up winter residence in Bergen.<sup>106</sup>

The Germans at Bryggen had a strong sense of honour. This made them prone to violent reactions to small offences, especially the young men. But their code of honour also valued and rewarded polite manners, and the older men saw it as their duty to educate the younger ones in this direction. The social environment on Bryggen strengthened the inclination to violence which is typical of young men, but it also gave older merchants a better means to reign in this tendency and prepare them for their future as respected merchants. People in Hansa towns had an ambiguous attitude to the milieu at Bryggen. The community at Bryggen functioned as an ethnic honour group, which was the main reason that the potential for ethnic integration mentioned at the beginning of this section did not materialise.

#### D. INTERNAL UNITY THROUGH LÜBECK’S DOMINANCE

The two historians who have most strongly emphasised Lübeck’s dominance were Friedrich Bruns and Johan Schreiner. Bruns based this claim on an analysis of the

101 LÜBBEN, *Mittelniederdeutsches Handwörterbuch*, entry word “spil”.

102 *Bergens Fundats*, pp. 56–58. This source from ca. 1560 enumerates seven different “entertainments” for merchants and five for German craftsmen.

103 HELLE, *Bergen*, p. 742; the source is from 1671.

104 HR III, 5, 245 §23.

105 *Jacobsfjorden* §3 and §4 (1529); *Bergens Fundats*, pp. 56–58 (1560).

106 Cf. chapter VI.1 on falling prices.

home towns of winter residents, and he never generalised his conclusions about Lübeck's leadership at the Bergen Kontor (*Lübecks leitende Stellung am Deutschen Kontor zu Bergen*) to the trade routes. Schreiner added to Bruns' conclusion the claim that most of Bergen's trade was with Lübeck, but as was shown in Chapter II, this was not the case.<sup>107</sup> But Lübeck's demographic and political dominance of the Kontor remains uncontroversial. Bruns' analysis of the home towns of the winter residents is nevertheless problematic, since he based it on the abundant Lübeck sources and paid less attention to documents from other Hansa towns. He did not discuss whether Lübeck's position among the winter residents may have weakened in the period between 1366 and the Reformation in 1537.

I have chosen to examine Lübeck's position before and after 1430 separately. As shown in Chapter II, Lübeck's merchant shipping from Bergen underwent important changes in the decades after this date. Lübeck merchants gradually reduced and finally stopped sending goods to Boston. Instead, merchants from the Zuiderzee towns, Amsterdam, Bremen and Hamburg gradually took over the exchanges of stockfish for cloth with North Sea ports, and they directed this shipping to their home towns. Did this development influence the composition of the community of winter residents in Bergen?

The surviving sources from the period 1350–1430 permit us to name 179 Germans who with certainty or a very high probability were winter residents in Bergen or had invested money in a firm at Bryggen even if they did not live there themselves. This figure includes merchants who are said to have owned houses (*stue*) in Bergen, invested capital in firms there, been elected as an official of the Bergen Kontor, been called "merchants in Bergen", or were witnesses at formal legal procedures in Bergen. These are reliable criteria. In addition, merchants have been included who bequeathed gifts to ecclesiastical institutions in Bergen in their wills, since it is highly likely that foreigners who made such donations had used the services of these institutions over a long period – in other words, that they had been winter residents. Finally, the elected officials of Lübeck's guild of *Bergenfahrer* have been included in this list. While it does not seem to have been a rule that only merchants who had been winter residents in Bergen or owned a house there could be a member of the Lübeck guild, it is nevertheless highly likely that the most active members, the elected officials, had this kind of background in Bergen.

The next and more difficult question is how many of the 179 named winter residents were citizens of Lübeck. Documents issued or written in Lübeck mention 170 of them. Almost all of their names are found in wills registered at Lübeck's town hall or in Lübeck's *Niederstadtbuch*.<sup>108</sup> It is likely that nearly all of these 170 named men were Lübeck citizens. But a merchant who was registered in the *Pfundzoll*

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<sup>107</sup> Chapter I.1.

<sup>108</sup> BRUNS, *Bergenfahrer*. These sources were examined by Bruns, and he extracted all documents which provided evidence for trade and shipping to Bergen.

accounts as trading between Lübeck and Bergen should not be, and has not been, considered a Lübecker for that reason alone, since merchants from other towns also traded along that route.<sup>109</sup>

The archive in Lübeck is richer and better preserved than for the other towns engaged in trade with Bergen. The fact that approximately 95 % (170 of 179) of all winter residents known by name for the years 1350–1430 are found in sources from Lübeck does not mean that 95 % of the winter residents living on Bryggen are likely to have been from that town. But one is on safe ground in drawing the conclusion that the overwhelming majority of the winter residents were from Lübeck.

We know the home town of only two of the remaining nine named winter residents – Wismar and Rostock. Bernd Kröpelin from Wismar was engaged in trading between Lübeck and Bergen in 1381 and 1383. This indicates that he was in some way associated with the Bergenfahrer from Lübeck. In 1426, 43 years later, he sold his two houses in Bergen, which were not situated at Bryggen but in the Strandsiden quarter of the town, where most of the inhabitants were natives of Bergen.<sup>110</sup> His houses were part of a *gård* complex which had a long a tradition, and in 1318 it had belonged to the King's chapel of St. Mary's church in Oslo.<sup>111</sup> One should not read too much into this, but the location of the houses indicates that he may have been on the margins of the German community in Bergen. Bernd may have been a young, travelling *gesell* (journeyman) in 1383, and 43 years later he seems to have wound up his business in Bergen.

In 1351, Didrik Holloger, the mayor of Rostock, bequeathed 20 marks and four silver spoons to Hennekin ("little Johan") Holloger "who lives in Bergen" (*in Bergen existenti*).<sup>112</sup> He was most likely a winter resident in Bergen, and if he really was "little", perhaps he was an apprentice. Johan Holloger is mentioned five times in the 1370 Bergen lists of the Lübeck *Pfundzoll*; this may be "little Johan" who had now grown up, or another member of the same family.

Six extant letters issued by Rostock town council testify to who the rightful heirs were of men who had died in Bergen between 1350 and 1430.<sup>113</sup> This means that the closest relatives of the deceased lived in Rostock and that the deceased most likely was born there, but he was not necessarily a citizen of Rostock when he died. In 1394, three brothers and sisters from Rostock asked Lübeck town council for help in obtaining their inheritance from a deceased brother in Bergen;<sup>114</sup> he had probably

109 Cf. pp. 116–117.

110 PB 1381, pp. 45 and 49; PB 1383, pp. 91 and 92; HUB VI no. 632= UBStL VI no. 745 (sale of *auden garden*).

111 DN II no. 133.

112 MecklUB XIII no. 7501.

113 MecklUB XIV no. 8601 (1359, 1372, 1373, 1387 and 1399); MecklUB XXIII no. 13191 (1397).

114 MecklUB XXII no. 12.613.

been born in Rostock but had become a citizen of Lübeck. The deceased had most likely been a winter resident, but it cannot be excluded that he was a summer guest who died on a visit to Bergen. If the extant sources are representative, only Lübeck's closest neighbours, Wismar and Rostock, had winter residents in Bergen before 1430.

In 1363, Wismar and Rostock became involved in Scandinavian political conflicts, siding with Mecklenburg.<sup>115</sup> The two towns permitted the Vitaliner pirates to operate from their ports when attacking Bergen in 1393. Citizens from Rostock and Wismar were excluded from the Kontor until 1410 in retribution for this.<sup>116</sup>

During the following period, 1430–1529, the wills of 140 Bergenfahrer were registered at Lübeck's town hall; the criteria for calling these men "Bergenfahrer" were that they owned or worked for a firm in Bergen, or made donations to church institutions there.<sup>117</sup> The names of many other winter residents from Lübeck are mentioned in these wills, and also in the *Niederstadtbuch* and other documents from the Lübeck archive which were published by Bruns, as well as in the *Hanserecesse* and *Hansisches Urkundenbuch*. I have not counted up the number of winter residents from Lübeck named in these documents, since there can be no doubt that they were many times more numerous than all known winter residents from the other Hansa towns taken together. Even though the source material is richer for Lübeck than for other relevant towns, it is beyond doubt that Lübeck's dominance was real and overwhelming.

All extant documents where named winter residents from towns other than Lübeck are mentioned for the period 1430–1537 are given in table V.1; they include the names of 52 non-Lübeck citizens.

Table V.1. Home towns of named non-Lübeck winter residents, 1430–1537

Home town	Year	Number of winter residents	Source
Zuiderzee towns	1453	3	RGP volume 36 no. 2066
	1464	3	BULL, Bergen og Hansest., pp. 135ff.
	1466	1	UBStL XI no. 183
	1469	1	HR II, 6, 188 §1
	1476	1	NGL 2.rk. II, p. 737 §18
	1476	1	Ibid., p. 741 §14
	1480	2	RGP volume 36 no. 2701
	ca. 1490	3	HUB XI no. 408
	1524	4	DN VI no. 692

<sup>115</sup> Cf. pp. 368–370.

<sup>116</sup> NGL 2.rk. I no. 372 = HR I, 5, 720 §14 and no. 721.

<sup>117</sup> BRUNS, Bergenfahrer, pp. 62–151; In the sources, these firms are called *stue*. The different meanings of *stue* are discussed pp. 375–378.

Home town	Year	Number of winter residents	Source
Bremen	1441	1	HUB VII, p. 323 note 1
	1442–43	3	Aus bremischen Familienpapiere, p. 53ff.
	1458	1	HUB VIII, p. 438 note 2
Hamburg	1516	1	BRUNS, Bergenfahrer, p. 131 note 2
	1520	1	BRUNS, Bergenfahrer, p. 147
	1527	2	BULL, Bergen og Hansest., p. 125
	1535	1	<i>Norske rigs-registranter</i> I, p. 44
	1535	1	<i>Norske rigs-registranter</i> I, p. 44
Wismar	1447	3	BULL, Bergen og Hansest., p. 200
	1449	1	BULL, Bergen og Hansest., p. 200
	1458	1	HUB VIII, p. 438 note 2
	1464	1	BRUNS, Bergenfahrer, p. 106
	1465 <sup>(1)</sup>	1	BULL, Bergen og Hansest., p. 201
	1466	3	BULL, Bergen og Hansest., p. 202;
	1473	1	BRUNS, Bergenfahrer, pp. 186, 175
	1480 <sup>(1)</sup>	1	BULL, Bergen og Hansest., p. 204
	1498	2	BULL, Bergen og Hansest., p. 208
	1499	1	BRUNS, Bergenfahrer, p. 132 note 1
	1510	1	BULL, Bergen og Hansest., p. 208
Padeborn	1445	1	BRUNS, Bergenfahrer, p. 55 note 1
Lüneburg	1452	1	BULL, Bergen og Hansest., p. 201
Hannover	1461	1	HUB IX no. 157; <i>ibid.</i> p. 90 note 1; BRUNS, Bergenfahr., p. 166, cf. index.
Möln	1484	1	BULL, Bergen og Hansest., p. 205
Wegeleben	1449	1	BRUNS, Bergenfahrer, p. 83; HUB VIII no. 1193
total		51	

Sources: All available printed sources from the period have been included in this table. The exception is the Bergenhus accounts for 1517–1523, which have been summarized in table V.2

(1) The documents from Wismar for 1465 and 1480 both mention a man called Hartwich Greven.

The large number of winter residents from other towns indicates that Lübeck had become less dominant than in the preceding period (1350–1430), even though it is not possible to quantify this.

During the years 1393–1410, citizens from Wismar and Rostock were excluded from the Bergen Kontor, but it was possible for them to overcome this problem by moving to Lübeck, and the Kontor did not prevent citizens from other towns carrying out trade between these two towns and Bergen.<sup>118</sup> After 1410, merchants from Wismar and Rostock returned to Bryggen. Many of them had now established part-

118 Cf. pp. 118–119 and 123–124.

nerships with Bergenfahrer from Lübeck or managers of firms owned by Lübeck citizens.

In 1425, Martin Vlind wrote his will in Lübeck; he owned a house in Bergen and made donations to charities in Bergen and Rostock. Eight years later in 1433 he is referred to as “Martin Vlind in Rostock”.<sup>119</sup> In 1438, a Bergenfahrer left money in his will to “Martin Vlind’s children in Rostock”, and at that time Martin was still alive.<sup>120</sup> Martin seems to have moved from Lübeck to Rostock some time between 1425 and 1433, and it is not certain that he conducted traded in Bergen after he left Lübeck. His example shows how easy it was for a Bergenfahrer to move to the Hansa town which provide him with the best conditions for his trade.

On the 29<sup>th</sup> of March 1530, five merchants’ journeymen from Rostock (*Kaufgesellen zu Rostock*) gave details under oath in Rostock about an incident in Bergen seven years earlier on the night of the 7<sup>th</sup> of November 1523, when Scottish merchants were attacked and abused. The date of the attack indicates that the five had been winter residents there at the time.<sup>121</sup> In the winter of 1528, one of the five was the *Schaffer* (treasurer) for the winter residents who were temporarily visiting the Lübeck guild of Bergenfahrer.<sup>122</sup> He was a journeyman without formal citizenship in any town; Rostock was his home town, but he managed a firm in Bergen belonging to a Lübeck merchant. The four other *Kaufgesellen* may have been in a similar position.<sup>123</sup> During negotiations in 1532 about compensation for the damage suffered by the Scottish merchants in 1523, representative from Rostock claimed it was common knowledge that Rostock had few winter residents in Bergen, barely as many as five or six.<sup>124</sup> He may have been right; the extant sources indicate that Rostock merchants visited Bergen mostly as summer guests.<sup>125</sup>

Many of the winter residents from Wismar were also business partners of Lübeck citizens. In 1464, the Lübeck merchant Klaus Hering had a partner from Wismar who managed his business in Bergen,<sup>126</sup> and in 1499 a Lübecker was the manager in Bergen for Klaus Reppenhagen from Wismar.<sup>127</sup> In 1466, Hinrik Rostock, who was a town councillor in Wismar, and Nicholas Witte, most likely also a Wismar citizen, were represented in Bergen by one merchant from Wismar and another from Lübeck.<sup>128</sup> Some citizens of Wismar were capitalists with a base in their home town, while others were managers (*faktor*) in Bergen for Lübeck capitalists. Several

119 BRUNS, Bergenfahrer, p. 65.

120 Ibid., p. 56 note 1 and p. 72.

121 HR III, 9, 564.

122 BRUNS, Bergenfahrer, pp. 287, CXIV and CXV. His name was Klaus Struss.

123 Three of the 5 exported grain products in 1533 from Rostock to Bergen (HR IV, 1, 239 §3).

124 SCHREINER, Hanseatene og Norge, p. 76.

125 Cf. chapter II.3c.

126 BRUNS, Bergenfahrer, p. 106.

127 Ibid., p. 132 note 1.

128 BRUNS, Bergenfahrer, pp. 186 and 187; BULL, Bergen og Hansestæderne, p. 202.

other citizens of Wismar cooperated with Lübeckers in house ownership and trading in Bergen.<sup>129</sup>

Merchants from Stralsund may have been winter residents in Bergen, but the evidence is not conclusive. Wills issued in Stralsund are registered in a card file which is available in *Stadtarchiv Stralsund*. In 1349, Gerhard von Anendorp from Stralsund left half of his credits in Bergen to his son, the other half to a town councillor in Lübeck.<sup>130</sup> This was probably credit which he had given to his Norwegian customers, but it cannot be excluded that he was a summer guest who had sold grain to winter residents on credit. One will from a merchant trading in Bergen does not amount to much compared with the numerous wills of Bergenfahrer from Lübeck.

Stralsund's *Liber Memorialis*, edited in four volumes, is similar to Lübeck's *Niederstadtbuch*. They contain 10 examples from the period 1367–1425 of letters from Stralsund town council to the Bergen Kontor or Norwegian authorities in Bergen seeking to obtain the possessions of Stralsund citizens who had died in Bergen.<sup>131</sup> Two of the deceased were skippers,<sup>132</sup> and the remaining eight<sup>133</sup> could have been winter residents, summer guests or sailors. In 1350, in the aftermath of the Black Death, a Rostock man wrote to the mayor of Stralsund about inheriting the possessions of his brother, who had died in Bergen; the deceased must have been a citizen of Stralsund.<sup>134</sup> There is no conclusive evidence that any of these people were winter residents in Bergen, but some of them may have been.

In 1458, the then deposed King Erik of Norway made Stralsund co-responsible for the murder of Olav Nilsson and his companions in 1455, because the town had its winter residents and merchants (*liggerende kopman*) in Bergen.<sup>135</sup> In 1459, Mathias Bene, who was a Stralsund town councillor, bequeathed in his will 24 barrels of tar to various churches, some of them in Bergen. He also bequeathed money for masses to be sung at the altar of the Bergenfahrer in the church of St. Nikolai in Stralsund.<sup>136</sup> Both sources make it likely that Stralsund merchants owned houses in Bergen or lived there as managers of firms owned by others towards the end of the Middle Ages.

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129 BRUNS, *Bergenfahrer*, pp. 175 and 285.

130 Stadtarchiv Stralsund, Testament no. 110.

131 One letter was sent to Hamburg because the bone of contention was a ship which had later been sold to Hamburg (*Stralsunder Liber Memorialis* I no. 989).

132 *Stralsunder Liber Memorialis* I nos. 658 and 989.

133 *Stralsunder Liber Memorialis* I nos. 425, 679, 736 and 913; *Stralsunder Liber Memorialis* II nos. 100, 310 and 464; *Stralsunder Liber Memorialis* III no. 178.

134 MecklUB X no. 7068.

135 HUB VIII no. 703.

136 Stadtarchiv Stralsund, Testament no. 633.

The most significant development at Bryggen after 1430 was the increase in North Sea merchants as winter residents.

From about 1430, merchants from Lübeck and other Baltic towns gradually reduced and finally ceased their shipping from Bergen to England and Flanders. Instead, merchants from the Zuiderzee towns, Bremen and Hamburg increased their shipping between their home towns and Bergen. Their trade had traditions going back to the 13<sup>th</sup> century, but they were latecomers as winter residents. Amsterdam and other Dutch towns outside the Hansa were newcomers to the shipping route across the North Sea to Bergen.<sup>137</sup>

In the first decades after 1440, most western winter residents came from the Zuiderzee towns. In 1446, the six Wendish towns decreed that each house owner at Bryggen had to keep at least two men there through the winter to fulfil their guard duty.<sup>138</sup> The following year the statute was repeated and explicitly directed at the Zuiderzee towns.<sup>139</sup> At the same time the Wendish towns agreed that “nobody shall sell houses or vacant building sites (*leddig stede*) so that they are lost to these [Wendish] towns, where they always have belonged”<sup>140</sup> Named winter residents from the Zuiderzee towns are known from 1453 onwards.<sup>141</sup> In 1469 we are told that the Zuiderzee towns held separate meetings led by their own alderman.<sup>142</sup> In 1476, the Zuiderzee towns complained that the Wendish towns prevented them from buying houses or timber for house building. Zuiderzee merchants who bought a house despite this had to pay a fine, and the deal was cancelled.<sup>143</sup> In the same year, the Kontor permitted Zuiderzee merchants to purchase houses if the transaction was registered in “the Kontor’s book” (*des coepmans boeck*).<sup>144</sup> A fire destroyed Bryggen later the same year, and the Kontor then asked Rostock to support a plan to prevent Zuiderzee merchants from rebuilding their houses.<sup>145</sup> The plan did not materialise, probably because it would have been impossible to defend at a Hansa Diet. The background for this conflict was that some house owners from Zuiderzee towns used these only in the summer season,<sup>146</sup> or rented housing to summer guests more than Baltic merchants did.<sup>147</sup> The most serious accusation was that they traded

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137 Cf. chapter II.5.

138 DN VII no. 431 = NGL 2.rk. I no. 395 §3.

139 HR II, 3, 288 §16 = NGL 2.rk. I no. 396 §16.

140 DN VII no. 431 = NGL 2.rk. I no. 395 §6.

141 Table V.1.

142 HR II, 6, 187 §6 and §8 = DN VI no. 567 = NGL 2.rk. II, pp. 730–731 §6 and §8.

143 HR II, 7, 343§4 = NGL 2.rk. II, p. 739 §4.

144 HR II, 7, 393§4.

145 NGL 2.rk. II no. 433 = HR II, 7, 415.

146 HR II, 3, 288 §16 = NGL 2.rk. I no. 396 §16.

147 Cf. pp 176–177.

with Norwegian stockfish producers who were indebted to winter residents from Baltic towns, in contravention of the Kontor's statutes.<sup>148</sup>

After 1476 the conflict between winter residents from the Baltic and Zuiderzee towns abated, mainly because the latter adapted to the trade practices of the Wendish towns. During the period 1480–1524, several winter residents from Zuiderzee

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148 Cf. pp. 406–408; WUBS-MROZEWICZ, Lübeckers, Overijsslers and Hollanders, p. 114 claims that in my 1983 PhD thesis I argued that “Overijsslers were limited to summer guests”. This is not correct; I wrote there – in Norwegian – exactly the same as I have written in the paragraph which ends with this footnote. The first evidence for winter residents from the Zuiderzee towns is from 1446, and the first named winter resident appears in 1453. Her claim must be due to a misreading of my Norwegian text. I argue that they were winter residents by using the same sources which Wubs-Mrozewicz uses to support the same point (NEDKVITNE, *Utenrikshandelen*, pp. 262 and 265).

In the main text above and in 1983, I wrote that the Zuiderzee merchants built their houses with more single rooms than other winter residents, which they rented to summer guests. Wubs-Mrozewicz disputes this claim. The Kontor in 1476 made the following accusation against the Zuiderzee merchants: “Item buwen se de huser unwontliken myt velen kameren unde kleven dair inne.” (They likewise build houses in an unusual manner with many rooms and “kleven” in them) (HR II, 7, 342 §15 = NGL 2.rk. II, p. 736 §15). Wubs-Mrozewicz claims that the reply by the Zuiderzee towns (HR II, 7, 391 §13 = NGL 2.rk. II, p. 747 §13) proves that these rooms were used “for storing smallwares” (WUBS-MROZEWICZ, Lübeckers, Overijsslers and Hollanders, p. 114). In the answer she refers to, the Zuiderzee towns only replied that they have built their houses on ground which they have paid for themselves, and that they therefore had the same freedom to build as other members of the Hansa. Not a word is said about the purpose of these “unusual” rooms.

Wubs-Mrozewicz's mistake is that she has combined this first complaint with a new and different complaint in the next sentence. Here the Kontor complained that the Zuiderzee merchants organised unusual, specialised sales of smallwares at Bryggen (HR II, 7, 342 §15 = NGL 2.rk. II, p. 736 §15). In a reply and counterattack, the Zuiderzee merchants accused the Kontor aldermen of demanding to inspect their chests containing smallwares, and waiting so long to return them that the goods had spoiled (HR II, 7, 391 §13 = NGL 2.rk. II, p. 747 §13). Nothing is said about the use of *kleven*.

My claim that these “unusual” rooms were used for sleeping accommodation for summer guests is based first on the lexical meaning of the words. *Kamer* is a Low German word which meant a room for private purposes. According to AGATHE LASCH, *Mittelniederdeutsches Handwörterbuch*, entry word “*Kamer*”, the room's uses could be “Schlafraum, Altenteilsraum, auch Gesindekammer” (bedroom, room for retired old people and for servants). *Kleve* is a Norwegian word which denotes a small room off a living room which could be used for a variety of purposes, sleeping included. The word was adopted by the winter residents, and what it meant in Bryggen parlance appears in the Kontor statutes (NGL 2.rk. II no. 416 §52). There it states that summer guests (*de hir vor gesthe liggenn aff unde tho segeleenn*) who own or hire a house or *kleve* at Bryggen (*de hir egenn huser edder kleve holdenn*), should leave a man who could do guard duty when they sailed from Bergen. A *kleve* was a place where the summer guest could live temporarily while in Bergen. My claim that several Zuiderzee merchants were winter residents but built their houses with more living rooms than others in order to accommodate more summer guests is supported by the sources.

towns conducted trade at Bryggen.<sup>149</sup> In 1536, Deventer, Kampen and Zwolle reported that their merchants had partners and journeymen (*gesellen*) in Norway all winter.<sup>150</sup> We have no evidence that Zuiderzee merchants concluded partnerships with Lübeck merchants or acted as managers for them.

The first evidence for winter residents from Bremen also dates from the 1440s. In 1442–45, a town councillor from Bremen, Hinrik van der Hude, owned two *stuer* at Bryggen.<sup>151</sup> Two of the three relevant extant documents about Bremen citizens dating from the 1440s and 1450s in table V.1 come from the Lübeck town archive and provide evidence that winter residents from the two towns were partners in the Bergen trade.<sup>152</sup> Winter residents from Bremen adapted to the trading practices of the Lübeckers more than the Zuiderzee merchants did.

All Hansa merchants who owned real estate at Bryggen had to pay a property tax called the *leidang*, and the oldest extant register for this is from 1522. Table V.2 shows the home towns of citizens who owned real estate at Bryggen that year, where it was possible to verify this. Four Bremen merchants owned *stuer*, and two others only a room (*kleve*).<sup>153</sup> The latter probably did not live there in winter. The accounts of Bergenhus castle for 1517–23 mention 3 additional winter residents from Bremen. There are likely to be more Bremen men among the unidentified merchants. Bremen was second only to Lübeck in the number of winter residents registered between 1517 and 1523 in the Bergenhus accounts. Bremen's guild of *Bergenfahrer* was founded about 1550.<sup>154</sup> In 1576, the guild claimed that 20 years earlier, Bremen merchants had owned no more than 5–6 *stuer* at Bryggen, but that this had now grown to over 40.<sup>155</sup> The number of Bremen winter residents increased in the 16<sup>th</sup> century; the first extant register of houses which gives the home town of all owners dates from 1615 and shows that Bremen citizens owned 43 *stuer*, Lübeck 36.<sup>156</sup> This indicates an increase from perhaps 10 to more than 40 in the century running from around 1520 to 1615. Bremen now had more winter residents than Lübeck.

Towards the end of the Middle Ages, Hamburg citizens also started buying houses at Bryggen. The Hamburg guild of *Bergenfahrer* was founded around 1520.<sup>157</sup> In tables V.1 and V.2, we find seven named winter residents from Hamburg from before the Reformation. Three of them were partners of Lübeck merchants:

149 Table V.1 and V.2.

150 *Niederländische Akten und Urkunden* I no. 272.

151 Aus bremischen Familienpapieren, pp. 53ff; for the meaning of *stue*, cf. chapter V.1f.

152 HUB VII, p. 323 note 1; HUB VIII, p. 438 note 2; both documents included in table V.1.

153 Cf. pp. 375–378 for the meaning of *kleve* and *stue*.

154 Chapter II.5e and table V.2; SCHREINER, *Bremerne i Bergen*, p. 292.

155 SCHREINER, *Bremerne i Bergen*, p. 293.

156 *Ibid.*, p. 294.

157 Cf. p. 230; BRUNS, *Bergenfahrer*, p. XIX.

the Hamburg men were Hans Steven/Steffen,<sup>158</sup> Helmich Albertsson,<sup>159</sup> and Fredrik Ostra,<sup>160</sup> who later brought another Hamburg citizen, Luder Meyer, into the partnership.<sup>161</sup> Their close cooperation with Lübeck was partly due to the political situation at the time the Hamburg merchants started to take up winter residency. The first evidence of a Hamburg winter resident dates from 1516.<sup>162</sup> At this time Lübeck and the other Wendish towns in the Baltic were involved in several wars with the Dano-Norwegian king.<sup>163</sup> Shipping from Lübeck to Bergen was suspended, and Bergen could only be reached from North Sea towns. The authorities in Hamburg were unwilling to admit the warring parties to their port, because reprisals might be taken against their own shipping.<sup>164</sup> Winter residents from Lübeck may have found it useful in this situation to have partners from Hamburg. When the Hamburg merchants had learnt the trade, they could of course continue on their own, without help from Lübeck.

In 1533, a ship on its way from Rostock to Bergen was plundered by men from Holland. The cargo of grain products on board was owned by 15 merchants from Rostock, 8 from Lübeck and 5 from Hamburg.<sup>165</sup> One of the Hamburg merchants, Hermann Ellebeck, was a winter resident in Bergen.<sup>166</sup> Another from Hamburg, Mathias Witten, was probably the same person as Mathias Wetken who in 1535 owned a *stue* in Revelsgården at Bryggen.<sup>167</sup> The three remaining cargo owners from Hamburg may also have been winter residents in Bergen. They needed the grain products to trade with stockfish producers there.

Five named winter residents in table V.1 were citizens of inland German towns, and two of these had Lübeck Bergenfahrer as their partners.<sup>168</sup>

The accounts of the commander of Bergenhus castle for the years 1517–1522 mention a large number of German winter residents. Most valuable in our context is a register naming all 153 house owners at Bryggen who paid the *leidang* property tax in 1522. This is a complete list of all winter residents of Bryggen at the end of the Middle Ages. We are told how many houses (*stuer*) or rooms (*kleve*) each of them

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158 NRJ I, p. 326; cf. NRJ I, p. 267; NRJ II, p. 564; NRJ III, p. 638; BRUNS, Bergenfahrer, p. 133.

159 BRUNS, Bergenfahrer, p. 147 note 2, cf. HR III, 6, 519.

160 BULL, Bergen og Hansestæderne, p. 125.

161 Archiv der Hansestadt Lübeck no. 4300 B1.8.

162 Table V.1.

163 Cf. pp. 529–531.

164 HR IV, 2, 170–178; for a general background, cf. chapter V.5c.

165 HR IV, 1, 239.

166 *Norske Rigs-registranter* I, p. 44; NRJ I, p. 269.

167 *Norske Rigs-registranter* I, p. 44.

168 BRUNS, Bergenfahrer, p. 55 note 1; HUB IX, p. 90 note 1, and no. 157; BRUNS, Bergenfahrer, p. 166.

owned. But we are not given the German home towns of these house owners; these have to be identified through comparisons with other sources.

Table V.2. Home towns of winter residents mentioned in the accounts of Bergenhus castle in 1517–23 where the home town could be identified

Home town	Paid <i>leidang</i> for <i>stue</i> in 1522	Paid <i>leidang</i> for <i>kleve</i> in 1522	Byname has “in” a specific <i>gård</i> <sup>(1)</sup>	Total
Lübeck	53	0	6	59
Bremen	4 <sup>(2)</sup>	2 <sup>(3)</sup>	3 <sup>(4)</sup>	9
Zuiderzee towns	3 <sup>(5)</sup>	0	1 <sup>(6)</sup>	4
Hamburg	1 <sup>(7)</sup>	0	1 <sup>(8)</sup>	2

Sources: NRJ I and III. Other evidence dating from 1430–1537 for winter residents from the towns mentioned in this table is found in table V.1.

- (1) Example: “Hermann Ellebeck in Leppen” (NRJ I, p. 269). When a merchant’s byname consisted of “in” a *gård*, it should be assumed that he lived there permanently, which means that he was a winter resident. This corresponded to the way officials identified Norwegian peasants in tax registers – they were named as being “in” the farm where they lived. We know from another source that the Hermann mentioned above was a winter resident in a *gård* called Leppen (NRR I, p. 44). But one should not completely exclude the possibility that a summer guest who rented a room in Leppen for a few weeks also could have the byname “in Leppen”.
- (2) Hermann Plender NJ III, p. 636; Staatsarchiv Bremen, Urk. I Bs 1505 21/3  
Gert Kock NRJ III, p. 637; Staatsarchiv Bremen, Urk. I Br 1524 2/5  
Johan van Ham NRJ III, p. 639; Staatsarchiv Bremen, Trese Y 1517 29/6  
Hinrik Fris NRJ III, p. 637; Staatsarchiv Bremen, Trese Y 1558 13/2
- (3) Hinrik Redels NRJ III, p. 635 and I, p. 348  
Hinrik Loffue NRJ III, p. 636; Staatsarchiv Bremen, Urk I Br 1517 14/3 and Trese 47
- (4) Kurt Trybbe NRJ III, p. 465; Staatsarchiv Bremen, Urk I Br 1544 18/1  
Jacob Nyeman NRJ I, p. 234; I index and II index  
Hans Dickmau NRJ I, p. 234; Staatsarchiv Bremen, Trese Bh
- (5) Hinrik Blauw NRJ III, p. 640 and I, p. 195  
Hinrik van Hassell NRJ III, p. 634 and I, p. 656; HUB XI no. 1067  
Jacob Roters NRJ III, p. 640 and I, p. 97
- (6) Hinrik Severin NRJ I, p. 237 and III, p. 90
- (7) Hans Steffen NRJ III, p. 638 and I, p. 326; BRUNS, *Bergenfahrer*, p. 131 footnote 2
- (8) Hermann Ellebeck NRJ I, p. 269; NRR I, p. 40

In this table, the home towns of 61 of the 153 merchants who paid tax for their *stue* in 1522 are identified. The merchant’s home town is on a few occasions stated in the Bergenhus accounts. The only relevant sources which include documents from around 1520 from all Hansa towns are the last volumes of the *Hanserecesse*. Relevant documents from the *Archiv der Hansestat Lübeck* were edited by Bruns, and most Lübeck winter residents were identified with his help.<sup>169</sup> In the *Staatsarchiv Bremen* there is a card file of names from printed and unprinted material in the archive, and seven of the nine Bremen winter residents in table V.2 were identified with the help of this card file. Citizens of Lübeck and Bremen are overrepresented in table V.2 because the sources are richer for them than for the other towns.

169 BRUNS, *Bergenfahrer*.

Despite this problem, Lübeck's dominant position is so overwhelming both in the Bergenhus accounts and the remaining sources that there cannot be any doubt that Lübeck citizens owned more houses at Bryggen than all the other Hansa towns together in the years 1430–1537, just as they had in the previous period.

The discussion in this section has confirmed the traditional view that Lübeck merchants were the most numerous among the winter residents in Bergen. Their dominance was strongest in the period before about 1430. Merchants who wanted to make the Bergen trade their main source of living moved to Lübeck because that town offered the best protection for their trade.

Lübeck's closest neighbours, Wismar and Rostock, may have had winter residents in Bergen from the very beginning. Around the middle of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, Lübeck and the Wendish towns withdrew from shipping between Bergen and North Sea ports. This was the background to there being an increasing number of winter residents in Bergen from the Zuiderzee towns after 1440. From about 1500, wars and enmity between Lübeck and Denmark became increasingly frequent, and shipping through the Øresund often had to be stopped. A growing number of winter residents chose to ship their goods from Bremen and Hamburg.

Merchants from Bremen and Hamburg first presented themselves among the winter residents as partners or servants of the Lübeckers. By doing so, they learnt the Lübeck way of conducting the Bergen trade. The Zuiderzee winter residents, on the other hand, held more firmly to their origins as summer guests. They tended to trade from their houses only in the summer season, and did not tie indebted stock-fish producers to their firms. Merchants from other Hansa towns such as Danzig and Stralsund as well as several minor towns in the present-day Netherlands seem to have visited Bergen only as summer guests.<sup>170</sup>

Lübeck's dominance among the winter residents created the basis for a strong and united political leadership at the Bergen Kontor.<sup>171</sup>

#### E. LÜBECK CAUGHT BETWEEN ALTRUISM AND SELF-INTEREST IN THE BERGEN TRADE

The Kontor's aldermen were elected by winter residents from several towns, and no doubt saw themselves as representing all of them. But the aldermen also felt a special loyalty to one town, Lübeck, since the overwhelming majority of winter residents, as well as many of the summer guests, came from that town. The Kontor's leaders and their supporters in Lübeck could not evict the non-Lübeck merchants, since this would have resulted in countermeasures in other ports and undermined

<sup>170</sup> Cf. chapter V.3b.

<sup>171</sup> The London Kontor was seriously weakened in the Late Middle Ages by the conflicting interests of Cologne, Lübeck and Danzig (JÖRN, *Der Londoner Stalhof* chapter II).

Lübeck's leadership at the Hansa Diets. The Kontor attempted more or less successfully to strike a balance in its policies.

The Bergen aldermen's close contact with and access to Lübeck's town council worked to the advantage of all Hansa merchants who traded in Bergen. Hermann van Osnabrück was a Bergenfahrer and councillor in Lübeck from 1363 to 1390.<sup>172</sup> He was one of Lübeck's representatives in negotiations with King Håkon VI of Norway in 1370 and 1376,<sup>173</sup> and at a Hansa Diet in 1373 where the Bergen trade was one of the items discussed.<sup>174</sup> There is an extant letter in which the Bergen Kontor asks for his support in gaining permission from a Hansa Diet to collect a duty (*schot*) on goods in Bergen, and in having their privileges for Norway confirmed (*dat gy uns profitlik zin in dessen vorbenomeden zaken*). As preliminary thanks, they sent him a barrel of *rav* and asked him not to look down on their gift.<sup>175</sup> *Rav* was dried stripes of halibut eaten as snacks when drinking beer; it was expensive, and one barrel was a considerable quantity. Some might consider this to be corruption, but for the Kontor it probably represented normal lobbying with a fee included.

In 1380, a Bergenfahrer guild was established in Lübeck. As a result, more letters were now sent from the aldermen in Bergen to the Lübeck guild,<sup>176</sup> and one may assume that the latter discussed problems with town councillors who were well-disposed towards them. According to Bruns, a majority of the Bergenfahrer in Lübeck were immigrants from villages or small towns and had to work their way up the social ladder. Few Bergenfahrer were born into prominent families.<sup>177</sup> The extent to which the Bergenfahrer enjoyed good access to the policy-makers in the most powerful Hansa town varied over time. Thirteen Bergenfahrer were members of the urban council between the years 1363 and 1544, according to Friedrich Bruns, and in most of these 181 years, at least one Bergenfahrer was a members. Their representation reached a high point from 1408–1459, a 52-year period which saw two Bergenfahrer in the council most years. Bruns defined a "Bergenfahrer" as a merchant who owned a house or firm in Bergen, which means that he or one of his partners was, or had been, a "winter resident". Godeke Burmester was an alderman at the Bergen Kontor in 1452, and from 1455 to 1459 he served as a town councillor in Lübeck, which means that he had moved home to Lübeck. Membership of the *Zirkelgesellschaft* guild and other patrician guilds also carried high prestige. The Bergenfahrer were most numerous even in these organisations from about 1390–

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172 BRUNS, *Bergenfahrer*, pp. XL-XLI and CXLIV.

173 HR I, 2, 5 = DN VIII no. 190; UBStL III no. 729; HR I, 2, 130 = HUB IV no. 559; RN V index gives a good overview of Hermann's duties with regard to Lübeck's political relations with Norway.

174 HR I, 2, 53.

175 UBStL III no. 725 = HR I, 1, 357 = HUB IV no. 399.

176 HUB X no. 1232 = DN XVI no. 287; BULL, *Bergen og Hansestæderne*, p. 187.

177 BRUNS, *Bergenfahrer*, pp. CXXXIX-CXLIV.

1460.<sup>178</sup> The period from the Black Death to about 1460 saw stockfish prices at their highest compared to other commodities.<sup>179</sup> Lübeckers with permanent interests at Bryggen between about 1400 and 1460 must have been well-to-do merchants in their home town.

In Burkhardt's 2009 PhD thesis, he claimed that the average Lübeck *Bergenfahrer* was not a newcomer of middling wealth but belonged to the town's elite. This disagreement with Bruns is due to an unclear use of the analytical concept "*Bergenfahrer*". Bruns wrote about merchants who were or had been winter residents in Bergen and who later in their career became members of the *Bergenfahrer* guild in Lübeck. Burkhardt, on the other hand, defined "*Bergenfahrer*" differently without realising that he was doing so. For him, a merchant was a *Bergenfahrer* even if he can be shown to have conducted trade in Bergen only once.<sup>180</sup> In my 1983 PhD thesis, I emphasised the difference between "winter residents", who lived in Bergen all year, and "summer guests", who visited the town for some weeks during the summer season. Bruns' subject was winter residents only, while Burkhardt examined both groups.

Bruns found that 13 "*Bergenfahrer*" were elected to Lübeck's highest office of town councillor during the period 1363–1530, while Burkhardt wrote that there were 27 for the period 1350–1510.<sup>181</sup> Half of Burkhardt's councillors cannot be shown to have been winter residents. The methodological problems are illustrated by looking at the first two councillors who are mentioned in Burkhardt's list but not in Bruns', Johan Wesseler and Johan Nyebur. Burkhardt calls them *Bergenfahrer* because they were among the executors of wills of *Bergenfahrer*, but they may have performed this service out of personal friendship.<sup>182</sup> These two town councillors seem to have engaged in trade with Flanders as their main source of income, and there is no evidence that they ever visited or traded in Bergen.<sup>183</sup>

Hansa historians have seen Lübeck's leadership of the Hansa in general as being basically altruistic. Selzer writes that Lübeck often negotiated privileges at their own initiative and expense but used the vague term "Hansa" for the beneficiaries because

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178 Cf. chapter V.1e; BRUNS, *Bergenfahrer*, pp. XXIII–XXIX and CXLIV; BURKHARDT, *Der hansische Bergenhandel*, pp. 69–70 and 269–272. Burkhardt explains the declining wealth and status of the *Bergenfahrer* after ca. 1460 as being due to the end of their trade with Boston. This may have been a factor, as shown in my 1983 thesis (cf. chapter II.4a and 4e). But the unfavourable price development for stockfish must have been more important (cf. tables VI.2 and VI.3).

179 Cf. chapter VI.1a.

180 BURKHARDT, *Der hansische Bergenhandel*, p. 23.

181 BRUNS, *Bergenfahrer*, p. CXLIV; BURKHARDT, *Der hansische Bergenhandel*, p. 272.

182 Information on the two are found in BURKHARDT, *Der hansische Bergenhandel*, Appendix.

183 Both are called *Flandernfahrer* in ASMUSSEN, *Flandernfahrer*.

that enabled them to extend the privileges to more German merchants.<sup>184</sup> He characterises smaller Hansa towns as *Trittbrettfahrer*, passengers who enjoyed the advantages of Hansa membership without paying the fare.<sup>185</sup>

The Bergen Kontor and their partners in Lübeck took care of tasks which were the responsibility of the state in England and Holland. Before the establishment of the Bergen Kontor in 1366, Lübeck on several occasions negotiated privileges in Norway which it afterwards shared with other Hansa towns.<sup>186</sup> In 1383, Stavoren and Kampen asked a Hansa Diet to be allowed to share privileges which the Hansa might negotiate in the future in Norway and Demark.<sup>187</sup> In 1520, Danzig thanked Lübeck for creating peace and concord between the Hansa and the King of Denmark and Norway.<sup>188</sup>

More modest tasks included quality control of important commodities. In 1476, a Hansa Diet asked the Bergen Kontor to take responsibility for controlling the quality of stockfish.<sup>189</sup> The Kontor aldermen subsequently complained that the Zuiderzee merchants did not follow the rules for quality control (*wraken*) at Bryggen in Bergen.<sup>190</sup> The Zuiderzee towns, on the other hand, wanted the quality controls to be moved to the continental ports which imported the fish, but the proposal did not win acceptance, and control remained with the aldermen at Bryggen.<sup>191</sup> The Kontor also oversaw the quality of the beer imported into Bergen; beer from Wismar received a low mark for quality,<sup>192</sup> as did beer barrels from Rostock. The Kontor threatened to decree that anyone who wanted to import Rostock beer to Bergen had to do so in barrels made in Lübeck.<sup>193</sup> This does not necessarily mean that the quality control was a cover for protecting Lübeck's interests. In 1512, the Kontor complained about the low quality of flour and malt arriving from Lübeck, but it did so in a letter to the Bergenfahrer guild in Lübeck, and apologised by saying that the Norwegian council of the Realm (*Riksråd*) had asked them to send the complaint.<sup>194</sup> In London, the English Crown – and not the Stalhof – oversaw the quality of linen cloth and other goods imported by Hansa merchants.<sup>195</sup>

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184 SELZER, *Mittelalterliche Hanse*, pp. 35–36.

185 *Ibid.*, p. 79.

186 Cf. chapter V.1a.

187 HR I, 2, 226 §8; RGP volume 35 no. 475.

188 HR III, 7, 325.

189 HR II, 1, 368 = NGL 2.rk. II no. 432.

190 HR II, 7, 342 §5 and §6 = NGL 2.rk. II, p. 735 §5 and §6.

191 HR II, 7, 393 §2; HR III, 1, 255 = NGL 2.rk. II no. 440; HR III, 1, 257 = NGL 2.rk. II no. 442; HUB XI no. 398 = BULL, *Bergen og Hansestæderne*, p. 148.

192 HUB X no. 887 (1481); HUB XI no. 597 (1492); HR III, 3, 336 = NGL 2.rk. III no. 81 = BULL, *Bergen og Hansestæderne*, p. 175.

193 HUB XI no. 738 (1494); HUB XI no. 968 (1496).

194 HR III, 6, 488 §3 and §5.

195 JÖRN, *Der Londoner Stalhof*, pp. 486–487 and 489–492.

Lübeck could represent Bergenfahrer from other towns in a disinterested way. In 1512, one ship from Stralsund and two from Rostock on their way from Bergen were seized by pirates in the service of Scottish nobles. Lübeck then wrote to King Jacob of Scotland and asked for the three ships to be released, otherwise the guilty parties could expect reprisals. Lübeck presented itself as acting on behalf of the Hansa.<sup>196</sup>

There are numerous examples of Lübeck taking it upon itself to arbitrate between participants in the Bergen trade for no other obvious reason than to keep the organisation united. In 1401, when the menace from pirates was at its worst, a ship carrying cargo from Danzig was seized. The Bergen Kontor equipped a warship which recaptured the merchant vessel but refused to return it to its Danzig owners. Danzig officials wrote a letter about this to the Bergen Kontor but received no answer. Then all the Prussian Hansa towns sent a letter to Lübeck, asking its officials to write to the Kontor. Lübeck did this, with the result that the Kontor send a letter to the Prussian towns confirming that it was willing to accept arbitration. The Prussian towns then asked Lübeck to invite both parties to discuss the matter at an upcoming Hansa Diet in Lübeck.<sup>197</sup> In 1441/2, the Bergen Kontor seized a ship from Stralsund and confiscated its cargo, which had the high value of 2650 Lübeck marks. Stralsund asked Lübeck to mediate; Lübeck sent letters to both parties, arranged a meeting between them, and proposed to put the matter before a Hansa Diet.<sup>198</sup> In 1454, a Hansa Diet asked Lübeck to arbitrate in a dispute between the Bergen Kontor and Kampen.<sup>199</sup> When in 1449 the aldermen in Bergen confiscated goods belonging to Deventer citizens in Bergen, the Deventer merchants appealed to Lübeck, and the town council of Deventer sent a messenger to Lübeck in an effort to solve the dispute.<sup>200</sup>

Accepting the role of mediator was not entirely altruistic. To be asked to mediate presupposed a high status, and successful mediation increased the status of the mediator further, as well as making it important for other members of the group to have good relations with them. Its role as a power-broker put Lübeck at the centre of a power network.

The other Hansa towns were far from blind to Lübeck's extensive use of the "Hansa" umbrella for selfish purposes. The Hansa Diets had assumed the right to determine who could trade under Hansa privileges. This gave the Diet a powerful weapon to use against disobedient merchants and towns – it could prohibit them from using Hansa privileges.<sup>201</sup> The urban council of Braunschweig claimed that in practice it

196 HR III, 6, 495.

197 HR I, 1, nos. 31, 36, 73 (= HUB V no. 521) and 74.

198 HR II, 2, 567; HR II, 3, 4.

199 HR II, 4, 248 §12.

200 HR II, 3, 552 §1 and §5.

201 Cf. chapter V.1b.

was Lübeck who decided which Hansa towns should enjoy these privileges in Denmark, Sweden and Norway. Braunschweig thought this was not a good arrangement and wanted to discuss the matter at a Diet of Westphalian towns.<sup>202</sup> Braunschweig had a point: in Bergen it was in practice the Kontor and its supporters in Lübeck who excluded and included merchants and towns.

1393–1410 there was a serious and long lasting conflict between Lübeck and the Kontor on one side and Wismar and Rostock on the other. In 1393, Rostock and Wismar permitted pirates in the service of the Duke of Mecklenburg to operate from their ports when carrying out a raid on Bergen. These *Vitaliner* pirates attacked Bergen on 22. April 1393, plundering Norwegians, Englishmen and Germans. The English merchants wrote a detailed report which has been used as source material several times in this book, describing how the Vitaliner plundered their goods and put fire to their 21 houses situated in one *gård* in the Vågsbotn quarter of Bergen.<sup>203</sup> Archaeological sources confirm that there was a fire in Vågsbotn at this time.<sup>204</sup>

The Vitaliner also plundered the Bryggen quarter where the winter residents lived. Karsten van Geren who was a secretary of the Kontor 1450–1459,<sup>205</sup> writes in his annals that the winter residents were attacked by the Vitaliner, and that they stood side by side with the Norwegians against the attackers. “Anno 1393 the Kontor merchants were beaten in Bergen because they defended the land. The privateers of Rostock and Wismar did that.” (*Anno 1393 wart de copman geslagen to Bergen umme des landes wyllen. Dyt deden der Rostocker unde Wismerschen utliggers.*)<sup>206</sup> “*Slagen*” may here have a double meaning, “beaten in battle” and “killed”. Van Geren does not write that the Vitaliner put fire to the houses on Bryggen or that Bryggen caught fire. If there had been a tradition about this when Geren lived in Bergen 60 years later, one would expect him to have mentioned it.

According to Icelandic annals written shortly after the event the Vitaliner came with 18 ships and 900 *skytta*, literally “marksmen”, who probably shot with bows or crossbows. They stayed in the town for eight days. Two Icelandic annals write about these events, and one of them claims that the Vitaliner plundered where they found things of value, all Bergen’s churches included, “and they burned the town of Bergen” (*brendu byin i Biorgvin*).<sup>207</sup>

Karsten van Geren and the Icelandic annals agree that the Vitaliner plundered both citizens of Bergen and Hansa merchants. But did the Vitaliner also burn the

202 HR III, 9, 184.

203 Chapter II.4d

204 [www.histos.no/bergen/vis.php?visbrann=1](http://www.histos.no/bergen/vis.php?visbrann=1). Map and text produced by Det hanseatiske museum and Bryggen museum in 2002. Copied by the present author 08.04.13

205 BRUNS, *Bergenfahrer*, pp. 318–321

206 BRUNS, *Ibid.*, pp. 348–349

207 *Islandske Annaler*, p. 368 and 422. The most detailed description of the attack is found here. But the emphasis is here on the struggle between Norwegians and the Vitaliner. Nothing is said about struggles between Hansa merchants and Vitaliner.

town of Bergen, Bryggen included? The Icelandic annal (*Gottskalks annaler*) quoted above supports this hypothesis. The alternative hypothesis is that they did not cause a fire on Bryggen, they only plundered the Hansa merchants there.

The evident way of testing these two hypotheses is to use archaeological material. They show that there must have been a fire in the Vågsbotn quarter south of Bryggen in 1393, that was where the Englishmen had their 21 houses. But so far the archaeologists have not been able to verify that there was a fire on Bryggen in 1393.<sup>208</sup> Extant demands from German merchants for damages after the attack in 1393 mention merchants from Bremen and Stralsund who were plundered,<sup>209</sup> and at least one Hansa merchant was killed.<sup>210</sup> But no mention is made of burned houses owned by Germans. Van Geren must be regarded as a more reliable source in this question, since there no doubt was a living tradition at the Kontor about what happened in 1393 when he was secretary 1450–59. My experience from working with the Icelandic annals describing events in Norway ca. 1280–1400, is that pieces of information almost always have a factual basis, but are often inaccurate. If the Vitaliner had put fire to the Hanseatic houses on Bryggen, they would also have destroyed the property of merchants from Wismar and Rostock. The Vitaliner may have found that unwise since these two towns were the bases for their operations. Hansa towns were often in conflict, but they did their best to keep it within limits – without always succeeding.

Wismar and Rostock had been instrumental in inflicting serious damage to the winter residents who were mainly from Lübeck. In the following years, citizens from the two towns were excluded from Bergen as well as from the Bruges Kontor. In 1399, they asked a Hansa Diet to be readmitted to the two Kontors. They had appeared in Bruges with a letter from the Hansa towns on an earlier occasion, but the Kontor had not permitted them to read it aloud. The Diet consented in 1399 to send new letters to the two Kontors, where they asked for citizens of Rostock and Wismar to be readmitted as a preliminary measure until damages for the attack in 1393 had been settled.<sup>211</sup> The Bergen Kontor does not seem to have obeyed the Diet's request. The Dano-Norwegian authorities were more flexible, and in 1404 King Erik permitted Rostock and Wismar to once again use their privileges in Bergen.<sup>212</sup> But this permission was useless without the Kontor's consent. In 1410, Rostock and Wismar again complained that they were not permitted to enjoy Hansa privileges in Bergen. This time they first entered into a written agreement with Lübeck, whose officials promised to ask the Bergen Kontor to consent to their

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208 [www.histos.no/bergen/vis.php?visbrann=1](http://www.histos.no/bergen/vis.php?visbrann=1). Map and text produced by Det hanseatiske museum and Bryggen museum in 2002. Copied by the present author 08.04.13; cf. HELLE, Bergen, pp. 698–699

209 HR I, 4, 645 §17.

210 HUB V no. 139.

211 HR I, 4, 541 §20–§22; *ibid.* no. 542 §3, §4 and §9; *ibid.* no. 546.

212 HR I, 5, nos. 191–193.

request.<sup>213</sup> Later the same year, Rostock and Wismar presented their complaint at a Hansa Diet,<sup>214</sup> which wrote a letter to the Bergen Kontor where they again requested that merchants from the two towns be permitted to operate under Hansa privileges in Bergen.<sup>215</sup> It is not stated explicitly that they were readmitted in 1410, but this is the last time their exclusion is mentioned, so they probably were.<sup>216</sup> The right to expel towns formally rested with the Hansa Diet, but the Hansa Diet was evidently reluctant to do more than exert gentle pressure in matters which concerned Bergen. This left the real decision to Lübeck and the Kontor.

The Diet also expelled individuals on recommendations from the Kontor.<sup>217</sup>

Lübeck repeatedly used its political power to impede troublesome economic competition from other Hansa towns in Bergen. The clearest competitive advantage held by Kampen, Deventer and their neighbouring towns on the Zuiderzee was that they could export their stockfish directly over the North Sea to the Rhine estuary. But in 1446, Lübeck and its allied Wendish towns decreed that merchants who exported stockfish from Bergen to North Sea towns would not be permitted to import grain products from the Baltic into Bergen. This stipulation was to be enforced by the aldermen in Bergen,<sup>218</sup> and the measure was repeated in the following decades.<sup>219</sup> At this time the Zuiderzee towns were starting to settle in Bergen as winter residents, and a lack of grain products would make this difficult. The Kontor's most direct attempt to harm Zuiderzee trade occurred after the great fire at Bryggen in 1476, when they tried to forge an alliance between Wendish towns to prevent the Zuiderzee merchants from rebuilding their houses.<sup>220</sup> The Kontor did not succeed in this, probably because Lübeck found that in this case it had to play the role of consensus-builder.<sup>221</sup>

The Zuiderzee towns delivered strong arguments at Hansa Diets that the Lübeckers were administering the Bergen Kontor in a self-interested manner. The Kontor was supposed to “honour the German nation” (*ter eeren van der Duytsscher nacie*) and “protect the Hansa's rights and privileges”. The Zuiderzee towns had a right to be included among those protected by it. “They also said that since they were in the Hansa, they should be permitted, like other subjects (*ondersaten*) of the Hansa, to trade with the Norwegians, and should not be forced to trade only with

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213 HR I, 5, 718 = HUB V no. 942 = NGL 2.rk. I no. 371.

214 HR I, 5, 720 §14.

215 HR I, 5, 721.

216 BRUNS, *Bergenfahrer*, p. XX.

217 HR I, 7, 487 §21 = NGL 2.rk. I no. 381 (1422).

218 DN VII no. 431 = NGL 2.rk. I no. 395; HR II, 3, 288 = NGL 2.rk. I no. 396; cf. chapter II.1.

219 HR II, 7, 342 §12–§14.

220 NGL 2.rk. II no. 433 = HR II, 7, 415.

221 HR II, 7, 415 = NGL 2.rk. II no. 433.

the winter residents in Bergen, and not with the Norwegians.”<sup>222</sup> Kampen, Deventer and Lübeck had a common identity as Germans and Hansa merchants, so Lübeck was not seen as fulfilling its duty as the head of the entire Hansa.

Merchants from Danzig totally agreed with this sentiment. Danzig grew to become more populous than Lübeck around 1500,<sup>223</sup> but they only sent summer guests to Bergen. The Kontor did its best to prevent them from trading directly with Norwegians. The following conversation took place at a Hansa Diet in 1487. The discussion was opened by the mayor of Danzig, who complained that the Danzig merchants did not enjoy the same rights in Bergen as the winter residents.

- The Mayor of Lübeck: “Danzig is an important Hansa town, and their merchants should enjoy the same rights which other Hansa towns enjoy in Bergen.”
- The Bergen Kontor’s aldermen: “That is not denied them.”
- The Mayor of Danzig: “But you do not permit them to trade with the Norwegians who come to the market; they may only sell to you [the winter residents] and buy from you.”
- The Bergen Kontor’s aldermen: “The winter residents in Bergen have a statute that Norwegians may only sell to the merchant he is indebted to until he has settled his debt.”
- The Mayor of Danzig: “But these people never become free from their debts, and are like serfs (*sam egene*). If such statutes are to be made, this should be done by a Hansa Diet.”<sup>224</sup>

Twenty-four years later, Danzig gave up this quest, and demanded that their citizens be permitted to trade with Norwegians on equal terms with the Lübeckers only if they chose to become winter residents.<sup>225</sup> The Danzig officials did not put up a strong fight for their summer guests in Bergen. In 1479, the Wendish towns asked Danzig to send representatives to a meeting in Bergen with the Dano-Norwegian king, but Danzig declined, saying that it was Wendish merchants who visited Bergen most.<sup>226</sup> They probably did not want to incur the costs of acquiring privileges which benefitted others.

Even Lübeck’s closest allies in the Wendish towns along the Baltic sometimes experienced Lübeck’s self-interested conduct in the Bergen trade. The Kontor and the Lübeck guild of *Bergenfahrer* wanted to control and organise shipping between the Baltic and Bergen, and they institutionalised this in 1455 by establishing the “Freight Lords”, as described earlier. This policy met determined resistance from the other Wendish towns and had to be modified.<sup>227</sup>

222 HR II, 7, 391 §22 and §23 = NGL 2.rk. II, p. 749 §22 and §23 (1476).

223 SELZER, *Mittelalterliche Hanse*, p. 78.

224 HUB XI no. 133 §53–§54; report from Danzig’s representatives at a Hansetag.

225 HR III, 6, 192 §3.

226 HR III, 1, 183–184.

227 Cf. chapter II.1.

Lübeck's policy towards Demark was not determined by commercial interests alone. The town fought for its political independence against the King of Denmark and the counts of Holstein from the 13<sup>th</sup> century onwards. Several wars against Denmark served Lübeck's political interests more than the Hansa's mutual economic interests.

The war in 1427–1433 between the Hansa and the Dano-Norwegian king serves as an example. The Duchy of Schleswig was originally Danish, but was gradually taken under the control of the powerful counts of Holstein. Lübeck saw this as a positive development, because a strong Holstein would be a useful counterbalance to Denmark. Even Hamburg felt threatened by Denmark. By appealing to Hansa solidarity, Lübeck drew Wismar, Rostock, Stralsund and Lüneburg into a coalition which in September 1426 declared war on Denmark to support Holstein. Other Hansa towns withheld their active support. The German *Bergenfahrer* at Bryggen had no interest in the war, and in January 1427 they concluded a local agreement with the commander of Bergenhus castle that their trade in Bergen should continue. In May 1427, a Hansa Diet accepted this, but only until midsummer 1427.<sup>228</sup> The *Kontor* seems to have accepted this deadline and left Bergen, not returning until 1433. In July 1427, the Danes captured a large Hanseatic fleet transporting salt from France, and many merchants suffered great losses. In 1428 and 1429, the pirate Bartolomeus Voet, who was in the service of Lübeck and its allies, raided Bergen. Rostock and Stralsund had little interest in the war, and in 1430 they concluded a separate peace agreement with Denmark.<sup>229</sup> The final peace treaty in 1435 between Denmark and the four remaining Hansa towns of Lübeck, Hamburg, Wismar and Lüneburg was a political victory for Lübeck insofar as Holstein's control of Schleswig was strengthened, privileges were improved, and the Wendish towns were exempted from paying the *Sundtoll* when passing through the Øresund. But the merchants bore heavy costs from the war. The *Bergenfahrer* had to cease trading for six years, the plundering of the salt fleet resulted in grave financial losses, and the trade between the Baltic and the North Sea had to be rerouted from passing through the Øresund to the more expensive Lübeck–Hamburg land route. This favoured those two towns but damaged everybody else. The war nourished the complaints of self-interest against Lübeck.<sup>230</sup>

Lübeck's foreign policy against Denmark included political aims which during certain periods were contrary not only to the commercial interests of other Hansa towns but also to the economic interests of Lübeck's own merchants, particularly those at Bryggen. The Bergen *Kontor* was evacuated only twice during the Late

228 HUB VI no. 654 = DN VII no. 382 (January 1427); HR I, 8, 194 §10 (May 1427).

229 DAENELL, *Blütezeit*, pp. 223, 241 and 245.

230 DOLLINGER, *La Hanse*, pp. 364–365; English translation, pp. 295–297; German translation pp. 381–382; SELZER, *Mittelalterliche Hanse*, pp. 68–70; HAMRE, *Norsk historie frå 1400*, pp. 65–70.

Middle Ages, in 1368–9 and 1427–1433. In 1368, the Kontor protested against the evacuation order,<sup>231</sup> and in 1427 they even concluded a local peace agreement with the commander of Bergenhus, as mentioned above. The evacuation during the years 1427–1433 benefitted the Hansa's competitors and had such negative consequences that the Hansa Diets permitted the winter residents to continue trading during the subsequent wars with Denmark. Local state authorities in Bergen expressed no desire to see the Germans evacuated.

When war broke out in 1522 between the Hansa and King Christian II, the Kontor again reached a local peace agreement with the commander of Bergenhus castle, the Bishop of Bergen and the dean of the royal chapel. The Germans were to continue trading, and if King Christian II sent a fleet to harm them, the local authorities were to try to convince the Danish soldiers to leave the Germans alone. In January 1523, the Kontor aldermen and the commander of Bergenhus travelled to Denmark with a letter from local dignitaries and the urban council of Bergen in order to have their local peace agreement formalised. Their main point was that a war would harm the King's "poor subjects". The King permitted Hansa towns which were not participating in the ongoing war to continue trading.<sup>232</sup> The Hanseatic credit system in practice meant that the winter residents paid for their fish in advance, which made them eager to be present in Bergen when the fish arrived. They fervently wanted to be left in peace when the town councils back home opted for war.

Lübeck's leaders were politicians who needed to balance several interests. At home, they had to balance the economic interests of their merchants against political interests involving relations with Denmark. In Bergen, if Lübeck was to be accepted as the head of the Hansa, with the authority to determine what constituted Hanseatic interests, it had to act in an altruistic manner. Their authority could in turn be exploited to promote Lübeck's and the Kontor's interests in a manner which other Hansa towns felt was self-interested. Lübeck's urban council walked a tight-rope which demanded good judgement and diplomatic skills.

Stephan Selzer calls Lübeck the consensus-maker of the Hansa. Lübeck had no state-like powers to issue commands and therefore had to convince others that their course of action was correct.<sup>233</sup> Lübeck seems to have practiced more arm-twisting in Bergen than was their habit elsewhere. Lübeck merchants were in a majority there, and citizens of other towns could be pressured into obedience more easily than at the other Kontors.

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231 HUB IV no. 257 = DN VIII no. 184.

232 HAMRE, *Norsk historie 1513–1537*, pp. 154–155.

233 SELZER, *Mittelalterliche Hanse*, pp. 78–81.

## F. THE KONTOR'S DEMOGRAPHIC STRENGTH

How many winter residents were there at the Bergen Kontor? Brattegard estimated their number to be about 2000,<sup>234</sup> and Rafto thought it was about 700.<sup>235</sup> In 1977, I argued that there were about 1000 winter residents in Bergen, but during the summer season this number doubled because of summer guests and sailors.<sup>236</sup> Lunden has estimated that there were only about 100 winter residents, based on a comparison with the Kontors in Novgorod and Bruges.<sup>237</sup> Bergen's total population at this time is uncertain, but may have been about 7000, Germans included.

The first winter residents probably settled in Bergen in the 1250s. In 1309 we have the first comments that there was a growing number of winter residents, and 16 are named.<sup>238</sup> In 1331, the authorities complained that Norwegian towns were "full of foreign men all winter" and that winter residents were more numerous than they used to be.<sup>239</sup> Winter residency increased in the century prior to the founding of the Kontor in 1366.

The archive in Lübeck holds 197 wills dated before 1500 which bequeathed gifts to institutions or people in Bergen in circumstances which permit us to conclude that the testator was or had been a winter resident.<sup>240</sup> This number constitutes 3.1 % of all wills of Lübeck citizens dated before 1500.<sup>241</sup> For the period before 1358, only 0.5 % of all the wills were drawn up by winter residents in Bergen.<sup>242</sup> Winter residency seems to have continued increasing after 1366 when the Kontor was founded, in parallel to the institutionalisation of credits given to the stockfish producers.<sup>243</sup>

The most reliable data on the number of winter residents in the Late Middle Ages are from 1522. The accounts of the commander of Bergenhus castle for that year list Germans who paid the *leidang* tax on their houses in Bergen. Originally the *leidang* consisted of a levy of 2 % on merchandise sold and bought as well as on income from house rents, which means that it was a combination of a sales tax and income tax.<sup>244</sup> In the 16<sup>th</sup> century, the *leidang* for Bryggen had developed into a property tax, as it had in 1518 for the Holland merchants who were charged one

234 BRATTEGARD, Über die Organisation und die Urkunden des hansischen Kontors zu Bergen, p. 254.

235 *Kulturhistorisk leksikon for nordisk middelalder*, entry word "Hansan".

236 HELLE and NEDKVITNE, Sentrumdannelser og byutvikling, p. 276.

237 LUNDEN, Kvantitative og teoretiske studiar, pp. 250–252.

238 DN I no. 12.

239 NGL III no. 70 = HUB II no. 502 = DN VII no. 135.

240 BRUNS, Bergenfahrer, pp. 10–128.

241 There are 6368 extant wills from citizens dated before 1500 (*Regesten der Lübecker Bürgertestamente des Mittelalters* I, p. 6).

242 Three of 658 testaments (*Regesten der Lübecker Bürgertestamente des Mittelalters* I, pp. 1–658); two of the three were written by the same person (BRUNS, Bergenfahrer, p. 10).

243 Cf. chapter V.2a.

244 *Magnus Lagaboters bylov*, III 6.

cheese worth 12 skillings for each of their sales booths located in the Stranden quarter of Bergen.<sup>245</sup> In 1522, the *leidang* for Bryggen was assessed on each *stue* (house) and *kleve* (bedroom).<sup>246</sup> There were 7 people that year who paid the tax of one and two-thirds skillings for a *kleve*. There were 153 merchants who paid tax on their *stuer*, most at the rate of 3 skillings, but many at 6, 9 or 12 skillings, i.e. a multiple of 3.<sup>247</sup> There can be little doubt that *leidang* was levied at 3 skillings per *stue* irrespective of its size, and those who paid higher amounts owned more than one *stue*.<sup>248</sup> Normally a merchant concentrated his ownership of several *stuer* in the same *gård* or complex of houses. But three merchants in 1522 paid *leidang* for houses in two different *gårder*: Helmich Helmichsen in Revelsgården and Åfjorden, Gert Trobe in Skeggen and Bremergården, and Hans Vegener in Åfjorden and Bredsgården.

The Norse word *stofa* means the same as it does in modern Norwegian – a living room, or a building where a living room was located.<sup>249</sup> In Hanseatic times at Bryggen the the corresponding term in Low German was *stave*, this was the central living room of a merchant and his servants or the house in which this living room was found. In this book I will use the Norwegian *stue* as analytical concept. A will mentioned “their *stue* in Bergen, where they used to live”.<sup>250</sup> Here it is not clear whether *stue* means a room or a house. In other cases the *stue* was clearly a living

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245 Cf. chapter II.5d.

246 NRJ III, p. 640 .

247 Two merchants in Bredsgården are registered, one after the other, as paying 2 skillings and 13 skillings respectively, making a total of 15 skillings. They may have owned one or several *stuer* jointly.

248 There are several indications that this was so. In 1567, Hansa merchants at Bryggen paid one *daler* for a single (*enkel*) *gård* irrespective of size (*Norske lensrekneskapsbøger 1548–1567* IV, pp. 4–6). For the seven *klever* registered in the 1522 *leidang* and the Holland merchants' *boder* in 1518, a fixed tax was also paid per housing unit irrespective of size. In two cases in the 1522 *leidang*, we are told how many *stuer* were taxed and what sum was paid: four named Hansa merchants paid a total of 12 skillings, 3 skillings each, for their *stuer* (NRJ III, p. 640; “*betalte hver 3 sk. for deres stuer*”); and Gregorius Haffszo paid 19 skillings for 5 *stuer* and one *bod* (booth). *Bod* in this case must mean a sales booth, and 4 skillings must have been the tax paid on it. This sum is not unreasonable considering that each barber's booth was taxed 3 skillings (*ibid.*, p. 634), and the booths of the Holland merchants incurred a much heavier tax of 12 skillings per booth, as mentioned above. The clearest evidence for the 3 skilling tax rate comes from a property transaction dated 14/12/1520, when Hinrik Noyteman bought two *stuer* in the Leppen *gård* at Bryggen (BRUNS, *Bergenfahrer*, p. 143). One and a half years later, the same Hinrik Noyteman is registered as having paid 6 skillings in *leidang* for property in Leppen, exactly the sum he should have paid if the tariff was 3 skillings per *stue* (NRJ, p. 636). In 1514, Didrik Didriksen bought one *stue* in Leppen (BRUNS, *Bergenfahrer*, p. 199), and the same Didrik paid 3 skillings in the 1522 *leidang* for property in Leppen, the rate for one *stue* (NRJ III, p. 636).

249 Fritzner, *Ordbog*, entry word “*Stofa*”.

250 BRUNS, *Bergenfahrer*, p. 158.

room. A will written by a Bergenfahrer mentions a house with the following rooms: “one *stue*, two booths, one *lem*<sup>251</sup> and *kleve*...”.<sup>252</sup> In other wills *stue* means a house: “my *stue* with adjoining booths”,<sup>253</sup> “my *stue* with adjoining houses”.<sup>254</sup> The Kontor’s statutes decreed that “every merchant who keeps an open house and *stue* during the fair [mainly in July-September] shall keep two men there all winter”.<sup>255</sup> A house which was “open” offered free entry to everybody, in this context for purposes of trade. The *stue* was always the central room or house in a property at Bryggen, while the number of adjoining houses or rooms varied.

The head of the firm had his office in the *stue* and received his customers there, so the word for the room gradually came to denote the firm which conducted its trade from that room. When Lübeck’s *Niederstadtbuch* mentions “the merchandise which existed in their *stue*”,<sup>256</sup> this probably meant “in the firm”, and not necessarily that the merchandise was stored in the house called the *stue*.

The councillor van Hude in Bremen owned two *stuer* at Bryggen, each with its own *faktor* or manager.<sup>257</sup> The *leidang* register indicates that it was also possible for a *faktor* in Bergen to manage two *stuer* which had separate owners who lived in different Hansa towns.

Firm managers normally lived in Bergen all year round, which means that they were winter residents. But even summer guests could own and operate *stuer*. The Kontor’s statutes stated: “Everyone who keeps/operates his own house or *kleve* here (*de hir egenn huser edder kleve holden*), and stays here as a summer guest and sails to and fro, is obliged to leave at least one man when he sails from here.”<sup>258</sup> The Zuiderzee towns in particular owned many *stuer* which they only operated in the summer season: “If merchants from the Zuiderzee towns keep a house, with cooking facilities and a fireplace, they shall in autumn and winter defend their house with weapons and people as others do and as is necessary.”<sup>259</sup>

Normally the summer guests lived in *klever*, which at that time meant bedrooms. They could own a bedroom which they used only in the summer, or they could rent one from winter residents. Hiring out *klever* provided extra income for winter residents. Merchants from Zuiderzee towns were accused of building their

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251 In peasant houses there was sometimes a loft (= mezzanine) over a part of the living room, with no wall between it and the living room. This open loft often served as sleeping quarters for children or others. Such an area was called a *lem*.

252 *Ibid.*, p. 58. The term *kleve* is explained in footnote on p. 359.

253 BRUNS, Bergenfahrer, p. 17.

254 *Ibid.*, pp. 28 and 30.

255 NGL 2.rk. II no. 416 §76.

256 BRUNS, Bergenfahrer, p. 186.

257 Cf. chapter V.3a.

258 NGL 2.rk. II no. 416 §52.

259 NGL 2.rk. I no. 396 §16 = HR II, 3, 288 §16 (1447).

houses with many *kameren unde kleven*<sup>260</sup> in order to rent the rooms to summer guests. *Kamer* is a German word, which was also used in the Hansa's Stalhof housing complex in London to refer to a combined livingroom and bedroom rented to summer residents.<sup>261</sup>

The *leidang* tax at Bryggen in 1522 was assessed on houses or rooms which generated income, i.e. on *stuer* and *klever*.

Table V.3. Number of *stuer*, *klever* and owners of these at Bryggen in 1522 <sup>(1)</sup>

Name of gård	Number of <i>stuer</i>	Number of <i>klever</i>	Number of owners
Skeggen	3		2
Bremergården	5		4
Svendsgården	6		4
Søstergården	7	3	8
Engelgården	8		8
Revelsgården	5	1	5
Leppen	24		13
Bratten	21		8
Dramshusen	19		13
Brødregården	8		6
Vetterliden	12		10
Rådmannsgården	6		6
Finnegården	10		6
Gullskoen	13		8
Bugården	11	3	6
Bredsgården	20		11
Einarsgården	7		6
Svendsgården	8		4
Åfjorden	24		10
Holmedalen	13		7
Kappen	12		6
<u>Solgården</u>	<u>8</u>		<u>6</u>
all Hanseatic houses	250	7	157 <sup>(2)</sup>

Source: Account of the *leidang* tax for 1522. NRJ III, pp. 634–640.

- (1) The basis for these figures is that merchants paid 3 skillings per *stue* and 1½ skillings per *kleve*. The barber shops on Dreggen were also part of the Bryggen settlement, but they have not been included in the table.
- (2) One person could own several *stuer* and *klever*. There were 150 people paying this tax who owned only *stuer*, 4 who owned only *klever*, and 3 who owned both *stuer* and *klever*.

In 1522, there were 250 *stuer* on Bryggen in the sense of a “room where trade was carried out”. Some of these were in operation only in the summer, and some mer-

260 NGL 2.rk. II, p. 736 §15 (1476) = HR II, 7, 342 §15.

261 JÖRN, Der Londoner Stalhof, pp. 422 and 427. *Kleve* is defined in footnote no. ????

chants managed more than one *stue*.<sup>262</sup> The number of *stuer* in the sense of a “firm with year-round trading” must have been lower. A source from 1615 in the Bremen archive lists 119 *stuer* at the Bergen Kontor.<sup>263</sup> Hansa trade in Bergen had decreased in the meantime, but it may be questioned whether the reduction had been that large since 1522. Possibly the tax collectors in 1522 defined *stue* in the first sense, while the Bremen authorities in 1615 counted the number of merchants (*faktor*) staying in Bergen all year.

A *stue* which operated all year round employed, according to the book *Den norske So* from 1584, one manager (*faktor*), 2–3 journeymen (*gesellen*) and 2–3 apprentices (*jungen*), i.e. 5–7 people or 6 on average.<sup>264</sup> If all 250 *stuer* had that many employees in the winter, there must have been 1500 winter residents in Bergen in 1522. Since some of these rooms were used for trading purposes only in summer, this figure should be seen as a maximum.

What is then the minimum figure for winter residents? In 1522, 157 different managers (*faktor*) paid the *leidang*. Four of these only owned *klever* and were certainly summer guests, which leaves us with 153 *faktors* who managed one or more *stuer*. Some may have used only one *stue* themselves, and the second one they managed may have been operative only in the summer when another merchant and his servants arrived from a Hansa town. If this was the general pattern, then there were 153 managers who were winter residents operating their firm all year round. Since there were on average 6 men working in each *stue*, the number of Germans at Bryggen in the wintertime would have been 918 (153 x 6). The *leidang* was collected in the summer when summer guests were also present in Bergen. A summer guest was only obliged to leave one person to look after of his house when he left in the autumn.<sup>265</sup> But the sources as a whole definitely give the impression that managers of *stuer* were winter residents and stayed with their employees in Bergen all year round. The number of winter residents in 1522 must have been somewhere between 900 and 1500.

During the night of the 1<sup>st</sup> of September 1455, Hansa merchants attacked the commander of Bergenhuis castle, Olav Nilsson, who had barricaded himself in Munkeliv Abbey. The annals kept by Lübeck’s urban council (*Ratschronik*) reported that:

Up dat he nicht wechqueme, so kreherden se [the aldermen], dat alleman scholde ghan to harnsche unde behalven de kerken, dat he nicht enwech queme.... Also quemen dar boven twe dusent man myt harnsch unde myt bussen unde armborste, dar se mede schoeten und stormeden up de kerken.<sup>266</sup>

262 BRUNS, *Bergenfahrer*, p. 143.

263 SCHREINER, *Bremerne i Bergen*, p. 294.

264 *Den norske So*, pp. 25–26.

265 NGL 2.rk. II no. 416 §52.

266 *Detmar* volume 30, pp. 189–190.

To prevent him from escaping, the aldermen ordered everybody to put on their harnesses and encircle the church... Then came more than 2000 men with harnesses, guns/muskets and crossbows. Thus equipped they shot at and assaulted the church.

More than 2000 Germans with armour, muskets and crossbows surrounded and attacked the church. There may have been Germans in town who did not participate in this, so the figure of 2000 must have been the minimum number of Germans in town at that time. Since the date fell in the middle of Bergen fair, many of these must have been summer guests and sailors.<sup>267</sup> A merchant vessel (*busse*) which sailed from Bergen to Bremen around the 25<sup>th</sup> of September in 1442 carried 11 sailors, including the skipper, plus “boys” (*jungen*) engaged to do menial work. This was at the end of the Bergen fair, and there were 13 summer guests on board.<sup>268</sup> An educated guess would be that there were 30 Hansa ships in Bergen when this incident occurred in 1455<sup>269</sup> with about 350 sailors on board, to which we must add the number of summer guests. This suggests that there were more than 2000 Germans in Bergen during the summer season, while the number of winter residents may have been half that number. This section of the Lübeck *Ratschronik* was written by an unknown author in the spring of 1458, three years after the event<sup>270</sup> but was evidently based on eyewitness accounts. “More than 2000 men” should be considered an estimate made by one or several people who had been present.

In 1552, the chancery in Copenhagen asked the advice of a foreign jurist as to how they should react to a demand for privileges from the Hanseatic League. The chancery sent a briefing to this jurist about conditions in Bergen:

Und ist so weyt gelangt das der Ansiche Stedt Kauffmann ein Hauffen Heuser zu Bergen erbawet, und vast alle Kauffhandel an sich bracht, und leydt der deutsche Kauffmann zu Bergen im Reych Norwegen gemeinlich in drey Tausent Personen starch fur und fur.<sup>271</sup> It has now come to a point where merchants from Hansa towns have built a large number of houses in Bergen and brought almost all trade under their control, and usually the German merchants in Bergen walk around as many as 3000 people all the time

267 BRUNS, *Bergenfahrer*, p. 355 §30.

268 Aus bremischen Familienpapieren, p. 65; HAMMEL-KIESOW, *Die Hanse*, p. 76; HOHEISEL, *Bremer Kogge*, p. 70 says 15–20; KIEDEL, *Seemannsleben*, p. 74 says max. 20.

269 Table II.1.

270 *Detmar* volume 30, p. XV.

271 Rigsarkivet, Copenhagen, Hansast. A.II no. 8; cf. SCHREINER, *Hanseatene og Norge*, p. 398 note 56. *Für und für* means “all the time” (*Das grosse Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache* III, entry word “für”) and reinforces *gemeinlich*. *Leiden* in both High and Low German at this time could have its original meaning of “walk”, in this case “walk about” (SCHILLER and LÜBBEN, *Mittelniederdeutsches Wörterbuch*, entry word “*Liden*”; KLUGE, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch*, entry word “*Leiden*”).

“Usually... all the time” there were 3000 German merchants in Bergen according to this document, but it does not state that all of them were winter residents. We know there were far more Germans in town in summer than in winter. The chancery obtained their information from the commander of Bergenhus castle and the town council of Bergen, who had motives for giving the highest possible number in order to stress the size of the problem. Despite this problem with the source, it is possible to conclude from this information that there were somewhat fewer than 3000 German merchants in Bergen during the fair.

*Den Norske So* was written in 1584 by a German who had lived for 4–5 years in Bergen.<sup>272</sup> He would have gained enough knowledge while there to estimate the number of Germans in the town. “All [Germans at the Kontor] were unmarried (*gesellen*), because no married man from the Hansa towns was permitted to sail there and stay during the winter, and their number was over 2000 persons, the German craftsmen included”.<sup>273</sup> His estimate refers to the period before German craftsmen became Norwegian citizens,<sup>274</sup> and the German craft guilds had 141 members when they were dissolved in 1558.<sup>275</sup> This adjustment gives about 1850 winter residents at Bryggen before 1558, according to *Den norske So*. Elsewhere in the same book, the author writes that earlier Hansa merchants owned 22 *gårder* at Bryggen, and each *gård* had “15 *geselschaper*”, which must mean *stuer*,<sup>276</sup> which makes a total of 330 *stuer*. Since each *stue* was manned by an average of 6 people, as mentioned above, there would have been 1980 winter residents at Bryggen at the time. Both ways of extracting information from *Den norske So* have resulted in calculations of a little fewer than 2000 winter residents.

How reliable are the figures given by the author of this book? He was describing the golden age of the Kontor, but at the time of writing in 1584, exports had diminished, “which can be seen from the numerous *klever*, *stuer* and booths at Bryggen which now are unutilized”.<sup>277</sup> The accounts from 1522 cited above confirm that there were 22 *gårder* on Bryggen at the time, but in 1567 this had fallen to 19.<sup>278</sup> This confirms the general impression given in *Den norske So*. His descriptions of the miserable conditions during his own time are greatly exaggerated, but his descriptions of the Kontor’s golden age may in fact be more reliable.

Over the course of six months in 1452, some 200 Germans died from the plague in Bergen, according to Karsten van Geren, who at the time was the secretary of the

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272 *Den norske So*, p. 5.

273 *Ibid.*, p. 25.

274 *Ibid.*, p. 29.

275 FOSSEN, Bergen, p. 62.

276 LÜBBEN, *Mittelniederdeutsches Handwörterbuch*, entry word “Geselschop”.

277 *Den norske So*, p. 29.

278 *Norske lensrekneskapsbøker 1548–1567* IV, pp. 4–6.

Bergen Kontor. The total number of Germans resident there must have been many times larger.<sup>279</sup>

Sources from the 1450s to the 1550s do not provide clear figures for how many German merchants stayed in Bergen during the winter and summer seasons. A figure of 1000–1500 winter residents is compatible with all the available sources, and the German population may have doubled to 2000–3000 men when the summer guests and sailors arrived for the Bergen fair in July–September. An ethnic minority of this size had a significant impact on the social life of Bergen, since the town's total population at that time was probably no more than about 7000.

### G. THE KONTOR MILITIA

The Kontor could mobilise a significant military force, and this fact endangered the state's "monopoly on legitimate violence".

Most Hansa merchants brought weapons with them on their voyage to Bergen in order to defend themselves against pirates. In 1447, a Hansa Diet ordered all Hanseatic merchant ships carrying 100 lasts of goods to have on board armour and weapons for 20 men, more if the ship was larger, less if it was smaller.<sup>280</sup> Armour/harnesses and guns/musket (*bussen*) were considered standard equipment on merchant vessels sailing to Bergen.<sup>281</sup> If the Bergen Kontor needed ships to fight pirates, it could charter Hansa ships for cash payment.<sup>282</sup> In 1406, the Kontor mobilised 500 armed men on several ships to escort merchant ships which were coming from the Baltic and sailing along the Norwegian west coast to Bergen.<sup>283</sup> In 1494/5, the Kontor owned a *holk* equipped with guns and harnesses, probably to protect merchant vessels sailing between Lübeck and Bergen.<sup>284</sup> The Kontor had a small arsenal of weapons which they lent to merchant vessels when there were looming threats of piracy.<sup>285</sup>

As mentioned above, the weapons could also be used in Bergen if the situation required it. "Everyone who has an open house and *stue* during the Bergen fair shall keep two men with weapons there all winter to protect the settlement".<sup>286</sup> The commanding officers of the militia were the aldermen. Statutes for the Bergen Kontor formulated by the Hansa Diet in 1369 and 1412 state that "no merchant, merchant's servant, skippers or sailors shall draw their weapons except when this is done with the permission of the Kontor leadership (*des copmans*) because it was

279 BRUNS, *Bergenfahrer*, pp. 352–353.

280 HR, II, 3, 288 §82.

281 DN XVI no. 319 (1495).

282 HR I, 6, 70 §18 = HUB V no. 1050 = NGL 2.rk. I no. 375 §15 (1412).

283 Cf. pp. 180–182.

284 DN XVI no. 319.

285 HUB X no. 333 (1474).

286 NGL 2.rk. II no. 416 §76 (the Kontor's statutes 1494).

necessary.”<sup>287</sup> When 2000 armed men attacked the monastery of Munkeliv in 1455, the annals of the Lübeck urban council explicitly state that the aldermen ordered this to be done.<sup>288</sup> In a 1447 report of a conflict with the commander of Bergenhus castle, Olav Nilsson, the aldermen wrote to Lübeck: “We fear that if Herr Olav grows stronger than us, as soon as he can manage that, then he will fall upon us as hard as he can.”<sup>289</sup> The phrasing implies that normally the Kontor was stronger. They feared that members of the Norwegian nobility might turn up in Bergen with sufficient troops to seize control. In October 1501, the aldermen had to improvise defence measures for Bryggen; the Norwegian nobleman Knut Alvsson had rebelled against the Danish king and was threatening Bergen. The aldermen retained three ships to be ready for evacuation. They asked the guild of Bergenfahrer in Lübeck to send two ships equipped with canons, weapons and harnesses when the sailing season started in the spring.<sup>290</sup> King Christian I claimed that in the summer of 1478, the Kontor mobilised more than 600 armed men in Bergen to influence negotiations with local Norwegian authorities.<sup>291</sup> At the London Kontor, the inhabitants also had to bring their weapons, and their statutes ordained that these were to be inspected once a year.<sup>292</sup>

As “men with permanent residence”, the winter residents were obliged under to the 1276 urban law to participate in the urban militia during wartime, under the command of state officials.<sup>293</sup> In the 1330 privilege, the King demanded the services of 44 fully armed men from among the shoemakers alone.<sup>294</sup> After 1428, the state’s *leidang* militia ceased to function because it was outdated, and in practice the state cancelled this duty for both Norwegians and foreigners, but the Dano-Norwegian king continued to mobilize the winter residents when the need arose. King Christian I was accompanied by 300 armed men from the Kontor on five ships when he sailed to Trondheim to be crowned in 1450, according to the Kontor’s secretary Karsten van Geren.<sup>295</sup> In 1497, King Hans demanded that the winter residents sent 400 men to help him in his campaign against Sweden.<sup>296</sup> The future Christian II demanded that they provide a ship with 80 armed men in 1507, and King Hans himself order the Kontor to supply 200 armed men in Marstrand on the 31<sup>st</sup> of

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287 HR I, 1, 511 = HUB IV no. 319 = NGL 2.rk. I no. 346 (1369); HR I, 6, 70 §11 = HUB V no. 1050 = NGL 2.rk. I no. 375 (1412).

288 *Detmar* volume 30, pp. 189–190; cf. above in this section.

289 HR II, 3, 309 §18 = DN XVI no. 161.

290 BULL, Bergen og Hansestæderne, p. 195.

291 NGL 2.rk. II no. 169 §39 = HR III, 1, 152 §39; HELLE and NEDKVITNE, *Sentrumsdan- nelse og byutvikling*, p. 276 claimed that a large hundred was meant, but this is unlikely.

292 JÖRN, *Der Londoner Stallhof*, p. 430.

293 Cf. pp. 301–302.

294 HUB II no. 495 = NGL 2.rk. I no. 134B.

295 BRUNS, *Bergenfahrer*, pp. 352–353.

296 HR III, 4, 67 = NGL 2.rk. III no. 115. The Kontor did not accept the demand.

March 1510.<sup>297</sup> But the Kontor refused to obey these last two demands, in the first case because providing soldiers was not mentioned in their privileges, in the second case because the winter residents in Bergen were only servants (*knechte*) of merchants in the Hansa towns and could not negotiate about such important questions on their own.<sup>298</sup> The King wanted to use the Kontor's militia for his own purposes, but the loyalty of the armed men at Bryggen was to the Kontor leadership, and not to the state's representatives.

The Kontor statutes prohibited Hansa merchants from selling "harnesses/ armour, guns or weapons" to Norwegians, except when this had been authorised by the aldermen. This was "to prevent them from being strengthened against the Kontor". The Kontor accused German craftsmen in Bergen of breaking this prohibition by selling "harnesses, weapons and crossbows which they obtained from Bryggen or from ships".<sup>299</sup> Merchants from Zuiderzee towns were accused of selling to the King's bailiffs and Norwegian inhabitants "gunpowder, harnesses and weapons, harming the Hansa towns, the Kontor and themselves." Kampen and Deventer denied the accusation, but the accounts of the commander of Bergenhus castle suggest that there may have been substance to it.<sup>300</sup>

The state's presence was weak in Bergen. A Dutch ambassador who was present at negotiations with the Hansa towns wrote in 1504 that Bergen was a town "which the King visits rarely, and where merchants from the Hansa towns are so strong that they have little respect for him."<sup>301</sup> Around 1520, Christian II demanded heavy extra taxes from coastal peasants in western and northern Norway and put down the peasant rebellions which resulted. The King's permanent garrison in Bergen consisted of only about 50 armed men, but that was sufficient to control unorganised peasants.<sup>302</sup> In 1447, two servants of Olav Nilsson, the commander of Bergenhus, sought asylum in Munkeliv Abbey in Bergen, but their German enemies drew them out of the church, killed one and left the other half dead, according to the Bishop of Bergen. Olav Nilsson himself was evidently unable to punish the Germans; all he could do was to ask the Bishop of Bergen excommunicate them.<sup>303</sup> The attack on Olav Nilsson in 1455 demonstrated that the winter residents under the command of their aldermen could take military control of the town in an open conflict if they wanted to. They were in the same position in this regard as the urban militia in many medieval towns elsewhere in Europe.

Max Weber defined a state as an organisation which has a monopoly on legitimate violence within a certain area. The Kontor did not hold this monopoly in

297 HR III, 5, 579 = NGL 2.rk. III no. 216; HR III, 5, 243 §51.

298 HR III, 5, 420, p. 511 footnote 1 §10; HR III, 5, 579 = NGL 2.rk. I no. 216.

299 NGL 2.rk. II no. 416 §92; UBStL no. 21, p. 22 = NGL 2.rk. II, p. 634 (1450).

300 HR II, 7, 342 §10 and no. 391 §8 = NGL 2.rk. II, p. 736 §10 and p. 746 §8; table II.29.

301 HR III, 5, no. I §137.

302 UTNE, Hovedsmannsinstitusjonen, p. 103.

303 DN I no. 801.

Bergen. The formal, daily, military and police control of the town was in the hands of the commander of Bergenhus castle and his 50 soldiers. But everybody knew that the Kontor's aldermen and their 2000 armed men could seize control if the situation required it. The King could send his soldiers from Copenhagen if the Kontor merchants went too far, although that never happened. But the aldermen had to take account of the hidden threat from the distant King. He rarely appeared in Bergen, but one could not exclude the possibility that he would. The basis for a functioning state is the monopoly on legitimate violence, and that did not exist in Bergen. The Kontor's military dominance in Bergen lasted until the Reformation in Norway in 1537.<sup>304</sup>

The London Kontor had a duty to maintain and defend Bishopsgate, which was one of the gates in London's town walls. Dollinger claims that there were no parallels to this at the other Kontors.<sup>305</sup> The winter residents' obligation to participate in Bergen's urban militia may be considered a similar obligation, but there are differences: it was unthinkable that the Stalhof in London could use its militia against the urban or state authorities. This speaks volumes about the relationship between the Kontor and the state in the two towns.

#### H. THE KONTOR'S EXTRATERRITORIAL JURISDICTION

As mentioned above the first German merchants who visited Bergen in the 12<sup>th</sup> century met an urban society with laws and law courts which were meant also for visiting foreign merchants. The German merchants may, however, have found the jurisdiction administered by the Crown's local representatives inadequate. The Germans organised their partnerships according to German law, and here Norwegian judges would lack competence. If a German was accused of acting unlawfully or himself accused a Norwegian of the same, the court often permitted the accused to free himself if he could find a certain number of honest men, usually 3–12, who would swear with him that he was innocent. It was easier for a native than for a foreigner to fulfill that requirement. Court cases could take time. In England the Crown after 1303 organised fast-working courts where members of the jury were half from the home town or country of each of the two parties. No such arrangement existed in Norway. The Kontor's extraterritorial jurisdiction has to be understood on this background.

The founding of the Bergen Kontor in 1366 in practice meant that the German winter residents' organisation in Bergen was subordinated to the Hansa Diet's authority. As a concrete expression of this, the Diet issued some regulations which had to be included in the Kontor's statutes. One of them stated that Norwegian law and law courts should be used if a German had committed a crime which could lead

<sup>304</sup> Cf. pp. 487–488.

<sup>305</sup> DOLLINGER, *La Hanse*, p. 130; English translation, p. 103; German translation, p. 139.

to problems for other Germans in Bergen. In practice this must have been intended for cases where the victim was a Norwegian, and there was a danger that innocent citizens of the offender's home town or the Kontor could be held responsible for paying any fines due. If the perpetrator had fled to a Hansa town, his case should be heard there. Crimes between Germans were to be judged by the aldermen in Bergen or tried at a court in a Hansa town.<sup>306</sup> The Hansa Diet said nothing about disputes of a non-criminal nature between Germans, but it was taken as a matter of course that such cases should be adjudicated by the aldermen. The Hansa Diet granted extraterritorial rights to the Kontor without the consent of Norwegian authorities, and probably also without their knowledge.

Norwegian authorities did not accept the Kontor's legal jurisdiction over its members. At the peace negotiations in 1370, King Håkon's main complaint against the Hansa merchants in Norway was that they had drawn up new statutes (*statute*) which contradicted Norwegian laws and customs (*jus et consuetudines*), and applied them to internal disputes between Germans. This undermined the King's jurisdiction. They also smuggled criminals, including murderers, out of the country in their ships so that the Norwegian victims were not paid compensation (*satisfactio*) and the Crown lost revenue from fines. This situation had developed after the Hansa's privileges were confirmed in 1343.<sup>307</sup> The accusations were repeated at the negotiations in 1375, with the additional claim that it had been agreed earlier that crimes should be punished in the country where they had been committed according to the laws there.<sup>308</sup> The Germans' organisation and matters of jurisdiction in Bergen are not mentioned in the final peace agreement in 1376,<sup>309</sup> nor in the two final trade ordinances issued by King Håkon VI in 1377 and 1378;<sup>310</sup> at that time Håkon VI needed Hansa support in getting his son Olav chosen as King of Denmark.<sup>311</sup> Norwegian authorities accepted that the Kontor's extraterritorial jurisdiction was a reality they were unable to change.

The Kontor's statutes applying to conflicts between its own members were passed by *de ersame kopman*, which were meetings of the managers (*faktor*) of winter residents' firms at Bryggen, amounting to 150 men if all were present. The Hansa Diets controlled the statutes at a higher level, which means that they could order (*wy bidden unde beden*) the Kontor to include new paragraphs or change existing ones.<sup>312</sup> Extant letters from Hansa Diets to the Bergen Kontor dated 1366, 1369, 1412 and 1446 give such orders. The written statutes kept at the Bergen Kontor contained paragraphs formulated both by Hansa Diets and by merchants at the Kontor, and

306 HR I, 1, 384 = NGL 2.rk. I no. 342; HR I, 1, 383 = NGL 2.rk. I no. 342 pp. 606–607.

307 HR I, 2, 4 §1, §10 and §13 = NGL 2.rk. I, pp. 615–617 §1, §10 and §13.

308 HR I, 2, 89 §1–§2 = NGL 2.rk. I, p. 627 §1–§2 = DN XIX no. 590.

309 DN VIII no. 199 = HR I, 2, 124 = HUB IV no. 549.

310 HUB IV no. 579 (German translation) = NGL III no. 111; NGL III no. 114.

311 DOLLINGER, *La Hanse*, p. 96; English translation, p. 71; German translation p. 102.

312 NGL 2.rk. II no. 416 §98; HR I, 6, 70 §20 = HUB V no. 1050 = NGL 2.rk. I no. 375 §17.

they were constantly being changed. The first complete statute which still exists dates from 1494 and consists of one hundred paragraphs.<sup>313</sup> In 1439, the Bergen Kontor authorised the Lübeck guild of Bergenfahrer to judge and punish breaches of the statutes committed by their people who were present in Lübeck.<sup>314</sup>

The Hansa Diet and the Bergen Kontor did not question the state's right to issue laws and implement them, but their attitude to Norwegian state legislation resembled that of the church: laws that concerned them had to be approved by the Kontor before they could be implemented. In practice, the Kontor claimed that all legislation which affected its members had to be included in privileges negotiated between the state and the Hansa. This pushed them towards the position of considering only their privileges, their internal statutes and German law as the legal norms which applied to them in Norway. This was a question of law, but it was also a question of the law courts. Norwegian law applied in the state's law courts, and the Kontor's statutes and German law were used in the courts of the Kontor aldermen, but it was not at all clear where conflicts over the observance of privileges should be judged. As in most cases where judicial authority is unclear, conflicts were decided by force, exercised by the most powerful group. In Bergen, that was the Hansa merchants at Bryggen.

In the decades after 1376, Norwegian authorities stopped objecting to the Kontor having its own jurisdiction because they knew it would not change the situation, and they gave higher priority to establishing good political relations with the Hansa. But in the 1440s, local officials in Bergen under the leadership of Olav Nilsson, the commander of Bergenhus castle, and supported by the Norwegian Council of the Realm (*Riksråd*), took up this cause again. They claimed that the Hansa did not respect the two major Norwegian law codices, the law of the realm (*landzens lagh*) and the urban law (*stadhar retter*). On their initiative, in 1444 King Christoffer issued an ordinance, the main thrust of which was the Kontor's lack of respect for Norwegian law.<sup>315</sup> In a letter to the town of Bergen in 1445, the King stated that Norwegian law took precedence over Hansa privileges (*ukrencht oc uforszmaat landzens lag, stadar rettar oc alle wore foreldre, konunger i Norige, rettabotther...*).<sup>316</sup> This policy had to be abandoned a few years later because the Council of the Realm lost the support of the King. In 1477, the issue was taken up again at a meeting between the Wendish towns and the Bergen Kontor on one side, and the Norwegian Council of the Realm on the other. The latter claimed: "It is impossible to get justice from

313 HUB IV no. 178 = HR I, 1, 384 = NGL 2.rk. I no. 342 (1366); HR I, 1, 511 = NGL 2.rk. I no. 346 = HUB IV no. 319 (1369); HR I, 6, 70 = HUB V no. 1050 = NGL 2.rk. I no. 375 (1412); NGL 2.rk. I no. 395 = DN VII no. 431 (1446); NGL 2.rk. II no. 416 (1494).

314 HUB VII no. 431.

315 NGL 2.rk. I no. 130, introduction = DN VIII no. 324 (*landzens lagh, boar retter oc friiheet forkrenkt och forderffuat ero*).

316 NGL 2.rk. I no. 137A.

them because they do not ask either for the written lawbook or the King's bailiff." The bailiff was responsible for public prosecutions, and he could not do his job if the Kontor merchants resorted to their internal courts.<sup>317</sup>

In the 15<sup>th</sup> century, numerous conflicts arose from the unclear relationship between Norwegian law and the Kontor's privileges. In the 1440s, Norwegian authorities imposed some new taxes on Norwegian citizens, on the merchants at Bryggen, and on the German craftsmen who fell under the Kontor's administration and jurisdiction. The Germans refused to pay this. In the King's eyes this meant that they refused to obey the law (*laghen och rettarbøter, lochboch*). The Kontor answered that their predecessors had never paid this tax, and the current merchants and craftsmen were acting as their predecessors had done.<sup>318</sup> New Norwegian legislation only applied to the Germans if they consented to it, and their privileges said nothing about the new taxes.<sup>319</sup>

Norwegian authorities also complained that legislation in Hansa towns did not permit Norwegians to trade on as favourable terms as the Germans did in Norway. King Christian I and the Norwegian Council of the Realm clearly thought that legislation in the Hansa towns should be changed. The Kontor answered that both parties carried out trade according to their privileges, and these differed. Implicit in this argument was that state legislation could not contradict privileges.<sup>320</sup>

As mentioned above, the 1276 urban law imposed an obligation on the winter residents to participate in the King's urban militia. In the 15<sup>th</sup> century, this militia gradually declined, and the King instead started ordering the Kontor to put at his disposal warships with armed men. The Norwegian authorities claimed this was an obligation according to "the lawbook". The Kontor refused to comply for the reason that it was "against the privileges".<sup>321</sup> The Kontor was right in claiming that there was nothing in their privileges which obliged them to provide warships in the King's service. But the King evidently thought that he was entitled to bring in legislation that imposed such a duty on them.

The privileges were often vague; it was frequently unclear which privileges were in force, and they could be at variance with Norwegian law. Karsten van Geren, a Kontor secretary, described negotiations in 1453 held in the Dominican monastery in Bergen between the commander of Bergenhus, Olav Nilsson, and the townspeople of Bergen on one side, and the Kontor on the other. The Hansa privileges and

317 HR III, 1, 60 §19 = NGL 2.rk. II no. 156 §19 = DN VII no. 482.

318 NGL 2.rk. I, p. 254 §13 and §23 (1447) = HGBll, Jahrgang 1900, pp. 143–152; NGL 2.rk. I no. 130 §13 and §23 = DN VIII no. 324 (1444).

319 This was also a problem in England, but there the relative strength of the two parties was different. In 1473, Hanseatic negotiators agreed that their privileges were valid only if they did not contradict the privileges of the city of London (JÖRN, Der Lodoner Stalhof, p. 72).

320 NGL 2.rk. I, p. 256 §20 (1447) = HGBll, Jahrgang 1900, pp. 143–152; NGL 2.rk. I no. 130 §20 = DN VIII no. 324 (1444).

321 HR III, 5, 420, p. 511 footnote 1 §10.

the Norwegian lawbook were both read aloud and compared. The Dano-Norwegian king was present, and he came down on the side of the Kontor.<sup>322</sup> Vague and ambiguous laws will always benefit the strongest, who are then given great leeway in interpreting them. In Bergen during the period 1366–1537, the local authorities were almost always the inferior side.<sup>323</sup>

Norwegian authorities claimed that Norwegian law should take precedence if it contradicted the privileges; they saw privileges as supplemental to state laws. The Hansa considered their privileges to be exemptions from Norwegian law, and claimed that these privileges took precedence.

The Kontor established procedures which served to resolve disputes between members of the Bergen Kontor. Major conflicts between Germans about financial matters were normally settled in Lübeck or another Hansa town. This was feasible because most winter residents seem to have visited their home town every year. Minor disputes were adjudicated by the aldermen in Bergen.

If a German died in Bergen, his estate had to be handed over to his heirs, in keeping with German laws. The aldermen were to keep his goods for one year and one day, waiting for instructions from the beneficiaries.<sup>324</sup> If the heirs lived in Lübeck, it seems that the goods were sent there without any correspondence being necessary. But many citizens of Lübeck were born elsewhere, which usually meant that the nearest relatives lived elsewhere. The Bergen Kontor received letters concerning inheritances from the town councils of Coesfeld, Braunschweig, Hannover, and Lübbecke in Minden.<sup>325</sup> There are four extant letters from the town of Deventer concerning inheritances: one deceased man had left “letters, [account] books, [account] rolls, silver plate”, and he must have been a winter resident, while the other three may have been summer guests.<sup>326</sup> The inheritors of a skipper from Danzig and a merchant from Stralsund also needed help from the aldermen to claim their inheritance.<sup>327</sup>

The aldermen also provided testimonies from Bergen for court cases held in Hansa towns.<sup>328</sup> If a merchant wanted to seize money or other values from Bryggen to cover unpaid debts, this was to be done under the aldermen’s supervision.<sup>329</sup> In conflicts or settlements which had ramifications in Bergen and one or several Hansa

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322 HR II, 4, p. 126.

323 Cf. chapter IV.2a on the relationship between laws and privileges.

324 NGL 2.rk. II no. 416 §45.

325 HUB VI no. 403; HUB V, p. 313 footnote 1; HUB V no. 611; HUB IX no. 31.

326 RGP volume 36 no. 2066 = HUB VIII, p. 647 footnote 3; RGP volume 36 no. 2197 = HUB VIII, p. 647 footnote 3; RGP volume 36 no. 2557; RGP volume 35 no. 1654.

327 HUB VIII no. 157; *Der Stralsunder Liber Memorialis* II no. 100.

328 HUB VIII no. 148; HUB X no. 929.

329 NGL 2.rk. II no. 416 §43 and §44.

towns, it was convenient for the Bergen aldermen to deal with these according to German law.

The Kontor's statutes from 1494 described in detail how disputes between Germans in Bergen should be handled. First, neighbours and friends should try to mediate the situation. If both parties in the dispute consented, they could also ask two of the Kontor's *achteinmannen* to act as arbitrators. Private mediation and arbitration was uncontroversial under Norwegian law. The Norwegian authorities only objected if German courts were resorted to because they wanted court cases between Germans to be brought before the state courts and judged according to Norwegian law, and have resulting fines paid to the King's treasury.<sup>330</sup> But the Kontor's statutes prohibited one member of the Kontor accusing another before non-Hanseatic authorities or judges or making use of foreign laws (*vorklagenn edder annsprechenn vor frombde buthenn ansseche herenn offie richtere noch sich midt erenn rechtem bekummeren*). Only in emergencies (*nodtsakenn*) could the aldermen make an exception to this rule.<sup>331</sup> The Kontor statutes stated that if mediation failed, and the value of the disputed money or goods was more than one Lübeck mark, the dispute could be brought before the Kontor's law court with the aldermen acting as judges.<sup>332</sup> The aldermen's verdict could be appealed to the assembly of all winter residents at the Kontor (*de gemene*). The highest appeal court was Lübeck town council. One of the parties could bypass the aldermen and demand to have his case heard in Lübeck from the start.<sup>333</sup> The exception to this was if one member of the Kontor murdered another; such cases were judged in the Hanseatic home town of the dead man.<sup>334</sup>

These statutes were enforced. Hinrik Cracht was a winter resident who in 1419 lived in Bergen.<sup>335</sup> He was a citizen of Lübeck,<sup>336</sup> and in 1398 and 1400 he sent goods between Lübeck and Bergen.<sup>337</sup> In 1422 he had a serious conflict with the aldermen in Bergen. The aldermen were to judge conflicts between members of the Kontor, but Cracht for obvious reasons did not trust their judgement in this case, and he put his case before the king's court in Bergen. This was contrary to the Kontor's statutes. The aldermen then put the case before a Hansa diet and asked them to judge, but Hinrik Cracht refused this arrangement. The reason he gave was that he had already brought the case before the king's court. The result was that the Hansa diet expelled Hinrik from enjoying Hansa privileges and trading in Hansa

330 Cf. chapter V.1i below.

331 NGL 2.rk. II no. 416 §13.

332 Ibid. no. 416 §11 and §12.

333 Ibid. no. 416 §14 and §15.

334 Ibid. no. 416 §91.

335 HUB VI no. 255 = DN I no. 665.

336 *Das Lübecker Niederstadtbuch (1363–1399)* I-II, S. 189 (1371), S. 587 (1385), S. 693 (1389) and S. 1013 (1398).

337 PB 1398, p. 189; PB 1400 pp. 128–130 and 141.

towns. But they would let him return if he changed his mind. The Hansa Diet supported the aldermen in their efforts to keep internal discipline in Bergen.<sup>338</sup>

The best-documented court case from the Bergen Kontor in the Middle Ages dates from the 1460s and concerns a dispute between three winter residents in Bergen about money and property. Gert Girinck from Deventer claimed that he had been cheated by Dirck Johanson from Deventer and Hermann Schoteler from Kampen. Gert started by putting his case before the Kontor aldermen, as the statutes decreed that he should. He lost his case there, but Gert claimed that the alderman who had judged the case was biased because some of the disputed money had been used to repay a debt to him. According to the statutes, Gert could then have appealed to a meeting of all winter residents (*de gemene*).<sup>339</sup> But the court case before the alderman seems to have been held in the presence of *de gemene*, and it was the latter who permitted the appeal to be heard in Lübeck.<sup>340</sup> The appeal was formally sent to Lübeck town council by the aldermen, and there Gert won his case.<sup>341</sup> Lübeck town council then returned the case to the Bergen Kontor to give the losing party a chance to provide further support for their claim.<sup>342</sup> The case came before *de gemene*, who found against Gert again, and the appeal was again taken to Lübeck.<sup>343</sup> But Lübeck town council stood firm in its decision.<sup>344</sup> If all three parties to the dispute had come from the same town, it is possible that the case would have been raised before their home town council. On this occasion, Kampen town council was only involved in providing evidence. The biased alderman who judged the case was from Lübeck and therefore managed to rally to his support a majority of *de gemene*, who also were Lübeckers. In major political controversies, Lübeck often favoured its own interests and citizens, but here it was more important to make the court system function in a way which was unbiased even if they then had to rule against their fellow citizen.<sup>345</sup>

Gert Girinck was not the only winter resident to appeal verdicts passed by the Kontor to Lübeck; the winter resident Hermann Hesse from Wegeleben in Westphalia also did this.<sup>346</sup> In 1475 in a case between two German shoemakers, the Kontor sent its own verdict to Lübeck's urban council, probably because the losing party

338 HR I, 7, 487 = NGL 2.rk. I no. 381 (1422).

339 Ibid. no. 416 §14.

340 HUB IX nos. 115 and 117 = NGL 2.rk. II, pp. 690–696.

341 UBStL X nos. 624 and 493.

342 Ibid. no. 685.

343 HR II, 5, 788.

344 UBStL XI no. 265 = HUB IX no. 1277.

345 The case has been used by earlier historians for different purposes, but the most thorough analysis is in WUBS-MROZEWICZ, Lübeckers, Overijsslers and Hollanders, pp. 216–224.

346 HUB VIII no. 1193 = NGL 2.rk. II no. 413 (1462); cf. BRUNS, Bergenfahrer, p. 83. It is unclear whether he was a citizen of Wegeleben who often visited Lübeck, or whether he was a Lübeck citizen born in Wegeleben. I have assumed the first, because he says in his will that he owned a house in Wegeleben. See also table V.1

demanded it,<sup>347</sup> and the council confirmed the Kontor's verdict. The same happened in another case.<sup>348</sup>

The aldermen in Bergen could act as defence lawyers for winter residents who had problems in Hansa towns. The winter resident Kurt Islancke allegedly owed some money to two citizens of Deventer, and when he arrived in that town, they confiscated his goods to cover the debt. The Kontor then wrote a letter to Deventer town council in which they proposed mediation, and ominously called attention to the fact that there were many Deventer merchants in Bergen.<sup>349</sup>

Sources from the first decades of the Kontor's history indicate that Lübeck did not hold a central role in resolving internal disputes at the beginning. Ordinances drawn up by Hansa Diets in 1366, 1369, 1412 and 1446 said nothing about sending appeals to Lübeck. If laws or statutes were broken, the aldermen could decide whether to mediate themselves (*to vorlikende*) or send the case to an external court, but it is not stated which court that should be. If fines were to be paid, one third were to go to the Bergen Kontor and two thirds to the home town of the offender.<sup>350</sup> A fine here seems to be understood as a fee to the courts which had handled the case. This means that the offender's case normally was sent to his home town for adjudication. Since the overwhelming majority of winter residents were from Lübeck, most cases were heard there. Some time between 1446 and about 1460, the majority of Lübeckers at the Kontor seem to have decided that all offenders should be tried in Lübeck; the town thus tightened its control over the Bergen Kontor. There are no indications that a Hansa Diet was involved in this decision.

Even in the second half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century when the Bergen Kontor was at the height of its power, Norwegian authorities refused to accept having the Kontor aldermen and Lübeck's urban council function as law courts for crimes committed in Bergen, even when both parties were German. At a meeting between Hansa towns and the King in 1477, the local authorities and citizens of Bergen complained that: "The German alderman and the Kontor collect the King's fines from those who break the law at Bryggen in Bergen... and they do not permit the King and his bailiffs to receive anything, which is against the written law of the Norwegian realm."<sup>351</sup> Two years later, Lübeck proposed formalising an arrangement in which the Bergen aldermen's verdicts in such cases would be accepted and the resulting fines paid to the Kontor, but crimes which could result in corporal punishment

347 HUB X no. 409 = NGL 2.rk. II, p. 696 (1475); cf. BRUNS, *Bergenfahrer*, p. 123.

348 HUB X nos. 500 and 501.

349 HUB XI no. 1067.

350 HR I, 1, 384 = HUB IV no. 178 = NGL 2.rk. I no. 342.

351 HR III, 1, 60A = NGL 2.rk. II no. 156, p. 253 §1.

would be judged by the Crown (*hals und hand behoret der herschupp*).<sup>352</sup> Lübeck called this “the old right”.<sup>353</sup> The proposal was not accepted by the Crown.

State officials lacked control over even the most serious crimes committed at Bryggen. The diary of the teacher and priest Absalon Pederssøn Beyer was mentioned above.<sup>354</sup> He wrote it at a time when the Hansa’s judicial powers in Bergen were waning but old customs were still in practice. On the 17<sup>th</sup> of June 1571, three German sailors sat drinking in Bergen’s wine cellar at Bryggen. They became drunk and started quarrelling, and “they started to pour scorn on each other”. One of them stepped outside the door, fetched an axe, “and hewed off the other’s head so that only a little was left hanging. The third also received a serious cut. The perpetrator ran to Sandviken [a small locality just outside the town], where he was caught.” Four days later he was given the death penalty by the state court in Bergen (*Bergen lagting*), and two days later he was decapitated at Nordnes, the official location for executions.<sup>355</sup> In this case the murder was committed in a public place, the German sailor was arrested immediately, and he came into the custody of Norwegian authorities. The aldermen could not intervene, since Norwegian law gave Norwegian authorities the formal right to pass judgement and carry out the verdict.

Absalon related other stories which demonstrate the problems which confronted Norwegian authorities. Two servants at Bryggen lived in the same room. One of them went to sleep naked in a basket. The rest of the story makes it seem likely that he was drunk. When his roommate returned, he “took a thread and bound it several times round his *pilt* [literally: ‘little servant/little boy’] without the other noticing. When he woke up and wanted to urinate, his organ had grown so thick that he could not urinate for several days.” He experienced great pain which led to his death. This story became widely known in the town. The following day the commander of Bergenhus castle, who was the public prosecutor in Bergen, nominated three clergymen to go to the *gård* where the dead man had lived. One of the three was Absalon himself. They summoned all the residents into the common living room, and the corpse was brought there too. Then the *gård*’s residents, one by one, had to approach the corpse and touch it with their hand to see “if God would give a sign as to who had committed the act, but no sign was seen.” Underlying this ritual was the belief that if the perpetrator put his hand on the dead person, the corpse would start bleeding. The ritual confirmed that none of those present was the murderer. But the other inhabitants knew that the dead man’s roommate had disappeared. Absalon comments that the winter residents often hid offenders by putting

352 HR III, 1, 181 §1 and §8 = NGL 2.rk. II, p. 288 §1 and §8 = DN VII no. 482.

353 “*de olden besittinge*”. *Besittinge* is the same word as modern German *Besitz*, and it has a legal meaning of “that over which someone has the real, but not necessarily the legal right”, *das, worüber jemand die tatsächliche [nicht unbedingt aber die rechtliche] Herrschaft hat; Das grosse Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache*, entry word “Besitz”.

354 Cf. above p. 346.

355 *Absalon Pederssøns dagbok* 17<sup>th</sup> – 23<sup>rd</sup> of June 1571, pp. 214–215.

them on the first ship sailing to Germany so that they could face trial there. Fines to public authorities would then go to the Hansa town which tried the case and not to Norwegian officials. The payment of compensation to the dead German's relatives was probably more guaranteed in Germany.<sup>356</sup>

Hansa merchants were not the only ones to enjoy extraterritorial rights in Bergen – so did the English. In 1408, King Henry IV gave all English merchants visiting Norway, Sweden and Denmark the right to pass statutes and elect aldermen who could implement these statutes in the ports where they stayed. King Henry promised to punish those who disobeyed their aldermen or did not accept their verdicts. Later in the century in 1490, a treaty was signed between King Henry VII and the Dano-Norwegian King Hans. Bergen was given special mention: English merchants there were granted permission by both sovereigns to pass statutes and elect aldermen to adjudicate over disputes between Englishmen. But this right was not to conflict with the judicial authority of the Dano-Norwegian king or his officials, and the English were promised special protection at the King's courts.<sup>357</sup> Medieval urban guilds often had the right to settle disputes between their own members, but this normally happened within strict limits defined by the urban council. The Hanseatic Kontor was problematic because it did not accept the state's right to create and enforce limits to its jurisdiction over disputes between its members.

Disputes between Germans and crimes against other Germans were treated according to practices which must be called extraterritorial. Norwegian authorities in the Middle Ages never formally accepted that the Kontor had such rights, but in practice there was nothing they could do about the situation.

## I. JUDICIAL CONFLICTS BETWEEN GERMANS AND NORWEGIANS

The winter residents lived in a foreign country where they risked being summoned to court by state authorities or individual Norwegians. A Hansa merchant who had to appear before a Norwegian court could ask two Kontor officials to act as his defence lawyers, and if his case was honourable (*inn erlickenn sackenn*), this was granted. If a member of the Kontor wanted to raise a complaint against a Norwegian at a state court, this could only be done with the aldermen's permission and in an emergency. The Kontor preferred mediation if possible;<sup>358</sup> it formally accepted the authority of Norwegian courts in disputes between Germans and Norwegians, but wanted to reduce their use to a minimum. In 1447, the Kontor wrote a dialogue

356 Ibid. 28<sup>th</sup> – 29<sup>th</sup> of August 1570, p. 170.

357 1408: HUB V, p. 317 footnote 1 = *Foedera* IV part I, p. 125 and VIII, p. 511 = DN XIX no. 722 = NGL 2.rk. I no. 369; 1490: NGL 2.rk. III no. 52 §8 and §9.

358 NGL 2.rk. II no. 416 §13 and §27.

in which they formulated accusations by Norwegians and refuted them. They claimed to obey a summons from a Norwegian court and pay their fines.<sup>359</sup>

The Hansa Diet noted in its 1366 “founding ordinance” for the Kontor that riotous behaviour was a special problem in Bergen,<sup>360</sup> and this was repeated in ordinances from 1369, 1412 and 1446.<sup>361</sup> There were fines laid out for this in the statutes of 1494.<sup>362</sup> The majority of criminal cases against Germans seem to have been for violent behaviour, in Hansa sources called *unsthur, gewaldth, ungemach*.<sup>363</sup> The Hansa Diets and Lübeck town council agreed that such offenses should be tried in Norwegian courts according to Norwegian law (*de schal beteren, also des landes rewcht tosecht*).<sup>364</sup> Guilty Germans also had to pay a fine to the Kontor which was equal to the sum they had been sentenced to pay to the Norwegian court. Even if the Norwegian court cancelled the fine, the Kontor’s fine was to be collected.<sup>365</sup>

In the 1366 ordinance, such troublemakers were presented as a problem for other law-abiding members the Kontor, (*dat he sik hude vor unstur, dat neen man van siner weggen in ungemak en kome*),<sup>366</sup> and this was repeated in statutes from 1369, 1412, 1446 (*in dwanck edder ungemack*) and 1494 (*in lasth unde moige*).<sup>367</sup> Underlying this statement was a fear that if the victim or the Norwegian authorities could not apprehend the perpetrator or did not know who he was, they might arrest innocent men coming from the same town and force them to pay the fine for the crime. In the 15<sup>th</sup> century, the Kontor grew so powerful that it could prevent such procedures from taking place, but earlier this must have been a real problem for law-abiding Germans.

Formal acceptance of the state court in cases between Germans and Norwegians was only a first step, and it was what happened in practice which mattered. The King’s court in Bergen was manned by a state judge called the *lagmann*, with the town council acting as co-judges, and in 1440 they presented the following complaint to the Norwegian Council of the Realm: “The Germans showed their arrogance on the 23<sup>rd</sup> of February when they entered the courthouse with axes and

359 NGL 2.rk. I, p. 253 §7 and §8 = HGbl, Jahrgang 1900, pp. 143–152.

360 HR I, 1, 384 = HUB IV no. 178 = NGL 2.rk. I no. 342 introduction.

361 HR I, 1, 511 = NGL 2.rk. I no. 346 = HUB IV no. 319 (1369); HR I, 6, 70 = HUB V no. 1050 = NGL 2.rk. I no. 375 (1412); NGL 2.rk. I no. 395 = DN VII no. 431 (1446).

362 NGL 2.rk. II no. 416 §8 and §16.

363 Ibid. §8 (1494).

364 HR I, 1, 384 = HUB IV no. 178 = NGL 2.rk. I no. 342 (1366); HR I, 6, 70 §2 and §4–§6 = HUB V no. 1050 = NGL 2.rk. I no. 375 (1412); NGL 2.rk. I no. 395 = DN VII no. 431 (1446).

365 HR I, 6, 70 §2 = HUB V no. 1050 = NGL 2.rk. I no. 375 (1412); NGL 2.rk. II no. 416 §8 (1494).

366 HR I, 1, 384 = HUB IV no. 178 = NGL 2.rk. I no. 342 §1.

367 HR I, 1, 511 = NGL 2.rk. I no. 346 = HUB IV no. 319 (1369); HR I, 6, 70 = HUB V no. 1050 = NGL 2.rk. I no. 375 (1412); NGL 2.rk. I no. 395 = DN VII no. 431 (1446); NGL 2.rk. II no. 416 §16 (1494).

rapiers and more than 100 men, and we had to flee from the courthouse, and dared not speak a word to them, otherwise we would have received serious blows.”<sup>368</sup>

In February 1535, the same court had two difficult cases before them. “A poor and pityful woman called Barbara Eriksdatter” accused two German musicians, “Peter piper” and “Paul drummer”, of raping her one after the other while threatening her with a dagger. One of the two was called her *bodellscab*, perhaps from the Low German word *bolschap* or “lover”. In the same court session “William tailor”, a citizen of Bergen, accused two winter residents and their helpers of having entered his house and behaved violently. It is not said why they did this. The court seems to have expected that officials from the Kontor would defend the accused, but no one appeared. The commander of Bergenhus castle, who was the public prosecutor, then sent a small delegation to the alderman and invited the Kontor to a court session in the castle. But the alderman answered that he had no obligation to attend court sessions either at Bergenhus castle or in the courthouse in town. The judge then proceeded to hear the witnesses in Barbara’s case. At this point, 200–250 “Germans and their servants” stormed into the courtroom and threatened the court if they returned a verdict which differed from what the intruders demanded. The session came to a halt, and the judge and the councillors had to leave the courtroom. The judge wrote that he could not resume his office until the King guaranteed the court’s security.<sup>369</sup> It evidently was a challenging task to ensure that the state courts functioned during this type of case in a town which had so many armed Hansa merchants.

An even greater problem than interrupted court sessions arose when the accused did not appear in court to answer for their crimes.

Often Norwegian authorities did not know the identity of a German suspect or could not find him. According to the principle of individual guilt and responsibility, the courts were not then allowed to sentence innocent fellow townsmen. The Kontor claimed in an answer to Norwegian authorities that they did their best to identify culprits: “If we know who has committed the illegal act, we will tell you”.<sup>370</sup> But one may doubt their sincerity, because an internal statute for the Kontor stated that if Norwegian authorities were unable to identify rioters but the aldermen knew who they were, the aldermen were to fine them heavily, apparently without telling the Norwegian authorities.<sup>371</sup>

One of the problems in Bergen, mentioned as early as the first Kontor ordinance in 1366, was that Germans fled town without having answered for crimes they had

368 HUB VII no. 543 §15 = NGL 2.rk. I, p. 248 §15; another example of interrupted court proceedings is in §4.

369 DN III nos. 1137 and 1138.

370 NGL 2.rk. I, p. 253 §7 and §8 (1447) = HGblI, Jahrgang 1900, pp. 143–152. The Kontor representative said: *Wor wy gebrek ane weten, dat plege wy juw to seggen.*

371 HR I, 6, 70 §3 = HUB V no. 1050 = NGL 2.rk. I no. 375 (1412).

committed (*ungerichtet van dennen queme*). The offenses they fled from are called in Hansa sources *walt unde slachtinge*; the last word can refer to both fighting and murder. Norwegian authorities complained about this to a Hansa Diet, which confirmed that such crimes should be judged in Bergen, and in practice this meant in a Norwegian court. The Diet recognized the problem of skippers smuggling offenders out of Bergen on their ships and took measures to bring the skippers to court. The aldermen were to report such cases to the Hansa Diet, which would force the Hansa town where the ship had arrived to bring procedures against the skipper in order “to prevent others from doing the same”. The skipper was to be judged according to the laws in the town where he was brought to justice.<sup>372</sup> This ruling was repeated by Hansa Diets in 1371, 1373 and 1375.<sup>373</sup> The Germans wanted troublemakers and their helpers to be punished, in theory by a Norwegian court, but their procedures in practice show that they preferred this to be done by a German court.

A case from 1494/5 illustrates how the Hansa organisation in practice transferred cases involving Germans and Norwegians to German courts without openly breaking Norwegian law. During the Bergen fair in July–September, the town was a meeting place for several thousand Hansa merchants and sailors, and for Norwegians from all over western and northern Norway. Among them was the nobleman Nils Henriksson, who was a prominent member of the Norwegian Council of the Realm and who held fiefdoms in the fishing districts north of Bergen. Some sailors from Wismar were involved in a fight with Nils Henriksson’s armed retainers, and one of the retainers was killed. Herr Nils complained to the Kontor aldermen that this was the third time one of his servants had been killed by German sailors, and he had not received justice or compensation for any of them. He had asked the Kontor and the skippers suspected of helping the accused to flee to hand over the two main culprits to the Norwegian court. The aldermen promised to do their best, and sent a letter to Wismar on the matter. But the fellow sailors of the murderers had smuggled the two out of Bergen and away from the aldermen’s control. This created problems between the aldermen and the local authorities in Bergen. The aldermen promised the Bergen authorities that they would write to Wismar a second time and request the town officials to send the suspects to the court in Bergen. But in practice the Kontor did not go further than to ask Wismar to cooperate in the matter and dispatch a formal letter to the Council of the Realm in Bergen about what they had done.<sup>374</sup> On its own initiative, the Kontor took bail or surety from the skipper Knut who had smuggled the murderers out of Bergen.<sup>375</sup> A crime committed in Bergen ended up in the hands of the town council in Wismar as the

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372 HR I, 1, 384 = HUB IV no. 178 = NGL 2.rk. I no. 342 §3–§4; NGL 2.rk. I no. 347 §2 and p. 616 §1.

373 HR I, 2, nos. 16, 53 and 91.

374 HUB XI no. 767 = NGL 2.rk. III no. 87.

375 DN XVI no. 319.

supreme court of the town, and the compensation became a subject for negotiations between the heirs in Bergen and a Hansa town. The Norwegians complained that during negotiations about compensation the Germans did not disclose the assets of the offender, but this was refuted by the German side.<sup>376</sup>

Officially, the Kontor recognised Norwegian jurisdiction in cases between Germans and Norwegians. But one cannot escape the impression that they could have done more to put into practice the relevant paragraphs of their own statutes. They may have looked the other way when criminals were hidden on merchant ships and transported out of Bergen, or when Germans disrupted court proceedings. When Norwegians accused the Hansa of certain practices, the Hansa would often answer by quoting what their formal laws said on the matter.<sup>377</sup>

Most conflicts between Germans and Norwegians were of a financial nature, and these will be discussed in section 2a below.

#### J. DID THE KONTOR UNDERMINE STATE POWER IN BERGEN?

The normal situation in a state society is that the government's representatives exercise military and judicial control. In Bergen there were two armed groups – the King's men and the Kontor militia. Each was backed by its own judicial system. There was no higher legal power in the town, and conflicts between the two were therefore only to a limited degree settled by law.

Section 1c above showed that the concepts “honour group” and “code of honour” are useful when trying to understand social relations among the Germans at Bryggen. This is also the case when analysing conflicts between the two armed militias. These analytical concepts have been developed by social anthropologists to discuss disputes between independent social groups which lacked an effective state to regulate the relationship between them. Codes of honour differ, but they have in common the principle that a person or group who accepts an insult without retaliating is less honourable and socially inferior. In practice, this creates a hierarchy between the groups based on violence or more-or-less explicit threats of violence.<sup>378</sup>

A feud where honour evidently was an important element took place in Bergen in 1521. The Bishop of Bergen, brought in as a mediator, wrote down what had happened as related by the commander of Bergenhus castle and the Kontor alderman. The situation arose when Hanseatic sailors beat “bloody and blue” one of the retainers at Bergenhus castle. They also stole his sword and hat, which was a matter of great shame. Later they met another retainer on his way home from a Bryggen pub, and they cut his hand, making it unusable. Next, in the middle of night the retainers emerged from Bergenhus with steel bows and halberds, and they beat and

376 HR III, 6, 615 §6; HR III, 6, 616 §6.

377 NGL 2.rk. I, pp. 251–257 = HGblt, Jahrgang 1900, pp. 143–152.

378 In NEDKVITNE, Ære, lov og religion, chapter VII.

shot at any members of the Kontor they came across. After this, the commander of Bergenhus and the alderman met and decided that violators on both sides should be indicted at the local state court. But the alderman did not seem to have had full control over the German sailors, because on the same day four sailors attacked two retainers and left them on the street “badly beaten” and stole their rapiers. Next, eight retainers emerged from Bergenhus castle and chased the sailors back to Bryggen. But then the Bryggen Germans mobilised; they threw stones at the retainers and forced them back into Bergenhus, “badly beaten and maltreated”. The following day the tables were turned and the retainers chased after the Hanseatic sailors. The whole situation threatened to get totally out of control, and both leaders needed to do something. The alderman and commander held new talks and again agreed that the conflict should be brought before the local state court led by the *lagmann*. But soon afterwards, the Kontor authorities took military control of the town, which meant that the retainers had to stay inside the walls of Bergenhus castle and could not visit the town. Among other things, the Germans hacked down the town’s gallows, an act the commander of Bergenhus regarded as a great insult (*stor forachtinge*), using honour terminology. The background to this may have been that the alderman feared the eight Germans could receive death sentences if Norwegian law was used. He therefore wanted to resolve the conflict through negotiations with the commander. But the Norwegian side replied that using violence (*wold oc welde*) in the King’s realm and refusing to appear in his court was an insult (*foracteningh*). The matter ended with both parties agreeing to present the case before the King.<sup>379</sup>

The commander of Bergenhus was the only person to insist that the state courts had to be used and respected, but it is doubtful whether he would have regarded violence committed by soldiers in the king’s service as illegal. The alderman in theory accepted the state court’s right to judge individuals who had committed acts of violence, but he did nothing to bring the guilty Germans before the state court. The “common men” at Bergenhus and Bryggen clearly saw this as a feud where an insult demanded revenge. The alderman preferred to settle the conflict through negotiation, which was a normal way of ending feuds, signalling that he also saw this set of events as a feud. The King in Copenhagen was reduced to acting in the role of an arbitrator accepted by both parties; arbitration was another normal way of ending feuds.

The violent incidents of 1521 were not unique. In 1477 the Bergen urban council complained that members of the Kontor had killed six of the retainers at Bergenhus and nine belonging to the Bishop of Stavanger; all the alleged killings seem to have taken place in Bergen.<sup>380</sup> As mentioned above, the nobleman Nils Henriksson had three of his retainers killed. These fights involved Norwegians who were profes-

379 HR III, 8, 3 = DN VIII no. 501.

380 DN VII no. 482 = NGL 2.rk. II no. 156 §5 and §9. The name of the commander of Bergenhus at the time was Erik Bjørnsson.

sional soldiers in the service of noblemen and the captain on Bergenhus, and they were reputed to be particularly violent.<sup>381</sup> Their Hanseatic opponents were sailors who were often referred to as being violent people, not only in Hansa towns but also in Amsterdam and other ports.<sup>382</sup> Hansa merchants and citizens of Bergen were not directly involved in the fighting.

In a state society, the state should have a monopoly on legitimate violence, and important conflicts should be submitted to state courts. This was not the reality in Late Medieval Bergen. The situation had been different in the High Middle Ages before 1319. There was regression from a state society to a situation which can be labelled feudal, in the sense that violence was exercised by several competing institutions. State officials in Norway's largest town could not do their job properly. Protection against violence suffered. Reaction to this state of affairs was particularly strong among royal officials and local noblemen. They were inclined to consider themselves as the town's ruling class representing the state. The Council of the Realm wrote in 1478 that:

[when we] came to Bergen and let the King's writings and letters concerning trade be read aloud to the Kontor leadership (*vor deme kopmanne*), we were given quite condescending, contemptuous and threatening answers, saying that their words and intentions should be kept and practiced and not ours, as if we and our people were with them and not they with us (*geliück wii unde de unnse mit en dar weren unde se nicht mit uns*).<sup>383</sup>

What really happened on this occasion is not known, but the attitude expressed here was representative for this social group. The feeling of being treated in a disrespectful manner made authorities in Bergen hypersensitive to what they interpreted as symbolic demonstrations of power. Hansa ships had a small platform at the top of their masts called a *topcasteel*,<sup>384</sup> where one or more marksmen could shoot down on approaching enemies using bows or guns. The authorities decreed that when ships sailed into Bergen harbour, they should lower this platform, probably as a symbolic expression of peaceful intentions. Hansa ships neglected to do this, how often and for what reason is not known.<sup>385</sup> When "the King's subjects" in Bergen complained that Hansa vessels sailing into Bergen harbour had shot at the cathedral and the lodgings of the King's soldiers on Bergenhus as they passed by; this may refer to an incident which happened only once.<sup>386</sup> It may seem peculiar to mention such incidents in diplomatic correspondence, but when honour is at stake, such incidents become important. The Norwegians who complained in writing about

381 NEDKVITNE, Ære, lov og religion, pp. 157 and 163–164.

382 SPIERENBURG, Sailors and violence, p. 120.

383 HR III, 1, 99.

384 English *crow's nest*; modern German *Mars*, *Mastkorb*; Norwegian *mers*.

385 HR I, 2, 124 (1376); HR III, 1, 60 §12 = NGL 2.rk. II no. 156 §4 = DN VII no. 482 (1477).

386 HR III, 1, 60 §12 = NGL 2.rk. II no. 156 §12 = DN VII no. 482 (1477).

this were the state officials and the merchant citizens in Bergen. The Kontor aldermen were more business-like in their correspondence. In what was probably an attempt to avert pointless quarrels based on offended honour, a Hansa Diet warned members of the Kontor not to consider Norwegians as being too naïve and feeble (*simplices aut exiles*), and reprimanded irascible and loose-tongued people who spoke great and improper words (*verba enormia et indecencia*) against princes and lords, because conflicts could arise from this sort of behaviour which could harm the Kontor.<sup>387</sup>

This first part of Chapter V has demonstrated that the Kontor enjoyed strong internal cohesion, dominated the town militarily, and promoted its interests in close cooperation with Lübeck, the head of the Hansa. This resulted in the existence of two power centres in Bergen: the state at Bergenhus and the Kontor at Bryggen. The Kontor exercised powers which traditionally belonged to the state. This two-power situation undermined Norwegian judicial and political institutions in Bergen and meant that neither could function properly. The relationship between Bergenhus and Bryggen is best understood through the concepts used to analyse the social ties of honour. It was determined through feuds which of the two powers was the most honourable and therefore deserved to dominate local society. The logic inherent in a code of honour could be used to justify the Kontor exercising power in Bergen independently from the state. But Bergen's Norwegian elite continued to think of the town as a state society, and of themselves as a ruling class with powers validated in law. This created strong antagonisms between the two social groups and the two ways of understanding society.

The rest of this chapter will discuss the social groups which participated in the Bergen trade and the relationships between them and, based on this, try to understand the economic policy – or lack of such policies – of the Kontor and the state. This will provide the background for discussing how and why the Hansa retained their dominant position in the Bergen trade in the Late Middle Ages.

## 2. THE WINTER RESIDENTS' TRADE WITH NORWEGIAN CUSTOMERS

### A. THE WINTER RESIDENTS' CREDIT SYSTEM

Credit was common in the international trade of the Middle Ages. The English wool-producing monasteries often received payment for their goods several years in

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387 HR I, 1, 383 (1366) = NGL 2.rk. I, p. 606.

advance.<sup>388</sup> Hansa merchants used credit extensively,<sup>389</sup> for example when buying cloth from urban merchants in England and timber in Prussia.<sup>390</sup> Bergenfahrer who extended credit to Norwegian customers could themselves receive credit from others. In May 1406, a Bergenfahrer from Lübeck, Johan Ruschenberg, bought a consignment of malt which was sent to Bergen; he paid for it on the 25<sup>th</sup> of December after he had received payment for the stockfish he had exported from Bergen.<sup>391</sup>

The landowning elite in Norway seems to have started receiving credit from the Hansa and other foreign merchants in the first half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century. The extant sources indicate that this started with the King and his officials, and the first instances date from 1319,<sup>392</sup> 1343<sup>393</sup> and 1344.<sup>394</sup> The first known occurrence of a prelate being given credit is in 1342.<sup>395</sup>

The oldest and normal way of mobilising capital for trade in Norway was through partnerships. The 1274 Law of the Realm (*Landsloven*) prohibited people who owned less than three marks in coinage by weight from travelling for purposes of trade, and it also prohibited them from obtaining additional capital by entering into trade partnerships.<sup>396</sup> In 1364, the prohibition against trading by people without sufficient capital was repeated, but was adapted to a different economic environment: "We prohibit people from becoming professional merchants if they have less than 15 marks (*forngilde mark*) of their own money without receiving credit from foreigners or Norwegians."<sup>397</sup> One would expect that the prohibition against entering into partnerships would have been repeated in this ordinance, but it was not. This indicates that it was no longer relevant, or at least less relevant. In the 13<sup>th</sup> century, penniless Norwegian traders obtained their capital through partnerships, while in 1364 their main source of acquiring capital was by incurring debts.

Receiving credit from Hansa merchants does not seem to have been important to Norwegians in Bergen before 1350. Among the numerous royal ordinances issued before 1350, none regulated debts to Germans in Bergen. The comprehensive trade legislation brought in under King Håkon V (1299–1319) regulated both important and unimportant issues, but it is striking that it did not mention debts to foreign merchants. Correspondence concerning numerous seizures of English

388 GRAY, *English Foreign Trade*, pp. 10 and 24.

389 DOLLINGER, *La Hanse*, pp. 206 and 252ff; English translation, pp. 165–166 and 203ff; German translation, pp. 218–219 and 267ff.

390 POSTAN, *England and the Hanse*, p. 145.

391 HUB V no. 721.

392 DN XIX no. 508 = *Calendar of Close Rolls 1318–1323*, p. 144.

393 DN III nos. 214–217.

394 DN IV no. 280, cf. HUB III no. 104. The next extant example is from 1411 (DN XV no. 46).

395 DN V no. 158; next extant example dates from 1419 (DN I no. 665).

396 *Magnus Lagaboters landslov*, VIII 23. The paragraph was included in the law for the first time in 1260.

397 NGL III no. 95.

merchants' goods in Norway and other problems during the reign of Håkon V only mentions debts once, and then the debtor was the Norwegian king.<sup>398</sup>

After the Black Death, numerous sources provide evidence for the increasing importance of Hansa credits. The year 1350 saw the start of the Norwegian authorities' long series of ordinances meant to regulate the Hansa merchants' use of credits in Bergen.<sup>399</sup> Bruns published 92 wills of Lübeck Bergenfahrer dating from 1430 and earlier, and 13 of them state that the testator had uncollected credits in Bergen, the first dating from 1359.<sup>400</sup> In Lübeck's *Niederstadtbuch* for 1372–1430, credits in Bergen are mentioned nine times, the first time in 1388.<sup>401</sup> Other sources from 1373 and 1379 mention debts owed to Hansa merchants when houses were sold in Bergen. In 1366, a Hansa merchant received an individual privilege from the King to demand the payment of outstanding debts owed to him in Bergen.<sup>402</sup> In May 1368, goods worth 30,000 Lübeck marks were dispatched to Bergen, and members of the Kontor had paid for them in advance through their credits.<sup>403</sup> During the war in 1368/9, royal officials collected debts which Norwegians owed to the then absent Hansa merchants.<sup>404</sup> This information was provided by the Kontor, who had an interest in exaggerating their losses. In 1372, the Hansa complained that English merchants had bought fish from *nordfar* who owed money to Germans and who therefore should have repaid their debts with this fish.<sup>405</sup>

The *Vitaliner* pirates burned down the houses of English merchants in Bergen in 1393, and they estimated their losses to be £2000 (= 3000 marks) in commodities and £1000 in written acknowledgements of debts.<sup>406</sup> As early as 1340, authorities in Lynn complained that officials in Bergen had confiscated goods “and even outstanding debts (*debita*)” belonging to merchants from Lynn.<sup>407</sup> In Bergen at this time, English merchants may have been using financial practices which were as advanced as those of the Lübeckers.

A prerequisite for the Hanseatic credit system in Bergen was the ability to write and keep accounts, and this became common in Hansa towns in the second half of the 13<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>408</sup> A second necessity, which was also in existence by that time, was winter residency, since summer guests would hardly have given credits to men in

398 DN XIX no. 508 = Calendar of Close Rolls 1318–1323, p. 144.

399 HUB III no. 169 = DN III no. 272.

400 BRUNS, Bergenfahrer, pp. 11–63.

401 *Ibid.*, p. 31 note 6, p. 39 note 1, p. 52 note 2, p. 156, p. 158 and p. 159.

402 HUB IV nos. 457 and 655; NGL 2.rk. I no. 343 = HUB IV no. 202 = HR I, 1, 389.

403 DN VIII no. 184.

404 DN VIII no. 186 = HUB IV no. 312; HR I, 1, 506 = HUB IV no. 316.

405 DN XIX no. 584 = HR I, 3, 311.

406 DN XIX no. 729 = HR I, 6, 80 = Calendar of Patent Rolls 1408–13, pp. 383–385.

407 DN VI no. 160 = DN XIX no. 557.

408 BRANDT, Kaufmännische Buchführung, p. 323; cf. pp. 377–378.

distant fishing regions to which they had no access.<sup>409</sup> But the increase in the extension of credits to stockfish producers did not take place until the second part of the 14<sup>th</sup> century. This must be seen against the background of the large rise in the price of stockfish in the decades after the Black Death.<sup>410</sup> The increasing fish prices furnished Hansa merchants with sufficient capital to buy houses in Bergen, pay junior partners and servants to stay there all winter, grant credits – and adopt a lifestyle which permitted them to become members of the urban council and the *Zirkelgesellschaft*.<sup>411</sup> During this period of prosperity, both Hansa merchants and stockfish producers received good incomes from the stockfish trade.<sup>412</sup>

Stockfish was the dominant export from Bergen, and the recipients of credits were mainly stockfish suppliers. The Italian visitor Querini wrote in 1432 that the fishermen on the Lofoten island of Røst did not have or use cash (*non posseggono ne maneggiano moneta alcuna*),<sup>413</sup> but bartered fish for grain products, textiles and other items. In 1591, the bailiff Schønnebøl also wrote that “the common man” in Lofoten did not use cash when exchanging goods.<sup>414</sup> The fishermen were indebted to winter residents, and when they delivered one season’s catch in Bergen, the Hansa merchants marked their accounts with a plus or minus, depending on the amount of stockfish that was brought. The Italian merchant does not seem to have been used to exchanges of goods which didn’t involve money.

Winter residents kept account books. In 1429, a Bergenfahrer from Lübeck in his will reduced the debt of his *nordfar*, his *copnoten* (trading partners),<sup>415</sup> and Icelanders, Shetlanders, Faeroese and peasants “who owe debts to me as my letters, rolls and books demonstrate”.<sup>416</sup> A *nordfar* was a person who transported stockfish and other goods to Bergen from the fishing districts north of the town; he could be a fisherman or a merchant. Nordfar evidently had to sign a letter acknowledging their debts, a sort of primitive promissory note. Such notes are also mentioned in 1428, when a Bergenfahrer pawned 18 sealed letters in which Norwegians promised to pay their debts to him in stockfish. The merchant also had a “roll” in which he kept an account of his transactions with the *nordfar*.<sup>417</sup>

Quantitative information from such accounts exist from the 1470s onwards, and they indicate that the debts of the *nordfar* increased from that time to the

409 DN I no. 122 about winter residence from the 1250s.

410 Cf. table VI.2.

411 Cf. pp. 364–365 on the Bergenfahrer’s membership of the urban council and patrician guilds in the period between the Black Death and about 1460.

412 Cf. chapter VI.3d.

413 QUERINI, modern Italian text, p. 198, Norwegian translation, p. 186.

414 SCHÖNNEBØL, Lofoten, p. 218.

415 *Copnoten* means trading partner (*Cop* = buy, *not* = comrade, in modern German *Genosse*).

416 BRUNS, Bergenfahrer, p. 61.

417 *Ibid.*, p. 159.

1620s. In 1473, a partnership between Hans Ruman and Jacob Sustermilde traded with 44 nordfar who together had incurred a debt of 8843 fish and one barrel of *rotscher*,<sup>418</sup> an average of 201 fish and 1/44 barrel per nordfar, although some owed far more. The same year, a Bergenfahrer from Lübeck wrote in his will that for “all nordfar who owe me more than 800 fish, I reduce their debt by 200 fish”.<sup>419</sup> Several nordfar must have owed him debts that large. The Zuiderzee towns complained in 1469 that if they bought fish from a Norwegian who owed more than 1000 fish to a winter resident, the Kontor would force them to pay his whole debt.<sup>420</sup> In a similar case from 1476, the Zuiderzee towns mention debts of “500, 600 marks, more or less”,<sup>421</sup> corresponding to 5000–6000 fish<sup>422</sup> or the amount of stockfish that 5–6 men could produce in one season in Lofoten.<sup>423</sup> One should assume that the Zuiderzee towns mentioned the highest possible total in order to demonstrate how unreasonable the Kontor’s demand was.

After the Reformation, these debts were always counted in *våger* equal to 18.5 kilos. The quantities mentioned above would then be 6½ *våger* (201 fish), 25 *våger* (800 fish), 31 *våger* (1000 fish) and 156–188 *våger* (5000–6000 fish).<sup>424</sup>

The first extant account from a firm (*stue*) at Bryggen, written in 1578<sup>425</sup> by a winter resident from Bremen, shows that 137 people owed him a total of 3126 *våger*.<sup>426</sup> All debtors are identified by first name plus a patronymic. Since some names were very popular, many identical names appear in the account. It is difficult to determine how many of these represent two separate individuals and how many one person entered several times, but I have estimated the real number of his debtors at 130. That gives 23½ *våger* owed per nordfar. The three largest debts were 233, 211 and 186 *våger*. Information given in more recent accounts indicates that the largest debtors were local merchants and the numerous smaller ones were fishermen.

In 1625, a winter resident from Lübeck drew up a list of the credits owed to his firm (*Norvar schulde*) at Bryggen. This amounted to 6451 *våger* of fish and 158 *daler* in money. The debt in fish was owed by a total of 162 persons, which comes to 40 *våger* per nordfar.<sup>427</sup> The three largest debts were 800, 597 and 330 *våger*.

418 BRUNS, Bergenfahrer, p. 175; *rotscher* is a quality of stockfish.

419 Ibid., p. 115.

420 HR II, 6, 186 §2 = DN VI no. 566.

421 NGL 2.rk. II, p. 739 §2 = HR II, 7, 343 §2; NGL 2.rk. II, p. 738 §26 = HR II, 7, 342 §26 mentions 300 guilders = 600 marks (JESSE, Wendischer Münzverein, p. 218).

422 One hundred fish at this time was worth about 10 marks in Lübeck; cf. appendix VIII table 3 note 5; BRUNS, Bergenfahrer, p. 176.

423 Cf. p. 549 One fisherman in one season in Lofoten normally produced 950 stockfish.

424 For the relationship between weight and numbers, cf. chapter VI.3d.

425 Staatsarchiv Bremen 7, 2053.

426 The Bremen merchant calculated this himself, and his result was 3050 *våger*. Some nordfar were evidently registered twice, and he may have reduced the sum because of this.

427 Archiv der Hansestadt Lübeck, no. 4928, pp. 15–21.

The account from 1473 shows an average debt of 6½ *våger* per nordfar, the one from 1578 works out to 23½ *våger*, and the 1625 account at 40 *våger*. The largest debts increased correspondingly. This material indicates an increasing debt burden from the 1470s to the 1620s. The 1584 book *Den norske so* confirms that the amount of credit given to nordfar at that time was growing.<sup>428</sup> It should be emphasised that this conclusion rests on only three accounts, and we have no possibility of checking how representative they were for their periods. Another potential source of error lies in the fact that local merchants took over an increasing part of the trade between the stockfish-producing regions and Bergen after the Reformation in 1537. The turnover and debt of a local merchant visiting Bergen would of course be larger than that of a peasant fisherman who only sold the stockfish he had produced himself to a winter resident.

From about 1430 at the latest, the prices for Bergen stockfish fell compared to that of silver; more serious was the fact that after about 1500, fish prices also fell in relation to grain products.<sup>429</sup> The surpluses diminished, more nordfar needed larger credits in bad years, and the debts accumulated. The winter residents' motivation for extending credit to nordfar may have changed towards the end of the Middle Ages.

Credits were commonly used in foreign trade during this period, but the procedures for collecting debts across state borders were highly inadequate as seen from the creditor's point of view. Legal conflicts between foreign merchants and natives were a problem in all medieval market towns. In London, a debt could be registered with the authorities, who undertook to collect it if the debtor defaulted. In the *Carta mercatoria*, written in 1303, the English king promised the speedy resolution of commercial disputes. The procedures in England involved a jury composed of merchants who knew commercial law, half of whom held the nationality of the foreign party, and the system functioned adequately in practice.<sup>430</sup> Compared to this, the court procedures in Bergen must have appeared unsatisfactory to German and English merchants. In addition, many of the Hansa merchants' debtors lived in the far north of Norway and were more difficult for the creditor to reach than people living in the same town. In 1419 a Lübecker in Bergen had problems collecting a debt from the bishop of Orkney, and he had to entrust the recovery of his money to a Norwegian nobleman who of course did not do this for free.<sup>431</sup> Norwegians repeatedly complained that the Germans did not use Norwegian courts but took matters into their own hands when a debtor arrived in Bergen. Seen from a German viewpoint, they may have had their reasons for doing so.

428 *Den norske so*, p. 30.

429 Table VI.2; more specified and detailed price tables are given in appendix VIII.

430 BARRON, London in the Late Middle Ages, pp. 60–61.

431 HUB VI no. 255 = DN I no. 665.

The Kontor demanded that a nordfar who was in debt to a winter resident should deliver all his fish to his creditor as repayment when he arrived in Bergen. The official reason given for this to the Dano-Norwegian authorities was that they wanted their money back, as was their right under Norwegian law.<sup>432</sup> The Kontor's statutes, which were kept secret from the Dano-Norwegian authorities, went further, though. A distinction was made in the German text between "free customers" (*frige kopgenatenn*) and "unfree customers" (*unfrigen kopgenathenn*).<sup>433</sup> *Kopgenathenn* in this context means Norwegian customers. The unfree customers were in debt to a winter resident, while the free did not owe a debt to merchants at Bryggen. The Kontor statutes even prohibited a Hansa merchant from trading with another's free customers, and this had no basis in Norwegian law.<sup>434</sup> The penalty for trading openly or secretly with another merchant's unfree customers was 50 light guilders (*lichte guldenn*)<sup>435</sup> and confiscation of the goods, while for trading with another's free customers it was 50 light guilders, but the goods were not confiscated. The only exception to this was Norwegian merchants who had no debts and had traditionally traded both north and south of Bergen, and who the aldermen agreed were not the customers of a particular Hansa merchant.<sup>436</sup> In the 1470s, two merchants from Deventer were punished by the *achteinmanne* for having conducted trade with the winter residents' free and unfree *kopgenaten*.<sup>437</sup> The winter residents had divided up nearly all Norwegian customers among themselves, whether they were indebted or not.

The main purpose of this arrangement was to exclude Hanseatic and non-Hanseatic summer guests from the profitable direct trade with Norwegian stockfish producers in Bergen. The aldermen had legal backing under the Kontor's statutes (*Willkor*) for enforcing this prohibition against Hanseatic summer guests.<sup>438</sup> The relevant paragraph in the statutes is mentioned for the first time in 1469,<sup>439</sup> but was evidently older. The statutes were passed by the winter residents at the Kontor, and therefore was binding for them. The summer guests came under the Kontor's authority if they traded under the Hansa's privileges in Bergen. They could be punished in Bergen for breaking the rules, but not in their home towns, since the rele-

432 NGL 2.rk. I, p. 257 §28 (1447) = HGbl, Jahrgang 1900, pp. 143–152.

433 NGL 2.rk. II no. 416 §67 and §68 (1494).

434 Ibid. §67. *Nemande schal ock eines anderenn frige kopgenatenn entwendenn, entswekenn, tho wedderenn edder in jeniger mathe affhendich makenn noch hemelicken edder apennbar kopenschop midt em driven...*

435 It is not clear what kind of guilders these were.

436 NGL 2.rk. II no. 416 §67 and §68 (1494).

437 HR II, 6, p. 169 note 4; HR II, 7, p. 603 note 1 = NGL 2.rk. II, p. 742 note 1. In the period 1476–1489 it seems that all merchants were permitted to trade with free nordfar; compare NGL 2.rk. II no. 430 §3 to NGL 2.rk. II no. 416 §67.

438 NGL 2.rk. II no. 416 §66.

439 HR II, 6, 188 §7 = DN VI no. 568.

vant paragraphs had never been passed by a Hansa or Wendish Diet.<sup>440</sup> The prohibition was not included in ordinances issued by Hansa Diets in 1366,<sup>441</sup> 1369<sup>442</sup> and 1412<sup>443</sup> which the Bergen Kontor were required to incorporate into their statutes, or in those issued by the Wendish towns in 1446<sup>444</sup> and 1458<sup>445</sup>. The Hansa towns had no responsibility to punish summer guests from their own towns who violated the rule.

Danzig did not accept this prohibition and contested the Bergen Kontor's authority to draw up such statutes without the consent of the Hansa Diet.<sup>446</sup> The Zuiderzee towns gave several examples of how their summer guests were disciplined by the aldermen because they had traded with the winter residents' debtors<sup>447</sup> and were forced to repay the entire debt of the nordfar with whom they had traded.<sup>448</sup> Most of the Zuiderzee merchants in Bergen were summer guests, and Deventer and Kampen also contested the Kontor's authority to issue such statutes. "The rule is new and we think it is not within the Kontor's authority to make such statutes, imposing large fines without the knowledge, consent and authority of the Hansa towns [= the Hansa Diets]," said the representatives of the Zuiderzee towns at a Hansa Diet in 1476.<sup>449</sup> Kampen and Deventer, representing the interests of their summer guests, claimed that "the winter residents have made this rule to force merchants from the Zuiderzee to buy their fish from them and not from Norwegians".<sup>450</sup> The Danzig merchants attributed similar motives to the winter residents.<sup>451</sup>

If non-Hanseatic foreign competitors carried out trade with the Kontor's debtors, the Hansa had no legal means to stop them and had to resort to illegal measures. The Hansa evacuated from Bergen during the war of 1368–69, with the result that the English took over some of their commercial dealing. On returning, the Hansa complained that there still were many English merchants in Bergen, and they greatly harmed the Kontor merchants' credits and trade (...*groten scaden ... in eren sculden unde copenscap*).<sup>452</sup> The damage to their chances of collecting on credits must mean that the English traded with the winter residents' unfree nordfar. Shortly afterwards, the Kontor community forcibly chased the English out of Bergen, con-

440 HUB XI no. 133 §54.

441 HR I, 1, 384 = HUB IV no. 178 = NGL 2.rk. I no. 342.

442 HR I, 1, 511 = HUB IV no. 319 = NGL 2.rk. I no. 346.

443 NGL 2.rk. I no. 375 = HR I, 6, 70.

444 DN VII no. 431 = NGL 2.rk. I no. 395.

445 HR II, 4, 586.

446 HUB XI no. 133 §54; cf. section 1e.

447 DN VI no. 566 = HR II, 6, 186 §2; NGL 2.rk. II, p. 739 §2 and §3 = HR II, 7, 343 §2 and §3; NGL 2.rk. II, p. 742, cf. note 1 = HR II, 7, 388, cf. note 1.

448 HR II, 7, 343 §2 = NGL 2.rk. II, p. 739 §2.

449 NGL 2.rk. II, p. 745 §6 = HR II, 7, 391 §6.

450 Ibid.

451 HUB XI no. 133 §54.

452 DN XIX no. 584 = HR I, 3, 311.

fiscating goods worth more than 10,000 marks.<sup>453</sup> In 1411/12, the English complained that:

Around the 15<sup>th</sup> of August [i.e. in the middle of the Bergen fair], some English merchants bought stockfish in Bergen worth £100 from some Norwegians, paid for the fish, and loaded it in boats to transfer it to their houses in Bergen. Then came some people from the *societas de Hansa*, who removed the fish and have never given them compensation.<sup>454</sup>

This kind of aggressive self-reliance was clearly an effective means of preventing breaches of the regulations about trading with debtors as laid out in the Kontor's statutes. It is probably the main reason why neither English nor Dutch merchants gained a solid foothold in the Late Medieval Bergen trade.

Indebted fishermen and their merchant creditors could have conflicting interests. In years with good catches when the value of the fish delivered exceeded the value of the goods received, the fishermen obviously had an interest in selling at least some of their fish to the highest bidder on the open market, but in years with low catches it would be to the fisherman's advantage to sell to a merchant who was willing to give them extra goods on credit. There are indications that goods delivered in repayment of a debt were valued at lower than the market rate. A 1444 state ordinance decreed that half of a nordfar's goods had to be delivered to the creditor in repayment of debts, while he could sell the other half "for his own profit", but the creditor should have the right to buy the goods first. The ordinance emphasised that the creditor then had to pay the same price that others would have to pay.<sup>455</sup> This last paragraph would served no purpose if the nordfar normally received the same price from their creditors as they did on the open market.

Norwegian legislators regulated the relationship between creditor and debtor for the first time in 1350. King Magnus was present in Bergen in June when the Bergen fair was about to start that year. He ordered Norwegians to pay their debts to Hansa merchants (*mercatores de Hansa Theotuniorum*) within a month, and he consented to state officials in Bergen (*fehird* and *systemann*) demanding and collecting debts for Hansa merchants there. People from the fishing districts would need to be detained when they arrived in Bergen, even if this is not stated in the ordinance.<sup>456</sup> In 1349, the Black Death had raged in Bergen and the fishing districts, so in 1350 the Hansa merchants were probably nervous about the value of their credits to nordfar. The ordinance may have been observed in that situation, but there are no indications that it enjoyed a long life, although it was never formally abolished.

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453 DN XIX no. 591 = HR I, 3, 318.

454 DN XIX no. 729 = HR I, 6, 80 = Calendar of Patent Rolls 1408–13, pp. 383–385.

455 NGL 2.rk. I no. 130, p. 242 §27 = DN VIII no. 324.

456 DN III no. 272 = HUB III nos. 169 and 172; DN XVI no. 11 = HUB III no. 199.

The Hansa and the King held a common interest in having debts repaid in Bergen, because the state did not want the Germans collecting debts in northern Norway using their own powers (*mit ere sulvest macht*). In 1294, the Hansa merchants had been prohibited from conducting trade north of Bergen, and in 1444 this was extended to debt collection: "It is strictly forbidden for foreigners to travel in the countryside, in fjords, to fishing villages and to islands to trade or collect debts, except where the law explicitly permits it."<sup>457</sup> In response, the Germans admitted that this had occurred.<sup>458</sup> But state officials in Bergen do not seem to have been involved in debt collection.

The conflict about debts came to a head in the 1440s. In 1440, Bergen town council had complained about several instances of Hansa merchants taking the law into their own hands and confiscating the goods of Norwegians. Although this was not stated explicitly in the complaint, it is more or less clear that the incidents arose from conflicts about unpaid debts.<sup>459</sup> The situation under Norwegian law was that if a *nordfar* had a debt he could not repay, the winter resident could bankrupt him. But no law prohibited an indebted *nordfar* from selling his goods to whomever he wanted. A case of this kind was brought before a Norwegian court in Bergen in 1447. The winter resident Herman Hesse had given two Norwegians who were partners a credit worth 1108 stockfish. One of the partners, called Pål, returned the next year and paid his creditor 600 stockfish, but the other partner did not turn up. Hermann Hesse considered this as an instalment on their common debt. The case came before the Norwegian state court in Bergen, and the *lagmann* judged that Herman had to return the fish to Pål, and the debt had to stand until the next year and had to be settled when both partners were present in Bergen.<sup>460</sup> Such decisions did not satisfy the German winter residents.

The authorities made an attempt at legislating about commercial debt in the years 1444–1447. This time the goal was not to protect the Hansa merchants' credits but to protect the fishermen, and above all the Bergen merchants, from the Kontor's procedures to secure repayment of their credits. The King decreed that Norwegians only had an obligation to offer half of the goods they brought to Bergen in repayment of debts to Hansa merchants, as mentioned above.<sup>461</sup> The pressure for this legislation came from the Bergen merchants who wanted a share of the intermediary trade for themselves. Three years later Lübeck, Wismar, Rostock and Stralsund arranged a meeting in Copenhagen with the King to discuss this and other issues. A Hanseatic report from the meeting claims that the King gave his verbal consent to their demand that Norwegians had to repay their debts to Hansa

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457 NGL 2.rk. I, p. 240 §16.

458 NGL 2.rk. I, p. 255 §16 = HGblI, Jahrgang 1900, pp. 143–152.

459 NGL 2.rk. I, pp. 245ff §2, §5 and §11 = HUB VII.1 no. 543.

460 HR II, 3, 309 §22 = DN XVI no. 161.

461 NGL 2.rk. I no. 130, p. 242 §27 = DN VIII no. 324.

merchants (*de copmann*) before they could sell to others. But the wording of the King's statement could have been clearer: "Norwegians shall repay their debts. When they have done so, no legal claim can be made against them, and they can sell to whomever they wish."<sup>462</sup> Furthermore, the King never issued a formal written ordinance stating even this. One interpretation of the verbal agreement with the King in 1447 is that indebted nordfar were permitted to sell their goods to whomever they wanted, and face the consequences. An alternative interpretation is that the King consented to the Hansa implementing the rule from their statutes, but that he would not enforce it himself. There are no indications that the ordinance from 1444 and the agreement from 1447 changed existing practices. Central authorities left the problem for the parties involved to resolve in each case.

In an agreement between Christian II and representatives of the Wendish towns in 1513, the following procedure for debt collection was established. If a nordfar owed money to a winter resident but damaged his creditor by offering his good to others, the Hansa merchant could confiscate these goods and bring the case before the Council of the Realm, whose representatives were present in Bergen during the Bergen fair in July-September.<sup>463</sup> The point here is that the case would come before a Norwegian court and not be dealt with forcibly by the Hansa creditor.

How then were debts collected from the northern fishing districts? The law about collecting debts when the debtor was still alive were complex and presupposed that the creditor or his representative was present in the debtor's local community for at least half a month.<sup>464</sup> It was illegal for winter residents to do this in person, as discussed above. The winter residents therefore tried repeatedly in the Late Middle Ages to have the King's local bailiff collect these debts, and the state in principle had no objections to this. The verbal agreement between the King and the Hansa in 1447 must have satisfied both parties: "Hansa merchants shall only demand their credits in friendship, but not seize goods using their own power. If someone has to go to court to get his credits repaid, he shall tell the local bailiffs, who shall help him to obtain his right."<sup>465</sup> This was the first time the Germans received a promise that the bailiffs in northern Norway were to help them collect their debts.

This solved one problem but created another, because this help was not provided for free. It therefore became an important question whether money owed to the state took priority over debts to merchants. In 1376, King Håkon VI confirmed that repayment of debts owed to Hansa merchants were to have priority over fines to the King if the debt was incurred before the fine.<sup>466</sup> In 1532, the commander of

<sup>462</sup> HR II, 3, 312, p. 221 §21 = NGL 2.rk. I no. 140, p. 292 §21.

<sup>463</sup> HR III, 6, 508.

<sup>464</sup> *Magnus Lagabøters landslov*, VIII 3.

<sup>465</sup> HR II, 3, 312 §11 = NGL 2.rk. I no. 140, p. 290 §11.

<sup>466</sup> HUB IV no. 549 = HR I, 2, 124 = DN VIII no. 199 = *Diplomatarium Danicum* 4.rk. I no. 61.

Bergenhus confiscated one of the Archbishop of Trondheim's ships as payment for a fine because he had supported the deposed King Christian II. The Hansa claimed that the stockfish on board belonged to them because the Archbishop was indebted to them, and they cited their 1376 privilege which stated that the Kontor's honest debts should take priority over fines to the state (*redeliken schulde vor allen herrn broke vorutgan schoIden*). The King did not accept that the principle was relevant in this case.<sup>467</sup> The Kontor in 1447 complained that local bailiffs did not carry out the procedure agreed to in the 1376 privilege.<sup>468</sup> In 1455 they lodged a more detailed complaint about the procedures. When a Hansa merchant notified a bailiff that a Norwegian had not paid his debt, the bailiff would send a letter to the debtor, ordering him to pay his debt within four weeks. If the debt was not settled, the bailiff would collect a large fine (*brevbruddsbot*) from the debtor for having disobeyed the King's order. This meant that the debtor would often have nothing left with which to repay the merchant.<sup>469</sup> The Hansa demanded that the principle set out in the 1376 privilege was respected, but the practice does not seem to have been changed.<sup>470</sup> Christian II formalised the priority of state claims if the debtor was still alive, and of merchants' claims when the estate of a deceased debtor was being settled. But in 1522 the Kontor complained that even in the latter case state claims were given priority.<sup>471</sup> When Fredrik I came to power in 1524, he rewarded the Hansa by giving them first priority in collecting a debt even when the debtor was still alive.<sup>472</sup> Despite Fredrik I's goodwill, high costs could be incurred in collecting a debt by force using local state bailiffs.

Norwegian law gave better protection to creditors when the debtor died than when he was still alive. The practice which came out of this was that collecting debts in the fishing districts normally became an issue for Hansa merchants when an indebted peasant fisherman died. The winter resident would then demand that his credits were repaid from the estate of the deceased.

The third party at the settlement of an estate was the heirs. The 1274 Law of the Realm (*Landsloven*) stated that at the settlement of an estate, debts were to be paid before the heirs received their portion.<sup>473</sup> In 1398, the Hansa asked for and received confirmation that this paragraph applied to them too, and that they could use the services of Norwegian representatives to collect debts north of Trondheim (*i Nordlanden*).<sup>474</sup> Christian II (1513–1523) confirmed the Law of the Realm,<sup>475</sup> and

467 HR IV, 1, 116 §161 and §165.

468 HR II, 3, 312, p. 221 §28 = NGL 2.rk. I no. 140, p. 293 §2 (1447).

469 HR II, 4, 341 = NGL 2.rk. II no. 59 = DN VII no. 450.

470 HR III, 9, 737 §5; HR III, 6, 613 §6; cf. HR III, 6, 614 §3.

471 HR III, 6, 508; HR III, 8, 25 §54.

472 DN XVI no. 426 = HR III, 8, 851 §8.

473 *Magnus Lagaboters landslov*, V.12. This law was in force until 1604.

474 NGL 2.rk. I no. 23.

475 HR III, 6, 508.

so did Fredrik I in 1524.<sup>476</sup> The Hansa complained that local practice could differ. Long distances and the difficulty of communication were problems for them, particularly because claims against a dead man's estate had to be submitted within a year and a day, and this time limit was short for a winter resident in Bergen.<sup>477</sup> According to the Kontor: "When people who are indebted to Kontor merchants die up north, the King's bailiff and relatives take their goods, and the merchants do not receive their due."<sup>478</sup> The bailiffs seem to have been a greater problem than the relatives: when the state was owed money, the bailiffs in practice collected the Crown's debts first.<sup>479</sup>

Hansa merchants had realistic possibilities for validating their claims at estate settlements, and this presented a way to pressure the main heir into taking over the debts of the deceased. The 1447 verbal agreement mentioned above ensured this even if a Hansa representative was not present: "If a Norwegian dies and his relatives and friends (*vrunde*) take his goods, then they shall pay his debt as Norwegian law states."<sup>480</sup> In the 17<sup>th</sup> century, it was normal practice that a son inherited his father's debts, and this may have been so even in the 15<sup>th</sup> century.

The 1578 accounts of a winter resident provide evidence that he had given credits to 130 nordfar in the 19 years between 1560 and 1578. In 1578, only 32 of them delivered fish to him in Bergen as repayment, and over the 5 preceding years 67 of them did so. His account book does not state whether he had done anything to force the others settle their debts, but if he had, he had been unsuccessful.

From this we can conclude that Hansa merchants' prospects for collecting debts were problematic. The state made arrangements to help them, but local officials were often more eager to promote their own economic interests. The Hansa's best hope was to get hold of the debtor when he visited Bergen and use different kinds of pressure to make him repay the debt. The Kontor had no power to issue laws and enforce them, and their last resort was illegal force. The situation was uncomfortable for both the winter residents and native citizens of Bergen who traded to the north. How the peasant fishermen felt about this is difficult to say, since they did not express themselves in writing.

On the positive side, the use of credits gave the winter residents a means of dividing up the Norwegian customers between themselves, avoiding costly competition, and the peasant fishermen received a more stable supply of useful goods. The credit system promoted a conservative type of paternalism.

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476 DN XVI no. 426 = HR III, 8, 851 §8.

477 Complaint from the Kontor in 1509. HR III, 5, 420 note 1 §11; cf. *Magnus Lagaboters landslov*, V 11.

478 Complaint from the Kontor in 1494. HR III, 3, 331 = NGL 2.rk. III no. 81 §5 = BULL, Bergen og Hansestæderne, p. 175.

479 NGL 2.rk. III no. 81 §5 = HR III, 3, 331 = BULL, Bergen og Hansestæderne, p. 175; HR III, 8, 25.

480 HR III, 8, 140, p. 293 §5 (1447).

## B. THE PEASANT FISHERMEN'S TRADE WITH HANSA MERCHANTS IN BERGEN

The Hansa categorised the Norwegians with whom they traded in two ways. The primary distinction they drew was between those who delivered mainly stockfish to Bergen and those who traded in other commodities. The other important distinction was between those who were in debt to a winter resident (unfree) and those who were not (free).

Table V.4. Hansa merchants' categorisation of their Norwegian customers

	<b>Delivered stockfish</b>	<b>Delivered other commodities</b>
Debt at Bryggen (unfree)	(Rightful) nordfar ( <i>rechte norvar</i> )	Peasants ( <i>bunde</i> ) People from the Atlantic islands
No debt at Bryggen (free)	Nordfar ( <i>norvar</i> )	Peasants ( <i>bunde</i> ) People from the Atlantic islands

In sources found in Bruns' *Die Lübecker Bergenfahrer*, credit to nordfar is mentioned 23 times,<sup>481</sup> to peasants ten times,<sup>482</sup> to Shetlanders twice,<sup>483</sup> to Icelanders twice<sup>484</sup> and to Faeroese once.<sup>485</sup> Many of these documents only mention credit to nordfar. All credits to peasants are noted down in documents which also mention credit to nordfar. In a will dating from 1473, a firm on Bryggen put the value of its credits to nordfar at 885 Lübeck marks, and to peasants at 115 Lübeck marks. These are calculated values, since nordfar's debts are registered as amounts of fish, while those of peasants are given in Danish marks.<sup>486</sup> From this and other sources we can conclude that the winter residents traded first and foremost with nordfar, secondly with peasants, and to a limited extent also with customers from the Atlantic islands of Iceland, the Faeroes, Shetland and Orkney.

*Norvar* is a Middle Low German word created by analogy with the terms *bergenvarer*, *schonenvarer* etc., and etymologically it means a person who travels northwards for purposes of trade. I found the first use of this term in the will of a Lübeck Bergenfahrer dated 1429.<sup>487</sup>

For a man to be considered a nordfar he had to deliver stockfish to Bergen, and to be a "rightful (*rechte*)" nordfar his trade had to be so regular that he received credit at Bryggen. The accounts of the commander of Bergenhus castle for 1517–23

481 BRUNS, *Bergenfahrer*, pp. 61, 83, 107, 176, 108, 123, 127, 188 (2x), 191, 126, 134 (2x), 176, 140, 138, 107, 116, 186, 189, 199 and 209.

482 Ibid., pp. 61, 83, 123, 176, 127, 188, 134(2x), 186 and 138.

483 Ibid., pp. 61 and 138.

484 Ibid., pp. 19 and 61.

485 Ibid., p. 61.

486 Testament 1473: BRUNS, *Bergenfahrer*, p. 175, cf. pp. 115 and 71; HR II, 6, 186 §2.

487 BRUNS, *Bergenfahrer*, p. 61.

sometimes named the local communities where the nordfar travelled from: “a nordfar from Kjølvik [in Finnmark near the North Cape]”;<sup>488</sup> four nordfar “who are resident in Lofoten”;<sup>489</sup> others who “have their residence in Salten [a region in present-day *Nordland fylke*]”; “a destitute nordfar from Helgeland [a region in *Nordland fylke*]”; a nordfar who was “a peasant in Brønnø [an island in *Nordland fylke*]”.<sup>490</sup>

The oldest surveys of where the winter residents’ nordfar had their residences or farms are to be found in the two oldest accounts written by Bryggen winter residents in 1578 and 1625 respectively. The merchant writing in 1625 divided his outstanding debts into *Norvar sculdt*, *Borger schulde* and *Brugge schulde*, which translates as credits to nordfar, to citizens of Bergen, and to fellow members of the Bergen Kontor.<sup>491</sup> The same categories are also found in the 1578 account, but credit to citizens of Bergen at that time was called *Strant schult*; the *Strant* was the quarter of the town where most of the citizens of Bergen lived.<sup>492</sup>

Table V.5. Home of nordfar who had credit from a Bremen winter resident in 1578

Home of nordfar as registered in the account		Number of people
Sunnfjord	(region)	1
Sunnmøre	(region)	28
Nordmøre	(region)	10
Trondheim	(town)	8
Namdalen	(region)	7
Helgeland	(region)	13
Steigen parish	(in Salten fogderi)	16
Løddingen (Lodges) parish	(in Salten fogderi)	6
Lofoten	(fogderi)	6
Trondenes parish	(in Tromsø fogderi)	2
Troms (Truns) parish	(in Tromsø fogderi)	4
Andenes	(fishing village in Vesterålen fogderi)	3
Tunes	(fishing village in Finnmark)	1
Skjøtningsberg	(fishing village in Finnmark)	2
Vardø	(fishing village in Finnmark)	2
Unknown		24
Total		130

Source: Staatsarchiv Bremen, 7,2053

488 NRJ II, p. 557.

489 NRJ I, p. 337.

490 Ibid., p. 338.

491 Archiv der Hansestadt Lübeck, no. 4298.

492 Staatsarchiv Bremen 7, 2053.

All credits to nordfar were registered in amounts of stockfish, except for one of the "Trondheimfar" who had an outstanding debt of one barrel of tar. The remaining 7 of the 8 Trondheim traders owed their debt in stockfish. Dried cod during this period was produced in the area stretching from the county of Sunnfjord northwards, particularly between the counties of Sunnmøre and Finnmark, and the term "nordfar" was used to refer to people from this area.

In the account from 1578, there are no traces of trade with people who the Hansa called "peasants". Such people were found in western Norway to the south of the stockfish-producing area. The sources quoted in Bruns were from the 15<sup>th</sup> century, and at that time trade with peasants was an important, although secondary, part of the winter residents' economy. In 1520, a winter resident paid the taxes owed by some peasants from the region of Sunnhordland south of Bergen. They evidently received credit from this merchant and lacked money to pay their taxes.<sup>493</sup> If this scenario is representative, the Hansa winter residents lost their trade with "peasants" in the decades after the Reformation, evidently because the citizens of Bergen took it over. The winter residents stayed in Bergen all winter when there were no nordfar or ships from Hansa towns there, during the winter period, trade with "peasants" provided welcome extra income. The products they bought from the peasants were probably mostly for their own use at Bryggen. Tax registers show that the peasants living closer to Bergen bought large quantities of cloth and probably other imported commodities from Germans and Holland merchants.

The Hansa term "nordfar" covered two social groups. The Norwegian Council of the Realm complained that some of the German flour and malt was of such poor quality that "the nordfar cannot use it for baking and brewing".<sup>494</sup> According to the Kontor, "the nordfar make *rav* and *rekling* so small that the merchants cannot sell it."<sup>495</sup> Both statements imply that the peasant fishermen delivered stockfish to Bergen which they had produced themselves and consumed the imported goods they brought home from Bergen. But only a minority of the 130 nordfar in table V.5 visited Bergen every year. In the years when they stayed at home, the peasant fishermen might have worked for a rich boat owner, or sent their fish to Bergen under a neighbour's name, or sold stockfish to a local merchant, or simply not gone fishing.<sup>496</sup>

During the Bergen fair in July-September, a representative selection of people from northern Norway were present in the town. The last meeting of the Norwegian Council of the Realm was held in Bud, in the county of Romsdal north of Bergen, in August 1533, and the main issue addressed there was the threat to the

493 NRJ I, p. 686. The winter resident was Jürgen Eggertsen, who lived in Finnegården at Bryggen.

494 HR III, 6, 488 §3.

495 NGL 2.rk. III no. 81 §3 = HR III, 3, 336 §3; cf. HUB XI no. 398; *rav* and *rekling* were types of dried halibut.

496 Table V.6.

Norwegian Catholic church from the on-going Reformation. When preparing for the meeting, the Archbishop of Trondheim proposed “to appoint some wise and decent men to visit the meeting, from among the common people (*allmue*) who have come to Bergen from northern Norway.”<sup>497</sup>

The other group included under the term “*nordfar*” consisted of landowners and local officials resident in the northern fishing regions. They normally owned an inshore cargo ship called a *jekt* as well as several fishing boats. Each fishing boat was manned by 3–5 fishermen, who were hired and paid by the boat owner or remunerated with part of the catch. The owner provided their fishing gear and food for 2–3 months while they were working the seasonal cod fisheries. All or part of the stockfish produced was the owner’s property, and he sent it to Bergen on his own *jekt*.

During the Bergen fair in 1446, a general Thing (*allmenningsting*) was held in Bergen where negotiations were conducted between the Council of the Realm and the Kontor’s aldermen. The Thing was open to commoners, and many *nordfar* (... *dat gemene volk, besundergen de nordervar*) in particular attended in order to show their support for the Council. Afterwards, “the lawman at Steigen and other *nordfar* asked for a meeting with the Kontor’s aldermen. They asked if the Kontor had plans to harm (*krenken*) the *nordfar*.” The large majority of *nordfar* were, in other words, common (*gemene*) people, i.e. peasant fishermen, but the aldermen also referred to the lawman (*lagmann*) at Steigen as a *nordfar*,<sup>498</sup> and he was the King’s highest judge in northern Norway.

The elite can be identified in the 1578 account book by looking at the size of their debts at Bryggen, which was measured in *våger* of stockfish (= 18.5 kilos). Extant sources point to 24 *våger* as being a reasonable estimate of a man’s normal stockfish production during one season in the Lofoten fisheries.<sup>499</sup> The commander of Vardøhus castle Vincens Lunge had 20 retainers there who also fished and produced stockfish. He estimated his total annual income from fishing and domestic trade at 500 *våger* of stockfish.<sup>500</sup>

Table V.6. Size of *nordfar*’s debts to a Bremen winter resident in 1578

Debt in våger	All nordfar	Nordfar who delivered goods in 1578
1/6–4	45 (35%)	5 (16%)
5–9	23 (18%)	8 (25%)
10–19	20 (15%)	7 (22%)
20–29	14 (11%)	6 (19%)
30–39	4 (3%)	0
40–49	7 (5%)	1 (3%)

497 DN X no. 655.

498 DN XVI no. 161 = HR II, 3, 309 §5 and §6.

499 Cf. pp. 549–550.

500 DN IX no. 712.

Debt in våger	All nordfar	Nordfar who delivered goods in 1578
50–59	2	2
60–69	4	2
70–79	6	0
80–99	1	0
100–199	2	0
above 200	2	2
above 50	(14%)	( 19%)
Total	130 (100%)	32 (100%)

Source: Staatsarchiv Bremen, 7,2053

From the table we can see that 68 % of all nordfar owed less than 20 *våger* in debts, which is less than a fisherman could produce in one season in Lofoten. The percentage for those who delivered goods to their Bremen merchant in 1578 is approximately the same, 63 %. Many debts are strikingly low: four nordfar had debts of 3 kilos of stockfish ( $\frac{1}{6}$  *våg*). In such cases, the debt must have been a symbolic means of expressing that the nordfar and the merchant were trading partners. This would give the winter residents a pretext for intervening if a summer guest bought stockfish from them.

Four nordfar owed more than 100 *våger*: Jon Kristoffersen from Andenes (233), Gregorius Clementsen from Trondheim (211), Jacob Olufsen from Tunes (186) and Bottolv Bottolvsen from Skjøtningsberg (167). It has not been possible to find biographical information about them. The greatest debt, 233 *våger*, corresponds to the production of 10 fishermen over one season. Such high debts incurred by these four nordfar makes it likely that they were elite men who employed several servant-fishermen, or were traders who bought stockfish in the fishing villages, transported it to Bergen on their own inshore cargo ships, and sold it at Bryggen to winter residents. The first two, from Andenes and Trondheim, delivered fish to their Bremen merchant in 1578, the final year of the account, which indicates that they engaged in regular trade there. The two from Finnmark (Skjøtningsberg and Tunes) appeared in Bergen for the last time in 1577 and 1576, respectively. The shipping route from Finnmark was long, and it is possible that one or both of these heavy debtors arrived with their *jekt* after the 1578 account had been written and stayed all winter in Bergen.

These indebted local traders who were resident in northern Norway in practice conducted their trade using the capital of a winter resident, and contemporaries may have regarded them as the German merchant's servants. "Haldor Olsen, Johan Kalcher's servant"<sup>501</sup> paid taxes in Troms parish in 1519. Johan Kalcher was a winter

501 NRJ I, p. 376.

resident living in Bredsgården at Bryggen.<sup>502</sup> Near the entry for Haldor Olsen in the same tax account is “Nils Persen servant”. He is probably the same person as “Nils Persen from Troms” who in 1521 had his taxes paid by the winter resident Trockler van dem Loff, who lived at Bryggen in a *gård* called Vetterliden.<sup>503</sup> State officials in Bergen saw Nils Persen as Trockler’s servant.

Summing up, in the Late Middle Ages most peasant fishermen financed their own participation in stockfish production, sold their fish to winter residents in Bergen, and received credit from them in their own names. Their debts do not seem to have been oppressive in the 16<sup>th</sup> century. But there was an alternative way of conducting the stockfish trade. A local elite person could organise the production of stockfish or buy it locally in northern Norway, then transport it to Bergen on his own cargo ship. Some of these men were considered to be servants of winter residents.

### C. THE ROLE OF BERGEN AND TRONDHEIM CITIZENS IN TRADE WITH THE STOCKFISH-PRODUCING REGIONS

The previous section discussed the role of people resident in the fishing districts, called *nordfar*, in trade with Bergen. Citizens living in Bergen and Trondheim also conducted trade in the fishing districts throughout the Middle Ages. The development of trade carried out by these Norwegian urban citizens from the High Middle Ages until 1600 has been discussed by the Norwegian historian Johan Schreiner in his book *Hanseatene og Norge i det 16. århundre* (The Hansa and Norway in the 16<sup>th</sup> century). Before the Black Death, urban citizens carried out trade as independent merchants. The chaotic conditions after the Black Death meant that people living in the fishing districts had to take over an increasing part of the trade.<sup>504</sup> Only a modest portion of it remained in the hands of the citizens,<sup>505</sup> who in the Late Middle Ages were reduced to “transport services paid for by the Kontor”.<sup>506</sup> After about 1523, an increasing number of Bergen citizens again became independent traders, and after 1542 their commerce grew in importance.<sup>507</sup> The Kontor tried to stifle this development by preventing Hanseatic summer guests from selling imported goods to Bergen citizens, but after 1560 the state prevented the Kontor from continuing with this policy.<sup>508</sup>

Schreiner’s conclusions include two controversial points. First, on the quantitative side: is it correct that the trade carried out by citizens dominated in the High

502 NRJ III, p. 639.

503 NRJ I, p. 376; NRJ II, p. 568; NRJ III, p. 637.

504 SCHREINER, *Hanseatene og Norge*, pp. 18–22.

505 *Ibid.*, p. 149.

506 *Ibid.*, pp. 64–65 “*fraktmenn i Kontorets sold*”.

507 *Ibid.*, pp. 65, 76 and 148.

508 *Ibid.*, pp. 314–315, 319.

Middle Ages, was modest in the Late Middle Ages, and increased dramatically in the 16<sup>th</sup> century? Secondly, on the qualitative side: were most citizens of these towns trading independently during the High Middle Ages, dependent on the winter residents between 1350 and 1523, and increasingly independent thereafter?

During the High Middle Ages, before the Black Death in 1349 and the establishment of the Bergen Kontor in 1366, the citizens of Bergen and Trondheim played a more central role in the Bergen trade than in following period.

The peasant fishermen participated in the seasonal cod fisheries between February and March, and produced stockfish themselves. At the beginning of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, so many of them were involved that special arrangements were necessary. In 1313, the King decreed that anyone who stayed in “fishing villages where stockfish is produced (*i allum Peim fiskistadom sem skreidfiski ero*) cannot be sued between the 2<sup>nd</sup> of February and 25<sup>th</sup> of March”, i.e. during the fishing season. The ordinance applied to “all men who are in northern Norway (*ollum monnum a Halogalande verandum*)”.<sup>509</sup>

The cod was dried and ready to be sold as stockfish in May-June,<sup>510</sup> and the fishermen transported it to local marketplaces and offered it for sale there. In northern Norway, most stockfish was sold to merchants from Bergen in the largest fishing village in Lofoten, called Vågan at the time and today named Storvågan (= great Vågan). Contemporaries referred to it as a market town (*kaupstad*). At the beginning of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, so many people were present there during the market period that the authorities could organise meetings with the common people. On visits to the north, the Archbishop met with many of the region's parsons there. The King's officials proclaimed new laws and ordinances in Vågan during the market season, and people from different parts of northern Norway formalised their agreements there. Many extant letters issued in Vågan were written between July and August.<sup>511</sup>

Fishermen from the coast of Trøndelag took their produce to Trondheim; those from the county of Romsdal went to Veøy near present-day Molde, and fishermen from the county of Sunnmøre went to Borgund near present-day Ålesund. Merchant-citizens from Bergen visited Vågan, Veøy and Borgund, bought the stockfish and transported it to Bergen. Merchants from Trondheim transported the fish to Bergen themselves, or sometimes even exported it directly to England.<sup>512</sup> There is no evidence that the fishermen received credit from merchants during this early period. These exchanges between fishermen and local merchants, and between local merchants and export merchants in Bergen, seem to have operated in a free market.

509 NGL III no. 38.

510 NEDKVITNE, *Mens Bønderne seilte*, pp. 201–202.

511 BJØRGO, *Våganstemna*, pp. 45–52.

512 NGL III nos. 93, 101 and 121.

In the second half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, the stockfish trade was reorganised. It is not clear exactly when or why this happened. As mentioned above, the Norwegian historian Johan Schreiner saw this as a result of the chaos that occurred in the wake of the Black Death. The Bergen merchants stopped coming north, and the population in the fishing regions had to build cargo ships and transport the fish to Bergen themselves.<sup>513</sup> But there is no evidence of chaos in Bergen. Not only Bergen but also northern Norway and the Hansa towns were hit hard by the plague. Why should there have been chaos in Bergen, when the stockfish-producing regions and the Hansa towns entered a period of prosperity?

A better understanding is gained by starting with the economic consequences of the Black Death. Stockfish prices increased and the profits of the stockfish traders must have improved significantly.<sup>514</sup> There was sharper competition among the merchants, and the winter residents started to offer credit to the stockfish producers. Since Hansa merchants did not want to and were not permitted to sail north to the fishing villages, the fishermen had to travel to Bergen to obtain the attractive credit. They stopped selling their stockfish at the local markets in Vågan, Trondheim, Veøy and Borgund. Instead, the fishermen loaded their fish on board inshore cargo ships (*jekter*) in the fishing villages and transported it directly to Bergen while it was still their property. Normally the fish was dry by May; Querini wrote in 1432 that these inshore cargo ships left the fishing village of Røst bound for Bergen on the 14<sup>th</sup> of May.<sup>515</sup> This made it more practical to hire cargo space on ships which belonged to skippers living near these fishing villages, since they started their journeys in the north and sailed south just like the fishermen did. The fishermen normally had an advance agreement with a local skipper to hire cargo space for a return journey, and they stayed with the same skipper for years. The citizens of Bergen were marginalised both as merchants and skippers.

This arrangement favoured Norwegian peasant fishermen and German winter residents, but was damaging to the merchant citizens of Bergen. In the decades when this reorganisation took place, the Bergen citizens asked the King to issue a series of ordinances to stop and reverse this. In 1364 and 1372 he prohibited trade in fishing villages, and instead such trade was to take place in the traditional towns and marketplaces named above.<sup>516</sup> In 1384, he issued yet another ordinance prescribing how trade along the coast north of Bergen should take place. He again prohibited trade in fishing villages and wanted this to revert to the way it had been organised before the middle of the century. He banned people in northern Norway

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513 SCHREINER, *Hanseatene og Norge*, pp. 18–22; KIIL, *Nordlandshandelen*, pp. 45–46 held the same opinion.

514 Cf. table VI.2 and pp. 364–365.

515 QUERINI, modern Italian text, p. 198.

516 NGL III nos. 95 and 101.

from sailing south to Bergen, allegedly because they were needed up north to defend the region against marauding Russians and Carelians.<sup>517</sup>

Many historians have pointed out that seasonal markets declined all over northern Europe in the 14<sup>th</sup> century. Instead, local producers visited towns with their products. Towns had resident professional merchants and permanent markets which offered such good opportunities and services for commerce that everyone who needed to exchange goods preferred to go there.<sup>518</sup>

The Kontor was strong enough to strike back against the citizens of Bergen with political measures of their own. From 1412 at the latest, the Kontor's statutes prohibited Hansa merchants from shipping goods to Bergen which belonged to non-Hanseatic merchants, a prohibition which was included in the statutes by order of a Hansa Diet.<sup>519</sup> The Kontor's 1494 statutes reformulated and extended this prohibition:

No member of the Kontor shall sell goods which can be used for trade northwards or southwards, neither to bailiffs, clerics, craftsmen nor merchants living in the Strandsiden quarter of Bergen. To these shall only be sold what they need for their own use. The only exception is sales to rightful (*rechte*) nordfar [Norwegian merchants who were indebted to a winter resident].<sup>520</sup>

The main purpose of this regulation was evidently to prevent Norwegian merchants, and particularly Bergen citizens, from acquiring goods which they could trade in the stockfish-producing regions. In 1494, the Rostock town councillor Hinrik Kron shipped goods from Rostock to a citizen of Bergen. The Kontor aldermen correctly wrote that this was forbidden in the Kontor's statutes (*wyllekore*). The skipper had to pay a security to the Kontor, which would be returned if he could prove that he did not know that the recipient of the goods was a Bergen citizen. The Kontor aldermen asked Rostock town council to obtain a written statement from Kron that he had not informed the skipper about who was receiving the goods, and if that was the case, Kron would be fined and the skipper would go free. The Kontor also asked Rostock council to inform their citizens about this rule.<sup>521</sup> In official confrontations with Norwegian authorities in the 1440s, the Kontor denied that they put into practice such a boycott,<sup>522</sup> but as shown above, this is what seems to have actually been happening since 1412.

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517 NGL III no. 121 = *Norske middelalderdokumenter* no. 96 = *Diplomatarium Danicum* 4.rk. II no. 486.

518 BARRON, *London in the Late Middle Ages*, p. 78.

519 HR I, 6, 70 §17 = NGL 2.rk. I no. 375 §14.

520 NGL 2.rk. II no. 416 §63.

521 HUB XI no. 736.

522 NGL 2.rk. I, p. 254 §11 = HGBll, Jahrgang 1900, pp. 143–152.

Formally, the Kontor's statutes applied only to members of the Kontor, but they were enforced in such a way that in practice they also applied to Norwegians. Bergen's urban council complained in 1440: "When our citizens wanted to sail from Bergen for purposes of trade, to which all who pay the King's taxes and duties are entitled, the Germans pursued them with blows and strikes and forced them back, preventing them from enjoying laws, rights, freedoms or privileges."<sup>523</sup> A citizen of Bergen bought some beer from a German, but when the Kontor's aldermen discovered this, they intervened and prevented him from receiving the beer he had paid for.<sup>524</sup> The background to these incidents is not explained, but probably in both cases the Norwegian merchants had received goods contrary to the boycott mentioned above. Another reason in the second case may have been that the Norwegian owed debts to a second German, and if the Norwegian bought beer from the first German, the Kontor's statutes would have been broken. But as the urban council pointed out, the Kontor had no right to apply their statutes to Norwegians, who were protected by the King's laws.

The Kontor's trade restrictions never managed to close all the channels from Hansa towns to Bergen citizens. Several of the Bergen citizens who were attacked by the winter residents in 1523 stated that the attackers had taken "German beer" and *Hamburger bier*; one man had lost 24 barrels of Lübeck beer.<sup>525</sup> We cannot tell whether they had bought this from Hansa merchants who defied the boycott or from Holland merchants who traded with the Baltic towns. But the Hansa's trade restrictions nevertheless delayed the growth of a merchant class among Bergen citizens.

Bergen retained a reduced community of merchants and skippers who traded in the stockfish-producing regions. Many of them were members of Bergen's urban council and had a high social standing in the urban community.<sup>526</sup> In 1420, people who "own houses and live in northern Norway [Hålogaland] and Finnmark" complained to the King that English merchants had started to sail directly to these regions, undermining the staple in Bergen.<sup>527</sup> They sent two envoys to the King with the letter of complaint; 11 others had signed it. Were these men really resident in northern Norway as claimed in the letter? Both envoys and the first six signatories were urban councillors in Bergen and may have been representing interests in Bergen more than in northern Norway.<sup>528</sup> Among the last five signatories were Brynjulv

523 NGL 2.rk. I, p. 245 §1 = HUB VII no. 543 §1.

524 NGL 2.rk. I, p. 246 §6 = HUB VII no. 543, complaint from the urban council of Bergen in 1440; HUB XI no. 736.

525 HR III, 9, 482.

526 KOHT, *Busetjinga i Finnmark*, pp. 39–44; KIIL, *Nordlandshandelen*, p. 47; TVEITE, *Nordfararane i Bergen*, p. 225.

527 DN I no. 670.

528 SOLBERG, *Rådmenn i Bergen*, p. 181 note 1; cf. pp. 78–80.

Natolvsson, who is mentioned as one of the witnesses to a letter signed in Bergen on 3/9/1416.<sup>529</sup> He may have been a citizen of Bergen, but this was not necessarily the case since he served as a witness in the middle of the Bergen fair. Jon Olavsson, may have been the same person as an urban councillor and lawman (royal judge) bearing that name in the 1440s.<sup>530</sup> Some of the urban councillors who signed the document owned land in the north: Torleif Erlingsson had land in the parishes of Alstadhaug, Tjøtta and Brønnøy on Helgeland;<sup>531</sup> Arvid Ingjeldsson owned land in Lofoten and near present-day Bodø, as well as a ship and houses (a *gård*) in the Strandsiden quarter of Bergen.<sup>532</sup> These urban councillors must have been independent merchants, since people who merely transported stockfish and were indebted to winter residents would not have been able to accumulate real estate of this kind.

Such "free" merchants occasionally sent goods abroad. In 1479, Gunnar Jonsson is referred to as an urban councillor in Bergen and owner of a farm in Trondenes parish.<sup>533</sup> In 1476, he sent a consignment of stockfish to Amsterdam on a ship from Kampen, and accompanied the goods in person. He sold the fish before its arrival in Amsterdam and returned to Bergen. In this source he is called a "nordfar".<sup>534</sup> In 1493/4, another nordfar received grain products from Rostock, despite the Kontor's attempts to prevent this.<sup>535</sup> Networks created between "free" citizens of Bergen who traded in the north and summer guests from Amsterdam, Kampen and Rostock represented an alternative to the winter residents' trade organisation, and the Kontor did its best to stifle this competition.

But also among the signatories to the complaint made in 1420 were people who were part of the winter residents' network. One of them was Sten Jonsson. In 1429, Hermann Scoping, a Lübeck Bergenfahrer, bequeathed to his brother in his will the credits due to him by Sten Jonsson (*de schuld, de my Sten Jonssone schuldich is*).<sup>536</sup> Since Sten Jonsson was the only one of Hermann's debtors mentioned by name, and separately from others who owed him money in Bergen, Sten cannot have been an ordinary nordfar. He must have been one of the winter residents' indebted skippers, and like the other identifiable signatories he was probably a citizen of Bergen. There is no evidence that he was an urban councillor.

These Bergen merchants had allies among the local state officials in Bergen, and in the 1440s this alliance went on the offensive with political measures of their own. Most of the stockfish was brought to Bergen by nordfar who were indebted to the winter residents. The fish was unloaded directly into the winter residents' store-

529 DN XII no. 161.

530 SOLBERG, Rådmenn i Bergen, p. 182.

531 Ibid., p. 180.

532 Ibid., pp. 159 ff. The farms in Lofoten were in the parishes of Flakstad and Vestvågøy.

533 Ibid., p. 194.

534 HUB X no. 504.

535 HUB XI no. 736; BULL, Bergen og Hansestæderne, p. 151.

536 BRUNS, Bergenfahrer, p. 62.

rooms or warehouses. All of it was used to repay old debts, and nordfar had to buy the goods for their return voyage from their creditors on credit. The Bergen citizens were excluded completely from this process. At the citizens' request, the King issued an ordinance in 1444 which stated that the winter residency of foreign merchants was to end and that they would be permitted to stay in Bergen only in summer between the two masses of the Holy Cross (03/05–14/09).<sup>537</sup> If this law were to be enforced, winter residents would only be able visit Bergen as summer guests, although they would still be permitted to own houses in Bergen. Summer guests who were not house owners would only be allowed to rent accommodation from Norwegians and not from Hansa merchants at Bryggen. The Hanseatic summer guests would be free to sell their goods to anybody, which means that the Kontor's boycott of Bergen citizens and other local merchants would be rendered illegal and would have to be terminated.<sup>538</sup> The foreign importers would only be able to sell their goods in large quantities, not as retail.<sup>539</sup> Even nordfar who were indebted to foreign merchants would have to place their goods in the warehouse of a Norwegian merchant.<sup>540</sup>

Half of the goods shall then be delivered to the merchant to whom the nordfar is indebted, as repayment of the debt. The creditor is to have a right of pre-emption for the remaining goods, for the same price as others are willing to give. The nordfar can use the money received to buy goods which he needs from whoever he wants.<sup>541</sup>

If these measures had been implemented, Bergen citizens would have become compulsory intermediaries between Norwegian stockfish producers and Hanseatic exporters. Nordfars and summer guests who were not house owners would have had to rent accommodation from Bergen citizens. If a nordfar was permitted to spend half the value of his goods as he wished, the Bergen merchant who was his host would be an obvious choice as an alternative to his Hanseatic creditor. This 1444 ordinance tells us much about the ambitions of the Bergen merchant-citizens, but it was never observed. In 1447, King Christoffer promised the Hansa that he would not put the measures into practice.<sup>542</sup> The urban council's main supporter among the state officials had been the commander of Bergenhus castle, Olav Nilsson. There were several confrontations between Olav Nilsson and the Bergen citizens on the one hand, and the Kontor on the other, which ended in Olav Nilsson's death in 1455.<sup>543</sup>

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537 NGL 2.rk. I no. 130 §21 = DN VIII no. 324.

538 NGL 2.rk. I no. 130 §11 = DN VIII no. 324.

539 NGL 2.rk. I no. 130 §3, §4, §6 and §13 = DN VIII no. 324.

540 NGL 2.rk. I no. 130 §15 = DN VIII no. 324. "All Norwegians who visit Bergen with their merchandise shall store their goods in houses belonging to Norwegians, and not elsewhere."

541 NGL 2.rk. I no. 130 §27 = DN VIII no. 324.

542 NGL 2.rk. I no. 140 §25 = HR II, 3, 312.

543 DN XVI no. 161 = HR II, 3, 309 §5 and §6.

The accounts of the commander of Bergenhus castle around the year 1520 give a richer picture of Bergen citizens' trade in the north. During the preceding century, the citizens of Bergen had clearly strengthened their economic position. Three of the town councillors and house owners during the period 1420–1479 – Arvid Ingjeldsson, Torleif Erlingsson and Gunnar Jonsson – owned properties in northern Norway between Helgeland and Lofoten.<sup>544</sup> The accounts of Bergenhus for 1517–23 show a different geographic distribution of land ownership. At least 14 named town councillors and house owners from Bergen traded in the north, and of these at least 4 sailed to Andenes,<sup>545</sup> 6 to fishing villages in Finnmark,<sup>546</sup> and one to Finnmark and Troms.<sup>547</sup> None traded with destinations south of Andenes. It seems that the Bergen citizens around 1470–1510 pulled out of the regions south of Andenes, leaving trade in the area to the Hansa and their customers, and instead focused on regions further north. Underlying this was the fact that after about 1450, ethnic Norwegians once again expanded their settlements in fishing villages along the Finnmark coast after stagnation during the years 1350–1450.<sup>548</sup>

Their expansion in Finnmark was favoured by the way fisheries were organised in the region. Fishermen who resided in Finnmark found sailing to Bergen difficult partly because of the distance, and partly because cod fisheries in Finnmark were at their most active in May–June, which made it difficult to combine fishing with a voyage to Bergen. Another reason was that mobility was high in the fishing villages, so the fishermen themselves experienced problems creating networks and organisations to handle trade with Bergen. This opened up opportunities for citizens of Bergen and Trondheim.

Erik Valkendorf visited Finnmark regularly as Archbishop of Trondheim, and around the year 1520 he wrote:

The region would not have been inhabitable for Christians if it had not been for the fisheries, which are very abundant there. They attract people and make them want to settle there. ...The population is mobile and their residence depends on the abundance or scarcity of the fish they catch. They live sometimes here, sometimes there, and foreigners who come to fish bring with them so much food and drink as they need for a year or more. They also bring all their goods and domestic belongings, even wives and children, and they take them back when they return home.<sup>549</sup>

544 SOLBERG, Rådmenn i Bergen, pp. 159ff, 180 and 194.

545 Kristian and Oluf Torbjørnsen, Oluf Persen and Reidar Jonsen. The town council in Bergen in 1528 received Andenes as a fiefdom (*Norske Rigs-registrarer* I, p. 15), which should be seen as the result of the citizens' dominance of commercial shipping to the region.

546 Anders Hansen, Anders Søgn, Haldor i Kjelvik, Sjurd Mortz, Jon Ellingsen, Lauritz Bentson.

547 Per Henningsen.

548 Cf. 543–544.

549 VALKENDORF, Finnmark, p. 5.

It was risky for a winter resident in distant Bergen to extend credit to a population which was so mobile.

But it was safer strategy for a Bergen citizen who visited the fishing villages annually to do this. Some ships sailed north in the autumn and back to Bergen in the spring; in 1522 and 1532, extant sources mention cargo ships belonging to nordfar who stayed in Finnmark throughout the winter, in the first case involving as many as 35 ships.<sup>550</sup> There were important winter fisheries in Finnmark, particularly around Sørøya. Other Bergen citizens sailed north in the spring<sup>551</sup> and returned in the autumn.<sup>552</sup> The largest cod fishery in Finnmark was active in May–June. The state tried to create a favourable framework for commerce carried out by Bergen and Trondheim citizens by limiting people with residence in Finnmark to trading only for the goods they needed themselves. An ordinance to this effect was issued in 1512; earlier there had been no limitations.<sup>553</sup> In 1569, the citizens claimed that the prohibition was not being respected.<sup>554</sup>

The accounts of the commander of Bergenhus castle for 1517–1523 reveal the social and economic situation of a large number of urban councillors in Bergen who traded in Andenes and Finnmark. Reidar Jonsen, “urban councillor in Bergen”, is registered in the 1521 tax accounts of the fishing village Andenes.<sup>555</sup> This means that he owned real estate there. Olav and Kristian Torbjørnsen, both councillors in Bergen,<sup>556</sup> freighted fish which had been paid in taxes from Andenes to Bergenhus in 1519 and 1521.<sup>557</sup> The last urban councillor who traded out of Andenes was Oluf Persen; a man with the same name was the Archbishop’s local representative and liegeman (*setesvein*) on Andenes.<sup>558</sup> The Bergen councillor Anders *Søgn*<sup>559</sup> sailed his ship to Vardø,<sup>560</sup> and Anders *Siöng* was one of the highest taxpayers there in 1521.<sup>561</sup> Anders Hansen was a councillor, and later mayor, in Bergen;<sup>562</sup> he owned houses (*gård*) in the Strandsiden quarter of Bergen<sup>563</sup> and sailed his own ship (*jekt*)

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550 HR III, 8, 25 §54; DN IX, p. 735.

551 DN XI no. 620.

552 DN XIII no. 552.

553 NGL 2.rk. III no. 233.

554 NILSEN, HALKILD, Bergensernes handel på Finnmark, pp. 28–29.

555 NRJ III, pp. 159 and 164.

556 NRJ III, p. 633; II, p. 540.

557 NRJ I, p. 377; II, p. 650.

558 Cf. p. 425 footnote and 447 table V.9. This was probably the same man, but one cannot be sure since both Oluf and Per were common names.

559 DN X, p. 655; DN II, p. 833.

560 NRJ II, p. 608; NRJ V, pp. 19, 82 and 93.

561 NRJ II, p. 252.

562 DN XVI no. 525; DN II no. 1126.

563 *Olav Engelbriktssons rekneskapsbøker*, p. 150; NRJ II, p. 650.

to Finnmark.<sup>564</sup> The councillor Sjurd Mortz<sup>565</sup> travelled to Ingøy in Finnmark on his own ship.<sup>566</sup> Jon Ellingsen was a councillor and owned houses (*gård*) in Bergen,<sup>567</sup> and a man with the same name was one of the highest taxpayers in the fishing village of Tunes in Finnmark.<sup>568</sup> Haldor “in Kjelvik”, a fishing village on Magerøya near the North Cape in Finnmark, owned houses (*gård*) in Bergen<sup>569</sup> and was a town councillor there.<sup>570</sup> He shipped goods which had been paid in taxes from Finnmark to Bergenhus castle on several occasions.<sup>571</sup> Haldor is not mentioned in the 1520 tax register for Kjelvik,<sup>572</sup> and he may have been exempted from paying taxes because of his services as a tax collector. Another Bergen town councillor, Oluf Torgilsen,<sup>573</sup> owned a *gård* in Bergen<sup>574</sup> and a ship manned by “nordfar” which transported firewood to Bergenhus castle.<sup>575</sup> It is not stated where he traded when he sailed north.

Not all merchants who owned houses in Bergen and conducted trade in northern Norway were town councillors. Svenn Skriver owned a *gård* in the Strandsiden quarter of Bergen,<sup>576</sup> and he also owned a ship (*jekt*)<sup>577</sup> which he used for trading in the north.<sup>578</sup> He paid taxes in Bergen<sup>579</sup> but is not mentioned in the extant tax accounts for northern Norway. He was fined in 1521 for illegal trading in western Norway.<sup>580</sup> In 1517, “Mats Fynde nordfar” (from Fyn in Denmark) was fined in Bergen.<sup>581</sup> He is probably identical to Mats Fynde “in Kohusen”, a *gård* in Øvre-gaten immediately to the east of Bryggen.<sup>582</sup> Being called a “nordfar” in the accounts of Bergenhus castle indicates that he was not a town councillor. Lauritz Bentsson and Per Henningsen were the Archbishop's local representatives and liegemen (*setesvein*) in Tunes in Finnmark and Troms respectively. They also owned houses in

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564 NRJ II, pp. 606 and 608; NRJ I, p. 78.

565 DN V, p. 783; NRJ II, p. 540.

566 NRJ III, p. 476; NRJ V, pp. 86 and 92; NRJ I, pp. 566, 643 and 670.

567 NRJ II, p. 629.

568 Ibid., p. 248.

569 *Olav Engelbriktsens rekneskapsbøker*, p. 150.

570 DN II no. 1105.

571 NRJ I, pp. 118, 78 and 333; NRJ II, p. 566; NRJ III, pp. 476 and 643; NRJ V, pp. 19, 81 and 91.

572 NRJ II no. 249.

573 NRJ I, p. 266; DN II no. 1105.

574 NRJ II, p. 628.

575 NRJ III, p. 81.

576 NRJ I, p. 688; NRJ II, p. 639; DN X no. 633.

577 NRJ II, pp. 606 and 632; NRJ I, p. 565.

578 NRJ I, pp. 78 and 333.

579 Ibid., p. 688.

580 NRJ II, p. 632. “...i Jørgen Hanssøns len...”

581 NRJ I, p. 36.

582 LORENTZEN, *Gård og grunn i Bergen*, p. 169; NRJ II, p. 14.

Bergen and sailed between the town and the stockfish-producing regions, but they seem to have had their main residences in the north.<sup>583</sup>

The Finnmark trade created a stronger economic basis for Bergen citizens' commerce before the Reformation. The Kontor saw this development as a challenge to their own trade with the nordfar. In November 1523, the merchants at Bryggen exploited the chaotic conditions during the insurgency against Christian II to attack Bergen citizens who were their competitors. One of the victims was Sander Jonsson, who claimed to have been robbed of 500 *våger* of *rotscher*, cargo ships (*jekter*), and "my registers and accounts which I need to recover my outstanding debts (*myne register oc regenskab effther hvilcke jeg skulle indmanett myn skyld*).<sup>584</sup> His 500 *våger* represented a normal catch for 17 fishermen in one season in Lofoten.<sup>585</sup> This is the first evidence that Bergen citizens copied the credit practices developed by the Hansa winter residents over the preceding two centuries.

In summary, among the named ship owners who sailed to Finnmark and the northernmost regions in the years 1517–23, there are 10 town councillors from Bergen and 4 house owners without the title of town councillor. Three of the town councillors and 2 of the other house owners paid taxes in northern Norway, which means that they owned property there. One of the house owners was fined for illegal trading, but there can be little doubt that all the men mentioned above conducted trade in the north. They owned ships and properties both in the stockfish-producing regions and in Bergen. This made it possible for them to "follow the fish" throughout the year. In winter, most of them were in the north organising the fishing. When the Bergen fair was taking place, they sailed south with their stockfish and sold it to Holland merchants and German winter residents. In the second half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, they received an economic boost through trade with Finnmark, and after the Reformation they entered into foreign trade.

Around the year 1520, the citizens of Trondheim organised trade in the north in a way which held interesting parallels to that of their colleagues in Bergen, the greatest difference being that foreigners were not permitted to export stockfish from Trondheim at this time. Simon Svendsen was an urban councillor in Trondheim<sup>586</sup> who sailed between there and Bergen<sup>587</sup> and paid taxes in Gryllefjord on Senja.<sup>588</sup> Jon Eriksen was one of the highest taxpayers in Trondheim;<sup>589</sup> he also transported goods to Bergen on his own ship<sup>590</sup> and is most likely identical to Jon Eriksen, one

583 Cf. pp. 425, 444 and table V.9.

584 HR III, 9, 482 (7–8.11.1523).

585 Cf. p. 549.

586 DN VII no. 702; DN VIII nos. 673 and 699.

587 NRJ II, p. 256.

588 *Ibid.*, p. 651.

589 *Ibid.*, p. 145.

590 NRJ I, p. 116.

of the highest taxpayers in Gryllefjord on Senja, who delivered the fish he owed in taxes to Bergen in person.<sup>591</sup> Jon Skreder from Trondheim freighted stockfish from the bailiff in Senja to the commander of Bergenhus on his own ship.<sup>592</sup> The Trondheim urban councillor Nils Arnesen<sup>593</sup> paid an average level of tax there;<sup>594</sup> he sailed from Bergen to “Vandewaade”, which probably means Vanvåg on Karlsøy in Troms.<sup>595</sup> Of these four<sup>596</sup> citizens of Trondheim, three conducted trade on Senja and one in what is today the northern part of Troms *fylke*. The citizens of Bergen had their main interests in Andenes and Finnmark, while the Trondheim citizens concentrated their commerce in the area between Andenes and Finnmark. Two of the four owned taxable properties up north. In an ordinance evidently issued at the request of Trondheim citizens, the King decreed that servants hired for fishing (*utrorsdrenger*) only could demand Saturdays as a day off.<sup>597</sup> This makes it clear that even Trondheim citizens used hired men or servants for their stockfish production.

The Trondheim citizens occasionally cooperated with their Archbishop. In 1532, they sent fish from northern Norway to Bergen on the Archbishop's ship; other cargo on board belonged to the Archbishop himself, his local representatives (*sestesveiner*) and the cathedral chapter.<sup>598</sup> The Archbishop was in debt to Jon Eriksen, the citizen of Trondheim mentioned above, and dispatched goods on his ship.<sup>599</sup> In 1533, Archbishop Olav Engelbriktsson organised a visit by Dutch merchants to Trondheim, and he saw to it that they sold their goods to the local citizens and to nobody else.<sup>600</sup>

The citizens of Bergen had competition from the Hansa even in Finnmark. In 1535, a noblewoman named Ingrid living on Austeråt in Trøndelag quoted a source which had told her that there “was a scarcity of food in Bergen because the Germans had given as much food as they could on credit to the ships sailing to Finnmark”.<sup>601</sup> In 1578, the Hanseatic winter resident whose credits are listed in table V.5 above had 5 debtors in Finnmark, 4 in Troms, 3 in Andenes, but 88 along the more southern coast stretching from Sunnmøre to Trøndenes.

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591 NRJ II, p. 651.

592 NRJ III, p. 545.

593 DN VII no. 702; DN VII nos. 673 and 699.

594 NRJ II, p. 146.

595 NRJ II, p. 651.

596 Blom claims that Gude Eriksen, who in 1520 was an average taxpayer in Trondheim (NRJ II, p. 145), was identical to a man called Gude who repeatedly freighted fish from the bailiff in Lofoten to Bergenhus. But this Gude must have been one of the servants of the commander of Bergenhus who had the same name (BLOM, Trondheim bys historie, p. 385; NRJ I, p. 618).

597 NGL 2.rk. II no. 163.

598 HR IV, 1, 116 §161; cf. DN IX no. 703.

599 DN VIII no. 567.

600 DN X no. 645.

601 DN XI no. 620.

A tax account from 1563 offers us the first opportunity to quantify Bergen and Trondheim citizens' interests in trade with the stockfish-producing regions. It should provide a complete list of all cargo ships sailing from the fishing districts to Bergen that year; the tax was to be paid upon arrival in Bergen.

Table V.7. Cargo ships (*jekter*) sailing from the fishing districts to Bergen in 1563

Residence of skipper <sup>(1)</sup>	Number of ships	Total tax in våger	Tax per ship in våger	Total fish cargo in våger <sup>(2)</sup>
Bergen	44	24 %	469	34,440
Trondheim	30		392	27 %
Finmark	15	5 %	404	16,180
Troms	12		140	13 %
Andenes	5		120	
Senja	22	36 %	349	63,120
Lofoten/Vesterålen	23		446	50 %
Salten	24		261	
Helgeland	27		261	
Namdalen	9		69	
Fosen	8		41	
Nordmøre	13		69	
Romsdal	13	35 %	36	11,999
Sunnmøre	31		55	10 %
Nordfjord	24		16	
Sunnfjord	12		9	
total	312	100 %		125,640
				100 %

Source: Skipsskatten 1563 (NLR III, pp. 176–199)

- (1) The named rural regions between Finmark and Sunnfjord were areas administered by a bailiff (*fogderi*).
- (2) How was the amount of tax calculated for each ship? "Each skipper who has a ship and sails to the northern fishing districts (*Nordlandene*) gives half of his income from freight that year" (NRR I, p. 380). The skipper was the ship owner, and he could sail the vessel himself or hire a mate to do this. People who transported their fish on his ship had to give him in payment every 20<sup>th</sup> *våg* that he transported for them to Bergen, which was the rate from Helgeland county to Troms county throughout the 17<sup>th</sup> century (KIIL, *Nordlandshandelen*, pp. 139–140). The accounts of the commander of Steinsvikholm castle in Trøndelag for 1558–9 show that already at that time the 20<sup>th</sup> *våg* was the fee from Namdalen, Fosen and Nordmøre counties to Bergen (NLR V, pp. 334–335, *Steinsvikholm lensregnskap*). I have assumed that the rate was every 20<sup>th</sup> *våg* for regions between Sunnfjord and Finmark even though the sources can confirm this only for the region between Nordmøre and Troms. A skipper who hired a mate had to pay one third of his income from freight to this man (KIIL, *Nordlandshandelen*, pp. 139–140). The accounts from 1563 state that "Kortt Piiil was himself both skipper and mate and paid in tax half of his income from freight, which was 5 *våger* of fish" (NLR III, p. 176), which means that the skipper's income from the cargo must have been 10 *våger* of fish, and the total cargo carried on ship would have been 200 *våger*. The tax paid has to be multiplied by 40 to arrive at the size of the taxed cargo. To the amounts of fish listed in table V.7 must be added the fish which the skipper owned himself, and which was exempted from tax and therefore not registered in the account (KIIL, *Nordlandshandelen*, p. 150, cf. p. 142). I believe that ships belonging to the state bailiffs were also exempted from this tax, since these men at that time were considered part of the castle's staff. The quantities calculated on the basis of the accounts are therefore minimum figures for the total cargo on board.

Ships with skippers from Bergen carried on average 416 *våger* of taxable stockfish, those from Trondheim 526 *våger*, from Andenes 960 *våger*, and from Lofoten/Vesteraalen 776 *våger*. The explanation for the low quantities on ships from Bergen may be that many of these vessels sailed to the west Norwegian coast, where the stockfish production was lower than in northern Norway. For example, one of the skippers from Bergen is called Simon Andersen "in Nordfjord", probably because he stayed there part of the year.<sup>602</sup> An alternative explanation may be that the skippers who were citizens of Bergen had little taxable fish on their ships because they owned much of the cargo themselves, and the skipper's fish was exempt from tax.<sup>603</sup> Much of the fish on the ships of Bergen merchants must have come from Finnmark.

To sum up, 27% of the taxable stockfish arriving in Bergen in 1563 was transported on ships belonging to citizens of Bergen and Trondheim. This does not mean that 27% of the stockfish brought to Bergen belonged to citizens of the two towns or was meant to be sold to them upon arrival. Peasant fishermen who had merchants and debts at Bryggen could sail on ships belonging to ordinary citizens,<sup>604</sup> and citizens who did not own ships could travel on vessels which belonged to skippers who were resident in northern Norway.<sup>605</sup> As just mentioned above, estimations may be erroneous because Bergen and Trondheim citizens may have had tax-free stockfish on board. But one should nevertheless assume that the figure of 27% indicates the scale of citizen interests in the stockfish trade in the north towards the end of the period discussed in this thesis. This should be considered a maximum for the citizens' portion of the trade before the Reformation, which is the end of the period discussed in this chapter.

The Kontor's boycott combined with the prohibition on trading with the winter residents' unfree *nordfar* were powerful weapons employed to stunt the growth of a merchant class in Bergen. Through such political measures, the Hansa merchants managed to retain their dominance in Bergen after the slow decline of Hansa trade began elsewhere around 1430.

Citizens of London also allied themselves to their king in order to promote legislation which strengthened their position as intermediaries between foreign importers and English consumers in the 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> centuries. The Londoners succeeded where the Bergen citizens had failed.<sup>606</sup> But the Bergen citizens managed to retain some of their domestic trade throughout the Late Middle Ages. At the end of that period, they strengthened their economic basis through their large share in the growing trade with Finnmark and the northernmost regions. In Bergen's privileges from 1528, the Bergen citizens and the King made their last attempt before the

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602 *Norske lensrekneskapsbøker 1548–1567* III, p. 176.

603 Cf. table V.7 note 2.

604 SCHREINER, *Hanseatene og Norge*, p. 314.

605 *Ibid.*, p. 194.

606 BARRON, *London in the Late Middle Ages*, pp. 38–39 and 93–94.

Reformation to overturn the Hansa's trade prohibitions, but again without success.<sup>607</sup> The citizens of Bergen and Trondheim had to wait until after 1545 for more effective support from the state.<sup>608</sup>

#### D. CLERICAL AND SECULAR OFFICIALS' TRADE BETWEEN BERGEN AND THE STOCKFISH-PRODUCING REGIONS

Norwegian historians have emphasised the importance of trade in the north carried out by secular and particularly ecclesiastical officials in the Late Middle Ages. Describing the period immediately before the Reformation, Johan Schreiner wrote: "Compared to ecclesiastical and secular officials, the citizens of Bergen operated a modest part of grain purchases in Bergen and the free trade to the northern regions."<sup>609</sup> Grethe Authen Blom wrote about the church's trade:

The Archbishop's See sold large quantities of stockfish in Bergen which were partly incomes from the tithes. But in the Late Middle Ages the Archbishop also bought stockfish in northern Norway, mostly through his local bailiffs called *setesveiner* [= servants with permanent residence]... The priests not only sold goods which they had produced themselves or bought goods which they consumed themselves. They bought and sold in competition with the citizens.<sup>610</sup>

State officials traded in the same way.<sup>611</sup>

Sources verify that ecclesiastical and secular officials sold most of their goods to Hansa merchants and received credit from them. In 1536, the Archbishop was indebted to at least 12 Hansa merchants<sup>612</sup> and traded in cash with several others.<sup>613</sup> The Archbishop was not subject to the Kontor's statute about an indebted Norwegian only being allowed to trade with one creditor.<sup>614</sup> The Bishop of Bergen,<sup>615</sup> the commander of Bergenhus Erik Bjørnsson,<sup>616</sup> and the parson Laurentius in Fana<sup>617</sup> all received credit from Hansa merchants. The commander of Bergenhus castle generally paid cash for goods he received from Bryggen, but the payment could be

607 HR III, 9, 459 = NGL 2.rk. IV no. 113 §7 and §22 = *Norske Rigs-registranter* I, p.14 = DN V no. 1055.

608 Cf. Chapter V.5e.

609 SCHREINER, *Hanseaten og Norge*, p. 83, cf., pp. 82–89.

610 *Kulturhistorisk leksikon for nordisk middelalder*, entry word "Geistlighetens handel".

611 Ibid. "Frälsets handel".

612 *Olav Engelbrikssons rekneskapsbøker*, pp. 134–139.

613 Ibid., pp. 134–141.

614 Cf. pp. 405–408.

615 DN XV no. 505.

616 BRUNS, *Bergenfahrer*, p. 115.

617 Ibid., p. 124. In 1483, the parson Laurentius in Fana parish was indebted to the former winter resident Thonnies Haleholscho from Lübeck.

delayed.<sup>618</sup> The King could at any time move the commander to another part of the realm, and his successor was under no obligation to repay the debt of his predecessor. Therefore it was risky for Hansa merchants to extend credit to the commander of Bergenhus.

These officials sold goods in Bergen which they had produced themselves or received as taxes and other fees. The two largest recipients of taxes and land rents in western and northern Norway were the Archbishop of Trondheim and the commander of Bergenhus castle. Account books for both of them have been preserved from the years just before the Reformation.

Table V.8. Amount of stockfish which was brought to and sent from Bergenhus castle, 1516–25<sup>(1)</sup>

Accounting year	Amount received in våger	Amount sent from the castle in våger
1516	5603 ½	5822
1518 <sup>(2)</sup>	1255 ½	6483
1519	3675	3314 ½
1520	6683 ½	8090
1521	6093	6328 ½
1522	6615 ½	3771 ½
1524/5	5496	5825
average	5694 ½	5525

Sources: NRJ I-IV

- (1) In the account, goods received are called *indtect*, literally “income”, and goods sent from the castle are called *udgift*, literally “expenditure”. The accounting year at Bergenhus was divided into “summer” and “winter”. For each year in the table, the figures for one summer and the following winter have been added together. For 1521, only the summer account is extant. The accounts for other years demonstrate that nearly all stockfish was received and sold in the summer, so the accounts for 1521 should be nearly complete. For the period 8/9/1524 to 14/9/1525, a summary exists of all goods received at Bergenhus (NRJ IV, pp. 23–25). For the summer of 1516 or 1517 (the date is not clear) and the following winter, a similar summary has been preserved. We are told that Per Skriver (Peter the Scribe) and Herr Bertil kept one account book each that summer, and figures from these two books have to be added to arrive at the total (NRJ II, pp. 675–688).
- (2) The accounts list stockfish and other goods received at the castle and goods sent from the castle separately, and each commodity is listed in a separate section. Over the long run, the amount of a particular commodity received at the castle had to be the same as the amount of that commodity sent from the castle. But some stockfish could be left in the warehouse one fiscal year and sent out the next. Therefore the figures won't always balance in a given fiscal year or half-year. In 1518, the difference between stockfish received and stockfish sent from the castle is so large that one might think that in the summer of 1518 the goods were registered in two account books and only one has been preserved. As mentioned in note 1, two books were kept in the summer of 1516/17. That year Herr Bertil received 1179.5 *våger* and paid out 5819 *våger*, Per Skriver received 4414.5 *våger* and paid out only 3 *våger*. The extant 1518 account was written by Herr Bertil (NRJ I, pp. 128, 245 and 347). “Peter the Scribe” was dead in 1518 (NRJ I, p. 92), but another man may have taken over his job of keeping a parallel account. The figures for 1518 should be considered minimum figures.

<sup>618</sup> NRJ III, p. 557.

The stockfish was mostly received as taxes and other duties, and it left the castle because it was sold to merchants in Bergen, was sent to Copenhagen or was paid as wages. If the year 1518 is excluded,<sup>619</sup> in the other 6 fiscal years the commander of Bergenhus received on average about 5700 *våger* of stockfish. During those years there were exceptionally many extra taxes. However, the most important of them, “the tenth penny tax” (*tiendepengeskatten*), was not paid in stockfish, even in northern Norway.<sup>620</sup> The other extra taxes were also mostly paid in coins.<sup>621</sup>

In addition to the stockfish received as taxes and other duties, did the commander of Bergenhus also conduct intermediary trade, buying goods in the stockfish-producing regions and selling them in Bergen? In 1524/5 he received 5496 *våger*, all of which was explicitly stated to have been received in “permanent taxes and duties, extraordinary taxes and fines”.<sup>622</sup> In the other accounting years, it was often noted that particular consignments of stockfish were received as taxes and duties. Only the two skippers Fredrik Friis and Klaus Holst delivered stockfish to him which was the result of trade. In 1521, Friis received from Bergenhus 24 barrels of flour, 24 shippounds (each 136 kilos) of malt, two barrels of French salt, four barrels of Bremen beer, one barrel of Lübeck beer, and 12 barrels of *melske* (a mixture of beer and mead) to trade in northern Norway on behalf of the commander of Bergenhus (*at kopslaa met tiill mynn herris behoff*). Friis stayed in the north all winter. On his return in 1522, he delivered to Bergenhus 100 Danish marks, 54 *våger* of stockfish, 4 barrels of Norwegian salt, 4 salted hides, 6 barrels of grey squirrel furs, and about 8 kilos of butter, “and that was what he received in return for the goods he brought from Bergenhus to northern Norway to trade on behalf of the commander of Bergenhus.”<sup>623</sup> The latter owned the ship in which Friis sailed.<sup>624</sup> Later in 1522, Friis sailed to the Faeroes<sup>625</sup> and to Holland,<sup>626</sup> in both instances to trade on behalf of the commander of Bergenhus. In 1518, the commander of Ber-

619 Table V.8 note 2.

620 NRJ III, pp. 379f and 467f.

621 The *dronningskatt* was imposed in 1515 (UTNE, Hovedsmannsinstusjonen, p. 146), partly paid in stockfish, and was collected in 1518, 1519 and 1520 (NRJ I, pp. 117–119, 373, 377 and 584). In 1518 the 2-mark tax was imposed, in 1519 the “ten percent tax” (*tiendepengeskatten*) (UTNE, Hovedsmannsinstusjonen, p. 146); the latter was partly paid in stockfish (NRJ II, pp. 639 and 640; NRJ V, pp. 22 and 91) until 1522. In Finnmark, 1483 *våger* of stockfish was collected as the “ten percent tax” (HOLMSEN, Bonde-økonomi, p. 550). In 1524/5 Fredrik I imposed a temporary tax called “help to the land” (*landbielp*) which also was partly paid in stockfish (NRJ IV, pp. 23–25).

622 NRJ IV, pp. 23–25.

623 NRJ III, pp. 91, 116, 631 and 641–2.

624 *Ibid.*, p. 593.

625 *Ibid.*, pp. 539 and 568.

626 *Ibid.*, p. 593.

genhus had delivered 6 shippounds of malt to skipper Holst, who sent back 16 *våger* stockfish from Rødøy on Helgeland in return.<sup>627</sup>

During the years 1518–1522, for which accounts have been preserved, these voyages by captains Friis and Holst seem to have been Bergenhus' only trading ventures to buy stockfish. They delivered 70 *våger* of stockfish (54 + 16) to Bergenhus over this five-year period. Every year Bergenhus received in taxes at least 5–6000 *våger*. Bergenhus acquired through trade less than 1 % of the stockfish it received as taxes and other fees. Bergenhus owned several ships which were used to freight the goods received as taxes, but these were only used to a very limited degree for commerce.

The discussion above has concerned trading which the commander of Bergenhus, who at that time was Jørgen Hanssøn Skrivers, organised on behalf of Bergenhus castle as an institution. It is possible that he also carried out trade as a private person using his own money and goods. The only indication of this is to be found in the account book for "goods sent from the castle" (*udgift*) for 1519. After the goods belonging to the castle as an institution have been accounted for, there are 12 blank pages, and then one page with the heading "Jørgen's fish", under which appears 350 *våger* of stockfish which Jørgen sold to merchants from Holland and the Hansa and to one citizen of Bergen.<sup>628</sup> Most likely this represented Jørgen's wages taken from the income of Bergenhus castle, but it may also have come from gifts or purchases. In either case, 350 *våger* is only about 7% of the annual tax income in stockfish for Bergenhus.

His successor Vincens Lunge was commander of Bergenhus from 1523 to 1528 and also of Vardøhus castle in Finnmark from 1525 to 1536. During these years, he organised trade between Bergen and Vardøhus. He owned one "ship", three "nordfar-ships" with a capacity of 45, 60 and 80 lasts and three *jekter*, which he used for trading in the north. In a feud with the Archbishop of Nidaros in 1531, he was unable to rent out the cargo space on these ships to others, and because of this he claimed to have lost freight charges worth 600 *våger*. He also traded in the "Eastern Sea" (*østenhavs*) with Russians (*handle met the Rysser*).<sup>629</sup> This was probably east of Vardøhus towards the Varangerfjord and the Kola peninsula. He wrote in 1528 to his bailiff at Vardøhus castle that he planned to use a large ship with two masts, called a *holk*, accompanied by two smaller *jekter*, on such an expedition. The bailiff at Vardøhus was his trading representative, and in 1525 he wanted him to buy both furs and fish oil, but in 1528 only furs.<sup>630</sup> He had in his service 20 fishermen at Vardøhus who probably doubled as soldiers.<sup>631</sup> They fished all year round and had

627 NRJ I, pp. 117, 200, cf. p. 368 about Klaus Holst.

628 NRJ I, p. 470.

629 DN IX nos. 712 and DN VIII no. 572.

630 DN VIII nos. 533 and 572.

631 DN IX no. 712.

at their disposal 4 fishing boats manned by 3 men each (*seksring*) and two manned by four men (*åttring*).<sup>632</sup> In 1525 the fishermen received, among other things, 200 hooks for catching cod and 3 heavy lines for catching Greenland sharks.<sup>633</sup> They produced stockfish, which must have been sent southwards on Vincens' own ships.

Vincens had one servant on the island of Senja whom he referred to as "my merchant on Senja", which means that he was Vincens' trading representative. This man also organised the fishing with three hired fishermen. Vincens had fishermen in his service, rented out cargo space on his ships, and organised intermediary trade to Bergen, mainly from Vardø, but also from Senja. He seems to have managed all this fishing and trading on behalf of the Crown. In 1525, he sent to his bailiff at Vardøhus, among other items, fishing lines, fishhooks, heavy lines for catching sharks and other equipment for fishing, as well as 4 lasts of flour, all said to be "for the castle's need" (*til slottens behoff*), meaning "to be used at the castle" or "to be sold to generate income for the castle". In the list of his losses in the 1531/2 feud, fines to the state and incomes from fishing are included.<sup>634</sup>

This comparison between Jørgen Hanssøn and Vincens Lunge indicates that economic activities for profit were left to the initiative of each official. Vincens was in a particularly favourable position since for a period he was commander of both Bergenus and Vardøhus castles.

There is an extant account book from 1536 for goods which the Archbishop of Trondheim's representative in Bergen bought and sold which shows that 1960½ *våger* of stockfish arrived in the Archbishop's warehouse in Bergen, less than half what the commander of Bergenus received annually from 1518 to 1522.<sup>635</sup> The year 1536 was a special one for the Catholic Church in Norway; the following year the Archbishop had to flee the country, never to return. In the preceding years he had struggled in vain against the approaching Reformation, and at times he had encouraged and protected direct shipping to Hamburg and Holland from his See in Trondheim. But this does not seem to have been the case in 1536, and 1960½ *våger* was probably all that the Archbishop exported that year.<sup>636</sup>

632 DN VIII no. 572.

633 Ibid. no. 533.

634 DN VIII no. 533; DN IX no. 712.

635 *Olav Engelbriktssons rekneskapsbøker*, p. 150.

636 In 1532–1534, there was trade and shipping from Holland and Hamburg directly to Trondheim, and the Archbishop exported stockfish on these ships (HR IV, 1, 116 §90). In 1534–35, merchants from Holland and Hamburg agreed to halt this shipping (HR IV, 1, 233 §5, no. 229 §11, no. 228 §23, §26, and §27, no. 254, no. 267; *Niederländische Akten und Urkunden* I no. 173 §3, no. 196 and no. 198; HR IV, 2, 86 §588). In 1536, Amsterdam asked the regent to prohibit all shipping to Norway (*Niederländische Akten und Urkunden* I no. 265), the request was granted (Ibid. no. 282), and in March 1536 it was not possible to find a single ship in Holland bound for Trondheim (Ibid. no. 270 §5). The two ships sent by Emperor Charles V to Trondheim in 1536 to evacuate the Archbishop himself were

Goods which had been imported into Bergen were sent on to Trondheim in 1536 on 12 ships or *jekter*.<sup>637</sup> The skippers of five of these were in the Archbishop's service, and the ships no doubt belonged to the See.<sup>638</sup> Five other captains received freight payments from the Archbishop, so those ships cannot have belonged to the Archbishop.<sup>639</sup> The final two skippers were not paid for the use of their ships, but there is no evidence that they were in the Archbishop's service either.

The Archbishop employed fishermen and organised fishing in the same way as the commanders of Bergenhus and Vardøhus did. Among goods which the Archbishop sent north from Bergen in 1536 were 12 heavy lines for catching Greenland sharks and 62 hooks for cod; 20 *balker*<sup>640</sup> of "line", which probably meant fishing line; and 4 coats of skin and 4 pairs of boots, which may have been for fishing in rainy weather.<sup>641</sup> It is probably no coincidence that all this fishing equipment, except 6 of the heavy lines, was sent north on the ship owned by Halvard Søgn, who was the Archbishop's liegeman (*setesvein*) in Vardø.<sup>642</sup> The same ship also carried flour, malt, beer, wadmål, canvas, and hemp on board. The only luxury article was one "piece" of a cloth called *syloffar*. Other north-bound ships normally carried far more imported cloth, which in this context must be seen as a luxury article. The Archbishop seems to have organised fishing from Vardø through his local *setesvein*, which parallels how Vincens Lunge used his bailiff on Vardøhus.<sup>643</sup> The goods on Halvard

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probably warships, and they returned in 1537 (DN V no. 1085; SCHREINER, *Hanseatene og Norge*, p. 177 thinks differently). There is no evidence that Hamburg merchants sailed to Trondheim in the years following 1535. Nor is there evidence that the Archbishop sent stockfish abroad directly from Trondheim on his own ships. He exported stockfish to Amsterdam on his own ship in 1526 and 1528, but it left from his warehouse in Bergen (DN XVI no. 510; DN VII nos. 618, 622 and 623). The Archbishop's account book from 1536 confirms that his exports from northern Norway were shipped directly to Bergen and did not go via Trondheim (*Olav Engelbriktsens rekneskapsbøker*, pp. 131–134). This was common practice; in 1519 and 1533 the Archbishop's ship is mentioned in or on its way to Bergen (NRJ I, p. 343; DN X no. 645.). In 1532 the commander of Bergenhus seized the Archbishop's ship north of Trondheim on its way to Bergen, and the goods on board belonged to the Archbishop himself, to canons and citizens of Trondheim, and to the Archbishop's local liegemen (*setesveiner*) (DN IX no. 703; HR IV, 1, 116 §161, cf. § 173.).

637 *Olav Engelbriktsens rekneskapsbøker*, pp. 147–149.

638 Peder Bagge (*Olav Engelbriktsens rekneskapsbøker*, index and p. 144), Isak (*ibid.*, pp. 70 and 91), Jon Simonsson (*ibid.*, index), Simon (*ibid.*, index) and Peder Bartskjær (*ibid.*, index).

639 Anders Søgn (*Olav Engelbriktsens rekneskapsbøker*, p. 144), Halvard Søgn (*ibid.*, pp. 90 and 144), Nils Engelbrektsson (*ibid.*, pp. 144 and 159, here a *håsete* was responsible for the goods during the voyage and was paid for it), Thomas Torkelsson (*ibid.*, pp. 134 and 144) and Sjurd Straack (*ibid.*, p. 144).

640 According to *Norsk historisk leksikon*, entry word "balk", one *balk* is "an uncertain quantity of fishing lines".

641 *Olav Engelbriktsens rekneskapsbøker*, pp. 147–148.

642 *Ibid.*, p. 40.

643 *Ibid.*, p. 148.

Søgn's ship can be compared to what Vincens Lunge sent to his fishermen on Vardøhus in 1525: Vincens sent 200 hooks to the Archbishop's 62; six *balker* of fishing line to the Archbishop's 20, three heavy lines with hooks for catching shark vs six by the Archbishop, and six coats of skin and pairs of boots to the Archbishop's four.<sup>644</sup> Vincens Lunge employed 20 fishermen on Vardøhus, and the Archbishop may not have been far behind this number. The Archbishop may have had servant fishermen elsewhere; the fact that he sent 6 heavy lines for catching Greenland shark to Trondheim (*beimsentt*) point to this.

In 1536, the Archbishop received 1960½ *våger* from 22 different locations north of Bergen on at least 23 ships. The accounts state why some of this fish was sent to the Archbishop: 428½ *våger* were tithes, 74 *våger* were for land rents, 85 *våger* were "tithes and land rents", and 47 *våger* were fines, a total of 634½ *våger*. No stockfish was said to have been purchased.<sup>645</sup> As mentioned above, the Archbishop also organised fishing from Vardø, but income in stockfish from this is not mentioned in the 1536 accounts. There are no indications either in the accounts or in other sources that the Archbishop organised intermediary trade between the stockfish-producing regions and Bergen.

These figures from 1536 indicate that the Archbishop obtained as much as 80 % of his stockfish from tithes, which works out as 1568 *våger*. In the 17<sup>th</sup> century, the rate for the tithe in most regions was 9 of every 120 fish,<sup>646</sup> and we have no reason to believe that this was different in 1536. The Bishop's share of the tithes was one third of this amount, and the Archbishop only received tithes from his own diocese. The total production in Nidaros diocese that year must then have been 62,720 *våger*, or 1160 tons.<sup>647</sup> Total exports in the final years of the Middle Ages may have been a little less than 1500 tons.<sup>648</sup> It is not necessary to assume trade was involved to explain the quantities of fish listed in the Archbishop's account in 1536. There are no indications that the Archbishop organised intermediary trade for profit by buying fish in the north and selling it in Bergen. He only sold goods which he received in tithes and land rents, and the stockfish which his fishermen-servants had produced.

In the final years of the Catholic era, the Archbishop of Trondheim's relations with the Hansa and the King were periodically tense because of his support for Christian II in 1531/2. In the following years, he sold some of his stockfish in Holland,<sup>649</sup> and in 1533 he received permission from state officials to sell a maximum of 1000 *våger* of stockfish in Finnmark, and "particularly in the Eastern Sea

644 DN VIII no. 533.

645 *Olav Engelbriktssoens rekneskapsbøker*, pp. 131–133. I have included *landboveitsle* and *landvarde* under "land rents".

646 *Norsk økonomisk historie* I 1979, p. 37.

647  $(1568 \div 3) \times 120 = 62,720$ . In words: "1538 divided by three".

648 Cf. p. 247.

649 DN XVI no. 510; DN VII nos. 618, 622 and 623.

to Russians and Carelians" (*østenhaffs hos the Rytzere och Kareler*).<sup>650</sup> He may have sent his ships as far east as the White Sea.

Around 1170, the Archbishop of Trondheim edited excerpts of international church law (*canones*) which were to be followed by the Norwegian church. One of the paragraphs said: "It is forbidden for priests to visit marketplaces to buy cheap and sell dear. Canon law ordains that clerical merchants (*clericos negotiatores*) shall be removed from office. If they are poor they can exercise crafts without endangering their office."<sup>651</sup> Here "trade" is defined as intermediary trade, buying cheap and later selling the same commodity at a profit. But it was permitted to sell goods which they had produced themselves or received as land rents or tithes. There is nothing to indicate that the Archbishop contravened this law.

There were similarities and differences between the way Bergenhus and the Archbishop carried out their trade in stockfish. Both mainly sold fish they had received in taxes and duties. Both owned a large number of ships – at least 5 and perhaps 10 ships each – which were used to transport their own fish, but they also rented out cargo space to others. Both employed a limited number of fishermen, the commander of Bergenhus at least 24, the Archbishop probably somewhat less. The commander of Bergenhus and Vardøhus organised limited intermediary trade between the north and Bergen, but there is no evidence that the Archbishop did that.

The trade in stockfish conducted by officials other than the two discussed so far is poorly documented. The Bishop of Bergen also sold goods to Hansa merchants and received credit from them. His debt at the time of the Reformation amounted to 2498 Danish marks corresponding to 1600 *våger* or 30 tons stockfish, owed to three named Hansa merchants.<sup>652</sup> A tax had to be paid for cargo ships which sailed to the northern regions, and in 1521 the Bishop of Bergen paid for one ship and one *jekt*,<sup>653</sup> in the winter of 1519/20 he paid the tax for one *jekt*.<sup>654</sup> In an extant formulaic letter from 1440, the Bishop recommended two of his servants and their ship, men and goods for a journey northwards "in our business (*in nostris negotiis*)".<sup>655</sup> This business or trade north of Bergen was not limited to his own diocese; in 1520 the Bishop's ship brought goods from Omgang in Finnmark to Bergen.<sup>656</sup>

Canon Ogmund Olavsson of Trondheim wrote his will in 1381. He owned considerable quantities of stockfish; one boat (*baath*), which probably was a normal

<sup>650</sup> DN XIV no. 721.

<sup>651</sup> *Norske middelalderdokumenter* no. 11 §11.

<sup>652</sup> DN XV no. 505; DN XIII no. 649.

<sup>653</sup> NRJ II, pp. 605 and 606.

<sup>654</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 543.

<sup>655</sup> DN XVI no. 130.

<sup>656</sup> NRJ I, p. 585.

fishing boat for 3–4 fishermen; and two cargo ships, one referred to as “my largest ship” and a smaller one called a *karfua*, both “with a square sail and all equipment”.<sup>657</sup>

Parsons and the other clerical and secular officials in coastal communities owned inshore cargo ships (*jekter*). Examples are the parson Peder in Brønnøy, Master Oluf from Senja, the Archbishop’s provost in Lofoten and Vesterålen,<sup>658</sup> the King’s bailiff in Rødøy on Helgeland,<sup>659</sup> and the bailiff in Brønnøy on Helgeland.<sup>660</sup> Even the King’s bailiff in Hardanger, south of Bergen, owned a *jekt* which sailed to Senja.<sup>661</sup> The lawman on Steigen was one of the nordfar who was present in Bergen during the fair in 1446.<sup>662</sup> In 1518, Henrik Krummedike, the bailiff of Namdalen and a member of the Norwegian Council of the Realm, sent goods which he had received as taxes to Bergen on his own ship.<sup>663</sup> Even after he had left this office and lived in Denmark, he planned to send a ship to Bergen or further north.<sup>664</sup> Johan Krukow, another member of the Council of the Realm, sent his ship from Bergen to the northern regions in 1518.<sup>665</sup>

The Gyldenløves were the most prominent of the noble families in the stockfish-producing regions ca. 1520; their residence was on Austråt in Trøndelag. The head of the family, Nils Henriksson, sent ships and goods from Bergen to Vardø, where he had formerly been a bailiff,<sup>666</sup> and in 1522 he sent on his own ship taxes in kind to Bergen from Fosen, where he was then the bailiff.<sup>667</sup> When the Archbishop’s men plundered Austråt in 1532, they burned one ship and two *jekter* with a capacity of 12 and 4 lasts.<sup>668</sup> The Gyldenløve family’s possessions in Sørvær, which was one of the richest fishing villages in Finnmark, were also plundered.<sup>669</sup> They may have settled hired fishermen in one or several fishing villages in Finnmark.

If we add up these secular and clerical officials who were mentioned in extant sources as owning ships which sailed to the stockfish-producing regions during this period, this gives us 13 institutions or individuals.<sup>670</sup> The basis for the business of

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657 DN II no. 468.

658 NRJ I, p. 83.

659 Ibid., p. 117.

660 Ibid., p. 367.

661 Ibid., p. 368.

662 HR II, 3, 309 §6 = DN XVI no. 161.

663 NRJ I, pp. 84, 119 and 116.

664 DN XI no. 511 (1529).

665 Halkild Nilsen claimed that Krukow owned a trading station on Hjelmøy. But Nilsen misread the document on which he based his claim (NRJ I, p. 78; NRJ II, p. 566; NILSEN, HALKILD, Bergensernes handel på Finnmark, p. 12; FOSSEN, Bergen, p. 838).

666 NRJ II, pp. 605 and 606.

667 NRJ V, p. 93.

668 DN IX no. 713.

669 Ibid. no. 715.

670 These were: The commander of Bergenhuss castle, the Archbishop of Trondheim, the Bishop of Bergen, Herr Nils Henriksson, Herr Henrik Krummedike, Herr Johan Krukow, the par-

these officials was that they had to transport goods collected as taxes and duties to Bergen. As an additional income, the officials also produced stockfish themselves, and many owned inshore cargo ships on which they freighted fish for others. Finally, some of them earned money from intermediary trade.

Clerical and secular officials were important customers for the merchants at Bryggen. How much of the Hanseatic stockfish exports were brought to Bergen by them? Around the year 1520, the commander of Bergenhus delivered 5700 *våger* to Hansa merchants, and in 1536 the Archbishop brought them 2000 *våger*. As mentioned above, it is possible that Bergenhus delivered more and the Archbishop less than normal in these years. The total sales of Bergenhus and the Archbishop may have been about 7700 *våger* annually. The stockfish tithes in Norway were divided in three equal parts: one to the Bishop, one for the use of the local parson, and one for the upkeep of the parish church building. In a normal year, all clerical and secular officials must have delivered more than 10,000 *våger* of stockfish for export. Total exports from Bergen in the 1520s and 1530s may have been 60,000–90,000 *våger* of stockfish.<sup>671</sup> This means that 10%-20% of the stockfish exported from Bergen had been sold to the exporters by church and state officials.

These officials could potentially create an open market for stockfish in Bergen, and were therefore a threat to the closed exchanges favoured by the Kontor between German creditors and Norwegian debtors. The Kontor's statutes therefore prescribed the same type of restrictions against "bailiffs and clerics" as against Bergen and Trondheim citizens. Hansa merchants could not sell to one of these officials more than the latter needed for his own use. He could receive goods for trading purposes, but only if he was a rightful (*rechte*) nordfar, i.e. indebted to a Hansa merchant and obliged to deliver all his goods to this creditor.<sup>672</sup> In 1513, the King promulgated a law which contained restrictions similar to those which the Kontor formulated in its statutes: Hansa merchants could not trade with members of the Council of the Realm and other nobles (*eddelene lude*).<sup>673</sup> Later in 1535, the Kontor used this 1513 legislation to justify a continuation of their boycott.<sup>674</sup> This was a serious problem for Norwegians who wanted to organise intermediary trade, including officials.<sup>675</sup>

The state had its own reason for wanting to restrict these officials' trading: clerics and noblemen did not pay state taxes, nor did the Archbishop's liegemen (*setesvei-*

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son Peder of Brønnøy, Master Oluf on Senja, the provost (*prost*) of Vesterålen and Lofoten, the bailiff of Vesterålen and Lofoten, the bailiff of Rødøy, the bailiff of Brønnøy and the bailiff of Hardanger.

671 1000–1500 tons, each *våg* = 18,5 kg (above p. 247).

672 NGL 2.rk. II no. 416 §63 and §64; SCHREINER, *Hanseatene og Norge*, p. 82.

673 HR III, 6, 508 = NGL 2.rk. IV no. 4 §7.

674 HR IV, 2, 90 §1.

675 Cf. section 2d; NGL 2.rk. I no. 375 §14 = HUB V no. 1050 = HR I, 6, 70 §17.

ner). The commander of Bergenhus claimed in 1521 that the church forced its tenants to send their goods on church ships to Bergen. Renting out cargo space provided income for the church.<sup>676</sup> The King reacted to this claim by prohibiting a person who had tax privileges from forcing his tenants to use his ships or sell stockfish to him in the fishing villages.<sup>677</sup> But clerics and noblemen were still permitted to practice intermediary trade between fishermen in the northern regions and foreign merchants in Bergen if no coercion was involved.<sup>678</sup>

Not only the Kontor and state, but also the citizens of Bergen, objected to northern trade being carried out by clerics and nobles. Bergen's privileges from 1528 contain the following paragraph: "No priest or monk shall ship goods to the northern regions (*Nordlandene*), the penalty is loss of the goods."<sup>679</sup> This was a radical measure initiated by the town's citizens, but it was evidently not put into practice.<sup>680</sup>

Schreiner and Blom, who were quoted in the introduction to this section, claimed that the secular and clerical administrative elite's trade was more significant than that of the Bergen and Trondheim citizens in the period before the Reformation. This is impossible to verify, because the latter's trade cannot be quantified until 1563.<sup>681</sup> But the amount of goods traded by the administrative elite can be quantified, and seems to have comprised around 10% of the northern stockfish trade. There is no reason to believe that the Bergen and Trondheim citizens' trade was larger. The conclusion is that peasant fishermen and local landowners who resided in the stockfish-producing regions delivered the majority of the stockfish exported by the Hansa. Citizens of the two towns, clerics and state officials were minor participants.

#### E. LOCAL MAGNATES' TRADE BETWEEN BERGEN AND THE STOCKFISH REGIONS

The local elite in the stockfish-producing regions sent their servants to seasonal cod fisheries as far back as at least the 13<sup>th</sup> century. A magnate on Torgar in Helgeland county sent his servants to Lofoten to fish for cod; if we are to believe *Egil's saga*, he sailed his ship to England carrying stockfish, fish oil and hides. A wealthy man from Salten county sent his inshore cargo ship (*byrding*) to Vågen in Lofoten to the same

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676 DN XIII no. 183.

677 DN XVI no. 367.

678 DN IX no. 478; NGL 2.rk. IV no. 3 §42 (1513).

679 HR III, 9, 459 = NGL 2.rk. IV no. 113 §17 = *Norske Rigs-registranter* I, p.14 = DN V no. 1055.

680 Examples: DN IX no. 703; HR IV, 1, 116 §161, cf. §173.

681 Table V.7. Even then only the identity of the skipper, and not of the owner of the goods, is known.

fishery, and then to England, according to *Grette's saga*.<sup>682</sup> These two sagas take place in the Viking Age but reflect practices in the 13<sup>th</sup> century, when they were written. Similar descriptions are found in 13<sup>th</sup>-century sagas which realistically depict events in the author's own time.<sup>683</sup> During the insurrection by Duke Skule in 1239/40, several magnates had their inshore cargo ships confiscated.<sup>684</sup> Later in 1408, a man called Olav Petersson sent his servants to a fishing village; their leader was called Sten.<sup>685</sup> Olav was most likely a well-to-do farmer from the northern regions.

These local elite persons are more visible in the sources after about 1510. The reason is that the Archbishop of Trondheim at this time included many of the most prominent of these men in a political network under his own leadership, awarding them the title *setesvein*. The Archbishop had the right to grant tax exemptions to a certain number of his servants, and he used this privilege to remunerate, among others, local magnates in his diocese.<sup>686</sup> In return, they swore an oath of loyalty to him and offered him certain services. This tradition had existed since the 14<sup>th</sup> century,<sup>687</sup> but it was Archbishop Erik Valkendorf (1510–22) who systematically strengthened his ties to the local elite in his diocese in this way.<sup>688</sup> The background to this was probably the tense situation with the commander of Bergenhus, Jørgen Hanssøn (1516–23), and his successors up to the Reformation. They collected payments due to the Archbishop in the local communities and sent them to his representative in Bergen, or shipped goods collected by local church officials to Bergen. Stockfish from Løddingen parish was collected by the parson Herr Jacob, but the *setesvein* Oluf Tordsson delivered it to the Archbishop's representative in Bergen.<sup>689</sup>

The majority of the stockfish exported from Bergen was produced in the diocese of Trondheim (Nidaros). Historians have sometimes considered the *setesveiner* to be local trading representatives in a large commercial organisation headed by the Archbishop.<sup>690</sup> As mentioned in the previous section, there are no indications that the Archbishop bought stockfish in the fishing villages, either through the *setesveiner* or directly.<sup>691</sup> A *setesvein* had no fixed or defined duties; he did what was useful to the Archbishop when the need arose. *Setesveiner* could be mobilised for military pur-

682 *Egil's saga*, Norse text, pp. 21 and 37; *Grette's saga*, Norse text, pp. 73 and 78.

683 BUGGE, *Den norske sjøfarts historie*, pp. 147–148, 54–58, 131, 142 and 188.

684 *Hakonar saga Hakonarsonar*, chapter 203.

685 DN V no. 455.

686 *Ibid.* Nidaros diocese included the main part of the stockfish-producing coast from Sunnmøre to Finnmark. Nidaros archbishopric (province) included all of mainland Norway and the Atlantic islands.

687 DAAE, *Sædesvende*, p. 25.

688 DAAE, *Sædesvende*, p. 12; HAMRE, *Erkesbiskop Erik Valkendorf*, p. 44.

689 *Olav Engelbriktssons rekneskapsbøker*, pp. 132–134 and 40.

690 *Kulturhistorisk leksikon for nordisk middelalder*, entry word "Setesvein".

691 Cf. p. 439, general background section 2d.

poses if necessary.<sup>692</sup> This was an honorary title and a secondary occupation for people whose main sources of income and social prestige lay elsewhere.

The *setesveiner* are more visible in the extant sources than other local magnates. This makes them interesting in our context as prominent representatives of a larger, wealthy elite in the stockfish-producing regions. Most of them owned large farms or land locally, and some of them also were given the farm where they lived or additional land by the Archbishop.<sup>693</sup> In 1533, there were 49 of the Archbishop's *setesveiner* in the stockfish-producing regions between Finnmark and Sunnmøre, and all of them resided in the countryside.<sup>694</sup> Several of them were among the highest taxpayers in their local community: Aslak Engelbriktsen on Senja,<sup>695</sup> Jens Jude on Senja,<sup>696</sup> Oluf Persen on Andenes,<sup>697</sup> Nils Sebjørnsson on Andenes,<sup>698</sup> Engelbrikt Halvorsen on Andenes,<sup>699</sup> Per Henningsen in Troms;<sup>700</sup> Ivar Bjørnsson<sup>701</sup> and Mogens Olsen, both on Ingøy in Finnmark;<sup>702</sup> and finally Lauritz Bentsson in Tunes,<sup>703</sup> Per Iversen in Omgang<sup>704</sup> and Roald Bjørnsson in Kjelvik,<sup>705</sup> all three from now-deserted fishing villages in Finnmark.

Many of these men had fishermen in their service. The *setesvein* Per Henningsen in Troms<sup>706</sup> had 1500 stockfish hanging on drying racks in 1533.<sup>707</sup> In 1537, the *setesvein* Ivar Jonsson in Løddingen<sup>708</sup> had stored 70 *våger* of stockfish at his farm.<sup>709</sup> These catches are so large that they must have been the work of several men. As

692 DAAE, Sædesvende, pp. 14–15.

693 *Kulturhistorisk leksikon for nordisk middelalder*, entry word “Setesvein”.

694 *Olav Engelbriktsens rekneskapsbøker*, pp. 40–41. There are 56 names entered, but 7 of them are crossed out, probably because they had ceased serving in this role. The total number of *setesveiner* is 69, but 13 of them lived outside Nidaros diocese in other parts of the Norwegian church province.

695 NRJ III, p. 229.

696 NRJ III, p. 234; *Olav Engelbriktsens rekneskapsbøker*, p. 41; DN XIII, p. 717.

697 NRJ III, p. 160.

698 *Ibid.*, p. 163.

699 NRJ III, p. 566; DN XIII, p. 718.

700 NRJ II, p. 569.

701 *Ibid.*, p. 558.

702 NRJ II, p. 244; *Olav Engelbriktsens rekneskapsbøker*, p. 40.

703 NRJ II, p. 247.

704 NRJ II, p. 249; *Olav Engelbriktsens rekneskapsbøker*, p. 40.

705 NRJ II, p. 561.

706 *Olav Engelbriktsens rekneskapsbøker*, p. 40.

707 DN VII no. 706. 950 stockfish was considered to be the product of a normal season in Lofoten (cf. p. 549).

708 *Olav Engelbriktsens rekneskapsbøker*, p. 41.

709 DN XIII no. 634. 29 *våger* was considered to be the product of a normal season in Lofoten before expenses had been paid. 70 *våger* would represent the production of three fishermen (cf. p. 549).

mentioned above, the *setesvein* in Vardø, Halvard Søgn, seems to have organised fishing for the Archbishop.<sup>710</sup>

Most *setesveiner* along the coast seem to have owned inshore cargo ships (*jekter*). Nine of them are named in the accounts of Bergenhus for 1518–21 as visiting Bergen with their *jekt*: Anders Jonsen in Makkaur/Kjelvik,<sup>711</sup> Per Iversen in Omgang,<sup>712</sup> Jon Gautesen from Skjøtningsberg,<sup>713</sup> Oluf Alvsson in Skjøtningsberg/Stappen<sup>714</sup> and Lauritz Bentsson in Tunes;<sup>715</sup> all of these fishing villages in Finnmark are now deserted; Per Henningsen in Troms,<sup>716</sup> Aslak Engelbrikttsson on Trondenes,<sup>717</sup> Oluf Persen on Andenes<sup>718</sup> and Arne Tordsen on Herøy in Helgeland.<sup>719</sup> Three *setesveiner* in northern Norway had their *jekt* confiscated after the Reformation in 1537 as a fine for having supported the Archbishop.<sup>720</sup>

*Setesveiner* from the fishing districts owned a farm in that area, but in Finnmark farming was very modest or non-existent. They nevertheless had their main residence there; *setesvein* means “servant with permanent residence”. Several of them also owned a house in Bergen. The *setesvein* Lauritz Bentsson payed the highest taxes in the fishing village of Tunes in Finnmark,<sup>721</sup> owned a *jekt* which sailed to Bergen,<sup>722</sup> and owned a house in the Strandsiden quarter in Bergen.<sup>723</sup> The *setesvein* Per Henningsen was one of the highest taxpayers in Troms,<sup>724</sup> owned a ship which sailed to Bergen,<sup>725</sup> had fishermen in his service,<sup>726</sup> and owned a house in the Strandsiden quarter in Bergen.<sup>727</sup> In 1533 he had a debt to the Archbishop of 200 marks and 200 *våger* of stockfish.<sup>728</sup> He was arrested in Trondheim for having hanged a Sámi (*finn*) who refused to pay state taxes;<sup>729</sup> he evidently collected taxes and other fees

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710 Cf. p. 437.

711 NRJ II, p. 606; NRJ I, pp. 584 and 687.

712 NRJ I, p. 584; *Olav Engelbrikttssons rekneskapsbøker*, p. 40.

713 NRJ I, p. 78; *Olav Engelbrikttssons rekneskapsbøker*, p. 40.

714 NRJ I, p. 605; *Olav Engelbrikttssons rekneskapsbøker*, p. 40.

715 NRJ I, p. 566; *Olav Engelbrikttssons rekneskapsbøker*, p. 40.

716 NRJ II, pp. 569 and 606; *Olav Engelbrikttssons rekneskapsbøker*, p. 40.

717 NRJ I, p. 368; *Olav Engelbrikttssons rekneskapsbøker*, p. 40.

718 NRJ I, p. 267; *Olav Engelbrikttssons rekneskapsbøker*, p. 40.

719 NRJ I, pp. 333 and 687; NRJ II, p. 646.

720 DN XIII no. 634.

721 NRJ II, pp. 247 and 535.

722 NRJ I, pp. 78 and 566; NRJ V, p. 90.

723 NRJ II, p. 631.

724 *Ibid.*, pp. 569 and 641. Troms was at this time a region administered by a bailiff (*fogd*).

725 *Ibid.*, pp. 568, 569 and 606.

726 DN VII no. 706.

727 NRJ II, p. 631.

728 DN VII no. 702.

729 *Ibid.* no. 706.

for both the Archbishop and the King. The *setesvein* Aslak Engelbrektsson<sup>730</sup> was among the highest taxpayers in Berg on Senja<sup>731</sup> and sailed on his own ship to Bergen.<sup>732</sup> In 1535, he served as co-judge in Trondheim; such tasks were often given to urban councillors and other house owners in the town.<sup>733</sup> Aslak was also the brother of the last Archbishop of Trondheim, Olav Engelbrektsson.<sup>734</sup> The *setesvein* Oluf Persen on Andenes<sup>735</sup> was one of the highest taxpayers there,<sup>736</sup> and he owned a *jekt* which sailed to Bergen.<sup>737</sup> In Bergen in 1521 there was a man named Oluf Persen who owned a house in the Strandsiden quarter and paid taxes there.<sup>738</sup> Both Oluf and Per were very common names at this time, so these two may or may not have been the same person. But Bergen had close ties to Andenes: in 1528 the 24 town councillors of Bergen received Andenes as a fiefdom from the King.<sup>739</sup>

These people did not become rich skippers and house owners because the Archbishop appointed them to be his *setesveiner* – it was the other way around. There was a large group of rich captains and house owners in the stockfish-producing regions who also stayed for part of the year in Bergen or Trondheim, and the basis for their status and wealth was their economic role. The Archbishop appointed a minority of them to be his *setesveiner*.

How many of the north Norwegian magnates who sailed to Bergen carrying stockfish were either the Archbishop's *setesveiner* or citizens of Bergen or Trondheim? The accounts of Bergenhus castle for 1518–1522 list the names of a large number of skippers who are said to come from the stockfish-producing regions. The names of 32 of them can be found in the tax accounts from that county or parish. In these cases it is highly likely that the same name also refers to the same person. These 32 people are listed in table V.9.

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730 *Olav Engelbriktssons rekneskapsbøker*, p. 40. He is said here to be a *setesvein* in Trondenes parish, which included Senja.

731 NRJ III, p. 229.

732 NRJ I, p. 368.

733 DN XVI no. 577.

734 HAMRE, *Norsk historie 1513–1537*, p. 254.

735 *Olav Engelbriktssons rekneskapsbøker*, p. 40; DN XIII, p. 718.

736 NRJ III, p. 160.

737 NRJ I, p. 376; NRJ II, p. 650; NRJ I, p. 267.

738 NRJ II, p. 639; NRJ III, p. 628.

739 *Norske Rigsregistrarer* I, p. 15.

Table V.9. Men named both as skippers in Bergen coming from the stockfish-producing regions and as taxpayers in that county or parish, 1518–22

<b>Residence</b>	<b>Name</b>	<b>S = Setesvein</b> <b>C = Urban councillor</b> <b>H = Urban houseowner</b>	<b>Source</b>
Rødøy	Arne Tordsen	S	NRJ I, II and III index
Vesterålen	Jon Tordsen	–	NRJ I and III index
	Tord Galle	–	NRJ I and III index
	Tord Trondsen	–	NRJ V, pp. 23 and 54
Røst	Olav Trondsen	–	NRJ I index; III, p. 198
Lofoten	Mikkel Olsen	–	NRJ I, II and III index
Andenes	Olav Olsen	–	NRJ III, p. 162
	Oluf Persen	S+C (Bergen)	See footnotes nos. 416–419
Senja	Torkel Tollefsen	–	NRJ II, III index
	Sivert Askelsen	–	NRJ I, III index
	Oluf Bentsson	–	NRJ I, II index
	Dagfind Tollaksen	–	NRJ II index
	Jon Eriksen	H (Trondheim)	See footnotes nos. 220–222
	Simon Svendsen	C (Trondheim)	See footnotes nos. 217–219
	Aslak Engelbriktsen	S	NRJ I-III index, OER, p. 40
Troms	Hans Olsen	–	NRJ II, p. 641; OER, p. 134
	Erik Fincke	–	NRJ I, II index
	Hustru Dorothe	–	NRJ II, III index
	Pål Arnesen	–	NRJ II, pp. 569 and 641
	Olav Guttormsen	–	NRJ I, p. 376; II, p. 606
	Jens Lock	–	NRJ II index
	Per Henningsen	S+H (Bergen)	See footnotes no. 406–411
Sørvær	Erik Jorandsen	–	NRJ II index; V, p. 82
Tunes	Lauritz Bentsson	S+H (Bergen)	See footnotes no. 403–405
	Jon Ellingsen <sup>(1)</sup>	C (Bergen)	See footnotes 161–162
	Askel Knutsson	–	NRJ I index; II, p. 247
Kjelvik	Jacob Andersen	–	NRJ II, III index; II, p. 249
Omgang	Per Iversen	S	NRJ I-III index; OER, p. 40
Skjøtning- berg	Henning Kelsen	–	NRJ II index; V index
	Lauritz Ellingsen	–	NRJ I, II index
Stappen	Anders Mogensen	–	NRJ II index
Vardø	Anders Søgn	C (Bergen)	See footnotes no. 153–155

(1) He owned a house in Bergen and paid taxes in Tunes, but it is not said explicitly that he sailed between the two locations.

As mentioned above, numerous skippers are registered in the accounts of Bergenhus castle as sailing from Bergen to the regions producing stockfish; 18 of them were also urban councillors or house owners in Bergen (14) or Trondheim (4).<sup>740</sup> There are 32 men named in the accounts of Bergenhus castle for 1518–22 who were both skippers sailing to the stockfish-producing regions and owners of taxable properties there.<sup>741</sup> All three roles could be combined: seven men were captains who sailed to the stockfish-producing regions, urban councillors or house owners in Bergen or Trondheim, and owners of taxable properties in the stockfish-producing regions.<sup>742</sup> Even before the Reformation, there was a Norwegian economic elite who divided their working time between Bergen or Trondheim and the northern regions.

The conclusion to be drawn from table V.9 is that of the 32 named skippers registered with taxable properties in the stockfish-producing regions, 6 were *setesveiner*, 7 were citizens of Bergen or Trondheim, and 22 seem to have been neither.<sup>743</sup> The latter belonged to an elite in the stockfish-producing regions who owned most of the cargo ships which sailed between Bergen and the area. In 1563, skippers resident in the stockfish-producing regions owned 73% of the *jekter* which arrived with stockfish in Bergen.<sup>744</sup> In the intervening period, the trade of the of citizens of Bergen and Trondheim had expanded, which suggests that the percentage was even higher ca. 1520.<sup>745</sup>

Some of these local skipper-magnates received credit at Bryggen as the winter residents' *rechte norvar*. Skipper Jens Lock from Troms had incurred a debt to the commander of Bergenhus, probably because of a fine. A German winter resident who paid an instalment on this debt in 1521<sup>746</sup> is likely to have done so because the skipper was his customer and was indebted to him too. He wanted to prevent the commander of Bergenhus from confiscating Jens Lock's ship and stockfish. The local magnates in the stockfish-producing regions used writing very little in their economic activities. Therefore we can not quantify the degree to which the Hansa merchants knew them as skippers transporting other peoples' goods, and the degree to which they encountered them at Bryggen as traders who bought fish in the north and sold it in Bergen. It is safe to say both scenarios occurred, but shipping goods for others was probably their main source of income.

Starting from Christian II's time, the King favoured the citizens of Bergen and Trondheim when it came to trade. In 1512, the King permitted his subjects in Finnmark to buy goods anywhere in Norway for their own use, but it was forbidden for

740 The names of all 18 are listed pp. 426–429.

741 The names of the 32 are listed in table V.9.

742 They are listed in table V.9, marked as C and H. Five of the seven owned properties in Bergen, two in Trondheim.

743 Table V.9.

744 Table V.7.

745 Cf. chapter V.5d.

746 NRJ II, p. 574.

them to resell these for profit.<sup>747</sup> In 1519, Lasse Jude, a *setesvein* in the fishing village of Tunes in Finnmark, was fined for trading without the permission of the commander of Bergenhus.<sup>748</sup> The Kontor's statutes prohibited Hansa merchants from selling goods to Norwegians which they could then trade in the northern regions.<sup>749</sup> King and Kontor both made it difficult for local north Norwegian magnates to organise intermediary trade freely. This may explain at least in part why they mainly transported goods for others.

#### F. THE KONTOR'S TRADE POLICY AND ITS CONSEQUENCES

Around the year 1400, Hansa merchants had obtained a position in the Bergen trade which was so dominant that it was close to a monopoly. They had achieved this in open, economic competition with Norwegian and English merchants. In the following period, the Bergen Kontor's main task was to defend this position. The precursors of the Hansa merchants in Bergen had come from western Germany; they had settled in the Baltic, practicing the same trading system as merchants along the North Sea. Before 1400, most North Sea merchants did not voyage further east than to the Scania seasonal market, and German Baltic merchants dominated the exchanges between the Baltic/Scandinavia and the North Sea. But in the following period, North Sea merchants living in England and the Low Countries became increasingly active on this east–west shipping route. The Baltic merchants met increasing competition from merchants who were as commercially advanced as themselves.

In Bergen, the winter residents from the Wendish towns were confronted with this problem during their absence from Bergen in the years 1427–1433. Traditional English trading increased, summer guests from non-Wendish Hansa towns such as Danzig appeared in larger numbers than before, and merchants from Holland possibly made their debut in the Bergen trade. Summer guests and winter residents from these towns traded directly with Norwegian customers. This represented an alternative trading system in Bergen and created a potential challenge to the Baltic winter residents at the Kontor.

The Kontor sought to stop their competitors through political means. The winter residents wanted the stockfish producers to sail to Bergen and sell their products directly to their creditor at Bryggen, and only to him. Then it would be up to the winter residents whether they wanted to export the fish themselves, or whether they wanted to sell it in Bergen to merchants from Holland and England or to Hanseatic summer guests who visited towns where the winter residents themselves did not go. The winter residents would thus become compulsory intermediaries. It is obvious

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747 NGL 2.rk. III no. 233. Christian was at this time vice-king of Norway.

748 NRJ II, p. 552; *Olav Engelbriktsøns rekneskapsbøker*, p. 40.

749 NGL 2.rk. II no. 416 §63 and §64.

where the winter residents had found this model. It would have given them a position in Bergen similar to that of local citizens in many Hansa towns. In the Late Middle ages (1350–1550), the prices for stockfish were favourable, yielding high profits for both merchants and fishermen. It was important for the winter residents to organise the Bergen trade in a way which channelled the largest possible portion of this surplus to themselves.

The problem for the winter residents in implementing this policy was that they did not exercise state powers in Bergen, and therefore could not pass trade legislation which suited their interests. But they had other means of achieving their goals. In section 2 we have seen how the Hansa obtained a near-monopoly in trade with Norwegian stockfish producers. Their starting point was the use of credits which were sought and demanded by the Norwegian customers. The rules for offering credit were formulated in the Kontor's statutes, which were binding on the members of the Kontor, but not on Norwegian citizens. The first restriction was that a Hansa merchant was not allowed to trade with a Norwegian who was indebted to another Hansa merchant. Those who broke the rule had to repay the Norwegian's debt. The second rule was that it was prohibited for Hansa merchants to sell goods to Norwegians which the latter could use in local trade, particularly in the north. If this statute was contravened, the Kontor would confiscate the goods which had been sold, leading to financial losses for the Norwegian as well. This policy had no basis in Norwegian law, but the Kontor's militia gave the winter residents sufficient cover for such actions. The Kontor's indirect way of legislating in Bergen led to numerous conflicts. Behaving like a town council when in reality they were only a Kontor was not easy and created problems for many people, including the winter residents themselves.

The Kontor largely succeeded in managing domestic trade in and from Bergen according to their own interests. The trade practices of fishermen, officials and the local elite to the north of Bergen were largely as the winter residents wanted them to be. From the Kontor's viewpoint, the problematic group was the citizens of Bergen and Trondheim, who were keen to develop their intermediary trade. But the Kontor policy was a success even against these Norwegian citizens, whose domestic trade was limited and whose export trade was nearly non-existent before the Reformation. When the Hansa had to abandon their trade restrictions after ca. 1545/60, the citizens of Bergen became the winter residents' main competitors in domestic as well as foreign trade.

How did the various social groups in Norway react to the Kontor's attempt to control domestic trade in and from Bergen? There were next to no protests from fishermen, local magnates and officials; the Kontor's way of managing trade must have brought them advantages and few problems. The Bergen citizens, however, felt that Hansa practices created illegal barriers to their own legitimate, professional ambitions. But the most ardent opponents of the Kontor were state officials who tried to enforce respect for Norwegian law and maintain order in the town. The

main reason for this clash was that the Kontor tried to create a legal framework for their trade which was not anchored in Norwegian law. But it was also a result of the privilege system. The privileges were vague and open to interpretation, and it was often unclear which privilege was valid at a particular time; it was also disputed whether Norwegian law or Hansa privileges took priority. In this situation, the right to interpret and define the law belonged to the strongest. After 1319, the state's presence in Bergen was so weak that it lost its monopoly on legitimate violence, which is necessary for a state to function. Through political, judicial and military means, the Kontor succeeded for the most part in freezing the situation for a hundred years up to the Reformation. There is a great contrast with London, where the King had a monopoly on legitimate violence, which created a different relationship between King and Kontor there.

### 3. THE WINTER RESIDENTS' TRADE WITH EUROPEAN PORTS

The winter residents were the linchpins of the Bergen trade. They obtained most of their stockfish directly from Norwegian producers or from those who collected state and church taxes. They exchanged goods with their trading partners in their home town, which could be Lübeck<sup>750</sup> or Bremen.<sup>751</sup> A winter resident who wanted to import goods from overseas ports other than his home town had two alternatives: he could organise purchases in foreign ports himself or buy the goods from summer guests in Bergen.

#### A. THE WINTER RESIDENTS' OWN TRADE IN OVERSEAS PORTS

A set of correspondence of 14 letters has been preserved from the years 1442–45 between the Bremen town councillor Hinrik van der Hude and his three partners in Bergen, Kurt Vorstenberg, Hinrik van Estele and Didrik van Someren.<sup>752</sup> During these years, Vorstenberg was the head of a firm at Bryggen<sup>753</sup> in which he shared ownership with van der Hude.<sup>754</sup> Van Estele headed another firm, which he later sold to van Someren; van Hude in Bremen was the senior partner of both men.<sup>755</sup>

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750 BRUNS, *Bergenfahrer*, pp. 89, 167, 170 and 187.

751 Aus bremischen Familienpapieren, pp. 55ff, letters nos. VII and XVI.

752 Aus bremischen Familienpapieren.

753 Ibid. letter no. XIV.

754 Ibid. letter no. XI.

755 Ibid. letters nos. VIII, IX and XIV.

Table V.10. The itinerary of winter residents from Bremen, 1442–1445

Vorstenberg's firm			Estele/Someren's firm		
1442	winter	In Bremen	1442		
	spring	In Wismar/Lübeck		spring	In Wismar/Lübeck
	after 18/7	Lübeck to Bergen		before 18/7	Lübeck to Bergen
1443	17/3	In Bergen	1443	early	Bergen to Lübeck
	3/6	In Bremen		Bergen fair	Bergen
1444	1/5	In Bergen	1444	1/5	In Lübeck
	summer	In Bremen?			
	Bergen fair	In Bergen			
1445	20/1	In Bremen	1445	20/1	In Lübeck

Source: Aus bremischen Familienpapieren

The winter residents were always in Bergen during July–September for the seasonal market, when most *nordfar* came to deliver their stockfish. Vorstenberg made an annual journey to Bremen either in winter or in May/June, where he probably purchased cloth and other western goods. In 1442 he travelled via Lübeck and Wismar on his way back in order to purchase grain products. When the head of the firm left Bergen, his journeymen (*gesellen*) remained in Bergen to manage current business.<sup>756</sup>

Van Estele and van Someren managed trade with the Baltic, and they seem to have journeyed from Bergen to Lübeck after or sometimes before New Year's Day. There they organised the purchase and shipping of grain products, returning before the Bergen summer fair. Van Someren describes how he bought “½ last of malt in Lübeck under the Tower” and paid cash for it.<sup>757</sup> These Bremen merchants clearly had no permanent representative in Lübeck or any other Baltic town. During their stays in Lübeck and Wismar they lived in the houses of “hosts”<sup>758</sup> who could help them if problems arose. Van Hude's winter residents in Bergen cooperated, and van Estele and van Someren organised grain purchases in Lübeck or Wismar for both firms.<sup>759</sup> Vorstenberg sold both firms' stockfish in Bremen.<sup>760</sup> On one occasion they shipped a consignment of stockfish to England, but none of the two winter residents accompanied it. Perhaps they left the actual selling in England to a colleague.<sup>761</sup>

Winter residents from Lübeck imported significant quantities of flour, malt and beer from other Baltic ports such as Wismar, Rostock, Stralsund and Danzig.<sup>762</sup> There is only one example of how this was organised which dates from before 1440.

<sup>756</sup> Ibid. letter no. IX.

<sup>757</sup> Ibid. letter no. XVII.

<sup>758</sup> Ibid. letters nos. IV and V.

<sup>759</sup> Ibid. letters nos. XVI and XVII.

<sup>760</sup> Ibid. letter no. XVI.

<sup>761</sup> Ibid. letter no. XIV.

<sup>762</sup> Cf. chapter II.3b–f.

Johan Wartberg is a name which appears frequently in Bergenfahrer sources in the second half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, but two people seem to have had this name, an uncle and his nephew.<sup>763</sup> They are mentioned 26 times in the Bergen lists of the *Pfundzollbücher* and several times in wills and other documents connected to the Bergen trade between 1369 and 1387.<sup>764</sup> Johan the elder was a senior partner who lived in Lübeck. He wrote in 1368 during the war against the Danes that “my partner sailed from Prussia in a ship fully loaded with flour”, which was plundered by the Danes in Øresund.<sup>765</sup> The partner, perhaps his nephew, was probably a winter resident in Bergen, had journeyed from Bergen to Prussia in person, bought grain products there, and accompanied the ship back to Bergen.

Another senior merchant was Johan Sina, who was a councillor in Lübeck. He had a junior partner, Hermann Hesse, who was a winter resident in Bergen and managed the business. A third member of the partnership lived in Bruges.<sup>766</sup>

Winter residents organised sales of stockfish in Bremen and Bruges; a third important port was Boston. The merchants there were collectively referred to as “merchants from Bergen who visit England” (*day Copman van Nortberghen dey Engellant hantiren*)<sup>767</sup> or “Hansa merchants in Boston who visit Bergen” (*dey Copman van der Hense to Bostone, de to Berghen in Norwegen pleghen to hanterende*).<sup>768</sup> The use of the word *hanteren* indicates that Hansa merchants in Boston were not settled winter residents as they were in Bergen, but only visited Boston for a limited period every year.<sup>769</sup> Other sources confirm this.

In 1436–7, sailing between Bergen and England was forbidden, but some Bergenfahrer broke the ban. Hansa representatives in London ordered merchants and skippers who recently started coming to Boston from Bergen (*de nu lest van Berghen sint gecomen*) to send representatives to London.<sup>770</sup> One of them was Ludeke Nyenborg. In 1435 he owned a house in Bergen,<sup>771</sup> possibly the same house which was in his possession when he died 25 years later in 1460.<sup>772</sup> In 1446, he was alderman at the Bergen Kontor.<sup>773</sup> Ludeke Nyenborg was a winter resident in Bergen and visited Boston only for short periods.

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763 BRUNS, Bergenfahrer, p. 17.

764 Ibid., index.

765 UBStL IV no. 168 = HR I, 2, 27 = HUB IV no. 401.

766 BRUNS, Bergenfahrer, pp. 83 and 172–173; HUB VIII nos. 986, 889 and 1193.

767 DN XIX no. 608 = HUB IV no. 768.

768 HUB IV no. 791.

769 According to LÜBBEN, *Mittelniederdeutsches Handwörterbuch*, entry word “Hanteren”, the word means “*Oft besuchen, hin- und herziehen, vom Kaufmann der mit seinen Waren das Land durchzieht.*”

770 HR II, 2, 25.

771 HUB VII, p. 222 note 1.

772 BRUNS, Bergenfahrer, p. 105. The house was in a *gård* at Bryggen called Holmedalen.

773 UBStL IX no. 272.

Many merchants who travelled to Boston were winter residents in Bergen and sailed the triangular route Lübeck–Bergen–Boston. All 54 Bergenfahrer who were in Boston on the 3<sup>rd</sup> of February 1407 were arrested;<sup>774</sup> most or all of them had probably arrived from Bergen, since 23 are listed in the customs accounts for Boston as importing stockfish during the years 1365–1413. Several names were altered or misspelled in the English source, making identification impossible. But 11 of the 54 can be identified as winter residents or owners of firms (*stuer*) in Bergen,<sup>775</sup> and 15 appear in the Bergen lists of Lübeck's *Pfundzollbücher* during the years 1368–1400. A large number of Hanseatic stockfish merchants were in Boston in mid-winter, no doubt selling stockfish and buying English cloth. In mid-winter shipping ceased for several months, and these merchants must have stayed in Boston during that time.

Twenty-four winter residents from Lübeck had their goods confiscated in Bergen in October 1415 during the fair;<sup>776</sup> four of these had also been in Boston when the arrests mentioned above were made in February 1407.<sup>777</sup>

Winter residents who operated firms at Bryggen travelled in person to Boston with their stockfish when the Bergen fair ended in the autumn. They did not leave this to their journeymen (*gesellen*). These merchants stayed in England to sell their fish and buy cloth and other goods in the winter months. They may have returned to Bergen with the first ships in March/May if they did not sail directly to the Baltic. There may also have been time for a short trip to a market in the Low Countries.

Summing up, during the first century of the Late Middle Ages, most winter residents of Bergen bought and sold actively in Baltic and North Sea ports, and they journeyed there in person. They had senior partners who provided most of the capital and lived permanently in Lübeck or another Hansa town, but who never or rarely visited Bergen.

Customs accounts have been preserved from the last decades of the 14<sup>th</sup> century for both Boston and Lübeck. We know the names of many winter residents at Bryggen in this period. How common was it that they visited both of these ports?

Table V.11 is based on the Boston customs accounts, and shows how many of the merchants listed in Boston were also registered in Lübeck, and how many were winter residents in Bergen. Table V.12 is based on the Lübeck *Pfundzoll* accounts, and shows how many of the merchants listed in it were also registered in Boston, and how many were winter residents in Bergen.

774 DN XIX no. 708 = HUB V no. 779.

775 Sweder van Benthem, Tideke Junge, Johan van Stade, Hermann Witte, Hinrik Arndes, Johan Busch, Ludeke van der Heide, Hermann van Minden, Wilhelm Ringhoff, Hermann Robekyn and Brun Sprenger.

776 DN I no. 646 = HUB IV no. 50.

777 Sweder van Benthem, Tideke Junge, Johan van Stade and Hermann Witte (DN XIX no. 708 = HUB V no. 779).

Table V.11. Merchants in the customs accounts from Boston, 1365–1413, with goods from Bergen, and their commercial interests in Lübeck and at Bryggen

Number of times merchant imported goods to Boston	Number of merchants who imported to Boston that many times	Number of these merchants also registered in the Bergen Pfundzoll list		Number of these merchants who had houses in Bergen	
16	1	1	(60 %)	0	(27 %)
15	1	1		0	
10	3	2		2 <sup>(1)</sup>	
8–9	10	5		2 <sup>(2)</sup>	
6–7	13	8	(62 %)	3 <sup>(3)</sup>	(23 %)
4–5	41	20	(49 %)	8 <sup>(4)</sup>	(20 %)
2–3	85	39	(46 %)	19 <sup>(5)</sup>	(22 %)
1	173	56	(33 %)	25 <sup>(6)</sup>	(14 %)
All merchants	327	134	(39 %)	59	(18 %)

Source: All figures and names in this table, the notes included, are taken from appendix II.

(1) Hermann Stenvorde, Hermann van Minden

(2) Tidemann Scoping, Johan Holst

(3) Johan Gronow, Meineke van Hamme, Erp Krumben

(4) Hinrik Distelow, Hermann Paal, Hinrik van Stade, Nicholas Sterneberg, Egbert Knokel, Hinrik Melbek, Mathias Burder, Ludeke van der Heide.

(5) Johan Lemeghowe, Hartwich Semme, Hinrik Rutenberg, Johan van Hamelen, Karsten Eckhof, Johan Busch, Engelbrecht Nyeman, Lubbert Stenvorde, Peter van Stade, Johan Scoping, Johan Osnabrück, Hermann Oldendorp, Hinrik Notlike, Johan Losing, Johan Vorwerk, Johan Buxtehude, Hinrik Biskop, Hinrik Arndes.

(6) Sveder van Benthem, Johan van der Berge, Hinrik Bornholm, Hinrik Grambek, Johan Grove, Hinrik Holtkamp, Tideke Junge, Johan Kruse, Arnt Make, Johan Melbek, Johan Nyppe, Johan Scheduling, Jacob van Sehusen, Arnold Schonewold, Werner Scoping, Arnt van Sladen, Hinrik Sperling, Brun Sprenger, Johan van Stade, Tideke Steer, Hinrik Weitendorp, Johan Wetter, Nicholas Witte, Johan Witte, Hermann Witte.

Table V.12. Merchants registered in the Bergen lists of the *Pfundzoll*, 1368–1400, and their commercial interests in Boston and at Bryggen

Number of times merchant imported goods to Lübeck	Number of merchants who imported to Lübeck that many times	Number of these merchants also registered in the customs accounts from Boston		Number of these merchants who had houses at Bryggen	
88	1	0	(41 %)	0	(24 %)
77	1	0		1 <sup>(1)</sup>	
40–45	5	3		1 <sup>(2)</sup>	
30–39	10	4		2 <sup>(3)</sup>	
20–29	19	7	(37 %)	8 <sup>(4)</sup>	(42 %)
10–19	54	17	(31 %)	20 <sup>(5)</sup>	(37 %)
6–9	75	25	(33 %)	23 <sup>(6)</sup>	(32 %)
3–5	143	30	(21 %)	21 <sup>(7)</sup>	(15 %)
1–2	542	48	(9 %)	29	(5 %)
All merchants	850	134	(16 %)	105	(12 %)

Source for the first two columns: Extant *Pfundzoll* 1368–1400 in original on microfilm.

Source for third column: *Pfundzoll* and appendix II. Source for fourth column: see notes.

- (1) Evert Paal (BRUNS, Bergenfahrer, p. 21)
- (2) Hinrik Holtkamp (BRUNS, Bergenfahrer, p. 31)
- (3) Johan van Hamelen (BRUNS, Bergenfahrer, p. 228), Detlef van Osnabrück (BRUNS, Bergenfahrer, pp. 29 and 31)
- (4) Gert van Alen (DN I no.570), Werner Coesveld (BRUNS, Bergenfahrer, p. 13), Meineke van Hamme (BRUNS, Bergenfahrer, p. 15), Hinrik Sperling (BRUNS, Bergenfahrer, p. 25), Johan Wartberg (BRUNS, Bergenfahrer, pp. 15 and 17), Hermann van Loen (BRUNS, Bergenfahrer, p. 58), Johan Gronow (BRUNS, Bergenfahrer, p. 12), Hinrik Sternberg (BRUNS, Bergenfahrer, pp. 27 and 28)
- (5) Didrik van Asten (BRUNS, Bergenfahrer, p. 43), Karsten Nyestad (BRUNS, Bergenfahrer, p. 40), Bernd Scoping (HUB IV no. 946), Albert to der Brugge (BRUNS, Bergenfahrer, p. 290), Herder van Stade (HUB V no.193), Hinrik van Minden (BRUNS, Bergenfahrer, p. 26), Hartwich Semme (BRUNS, Bergenfahrer, p. 39), Kurt van Verden (HUB IV no. 946), Hinrik Nyppe (BRUNS, Bergenfahrer, p. 158), Johan Scheduling (BRUNS, Bergenfahrer, p. 18), Johan van Stade (DN I no. 646), Hinrik van Stade (BRUNS, Bergenfahrer, pp. 15 or 29), Hinrik Bornholm (BRUNS, Bergenfahrer, p. 43), Hinrik Sparke (DN I no. 665), Hinrik Nodlike (BRUNS, Bergenfahrer, p. 39), Bertolt van Göttingen (HUB V no.139), Ludeke van Osnabrück (BRUNS, Bergenfahrer, p. 290), Hinrik Biskop (BRUNS, Bergenfahrer, p. 21), Lubbert Stenvorde (HUB IV no. 655), Hinrik Buxtehude (BRUNS, Bergenfahrer, p. 32)
- (6) Ludeke Dining (BRUNS, Bergenfahrer, pp. 30 and 32), Ludeke van der Heide (BRUNS, Bergenfahrer, p. 49), Kurt van Minden (BRUNS, Bergenfahrer, p. 53), Hermann Paal (BRUNS, Bergenfahrer, p. 21), Karsten Make (BRUNS, Bergenfahrer, p. 42), Klaus van Brugge (BRUNS, Bergenfahrer, p. 32), Tide-mann van Lübeck (*Regesten der Lübecker Bürgertestamente*, no. 842), Hinrik Luchow (NGL 2.rk I, p. 600 footnote 1), Hans Krummer (BRUNS, Bergenfahrer, p. 45), Johan Nyppe (BRUNS, Bergenfahrer, p. 37), Detmar van Tunen (BRUNS, Bergenfahrer, p. 235), Gert van der Vechte (BRUNS, Bergenfahrer, p. 43 A 5), Bertolt Holthusen (BRUNS, Bergenfahrer, p. 24), Hinrik Kracht (DN I no. 665), Jacob van Sehusen (BRUNS, Bergenfahrer, p. 40), Nicholas Sterneberg (BRUNS, Bergenfahrer, p. 27), Gert Westhof (BRUNS, Bergenfahrer pp. 30 and 33), Johan Nybberg (BRUNS, Bergenfahrer, p. 35), Johan van Bremen (BRUNS, Bergenfahrer, pp. XII, 11), Johan van Buren (UBStL IV no. 624), Karsten Eckhof (BRUNS, Bergenfahrer, pp. CXVIII and 223–224), Johan Eckhof (BRUNS, Bergenfahrer, p. 31), Arnold Schone-wold (BRUNS, Bergenfahrer, p. 41)
- (7) Hinrik Semelow (BRUNS, Bergenfahrer, p. 156), Tidemann Scoping (BRUNS, Bergenfahrer, p. 51), Hinrik Stenhus (BRUNS, Bergenfahrer, p. 90), Bernd Kröpelin (HUB VI no. 632), Borchart van Hol-thusen (BRUNS, Bergenfahrer, p. 34), Johan Buxtehude (BRUNS, Bergenfahrer, pp. 22 and 32), Egbert Knokel (BRUNS, Bergenfahrer, p. 36), Tideke Junge (DN I no. 646), Ludeke van Hamelen (BRUNS, Bergenfahrer, p. 60), Johan Ruschenberg (HUB VI no. 24), Tideke Steer (HUB IV no. 655 and V no.132), Tideke Wiltbek (DN I no. 646), Tidemann Vogel (BRUNS, Bergenfahrer, p. 41), Johan Holst (BRUNS, Bergenfahrer, p. 36, cf, p. 292), Arnt Make (DN I no. 562), Richart van Minden (BRUNS, Bergenfahrer, p. 15), Godeke Paal (BRUNS, Bergenfahrer, p. 38), Arnt Paal (BRUNS, Bergenfahrer, p. 21), Hinrik Rutenberg (DN I no. 646), Marquart Schiphorst (BRUNS, Bergenfahrer, p. 27, jf HUB IV no. 655), Gobel Schoneke (BRUNS, Bergenfahrer, p. 19).

First a critique of the sources. During this period, a consignment of goods would have the trademark of the person who actively performed the transaction attached to it. The name of the owner of the trademark was entered in the customs accounts.<sup>778</sup> In the Bergen trade, several partners often shared ownership of the goods, but the winter resident was the active partner who would provide the consignment with his trademark. When stockfish arrived in Boston, it would still be the property of a Hansa merchant; if he was a winter resident in Bergen, his trademark would be

<sup>778</sup> More on the methodological problems concerning the names in the customs accounts appears on pp. 290–292.

attached to the consignment and his name would be entered in the customs accounts. If the winter resident accompanied the goods to Lübeck, his name would be entered in the *Pfundzoll* accounts. Even if his senior partner in Lübeck loaded the goods onto the ship to Bergen, it would probably be the winter resident's name at the receiving end which was written in the *Pfundzoll*. He owned the goods during the voyage; at least this was the case in the 16<sup>th</sup> century, as will be shown below.

For several reasons, all percentages in the tables represent minimum figures for the merchants who actually sailed between the relevant ports. The main source of error is that only fragments of both the *Pfundzoll* accounts and the English customs accounts have been preserved. For the 60-year period 1365–1413, preserved rolls exist from Boston which cover altogether about 10 years.<sup>779</sup> The *Pfundzoll* in Lübeck covers about 10 years within the 33-year period 1368–1401.<sup>780</sup> In Boston, no registers exist for the years 1371–1383; the same applies in Lübeck for 1384–1398 and after 1401. Winter residents may have traded with the two ports for years on end without being registered in the extant accounts.

An important potential source of error in the *Pfundzoll*'s Bergen lists is the fact that the handwriting in it is difficult to decipher. Among the 542 merchants in table V.12 who are only mentioned once or twice in the *Pfundzoll* accounts, there are undoubtedly several whose names I have misread. This partly explains why it has only been possible to trace 9% of them in Boston and 5% at Bryggen as winter residents. By limiting the analysis to merchants who traded between Lübeck and Bergen at least three times, it is possible to eliminate this source of error and concentrate on merchants who visited Bergen on a more or less regular basis.

How common was it that winter residents in Bergen traded with Lübeck and Boston? If we concentrate on the 59 known winter residents in table V.11 who sailed between Bergen and Boston, 80% of them are registered in the Bergen-Lübeck trade. If the sources of error just mentioned are taken into consideration, it should be concluded that practically all Bergen winter residents traded with Lübeck. This is no surprise, since almost all of them were from Lübeck. If we limit the analysis to the 105 known winter residents in table V.12, we find that 47 of them (45%) are also registered in Boston. If the sources of error discussed above are taken into consideration here, it should be concluded that more than half of all Bergen winter residents sailed to Boston.

How much of the traffic from Bergen to Boston and Lübeck was done by winter residents, and how much by summer guests? There are 327 Hansa merchants registered as sailing between Bergen and Boston, and 18% of them are known to have been winter residents. Of those who are registered in Lübeck three times or more, 25% (76 of 308) are known winter residents. These of course represent minimum

<sup>779</sup> Cf. introduction to appendix II.

<sup>780</sup> Tables II.6 and II.7.

figures for the same reasons as mentioned above, but this still makes it likely that a large proportion of those trading on these two routes were summer guests.

How many of the Hansa merchants visiting Bergen followed the triangular trade route Lübeck–Bergen–Boston? Of those who are registered three times or more in the Bergen lists in the Lübeck *Pfundzoll* accounts, 28% (86 of 308) are also registered in Boston. There are 327 Hansa merchants registered as sailing between Bergen and Boston, and 39% of these are also registered in the Bergen lists of the *Pfundzoll*. Again, these are minimum figures for the reasons mentioned above. If one extends the concept of “triangular trade” to trade from any Baltic port to Bergen and on to any North Sea port, there were many ports which could serve as corners in this triangle. North Sea alternatives to Boston were Bruges, Deventer and Bremen, while Baltic alternatives were Wismar, Rostock, Stralsund and Danzig. There is no point suggesting percentages here, but one can safely assume that triangular routes were very common in the Bergen trade during the period 1365–1413. This is no surprise, since the main markets for stockfish and regions which produced cloth were found along the North Sea, and the region exporting grain products was the Baltic. I would assume that practically all winter residents had contacts both in the east and west, as did many summer guests.

Between about 1440 and 1480, merchants and skippers from the Baltic towns with the largest interests in Bergen, in practice Lübeck, Wismar and Rostock, gradually withdrew from trade with North Sea ports; most important for the Bergen trade was the fact that they ceased visiting Boston, Bruges and Deventer.<sup>781</sup> The winter residents wanted to dispatch their stockfish to the western European continent without travelling there themselves. The Bergenfahrer had relied on correspondence and written accounts since the 13<sup>th</sup> century, and they now extended use of writing, ordering grain and selling stockfish through correspondence more than before. From 1479 to the end of our period (ca. 1600), there are several extant examples of how they now organised their exchanges.

In 1479, the winter resident Wilhelm van Schedingen sent goods, probably stockfish, to Hans Leffardes, who lived in Deventer and was citizen of that town. The goods were considered to be the winter resident’s property even after they had arrived in Deventer.<sup>782</sup> Winter residents sent orders to merchants in Baltic towns who loaded or “shipped” flour, malt and beer on ships bound for Bergen. These grain merchants were not partners of the winter residents, but were specialised merchants who were prominent citizens in their home towns, like urban councillor

781 Cf. chapters II.4a-b, II.5a and II.5c.

782 HUB X no. 768.

Hinrik Kron in Rostock.<sup>783</sup> In a source from 1492 they are referred to as “those who ship such beer” (...*derjennen, de sodanne bere utschepen*).<sup>784</sup>

Accounts books of Hansa merchants resident in Bergen have been preserved from the last quarter of the 16th century. The first is from 1575–78, written by an anonymous winter resident from Bremen.<sup>785</sup> In each of these four years he received consignments of grain products from Dineys Raffin in Lübeck, Jürgen Fraugeman in Wismar, and Hinrik Dumen in Hamburg. From Rostock, he received goods in 1575–76 from the urban councillor Klaus Fessen, and in 1577–78 from Jürgen Tunnen. From Bremen he received goods from his partner, who he called Klaus. These shipments came from the same people year after year and were evidently the result of long-term agreements. The second account book was written during the years 1598–1607 by Hermann Dinckela, who was a citizen of Bremen and owned a firm at Bryggen headed by a winter resident named Hans Stubbeman.<sup>786</sup> The firm received grain products from Michael Kramer in Rostock, from Klaus Badensch and Hans Ruge in Wismar, and from Martin Andrea, Baltzar Klinkow and Jochum Klinkow in Stralsund.

It was not only Hermann Dinckela's firm which imported flour, malt and beer from Jochum Klinkow.<sup>787</sup> In 1592–3, the Bergen Kontor and the Bergenfahrer in Lübeck complained to Stralsund that mayor Jochum Klinkow, 4 urban councillors and 8 other Stralsund merchants sold sacks of flour which were underweight to winter residents in Bergen.<sup>788</sup> Each of these merchants delivered goods to several addressees in Bergen, one of them to eight. The mayor and six citizens of Wismar were accused of the same kind of fraud against “Lübeck merchants at the Bergen Kontor”.<sup>789</sup> Jochum Klinkow owned significant landed properties near Stralsund, and they must have produced at least some of the grain he sold to merchants in Bergen. Other merchants who sold grain to traders in Bergen possessed similar properties.<sup>790</sup> Nothing indicates that the grain merchants in Stralsund were partners of their customers at Bryggen. They sold the grain, loaded it on the ship, and paid the export customs duty.

During the voyage, the goods were the property of the recipient in Bergen. In 1577, skipper Martin Krisow from Stralsund sailed with cargo from his home town to Bergen. The goods on board had been sold by three urban councillors from

783 HUB XI no. 736; cf. Archiv der Hansestadt Lübeck, no. 4302 XIII (1493–1494).

784 HUB XI no. 738 (AD 1492).

785 Staatsarchiv Bremen 7, 2053.

786 Ibid. 2058. He lived in the *gård* called Holmedalen.

787 Stadtarchiv Stralsund, Rep II, K 1, 3; excerpt in table III.2.

788 Ibid., Hans Fach 10/27.

789 Ibid., Hans Fach 10/27 vol.1.

790 ZOELLNER, Vom Strelasund zum Oslofjord, p. 114. The source is Stralsund's *Pfalbuch*, cf. table III.2.

Stralsund, who loaded them onto Krisow's ship and paid the *Pfalgeld* tax.<sup>791</sup> When the ship sailed through the Øresund, it is stated in the accounts that the goods belonged to merchants from Deventer, probably winter residents at Bryggen.<sup>792</sup> Skipper Krisow received his freight charge for the cargo from winter residents in Bergen.<sup>793</sup> The skippers Hans Schinillbonn and Jochum Stekenes had "Bremen goods" on board their ships when they passed through the Øresund on their way from Stralsund to Bergen.<sup>794</sup> The Stralsund merchant Karsten Sastroir loaded onto a ship bound for Bergen 10 lasts of grain for (*vor*) the Lübeck citizen Hans Berchman, and 9 lasts for the Bremen citizen Epperdt Bremer.<sup>795</sup> In 1533, a ship from Rostock was plundered at Flekkerøy near present-day Krisitiansand, and the subsequent correspondence reveals that the goods had been taken on board in Rostock, and during the voyage the cargo belonged to those who received the goods in Bergen.<sup>796</sup>

Representatives of the merchants who dispatched the goods from the Baltic port or received them in Bergen did not accompany the ship.<sup>797</sup> When winter residents received barrels of beer which were damaged or contained too little beer,<sup>798</sup> they sought compensation from the ship's captain,<sup>799</sup> or sent letters to the authorities in the home town of the dispatching merchant.<sup>800</sup>

From the end of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, winter residents ordered goods by letter from merchants who stayed permanently in a Hansa port. Why not organise exchanges in the same way with, for example, citizens of Amsterdam who lived in their home town? The winter residents no longer left Bergen for trading purposes, so why not become a citizen of Bergen, which would provide an improved legal framework for trade in that town? This way of sending goods across borders under the protection of local state authorities could be seen as an adaptation to a situation where strong states controlled the the legal framework for trade on their own territory and favoured their own citizens. This must have made German merchants rethink the usefulness of the Kontor and Hansa privileges in Bergen.

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791 *Ibid.*, pp. 109, 112 and 114.

792 *Sundtoll* in Rigsarkivet, Copenhagen, 1577, p. 309.

793 BRUNS, *Frachtherrenbuch*, p. 23.

794 Jochum Stekenes in table III.2 (1577).

795 Stadtarchiv Stralsund, Rep II, K 1, 3, *Pfalbuch* 1577, p. 1.

796 HR IV, 1, 239.

797 HUB XI no. 736; cf. Archiv der Hansestadt Lübeck, no. 4302 XIII.

798 HUB X no. 887; HUB XI nos. 597 and 738 (1481–1494).

799 HUB XI no. 597 (1481).

800 *Ibid.* no. 738.

## B. THE WINTER RESIDENTS' TRADE WITH HANSEATIC SUMMER GUESTS IN BERGEN

The winter residents shared Bergen's overseas trade with the so-called "summer guests" throughout the Late Middle Ages. The latter visited the town in the summer season, which was officially from May to September, and left when they had sold their imports and bought goods for export. The winter residents referred to them as "guests".<sup>801</sup> This word was often used for a person who was not citizen of the town and therefore did not enjoy full legal rights.<sup>802</sup> In this sense of the word, even the winter residents were "guests" in Bergen. To avoid misunderstandings, it is better for us to use "summer guest" as an analytical concept.

Summer guests could have a senior partner who provided most of the capital, just like the winter residents. In 1486, Hinrik Hoppenbrouwer in Kampen agreed to enter into a partnership with his nephew. Hinrik contributed 11 Rhenish guilders, and the nephew was to travel to "Bergen or other places" to trade; profits were to be shared equally.<sup>803</sup> In a similar partnership from 1438, there were one active and two passive partners.<sup>804</sup> A travelling summer guest could also be a servant. In 1453, Wilhelm Willigenhaven from Deventer gave 100 Rhenish guilders to Gert Harnemann to carry out trade in Bergen; losses or profits were to be Wilhelm's.<sup>805</sup> In 1439, Hinrik Vorråd and Bertolt Burammer, both urban councillors in Danzig, entered a partnership and sent Gert van Eynen to Bergen as their joint servant (*deener*).<sup>806</sup> He probably sold grain and other goods in Bergen, because he left the town with a large sum of money and considerable quantities of stockfish. There is no evidence that Danzig merchants owned houses at Bryggen.

Summer guests rented accommodation from winter residents at Bryggen. The summer guests had to pay a duty called *schot* to the aldermen, and the manager of the *stue* or house where they lived was responsible for this payment.<sup>807</sup> Only summer guests from Hansa towns were permitted to be accommodated at Bryggen.<sup>808</sup> From the 1440s at the latest, it was compulsory for them to lodge with the winter residents. Kampen was readmitted to the Hansa in 1441 after a period of exclusion,<sup>809</sup> and six years later merchants from Kampen were told by the aldermen to rent houses and accommodation from the winter residents, just as those from Deventer did (*myt*

801 NGL 2.rk. II no. 416 §48 and §52.

802 SCHILLER and LÜBBEN, *Mittelniederdeutsches Wörterbuch*, entry word "*Gast*".

803 RGP volume 36 no. 2817.

804 SNELLER, Deventer, p. 31.

805 RGP volume 36 no. 2076.

806 HUB VII no. 767 §125 = RGP volume 36 no. 2205; the document dated [1441].

807 NGL 2.rk. II no. 416 §48.

808 *Ibid.* §18.

809 HR II, 2, 439 §18 and §25 = NGL 2.rk. I no. 392 §25.

*deme copmanne stoven unde wonynghen holden, so de van Deventer unde andere stede deden*).<sup>810</sup>

It was legal for summer guests to own houses at Bryggen, but the house owner had to keep at least one man there all year round for guard duties, even though their commercial activity was limited to the summer months. This could blur the distinction between winter resident and summer guest.<sup>811</sup>

Before winter residency started in the 1250s, all German merchants in Bergen were summer guests. In 1331, summer guests from “Germany and other countries” complained that winter residents bought much merchandise in Bergen, so there was little left for them.<sup>812</sup> Before 1366, it is likely that summer guest conducted most of the import–export trade. Winter residents continued to travel for purposes of trade even after the establishment of the Kontor. The firms organised by winter residents up to about 1440 normally consisted of an investor who lived permanently in a Hansa town and a winter resident. The latter travelled personally to different markets and received goods from his senior partner in the Hansa town.<sup>813</sup> The difference between a winter resident and a summer guest was that the former owned a house in Bergen, or a share in it, and stayed there in winter. But a summer guest could own a house in Bergen, and a winter resident could spend the winter months in Lübeck.

Up to about 1440, the dominant winter residents seem to have accepted the summer guests as colleagues, and the few conflicts that arose must be characterised as mere skirmishes. In 1412 and 1418, a Hansa Diet prohibited merchants from Bremen and Deventer selling their goods on streets, quays, ships and in churches in Bergen.<sup>814</sup> At this time it is highly unlikely that the two towns had winter residents in Bergen, so the ordinance undoubtedly was aimed at summer guests who sold small-wares. They were unwelcome competition to the winter residents’ journeymen and apprentices, who engaged in this type of trade in order to get supplementary income.<sup>815</sup>

Serious conflicts erupted between them after 1440. At that time the winter residents reduced and finally stopped their sailings to North Sea ports, but the main markets for Bergen stockfish were still most accessible through continental North Sea ports.<sup>816</sup> The winter residents solved the problem by selling a large part of their

810 NGL 2.rk. I no. 396 §16 = HR II, 3, 288 §16.

811 Cf. p. 358; NGL 2.rk. II no. 416 §52.

812 NGL III no. 70 = HUB II no. 502 = DN VII no. 135.

813 Cf. pp. 451–454.

814 HR I, 6, 70 §15–§16 and no. 579.

815 NGL 2.rk. II, p. 736 §15 = HR II, 7, 342 §15; NGL 2.rk. II, p. 730 §3 = DN VI no. 567 = HR II, 6, 187 §3; NGL 2.rk. II no. 416 §65.

816 Cf. chapter II.6.

stockfish in Bergen to summer guests from western Hansa towns and Holland.<sup>817</sup> As long as the summer guests performed this role, they strengthened the trade organisation of the winter residents from the Wendish towns.

The problem was that many in the increasing stream of summer guests started to trade directly with Norwegians. They created an open market which competed with the closed exchanges between winter residents and their indebted customers. This tempted stockfish producers to retain part of their production and sell it for a better price on the open market. They neglected to pay instalments on their debts to winter residents. After about 1440, the winter residents increasingly relied on the credit system to keep Norwegian and foreign competitors out of the stockfish trade. The winter residents needed the summer guests, but it was important that they played the role allotted to them by the Kontor.

This tension appears in the extant sources as recurring conflicts between the Lübeck-dominated Kontor and merchants from Deventer, Kampen and other towns along the Zuiderzee (today's IJsselmeer). In 1476, the Kontor wrote that "in former times honourable merchants from the Zuiderzee brought woollen and linen cloth and other commodities to Bergen, and these goods they sold to Baltic merchants in exchange for fish, and they did not trade with Norwegians".<sup>818</sup> The Zuiderzee merchants confirmed that they bought stockfish from the winter residents. In 1469 and 1476, the Kontor complained that the Zuiderzee merchants did not grade the stockfish according to the quality criteria used at the Kontor.<sup>819</sup> Kampen and Deventer answered: "If statutes are neglected, the winter residents at Bryggen are to blame, and not our citizens. We sell no fish in Bergen, but buy a large part (*grotten deel*) of our fish from the winter residents..."<sup>820</sup> Summer guests from North Sea towns bought both graded (*wraken*) fish from the winter residents and ungraded fish directly from Norwegians. This made it possible to put forth two contradictory claims which were both true. The winter residents sold the fish of lowest quality to traders from Holland in Bergen, if we are to believe the Zuidezee merchants.<sup>821</sup>

The Kontor prohibited summer guests from buying and selling for cash; they were only allowed to barter goods with unfree and free Norwegians.<sup>822</sup> The purpose of this peculiar rule was probably that the summer guest then had to write the name of each customer into an account book to keep track of the balance of trade. This

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817 NGL 2.rk. II, p. 737 §24 = HR II, 7, 342 §24; NGL 2.rk. II, p. 745 §4 = HR II, 7, 391 §4; HR III, 7, 154 §3 (B) and §8.

818 NGL 2.rk. II, p. 737 §24 = HR II, 6, 342 §24.

819 NGL 2.rk. II, p. 730 §3 = DN VI no. 567 = HR II, 6, 187 §3; NGL 2.rk. II, p. 735 §5 and §6 = HR II, 7, 342 §5 and §6.

820 NGL 2.rk. II, p. 745 §4 = HR II, 7, 391 §4.

821 HR III, 7, 154 §3 and §8 (1519).

822 NGL 2.rk. II, p. 736 §9 and §11 = HR II, 7, 342 §9 and §11 (1476).

was what the winter residents did with their indebted customers.<sup>823</sup> Such an account would make it possible for the aldermen to prove that the summer guest had traded with Norwegians who were indebted to, or permanent customers of, a winter resident, and impose heavy fines. A prohibition against using money would also stunt the growth of an open market in Bergen. The Zuiderzee towns rejected the demand: “Bergen is a free market town, and in all market towns everyone buys and sells for his own profit, some commodity against commodity, others commodities for money, or money for commodities”.<sup>824</sup>

In September 1476, a Hansa Diet negotiated an agreement between the Zuiderzee towns and the Kontor. For the first time, the Zuiderzee towns officially accepted the condition that no Hansa merchant in Bergen should trade with another Hansa merchant’s unfree *koepnoten*.<sup>825</sup> But they were free to trade with Norwegians who did not have debts. In return, the Kontor seems to have ceased enforcing the 1446 ordinance which stated that merchants who imported grain into Bergen from Baltic towns also had to export the goods bought in Bergen to Baltic towns.<sup>826</sup> In the 1476 agreement, this prohibition is not mentioned, which probably meant that the Diet made the Kontor withdraw it. The prohibition seems to have been enforced between 1446 and 1476, in some cases up to about 1502, but in 1519 it had been forgotten.<sup>827</sup> The prohibition against trading for money is also not mentioned in the 1476 agreement. This probably means that the Diet intervened against it, and it does not seem to have been enforced later. Underlying this compromise was the fact that several Zuiderzee merchants had in the meantime become winter residents in Bergen. The prohibition from 1412 and 1418 against Zuiderzee and Bremen merchants selling small-wares was maintained, and those who broke the ban had their goods confiscated by the aldermen.<sup>828</sup> In the 1476 agreement, both parties accepted that this kind of trade should follow “old, legal customs” and the same rules should apply to all merchants, in practice to both summer guests and winter residents. It is not specified what these old, legal customs were, which meant that it was left to the aldermen to define them.<sup>829</sup> There is no evidence that this issue caused any problems after 1476.

New conflicts arose between the Kontor and Hansa merchants from the North Sea in 1507, but then the problems were different, involving the organisation of convoys and the rules for quality grading of stockfish.<sup>830</sup>

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823 DN XVI no. 197 = HR II, 4, 586 §2.

824 NGL 2.rk. II, p. 746 §9 = HR II, 7, 391 §9 (1476).

825 HR II, 7, 393 §3.

826 DN VII no. 431 = NGL 2.rk. I no. 395

827 More on the 1446 ordinance can be found in chapter II.1.

828 HR II, 6, 186 §6 and no. 188 §3; HR II, 7, 342 §15 and no. 391 §13.

829 HR II, 7, 393 §5.

830 HR III, 5, 251; HR III, 7, 154; HR III, 9, 698.

Many of the summer guests came from Baltic towns. Around 1520, the number of ships visiting Bergen from Rostock and Stralsund taken together was 20–25 annually, the same as from Lübeck.<sup>831</sup> A major portion of the goods on ships sailing between Rostock and Bergen belonged to Rostock merchants throughout the Late Middle Ages,<sup>832</sup> but evidence for winter residents from Rostock after 1393 is scarce and uncertain.<sup>833</sup> The same is true for Stralsund. This means that summer guests from Rostock sold grain products to winter residents in Bergen. Most Rostock merchants seem to have been summer guests and, like other summer guests from the Wendish towns, they were well integrated into the trade organisation of the winter residents. Before 1537, there were no complaints about them trading with the winter residents' indebted customers.<sup>834</sup> The summer guests from Danzig never adapted to the trade organisation of the winter residents, and at the end of the 15<sup>th</sup> century they withdrew from the Bergen trade.<sup>835</sup>

The pattern was that newcomers had problems adjusting to the trade regulations drawn up by the winter residents in Bergen, but the groups which chose to continue trading in Bergen ended up playing by the rules laid down by the Kontor. Those from the Zuiderzee put up a hard fight during the years 1446–1476, but after that they were resigned to following the statutes. Bremen seems to have given up even earlier. Danzig objected but did not really fight for their own merchants, evidently because they had so many other commercial opportunities in England and the Netherlands.

The summer guests from Baltic Hansa towns, North Sea Hansa towns, Holland and England all tended to accept the right of the Norwegian state to formulate and enforce trade legislation. The winter residents, on the other hand, attempted to establish a strong organisation through the Kontor whose main purpose was to create a legal framework which favoured the winter residents. The Kontor's role as self-appointed legislator elicited negative reactions from Norwegian officials, and from Danzig, periodically some of the Wendish towns, the Zuiderzee towns, Bremen, periodically Hamburg, Holland and England. The summer guests had to navigate between winter residents and state officials. Before the Reformation the Kontor was the strongest party, and the summer guests' main conflicts were with them; afterwards, even the winter residents had to accept state dominance.

Medieval contemporaries reinterpreted conflicting economic interests within the Kontor as conflicts between towns. This was because the merchants' identity was primarily urban. Individual merchants rarely disobeyed officials from their home

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831 Table II.1.

832 Cf. pp. 123–126 and table III.11.

833 Cf. tables V.1 and V.2.

834 In 1463 the Kontor accused merchants from Wismar of "unusual trade" with Norwegian customers, both religious and secular. The problem was probably sales of goods in large quantities to Norwegians who resold the goods domestically (HR II, 5, 337 §4).

835 Cf. pp. 131, 133–135, 138–139 and 371.

towns, evidently because their town councils had powerful means to discipline them. Urban councils in return always protected what they saw as the economic interests of the majority of their citizens. Lübeck defended the economic interests of the winter residents, and several other towns protected the economic interests of the summer guests. The tension within the Bergen Kontor between summer guests and winter residents was more fundamental than the tensions between citizens of different towns.<sup>836</sup>

#### 4. THE KONTOR'S POLICY TOWARDS MERCHANTS FROM ENGLAND AND HOLLAND

The modest presence of merchants from England and Holland in the Bergen fish trade was not due to a lack of will or purpose. Around the year 1400, English merchants were winter residents in Bergen with houses of their own, and they probably extended credit to nordfar. They expanded their stockfish trade to Iceland after 1412.<sup>837</sup> Merchants from both Holland and England exploited large-scale fisheries for salted herring and cod in the North Sea in the 15<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>838</sup>

Was the Hansa's dominance in Late Medieval Bergen due to better privileges awarded to them by the Norwegian state? The English received privileges from the Norwegian king in 1269<sup>839</sup> and 1414,<sup>840</sup> and in both cases they only stated that the English would be protected according to Norwegian law. In 1432, King Henry VI told his sheriffs that he had received a letter from the Dano-Norwegian King Erik which said among other things that English merchants would be allowed to enjoy the same rights in Bergen as Hansa merchants did (*eisdem favoribus, privilegiis et prerogativis quibus gaudeant ipsi de Hansa*).<sup>841</sup> The last written privilege for English merchants in Bergen in the Late Middle Ages is found in the 1490 treaty between the Danish and English kings. The English merchants were given protection under Norwegian law, were to enjoy the same privileges and practice the same customs as other foreign merchants, and could own building plots and houses in Bergen to use as they chose.<sup>842</sup> In its own words, the Norwegian state permitted English merchants to practice their trade in the same way as Hansa merchants did.

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836 WUBS-MROCZEWICZ, Lübeckers, Overijsslers and Hollanders, tends to see the tensions within the Kontor more as conflicting identities, and less as conflicting economic interests.

837 Cf. chapters II.4d.

838 Cf. pp. 522–525.

839 DN XIX no. 284.

840 NGL 2.rk. I no. 46 = DN XX no. 732.

841 Calendar of Close Rolls 1429–1435, p. 180.

842 NGL 2.rk. III no. 52 §8 = *Foedera* V, p. 4.

As shown in chapter II.4d, English merchants made use of these rights. In the Late Middle Ages they organised their trade in the same way as the Hansa merchants had, with winter residency in Bergen, credits given to Norwegian customers, an internal administration with aldermen and statutes, and houses built in a more or less closed settlement. But economically, the Norwegian authorities discriminated against English merchants. English skippers had to pay 480 Danish shillings (30 Danish marks) in customs duties per ship, while Hanseatic skippers only paid 136 kilos of flour or malt, which in 1523 was worth about 66 Danish shillings.<sup>843</sup> Norwegian authorities held firmly to their fiscal rights, but otherwise they let the English merchants organise their trade as they wanted.<sup>844</sup>

In the 1440s and 1450s, merchants from Holland received their first privileges from the state, but these only gave them protection according to Norwegian law, and they already had this through the Norwegian urban law. Reiterating this privilege could be interpreted as an indirect request to be protected by Norwegian authorities against the Kontor, but this is not stated explicitly. Between 1469 and 1498, the Hansa tried to affect the legal framework for trade from Holland by influencing state legislation, and it succeeded in limiting the number of houses Holland merchants could own in Bergen and the number of ships they could send there.<sup>845</sup> The last privilege which imposed special restrictions on merchants from Holland was issued in 1490. A privilege for Denmark and Norway permitted Holland merchants to trade “at all times of the year like other Hansa merchants” (*to allen tiiden des jars gelyck andern der dudeschen hensze kopluden*). Later the same year, a separate privilege was issued for Bergen, where they were limited to trading from three *gårder*.<sup>846</sup> An end to this Hansa-inspired legislation came in 1498, when a new privilege for Amsterdam merchants in Bergen permitted them to trade “at all times of the year like our other subjects” (*gelyck andernn unnszen unndersathen*). Their only limitation in 1498 was that their commerce should not “harm the citizens of Bergen”.<sup>847</sup> This wording is vague and left this matter for local officials to decide. The Holland traders claimed in 1504 that they held the same privileges in Bergen as the six Wendish towns, and the privilege from 1498 justifies this claim, at least for Amsterdam.<sup>848</sup> During the period 1366–1507, the Dano-Norwegian government did not see trade policy in Bergen as a means of regulating the economic relationship between the Hansa and Holland merchants in Bergen. They issued laws and ordinances to gain political support, particularly from the Hansa, but also for fiscal reasons.

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843 Table II.1 note 1.

844 On the customs for foreign merchants, cf. chapter IV.3c.

845 Cf. pp. 209–212.

846 NGL 2.rk. III no. 51 = DN VI no. 609; HR III, 2, 369 = NGL 2.rk. III no. 57.

847 NGL 2.rk. III no. 126 = DN VI no. 626.

848 HR III, 5, 5 §9.

When it came to customs and duties on trade, the authorities had a motive for keeping fees high, unless higher priorities make them act otherwise. This resulted in a situation where ships from Holland had to pay ship duties which were nine times that for Hanseatic ships.<sup>849</sup> But there was no coherent policy underlying the difference between the levies for ships belonging to the Hansa (about 66 skillings), the English (480 sk.) and Holland (540 sk.). The Hansa obtained its favoured status as part of a political agreement over Scania in 1343. The only pattern behind this is that the strongest group paid least. Customs in Bergen were probably not high enough to influence competition between merchants from Germany, England and Holland. The value of a ship's cargo, imports and exports taken together, amounted to several hundred marks, but even the customs fees for a ship from Holland only amounted to 34 marks.

After about 1380, the Dano-Norwegian kings lacked coherent ideas about how they wanted foreign merchants to organise their trade in Bergen. Was this because the local authorities realized that it was beyond their power to implement a policy which ran contrary to the Hansa's interests? Or did they give the question a low priority because they thought that the Bergen trade as organised by the Hansa and other minor merchant groups served the interests of most Norwegian customers? Accepting one of these hypotheses does not rule the other out. The motives for the state's passivity are debatable, but the consequences are not. The Kontor as the strongest party was free to practice its own trade policy in Bergen to the detriment of its competitors.

The main pillar in the Kontor's trade policy against merchants from England and Holland was a trade boycott. Norwegian customers demanded flour and grain, and in the Late Middle Ages sufficient quantities could only be bought in Baltic ports. In 1379, English merchants in Bergen complained that the Germans would not sell them Baltic grain. The Kontor replied that Norwegian law prohibited guests from trading with each other in Bergen.<sup>850</sup> This was correct, but the Kontor did not admit that Hansa merchants traded extensively with each other, and that the law therefore was no longer being observed. In the year 1400, King Henry IV asked if it was true that Norwegian officials prohibited trade between English and Hanseatic merchants, but the commander of Bergenhus denied this in his reply.<sup>851</sup> In 1410, the English again complained that the Germans refused to sell them foodstuffs.<sup>852</sup>

The boycott was not fully effective, because in 1411 the Kontor complained that some Hansa merchants were trading with English, Flemish and other non-Hanse-

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849 Cf. table II.1 note 2 and p. 313.

850 DN XIX no. 600 §3 = HR I, 2, 210, p. 244 §3; cf. chapter IV.3k.

851 NGL 2.rk. I no. 29 = HUB V no. 427.

852 DN XIX no. 729 = HR I, 6, 80 = Calendar of Patent Rolls 1408–13, pp. 383–385.

atic merchants.<sup>853</sup> In order to lend the prohibition greater authority, the following year a Hansa Diet ordered the Bergen Kontor to include the following paragraph in its statutes: "We further ask every merchant and merchant's servant, skipper or sailor belonging to the Hansa not to transport or deliver (*benalen*) goods to non-Hanseatic merchants. The fine is to be 100 English shillings".<sup>854</sup> This backing from the Hansa Diet made it possible for the Kontor to request urban councils in the Hansa merchants' home towns to punish offenders. In the 1494 version of the Kontor's statutes, the boycott had the following wording: "Nobody shall enter into partnership with or send goods to merchants who do not belong to the Hansa".<sup>855</sup> Even if the goods were sold to an English or Holland merchant in a Hansa town such as Danzig or Rostock and paid for there, the Bergen aldermen could impose a fine on the seller.<sup>856</sup> The boycott was enforced even against prominent citizens of Wendish towns. In 1494, the town councillor Hinrik Kron in Rostock sent grain products to non-Hanseatic merchants in Bergen; the aldermen then demanded a surety from the skipper until Kron had paid his fine.<sup>857</sup> Holland merchants exported large quantities of grain from Danzig and other Baltic towns in the 15<sup>th</sup> century,<sup>858</sup> and the English did the same at the end of the 14<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>859</sup> Little of this was imported into Bergen because the Kontor prevented it.

The prohibition against selling to merchants from Holland was often expressed as a general restriction, but it was only enforced for grain products. Two named aldermen sold fish oil and seal blubber in large quantities to Holland merchants in Bergen, but traders from Deventer, Kampen and Zwolle complained that they were not allowed to "buy from and sell to" Holland merchants.<sup>860</sup> Even if it is not stated explicitly, merchants from the Zuiderzee evidently wanted to buy grain from Holland merchants, who had bought their grain from Hansa merchants in Danzig and other Baltic ports. The Zuiderzee towns of course knew the boycott only applied to grain products; their message was probably that the rules were followed as it suited the interests of the winter residents from the Baltic.

The second pillar in the Kontor's trade policy against the merchants from Holland and England was the prohibition against trading with the winter residents' indebted customers. This paragraph was used against all summer guests, members of the Hansa included, and has been discussed thoroughly in previous sections.<sup>861</sup>

853 NGL 2.rk. I, p. 656 §1 = HRI, 6, 38 §1.

854 NGL 2.rk. I no. 375 §14 = HUB V no. 1050 = HRI, 6, 70 §17.

855 NGL 2.rk. II no. 416 §23. "*Ock schal siick nemandt beselschoppen noch sinn guds sendenn sunder midth unnde an de jennen de inn de anse geboerenn...*"

856 Ibid. no. 416 §21, cf. §20.

857 HUB XI no. 736.

858 STARK, Lübeck und Danzig, p. 96.

859 Cf. pp. 177–179.

860 HR II, 7, 343 §15 = NGL 2.rk. II, p. 741 §15.

861 Cf. chapter V.2a.

The statutes also contained other paragraphs which limited and regulated trade with merchants outside the Hansa.<sup>862</sup>

The Kontor had sufficient resources to put both of the main measures mentioned above into practice. In 1504, there were negotiations between the Wendish towns and the Holland merchants, who in the written report call themselves “subjects of the duke of Burgundy”. They claimed, rather incorrectly, that the Wendish towns had ordered people in Bergen not to trade with them in order to chase (*verjagen ende vordriven*) them out of Bergen and away from their trading booths (*stallen*) there. Both Norwegians and members of the Kontor were being forced to boycott them. The merchants from Holland emphasised that they held privileges from the King, and this meant that it was legal for them to trade in Bergen. The Wendish towns replied that if the King’s privileges had been violated, they should ask the King to forbid this. The Holland merchants’ reply to this was partisan of course, but it expressed how they experienced Late Medieval Bergen.

Most of the Hansa merchants are from the Wendish towns or are their faktors or servants. Everybody knows what the result will be if we bid the King to protect our rights according to our privileges. The King rarely visits the country, and the merchants from the Hansa towns there are so strong that they respect the King little. Therefore we will not do that, but we ask the Wendish towns to remedy what concerns them.<sup>863</sup>

The Wendish towns then asked officials in Holland to send a letter on the matter to the next Hansa Diet; those present knew that this would be a symbolic gesture without practical consequences.<sup>864</sup> The winter residents persisted with their trade policy against competitors until the balance of power in the town changed in the 1530s. Formally the Kontor had no legislative power in Bergen, but in practice they drew up and enforced laws regulating trade. This made it possible for them to exercise state-like powers without having to answer for the consequences.

Some of the Kontor’s measures against merchants from England and Holland in Bergen were backed by general ordinances issued by Hansa Diets which were meant to be observed by all Hansa merchants everywhere. In 1418, a Hansa Diet prohibited partnerships between Hanseatic and non-Hanseatic merchants, and a Hansa merchant could not use a non-Hanseatic merchant as his trade representative even when there was no partnership between them.<sup>865</sup> Other prohibitions were issued by a Hansa Diet but were inspired by the Kontor and were valid only for Bergen; an example of this was the prohibition against selling grain products to non-Hansa traders. A final group of prohibitions was based only on Kontor statutes, this was so

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862 NGL 2.rk. II no. 416 §20–§24.

863 HR III, 5, 1 §137.

864 *Ibid.* §135–138 and no. 5 §9.

865 JENKS, *Hansische Gästerecht*, pp. 13–16; HR I, 6, 556A §70.

for the prohibition against trading with Norwegians who were indebted to Hansa merchants.

In the Late Middle Ages, English and Holland merchants organised their trade in a way which was just as advanced as that of the Hansa. England and Holland both had the potential to take over a much larger part of the stockfish trade than they did. The Hansa had been commercially superior to Scandinavian merchants during the High Middle Ages, but they were not commercially superior to English and Holland merchants in the Late Middle Ages. In Bergen the Hansa retained their dominance through the strong organisation of the Kontor.

## 5. STATE AND KONTOR AT THE CLOSE OF THE MIDDLE AGES

The tensions within the Bergen Kontor in the Late Middle Ages have traditionally been interpreted as conflicts between Wendish towns and Zuiderzee towns. In my 1983 thesis and in the preceding sections of this chapter, I took the perspective that the tensions between winter residents and summer guests were the underlying reason for these conflicts. I included merchants from Holland among the summer guests, and categorised many conflicts as arising from two ways of organising trade. The winter residents sought to create a favourable legal framework for their commerce by changing trade practices in Bergen to their own advantage, which led to confrontations with the state and summer guests. The summer guests were more inclined to accept the legal framework created by the state, which of course prepared the ground for more harmonious relations with the Norwegian state.

A third dividing line among foreign merchants in Bergen was between North Sea merchants and Baltic merchants. Did they hold attitudes to the state which were fundamentally different? The overwhelming majority of the winter residents came from Lübeck and the Wendish towns, situated on the Baltic. The most outspoken Hanseatic summer guests came from Bremen and the Zuiderzee towns, all of them situated on the North Sea. Merchants from England and Holland also had fewer conflicts with the Norwegian state than the Baltic winter residents at the Kontor.

Categorising merchants according to urban groupings (Wendish and Zuiderzee), trade practices (winter residents and summer guests), and communities created by closer communication (North Sea and Baltic) provides different perspectives on the Kontor–state relationship.

## A. BALTIC AND NORTH SEA MERCHANTS IN BERGEN

German merchants started trading in the Baltic in the second half of the 12<sup>th</sup> century. At that time the Baltic did not have urban communities for which a state made laws and enforced them. The Germans therefore organised trade settlements there relying on their own statutes and aldermen. After a period, local rulers could award these settlements the status of urban communities led by councils.

The formation of states was more advanced in the North Sea area. West German merchants were used to accepting and adapting to state power in England, Flanders, Denmark, Norway and elsewhere. The German Baltic merchants started to visit North Sea ports from the 1220s.<sup>866</sup> Baltic merchants operated in two regions where the relations between state and merchants differed. What was the consequence of this in Bergen?

Foreign merchants in Norway received protection under Norwegian law, and trade agreements between Norway and foreign countries before 1278 did not grant rights beyond this.<sup>867</sup> The English king's first letter of protection for Lübeck in 1258 did the same.<sup>868</sup> Merchants from German North Sea towns who carried out trade in Bergen during this period were used to being protected by local officials and local law.

It was the Baltic towns which brought the idea of privileges to Norway, and they were the driving force behind this type of policy from 1278 to the founding of the Kontor in 1366. The initiative for gaining the first privilege was taken by Lübeck in 1278; it was negotiated by Lübeckers but was to apply to merchants from German maritime towns, in practice the Baltic towns.<sup>869</sup> Later the same year, Bremen was granted a separate but identical privilege.<sup>870</sup> It may seem as if Bremen did not appreciate Lübeck's attempt to take the lead among German merchants; perhaps they did not see the importance of a system of privileges. In their conflict with Norway in 1282–1285, Lübeck took the initiative of utilising an alliance of Baltic towns and princes, which had been created for a different purpose, to defend trading rights in Bergen.<sup>871</sup> Bremen was asked to join the war effort, but declined and continued trading in Norway despite the wartime blockade. As a consequence, Bremen was excluded from trading in the Hansa towns which belonged to the alliance.<sup>872</sup> The final peace treaty of this conflict was signed in 1285 only by Baltic towns, but the

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866 Cf. chapter I.3a.

867 Cf. chapter IV.2b.

868 HUB I no. 506.

869 UBStL I no. 398 = MecklUB no. 1467 = HUB I no. 818 = *Norske middelalderdokumenter* no. 30 = DN V no. 10.

870 DN V no. 11.

871 Cf. p. 340.

872 UBStL IV no. 53 = HUB I no. 931; UBStL II no. 64 = HR I, 1, 29 = DD 2.rk. III no. 133; UBStL I no. 611 = MecklUB III no. 2242 = HR I, 1, 64.

three North Sea towns of Kampen, Stavoren and Groningen were allowed to be party to the treaty's provisions if they so wished.<sup>873</sup>

The conflict ended in success for the German merchants, and at the next negotiation about privileges in 1294, Kampen and Stavoren joined with the Baltic towns. Bremen acted as the ally of the Norwegian king in these negotiations.<sup>874</sup> In 1305, Kampen received a separate privilege from Norway and promised not to engage in further boycotts which the Wendish towns might organise against Norway.<sup>875</sup> In 1312, the Baltic towns negotiated a joint renewal of their privileges.<sup>876</sup> In 1332, Lübeck started to become engaged in Scandinavian politics on a large scale, and this made it possible to trade political support for privileges. During the years 1335–1343, Lübeck worked alone to have the customs in Bergen reduced and succeeded. The other Wendish towns, Hamburg included, are named as sharing in this privilege; unnamed individual “merchants of the German Hansa” were also included.<sup>877</sup> Up to the founding of the Kontor in 1366, the North Sea towns sometimes opposed and sometimes joined the political offensive to obtain privileges.

The Kontor's leadership consisted almost without exception of winter residents from the Wendish towns. But throughout the period 1366–1537, there were voices of protest from North Sea merchants. In their correspondence concerning the Kontor in Bergen, officials from Kampen and Deventer referred to the Baltic as *Oestland* and its merchants as *Oesterlinge*, and to the North Sea area as *Westland*.<sup>878</sup> The English merchants in their correspondence about Bergen referred to the Baltic as *Estland* and to their merchants as *Esterlyngs del Hanse*.<sup>879</sup> The North Sea merchants may have understood the difference between the two as being more than geographic.

The Kontor wanted to decide where merchants from the Zuiderzee and Amsterdam lived in Bergen and how they built their houses.<sup>880</sup> In such matters the Kontor assumed powers which normally belonged to state or urban councils. The town council of Amsterdam wrote to the Kontor that regulations like these were “unusual” in other market towns, and “all good merchants should love and help each other, and not create problems for each other or use violence against each other”.<sup>881</sup>

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873 UBStL I no. 484 = MecklUB III no. 1821 = *Norske middelalderdokumenter* no. 36.

874 Cf. section 1a; UBStL I no. 601 = HUB I no. 1114 = HR I, 1 63 = MecklUB III no. 2223 = DN V no. 21; UBStL I no. 621 = MecklUB III no. 2294 = HUB I no. 1144 = *Norske middelalderdokumenter* no. 41 = DN V no. 23.

875 HUB II no. 70 = DN V no. 47.

876 UBStL II no. 299 = HR I, 1, 104 = DD 2.rk. VI no. 425.

877 Cf. p. 341.

878 HR II, 7, 391 (1476).

879 HR I, III 318 = DN XIX no. 591 (1375).

880 Cf. pp. 210–212, 341, 358, 376.

881 HUB X no. 1143.

Kampen and Deventer wrote that they built their houses on plots which they had paid for, and therefore should be free to build as they wished.<sup>882</sup>

The winter residents did their best to prevent merchants from Amsterdam and the Zuiderzee towns from trading directly with Norwegians.<sup>883</sup> To this strategy, Deventer and Kampen responded that “like other members of the Hansa [i.e. the winter residents] they should be allowed to trade with the Norwegians, and not be obliged to trade with the winter residents only”.<sup>884</sup> The Kontor wanted all trade with Norwegian customers to be organised through bartering goods, kept track of in an account book, without the use of cash.<sup>885</sup> As mentioned above, the Zuiderzee towns rejected this restriction, claiming that “Bergen is a free market town”.<sup>886</sup>

In 1446, the Wendish towns decided that all Hansa merchants who imported grain products from Baltic ports into Bergen had to export their stockfish back to the Baltic.<sup>887</sup> The Zuiderzee merchants replied that they purchased their goods in order to make a profit in the way they themselves thought best. “In no free market towns, as the Baltic towns are, is it usual (*gewoente*) that the merchants shall bring back their goods to the town where they bought their goods. Everybody can see that that this will harm the Hansa merchants (*den gemenen coipluden*).”<sup>888</sup>

During the period 1440–1537, the Kontor was so powerful in Bergen that the Zuiderzee merchants had to be members of it if their trade was to survive. But they and other North Sea merchants from England and Holland clearly thought the Kontor’s regulations made Bergen a peculiar place to trade. The western Hansa towns claimed that all members of the Hansa should be permitted to buy and sell according to the common Hansa privileges, whether they were from the east or the west (*die siin van oesten off van westen*).<sup>889</sup> In words which were unclear and ambiguous, they demanded that the Bergen Kontor should “do to, give to, judge and protect” all members of the Hansa equally, which would be “to the common best and make trade thrive” (*voir dat gemene beste unde wolfairt der koepmanscappen*).<sup>890</sup> North Sea merchants clearly felt that the Bergen Kontor did not serve the interests of the merchant community as a whole. Merchants from the North Sea and the Baltic came from different traditions and had experienced a different relationship between the state and merchants.

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882 HR II, 7, 391 §13 = NGL 2.rk. II p. 747 § 13.

883 Cf. chapter V.2a and 464.

884 HR II, 7, 391 §22 = NGL 2.rk. II p. 749 § 22.

885 Cf. p. 403 and 463–464.

886 HR II, 7, 391 §9 (1476) = NGL 2.rk. II, p. 746 §9 = DN XVI no. 261.

887 Cf. p. 96.

888 HR II, 7, 391 §10.

889 Ibid. §11.

890 Ibid. §11.

## B. CHALLENGES FROM A STRONGER STATE, 1507–1537

Christian II was the first Dano-Norwegian Renaissance king, and he had higher ambitions for state power than his predecessors. During his father's lifetime, he served as vice-king of Norway, from 1507–1512. One of the first things he did in 1508 was to cancel all Hanseatic privileges in Norway's second largest town, Oslo. "We recall all liberties and privileges which German merchants until this day have enjoyed and used, and which have greatly harmed and impoverished our dear subjects, the citizens of Oslo." Another reason given for the recall of privileges was that the Hansa merchants earned much money but were unwilling to pay taxes.<sup>891</sup> This was a classic alliance between a king and merchants who were his subjects, and where the adversary was foreign merchants. Christian II did not cancel Hansa privileges in Bergen.

Even before their privileges were cancelled in Oslo, the Bergen aldermen wrote to Lübeck's town council in 1507 that the "old Norwegian Kontor" in former times "flourished more than the other [Kontors], but now it "...has come to a reduced state (*cleynheyit*) which the Kontor merchants are reluctant to admit".<sup>892</sup> As mentioned above, on this occasion they blamed the Zuiderzee towns for their problems.<sup>893</sup>

Christian II became king in 1513. He altered the political framework by linking the local administration in Bergen more closely to the central government in Copenhagen. Before that, the local officials in Bergen had been left much to their own devices. He appointed one of his most trusted men, Jørgen Hanssønn the Scribe, to the position of commander of Bergenhus castle. The urban council of Lübeck reacted by tightening their control over the Bergen Kontor. They ordered the Kontor not to intervene in local conflicts in Bergen between the commander of Bergenhus and the Norwegian Council of the Realm.<sup>894</sup> In local struggles, the Kontor aldermen and their militia had been stronger than the commander of Bergenhus and his soldiers. Now confrontations were raised to a higher level.

In the following period, complaints that the Bergen Kontor was in decline became more frequent. In 1519, a Wendish Diet claimed that the Bergen Kontor had declined significantly (*dem Bargesschen kuntor merglik affgetagen*).<sup>895</sup> In 1520, King Christian II imposed new charges on the Kontor. The aldermen wrote a letter to a Hansa Diet claiming that they could not pay this, and that the charges would have been a heavy burden even at the time when the Kontor "flourished and was

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891 NGL 2.rk. III no. 197 = DN III no. 1040; more on this in NEDKVITNE and NORSENG, p. 378.

892 DN XVI no. 345 = HR III, 5, 251 §1.

893 Cf. p. 203.

894 HR III, 9, 433.

895 HR III, 7, 246 §94.

wealthy” (*in grotem floer unde by synem besten vormogende wasz*).<sup>896</sup> In 1520, Rostock urban council feared that “the Kontor in Bergen... may be destroyed” (*dat kunthor to Bergen... magh gantze to nichte werden*).<sup>897</sup> The situation at the four Kontors<sup>898</sup> was discussed at a Hansa Diet in 1521, and all were said to be in danger. “The Bergen Kontor, where many have grown into men from nothing and with little money, is also in danger (... *moste ock vare stan*).<sup>899</sup> Even if these claims about the Kontor’s decline had a pragmatic objective and were meant to attract support to particular causes, one may conclude that at the beginning of the 16th century, there was a widespread opinion among the Germans in Bergen that the Kontor had been larger and more prosperous in former times.

The Hansa merchants had several theories about the causes of this decline. In 1514, 1517 and 1535, the decline was blamed on the availability of fish from Iceland, which made Bergen fish difficult to sell.<sup>900</sup>

The problem of foreign merchants trading for fish north of Bergen is older than the Kontor. From 1294, foreigners had been prohibited by law from sailing further north than Bergen. The Kontor supported this policy and wanted the stockfish trade to take place in Bergen.<sup>901</sup> In 1412, English merchants started to visit Iceland. Some Hansa merchants followed suit, but in the earliest period they only visited Orkney, Shetland and the Faeroes, where little stockfish was produced. The Bergen Kontor complained in 1416 about Hansa merchants sailing to the northern regions to a Hansa Diet, which decided that the Hanseatic trading settlement should remain in Bergen where it had been from olden times. Those who contravened the prohibition on trading north of Bergen would have their ships and goods confiscated in the first Hansa port in which they arrived, and would no longer be permitted to trade under Hanseatic privileges.<sup>902</sup> Hansa merchants were evacuated from Bergen in the years 1427–1433, and there was no Kontor there to control shipping to the northern regions. Some Hansa merchants in this situation sailed to Iceland, the Faeroes, Orkney and “Vynlande”<sup>903</sup> and imported their goods into the Bruges Kontor. After

896 HR III, 1, 271 §3 = DN VII no. 553 (... *do id noch in grotem floer unde by synem besten vormogende wasz*). Letter from the Kontor to a Hansa Diet.

897 HR III, 1, 303 §8.

898 London, Bruges, Bergen and Novgorod.

899 HR III, 7, 413 §51.

900 BRUNS, *Bergenfahrer*, pp. 211ff.; HR III, 7, 39 §190; HR IV, 2, 204.

901 Chapter IV.3b.

902 HR I, 6, 262 §89–§91 = NGL 2.rk. I no. 377.

903 “Vynlande” most probably refers to Vinland, the Norse name for a settlement in Newfoundland which had been inhabited for a short time ca. 1000 AD by people living in and sailing from Greenland. It is unthinkable that Hansa merchants had sailed there in the 1430s. They probably had journeyed to Iceland, but to avoid prosecution from the Bergen Kontor for having made a “forbidden voyage”, they may have told the aldermen in Bruges that they had bought the stockfish in Vinland. Nobody in Bruges had been to Vinland and nobody could

peace had been restored, the prohibition against sailing north of Bergen was reiterated. The Bergen Kontor continued its struggle, with the support of the Hansa Diets and the Danish king, against merchants from, above all, Hamburg but also from Bremen and other towns who defied this prohibition.<sup>904</sup> Hamburg at that time only had summer guests in Bergen, while Lübeck had to defend the interests of their own numerous winter residents.

In 1519, the Bergenfahrer in Lübeck claimed at a Hansa Diet that imports of stockfish from Iceland had caused the decline of the Bergen Kontor. Since trading with Iceland went against the policy of the Danish king, the Bergenfahrer feared that this might give him reason to cancel the Kontor's privileges. The Hamburg merchants replied that they had sailed to Iceland for decades without such consequences, and they would not stop doing so. They could not trade profitably in Bergen because the Kontor imposed higher duties on them than on other merchants. This may have referred to fines which North Sea merchants had to pay if they imported grain from the Baltic without exporting their stockfish back there.<sup>905</sup> Lübeck even wrote to the Danish king proposing cooperation to prevent fellow German Hansa merchants from sailing to Trondheim.<sup>906</sup> The Hansa was originally formed to defend the interests of German maritime towns against the rulers of Norway, Denmark and other countries. In this case, the Danish king was to be Lübeck's ally against other members of the Hansa.

The stockfish from Iceland was of a lower quality because it had been dried on rocks, since Iceland lacked wood for constructing racks (*hjel*) where the cod could be hung on rods to dry. The Icelandic practice spread to Finnmark, where wood was scarce. Customers in European markets became suspicious of Bergen stockfish, and this undermined the contention that stockfish from Bergen was of a higher quality. In 1494, the Kontor leaders held a meeting with local state and church authorities in Bergen and the nordfar who were then present in Bergen, particularly those from Finnmark. The Kontor demanded that the practice of drying stockfish on rocks had to be discontinued. The local officials and nordfar from Finnmark accepted the Kontor's demand that "in the future they shall not dry fish on the rocks, but follow old customs and dry it by hanging it [on wooden drying racks] (... *neynen rotscher iffte visch uppe den klippen drogen willen, sunder na older wonheit uphengen unde one also drogen scholden*). The local officials, led by the Bishop of Bergen, the commander of Bergenhus, and the Kontor aldermen agreed to send a letter to the bailiff

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check up on this. But "Vynlande" may also be a misspelling of present-day Finnmark, the land of the Finns, or Sami people.

904 HR II, 1, 393 §12 and no. 394 §10 (1434/5); HR III, 1, 365 §38–§42 (1482); HR IV, 1, 147 = DN VII no. 700; HR III, 7, 413 §143; HR IV, 2, 86 §600; HR IV, 2, 90 §9; HUB XI no. 133 §53–§54; THORSTEINSSON, *Hansestæderne og Island*, pp. 170–171 and 175–176.

905 HR III, 7, 246 §94 and §95; cf. chapter II.1.

906 HR IV, 1, 147 = DN VII no. 700.

of Finnmark in which he was asked to ensure that drying cod on rocks was stopped. Both the Germans and Norwegians wanted to defend the value of Bergen stockfish on the European markets.<sup>907</sup>

It was beyond the Hansa's power to influence the growing competition from Dutch North Sea herring and North Atlantic salted and dried cod. With hindsight, it is easy to see that the fisheries in the North Atlantic became a starting point for English and French interests in the New World. If Bremen, Hamburg and other North Sea towns had been encouraged by political authorities to participate in Atlantic shipping, German 17<sup>th</sup> century commercial history might have proceeded differently. Lübeck showed strong leadership in the defence of traditional practices. By doing so, the Hansa curtailed the initiative of their own merchants but were unable to influence the expansion of competitors who were protected by stronger states.

### C. THE KONTOR'S RESPONSE TO CHALLENGES CREATED INTERNAL TENSIONS

There was no consensus in the Bergen Kontor about how to meet the new challenge from the Dano-Norwegian state. The great divide was between Lübeck, which wanted determined political action under its own leadership, and most of the other Hansa towns, which wanted a more accommodating response. The Kontor's aldermen, and behind them Lübeck, considered it mandatory that members of the Kontor were more obedient to their own leaders. The mayor of Lübeck asked a Hansa Diet in 1521 to do its utmost to prevent the Bergen Kontor from "falling", and the most important thing they could do in his opinion was to react against "violations" (*gebreke*) committed by members of the Kontor. The aldermen were licensed to put disobedient merchants on a ship bound for their home town.<sup>908</sup>

Some of their initiatives were uncontroversial. The Kontor negotiated to have the extraordinary taxes imposed by the Dano-Norwegian kings reduced, with mixed results.<sup>909</sup> The most controversial problem was how to protect shipping to and from Bergen, which was continually being threatened by pirates, and in wartime by privateers in the service of various states. To meet these threats, the Kontor and the Lübeck Bergenfahrer guild made repeated efforts to organise convoys. Lübeck's shipping to Bergen passed through the Øresund, and this posed special problems when Denmark was the enemy. North Sea towns often did not find it in their interest to participate in convoys, because their access to Bergen differed from Lübeck's. Lübeck's Baltic neighbours often refused to participate in Lübeck's wars with Den-

907 HR III, 3, 336 = NGL 2.rk. III no. 81.

908 HR III, 8, 413 §129 and §133.

909 For example HR III, 7, 246 § 14 and §40.

mark, and preferred to sail to Bergen on their own as neutral parties.<sup>910</sup> The internal tensions are illustrated by events which occurred between 1510 and 1520.

In the years 1507–1514, Scottish pirates were a problem. In 1507 they captured one ship from the Bergenfahrer, in 1512 three ships, and in 1514 one ship; the skippers were all from Lübeck, Wismar and Rostock.<sup>911</sup> Parallel to these events, in 1510–1512 Lübeck, supported by Wendish towns in the Baltic, conducted a war at sea against Denmark.<sup>912</sup> This forced Lübeck to take measures to protect Hansa shipping to Bergen. In January 1512 Lübeck's Bergenfahrer guild organised compulsory convoys from Travemünde for all Hanseatic cargo ships sailing from the Baltic to Bergen.<sup>913</sup> Skippers from Wismar and Rostock were told to appear in Lübeck and have their ships chartered through the Lübeck Bergenfahrer guild. This could be seen as strict enforcement of the use of the Freight Lords, which had been introduced in 1455.<sup>914</sup>

During this war, the Danish king permitted the neutral North Sea towns to continue trading with Bergen, on the condition that they did not ship goods for the warring Wendish towns. Merchants from the Zuiderzee accepted this limitation and refused to carry goods belonging to Wendish merchants.<sup>915</sup> After the war, Lübeck merchants at the Kontor demanded to be compensated for the losses they had incurred because of this boycott. Direct sailings to Bergen from Bremen, Deventer and Kampen were prohibited until the fines had been paid. The Kontor decreed that all ships to Bergen were to sail in convoys from Baltic towns and be chartered through the Lübeck Bergenfahrer guild, and those that did otherwise received heavy fines when they arrived in Bergen.<sup>916</sup> The North Sea merchants could not escape punishment because the Bergen Kontor would force them to pay the fines when their ships arrived there.<sup>917</sup>

These measures during and after the war caused a revolt against the Kontor and Lübeck's Bergenfahrer guild among Lübeck's closest friends in the Baltic, as well as among Bergenfahrer from the North Sea. In 1512 Wismar and Rostock both prohibited their ships from being chartered in Lübeck.<sup>918</sup> The following year, Rostock sent four ships to Bergen which had not been chartered through the Lübeck Freight Lords.<sup>919</sup> Representatives from Bremen, Kampen and Deventer travelled to Lübeck

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910 HR III, 6, 555–567; HR III, 9, 131 §118–§126.

911 HR III, 6, 581 §10.

912 HOFFMANN, *Lübeckische Geschichte*, pp. 379–380.

913 HR III, 6, nos. 490 and 442.

914 Cf. p. 102.

915 HR III, 7, 154 A §2.

916 HR III, 6, 490 and no. 555; cf. HR III, 6, 517 and nos. 579 and 457; HR III, 6, 502 = DN XVI no. 354.

917 HR III, 6, 490.

918 HR III, 6, 560–561.

919 HR III, 6, nos. 499 and 502.

in person to request that this rule be abolished, and they claimed that the authority to bring in such regulations rested with Hansa Diets and not the Kontor. Wismar agreed and maintained that the regulations were “against praiseworthy customs and old traditions” (*jegen loflike gewonte unde olde herkomst*),<sup>920</sup> and that their merchants were to “remain free and not dependent” (*frig unde nicht eigene to blivende*) on Lübeck.<sup>921</sup> However, the Lübeck Bergenfahrer guild insisted on enforcing the regulation strictly and precisely, at least against the western towns. They asked the Bergen Kontor to treat the violators severely to make them obey this rule (*mit densulven Sudersesschen unde Bremerschen upt strengste unde penliksten to holden*).<sup>922</sup>

The westerners decided to put the conflict before the next Hansa Diet.<sup>923</sup> The Bergenfahrer in Lübeck claimed that their measures were taken “for the wellbeing of the Kontor” and that the Kontor’s statutes and privileges allowed them to bring in such regulations.<sup>924</sup> The Lübeck Bergenfahrer felt that they had been unjustly accused of putting self-interest before the common good (*unse eghene nuth unde nicht dat gemeyne beste to forderen unde soken*), and that their good intentions had been misrepresented as a conspiracy (*conspiration*).<sup>925</sup> At this Hansa Diet in 1514, the Lübeck councillors’ skills as consensus-makers dissipated the tension. The Kontor had made an agreement with the Zuiderzee towns before the Diet met.<sup>926</sup> At the Diet, the Kontor and the Lübeck Bergenfahrer agreed to permit skippers and merchants from Rostock and Wismar to decide for themselves whether they wanted to have their ships chartered through the Freight Lords in Lübeck. This voluntary arrangement meant a return to the practice which had been in force since 1455.<sup>927</sup> In return, Rostock and Wismar agreed to sail in convoys when these were organised. In 1515 and 1516, the Baltic ships sailed in convoy to Bergen,<sup>928</sup> but after that there is no mention in our sources of problems involving the convoys. It must be assumed that they were discontinued in 1517.

But problems with the western towns continued. In 1519 and 1520, the Zuiderzee towns complained that the Kontor aldermen prevented them from exercising their privileges in Bergen and caused unspecified “damage” (*overvaringe*) to their merchants.<sup>929</sup> The Hamburg merchants went into more detail about their treatment. The Kontor had written to unspecified “Hansa towns” that they could only

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920 HR III, 6, 556.

921 HR III, 6, 557.

922 HR III, 6, nos. 502, 490, 517 and 555.

923 HR III, 6, 517.

924 HR III, 6, 490.

925 HR III, 6, 558, cf. no. 559.

926 HR III, 6, 563.

927 HR III, 6, 568 §9–§13.

928 HR III, 6, 647 and p. 624 note 1.

929 HR III, 7, 154 §1 and §6, and no. 155.

send two ships at a time to Bergen and stipulated when they could sail.<sup>930</sup> The Lübeckers justified the restrictions with reference to the many dangers to which the Bergenfahrer were exposed on the way.<sup>931</sup> The Diet of Wendish towns supported Hamburg and told the Lübeck Bergenfahrer who dominated the Kontor to stop this practice.<sup>932</sup>

The background to these tensions may have been the fact that the effects of piracy were greater for the Lübeckers. Lübeck winter residents owned a great deal of the goods on board ships which sailed from other ports. The winter residents from Lübeck were the final recipients of nearly all goods on Hansa ships to Bergen, and there were serious repercussions for their trade with the nordfar if they had no grain products to offer in return for the stockfish. Yet with the advantage of hindsight, one could question how wise it was for Lübeck Bergenfahrer, with the discreet backing of its urban council, to impose its ideas on how shipping routes should be organised and protected. This created tensions and contributed to the town's isolation at a time when the Hansa towns needed unity against strong states and their merchants. What saved the situation during the years 1510–1520 was that Lübeck's urban council still managed to achieve the delicate balance between being discreet defenders of their own merchants and consensus-makers for the conflicting interests within the Hansa as a whole.

Lübeck and Hamburg had common interests in many areas, but their harmony disintegrated in times of war with Denmark. Lübeck wanted to use Hamburg as a port of departure for their Bergen trade, because it permitted them to avoid running the gauntlet through the Øresund or Storebælt.<sup>933</sup> In the war year 1522, no ships sailed between Lübeck and Bergen, but 15 Hamburg vessels visited Bergen, which was an increase over the 5 and 8 ships in the two preceding years. We can safely assume that the majority of the extra ships in 1522 were chartered by Lübeck merchants.<sup>934</sup> In 1535, Lübeck was again at war with Denmark, and its merchants had equipped 12 large ships in Hamburg to transport goods to Bergen. Hamburg was neutral, and Denmark gave Hamburg ships free passage to Bergen if they were not carrying cargo owned by Lübeck citizens. Lübeck's adversary, the future Christian III, warned Hamburg against letting these 12 ships sail, and Hamburg detained them.<sup>935</sup> Lübeck then summoned a Hansa Diet where, among other things, they proposed that Hamburg should be asked to allow the Lübeck ships to leave, and this

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930 HR III, 7, 284 §41–§43, a Diet of Wendish towns in March 1520.

931 HR III, 7, 284 §44.

932 HR III, 7, 284 §45.

933 Chapter II.5f; HR III, 9, 444 §45; HR IV, 2, 86 §241.

934 Table II.1.

935 HR IV, 2, 86 §241, §242, §243, §501 and §509; *Hamburgische Chroniken*, p. 85; HR IV, 2, 115.

resolution was passed.<sup>936</sup> Hamburg again yielded, and the ships were permitted to sail on the 8<sup>th</sup> of September.<sup>937</sup>

Lübeck had always walked a tightrope between self-interest and altruism in its leadership of the Bergen Kontor.<sup>938</sup> The situation between 1507 and 1537 demanded more altruism to keep the relevant towns united, but instead Lübeck became more focused on securing its own interests when the pressure increased. Lübeck's isolation became most evident when questions of war and peace were on the agenda. In relation to Denmark, Lübeck had political motives which other Hansa towns did not share, and which could draw others into military campaigns which damaged the economic interests of the Hansa as a whole.

In 1522, the Wendish towns and Danzig intervened militarily to prevent Christian II from regaining his Swedish kingdom.<sup>939</sup> The following year, Lübeck joined the successful Danish insurrection to oust Christian II.<sup>940</sup> Christian II returned to Norway in 1531 to regain his kingdom, and the Wendish towns joined the coalition against him. A fleet of 25 ships was made ready in Copenhagen, 11 of them Danish, 8 from Lübeck, 3 from Rostock and 3 from Stralsund.<sup>941</sup> In return for this considerable military assistance, the new King Fredrik I promised to go to war with Holland and close the Øresund to shipments of a number of commodities, which would then have to be transported overland from Lübeck to Hamburg. The agreement was signed on the 2<sup>nd</sup> of May 1532 and was a precondition for this naval support.<sup>942</sup> Two months later, Fredrik I had gained the upper hand, and Hansa help was no longer necessary. On the 9<sup>th</sup> of July 1532, he signed a treaty giving the Netherlands free passage through the Øresund.<sup>943</sup> The Lübeckers felt that their reward had been taken from them. In March 1533, Lübeck used its fleet to close the Øresund to Dutch shipping, which meant war with the Netherlands. Shortly afterwards, in April, Fredrik I died and a war of succession broke out in which Lübeck was an active participant. Their candidate was defeated in 1535.<sup>944</sup> That was the end of Lübeck's and the Wendish towns' efforts to secure a Hansa-friendly Danish state and bar the Dutch from access to the Baltic. They had incurred large war expenses but had achieved nothing.

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936 HR IV, 2, 86 §243 and §501, cf. §371.

937 *Hamburgische Chroniken*, p. 85.

938 Cf. chapter V.1e.

939 WITTENDORFF, *Danmarkshistorie*, p. 91; HAMRE, *Norsk historie 1513–1537*, p. 130.

940 WITTENDORFF, *Danmarkshistorie*, pp. 95–96; HAMRE, *Norsk historie 1513–1537*, p. 181.

941 HAMRE, *Norsk historie 1513–1537*, pp. 496–497.

942 HAMRE, *Norsk historie 1513–1537*, p. 496; WITTENDORFF, *Danmarkshistorie*, p. 165.

943 HAMRE, *Norsk historie 1513–1537*, pp. 501 and 532–533; WITTENDORFF, *Danmarkshistorie*, p. 501.

944 DOLLINGER, *La Hanse*, pp. 398–404; English translation, pp. 324–329; German translation, pp. 418–425.

Lübeck received harsh criticism from other Hansa towns for wilful leadership without consultation. In correspondence between Rostock and Stralsund in May 1535, Lübeck is blamed for having started the war without consultations, and afterwards they had pressured the other two towns to participate. Then it turned out that Lübeck had not equipped all their ships for war, but had made six of their largest and best ships ready to sail to Bergen, leaving too much of the naval battle to Rostock and Stralsund.<sup>945</sup> At a Hansa Diet in 1535, the Mayor of Cologne also criticised Lübeck for the high-handed way in which it had started the war without consulting others. Lübeck had loaded all the common Hansa privileges in the Danish realm, particularly those in Bergen, on one scale of the balance (... *alle privilegia so ganz jamerlich in eyne wachtscale gehangen*), but even this had not made the balance tip in Lübeck's favour.<sup>946</sup> The representative for Braunschweig put on record that Lübeck had not even been able to get the support of its closest Baltic allies of Rostock, Stralsund and Wismar, and this gave reason for concern.<sup>947</sup> At this meeting, the western towns of Hamburg, Cologne and Braunschweig appeared as the reasonable voices which were doing their best to help the Hansa's commerce thrive.

Lübeck had tried to achieve too many aims at the same time. It wanted to protect itself politically against the rising Danish state which included Schleswig and Holstein. It wanted defend the economic interests of its own merchants in Bergen and elsewhere. At the same time, it wanted to be the consensus-maker and leader of the Hanseatic network. When the pressure increased in the years 1507–1537, it turned out that this last ambition was impossible to reconcile with the first two. After 1537, Lübeck was increasingly viewed in Bergen as one of several towns which looked after their own merchants.

The Hansa network was based on confidence in the good judgement of the leader and a belief that following this lead would bring material advantages. When the best legal framework for trade no longer could be obtained by following Lübeck, the motive for supporting a network led by them was undermined. In 1514, Rostock and Wismar complained that Lübeck summoned too many Hansa Diets. They perhaps felt that Lübeck increasingly used these assemblies to issue orders, and they were less interested than formerly in such one-way communication.<sup>948</sup>

The alternative was a more collective form of leadership through Hansa Diets less dominated by Lübeck. But this also meant that the ambition of providing the Hansa with a state-like leadership would be abandoned. For the Bergen Kontor, this was less serious than for other sectors of the Hansa organisation. It meant that the Bergen Kontor achieved greater independence, and the aldermen handled its affairs in negotiations with local and central state authorities. The Bergen Kontor was

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945 HR IV, 1, 430 and no. 439.

946 HR IV, 2, 86 §247.

947 HR IV, 2, 86 §375.

948 HR III, 6, 567 (... *in geryngen saken de sted to dagefarden wol vorscreben hebbe*).

obtaining less and less through communal action, and the North Sea model of accepting a strong state became increasingly relevant.

#### D. BERGEN CITIZENS IN FOREIGN TRADE BEFORE THE REFORMATION?

There were Bergen citizens who made their living from trade throughout the Late Middle Ages, but what kind of trade? The extant sources provide ample evidence that they sailed north from Bergen to trade in the fishing regions and the North Atlantic islands.<sup>949</sup> But we have no evidence that they traded with peasant fishermen or officials who brought stockfish to Bergen, or that they participated in the export trade.

Christian II's period as vice-king of Norway from 1507 to 1512 prepared the ground for an expansion of these citizens' trade. The presence of the vice-king with his armed retainers made it more risky for Hansa merchants to defy local officials. In 1507, Christian II issued a privilege to Amsterdam which made it plain that the state now favoured Bergen citizens. He permitted Amsterdam merchants to come freely as summer guests, but they had to sell their goods to Bergen citizens. He limited the number of winter residents from Holland to 3 or 4 men.<sup>950</sup> This was an attempt to position the citizens of Bergen as intermediaries between Holland traders and Norwegian customers through legislation. This privilege does not seem to have been enforced, but the increasing amount of trade by merchants from Holland and the strengthened state presence made it more realistic for the citizens of Bergen to seek positions as intermediaries between Holland traders and Norwegian customers.<sup>951</sup> Around the year 1520, 5–7 ships from Holland and Friesland visited Bergen annually.<sup>952</sup> Most of the goods were probably sold in the 50–60 Holland merchants' booths in Bergen,<sup>953</sup> but this also gave Bergen citizens access to western European commodities.

During the civil war to oust Christian II in 1523, state power in Bergen ceased functioning, and this gave Hansa merchants an opportunity to settle some accounts. Before that, pirates in the service of Scottish nobles had plundered several Hansa ships bound for Bergen. During the same period, Bergen experienced immigration from the former Norwegian provinces of Orkney and Shetland and other parts of Scotland. On the night of the 7<sup>th</sup> of November 1523, Kontor merchants attacked 13 named citizens of Bergen, at least some of them of Scottish origin.<sup>954</sup> They were robbed of commercial goods, money and household equipment, which they them-

949 Cf. chapter V.2c.

950 NGL 2.rk. III no. 191 = DN VI no. 647.

951 NGL 2.rk. III no. 191 §4 = DN VI no. 647; NGL 2.rk. III no. 215.

952 Table II.1, cf. also note 2.

953 Cf. p. 213–914.

954 HR III, 9, 482.

selves estimated to be worth 38,143 marks, a very high sum. The demands for reparations reveal what kind of trade they practiced.

Jon Thomasson was the richest of the citizens who were attacked. He was an immigrant from Orkney and lived in a quarter of Bergen called Hollenderstretet, close to one of the complexes housing merchants from Holland.<sup>955</sup> In 1520, he bought 300 *våger* of stockfish from the commander of Bergenhus, which is a large quantity.<sup>956</sup> After the Reformation, he was mayor of Bergen from 1540 to 1555.<sup>957</sup> He had a booth where he sold cloth from England and the Netherlands, and wadmal from Shetland and the Faeroes. He owned small inshore craft (*jacht*) used for trade with northern Norway, and at least one ship which he is likely to have used for trade with the North Atlantic islands. He may have used this ship for commerce to Holland, but he may also have bought foreign goods from Holland merchants in Bergen.

Sander Jonsson is not explicitly referred to as being Scottish. In another source he is called Sander Tailor (*skreddere*), which in his case was probably a family name.<sup>958</sup> He was also robbed of high valuations of cloth, some from the Netherlands, and wadmal from Iceland, the Faeroes and Shetland, which he may have sold from his booth. Like Jon Thomasson, he owned inshore trading vessels (*jacht*) and at least one ship. He kept account books which he used for collecting his debts. The German attackers stole 500 *våger* of stockfish from him, which he may have bought in northern Norway or from nordfar in Bergen.

These two men together owned more than half of the plundered goods. There is evidence that five of the remaining 11 men may have combined a craft with trading from a sales booth. Arnt “carpenter’s” (*snidker*) widow owned a sales booth. Jon “baker” (*bagster*) owned a warehouse on the quay (*sjøbod*) and goods from Holland, Hamburg and Scotland. Gert “barber” (*bardskier*) owned “equipment for barbering” but also saleable goods, and kept an account book which he used when collecting his credits and unpaid wages. Willom “slaughter” was another of the citizens who had been robbed. Anders Jonsson owned a sales booth, but also worked as a butcher, since the “German merchants on Bryggen” stole from him “five oxen and 30 sheep and he-goats meant for slaughter”.<sup>959</sup>

A citizen called *Doncken* (= Duncan?) had sailed south to Lista near present-day Kristiansand to buy hides when “German merchants and shoemakers” broke into his house, stole some of his goods, and violated his wife. He may have been identical to *Dunckenn* Scot, who in 1535 was a co-judge in Bergen.<sup>960</sup>

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955 NRJ I, p. 84.

956 Ibid., p. 560.

957 FOSSEN, Bergen, p. 73.

958 NRJ III, p. 562.

959 The account of the attack in 1523 is published in HR III, 9, 482.

960 DN III no. 1137.

The urban council in Bergen confirmed that the victims were citizens of the town and subjects of the Dano-Norwegian king.<sup>961</sup> On the night of the attack, the Germans had forced the victims to swear that they had emigrated from Holland and England and promise to return there.<sup>962</sup> Holland had supported the exiled Christian II and was the new King's enemy. But in official correspondence over the following years, Hansa sources always referred to the victims as "Scots",<sup>963</sup> and so did the Danish and Norwegian Councils of the Realm.<sup>964</sup> This evidence makes it clear that all or most of the victims were immigrants from Scotland. The Hansa had motives for attacking the Scots and confiscating goods in compensation for Scottish acts of piracy. Bergen also had accepted immigrants from Holland as citizens. At least one of the victims fled to Amsterdam and claimed to have been robbed of more than 4000 Rhenish guilders, a large amount.<sup>965</sup>

Other documents name more immigrants who became citizens of Bergen at this time. In 1521, the commander of Bergenhus sold stockfish to "a Hollander citizen of Bergen".<sup>966</sup> In 1535, Peter Hollander was a co-judge in Bergen, so he must have been a citizen of the town.<sup>967</sup> Niels Jude (i.e. from Jylland in Denmark) was an urban councillor in Bergen in 1535.<sup>968</sup> But no Germans seem to have become citizens of Bergen before the Reformation in 1537.

If the 13 Bergen merchants are representative of the situation in 1523, what characterised the commerce of Bergen citizens at the end of the reign of Christian II? The richest of them traded on their own ships with the northern fishing regions and the North Atlantic islands. Most of them owned a sales booth from which they sold imported and domestic goods. They gave credit and kept account books, which means they had regular customers. Many were not specialists and combined their sales booth with practicing a craft. A large proportion of them seem to have been immigrants from Scotland, Holland and Denmark, some of whom continued to carry out trade with their native countries. But they had not yet taken the great leap into the kind of foreign trade practiced by Hanseatic and Dutch merchants.

#### E. INTEGRATION INTO NORWEGIAN STATE SOCIETY, 1538–1560

The years 1538–1560 saw a period of continuous but non-violent tugs of war between the Hansa and the state until a new balance of power was formalised in a treaty (or "recess") signed in Odense in 1560. This 22-year transition period

961 HR III, 9, 482 §1.

962 DN VI no. 694 = HR III, 8, 850.

963 HR III, 9, 589 §84; HR III, 8, 820 §49, §52, §58, §72 = DN XVI no. 423.

964 DN VI no. 697.

965 *Ibid.*, no. 691.

966 NRJ II, p. 576.

967 DN III no. 1137.

968 *Ibid.*

between the “medieval” and “early modern” Kontor has been described chronologically and with detailed references to extant sources in *Hanseatene og Norge i det 16. Århundre*, published in 1941 by the Norwegian historian Johan Schreiner. He analysed documents produced by the Hansa, the state and the town council of Bergen. I see no reason to analyse these sources a second time, so this section is mainly based on his analyses.<sup>969</sup> The medieval Kontor differed from its post-medieval version. This chapter discusses the medieval Kontor, including its roots before 1366 and its transformation in the years 1538–1560. A scholarly study of the post-medieval Kontor covering the period 1560–1766 still has not been written.

After the Reformation, the aldermen no longer mobilised the Kontor militia to support political aims, but the Kontor still used violence to enforce Kontor statutes. Absalon Pederssøn’s diary gives the impression of widespread violence by individuals in Bergen in the 1560s, but the Germans were no worse than the Norwegian and Danish inhabitants.<sup>970</sup> The new military balance made it possible for the state to demand a revision of the judicial and political relationship between Hansa and state in Bergen. Negotiations of some sort about these problems were conducted almost every year between 1538 and 1554, but no sustainable agreement was reached. Between 1554 and 1558 there was a complete stalemate, with no new negotiations because neither of the two parties were willing to lower their demands.

In 1558, the commander of Bergenhus, Christoffer Valkendorf, staged a demonstration of power. He decreed that the German artisans in Bergen could no longer be under the Kontor’s jurisdiction but were to become citizens of Bergen. This he did with the approval of the King in Copenhagen. The issue had been a bone of contention between local officials and the Kontor’s aldermen for 200 years. Valkendorf and the aldermen agreed to meet in St. Mary’s, the largest parish church at Bryggen. Valkendorf was accompanied by only two men to the meeting, but he had ordered his soldiers back at Bergenhus castle to “shoot a fire” over the wooden buildings at Bryggen if he gave a signal.<sup>971</sup> This must mean that the canons on the castle were to discharge material which could ignite the buildings. His bullying tactic succeeded: half of the craftsmen became citizens of Bergen, while the other half left the country. This made it plain to the Hansa leadership that the King was now strong enough to abolish Hansa privileges in Bergen, as he had done in Oslo in 1508. This would give the winter residents a choice between becoming Bergen citizens or returning home and trading in Bergen only as summer guests. New negotia-

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969 Schreiner was, like many of his generation, oriented towards Germany and German culture. But he was strongly anti-fascist, participated in the resistance against the nazification of the University of Oslo, and was for a period arrested by the German occupation authorities. In his book it is not possible to detect anti-German attitudes. But of course Schreiner was a nationalist, like most people in Scandinavia and the rest of Europe in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

970 NEDKVITNE, *Ære, lov og religion*, chapter VII.

971 *Bergens Fundats*, pp. 74–75.

tions led to a treaty in Odense in 1560 which provided a legal framework for the Kontor merchants until the last of them sold his house in 1766.

In the negotiations between the state and the Hansa in the years 1538–1560, one question was more basic than the others. Did the Dano-Norwegian state have the right to legislate on its own territory without the consent of the foreign merchants concerned? The disagreement about the relationship between Norwegian law and Hansa privileges was a repetition of the conflicts which had occurred in the first decades after the Kontor's foundation in 1366, but now with the Hansa on the defensive.<sup>972</sup> During the 15<sup>th</sup> century, the issue had not been relevant, since the state was incapable of implementing a trade policy in Bergen. As late as 1549, the Hansa made the Danish negotiators accept that the outcome of negotiations about trading rights would only be valid if the Hansa towns accepted it.<sup>973</sup>

A related issue was the legal status of customary rights. Several of the Kontor's practices only had their basis in "ancient customs", which according to the Kontor gave them the same type of legal protection as written privileges. An example is the actual Kontor organisation. The King demanded that the Kontor prove the legal origins of their practices by producing relevant written privileges for inspection. In 1550, the Hansa consented to letting Danish representatives inspect their written privileges, but they insisted that the King also confirmed their non-written customs without specifying what they were.<sup>974</sup> This, of course, made the whole inspection process pointless from the state's point of view. The final outcome was that in the 1560 Odense treaty (or *Recess, Vertrag*), the King awarded privileges to the Hansa in Bergen in 25 specified and defined rights.<sup>975</sup> In all other matters the Hansa merchants were to follow Norwegian legislation which was valid in Bergen. But the King stated that if any of the 25 paragraphs in the treaty harmed or disfavoured the legal rights of the King or his subjects, the latter were to take precedence.

The Wendish and Hanseatic towns and their inhabitants shall enjoy and use the above-mentioned privileges, liberties and favours in our realms of Denmark and Norway, unobstructed by us and our officials. But these shall not harm or disfavour us, our inheritors and our successors in the realms of Denmark and Norway in the collection of our customs duties or the exercise of our rights. Nor shall the inhabitants and subjects of our realms be harmed or disfavoured in their freedoms, privileges and rights, which we here forever and strongly reserve for them.<sup>976</sup>

972 Cf. chapter IV.2a.

973 SCHREINER, *Hanseatene og Norge*, p. 210.

974 *Ibid.*, p. 242.

975 *Danmark-Norges Traktater I*, pp. 634–639.

976 *Ibid.*, p. 649. *Und sollen die vorberuerten Wendischen und Ansebestedt, in die Hensee gehörig, ihre einwohner sich der bemelten ihrer privilegien, freyheiten und begnadungen in vielbemelten unsern reychen Dennemarcken und Norwegen, unser und menniglich der unsern ungehindert, zu erfreuen, zu geniessen und zu gebrauchen haben, doch uns und unsern erben und nachkommen in den reychen Dennemarcken und Norwegen an unsern hoch und- und obrigkeitten, zollen und*

This meant in practice that the King could alter Hansa privileges through new legislation without their consent. Any other conclusion would have been unthinkable in the second half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century. “Ancient customs” were not mentioned in this treaty, and this meant that the Hansa no longer could use them as a legal justification for their practices.<sup>977</sup>

Hanseatic merchants in Bergen were not permitted to sell to Norwegian merchants imported goods which they could use in their domestic trade. In Bergen’s privileges from 1528, the King declared that foreign merchants could not refuse to sell the citizens of Bergen grain products, cloth and canvas in large quantities. Before the Reformation, this paragraph was not enforced.<sup>978</sup> After the Reformation, the situation gradually changed.

In 1540, as a result of an initiative from the Kontor, a Hansa Diet reiterated the boycott.<sup>979</sup> As a counter-measure, the citizens of Bergen made the King issue a new privilege for Bergen in 1541 in which the boycott was again deemed illegal.

Foreign merchants shall have no power to prevent citizens of Bergen from buying flour, malt, cloth, beer, canvas or other goods, if it is sold in large quantities. If merchants at the Kontor refuse to sell to Bergen citizens according to ancient custom, privileges and the law, then we strictly order our present and future bailiffs and officials at our castle Bergenhus on our behalf to strictly forbid our subjects, inhabitants of the realm, to trade with the said Kontor merchants again.<sup>980</sup>

The King had delivered what could be interpreted as a threat to terminate Hansa privileges in Bergen if the Kontor did not comply. In their correspondence with a Hansa Diet, the Kontor aldermen emphasized that this threat had to be taken seriously;<sup>981</sup> they knew that Lübeck and the Wendish towns now were unable to offer military help if there was open conflict. After a meeting with Hanseatic dele-

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*herligkeiten und unsern reychen und derselben inwohnern und unterthanen auch menniglich an ihren freyheiten, privilegien, und gerechtigkeiten, welches alles wir hiemit aufs bestendigst und kreffigst vorbehalten wollen haben, unschedlich und unnachtheylig.*

977 Chapter IV.2a.

978 HR III, 9, 459 = NGL 2.rk. IV no. 113 §7 and §22 = *Norske Rigs-registraranter* I, p.14 = DN V no. 1055.

979 SCHREINER, *Hanseatene og Norge*, p. 126.

980 Paus 1751, p. 300. *Item Meel, Malt, Klæde, Øll, Lerret eller andre vare skulle udlændiske Kiøbmænd ingen magt have at forbyde eller formeene Borgerne udi Bergen at kiøbe, og det ikke udi mindre, end beel stykketal, og dersom Kiøbmændene ikke sælge Borgerne efter gammel Sædvane, Privilegier og efter Loven, da ville Vi vore Fogder og Embedsmænd, de som nu ære, eller herefter paa vort Slot Bergenhuus kommandes vorder, hermed alvorligen befalet have, at de paa vore Vegne strængeligen forbyde vore Undersaatter, Rigens Indbyggere, at bruge eller bedrive nogen Kiøbmændskab med samme Kiøbmænd igien.*

981 SCHREINER, *Hanseatene og Norge*, p. 135.

gates in Odense in 1545, the King issued a new prohibition against the boycott,<sup>982</sup> but in 1549 a Hansa Diet responded by supporting the Kontor's enforcement of the boycott.<sup>983</sup>

A conflict in May 1546 illustrates how the Kontor coerced summer guests from Hansa towns into observing the boycott. A Rostock skipper was hired by several summer guests from Danzig to sail from Danzig to Bergen with grain products. The ship anchored in the middle of Bergen's bay. Winter residents then rowed out to the ship and asked the captain to moor it at Bryggen, and to give the winter residents the right to buy the grain for the price they were willing to offer. But the Danzig merchants contacted Bergen citizens and agreed to sell the grain to them. Three days later, representatives from the Kontor returned and asked why the Danzig merchants had not obeyed them and moored the ship at Bryggen. They answered that "the Kontor's statutes do not apply to merchants from the town of Danzig, because Danzig does not own houses or trade at Bryggen". The Danzig merchants claimed that the Kontor only had authority over winter residents in this matter, and not over summer guests. Such views undermined the Kontor's traditional authority, because the aldermen had exercised power over all citizens from Hansa towns who traded in Bergen since 1366. The same evening, rowing boats manned by winter residents towed the ship to Bryggen and moored it there without the skipper's consent.<sup>984</sup>

This situation involved a question of principles. Summer guests from Danzig, Bergen citizens, and the commander of Bergenhús conceded that goods which winter residents had ordered from overseas ports should be delivered to them at Bryggen. But goods which were brought to Bergen by summer guests to be sold on the open market could be sold to Bergen citizens if the summer guests so wished.<sup>985</sup> The conflict in 1546 demonstrates that the summer guests were no longer afraid to challenge the aldermen, and that the aldermen were losing control over the summer guests. The Kontor was slowly being transformed into an organisation of winter residents, for winter residents, and with authority over winter residents only.

In the 1560 Odense treaty, the King prohibited the boycott in words just as clear as those from 1541 quoted above. "Foreign merchants shall not be forced to moor their ships at Bryggen, and they shall be free to trade with winter residents or Bergen citizens, whether their ship is moored at Bryggen or not."<sup>986</sup> It was unacceptable to the state for the Kontor to decide who Norwegian citizens could trade with in their own country.

The end of the boycott removed one of the main barricades in the Kontor's defence of Hansa dominance in Bergen. The other was the Hanseatic credit system.

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982 *Ibid.*, p. 176.

983 *Ibid.*, p. 217.

984 *Ibid.* p. 184.

985 *Ibid.*, p. 236.

986 *Danmark-Norges Traktater* I, p. 637 §9.

The Kontor statutes obliged indebted nordfar to trade exclusively with their creditor until the debt had been repaid.<sup>987</sup> This arrangement was enforced by the Kontor when the nordfar arrived in Bergen, with recourse to violence if necessary, and seems to have fulfilled its intentions.

After the Reformation, nordfar who sold part of their production on the open market in Bergen were less exposed to violent retaliation from Kontor merchants. Even more serious, Bergen citizens could now buy imported goods from Hanseatic summer guests and Holland merchants in Bergen, then sail north to the stockfish-producing regions, outside the control of the Kontor, and trade these goods with the winter residents' indebted customers. If a nordfar found his debt to Bryggen merchants too burdensome, he could stop visiting Bergen and sell his goods to visiting domestic merchants in the north. Offering credits to nordfar became riskier.

But the winter residents were not without resources even after the Reformation. The Hansa was confronted with three social groups in Norwegian society: the state and its local officials, Bergen citizens, and finally stockfish producers. The politically active group was the state officials. They gave first priority to re-establishing state control in Bergen, and in this matter they made few compromises. Their second concern was for the numerous stockfish producers, whose living conditions deteriorated in the 16<sup>th</sup> century. Last on the state's list of priorities came the interests of the Bergen citizens.

The state officials were open to the argument that the German merchants were best able to satisfy the economic needs and welfare of the coastal population. The Kontor argued that the credit system made the Kontor merchants responsible for the welfare of their indebted nordfar. The Bergen citizens, on the other hand, sent a letter of complaint to the King in 1545 describing how the winter residents exploited the nordfar. The following year the commander of Bergenhus arranged a meeting with the nordfar who visited Bergen during the fair. The Bishop of Bergen, the urban council of Bergen, and representatives from the Kontor were also present. The accusations made by the Bergen citizens from the previous year were read aloud, and the captain asked the nordfar whether they agreed. According to a Hanseatic report from the meeting, the nordfar unanimously answered that "they knew nothing evil about us, they had received no harm from the Kontor merchants but only what was good." In 1548, the nordfar sent a letter of complaint to the Dano-Norwegian Council of Nobles (*herredag*) about the Bergen citizens. Other sources from the 16<sup>th</sup> century confirm that the peasant fishermen felt the Hansa trade to be important and useful for them. The Kontor repeatedly asked for negotiations about privileges to be held in Bergen during the summer fair so that the King and his representatives could verify how the Bergen trade actually functioned. But the state representatives rejected this, probably because they did not want tensions between

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987 NGL. 2.rk. II no. 416 §68.

subjects to surface in public.<sup>988</sup> State officials knew about the positive attitude of the fishing population towards Hansa trade and Hansa credit, and this was an important factor when trade policies were formulated and enforced.

The state did its best not to undermine or weaken the Hansa's willingness to extend credit to the nordfar. In the 1545 Odense treaty, one of the paragraphs stated that Bergen citizens were permitted to trade freely with nordfar, but this had to be done without being detrimental to the credits of the winter residents.<sup>989</sup> For a winter resident in Bergen to collect credits in Nordland was a major problem. As early as 1447, the King promised that local bailiffs should help Hansa merchants recover their credits in the north,<sup>990</sup> and in the 1560 Odense treaty this was repeated: "Royal officials shall help Hansa merchants to recover their outstanding debts according to what is appropriate and legal."<sup>991</sup> Before the Reformation, the winter residents' credits had been protected by the merchants themselves, but after the Reformation they were increasingly protected by the state.

The protection of credits was not controversial, first because it conformed to Norwegian law, and second because the citizens of Bergen wanted the same protection for their own credits. In 1549, the King decreed that an indebted nordfar could trade with a new merchant only if he first repaid his debt to his current one.<sup>992</sup>

After 1538, a growing stream of former Kontor members became citizens of Bergen, and they knew the Bergen trade from the inside.<sup>993</sup> The new Bergen merchant class of the 16<sup>th</sup> century was based on a transfer of expertise from Hansa towns. Other new citizens came from Holland, Scotland and Denmark.

In the Late Middle Ages, Germans who left the Kontor were boycotted economically by their former colleagues,<sup>994</sup> and they could be physically mistreated.<sup>995</sup> After the Reformation, the state was strong enough to take counter-measures. Lubbert van Alstede was a member of the Kontor who married a Norwegian woman and became citizen of Bergen. He was then abducted by the Kontor aldermen, put on a ship to Lübeck, and was forced to abandon his Bergen citizenship and renounce his loyalty to the King. Afterwards he was released but was forbidden to return to Norway. Such acts were now unacceptable in the King's realm. The King issued a letter of safe conduct in 1548 which was handed over to Lubbert. It permitted him to travel from Lübeck to Bergen under the King's protection as a Dano-Norwegian

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988 SCHREINER, *Hanseatene og Norge*, pp. 201–202 and 207.

989 *Ibid.*, p. 176.

990 *Cf.* p. 410.

991 *Danmark-Norges Traktater I*, p. 636 §5; *Und sollen die konigliche ambtleut dem kaufman zu seiner ausstehenden schuldt nach gebuhr und lohe recht verhelpen.*

992 SCHREINER, *Hanseatene og Norge*, p. 200.

993 *Ibid.* pp. 313 and 328.

994 NGL 2.rk. II no. 416 §62.

995 NGL 2.rk. I, p. 247 §9, *cf.*, p. 248 §16 = HUB VII no. 543.

citizen and settle in Bergen. We do not know how his story ended, but if Lubbert had been forcefully retained in Lübeck, we probably would have heard more about it.<sup>996</sup>

The following year, the state issued an ordinance establishing a procedure for similar transfers of citizenship. A German was supposed to apply to the urban council of Bergen for citizenship. The urban council was to inform the Kontor and ask whether the applicant had debts or was accused of any crime. If so, the claims were to be brought before a Norwegian court and judged according to Norwegian law.<sup>997</sup> This arrangement was repeated in the 1560 Odense treaty.<sup>998</sup> In the following period, the Kontor had nothing but moral exhortations left to stop the “renegades”. New members of the Kontor had to swear to obey the statutes, in which one of the paragraphs prohibited members from leaving the Kontor to become a citizen of Bergen. But no sanctions followed if they broke their oath. In 1570, the parson of one of the German churches in Bergen said in a sermon that those who swore an oath and broke it had broken a promise to God. The parishioners interpreted this as a threat that Kontor members who took up Bergen citizenship would be punished by God in their next life. Some of the “renegades” sued the priest for defamation, and he had to declare publicly that his sermon had been misinterpreted.<sup>999</sup>

From the time of Christian II (1513–23), the Kontor increasingly had to make it attractive by peaceful means for Germans to remain at Bryggen. It asked that the winter residents should be allowed to trade in Bergen under the same legal conditions as citizens of Bergen. In 1524, the Kontor asked the King for a confirmation of its privileges and wrote a draft which expressed their wishes on this point. “Trade shall be free for all Norwegians and Germans, they shall not be excluded from any kind of trade”.<sup>1000</sup> Both groups were to have free access to all kinds of trade; merchants from Holland, on the other hand, could be kept out of certain types of trade and would have no rights which the Hansa did not enjoy. In negotiations between the Kontor and Bergen citizens in the years 1538–1541, the citizens demanded that Hansa merchants stopped their retail trade in Bergen. The Hansa merchants replied that they would gladly do so if Bergen citizens did the same; they wanted equal rights.<sup>1001</sup>

996 SCHREINER, *Hanseatene og Norge*, p. 208.

997 *Norske Rigs-registranter* I, p. 101 date 18.02.1548; SCHREINER, *Hanseatene og Norge*, pp. 208–209 and 286.

998 *Danmark-Norges Traktater* I, pp. 638–639 §19.

999 *Absalon Pederssøns dagbok* 27.09.1570, pp. 175 and 186.

1000 DN XVI no. 426, for the dating cf. DN V no. 1042. *Ock schal de kopenschup allen Norden-schen unde Dudesshen fry syn so dat (anders) nummant enige copenschup egen maken.*

1001 SCHREINER, *Hanseatene og Norge*, pp. 115–118, 133 and 135, cf. 244–245 and 283.

The state and Bergen citizens never accepted this claim for equal rights.<sup>1002</sup> In the Odense treaty which concluded the matter in 1560, only the citizens of Bergen were given the right to trade in the countryside, and only they were free to conduct retail sales in all legal locations in Bergen.<sup>1003</sup> Hansa merchants had to accept the fact that the state awarded its own citizens better trading conditions. This difference in rights did not significantly influence the winter residents' trade with the nordfar; the prohibition on retail sales did not apply when the merchant had an account book where he kept a record of the amount of goods traded when the nordfar visited him once a year.

After the Reformation, Bergen merchants gradually became engaged in the export and import trade. They sent a ship to Danzig in 1547, and after about 1570 they regularly sailed to Baltic Hansa towns to buy grain products.<sup>1004</sup>

The Kontor's authority gradually became limited to only the winter residents. The attitude of Danzig merchants revealed itself in the conflict in 1446 described above; they wanted to trade freely in Bergen without interference from the Kontor. At a Hansa Diet in 1549, the Kontor and Lübeck received much criticism for its uncritical support of the winter residents. In the following period Bremen,<sup>1005</sup> Deventer and Hamburg<sup>1006</sup> argued that Hansa merchants should be permitted to sell goods to Bergen citizens. Stralsund seems to have had no winter residents in the 16<sup>th</sup> century,<sup>1007</sup> and in an undated letter ca. 1550 from its urban council to a Hansa Diet, Stralsund asked rhetorically what advantages its citizens gained from membership in the Hansa.<sup>1008</sup>

The winter residents continued to stay in Bergen, organised in the Kontor, for another 200 years. They had much capital bound up in houses and credits, and the latter in particular could not easily be sold. After about 1560, the number of winter residents declined as many of them became Norwegian citizens or sold their houses to Norwegians. The Kontor's final demise in the 18<sup>th</sup> century was a consequence of the decline in stockfish production. Cod was now increasingly being preserved as *klippfisk* (fish dried on the rocks), elsewhere often called Newfoundland fish. *Klippfisk* was first salted and then dried. A merchant following this production method had to load an inshore craft (*jakt*) with salt, buy the cod for cash in the fishing villages, and salt it in the cargo hold of his ship. After the fishing season ended, the fish was dried on rocks somewhere along the coast. The markets for *klippfisk* were in Spain and Portugal. For obvious reasons, this new type of trade was organised best

1002 HR III, 9, 459 = NGL 2.rk. IV no. 113 §7 and §22 = *Norske Rigs-registranter* I, p. 14 = DN V no. 1055 (the privileges of Bergen 1528).

1003 *Danmark-Norges Traktater* I, p. 635 §1 and p. 637 §11.

1004 *Ibid.*, pp. 187, 319–320 and 328.

1005 SCHREINER, *Hanseatene og Norge*, pp. 214–216.

1006 *Ibid.*, pp. 220 and 215.

1007 Cf. p. 357; Schreiner 1963.

1008 SCHREINER; *Bremerne i Bergen*, p. 216.

by Norwegian citizens, many of whom were of German descent. The Hansa presence in Bergen was intimately connected with stockfish.

The key to an understanding of the distinct character of the four Kontors and other Hansa settlements is the relationship between commerce and state.

England during the period 1200–1600 had the best-organised state in Europe. There the Hansa had to accept the state's power to create the legal framework for their trade. Special conditions were formulated in written privileges which were put into practice. This resulted in protracted and detailed legal discussions about Hansa rights. A strong state and strong competition from English merchants made it advantageous for the Hansa to conduct discussions at a judicial level. In Bergen, both the state and the local competitors were weak, so the Hansa obtained better results by creating practices regardless of written privileges.<sup>1009</sup>

In the Late Middle Ages, the English government had often viewed it as more important to have the Hansa as a foreign ally than to support its own subjects against competition from the Hansa.<sup>1010</sup> After 1500, the Hansa's value as an ally declined, and in the 1550s the Hansa could no longer offer political support in exchange for improved privileges in England.<sup>1011</sup> This was a parallel to what happened in Bergen.

The Kontor in London lost its privileges in 1599, and English merchants took over the export of English cloth to Germany and the Netherlands.<sup>1012</sup> In Bergen, the local citizens could not replace the winter residents in the stockfish trade, therefore the Dano-Norwegian state continued upholding Hansa privileges up to 1766.

In England, the overwhelming majority of the Hansa merchants were summer guests, and English merchants controlled domestic trade. There was little need for a German merchant to buy a house and become a winter resident in England. The Stalhof in London provided lodgings for summer guests and handled negotiations with English authorities; its functions were more modest than its counterpart in Bergen.

The questions posed at the beginning of this chapter were: what were the consequences in Bergen of the Hansa's general decline in Europe, and why did the Hansa retain their dominant position in Bergen longer than in other foreign countries they visited?

An increasing number of towns along the North Sea and the Baltic developed a strong merchant class which traded between these two seas. Some of them were members of the Hansa, such as Danzig and the towns along the Zuiderzee, while

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1009 The diplomatic negotiations between the Hansa and England is described in JÖRN, *Der Londoner Stalhof* chapter 3.

1010 JÖRN, *Der Londoner Stalhof*, pp. 121 and 190–191.

1011 *Ibid.*, p. 247.

1012 *Ibid.*, p. 205.

others were outside the Hansa, mainly from today's Netherlands and England. From the 15<sup>th</sup> century, state authorities gave a higher priority to protecting their own merchants and bringing visiting foreign merchants under state law. This changing relationship between merchants and the state was the basic reason for the marginalisation of the Hansa's economic power in Bergen and other North European countries towards the end of the Middle Ages.

The Hansa's dominance lasted longer in Bergen because the Bergen Kontor was militarily and politically stronger and more effective in defending German interests than other Hanseatic settlements abroad. After the Reformation, the Hansa settlement in Bergen was increasingly protected by a Dano-Norwegian state which found Hansa trade useful, and indispensable for the large coastal population north of Bergen.

## CHAPTER VI PRODUCTION AND CONSUMPTION OF BERGEN FISH, 1100–1600

The overwhelming majority of fishermen to the north of Bergen combined fishing with agriculture. For a peasant fisherman, fishing was partly a means of obtaining goods, for example grain, which he could have produced himself, but it involved less time and labour to buy these in exchange for fish. He could also purchase luxury items which he could not produce himself, such as foreign cloth to make clothing for special occasions, or good German beer. How did prices influence stockfish production for sale? If stockfish prices fell, an increasing number of peasant fishermen found that it was more economical to produce grain on their own farms, and luxury items became so expensive that it was wiser to manage without them. Falling prices would then lead to fewer fishermen participating in the seasonal cod fisheries, and stockfish exports would decline per capita.

But many households along the coast could not shift from fishing to agriculture in the way described above. Cereal farming is problematic on many farms along the coast of western and particularly in northern Norway. For people living in northern Troms, Finnmark and fishing villages all along the coast, cereal farming is impossible. For them, falling prices meant that they had to produce more stockfish or accept declining standards of living and deprivation. In this situation, falling prices could result in increased stockfish production per household.

### 1. PRICES

The Norwegian historian Alf Kiil was the first to discuss the price of stockfish during this period, and his evidence demonstrated that stockfish prices fell in relation to grain prices starting in 1477 at the latest.<sup>1</sup> Kåre Lunden has demonstrated that the relative cost of the two types of goods was very favourable from the fishermen's viewpoint in the Late Middle Ages.<sup>2</sup> No one has examined the long-term price changes from the High Middle Ages through the Late Middle Ages to the 16<sup>th</sup> century.

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1 KIIL, *Nordlandshandelen*, pp. 6ff.

2 LUNDEN, *Hanseatane og norsk økonomi*, pp. 108–111.

## A. STOCKFISH

The prices for stockfish in the 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> centuries are given in “hundreds”, but those in the 15<sup>th</sup> century are also given in packages of a certain size called *stucke* (pieces) and in barrels, and from ca. 1500 in *våger* of 18.5 kilos each.

The fish in the 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> centuries was graded (*wraken*) according to size. Two sources from 1383 and 1477 give the weights of the different grades or sizes.

Table VI.1. Net weight of one “hundred” <sup>(1)</sup> of stockfish, and of a single Bergen fish of the different grades in 1383 and 1477

Name of grade	1383 <sup>(2)</sup>		1477 <sup>(3)</sup>	
	1 hundred (1c)	1 fish	1 hundred (1c)	1 fish
<i>königslobben</i>			153.8 kg	1282 g
<i>gemeine lobben</i>	136.0 kg	1130 g	108.6 kg	905 g
<i>rackvische</i>	102.0 kg	850 g	81.4 kg	679 g
<i>lotvische</i>	67.9 kg	566 g	63.4 kg	528 g
<i>halfwassene</i>	34.0 kg	283 g	59.9 kg	424 g
<i>cropelinge</i>	22.7 kg	189 g	40.7 kg	339 g
<i>titlinge</i>	13.6 kg	113 g	23.1 kg	192 g

Sources: Cf. note 2 and 3

- (1) Bruns thought that stockfish was counted in small hundreds (= 100). In English accounts, a distinction is normally made between a large hundred (= 120), written “c”, and a small hundred (= 100), written xx/v. In the customs accounts in England, stockfish is counted in “c”s from 1303 to the end of the Middle Ages; a large hundred was common in England for counting fish (CARUS-WILSON, Bristol, p. 335). In 1309, Durham Abbey bought five hundreds of stockfish, *in quolibet centene 120* (“in each hundred 120”) (*Extracts from the Account Rolls of the Abbey of Durham* I, p. 6). In another English source from 1405, it is stated explicitly that stockfish was counted in “six score to the hundred” (*Calendar of the Close Rolls 1402–1405*, p. 456). A handbook for merchants written ca. 1465 entitled *The Noubre of Weyghtys* confirms that stockfish in England were counted in large hundreds (JENKS, *The Noubre of Weyghtys*, p. 304). In a source from Holland dated 1519 we find *hondert stockvisch van een hondert twintich stucke* (“a hundred stockfish of 120 fish”) (RGP volume 29, p. 100). In Bremen in the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries, fish was sold in *Grosshundert zu 120 stucke* (WITZENDORF, *Bremens Handel*, p. 164). In a valuation to be used in Norwegian shires (*len*) in 1569–70, Bergen stockfish was counted in large hundreds (NRJ IV, p. 640). There can be little doubt that sources from Lübeck in the 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> centuries also used large hundreds when counting stockfish. The difference between a large and small hundred means that the average weight of each fish was lower than Bruns thought (BRUNS, *Bergenfahrer*, p. LXXIV).
- (2) When the weight for each grade of stockfish was revised in 1540, the *Bergenfahrer* in Lübeck made a copy of an older, undated weighing scale for “shipments to England” (BRUNS, *Bergenfahrer*, p. 215). Hansa merchants stopped sending stockfish to England in the 1480s; the period when the Hanseatic stockfish trade to England had flourished was at the end of the 13<sup>th</sup> and the 14<sup>th</sup> centuries. In a demand for compensation for damages after an act of piracy along the English coast in 1383, this same weighing scale was used (HR I, 3, 345, pp. 355ff; UBStL IV no. 506). The stockfish was counted in lasts on that occasion. One last weighed 12 shippounds. At that time, one last of *lotvische* contained 24 hundreds [= large hundreds] of fish. This means that one shippound = 2 hundreds of *lotvische*. Ten hundreds of the smallest grade, *titling*, also weighed one shippound. In 1383 the weight of the largest grade of dried cod was *lobben*, but its weight is not given, probably because it was supposed to have the same weight as *ling* whose weight is given. A hundred of *lobben* was then = a hundred of *ling* = 1 shippound. If this is right, in 1383 there was a system where one Hanseatic shippound (136 kg) was supposed to contain a hundred of fish of the largest grade, two hundreds of the middle grade, and 10 hundreds of the smallest grade. The weight classes

from 1383 are likely to have been used throughout the 14<sup>th</sup> century. They were connected to the Hansatic shippound system.

- (3) Source: HR III, 1, 38; BRUNS, *Bergenfahrer*, p. LXXIV. In 1477, stockfish was transported in packages (*stucke*). Each package was kept together with fasteners, probably made of metal. In 1477, one package of lotfish without the fastener weighed 28 *Liespfund* = 3c of lotfish. An ordinance from 1540 (table VI.1 note 2) says that one package (*stucke*) of *königslobben* or *gemeine lobben* weighed two *Liespfund* more with fasteners than without. The fasteners must have weighed the same in all packages. In 1477, one package of lotfish with fasteners must have weighed 30 *Liespfund* (28 + 2). With fasteners included, a hundred of lotfish = 10 *Liespfund* = ½ shippound brutto (see BRUNS, *Bergenfahrer*, p. LXXIV). From 1383 to 1477, the weight of a hundred of lotfish was the same – ½ shippound. The difference was that this weight did not include the fastener in 1383 but did in 1477. This is the basis for the calculation of the weights of individual fish in the table.

Hildebrand Veckinchusen in 1418 sent 12 “packages” (*stucke*) of stockfish from Lübeck to Frankfurt. All 12 packages together contained 12c rackvische, 12c lotvische and 3c lobben. If the weights per hundred for the relevant qualities from 1383 in the table above are used, it will be found that each “package” must have weighed 1½ Hanseatic shippound à 136 kg. (*Die Handelsbücher des Hildebrand Veckinchusen*, p. 257). This confirms that in 1418 the same weight relations were used as described for 1383 in this note above: 1 “package” = 1½ Hanseatic shippound (à 136 kg) = 3c lotvisch.

I have considered the calculations of one large hundred of lotfish = ½ shippound = 67.9 kg to be valid for the entire 14<sup>th</sup> century. This makes the weight of a single lotfish 566 g. In 1477, the average weight of the fish in a package of lotfish was somewhat lower because the fastener was included in the weight. The weight of each individual lotfish had therefore decreased at that time to 528 g.<sup>3</sup>

The weight of a single lotfish in 1383 and 1477 is approximately the same as the average weight of all types of Bergen stockfish. The parson of Alstadhaug parish in the county of Helgeland, Peter Dass (1647–1707), wrote a description of northern Norway in which he estimated that one *våg* (18.5 kg) of stockfish produced in Lofoten contained about 30 stockfish, which works out as 617 g per fish.<sup>4</sup> In 1521, Bergenhus castle received 541 stockfish (*rundfisk*) from Rødøy parish in Helgeland, with an average weight of 578 g per fish,<sup>5</sup> and in 1567 it received 5400 stockfish in taxes (*finneskatt*) from the Sámi population with an average weight of 555 g.<sup>6</sup> In the years 1830–1835, a “hundred” of stockfish was estimated to weigh on average 65 kg (3.5 *våger*), but it is not clear whether this meant a large or small hundred. Most likely it was a large hundred, which gives 540 g per fish.<sup>7</sup> Around the year 1900, Bergen merchants estimated that 100 kg of stockfish normally comprised 180 cod, which is 556 g per fish.<sup>8</sup> Peter Dass made it clear that the average weight of one spawning cod at his time varied geographically.<sup>9</sup> In Lofoten there were 30 fish per *våg* of stockfish, which is 617 g per fish, in the county of Vesterålen

3 Cf. table VI.1 note 2 and 3.

4 HELLAND, *Norges land og folk*, p. 57.

5 NRJ II, pp. 643–645.

6 *Norske lensrekneskapsbøker 1548–1567 V*, p. 184.

7 HELLAND, *Norges land og folk*, p. 42.

8 *Ibid.*, p. 58.

9 *Ibid.*

24 fish at 771 g, in Helgeland 40 fish at 463 g.<sup>10</sup> Our interest is in the average weight of stockfish for export. The figures above suggest that a lotfish weighing 566 g as calculated for 1383 would represent the average weight of the stockfish produced in the pre-modern fisheries before about 1700.

The English customs accounts name five grades of dried cod at the beginning of the 14<sup>th</sup> century: lobbe, rackfish, lotfish, middelfish and cropling. The smallest grade, *titling*, is missing; it was new in 1383. In 1477, another new grade was introduced at the top end of the scale, *königslobben*.<sup>11</sup> The weight of *lobben*, *rackvische*, *halfwassene* and *cropelinge* had to be altered when the new grades were introduced. Therefore the weight for these four grades cannot be assumed to be the same at the beginning of the 14<sup>th</sup> century. But it is not likely that the weight of *lotvische* changed, since they were the average size. Lotfish had the same gross weight per hundred in 1383 and 1477 even though the weight of the other grades had changed. The net weight of lotfish was adjusted because the fish was packed differently, but no change in packing methods occurred between 1303 and 1383.<sup>12</sup> The analysis of prices below will therefore take its point of departure from the price of lotfish for which we have a more stable weight.

In sources where lotfish is counted, I will assume one “hundred” = ½ Hanseatic shippound = 67.9 kg net weight for the entire period 1300–1500. Stockfish in packages (*stucke*) = 63.4 kg net per hundred (lc), as stated in the 1477 regulations.

Around 1500 quantifying stockfish in the traditional manner through weight grades, with different numbers of fish per package or barrel for each grade, went out of use. Instead, the fish was weighed; the unit used in Norway was the *våger* (18.5 kg), and in North European ports it was the shippound (136 kg) and *Liespfund* (6.8 kg). In 1540, a new weight ordinance for stockfish was published, but by then the traditional relationship of lc of lotfish = ½ Hanseatic shippound had been replaced.<sup>13</sup>

In this chapter, all prices have been converted into their value in silver. This is the only practical way of comparing prices quoted in different currencies because we lack sufficient information about exchange rates between relevant currencies.

The prices for stockfish in Bergen are scarce for the period we are concerned with. Therefore, stockfish prices in ports which, according to chapters I–III, imported fish from Bergen are of special interest. First, we can be fairly sure that the stockfish in these ports came from Bergen, even if it is only called “stockfish” in the sources. Second, the prices in these ports will reflect those in Bergen more directly than prices elsewhere in northern Europe would. In the following pages, prices of

10 LINDBEKK, Lofoten og Vesterålen, p. 93.

11 Table VI.1.

12 Table VI.1 note 3.

13 BRUNS, Bergenfahrer, pp. 219–220.

stockfish in these ports are examined first, followed by prices in northern European regions whose inhabitants are known to have consumed Bergen fish. These results provide an indication of how the very few figures we find in sources from Bergen should be interpreted.

I have divided stockfish prices in these three geographical areas into four periods: 1250–1350, 1351–1440, 1441–1500 and 1551–1600. The average silver price for each period and area is calculated in tables 1–13 in appendix VIII and the combined figures are presented in table 14.

For the ports which imported Bergen stockfish, there are only two extant prices from the High Middle Ages; they are nearly the same, and both are from eastern England.<sup>14</sup> It is therefore reasonable to assume that a large hundred (1c) of stockfish in the eastern English ports in the decades around 1300 cost about 153 g of silver, which is the average of the two known prices. From this period before the Black Death to the period after the Black Death (1351–1440), the prices increased sharply from 153 g to 241 g of silver, then in the following period (1441–1500) they fell back to 175 g.<sup>15</sup> After 1500, no Bergen fish was imported into England, but the prices in continental ports continued to fall.<sup>16</sup>

For non-importing towns we only have prices from England for the period before the Black Death.<sup>17</sup> This means that it is possible to draw a price curve only for England for the entire period spanning 1250–1600. There was a rise in the price of stockfish in silver after the Black Death which is only visible for England.<sup>18</sup> That was followed by a general decline in prices for stockfish in silver after about 1440 or a bit earlier.<sup>19</sup> After 1550, stockfish prices rose slightly in both England and on the continent, as expressed in silver.<sup>20</sup> The absence of continental prices in sources dating before the Black Death creates a problem, because stockfish prices in silver in England were higher than on the continent during all periods for which a comparison is possible (1351–1600). But changes were parallel in the two regions.<sup>21</sup> Our aim here is to analyse the long-term fluctuations in stockfish prices, and the fact that there were different price levels in England and on the continent does not reduce the value of the sources in appendix VIII table 14.

A discussion of the causes of these price differentials lies outside the scope of this book. One hypothesis is that the exchange rate between English pounds and continental currencies did not correspond to their relative values in silver. Prices in England were comparatively high as measured in grams of silver because sterling con-

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14 Appendix VIII table 1.

15 Appendix VIII tables 1–3.

16 Appendix VIII tables 4–5.

17 Appendix VIII table 6.

18 Appendix VIII tables 6 and 7; particularly note 1 to table 7.

19 Appendix VIII tables 7–9; cf. table 14.

20 Appendix VIII tables 9 and 10; cf. table 14.

21 Appendix VIII table 14.

tained a good deal of silver compared to its exchange rate. Or to put it more simply, silver was cheaper in England, which made prices of stockfish and other goods higher when expressed in silver. The large amount of English wool, and later cloth exports seems to have been paid for partly with silver. This created a silver surplus in England, which enabled the English Crown to issue coins with a relatively high and stable silver content. But the evidence is unclear. An alternative hypothesis is that England at this time was a richer country, and that the price level therefore was higher there.<sup>22</sup>

Sources which mention stockfish prices for Bergen before 1500 are few in number, and the extant ones require methodological discussion.<sup>23</sup> The principal aim of our price analysis is to find out how prices influenced production, so the price paid to the fishermen holds the greatest interest. The prices given in tables 11–13 in appendix VIII are those which could be obtained on the open market in Bergen. Before the Black Death, most of the stockfish was bought by domestic merchants at marketplaces in the north and then shipped to Bergen, where it was sold on the open market. The profits of the domestic merchants were included in the market price in Bergen, and the majority of fishermen received less than this.

After the Black Death, in the Late Middle Ages (1350–1550) the majority of fish producers were indebted to winter residents at Bryggen and traded in closed exchanges with their creditor. Fishermen who delivered their stockfish to their creditors at Bryggen received less for it than on the open market.<sup>24</sup> In the Late Middle Ages, it seems to have been mainly ecclesiastical and secular institutions which traded on the open market in Bergen and obtained the more favourable price paid there. The average fisherman over the three centuries from 1300 to 1600 received

22 In 1375, one English noble =  $\frac{1}{3}$  pound sterling and could be exchanged for 20 Lübeck skillings, which means that one English shilling had the same value as three Lübeck skillings (JESSE, *Wendischer Münzverein*, pp. 214–215). One English shilling at that time contained 12.9 g of silver (WIEBE, *Preisrevolution*, p. 69), but 3 Lübeck skillings contained only 9.7 g ( $1.079 \times 3 \times 3$ ) (JESSE, *Wendischer Münzverein*, p. 210; one Lübeck Witte contained 1.079 g of silver, and one skilling contained 3 Witte). This means that Lübeck coins only contained 75 % of the silver that English coins of the same exchange value did.

In 1470, one English noble could be exchanged for 48 Lübeck skillings (JESSE, *Wendischer Münzverein*, p. 218), i.e. one English shilling had the same exchange value as 7.2 Lübeck skillings. One English shilling now contained 8.63 g of silver (WIEBE, *Preisrevolution*, p. 70), but 7.2 Lübeck skillings contained 9.14 g of silver ( $1.269 \times 7.2$ ) (JESSE, *Wendischer Münzverein*, p. 211; one Lübeck skilling contained 1.269 g silver). This means that Lübeck coins contained 106 % of the silver that English coins of the same exchange value did. The difference was now so small that it seems the merchants wanted the exchange value to be equivalent to the relative silver value.

23 Appendix VIII table 11.

24 NGL 2.rk. I no. 130, p. 242 §27 = DN VIII no. 324; this is a royal ordinance from 1444, also discussed on page 386; appendix VIII table 12 note 6, cf. the following note 7, which is a letter of complaint from the citizens of Bergen in 1534.

less for his fish than the market prices given in the tables. How much less we do not know.

How representative are the extant prices from Bergen for the years 1300–1600? My main method for checking this is to compare them to the prices in ports which imported stockfish and regions where it was consumed to determine whether or not these prices fit the trends there.<sup>25</sup> For all the relevant periods, the prices in Bergen were lower than those in the overseas ports, which again were lower than those in the regions of consumption. This is what was to be expected, and is an argument in favour of the Bergen prices being representative. An even stronger argument is that the changes in price are parallel in all three regions – Bergen, the ports of import, and the regions where the fish was consumed. The main point of this analysis is to determine when the prices increased and when they declined, which will give us a starting point for a discussion of when the fishermen were motivated to produce more or less stockfish. An approximate price level is sufficient for that aim. I will consider the prices for Bergen given in tables 11–14 in appendix VIII as adequate for that purpose.

The most important single result we can see from this comprehensive analysis of stockfish prices is the general price increase for stockfish from the High Middle Ages to the Late Middle Ages. In Bergen, there was more than a doubling of the price (2.4 times).<sup>26</sup> As shown above, it is not known whether the increase for the average fisherman was higher or lower than this.

Is it possible to date more precisely the when this increase occurred? The best empirical basis for a discussion is found in the English sources. In 1290 in Yarmouth and 1319 in Lynn, a hundred of stockfish was valued at 146 g and 160 g of silver, respectively. In 1383, a consignment in Boston was estimated at 269 g of silver per hundred.<sup>27</sup> In 1376, the King of England sent a letter to the local authorities in Boston asking them to take measures to prevent a dearth of stockfish in England.<sup>28</sup> This suggests that the substantial price increase occurred between 1319 and 1376. For the English non-importing towns of Hartlepool, Winchester and Durham the sources give stockfish prices from the 1330s of 176 g, 288 g and 528 g of silver per hundred.<sup>29</sup> The first price after the Black Death is 1355 g per hundred (1359/60), and the next two are 713 g (1369/70) and 645 g (1370).<sup>30</sup> This restricts the period for the sharpest increase in the price of stockfish to between

25 Appendix VIII table 14.

26 Appendix VIII table 14 and table VI.2 below.

27 Appendix VIII tables 1 and 2.

28 Calendar of Close Rolls 1374–77, p. 303.

29 Appendix VIII table 6.

30 Appendix VIII table 7 note 1; The first two are from Battle, Sussex and the last from Wye, Kent.

1338 and 1359, which makes it obvious that there was a link with the economic consequences of the Black Death.

The price decline in the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> centuries was gradual and slow, but it is nevertheless useful to know when it started. All prices in the importing towns for the years 1383–1417 were between 223 g and 393 g of silver per large hundred of stockfish. There are no extant prices for the years 1418–1429. All prices for the period 1430–1500 are under 224 g.<sup>31</sup> The customs valuation in eastern English ports also indicates that the stockfish prices declined between 1405 and 1440.<sup>32</sup> In 1444, the Norwegian Council of the Realm complained that the price of imported goods had increased, but the stockfish prices had remained the same.<sup>33</sup> Stockfish prices measured in silver seem to have started to decline around 1430. After about 1550, there was a slight rise again, but this may have been due to general inflation during this period, which meant silver became cheaper.

Prices for stockfish in themselves tell us nothing about the living conditions of either the fishermen or the merchants, but are only the first step in the analysis.

## B. GRAIN PRODUCTS

Changes in stockfish prices expressed in silver could have been due to changes in the value of stockfish, or of silver, or both. The consequences of price changes for the fishermen can only be measured by comparing the prices for stockfish to those for goods which the fishermen wanted to buy, and here grain products (flour, malt, beer, grain) were particularly important.

There are even fewer extant sources that mention prices for imported grain products in Bergen than there are for stockfish. It is therefore necessary to use the same method as in the analysis of stockfish prices: start with price changes in England and Germany, and interpret the sparse information for Bergen based on that.

Wilhelm Abel in his book *Agrarkrisen und Agrarkonjunktur* has converted English wheat prices for the years 1211 up to 1960 into grams of silver per 100 kg of wheat, with averages given for each decade. German rye prices are converted in the same way starting in 1340. Appendix VIII table 15 plots the average price in silver for 100 kg of wheat in England and 100 kg of rye in Germany based on Abel's figures for the same period as for stockfish prices given in appendix VIII table 14. The

31 Appendix VIII table 2, see also note 9 to this table; appendix VIII table 3.

32 Appendix VIII, section on the English customs accounts.

33 NGL 2.rk. I no. 130 §9 and §10 = DN VIII no. 324. Table VI.2 shows that the price in silver of both stockfish and flour fell in Bergen at this time, but which of them lost value most in the 1440s is difficult to say. The Council of the Realm no doubt measured prices in a currency which is unidentifiable to us and what they said may therefore have been correct. But such complaints are normally biased, and those who complained evidently wanted cheaper imports.

relevant conclusion to be drawn from these tables is that grain prices were at a low in the Late Middle Ages at the same time that stockfish prices reached a peak.<sup>34</sup>

Most of the grain products imported into Bergen came from the Wendish towns. During the period 1398–1550, the price of rye in Lübeck seems to have been stable at about 20 g of silver per 100 kg. This is the same as for Germany as a whole during this time span. In the following period (1551–1600), the price in Lübeck and in Germany as a whole rose to about 44–45 g per 100 kg.<sup>35</sup> Some of the grain products shipped to Bergen in the Late Middle Ages and the 16<sup>th</sup> century came from Prussian ports, and Abel has also included grain prices from there. Prices in Prussia were significantly lower than in Germany as a whole.<sup>36</sup>

Abel's prices quoted above are for grain which had not been ground. Grain for food was imported into Bergen almost exclusively as rye flour up to 1600.<sup>37</sup> Flour was, of course, more expensive than grain because the milling process cost money.

For the High Middle Ages (1250–1350), there are only three existing prices for rye flour in Bergen. Two of them are normative prices, both at 48 g of silver per 100 kg, and the third is the price actually paid by Hansa merchants, which was slightly below 51 g.<sup>38</sup> Table VI.2 uses the figure 48 g. For Bergen in the years 1351–1440, we have three extant prices for rye flour: 32 g, 44 g and 31 g of silver per 100 kg. One of the prices diverges from the other two, but I believe the correct approach is to take an average of all three, so 36 g is used in table VI.2. In the next period (1441–1500), we have only two prices for rye flour in Bergen: 24 g of silver per 100 kg in 1491, and 23 g in 1500. These figures are so close that they should be considered more representative than the low sample number justifies. The price used in table VI.2 for this period is 24 g.<sup>39</sup>

How do these prices compare to Abel's average price for rye grain? The sources from 1491 and 1500 (cf. appendix VIII table 18) give us 24 g of silver for 100 kg rye *flour* in Bergen. In Lübeck the price of rye *grain* during the years 1491–1500 was 20 g of silver per 100 kg;<sup>40</sup> in Prussian ports it was even lower (about 10 g) where Bergenfahrer made at least some of their purchases at this time.<sup>41</sup> The increase in price from Prussia and Lübeck to Bergen is to be expected for two reasons: the extra cost of milling the grain into flour, and transportation costs to Bergen. In table VI.2, I had no choice but to use the two prices for rye flour in Bergen in 1491 and 1500 as being representative for the entire period 1440–1500. This

34 Appendix VIII table 15.

35 Appendix VIII table 15 and 17.

36 Appendix VIII table 16.

37 Tables II.5, III.2 and III.3; appendix VII tables 1 and 3.

38 Appendix VIII table 18 notes 1–3.

39 Appendix VIII table 18 notes 4–8.

40 ABEL, *Agrarkrisen*, p. 286 (English translation, p. 304).

41 Appendix VIII tables 16 and 17.

creates a source of error, because during these 60 years prices fluctuated. Abel's ten-year averages for Germany as a whole show grain prices varying between 15 g and 24 g over the years 1440–1500.<sup>42</sup>

After 1518, the accounts of Bergenhus castle provide reliable information. They contain 27 prices for flour in the years 1518–1521; 23 of them are for sales from Bergenhus, and 4 are for purchases.<sup>43</sup> The sales were mainly of German rye flour received as customs from Hanseatic ships, but some of this may have been Danish flour. It was not Norwegian; domestic taxes were sometimes paid in grain, but never in flour.<sup>44</sup>

How did these price changes affect the stockfish producers? Table VI.2 lists the prices in silver for 100 kg of stockfish and 100 kg of rye flour in Bergen, and in the last column how many kg of rye flour could be bought for one kg of stockfish.

Table VI.2. Exchange ratios of rye flour to stockfish in Bergen, 1300–1600

Year	Price of 100 kg of stockfish in g of silver	Price of 100 kg of rye flour in g of silver	Kilos of rye flour per kg of stockfish
1300–1350	96	48	2.0
1351–1440	220	36	6.1
1441–1500	158	24	6.4
1501–1550	102	34	3.0
1550–1600	135	65	2.1

Sources: The prices for stockfish and rye flour are taken from appendix VIII tables 14 and 18–20; One large hundred of stockfish (lotfish) is estimated as weighing 67.9 kg (table VI.1).

Stockfish prices rose sharply in relation to both silver and rye flour after the Black Death. They started to decline relative to silver ca. 1440, and relative to grain from about 1500.

Table VI.2 can be supplemented with direct statements in the sources about exchange ratios. A church tax levied in the coastal region north of Bergen in 1432/3 was to be paid either with two “valid” (*gildir*) stockfish or one *våg* of grain, probably barley.<sup>45</sup> Taxes having low rates such as 2–6 fish were probably paid in *lobben*, and there were 12 *lobben* in a *våg*.<sup>46</sup> So two “valid” fish weighed  $\frac{1}{6}$  *våg*, which means that one kg of stockfish had the same value as 6 kg of grain. The price of flour in German towns was about 50% higher than grain. This differential was no doubt lower in the Norwegian countryside, where the many small streams and rivers made it easy to

42 ABEL, *Agrarkrisen*, p. 286 (English translation p. 304).

43 Appendix VIII table 19.

44 One example NRJ III, pp. 91–92.

45 On this tax, see appendix VIII table 11 note 4; NGL 2.rk. I nos. 267–270. Oats, barley or a mixture of the two were cultivated in this region.

46 Appendix VIII table 11 note 6; NIELSEN, *Ødetida på Vestvågøy*, p. 79.

build mills.<sup>47</sup> German rye must also have been more expensive than Norwegian barley. Both factors indicate that a fisherman in the stockfish-producing regions received less than 6 kg of German flour for one kg of stockfish. Table VI.2 shows that the exchange ratio of flour to stockfish in Bergen for the period 1351–1440 was about 6:1. It was to be expected that one kg of stockfish in the fishing regions would buy less flour than that.

In 1476, the Kontor complained that merchants from the Zuiderzee towns were paying as much as 10 shippounds of flour and one barrel of beer for a large hundred of *lobben*, which according to the Kontor was far too much.<sup>48</sup> At that time there were two kinds of *lobben*, *gemeine lobben* and *königslobben*, and a large hundred weighed 109 kg and 154 kg respectively.<sup>49</sup> This gives an exchange ratio between rye flour and stockfish of 12:1 and 9:1 respectively. To this rate we must add one barrel of beer. Both ratios are well above the 6:1 ratio calculated in table VI.2 for *lotvische*. Since *lobben* probably attracted a higher price per kg than *lotvische*, and the price is said to be a blatant overcharge, this was to be expected.

In 1477, Norwegians claimed that Hansa merchants had formerly given 5–6 Hanseatic shippounds (at 136 kg each) of flour for a hundred of fish, “which no longer happens”.<sup>50</sup> If this means lotfish weighing 67.9 kg per hundred, the exchange ratio would have been 10–12 kg of flour per kg of stockfish. Again, the favourable prices of bygone days must be seen as exaggerated.<sup>51</sup> These prices are well above the figures in table VI.2. These two complaints from 1476 and 1477 contradict each other about price developments; in reality, the exchange ratio seems to have been stable during this period.

Even though the ratios in table VI.2 are approximate, the main trend should be reliable. At the end of the High Middle Ages, ca. 1300, the exchange ratio of flour to fish in Bergen was unfavourable for the fishermen at about 2 kg of flour for one kg of stockfish. This improved dramatically after the Black Death, when they received 6 kg of flour for the same quantity of fish. This favourable exchange ratio deteriorated after about 1500, and at the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century it was at the same level as 300 years earlier.

Were these price changes part of a general trend for fish products, or were they specific to stockfish?

47 Appendix VIII table 17 note 3.

48 NGL 2.rk. II, p. 735 §5 = HR II, 7, 342 §5.

49 Table VI.1.

50 NGL 2.rk. II, p. 254 §16 = HR III, 1, 60 §16 = DN VII no. 482; one Hanseatic ship-pound = 136 kg (BRUNS, *Bergenfahrer*, p. LXXIV).

51 Table VI.1.

## C. STOCKFISH COMPARED TO HERRING AND SALMON

Herring was the main fish product consumed in northern Europe in the Middle Ages. Discovering a long-term price trend for herring has to rely heavily on Thorold Rogers' collection of English prices for the medieval and early modern period.<sup>52</sup> Table 21 in appendix VIII shows that English herring prices expressed in silver increased 133% per weight unit from the High Middle Ages to the first part of the Late Middle Ages. But the extant prices from 1259–1350 and 1375–1600 cannot be compared without a critical evaluation of the source. Before 1375, herring in England was almost exclusively lightly salted and quantified in hundreds. After 1375, it was increasingly salted in barrels. For the first period, all prices are for products which were lightly salted, in the second period some are for products which were heavily salted in barrels and therefore more expensive.<sup>53</sup> If we limit the analysis to lightly salted products for both periods, the price increase in England is only 63%,<sup>54</sup> which gives us the most realistic picture. We have English prices for salmon per barrel only after 1350.<sup>55</sup>

To examine how representative Rogers' prices are, they can be compared to Posthumus' collection of prices from the Netherlands, which gives herring prices starting from 1414.<sup>56</sup> Prices in the Netherlands were 8–19% lower than in England, but price changes ran parallel in the two regions.<sup>57</sup>

The price fluctuations for stockfish, herring and salmon show the same trend in both regions. A significant price increase between the first period (1251–1350) and the second (1351–1440) was followed by a decline from the second (1351–1440) to the third and fourth periods (1441–1550). There was another increase in the second half of the 16th century.<sup>58</sup> Stockfish broadly followed the price changes for fish products in general.<sup>59</sup>

In *Agrarkrisen und Agrarkonjunktur*, Abel compared food prices of vegetable products, in practice grain, and non-vegetable products, in practice dairy products, meat and fish. He started with the consequences of the Black Death. Abel employs chronological periods other than those used in table VI.3, and therefore no direct comparison of figures is possible. Between 1351–75 and 1476–1525, he found that

52 ROGERS, *Agriculture and Prices*.

53 Appendix VIII table 21 note 2; cf. p. 519.

54 ROGERS, *Agriculture and Prices I*, p. 641. The increase of 63% is for one thousand (= 1200) of lightly salted herring in 1259–1350 compared to the same amount in 1351–1400. The average price increased from 7.5 shillings to 15 shillings, which was converted into silver prices by taking the silver content of the coins used in these two periods.

55 Appendix VIII table 23; ROGERS, *Agriculture and Prices IV*, p. 545.

56 POSTHUMUS, *History of Prices in Holland*.

57 Appendix VIII table 22.

58 Appendix VIII tables 21–23.

59 Appendix VIII table 14.

grain prices in England fell by 45 % as measured in silver, but the prices for meat, fish and dairy products declined by only 25 %; he found the same difference in Krakow and other places.<sup>60</sup> Prices of non-vegetable food products increased compared to grain products. The next period, 1511–25 to 1601–25, was one of inflation, with a general price increase for most goods as expressed in silver. In Hamburg, the price of rye increased by 276 %, butter, cheese, and lamb by 150 %, and herring only by 75 %. In other towns, the prices of meat, fish and dairy products also increased less than grain prices.<sup>61</sup>

Our prices for stockfish and herring follow the same trend as for meat and butter: as shown above, they rose in price compared to grain products after the Black Death and were favourable to the fish producers in the Late Middle Ages. In the second half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, prices for meat, fish and butter fell compared to grain. They did increase slightly as expressed in silver, but this was due to inflation in the 16<sup>th</sup> century and did not favour the fishermen.

How did stockfish prices in the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> centuries change compared to herring salted in barrels? In order to expand the available source material on prices as much as possible in table VI.3, Rogers' and Posthumus' herring prices have been combined in the third column. These mostly are from non-importing towns, so the prices for stockfish in the second column are also from such towns.

Table VI.3. Prices in silver for 100 kg of stockfish and salted herring in northern Europe, 1259–1600

Year	Price of stockfish; number of prices in parentheses <sup>(1)</sup>	Price of salted herring	Price ratio for 100 kg of stockfish : salted herring
1259–1350	455 g (13)	67 g <sup>(2)</sup>	6.8
1351–1440	613 g (33)	152 g <sup>(3)</sup>	4.0
1441–1500	376 g (67)	99 g <sup>(3)</sup>	3.8
1501–1550	218 g (268)	90 g <sup>(3)</sup>	2.4
1551–1600	240 g (88)	141 g <sup>(3)</sup>	1.7

(1) Source: appendix VIII, tables 6–10. The prices are from non-importing towns. One large hundred (lc) = 67.9 kg (table VI.1).

(2) Source: appendix VIII, tables 21 and 22. According to Rogers, 608 lightly salted herring, which was the content of one barrel, cost 60 g of silver in the period 1251–1350 (appendix VIII table 21 note 2). An English barrel could hold 114 litres. The Norwegian barrel of today has a 116 litre capacity, and it holds 92 kg of herring (information from Norges sildesalgslag). The price of 100 kg English herring can then be calculated as ca. 67 g of silver per 100 kg [(60 g ÷ 90) × 100].

(3) For the herring prices after 1400, table 22 in appendix VIII was used. The average of Rogers' herring prices for 1375–1440 was 140 g of silver per barrel, while the average of Posthumus' herring prices for 1414–1440 was 134 g per barrel. Even though they do not span the same periods, the two prices are very close. I have therefore chosen to use the median value between the two prices, which is 137 g per barrel = 152 g of silver per 100 kg. The herring prices for the periods after 1440 in table VI.3 have been calculated in the same way by taking the median value between Rogers' and Posthumus' herring prices in table 22 from appendix VIII.

<sup>60</sup> ABEL, *Agrarkrisen*, pp. 58–59 (English translation p. 52).

<sup>61</sup> On prices for grain, animal products and herring in Hamburg: ABEL, *Agrarkrisen*, pp. 118–119 (English translation p. 121); BATH, *Agrarian History*, pp. 138ff; POSTAN, *Trade of Medieval Europe*, pp. 177ff and 136ff about the period before 1350.

Table VI.3 demonstrates that the price of stockfish fell in relation to salted herring over the entire period 1300–1600. The large decline in price between the first two periods (1259–1350 to 1351–1440) is due to the fact that Rogers' herring prices for the first period were for lightly salted herring, while for the following period they included more expensive heavily salted herring in barrels.<sup>62</sup> In the Late Middle Ages (1351–1500), the relative price was stable, but the decline accelerated in the 16<sup>th</sup> century.

Comparing the prices of 100 kg of stockfish and 100 kg of salted herring in table VI.3 does not provide a realistic picture of how the two commodities were valued by the customers, because stockfish had a larger nutritional value per unit of weight. Pure fish meat from stockfish contains 335 kilocalories (kcal) per 100 grams, while salted herring only provides 230 kcal, which means that stockfish meat is 1.5 times as nutritious as that of salted herring. In addition, more of a stockfish is edible, because the head and the intestines have been removed, and in the *rotscher* even the spine. For herring, most of the intestines were removed, but the head and the spine remained. According to the Norwegian nutritional expert Schulerud, only 50 % of a salted herring can be eaten. He does not give a percentage for stockfish, but for salted and dried cod (*klippfisk*) it is 60 %.<sup>63</sup> The percentage is likely to have been approximately the same for stockfish. If we include this percentage of edible product in the calculation, a unit by weight of stockfish will be 1.8 times as nutritious as the same unit of salted herring. To obtain the relative price per calorie of stockfish and salt-herring, the price ratios in table VI.3 have to be divided by 1.8.

Table VI.4. Price ratio of stockfish to salted herring per calorie at northern European markets, 1259–1600

Period	Price ratio stockfish to herring per calorie
1259–1350	3.8
1351–1440	2.2
1441–1500	2.1
1501–1550	1.3
1551–1600	1.0

Source: table VI.3

During the first period, stockfish was nearly four times as expensive per calorie as herring, while in 1550–1600 the two were at the same level. If customers were to choose between dried cod and salted herring, prices would be in favour of herring until about 1550. At the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, it cost the same to eat one's fill of the two products. What had happened?

<sup>62</sup> Appendix VIII table 21 note 2, cf. p. 519.

<sup>63</sup> SCHULERUD, Norske næringsmidler, p. 68.

This analysis of stockfish prices between 1300 and 1600 has to be understood against the background of two developments. Stockfish followed the general price trends for meat and dairy products. At the same time, stockfish prices declined compared to herring throughout the period, and this fall was particularly pronounced in the 14<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> centuries.

A discussion of the causes of the price changes for stockfish between 1300 and 1600 can therefore be framed by two questions. First, why did the price of meat, dairy products, and fish, including stockfish, increase relative to silver and grain products after the Black Death, and decline relative to silver after about 1430 and to flour and grain products after about 1500? Secondly, why did the price of stockfish decline relative to salted fish throughout the period?

## 2. CONSUMPTION AND DEMAND

The price level of stockfish depended on demand from the northern European markets. The Norwegian historian Alf Kiil discussed this problem for the 16<sup>th</sup> century and maintained that demand for Norwegian stockfish declined because the Reformation in northern Europe abolished the fasting period during which much fish was eaten.<sup>64</sup> Schreiner for his part thought the market for Bergen stockfish deteriorated in the 16<sup>th</sup> century because of competition from salted and dried cod produced in Newfoundland.<sup>65</sup> In this section, we shall try to find explanations which cover the entire period from 1300 to 1600.

### A. FOOD PRODUCTS FROM ANIMALS, FISH AND GRAIN

The relative prices of food products from animals (meat and dairy products), fish and grain have been discussed by several historians, and they have arrived at a consensus which I find convincing. The German historian Wilhelm Abel explains the price increases in meat, dairy products and fish after the Black Death and their decline in the following two centuries by demographic developments during the period 1300–1600.

The demand for cereals is relatively inelastic. It changes with the size of population and, as we shall show, when population declined during the Late Middle Ages so did the demand for grain. The demand for meat, on the contrary, is elastic. It changes according to the income of the consumers, and since, at the end of the fourteenth and the beginning of the fifteenth centuries, purchasing power became more widely distributed among the people, the growth of income could to some extent make up for the declining number of

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64 KIIL, *Nordlandshandelen*, p. 10.

65 SCHREINER, *Hanseatene og Norge*, pp. 344–350.

consumers by increasing the consumption of animal products [*animalischen Produkten*]. Unfortunately it is not possible to gauge meat consumption during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. It can only be established that by the end of the Late Middle Ages it was very high. Certainly in Germany it amounted to more than 100 kilograms per head per year. To justify this statement it is not even necessary to quote the meat consumption of the wealthier classes, a quantity that passes the imagination, to say nothing of the physical capacity of twentieth century people. The less-well-endowed sections of the population ate enormous amounts as well.

Like livestock farming, the fish industry was “relatively profitable”. Leingärtner, who has gone into the question of why so many fields in the Amberg district of Bavaria were turned into fish ponds in the fifteenth century, pointed out that in the Amberg tax rolls of 1438 a pound of carp was stated to be worth 12 denari whereas a hundredweight of rye cost no more than 18.5 denari: thus a pound of carp was worth 66 pounds of rye.<sup>66</sup>

Abel here distinguishes between two main categories of food, “grain products” and “animal products”; the latter is in practice meat, dairy products and fish. Abel’s theory explains the comparatively low prices of stockfish and other animal food-stuffs in the High Middle Ages, the high prices in the period 1351–1440, and the decline thereafter. The Dutch historian Slicher van Bath explains these price fluctuations in the same way.<sup>67</sup> It is beyond the scope of this thesis to critically examine the conclusions of Abel and van Bath on the European level. In our context, it is sufficient to say that Abel’s theory explains the element in the price fluctuations for stockfish, which was part of a general northern European trend for animal food-stuffs.

## B. DRIED AND SALTED FISH BEFORE 1370

The reasons for the long-term changes in the relative prices of dried and salted fish have not been discussed before by historians, and therefore have to be analysed more thoroughly. Stockfish was above all good for long-term storage, and it provided food rich in protein which was available at times of the year when fresh meat and fish were difficult to get hold of. An English textbook on good housekeeping from the Middle Ages advises the reader to use herring in the winter and save stockfish for the spring, since stockfish kept better than herring.<sup>68</sup> Some of the stockfish was consumed during Lent, which coincided with a protein shortage at the beginning of spring before the cows started to produce milk. Stockfish was produced in Lofoten in the spring, and much of it was consumed in Germany or England one

66 ABEL, *Agrarkrisen*, p. 73 (English translation, pp. 70–71). The work mentioned in Abel’s text is G. Leingärtner: *Die Wüstungsbewegungen im Landgericht Amberg*, München 1956.

67 BATH, *Agrarian History*, pp. 123 and 140ff; cf. BOLTON, *The Medieval English Economy*, pp. 47 and 39.

68 ROGERS, *Agriculture and Prices I*, p. 606.

year later. In competition with stockfish were foods rich in protein which kept well throughout the winter. In his history of the trade in Norwegian *klippfisk* (cod which was first salted and then dried), Odd Vollan demonstrates that in Mediterranean countries and South America in the 19<sup>th</sup> and the first part of the 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, salted fish and cheap preserved meat provided the main competition for Norwegian *klippfisk*.<sup>69</sup> An analysis of the production and consumption of salted and smoked meat in the regions of Germany and England which also imported Norwegian stockfish would demand too much work and be outside the scope of this book. I have chosen to limit my analysis to the production and consumption of marketable fish.

If fish was to be stored for only a few days, it could be salted lightly. A little salt was strewn over the fish so that a thin, protective film covered it, and it retained almost the same taste as when the fish was fresh.<sup>70</sup>

The simplest and cheapest way of curing fish for lengthy storage was to dry it in the wind without salting it first. This is what stockfish is, and it normally kept well for two years in the climate found north of the Alps.<sup>71</sup> Successful drying of fish demands a cold and dry northern climate. Even in the Baltic, a large proportion of the fish hung out to dry without salting would rot or become infested with worms before the drying process was finished.<sup>72</sup>

To produce smoked fish, it was first put in brine for at least one day. Afterwards the fish was hung on rods and dried in the open air. The drier it was, the longer it would keep. The last stage was to hang it in smoking sheds which had one or several ovens. The smoke killed microbes which otherwise could have caused the fish to spoil. The smoking process could last as long as four days.<sup>73</sup> If herring is salted, dried and smoked in a satisfactory manner, it can keep for half a year or more.<sup>74</sup> This production method had the advantage that it did not demand much drying, and therefore the producers were less dependent on the climate. The disadvantage was that it demanded a great deal of labour and required sheds for smoking the fish. The size of the shed limited the amount of herring or other fish which could be smoked at the same time, and herring was often caught in large quantities over a short time span. Smoked herring never became a major commodity in the international fish trade during the Middle Ages. It seems to have been produced in limited quantities for local markets all over northern Europe.

69 VOLLAN, Klippfiskhandel, discussed on pp. 33, 36, 38 etc.

70 HEATH, The Scarborough Fleet, p. 61; JAGOW, Heringfischerei, p. 4; DEGRYSE, Vlaanderns haringbedrijf, p. 98.

71 Information from the Norwegian state committee for stockfish information (*tørrfiskutvalget*), Bergen.

72 JAGOW, Heringfischerei, p. 17.

73 TOMFOHRDE, Heringsfischereiperiode an der Bohuslen-Küste, p. 88 note 6, and p. 86.

74 Information from the herring export firm Rolf Olsen in Bergen.

A fourth alternative was to salt the fish in barrels. This demanded considerable quantities of salt. In the 1820s,  $\frac{1}{4}$  barrel of salt was needed to cure one barrel of herring.<sup>75</sup> If the quality of the salt was poor more had to be used, so greater amounts of salt than this may have been used in the Middle Ages. In the 16<sup>th</sup> century in Swedish Norrland,  $\frac{1}{3}$  barrel of salt was used for one barrel of herring (*strømming*).<sup>76</sup> In 1481, a “hundredweight” of French sea salt was needed to cure 17 lasts of herring, but the same amount of salt produced from peat marshes in Holland was of a higher quality and would cure 22 lasts.<sup>77</sup> A barrel of herring could keep well through the winter. In 1378, the authorities in London complained about the quality of herring from Scania, which was produced in September–November. Formerly it was “so well produced” (*so wol gemakit*) that a barrel of salted herring would keep for a year, but now it would barely keep until Easter, and at most until Whitsun, “to the great detriment of the whole kingdom”.<sup>78</sup> As mentioned above, an English medieval author advised housekeepers to use herring in the winter and save the stockfish for the spring.<sup>79</sup> The problem with salting fish in barrels was that it required large quantities of expensive salt. The advantage was that the salting process could be completed rapidly. It was the preferred method when large quantities of herring were caught over a short period and when financially sound merchants could provide the salt.

Before 1370, there were three methods for preserving fish for lengthy storage: drying, smoking and salting in barrels. There were geographic, technological or economic issues which limited the use of each method of commercial fish production.

The salt mines of Lüneburg, Germany, were Europe’s largest salt-producing area in the High Middle Ages. The distribution of this salt was in the hands of merchants from Lübeck and other Wendish towns, and they used a large proportion of it in the herring fisheries along the coast of Scania.<sup>80</sup> They transported salt and barrels from their home towns and bought herring from Danish fishermen, but they organised the salting themselves. The entire catch was normally cured in barrels.<sup>81</sup> Around the year 1200, both salt production and the herring fisheries were already of a signifi-

75 SOLHAUG, *Norske fiskerier*, p. 657.

76 *Kulturbistorisk leksikon for nordisk middelalder*, entry word “Fisketilvirkning”.

77 BRIDBURY, *England and the Salt Trade*, p. 13; cf. HUB X nos. 844 and 916.

78 HR I, 3, 102 = DN XIX no. 594. This is a translation into Middle Low German of a letter which was sent to Hansa towns, probably in French or Latin.

79 ROGERS, *Agriculture and Prices I*, p. 606.

80 Cf. chapter I.2b; LECHNER, *Pfundzollisten*, pp. 49 and 56.

81 *Kulturbistorisk leksikon for nordisk middelalder*, entry word “Skånemarkedet”; BRIDBURY, *England and the Salt Trade*, pp. 2–3.

cant size.<sup>82</sup> Merchants from Lübeck organised the production of salted herring on the island of Rügen in the same way, but on a smaller scale.<sup>83</sup>

Many Baltic merchants did not have the same access to salt as those from Lübeck. Lightly salted herring was produced for local markets in several places along the southern coast of the Baltic. Herring caught in the bay of Kiel and at Kolberg in Pomerania was mostly cured in that way.<sup>84</sup> A customs tariff from Greifswald ca. 1250–1300 only distinguishes between fresh and dried herring (*alleg siccus*).<sup>85</sup> Jagow thinks the latter must refer to smoked herring, since wind drying without salting and smoking rarely succeeds in the warm and humid climate along the Baltic.<sup>86</sup> Herring sent from Prussia to the Polish interior was counted in rods (*Spieß*), and this must also have been smoked. At the same time, Danzig imported significant amounts of herring salted in barrels from Scania.<sup>87</sup>

In Denmark, dried and lightly salted cod, flounder and herring produced for local markets was common throughout the Middle Ages.<sup>88</sup> Norway in the 13<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> centuries produced and had a small export trade in dried or smoked herring, and it imported herring of higher quality from Scania which was salted in barrels. In Scandinavia, wind-dried cod from northern Norway and herring salted in barrels from Scania were the only fish products sold on a larger scale for an international market. Both products demanded complex organisation to get them from the producer to the consumer, and the key organisers were in both cases merchants from Lübeck and other Wendish towns.

The most important fisheries in the North Sea were the herring fisheries which became active in August off the coast of eastern Scotland and moved southwards in the North Sea, ending in the English Channel in November.<sup>89</sup>

The coastal population of the Netherlands from Flanders to the Zuiderzee exploited the large fishing grounds in the North Sea throughout the Middle Ages. Fishermen from the Netherlands sold their catch in the nearest port, which meant that a large proportion of it was imported into England.<sup>90</sup> The English customs accounts from minor ports such as Ravensere, Scarborough, Whitby and Blakeney list many people from Flanders, Zeeland, Brabant and Holland as importing herring. The fishermen evidently sold either lightly salted or fresh herring which they

82 *Kulturhistorisk leksikon for nordisk middelalder*, entry word “Skånemarkedet” and “Salt-handel”; VOGEL, *Deutsche Seeschiffahrt*, pp. 178–179.

83 JAGOW, *Heringfischerei*, pp. 14–16, 27 and 41.

84 *Ibid.*, p. 4.

85 HUB I no. 746.

86 JAGOW, *Heringfischerei*, p. 17.

87 *Ibid.*, pp. 32–33.

88 *Kulturhistorisk leksikon for nordisk middelalder*, entry word “Fisketilvirkning”.

89 DEGRYSE, *Vlaanderns haringbedrijf*, p. 27.

90 *Ibid.*, p. 31.

had just caught out in the North Sea. They also transported some of their catch to their own countries on the eastern shores of the North Sea, but little or none of it seems to have been salted in barrels in the earliest period. English fishermen also delivered fresh herring to these ports, but they were exempt from paying customs duties and were not listed in the accounts.

How were herring and other fish species cured? According to a Flemish customs tariff from 1024, customs duties for herring and cod were paid per cartload.<sup>91</sup> In 1163 in Damme on the estuary leading to Bruges, the customs fee for herring was paid per thousand, and for salmon, cod and haddock per hundred. A century later in 1252 the same units were used for the same species.<sup>92</sup> Other sources from the 12<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> centuries counted herring in thousands. According to Degryse, this fish was “mostly smoked”,<sup>93</sup> but the fish was also brought ashore and sold fresh or lightly salted.<sup>94</sup>

The best evidence for how fish was cured in the period 1250–1370 is found in England in Rogers’ prices<sup>95</sup> and the customs accounts from eastern English ports. They show beyond doubt that during this period, salting in barrels was unusual along the North Sea. Rogers’ prices begin in 1259, and in the first decades after that, all fish products were counted in thousands, hundreds or as individual fish. For the years before 1375, Rogers gives only three examples of fish salted in barrels, but more than 300 listings for fish sold in thousands, hundreds or individually.<sup>96</sup>

The customs accounts for eastern England covering the years 1303–11 normally counted herring in lasts, which could contain either 10 thousands of herring (12,000) or 12 barrels. A register of herring in lasts therefore gives no clue to the manner in which the herring had been preserved. The material is nevertheless sufficient to prove that there was a difference between the specialised fishing ports and the larger towns. For the period 1303–50, the unit of quantification and packing is given 220 times in accounts from the specialised fishing ports of Ravensere, Scarborough and Whitby; every time the herring is counted in hundreds or thousands. The importers were Dutch fishermen who had caught the herring a short distance from the coasts of Yorkshire and Norfolk. In the larger market town of Hull, the unit for fish is mentioned 12 times; in 7 cases it is barrels, 4 times it is baskets, and once it is stated in thousands. One of the barrels contained smoked herring, the others salted herring.<sup>97</sup> In Lynn, the unit of quantification is given 9 times; all are barrels. Herring salted in barrels seems to have dominated the imports by foreigners in the larger towns of Hull and Lynn, but not in the specialised fish-

91 *Ibid.*, p. 72.

92 HUB I no. 432; DEGRYSE, *Vlaanderns haringbedrijf*, p. 76.

93 DEGRYSE, *Vlaanderns haringbedrijf*, pp. 78–79.

94 *Ibid.*, p. 71.

95 ROGERS, *Agriculture and Prices II*, pp. 552–557.

96 I have excluded the smoked herring transported in barrels from 1337 and 1339.

97 *cade*, cf. ROGERS, *Agriculture and Prices I*, p. 610.

ing ports. A significant portion of the fish delivered to eastern England came through the three specialised fishing ports, and the customs accounts therefore confirm the evidence from Rogers. The majority of herring imported into and marketed in England before 1350 was not salted in barrels, but was fresh or lightly salted.

The technology of salting herring in barrels seems to have been imported to continental North Sea ports from Scania. From about the year 1250 at the latest, Hansa merchants from the Zuiderzee and the Wendish towns transported herring from Scania to Deventer and Flanders.<sup>98</sup> Vogel confirms that Scanian herring found its way into Hansa towns along the North Sea during this period, but it is uncertain how much.<sup>99</sup> A merchant from Stavoren on the Zuiderzee imported a consignment of herring into Ravensere on the 3<sup>rd</sup> of October 1308 which is explicitly stated to have come from Scania. The customs accounts from Hull and Lynn for 1303–11 listed five ships with skippers from the Netherlands who imported herring salted in barrels; three of them were from Steneberg in Nordbrabant,<sup>100</sup> and the two others were from Sluis<sup>101</sup> and Slepeldam in Flanders.<sup>102</sup> It is not clear whether this herring had been put in barrels in the Netherlands or in Scania. According to Degryse, there is no evidence that there was any significant manufacturing of barrels in Flanders during the High Middle Ages.<sup>103</sup> In the following period the sources are more abundant and informative. The Franciscans in Ghent bought herring salted in barrels for Lent every year between 1327 and 1344.<sup>104</sup> Hansa merchants, who obtained their salt from Lüneburg, did not visit North Sea fisheries.

Even England seems to have learned the method of salting fish in barrels from the Baltic. Rogers' first two listings of fish salted in barrels are from 1299 and 1300; in both cases the fish was sturgeon.<sup>105</sup> In former times this was a common fish in the Baltic, and particularly in the Weichsel (Wisla),<sup>106</sup> and considerable quantities of it were imported into eastern England at the beginning of the 14<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>107</sup> For the years 1337 and 1339, Rogers lists two consignments of herring in barrels, but both were said to be smoked.<sup>108</sup> As stated in the previous paragraph, herring salted in barrels from Scania is mentioned by name only once in the records for the eastern

98 KUSKE, *Kölner Fischhandel*, pp. 235–238; DEGRYSE, *Vlaanderns haringbedrijf*, pp. 91–93.

99 VOGEL, *Deutsche Seeschiffahrt*, pp. 184 ff.

100 L -/12 1306, H 27/11 1306, H 1/3 1308.

101 H 13/3 1305.

102 H 24/1 1305.

103 DEGRYSE, *Vlaanderns haringbedrijf*, p. 95.

104 *Ibid.*, p. 80.

105 *Ibid.*, p. 554.

106 EHRENBAUM, *Seefischerei Nordeuropas II*, p. 4.

107 Tables VI.5 and VI.6; pp. 60 and 74.

108 ROGERS, *Agriculture and Prices II*, p. 555 and I, p. 610. All kinds of fish could be transported in barrels, which were the containers used in pre-modern Europe.

English ports before the Black Death, in 1308. Herring “from Norway” was more common and is mentioned five times; it seems to have been lightly salted, smoked or dried.<sup>109</sup> Salting fish in barrels was unusual in England at that time.

This analysis has demonstrated that fresh, lightly salted and smoked herring was sold widely for local consumption all along the coasts of the Baltic and the North Sea. Wind-dried cod from Bergen and herring salted in barrels from Scania were the only northern European fish products to enter the long-distance trade in the High Middle Ages. The reason for this was their longevity; both were stored and consumed during the winter, when little fresh food was available. Herring from Scania found its main market in the Hansa towns; the Zuiderzee towns also sent some of it to the western German interior.<sup>110</sup> Dried cod from Bergen was therefore a competitive product on markets in the entire North Sea area, particularly in England.

### C. DRIED AND SALTED FISH AFTER 1370

In the decades after 1350, there was a strong increase in the prices of both dried and salted fish.<sup>111</sup> According to Degryse, there are signs of a shortage of fish in Flanders after about 1370.<sup>112</sup> In 1376, the English chancery complained that there was a dearth of stockfish in England.<sup>113</sup> At first this led to a large increase in the export of salted herring from Scania to North Sea ports. The customs accounts from the 1360s for Boston, Hull and Lynn and subsidiary ports provide evidence of considerable imports of herring, which now was explicitly called herring from Scania.<sup>114</sup> There was a parallel increase in imports of Scanian herring into the Netherlands. All ships and barges on their way to Bruges had to pay their customs duties in Damme. The tariffs for 1163 and 1252, where herring was counted in hundreds and thousands, were mentioned above; a new tariff was issued in 1376 in which herring salted in barrels is explicitly mentioned.<sup>115</sup> The accounts for Damme from 1378 list imports of 1626 lasts (19,500 barrels) of salted herring from Scania.<sup>116</sup> In 1358, Hansa merchants and the authorities in Bruges were in dispute because of the latter’s staple regulations for Scanian herring.<sup>117</sup> The increased demand for fish after the Black Death led to a boom for the Hanseatic “Scaniafahrer” just as it did for the

109 The Scanian fair: R 10/3 1308; Norway: R 29/5 1308, R 3/2 1309, R 13/1 1311 (2x), H 8/4 1308.

110 KUSKE, *Kölner Fischhandel*, pp. 235–238.

111 Table VI.3.

112 DEGRYSE, *Vlaanderns haringbedrijf*, p. 70.

113 *Calendar of Close Rolls 1374–77*, p. 303.

114 PRO E-122/7/10, Boston 1365–66.

115 DEGRYSE, *Vlaanderns haringbedrijf*, pp. 76 and 90.

116 *Ibid.*, p. 91.

117 *Ibid.*, p. 99.

Bergenfahrer. Around the years 1350–1375, merchants from Holland, Flanders and England started to visit the Scanian fair themselves.<sup>118</sup> This must have pushed up the price of Scania herring.

From about 1375, merchants from North Sea towns started to salt herring in barrels at home, and the best sources about this are again in England. For the period 1259–1375, Rogers has more than 300 prices for fish and herring counted in thousands or less, but only 5 prices by the barrel. For the years 1375–1399, only 36 prices are given for fish by number, but 23 prices are given per barrel (*barrel, cade, pipe*).<sup>119</sup> Rogers' prices are taken from the accounts of large church and state institutions. After 1400, these organisations bought herring, salmon, sturgeon and eels predominantly in barrels, but they did not stop buying fresh and lightly salted fish.<sup>120</sup> The years 1375–1400 represented a breakthrough for fish salted in barrels on the English market.

The customs accounts between the years 1303 and 1500 for imports into Hull and Lynn provide a picture of the competition which faced the Bergen stockfish trade in the English markets. Boston has been excluded here since there are few extant accounts for the port, and those that do exist rarely give the value of each commodity. Normally, customs accounts register imports by foreign merchants only, although a few accounts also provide records of imports by English merchants. Fish caught by English fishermen in the North Sea and around Iceland is only included in a few of the accounts included in the following two tables.<sup>121</sup>

Table VI.5. Fish imports into Lynn, 1303–1500, according to extant customs accounts

Fish qualities	Value in £s of each fish quality <sup>(1)</sup>							
	1306–1307		1322–1326		1388–1405		1440–1500	
stockfish	532	(80%)	878	(18%)	2610	(42%)	1668	(48%)
herring	123	(19%)	3975	(80%)	3613	(58%)	969	(28%)
salted "fish"					2		256	(7%)
salted cod			6				29	(1%)
salmon	6	(1%)					486	(14%)
mackrel							11	
eel			1		2		21	(1%)
lamprey							1	
sturgeon			106	(2%)	9		18	(1%)
flounder					1			
sprat							1/3	

118 CHRISTENSEN, AKSEL, *Hansestæderne*, p. 84; POSTAN, *England and the Hanse*, p. 97; DEGRYSE, *Vlaanderns haringbedrijf*, pp. 96–97.

119 ROGERS, *Agriculture and Prices II*, pp. 556–557.

120 ROGERS, *Agriculture and Prices III*, pp. 310ff.

121 Before ca. 1330, only foreign merchants paid customs fees, but in the following period some customs duties were also imposed on imports by English merchants.

Fish qualities	Value in £s of each fish quality <sup>(1)</sup>							
	1306–1307		1322–1326		1388–1405		1440–1500	
haddock	1							
<i>mudfish</i>	10							
total	661	(100%)	4967	(100%)	6237	(100%)	3469	(100%)

Sources: See references to archive numbers in PRO in the introductions to appendixes I and II

(1) Several accounts do not specify the value of each commodity. Continuous accounts exist in 1304–1307, but only for the year 1306/7 is the value of each commodity given. Therefore only 1306/7 could be used for the earliest period in the table. The value of each commodity is not listed in several later accounts as well. In some accounts only the quantity of each commodity is specified, but not their value. In these cases, the value was calculated by using prices taken from the customs accounts. If neither value nor quantity is specified for a commodity, it has been excluded.

Table VI.6. Fish imports into Hull and its subsidiary ports Ravensere, Scarborough and Whitby, 1303–1500, according to extant customs accounts

Fish qualities	Value in £s of each fish quality					
	1304–1323		1378–1405		1453–1491	
stockfish	3348	( 34%)	3		3263	(68%)
herring	6282	( 64%)	4488	(97%)	1005	(21%)
salted “fish”	5		42	( 1%)	23	( 6%)
salted cod			32		1	
salmon	12		6	( 1%)	269	( 1%)
eel			59	( 1%)	58	( 4%)
pike	½					
sturgeon	103	( 1%)			8	
<i>mudfish</i>			1		194	
total	9751	(100%)	4631	(100%)	4821	(100%)

Sources: See table VI.5. For a critique of the sources, see note 1 in table VI.5

The percentage of fish salted in barrels which was imported by foreign merchants increased after the Black Death, and most of it probably came from Scania. A hundred years later the percentage of salted fish had decreased, but that was because the customs accounts did not list English merchants, who had now started salting fish in barrels from their own North Sea catches. Changes in the level of stockfish imports into England may also be misleading in the two tables since some were brought in by Germans who paid customs and some by English merchants whose imports from Bergen and later Iceland were exempt from customs most years.

The two tables also demonstrate that more types of fish were caught commercially after the Black Death. In 1303–1350, imports consisted almost only of cod and herring. Limited quantities of sturgeon were added to this, and even more limited amounts of salmon. Between 1440 and 1500, eel, mackerel and sprats were exploited commercially, and all of them were probably delivered salted in barrels.

Cod was no longer only dried but was also salted in barrels.<sup>122</sup> Rogers lists an entry for haddock salted in barrels for 1370.<sup>123</sup> In the earliest period in the two tables, 99% of the imports were stockfish and herring, while in the last period 150 years later, 24% of the fish imported into Lynn and 11% into Hull were “new” products. The new fish species were drawn into the foreign trade system because favourable fish prices and the availability of salt now made it more attractive to preserve them. Stockfish had increasingly varied competition on the market.

Salting in barrels demanded large investments in both salt and barrels, plus an organisational structure which was complex for the time. In 1377, the curing process known as *kaken and kakharing* is mentioned for the first time in Flanders,<sup>124</sup> and in the following decades this became a common way of preserving herring in Flanders, Zeeland and Holland. The fishing took place from large ships in the North Sea. Immediately after the herring had been pulled out of the sea and removed from the nets, it was salted in bins or barrels on board the ship. This involved heavy salting so that the salt penetrated into the flesh. But the herring would settle or sink in the barrel, and the fish had to be re-salted after the cargo was unloaded in port.

According to a nationalist traditional belief in Holland, which can be traced back to the 1630s, a fish merchant from Biervliet, Willem Beukelsson, started the custom of salting in barrels in Holland.<sup>125</sup> He discovered that salted herring kept better if the intestines were removed immediately (called *ganing* in Norwegian and *gælning* in Danish), and the fish were then salted.<sup>126</sup> But *gælning* was practiced by *gællekoner* and *læggekoner* (literally “women who gut the fish and put [the herring] in its place [in the barrel]”) at the Scanian fair, where salting in barrels was already carried out ca. 1200.<sup>127</sup> The herring had to be put into the barrel in layers in a certain pattern so that an equal number of herring could be stored in barrels of equal size. Merchants from Holland, Flanders and England must have known about this curing method from the 1350s and 1360s when they started to visit the Scanian fair, and probably far earlier.<sup>128</sup> What was new in the 1370s was not the technique, but its use on a large scale in the North Sea region and on board fishing vessels.

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122 Most customs accounts distinguish between fish and herring. I have assumed that when the customs accounts list “fish” (*piscis*), they meant cod, which was the most common fish in the North Sea next to herring, and which was caught by large buses (ships) at the end of the Middle Ages on the Dogger Bank and elsewhere. One cannot exclude the possibility that other fish species were included under this term, at least in some accounts.

123 ROGERS, *Agriculture and Prices* II, p. 556.

124 DEGRYSE, *Vlaanderns haringbedrijf*, p. 98. This is a customs tariff from St. Omer.

125 TOMFOHRDE, *Heringsfischereiperiode an der Bohuslen-Küste*, p. 90.

126 Cf. BEAUJON, *Nederlandsche Zeevisscherijen*, p. 4.

127 *Kulturhistorisk leksikon for nordisk middelalder*, entry word “Skånemarkedet”; *Salomonsens Konversationsleksikon*, entry word “Ganing”.

128 DEGRYSE, *Vlaanderns haringbedrijf*, pp. 96–97.

At Skanør and Falsterbo in present-day southwest Sweden, herring was caught close to the coast and delivered fresh to the shore where the salting took place. In the North Sea, herring spawned along the Scottish and English coasts and on the Dogger Bank. The Dutch caught herring with drift nets starting from Shetland and continuing southwards along the coast of Scotland, northern England, via the Dogger Bank, down to the English Channel; the full season lasting from June to December.<sup>129</sup> It was impossible to organise salting from bases in the Netherlands because the distance was too great. It was also problematic to organise salting on the English shore. Since foreigners were only permitted to trade in towns, and even there with restrictions,<sup>130</sup> the Dutch had to sell the herring to Englishmen who could preserve it. The catches were also taken along such a long stretch of coastline that it would have been problematic to organise the barrels, salt and a workforce to process the fish on land. Salting the fish on the ships was the best solution.<sup>131</sup>

Before the Dutch and Flemish started to fish and salt their catch on the open seas around 1370, their fishing vessels had consisted of open boats which were rowed and sailed. These were called *buza*, and Degryse thinks they may have been similar to the Nordic long ships.<sup>132</sup> The ones used along the British coast before the Black Death may have been built with as many as 10 benches and accommodated a maximum crew of 20, but the average number of men seems to have been about 10 per boat.<sup>133</sup> The skipper, who normally owned the boat, left it to the crew members to supply and keep in order their own nets and other equipment. The entire crew, skipper included, were partners who shared the earnings.<sup>134</sup>

Salting on the open sea demanded fishing ships which could carry salt and barrels and store large quantities of salted fish. During the 15<sup>th</sup> century, “they started using a new type of ship, the *haringbuis*, meant for long voyages, but above all for salting herring (*het kaken*) on board”.<sup>135</sup> Such herring busses had an average capacity of about 30 lasts.<sup>136</sup> Each last was equivalent to 12 barrels of herring, which meant that an average

129 POULSEN, *Dutch Herring*, pp. 207–212.

130 The basic set of privileges given by the King of England to foreign merchants was the *Carta mercatoria* from 1303. In this document, he ordained that foreigners only could trade in *civitatibus, burgis et villis mercatoris* (cities, boroughs and market towns).

131 DEGRYSE, *Vlaanderen haringbedrijf*, pp. 97–98.

132 DEGRYSE, *Vlaanderen haringbedrijf*, p. 58; cf. VOGEL, *Deutsche Seeschifffahrt*, p. 503. The largest Nordic long ships (war ships) in the 12<sup>th</sup> century at the latest were called *bussa*; in the following century the name was also used for trading ships built in the Nordic tradition with planks fastened to each other with rivets (NEDKVITNE, *Utenrikshandelen* appendix VII, pp. 562–565). A discussion of ship types was included in the 1983 version of this thesis in appendix VII, but it has not been included in this revised edition.

133 DEGRYSE, *Vlaanderen haringbedrijf*, p. 10. If a rowing boat had 10 benches for rowers (“thwarts”) and a crew of 20, then two men sat on each bench.

134 *Ibid.*, p. 66.

135 *Ibid.*, p. 106.

136 VOGEL, *Europäische Handelsflotten*, pp. 305–307 and 318–319.

herring buss could carry 420 barrels of herring during the years 1400–1700.<sup>137</sup> Salting on board large ships required more capital and a more complex organisation. The ownership of the fishing vessels and equipment passed to merchants in towns.<sup>138</sup> North Sea herring was distributed to northern European markets in increasing quantities by Dutch and Flemish merchants, who in the 15<sup>th</sup> century started their great expansion in northern European trade. These open sea fisheries started with herring, and herring was the main catch throughout the period examined here. But the Dutch also caught cod by the same method, mainly on the Dogger Bank.

Tomfohrde thought that the fishing grounds on the North Sea banks started to be exploited after 1370 because the outbreak of the Hundred Years War made it unsafe for vessels from Flanders and Holland to sail along the English coast.<sup>139</sup> The problem with this explanation is that the English started fishing on the banks at the same time.

The English also fished for both herring and cod in the North Sea, but for them cod was more important. In an article on the Scarborough North Sea fisheries in 1414–1442, Peter Heath divided the fishermen into three groups according to which type of fishing vessel they used and where they fished. The largest group fished from the shore in small boats called *cobles*, which were 20 feet long, had three pairs of oars, a square sail and a crew of 3–5 men. They were the same size as fishing boats called *seksringer* (six-oars) and *åttringer* (eight-oars), which were in common use in fishing grounds along the Norwegian coast. The fishermen normally did not sleep overnight in such boats, which were for land-based fishing.

The second group fished on the North Sea banks for herring and cod, and they could stay at sea for days and even weeks at a time. Their average income was 10 times that of the first group, £77 per crew member. The third group fished on the banks both in the North Sea and around Iceland, and their average income was approximately the same, £85.<sup>140</sup> Vessels called *doggers*, which took a crew of 20–30 men, were used at both these locations.<sup>141</sup> In the 17<sup>th</sup> century they had two masts and a broad prow.<sup>142</sup> According to Heath, their cargo capacity was 30–80 English tons, which is 15–40 medieval lasts (at 3 cubic metres each).<sup>143</sup> As mentioned above, a *haringbuis* from the Netherlands had a cargo capacity of about 30 medieval lasts.

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137 VOGEL, *Deutsche Seeschifffahrt*, p. 536; NEDKVITNE, *Utenrikshandelen* appendix VII, p. 566.

138 DEGRYSE, *Vlaanderns haringbedrijf*, p. 106.

139 TOMFOHRDE, *Heringsfischereiperiode an der Bohuslen-Küste*, pp. 158 and 161.

140 HEATH, *The Scarborough Fleet*, pp. 53–66. Fisheries and the fish trade have been researched less in England than in the Netherlands, even though English sources are far richer for the Middle Ages.

141 The etymology of the word “dogger” is unknown.

142 HEATH, *The Scarborough Fleet*, pp. 57–60.

143 VOGEL, *Deutsche Seeschifffahrt*, p. 559.

The expansion of saltfish production would have been impossible without increased imports into northern Europe of French, later Spanish and Portuguese, sea salt. This was produced by evaporating sea water in the sunshine, and it was cheaper than the salt from the mines in Lüneburg or peat salt from the Netherlands. Despite an increasing demand for salt in late medieval northern Europe, the prices remained stable and low because of the new imports.<sup>144</sup>

In the 13<sup>th</sup> century, sea salt was already being imported into England from Bourgneuf in Brittany and from other areas along the French Atlantic coast,<sup>145</sup> but this trade did not become really important until after 1364.<sup>146</sup> In 1375, 36 English ships were captured at Bourgneuf.<sup>147</sup> Before the Black Death, salt was both exported from and imported into England. The extant customs accounts from the years 1303–10 indicate that larger quantities were exported than imported, and for these years there was an annual export surplus from England of 4000 quarts of salt through the trade of foreign merchants only. It is not known how the quantities exported by English merchants would have changed this figure. After the Black Death in the years 1370–1400, this had been transformed into an import surplus of 16–20,000 quarts.<sup>148</sup> According to Bridbury, England received only 15–20 % of the French sea salt which was exported to northern Europe in the Late Middle Ages; most of it went to the Netherlands and the Baltic.<sup>149</sup>

The fisheries received a considerable portion of this imported sea salt.<sup>150</sup> “Salt being chiefly required in medieval England for the curing of fish, the bulk of the annual import was probably absorbed by the fisheries at the various ports of arrival.”<sup>151</sup> Most of the salt production in Lüneburg went to the commercial fishing industry at Scania.<sup>152</sup>

In the decades after the Black Death, there arose in northern Europe what Bridbury calls a “salt famine”. He explains this happened in England because of the increasing demand for labour in the textile industry, which drew workers away from the salt industry.<sup>153</sup> He explains that a corresponding deficit of salt in the Baltic was due to new markets for salt in Poland and Lithuania,<sup>154</sup> and in the Netherlands because of a lack of available peat, which was the raw material for local salt produc-

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144 BRIDBURY, *England and the Salt Trade*, p. 152.

145 *Ibid.*, pp. 43–44.

146 *Ibid.*, p. 67.

147 *Ibid.*, p. 102.

148 *Ibid.*, pp. 30 and 105.

149 *Ibid.*, pp. 94–100 and 106.

150 *Ibid.*, p. 140.

151 *Ibid.*, p. XVIII.

152 LECHNER, *Pfundzollisten*, pp. 49–50.

153 *Ibid.*, pp. 34–38.

154 *Ibid.*, p. 32.

tion there.<sup>155</sup> Instead of all these partial explanations, it is more convincing to connect the increasing demand for salt in all these areas with a transition to consuming more animal protein after the Black Death,<sup>156</sup> since both meat and fish need salt for curing.

This increased demand for meat and fish after the Black Death gave rise to the commercial exploitation of both the North Sea fisheries and sea salt production. In the High Middle Ages, fishermen along the North Sea coasts of the Netherlands, England and Scotland provided local markets with fresh or lightly salted fish. This type of preserving and the local markets made it possible for fishermen to work independently of rich merchants with capital. Fishing on the banks, on the other hand, demanded significant quantities of salt from France; in addition, the cured fish was sold at distant markets, and the fishing vessels were expensive to purchase and operate. Nevertheless, improved prices for fish made it profitable for merchants along the North Sea shores to invest their capital in this commercial enterprise. In the 14<sup>th</sup> century, the North Sea fisheries grew into a large-scale business serving distant markets, just like Norwegian stockfish production had since the beginning of the 12<sup>th</sup> century, as had the Scania fisheries since the end of the same century.

Fishing on the banks was organised in a way that made it possible for fishermen around the North Sea to expand their range of activity considerably. English bank fisheries around Iceland and later Newfoundland have to be seen as an extension of their cod fisheries on the North Sea banks. English doggers produced salted cod off Iceland from 1412 onwards<sup>157</sup> in the same way as they did on the North Sea banks. A dogger bound for Iceland at the beginning of 16<sup>th</sup> century brought along 3200 fish hooks and 270 hectolitres of salt.<sup>158</sup> In the 14<sup>th</sup> century, Durham monastery frequently bought stockfish and *scrafish*;<sup>159</sup> both were probably qualities of stockfish from Bergen. In 1417, the monastery started to buy “salted fish from Iceland” (*pisc. sals. de Island*), and these purchases were more regular than the previous ones of stockfish. This fish was mostly bought in September-October, which was the time when the English doggers returned from Iceland.<sup>160</sup>

The first English merchant vessel arrived in Iceland in 1413, one year after the doggers.<sup>161</sup> In 1442, licences for sailing to Iceland were given to 14 merchant ves-

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155 Ibid., pp. 25 and 31.

156 Cf. chapter VI.2a.

157 CARUS-WILSON, *The Iceland Trade*, p. 161.

158 CARUS-WILSON, *The Iceland Trade*, p. 172; ZUPKO, *Weights and Measures*, entry word “Wey”.

159 *Scrafish* was a technical term for cod which had become thin after spawning; BENDIXEN, *Tyskernes handel*, p. 297; NEDKVITNE, *Handelssjøfarten mellom Norge og England*, p. 247.

160 *Extracts from the Account Rolls of the Abbey of Durham*, pp. 6, 11, 30, 34, 40, 46, 48 and 55ff.

161 CARUS-WILSON, *The Iceland Trade*, p. 161.

sels, in 1443 to 19 ships, in 1444–5 to 14 again, and in 1461 to 16. It is not certain that all licences were used.<sup>162</sup> The merchants bought stockfish from Icelandic fishermen, while the doggers produced salted cod themselves.

Carus-Wilson thought that English fishing and trading vessels started sailing to Iceland after 1412 because it was then that larger ships with 2–3 masts started to be built and compasses began to be used in England.<sup>163</sup> But the English doggers normally had a capacity of 15–40 lasts; most of them were smaller than the cogs which sailed to Bergen in the 14<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>164</sup> The compass had been known in northern Europe since about 1180.<sup>165</sup> So compasses and ships of the relevant size had both been available in northern Europe 200 years before the Icelandic trade started. Carus-Wilson also emphasises the fact that English merchants were harassed in Bergen.<sup>166</sup> This is true,<sup>167</sup> but it was fishermen, and not merchants, who began sailing to Iceland, and they were in a large majority in the following period. Bjørn Thorsteinsson in his book *Enska öldin i sögu islendinga* (The English Age in Icelandic History) points to the same causes as Carus-Wilson did for England starting to fish in Icelandic waters.<sup>168</sup> It is more convincing to see the Iceland fisheries as an extension of the fishing on the North Sea banks. The same ships and the same technology for curing fish were used in both places, and according to Heath, the same people worked in the two fisheries.<sup>169</sup> The method of salting fish in barrels on the North Sea banks began to be used at the end of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, and the English started sailing to the fisheries around Iceland in 1412. The exploitation of both fishing grounds began on the background of rising fish prices after the Black Death.

English fisheries continued to expand from Iceland to Newfoundland. In 1497, an English expedition reached Newfoundland.<sup>170</sup> According to a contemporary source, the participants reported that

the sea there is swarming with fish, which can be taken not only with the net, but in baskets let down with a stone, so that it sinks in the water. ... they bring up so many fish that this kingdom would have no further need of Iceland, from which place there comes a very great quantity of the fish called stockfish.<sup>171</sup>

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162 *Ibid.*, pp. 169 and 177.

163 *Ibid.*, pp. 159–160. English fishing vessels sailed to Iceland starting in 1412, and merchant vessels came the following year, 1413.

164 Cf. NEDKVITNE, *Utenrikshandelen*, appendix VII.

165 WHITE, *Medieval Technology*, p. 32.

166 CARUS-WILSON, *The Iceland Trade*, p. 161.

167 Cf. pp. 175–177 and 468–471.

168 THORSTEINSSON, *Enska öldin*, pp. 28–30.

169 HEATH, *The Scarborough Fleet*, p. 57.

170 SCAMMEL, *The World Encompassed*, p. 461.

171 INNIS, *The Cod Fisheries*, p. 11.

At first English fishermen did not exploit this new opportunity; the first evidence of them fishing around Newfoundland dates from 1522.<sup>172</sup>

The size of the fishing vessels seems to have been the same for journeys to Newfoundland, Iceland and the North Sea banks. The capacity of French vessels fishing off Newfoundland in the years 1506–1550 was normally 50–80 tons or 25–40 lasts.<sup>173</sup> In 1578, an English source estimated that most French ships were able to carry about 20 lasts, with the average just short of 30 lasts, the Portuguese ships about 30 lasts, the Spanish 25–30 lasts.<sup>174</sup> Nothing was said about the English ships, but presumably they were also capable of carrying about 30 lasts. This is the same size as herring busses and doggers which fished in the North Sea and around Iceland.

In Newfoundland, the English used curing methods which they had learnt from French, Spanish and Portuguese fishermen, and which were different from those they used around Iceland and in the North Sea. In Mediterranean countries, fish salted in barrels deteriorated more rapidly than it did further north because of the heat. Dried fish kept better, but it was too hot to produce stockfish there without salt. The solution was to salt the fish first and dry it afterwards. In Newfoundland, all nationalities salted the cod on board their ships.<sup>175</sup> French, Spanish and Portuguese fishermen normally transported the fish home for drying,<sup>176</sup> but they could also go ashore on Newfoundland and do the drying there, or sell the salted fish at home without drying it first.<sup>177</sup> The English did not have the same access to cheap sea salt, and they therefore lightly salted the fish on board ship and afterwards dried it on the Newfoundland shore.<sup>178</sup> The English introduced a new product onto the North European fish market called Newfoundland fish, New-land fish or by the Spanish word *bacalao*, in Norwegian *klippfisk* (fish dried on rocks).

Before 1588, southern Europeans dominated the fishing off Newfoundland. In 1578, an English source claimed that 150 French, 100 Spanish, 50 Portuguese and 50 English ships visited the Great Banks there annually.<sup>179</sup> But the same source claimed that English participation was on the increase; four years earlier there had only been 30 English vessels fishing around Newfoundland.<sup>180</sup> In 1584, an Englishman claimed that the English fisheries were so limited that they could only provide enough fish for the English market for four months annually. This was

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172 Ibid., p. 13.

173 Ibid., pp. 19–20.

174 Ibid., pp. 38–4.

175 Ibid., p. 48.

176 Ibid., pp. 38 and 50.

177 Ibid., pp. 38–39 and 45–51.

178 Ibid., pp. 50–51.

179 Ibid., pp. 31, 38 and 39.

180 Ibid., p. 31.

probably an exaggeration for political reasons.<sup>181</sup> In 1588, English warships seized Spanish and Portuguese fishing vessels off Newfoundland, and this dealt a decisive blow to Iberians fishing there.<sup>182</sup> The English Newfoundland fleet is said to have increased to about 100 vessels by 1594.<sup>183</sup>

Newfoundland seems to have surpassed Iceland in importance for English fishermen shortly after 1588. Icelandic annals claim that 30 English doggers fished off Iceland in 1413, which was the second year they fished there.<sup>184</sup> There are 149 English ships mentioned around Iceland in 1528, 85 in 1533, 43–60 in 1552, and 55 in 1593.<sup>185</sup> The English figures include trading vessels, but they were in a minority compared to the doggers. The number of English fishing vessels in the North Atlantic do not seem to have increased during the 16<sup>th</sup> century, but there was a shift from Iceland to Newfoundland.

Did the new saltfish produced in the Late Middle Ages compete with Bergen stockfish? The fisheries in the North Sea were larger by far than those around Iceland and Newfoundland. Walter Vogel worked out that around the year 1477, more than 200 herring busses from Holland alone participated in the North Sea fisheries. In the Middle of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, about 600–700 vessels came from Holland, Zeeland and West Friesland, according to Kranenburg and Vogel.<sup>186</sup> When the Dutch (= today's Netherlands) fisheries were at their peak in the 1620s, around 2000 busses participated according to an older estimate,<sup>187</sup> or about 800 herring busses according to newer, revised calculations.<sup>188</sup> A contemporary source states that one buss could produce 560 barrels of herring annually, so the highest estimate of 2000 busses would yield 1.12 million barrels of herring, and 800 busses would produce 450,000 barrels. For a comparison, in the second half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, herring production at Scania has been estimated at about 2–300,000 barrels per season. In the last phase of pre-industrial herring fisheries in northern Europe, the largest catches were taken in Norwegian waters. The top year in the 19<sup>th</sup> century was 1872, when 1.2 million barrels of salted herring were exported from all of Norway.<sup>189</sup> The entire Dutch catch mentioned above was brought ashore in present-day Nether-

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181 *Ibid.*, p. 13

182 *Ibid.*, pp. 32–34.

183 *Ibid.*, p. 32.

184 CARUS-WILSON, *The Iceland Trade*, p. 161.

185 THORSTEINSSON, *Hansestæderne og Island*, p. 184.

186 VOGEL, *Europäische Handelsflotten*, pp. 304 and 306; KRANENBURG, *Zeevischerij van Holland*, p. 38.

187 BEAUJON, *Nederlandsche Zeevischerijen*, p. 360; DEGRYSE, *Vlaanderns haringbedrijf*, p. 108.

188 KRANENBURG, *Zeevischerij van Holland*, pp. 38–39; POULSEN, *Dutch herring*, p. 46.

189 WEIBULL; *Lübecks handel*, p. 82; German translation, pp. 66–67; NEDKVITNE, *Mens Bønderne seilte*, p. 33.

lands, and in the early period also in Belgium, and these regions also received a large portion of the stockfish exported from Bergen in the years 1370–1600. Dutch herring from the North Sea banks, and the smaller English herring catch definitely did compete with Bergen stockfish.

So did the saltfish produced off Iceland. The English began to exploit the fisheries around Iceland in 1412 at a time when the Hansa still exported large quantities of Bergen stockfish to Boston. German merchants started to visit the regions north of Bergen before 1416,<sup>190</sup> but German fishermen do not seem to have sailed to Icelandic waters until the 16<sup>th</sup> century; in 1545, 45 of their ships were seized there.<sup>191</sup> Icelandic saltfish and stockfish competed with Bergen fish after 1412.

Most fishing ships around Newfoundland in the early period came from France, Spain and Portugal and they sold their fish in these countries, where no Bergen fish was sold. Newfoundland fish was sold on the English market from the 1520s, but by that time fish was no longer shipped to England from Bergen. After the English dealt a blow to their competitors in 1588, England could export Newfoundland fish in the 1590s to France, the Netherlands, Ireland, the Canaries and Madeira, but the fish was sent above all to Spain and other Mediterranean countries.<sup>192</sup> Not until this late stage was Newfoundland fish sold in markets where it could compete with Bergen fish. Schreiner's claim that the decline in the price of Bergen fish in the 16<sup>th</sup> century was due to competition from Newfoundland fish is not credible.<sup>193</sup>

#### D. WHY DID STOCKFISH PRICES FALL COMPARED TO THE PRICE OF SALT FISH?

Tables VI.3 and 4 showed that stockfish fell in price compared to salted fish prices in the Late Middle Ages. In pages 245–247 and 521–529 it was demonstrated that this was not due to an overproduction of stockfish; in reality, the production of saltfish increased more than that of stockfish. An alternative hypothesis is that the quality of herring and other fish salted in barrels improved, while the quality of stockfish remained the same. “Quality” in our context means longevity and taste.

A winter resident in Bergen could do little to improve the quality of the stockfish he received from an indebted *nordfar*. The fisherman would hang the cod out to dry in his fishing village, and wind, rain and the temperatures during the drying period determined the quality of the finished product. The merchant was not present to control the process, and if he had been present, there would have been little he could do. In Bergen, the merchant classified the product he received, but the

190 HR I, 6, 262 §89–§91 = NGL 2.rk. I no. 377. This first evidence of Hansa merchants sailing north of Bergen mentions Orkney, Shetland and Faeroes, but not Iceland.

191 THORSTEINSSON, *Hansestæderne og Island*, p. 185.

192 INNIS, *The Cod Fisheries*, pp. 32–34 and 50–51.

193 SCHREINER, *Hanseatene og Norge*, p. 344.

criterion used for classification was the size of the stockfish and not the quality of its flesh.

This was different for herring salted in barrels. Here the merchant could control what happened when the fish was salted initially on board a herring buss or dogger, and then re-salted when the herring had been brought ashore. He could improve the taste and longevity by ensuring that the herring was salted properly. In the 16<sup>th</sup> century, urban and state authorities in the Netherlands began issuing ordinances about procedures to be followed when salting the herring. They did this to improve the reputation of herring from their home town in competition with other towns. The result was better quality for the buyer and higher profits for the merchant.

The last phase was that all towns which owned herring busses united to issue common ordinances. A barrel could be defective so that the brine leaked out and the herring then spoiled. The first common ordinances provided rules for controlling the manufacture of barrels. After 1519, all barrels had to be provided with a mark of approval, and only new barrels could be used. Originally it was permitted to salt herring using both French sea salt and Dutch peat salt. After 1584, sea salt had to be refined if it was to be used for salting herring in barrels, and unrefined salt could only be used with special permission from public controllers. Peat salt was not mentioned, as it was probably no longer used in the production of quality herring. The authorities also decreed how much salt should be used. The herring was to be arranged in the barrel in an orderly manner, and not just poured into it. Herring of the best quality had to be of a minimum size. This gradual improvement in “quality”, in the sense of longevity and taste, explains why herring and other fish that had been salted in barrels experienced more favourable price developments than stockfish in the years 1370–1600.<sup>194</sup> The quality control was partly carried out by the merchants themselves, motivated by self-interest, and partly by public authorities who wanted to improve the prosperity of their entire town.

Stockfish nevertheless held on to a certain, but diminishing, market share because it carried an advantage which herring and other fish in barrels could not compensate for. Fresh cod is reduced to 24 % of its original weight when wind-dried without salting, and it did not require heavy packaging. It was therefore easier to transport, particularly on wagons along roads to inland markets. The stockfish quality called *rotscher*, which was packed in heavy barrels, was in little demand in ports which distributed stockfish to German inland markets.<sup>195</sup>

Corresponding efforts by public authorities to improve the quality of salted fish in barrels was not carried out in England, and this may have been the reason why stockfish fetched a better price compared to salted herring in England than in Hol-

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194 BEAUJON, *Nederlandsche Zeevisscherijen*, pp. 9–11 and 39; HUB X no. 916.

195 Comments to table III.8.

land. The stockfish was of the same quality in both places, but marketable herring was of a higher quality in Holland than in England.<sup>196</sup>

To sum up section 2: In order to understand price changes for stockfish, it is necessary to put oneself in the position of the consumer. Two different developments influenced what the consumer was willing to pay for stockfish. First, there was a transition from eating grain products to consuming meat, fish and dairy products in the 14<sup>th</sup> century, then a gradual return to grain products in the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> centuries. Secondly, there was gradual transition in fish consumption from dried to salted fish in all three centuries from 1300–1600.

The first development was due to improved standards of living in the 14<sup>th</sup> century and deteriorating ones in the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup>. The second development was due to the improved quality of fish salted in barrels. Stockfish, on the other hand, remained as it had always been.

Sinking stockfish prices did not mean that it was more difficult to sell this fish, but those who bought it now came from lower classes than earlier. And Norwegian fishermen and Hansa merchants received less in return for their work.

### 3. PRODUCTION

In an analysis of stockfish production in the coastal regions north of Bergen, it is important to distinguish between fish meant to be consumed in the household of the fishermen and fish meant to be sold to merchants. The first was already important in the Stone Age<sup>197</sup> and still was in the Bronze Age<sup>198</sup> through the Iron Age.<sup>199</sup> Up to the middle of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, fish produced by the peasant households themselves was an essential part of their diet all along the coast.<sup>200</sup> But the subject of the present thesis is fishing for the export market.

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196 NEDKVITNE, *Mens Bønderne seilte*, pp. 38–39. Here Rogers' prices for England are compared to Posthumus' for Holland.

197 NEDKVITNE, *Mens Bønderne seilte*, pp. 329 and 531–534; MYHRE and MAGNUS, *Norges historie*, pp. 31–33 and 101

198 MYHRE and MAGNUS, *Norges historie*, p. 195.

199 *Ibid.*, pp. 234 and 310–312. The development in western Norway is described on pp. 282–286.

200 Cf. chapter VI.3b.

## A. FISH RESOURCES ALONG THE NORWEGIAN COAST

Hardly any country in the world has such rich fisheries so close to the shore as Norway does, with the possible exception of Japan. Peasants along the coast could catch and cure fish for their own consumption and sale using inexpensive equipment.

The main species for sale were cod and ling. The customs accounts for Ravensere in 1305–11 list 1108 tons of stockfish where the species is specified; 0.25 % of it is saithe, 17 % ling and 83 % cod.<sup>201</sup> The Hanseatic quality grades during the 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> centuries confirm that fish for sale was concentrated on cod and ling.<sup>202</sup> The Hansa merchants exported dried halibut in the Middle Ages, but it is rarely mentioned in the sources. The Kontor donated a barrel of dried halibut (*rav*) to the town councillor Hermann van Osnabrück in 1373,<sup>203</sup> Querini describes how the fishermen on Røst in Lofoten fished for halibut in 1431,<sup>204</sup> and in 1494 the Kontor negotiated with the Norwegian Council of the Realm and the *nordfar* then present in Bergen about how to improve the quality of dried halibut, among other things.<sup>205</sup> Dried halibut did not become an important export commodity until after the Reformation.<sup>206</sup> The declining prices of stockfish at that time may have encouraged fishermen and merchants to bring new products onto the market.

Ling was caught along the coast between Skudenes in the south and the North Cape. The best catches were taken along the steep slope of the Norwegian continental shelf which plunges down into the Norwegian trench (*norskerenna*), particularly at the upper edge of the slope. The shelf starts to slope at some distance from the coast, about 70 km off Sunnmøre in western Norway,<sup>207</sup> about 57 km off the Lofoten islands, and about 12 km off Andenes in the county of Nordland.<sup>208</sup> This fishery required boats of a certain size; boats with crews of six are mentioned at Møre and Hordaland in the 18<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>209</sup> These fishing journeys were not described until the 18<sup>th</sup> century, but they are known to have already taken place in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, and the possibility can't be excluded that they also occurred in the 16<sup>th</sup> century and earlier. Since these journeys illustrate the extreme limit of what the Norwegian peasant fishermen's small, open boats were able to achieve in the pre-modern period, I shall include two descriptions from the 18<sup>th</sup> century here.

201 NEDKVITNE, *Handelssjøfarten mellom Norge og England*, pp. 95–96.

202 BRUNS, *Bergenfahrer*, p. LXXIV; cf. table VI.1.

203 Cf. p. 364.

204 QUERINI, modern Italian text, p. 198 = Norwegian translation, p. 185.

205 HR III, 3, 336 §3 = NGL 2.rk. III no. 81 §3.

206 NEDKVITNE, *Mens bønderne seilte*, pp. 337–241.

207 SOLHAUG, *Norske fiskerier*, p. 239.

208 NIELSSEN, *Omfang og lokalisering*, p. 384.

209 STEFFENS, *Was ich erlebte*, p. 90; MOLBERG, *Saltvandsfiskeriene*, p. 375; NEDKVITNE, *Mens Bønderne seilte*, pp. 435–438; SOLHAUG, *Norske fiskeri.er*, p. 239.

The first is from 1742, written by a state inspector of fisheries, Christian Molberg, who joined some peasant fishermen on an ordinary fishing trip. Two boats sailed together from Runde in Sunnmøre, each with a crew of six. They sailed west to where the continental shelf ended, about 70 km from the shore.<sup>210</sup> The slope from the continental shelf started at a depth of about 140 metres, and the fishermen had equipment which enabled them to fish down to 240 metres. They used long-lines, and the catch was excellent, with fish on almost every hook. The species caught were ling, cusk (*brosme brosmé*) and halibut. Interestingly, there were six fishing vessels from Holland already at this spot which were also fishing with long-lines. The Holland fishing crew used salted herring and salted cod roe as bait, but the Norwegians had caught fresh herring the previous evening for bait and were more successful with this. Halibut was the most valuable fish, and the Norwegians brought as much of it ashore as their small boats could carry. The Norwegians sold all their ling and cusk to the fishermen from Holland, “who immediately salted it in their ships”.<sup>211</sup> Halibut seems to have been their main motive for fishing so far from the shore, which may explain why this off-shore fishery started to be exploited after the Reformation.

The second description is from 1794 and was written by the Norwegian-German romantic author and professor Heinrich Steffens. He described his voyage as an emotional and poetic experience, and was not interested in the technicalities of fishing. He sailed from an island close to Bergen in a boat crewed by six men, starting off at four o'clock in the morning. First they sailed directly west, then the wind changed and they had to tack and finally row. The fishing ground was about 6–7 *norwegische Meilen* from the island. One Norwegian mile at that time was approximately 11 km,<sup>212</sup> which means that they sailed and rowed somewhere in the region of 66–77 km from the shore. He alternatively gave the distance at more than 8 *geographische Meilen*; with one such mile equal to 7.5 km, the distance measured in this way would be more than 60 km.<sup>213</sup> This means that Steffens sailed and rowed about the same distance from his unnamed island close to Bergen as Molberg did from Runde. But since the distance from the coast to the Norwegian trench is longer at the latitude of Bergen, Steffens and his companions did not reach the trench; he wrote that they fished on a bank where the depth was 70–100 meters (2–300 *Fuss tief*). They used long-lines just like Molberg's companions, but combined this with hand-lines. When they reached the fishing ground it was evening, but they fished until night. *Mir ist die Nacht, die ich hier verlebte, unvergesslich* (The night I experienced here is unforgettable), wrote Steffens. The Nordic summer

210 The skipper of the fishing boat estimated the distance to be 16 *mil*, but there were many types of “miles” at this time.

211 MOLBERG, Saltvandsfiskeriene, p. 375; NEDKVITNE, Mens Bønderne seilte, pp. 435–436.

212 *Kulturbistorisk leksikon for nordisk middelalder*, entry word “mil”.

213 *Brockhaus Wahrig Deutsches Wörterbuch IV*, entry word “Meile”.

nights never become completely dark, and the northern horizon was red throughout the night. Sitting in a small boat with the gunwale a very short distance above the sea, the boat riding up and down on the great waves of the world ocean (*Weltmeer*), seemed frightening to Steffens. The fishermen sang a hymn, then mumbled some prayers individually, and slept under cloths, letting the boat drift. In the morning, they continued fishing for some time, then sailed back and reached their home island in the evening.<sup>214</sup>

From other sources we know that around the year 1760, the fishermen took 12–24 hours to sail from the coast of Sunnmøre near Ålesund to the Norwegian trench, and they brought a compass and food for 3–4 days. This means that they could stay out at sea for several nights if they wanted to. Some made 8–12 such journeys during a summer season.<sup>215</sup>

These journeys to the Norwegian trench were limited to certain parts of the coast and even there were unusual. The bulk of the stockfish was made from spawning cod called *skrei*. Spawning occurred close to the coast from Karmøy to Sørøya in Finnmark in February–March. The main drift of cod came to Lofoten, but there were also important fishing grounds in Møre and in Finnmark. Outside the spawning season, there were important seasonal cod fisheries in May–June in Finnmark. Archaeological excavations from fishing villages along the coasts of Møre<sup>216</sup> and northern Norway<sup>217</sup> confirm that cod and ling were the main species caught.

During certain periods, large shoals of Atlanto-Scandic herring arrive from the North Atlantic to spawn along the coast of western Norway. This resource was exploited to a limited degree in the period 1100–1600; the Norwegian herring

214 STEFFENS, *Was ich erlebte*, pp. 90–93.

215 STRØM, *Sunnmøre I*, pp. 20–21 and II, pp. 7–8 and 11; NEDKVITNE, *Mens Bønderne seilte*, pp. 436–437.

216 SULEBUST, *Borgund*, p. 273.

217 The tithes in Hadsel in the 17<sup>th</sup> century was paid on marketable fish where it was brought ashore, and the records show that cod was predominant. Of other species, ling and cusk (*brosme brosmes*) are mentioned (FOSSHEIM, *Hadsel*, p. 145). Analyses of the archaeologically excavated fish bones from the medieval waste mound of the Saurbekken farm in the municipality of Harstad shows a predominance of cod (60%, or 651 of 1085 fish bones), followed by ling (15%) and cusk (8%) (BERTELSEN; *Gårdshaugene i Harstad kommune*, p. 74). The fish bones from the medieval farm mound on the Grunnfarnes farm on the west coast of the island Senja consisted of 78% cod (718 of 921 fish bones), 11% ling, 5% halibut and 4% cusk (STAMSØ-MUNCH, *Gårdshauger i Nord-Norge*, p. 52). The excavated material has been dated to the period 1100–1600 (*ibid.*, p. 52 and table opposite p. 48). The bones of fish and animals from 7 medieval waste mounds or farm mounds in the parish of Helgøy consisted of 64% cod, and the second most prevalent fish species was ling (3%) (HOLM-OLSEN, *Helgøy*, p. 97). Vestvatn farm on the Misvær fjord, inland from Bodø, dates back to the High Middle Ages. There 81% of the fish bones were from cod (143 of 176 bones), but there was no ling or cusk (STAMSØ-MUNCH, *Eiterfjord og Vestvatn*, p. 115). This is not surprising on an inland fjord; it was a long way to the offshore fishing banks.

fisheries did not flourish until after 1730.<sup>218</sup> Non-spawning herring is found in many fjords and sounds from Ryfylke to Vesterålen and was caught for local consumption, but rarely for export.

In the period we are concerned with, 1100–1600, Norwegian commercial fishing was not limited by a lack of resources. Norwegian-Arctic cod was caught exclusively along the Norwegian coast during this period. In the years 1650–54, an average of 6000 tons of stockfish were exported from Norway, corresponding to about 27,000 tons of raw cod. Three hundred years later the cod fisheries had been industrialised, and in 1976–78 they reached their peak, with 890,000 tons of raw cod caught annually along the Norwegian coast and in the North Atlantic. The exported quantities must have been 30 times larger in the latter period.<sup>219</sup> The catches in the 1970s were definitely not sustainable, but in the pre-industrial era stocks of cod and herring which fed in the North Atlantic and spawned along the Norwegian coast were, in practice, an unlimited resource. The industrialisation of Norwegian and northern European fisheries in the 20<sup>th</sup> century brought about basic changes which made it necessary to think about fish resources in a new way.

#### B. THE FLEXIBLE PEASANT FISHERMEN

Coastal households had four main resource bases: fishing for sale, fishing for the household's own consumption, cereal growing and livestock farming. A household normally practiced all four activities. Norwegian historians call these people peasant fishermen (*fiskerbønder*).

First priority for them was to survive even in years when crops failed, so economic diversity was important. The further north they lived, the more likely it was that cereal crops would freeze before they were ripe, which would stop the ripening process and make the grain unsuitable for food. The cattle were kept in a barn all winter, where they were greatly underfed. If spring came later than usual, the cattle could die from starvation before the new grass started growing. The drifts of cod might be less abundant than usual, and then a *nordfar* would have less stockfish to deliver to his merchant in Bergen in return for grain. Fishing for the household's own consumption normally occurred a short rowing trip away from the farm and was rarely problematic. All sources of food in practice never failed the same year, and diversification protected against hardship and made sure that the family would survive a hard winter. The peasant economy functioned like a balloon: when one side was squeezed, it was possible for it to expand in another direction so that the quantity of calories would be sufficient.

Most peasant fishermen did not stay on their farms when they participated in the commercial fishing for spawning cod in February-March. They often sailed and

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218 NEDKVITNE, *Mens Bønderne seilte*, chapter 16.

219 *Ibid.*, p. 14.

rowed for several days to fishing villages, where they resided for a couple of months in fishermen's cottages which they rented or owned. They chose fishing cottages where the seasonal fisheries had been best the previous years, and permanent residences where conditions for agriculture were best. The first could change, but the latter didn't.

The seasonal fisheries took place in winter when there was little work to be done on the farm. The husband left the farm for 2–3 months each winter, and then his wife took over responsibility for the cattle and for gathering extra fodder such as seaweed. If he also took part in commercial fisheries in the spring and summer, his wife ploughed and sowed the fields, and the main responsibility for gathering winter fodder would also rest with her.<sup>220</sup> The division of labour between husband and wife was more flexible in the stockfish-producing regions than elsewhere,<sup>221</sup> and the women were always the flexible party. They carried out men's work, and not the other way round.<sup>222</sup>

Each household could choose how much labour they would expend on exploiting the different resources available to them. If peasants prepared the manure to be used on the field and protected it from rain, the quality of the manure would improve, and so would cereal crops. Cereals grow more rapidly in warm and dry soil. In wet summers, the grain crops might not ripen before the frost stopped their growth in the autumn. The field could be made drier to speed up crop growth by digging drainage ditches around the field or under the field, filled with stones. An alternative method for making the field drier was to add more top soil so that the field was elevated above the wet ground.<sup>223</sup> It was also possible to add new cornfields to the farm by reclaiming them at increasing distances from the farm houses. With regard to animal husbandry, fodder for the winter was the great problem. It could be augmented by cutting grass on small patches in the outfields further from the farm houses, by drying foliage for use in the winter, or by rowing along the shores in winter time to cut seaweed for the cattle to eat. The peasant fishermen could catch some ling and cod after the season finished in Lofoten, but this would of course require extra work.<sup>224</sup> Such changes in the order of priorities could be carried out in the long and short term.

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220 ELSTAD, *Kystkvinner*, p. 13.

221 BRATREIN, *Det tradisjonelle kjønnsrollemønster*, pp. 21–38; HELBERG, *Fiskeritekologi*, pp. 212–215. The historian Åsa Elstad has made the most thorough analyses of gender-based work in the households of pre-modern peasant fishermen. Her empirical material dates from the period 1870–1970, but the basic economic and social framework had been the same since the 14<sup>th</sup> century (ELSTAD, *Arbeidsliv*; ELSTAD, *Kystkvinner*).

222 ELSTAD, *Kystkvinner*, p. 36; cf. BRATREIN, *Det tradisjonelle kjønnsrollemønster*, pp. 33–35.

223 NEDKVITNE, *Mens Bønderne seilte*, pp. 381–391.

224 *Ibid.*, pp. 56–59 and 237–241.

The peasant fishermen combined their four resources in a way which made it possible for them to adapt flexibly to local conditions. Work patterns could shift in the short term if one of the resources failed. A long-term shift took place when the peasant fishermen started to produce stockfish for sale to Hansa merchants in Bergen during the High Middle Ages. This new element could be incorporated into the yearly routine by adding this task to the pre-existing economic and work patterns. Producing stockfish for sale increased their income in normal years and provided extra security when other resources failed.

How important was the grain bought in Bergen to the food supply of peasants in the stockfish-producing regions? Johan Schreiner thought that the coastal population would have starved if they had not received their annual supply, but much research has been done on the Norwegian coastal economies since his time.

The peasants utilised their resources differently in the north and south. It is possible to quantify this for the first time for the year 1723. A public land register (Norwegian *Matrikkel*, German *Kataster*) from then provides information about grain production and animal husbandry on every farm throughout Norway. The regional differences were obviously due to the climate and the availability of resources such as fish, fields suitable for cereal crops, meadows for winter fodder, and pastures. These differences existed during the period studied here, 1300–1600, but the proportions and percentages of each element varied over time. Table VI.7 gives an idea of the importance of grain bought in Bergen during the period under scrutiny here.

Stockfish sold in Bergen was produced in the area stretching from Sunnmøre to Finnmark. Finnmark was not included in the land register since there was very little farming there. The land register states how much food it was possible to produce on each farm. Since some farms did not exploit their capacity fully, the figures for “home-grown grain” will be maximums.<sup>225</sup> Under “Bergen grain”, figures for Trøndelag and for Møre and Romsdal are missing.

Table VI.7. Food supply available for households living on farms as entered in the 1723 land register (*matrikkel*), expressed as a percentage of a daily requirement of 2600 kcal per person

Name of region <sup>(1)</sup>	Bergen grain	Home-grown grain	Milk	Meat	Total
Tromsø	37	0	27	3	67
Senja	16	17	32	3	68
Vesterålen	25	5	33	3	66
Lofoten	39	3	32	4	78
Salten	15	22	30	3	70
Helgeland	17	31	40	4	92

<sup>225</sup> Ibid., pp. 635–637.

Name of region <sup>(1)</sup>	Bergen grain	Home-grown grain	Milk	Meat	Total
North Trøndelag coast <sup>(2)</sup>		52	39	4	95
South Trøndelag coast		50	30	3	83
Møre and Romsdal coast		42	39	4	85

Sources: NEDKVITNE, Mens Bønderne seilte, tables III.35, III.41 and IV.7 which are based on the land register from 1723. For “Bergen grain”, a taxation list called *Konvoipenger* from 1715 showing how much grain was sent northwards from Bergen that year has been used. In addition, the accounts of two Bergen merchants called Ohe and Tangen from the same period have been used. More about the original sources can be found in NEDKVITNE, Mens Bønderne seilte, chapter III endnote 416, pp. 311 and 366.

- (1) Tromsø, Senja, Vesterålen, Lofoten, Salten and Helgeland are names of administrative units (*fogderi*) from the 16<sup>th</sup> to the 18<sup>th</sup> centuries. North Trøndelag, South Trøndelag and Møre and Romsdal are names of administrative units (*fylker*) in use today.
- (2) A *fylke* is a large region where only a minority of the population lives in a coastal or maritime environment. It is therefore necessary to separate the “coast” area from the rest of a *fylke*. The smallest administrative units were the parishes and a secular unit of approximately the same size called *skipreide* or *tinglag*. I have classified as “coast” the parishes and *skipreider* which border the open sea. The choice of parish or *skipreide* depends on what the source in question uses. Cf. NEDKVITNE, Mens Bønderne seilte, chapter IV endnotes 194 and 195.

The element which varied least along the coast was livestock farming, which yielded milk and meat. In the coastal regions, next to none of these products were sold, because they were consumed by the peasants themselves. In most regions this was the main element of their food supply. Milk was consumed as skimmed sour milk, cheese and butter. The second main element in the food supply was home-grown grain. In the stockfish-producing regions the peasants did not sell their grain, since it was consumed by the peasants themselves as porridge, unleavened bread and some beer. Along most of the coast, peasants obtained more than half of their calories from the agricultural products of their own farms. The rest came from eating fish they caught themselves and grain bought in Bergen. The exceptions were the regions of Lofoten, Vesterålen, Troms and Finnmark, where less than 50 % of the food supply seems to have come from their own farms.

All along the coast up to the island of Senja, some of the grain which the peasants consumed was grown on their own farms and some was bought in Bergen. Bergen grain dominated in Lofoten, Vesterålen, Troms and Finnmark, but peasant fishermen in the populous regions of Helgeland and Salten ate more home-grown grain than Bergen grain.<sup>226</sup> For peasants living in Lofoten, Tromsø and Finnmark,

<sup>226</sup> The Norwegian agronomist Karl Fjærvoll held a low opinion of the grain production of peasants in northern Norwegian. On the basis of extant tithe registers for 1611–1694, he calculated the average production of grain per year in all of northern Norway to be 946 barrels of barley and oats (FJÆRVOLL, *Korndyrkinga*, p. 81). In 1650–54, average imports of grain into Bergen consisted of 49,766 barrels of rye grain per year; each barrel weighed 97 kilos, which means that rye imports came to 4827 tons. Added to this are imports of barley as both flour and un-milled grain of 7789 barrels, each barrel weighing 71 kilos (EDVARDSEN, *Bergen*, p. 353), so total for barley imports was 533 tons. On the weight of one barrel

grain purchased in Bergen was the single most important constituent in their food supply. All along the coast, the peasants seem to have satisfied around 40 % or more of their calorie needs from grain products. Only along the coast of Trøndelag and Møre did the coastal peasants reach this level without imports from Bergen.

What happened when Baltic grain imports failed to appear in Bergen? During the war with Holland in 1438–41, the Wendish towns stopped shipping grain to Bergen. Church institutions then received help through their ecclesiastical networks. The monastery of Munkeliv in Bergen wrote to the Bishops of Oslo, Hamar and Trondheim asking to buy grain they had received as tithes, “and we will pay its full value”.<sup>227</sup> “Because ships did not arrive in Bergen as usual, we could buy very little to keep us fed through the winter until next year’s Bergen fair”.<sup>228</sup>

The peasant fishermen lacked a similar network and had to rely on their own flexibility. Table VI.7 demonstrates that only households in Lofoten, Vesterålen and Tromsø would have had serious problems in doing this, and it was the same in Finnmark. If the calculated percentages for grain bought in Bergen in table VI.7 are translated into barrels of flour per household, this gives 6.9 barrels (635 kg) for Lofoten, 4.9 (451 kg) for Vesterålen, and 7.0 (644 kg) for Tromsø. In Finnmark in 1689, a household received from their merchant a total of 4.5 barrels (350 kg) of rye flour, barley flour and malt. Households were smaller in Finnmark.<sup>229</sup> Table VI.7 demonstrates that the consumption of imported grain products varied greatly. The inhabitants of the northernmost coastal regions were in serious trouble if Baltic grain did not arrive in Bergen.<sup>230</sup> At this time, Bergen’s 8,500 inhabitants also consumed Baltic grain.<sup>231</sup>

The last column in table VI.7 shows a calorie deficit ranging from 5 %-34 % which was mainly compensated for by eating fish. Several local officials in the 18<sup>th</sup> century described the diet of the peasant fishermen, and they largely agreed that on

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of rye and barley, cf. FJÆRVOLL, *Korndyrkinga*, p. 18. Total imports of both grain products came to 5360 tons. According to these figures, grain imports into Bergen around the year 1650 must have been 50–60 times larger than domestic production in northern Norway. A significant portion of the imports was consumed in Bergen, western Norway and Trøndelag. Fjærvoll also underestimated northern Norwegian production. The collection of tithes was inefficient, particularly in areas where production was low and the farms were scattered, which resulted in much work and little gain for the local bailiff who collected the tithes. The tithe registers stated how much grain was sown, and Fjærvoll probably underestimated the yield (FJÆRVOLL, *Korndyrkinga*, pp.72–75). The figures in table VI.7 indicate that Fjærvoll’s figures are not realistic; the sources he used underestimated significantly home-grown production of grain.

227 DN XVI nos. 115–120.

228 *Ibid.* no. 115.

229 NEDKVITNE, *Mens Bønderne seilte* table II.13, p. 126.

230 More on the importance of the Hanseatic grain supply can be found pp. 564–571.

231 The population of Bergen: FOSSEN, *Bergen*, p. 293.

a normal day they ate one meal of saithe/cod and another of salted herring. The parson in Vefsn in Helgeland wrote:

The common diet of the peasants almost every day of the week is as follows:

- At 6 for breakfast: one rusk (*kavring*) with butter or a piece of cheese
- At 10 for the second breakfast (*dugurd*): soup made of skimmed, sour milk with salted herring and unleavened bread
- At 15 for *non* (“the ninth hour”): sour milk and unleavened bread
- At 20 for supper: porridge boiled from oat flour, alternatively fish [cod/saithe/haddock].<sup>232</sup>

On Sundays, the peasants had the week’s only meal which included meat, normally meat boiled with oats. Along with this they drank full-fat sour milk. This provided them with a weekly ration of fat. By modern standards, this was a healthy diet, containing little fat and no sugar. No vegetables are mentioned, but fish contains vitamin C.

If they ate 200 grams of fish during each of the two fish meals, fish and herring would cover 27% of their daily calorie needs. Descriptions by local officials of the peasant diet, combined with the figures in table VI.7, indicate that as much as a quarter of the peasant fishermen’s calorie intake may have come from fish in normal years.<sup>233</sup> This of course varied chronologically and geographically, as did the exploitation of other resources.

Based on this information, one can conclude that Hanseatic grain, mainly eaten as unleavened bread and in some places as porridge, was important to the peasant fishermen, but its availability was not a question of life or death. The situation might have been different for specialised fishermen who lived permanently in fishing villages where there were no cornfields for cultivation.

### C. HANSEATIC GRAIN MADE NORWAY LARGER

Norway’s northern frontier has shifted over the last 2000 years. In the pre-modern period, the region<sup>234</sup> called Troms(ø) encompassed the area between the Malangen fjord and present-day Finnmark. Ca. 400–1000 AD, this was the northernmost region where Norwegian peasants lived. The climate was warmer during those centuries than in the following period, and it was possible to grow cereals in this area.<sup>235</sup> The chieftain Ottar told the English King Alfred around 890 AD that he lived the furthest north of all Norwegians, and “the little that he ploughed he ploughed with

<sup>232</sup> NEDKVITNE, *Mens Bønderne seilte*, p. 329. This was the daily fare six days a week.

<sup>233</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 531–532.

<sup>234</sup> It was both a parish and a *fogderi*.

<sup>235</sup> Cf. BRATREIN, *Karlsøy og Helgøy bygdebok*, p. 205 on the deteriorating climate.

horses' (*Pæt lytle Pæt he erede he erede mid horsan*).<sup>236</sup> If his claim is to be taken literally, he must have lived in Troms. The present municipality of Karlsøy is part of Troms, and pollen analyses taken from five farms in the area all confirm that grain was grown there before 1000 AD.<sup>237</sup>

After about 1050, the Norwegian population almost disappeared from Troms, and this situation lasted until around 1250. Only one farm has so far been shown to have been settled permanently during the period 1050–1250 – Torsvåg, on the island of Vanna, which is open to the North Atlantic.<sup>238</sup> The retreat of Norwegian settlements may have been due to a deterioration in the climate which meant that grain cultivation was no longer possible. An alternative theory points to the fact that Carelians and Russians had started to carry out frequent raids in the region from bases around the White Sea.<sup>239</sup>

An Icelandic manuscript dating from around 1200 called *Rimbegla* informs us that the frontier between Christians and pagans was the Malangen fjord.<sup>240</sup> At that time, this was the border between Norwegians and the Sámi population. But there were rich fishing grounds in Troms and Finnmark which drew Norwegians northwards from the region south of Malangen during the seasonal fisheries. The Norwegian Archbishop Eystein (1161–1188) wrote in his hagiography *Passio Olavi* that he once travelled on a visit to the frontier near the pagans (*ad confinia paganorum*). We should assume that this was just south of the Malangen fjord. There he was told a story about 24 fishing boats crewed by Norwegian fishermen who sailed or rowed northwards from the land of the Christians (*christianorum finibus elongati*) for 3–4 weeks to produce stockfish in an area where they met only pagan Sámi people. Such seasonal fishing journeys were not unusual at the time.<sup>241</sup> The Archbishop or his informants may have exaggerated the distance, so perhaps the travelling time of 3–4 weeks should not be taken literally, but if we do accept it, they could have reached the Varanger peninsula in Finnmark. But there can be no doubt that seasonal visits

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236 *Ottar og Wulfstan*, p. 22.

237 BRATREIN, Settlement and Settlement Continuity, p. 107; BRATREIN, Karlsøy og Helgøy bygdebok, p. 181.

238 BRATREIN, Karlsøy og Helgøy bygdebok, pp. 138, cf. 201–202; Anton Brøgger claimed in 1931 that a Norwegian population lived in what is now Troms parish before 1050, then withdrew southwards, but expanded back into Troms again after 1250. In 1970, Bratrein defended an alternative hypothesis, claiming that there was an ethnically Norwegian population in Troms and up to the North Cape even during the period 1050–1250 (BRATREIN, Befolkningsforhold og kirkebygging, pp. 35, 47, 48, 74 and 76). After excavations were carried out in this area in 1970, partly led by Bratrein himself, the findings led Bratrein to support Brøgger's traditional theory. In my text above, I have followed this latter view, which today is well documented.

239 BRATREIN, Karlsøy og Helgøy bygdebok, pp. 201–204.

240 BRATREIN, Befolkningsforhold og kirkebygging, pp. 34–35.

241 *Passio et Miracula Beati Olavi* 1881, pp. 112–113.

north of the Malangen fjord to produce stockfish for merchants in Bergen preceded permanent settlements there.

The chronology of the resettlement of Troms after 1250 has to rely on the dating of waste mounds, in Norwegian research commonly called farm mounds (*gårdshauger*), which are found on all medieval farms in the region. These have been examined only for the municipality of Karlsøy, which is part of Troms. Resettlement had already started in the 12<sup>th</sup> century on another two islands which were open to the North Atlantic, and the process accelerated after 1250. In the 13<sup>th</sup> century, 7 farms in Karlsøy were reclaimed, in the 14<sup>th</sup> there were 5, and in the 15<sup>th</sup> century 4.<sup>242</sup> But the Norwegian peasants who returned after 1250 did not cultivate cereals, so their farming consisted of animal husbandry only.<sup>243</sup> Exceptionally, grain was planted in Troms on a few farms, but it was highly unpredictable whether it would ripen during the short and cold summer, and the amount of home-grown grain was insignificant.<sup>244</sup> The climate seems to have grown colder between 1050 and 1250. Farming without cultivating cereals was possible after 1250 because grain could be acquired in exchange for stockfish in Bergen. Merchants from the Wendish towns started to visit Bergen regularly in the 1240s and the first winter residents settled there shortly afterwards, which meant that predictable supplies of grain products became available in Bergen. Hansa grain indirectly pushed Norway's frontier further north beyond the limit for growing cereal crops.

A saga written in about 1270 informs us that King Håkon Håkonsson (d. 1263) had the first church built in Troms, located where the town of Tromsø is today. It was a parish church and its parish was geographically enormous, comprising the entire area then called Troms. The church must have been organised like an English minster with itinerant priests, and it was given the title “royal chapel”. In this way the King “Christianised the whole parish”.<sup>245</sup> The saga author considered that the frontier for Norwegian settlements and the dominion of the Norwegian church and state had been pushed northwards from Malangen to the estuary of the Kvænangen fjord, which is the southern limit of Finnmark. In a papal letter from 1308, the church in Tromsø received the right to give indulgences. This document states that the church was near the pagans (*juxta paganos*), and it was evidently seen as a missionary church with a special duty to Christianise the Sámi population in and north of Troms.<sup>246</sup>

The fishermen continued their push northwards and settled permanently north of Troms in today's Finnmark. The first written evidence for permanent Norwegian

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242 BRATREIN, *Karlsøy og Helgøy bygdebok*, pp. 213–217.

243 *Ibid.*, p. 205.

244 NEDKVITNE, *Men.s Bønderne seilte*, p. 655.

245 *Håkonar saga Hákonarsonar*, chapter 333.

246 DN I no. 114.

habitation in Finnmark fishing villages dates from the 1380s,<sup>247</sup> but archaeological methods indicate that it was even older. In the fishing villages, an average household could keep a couple of cows and a few sheep, but they had no crop fields where the dung could be used as manure. The dung was therefore transported to a waste mound, which over the centuries could grow to a significant size. Dating the layers of a waste mound using archaeological methods can therefore also provide a starting date for permanent settlement. But there are methodological problems in dating farm mounds, since the bottom layer may have come from a seasonal settlement. Therefore the resulting dates should be taken only as indications.

Today, Loppa is the first parish in Finnmark as you sail northwards, and it enjoys relatively good conditions for animal husbandry.<sup>248</sup> On one farm, the bottom layer of the waste mound was dated to ca. 1170, but the settlement may have been seasonal during its first period of habitation.<sup>249</sup> In the former fishing village of Kirkestappen just west of the North Cape on Magerøya, the oldest remains of a settlement have been dated to the 8<sup>th</sup> century; it probably was a base for Norwegian hunters, and thus a seasonal settlement. It is not clear when settlements in this area started to become permanent, with households living from fishing and some animal husbandry.<sup>250</sup> The dating of waste mounds in the two fishing villages of Tunes and Helnes on Magerøya near the North Cape indicates that they may have hosted permanent settlements ca. 1300. But even in these cases, the bottom layer may be from a seasonal settlement.<sup>251</sup>

It is even more uncertain when eastern Finnmark (east of the North Cape and Magerøya) first had permanent Norwegian inhabitants. In 1307, Archbishop Jørund of Nidaros travelled north and east to Vardø to consecrate the first known church in Finnmark.<sup>252</sup> In 1340, a royal fortification is mentioned for the first time on Vardø (*Varghøy*, 'the wolves' island'). This fort was not new then, because we are told that it needed repairs (*umbott*).<sup>253</sup> It is a commonly held view that both the church and the fortification were built at the same time, ca. 1307, as a political, military and ecclesiastical demarcation, and for protection against Carelians (*bjar-*

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247 NGL III no. 121 = *Norske middelalderdokumenter* no. 96 = *Diplomatarium Danicum* 4.rk. II no. 486; DN I no. 496; The latter document is a charter dated August 23<sup>rd</sup> 1385. It lists for the first time private property in Finnmark (Sørvær and Honningsvåg). Seen in isolation, these properties may be interpreted as having been used by seasonal fishermen. But seen in the light of the first document, there can be no doubt that there were permanent settlements in western Finnmark at this time.

248 NEDKVITNE, *Mens Bønderne seilte*, p. 139.

249 LIND, *Yttervær på Loppa*, p. 47; TRÆDAL, *Kirkesteder i Troms og Finnmark*, p. 170.

250 HANSSEN, *Nordkapp*, pp. 32–33.

251 *Ibid.*, p. 39. The bottom layer of the waste mound in Tunes was dated to 1261–1332, in Helnes to 1297–1421.

252 *Islandske Annaler*, p. 74.

253 DN VIII no. 125.

*mer*) who at that time were raiding and plundering the coasts of Finnmark and northern Norway.

When were Norwegian fishing villages with permanent inhabitants established in eastern Finnmark between Magerøya and the new fortification in Vardø? Some historians like to think that the expansion started in western Finnmark and crept eastwards step by step, with each new fishing village lying further to the east, until in 1307 the expansion had reached Vardø. Others have considered that in 1307, Vardø was a state and church enterprise which was established deep inside a region where no Norwegians lived permanently. The purpose of building up Vardø was to establish a territorial claim, and to protect Norwegian seasonal fishing and hunting settlements from Carelians. Under this hypothesis, permanent Norwegian settlements began later.<sup>254</sup>

No written or archaeological sources for Vardø indicate that there was a permanent Norwegian settlement of fishermen there before 1450. Future excavations on the island may alter this picture.<sup>255</sup> The Norwegian settlement in Vadsø, further to the east, also seems to have its origin around 1450, probably because until then the Carelian raiders had been a serious threat.<sup>256</sup> The last raid by Carelians and Russians along the coast of northern Norway which is recorded in contemporary sources took place in 1444.<sup>257</sup> Sources available today indicate that settlements in eastern Finnmark were seasonal until about 1450.<sup>258</sup> The settlement in Vardø was military and ecclesiastical during the years 1307–1450. The church served the soldiers and was probably also a base for missions among the Sámi population. From 1520 onwards, there are registers of taxpayers in Finnmark. The population increased in all its parishes up to 1610, but the increase was strongest in the fishing villages east of the North Cape. In 1520, eastern Finnmark had 34 % of all the region's taxpaying heads of households, and in 1610 this had increased to 59 %.<sup>259</sup>

At the time of the Reformation in 1537, there seem to have been 11 local churches in Finnmark's fishing villages. Only those in Vardø and Makkaur are mentioned in written sources from before the Reformation, the latter in 1511.<sup>260</sup> Most of these churches have retained some furnishings from the Catholic period, but practically all of it dates from after about 1450.<sup>261</sup> The exceptions are Ingøy church,

254 TRÆDAL, Kirkesteder i Troms og Finnmark, p. 169; BRATREIN, Befolkningsforhold og kirkebygging, p. 36.

255 BALSVIK, Vardø, p. 20.

256 NIEMI, Vadsø, pp. 69, 74, 82 and 84.

257 BRATREIN, Karlsøy og Helgøy bygdebok, p. 235.

258 TRÆDAL, Kirkesteder i Troms og Finnmark, p. 166.

259 NEDKVITNE, Mens Bønderne seilte, p. 133; NIEMI, Vadsø, pp. 94–95 points to the same development; eastern Finnmark is defined as all parishes from Kjelvik on Magerøya to Vadsø.

260 TRÆDAL, Kirkesteder i Troms og Finnmark, p. 170; Makkaur is to the north of Vardø.

261 TRÆDAL, Kirkesteder i Troms og Finnmark, catalogue; ENGELSTAD Senmiddelalderens kunst, pp. 315–326.

which had a *pietà* dated to the 1420s, and Loppa's church which had a crucifix dated to the first half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>262</sup> If this means that these two churches are among the oldest, it is perhaps no coincidence that both are located in western Finnmark.

Western Finnmark up to the North Cape seems to have hosted permanent settlements from about 1250/1300 onwards. There were better conditions for animal husbandry in this area, and possibly the Carelian raids were brought under control earlier in this area by the strong Norwegian state of the High Middle Ages. Eastern Finnmark between Magerøya and Vadsø seems to have had permanent settlements after about 1450.<sup>263</sup> After 1600, Norwegian settlements expanded further beyond Vadsø into the Varanger fjord.<sup>264</sup> The Norwegian expansion into Finnmark was due to the economic presence of the Hansa in Bergen and the political presence of the Norwegian state in the north.

I have considered settlements to be permanent if people lived there all year round, and a household which kept domestic animals had to reside at the same place for a longer period. They nevertheless moved more often than households did in other parts of Norway. In correspondence with the Pope in 1488, the Archbishop of Nidaros wrote that there were no permanent parishes in Finnmark because people moved so often. Instead, they paid their tithes to the Archbishop, who provided the churches in the fishing villages with chaplains. "The inhabitants of Finnmark are mostly fishermen who live now in one place, now in another. Where they live depends on the fisheries."<sup>265</sup>

Archbishop Valkendorf, who visited Finnmark in 1512, was more precise. Many heads of households settled in Finnmark for a few years with their family before returning home.<sup>266</sup> The purpose was evidently to save some money, and the fish prices at that time were favourable. The picture is the same a century later. In 1601, 574 heads of households paid their taxes in Finnmark, but four years earlier only 57% of them had lived in the same parish.<sup>267</sup> There was no right to own land privately in the fishing villages in Finnmark,<sup>268</sup> which made it easy to move from one village to another where the fishing was better. Many residents were probably young couples who were waiting for their parents to become old enough to relinquish the

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262 ENGELSTAD, *Senmiddelalderens kunst*, p. 317; TRÆDAL, *Kirkesteder i Troms og Finnmark*, p. 170. The datings have been based on the style of the objects.

263 Cf. NIEMI, *Vadsø*, p. 69.

264 NIEMI, *Vadsø*, p. 100.

265 DN XVII no. 746.

266 VALKENDORF, *Finnmark*, p. 7.

267 NEDKVITNE, *Mens Bønderne seilte*, pp. 147–148. I have counted both the heads of households with a family, and households which consisted of one person who earned his living as a servant. In practice, the latter were wage earners working in the fisheries and were listed in the *selvfostringer* tax registers.

268 NEDKVITNE, *Mens Bønderne seilte*, pp. 134–136.

farm back home to the next generation. They needed cash to buy the farm, domestic animals and other farm equipment. When they had acquired the farm, the family could continue working as peasant fishermen further south.

Many newly-weds further south did not inherit land. Before the Black Death, the only choice open to many of them had been to start the demanding task of reclaiming land, which would provide a lower living standard than they were used to at home. Hansa merchants made it possible for people to live in a fishing village in Finnmark or elsewhere and exchange fish for grain products in Bergen on a predictable and long-term basis. They could live permanently in fishing villages which had formerly seen only seasonal occupation. Even after the Black Death, when there were many deserted farms around, it could be more attractive to settle in a fishing village and sell stockfish to Hansa merchants.

The political centre of Norway in the heyday of the Hansa (1300–1600) lay in the Oslofjord region, which had a rich agricultural hinterland stretching from the present day *fylker* of Vestfold and Østfold in the south to the area around Lake Mjøsa in the North. The political elite with the closest contacts abroad lived there. Politically, eastern Norway was most strongly integrated into Europe, while economically it was northern Norway and Bergen. In the Late Middle Ages, the eastern Norwegian centre gradually more or less lost contact with the westernmost parts of the realm: Orkney, Shetland, the Faeroes, Iceland and Greenland. This could also have happened to parts of northern Norway, since “Carelians and Russians” kept up their pressure there until about 1450. Instead, there was a northwards push. The state and church officials would not have been able to extend the frontier north and east without the northward migration of fishermen who were economically integrated into western Europe. Economic ties to Europe were translated into political ties. Hanseatic grain extended the resource base of each household, and it made Norway expand northwards.

#### D. LATE MEDIEVAL FISHING COMMUNITIES – THE FIRST CIRCLE OF PARADISE?

In 1431, the Venetian merchant and nobleman Piero Querini left Crete as the captain of a caravel (*caravella*)<sup>269</sup> bound for Flanders with a cargo of wine. The caravel was among the largest sailing vessels used by Italian merchants, but despite this the ship was driven by strong gales north-westwards and was wrecked and sank to the west of Ireland. The crew boarded their lifeboats on the 18<sup>th</sup> of December and were tossed around in the North Atlantic until one of the boats drifted ashore on the 6<sup>th</sup> of January 1532 on an uninhabited island in the parish of Røst in Lofoten. There they were found by local inhabitants on the 3<sup>rd</sup> of February. The caravel had had a crew of 68, but only 11 had survived. They were taken into the households of the

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269 QUERINI, modern Italian text, p. 193.

peasant fishermen, where they lived until the 14<sup>th</sup> of May, when they began their return voyage via Trondheim.<sup>270</sup> Two narratives were written about this dramatic event, one by Querini himself, the other by two members of the crew, the first of them called Cristoforo Fioravante.<sup>271</sup>

Fioravante compared the shipwreck, the stay on the uninhabited island where several died, and their final salvation on Røst to a journey through purgatory to the first circle of paradise. “We can say truly that from the 3<sup>rd</sup> of February to the 14<sup>th</sup> of May, that is for 101 days, we lived in the first circle of Paradise, and we want to confirm this to the disgrace and embarrassment of our Italian lands.”<sup>272</sup>

The Venetians described the people on Røst and their way of life in a very positive manner; nothing negative is said about them in these narratives. This may partly be due to the authors having been saved, which they evidently saw as the result of divine protection, with the people on Røst serving as God’s instruments. But they lived among the peasant fishermen for 3–4 months and gave concrete reasons for their positive evaluation, and their descriptions correspond to what we know from other sources. Only one person ended up as the target of Querini’s fury – the parson, who was a German Dominican. He forced Querini to pay for his own and the crew’s stay by demanding that he hand over the silverware which he had salvaged from the shipwreck. Most of it disappeared into the priest’s own pocket, according to Querini, who calls him “the evil friar (*il malvagio frate*)”.<sup>273</sup>

The 120 people on Røst<sup>274</sup> evidently had no problem providing food for these 11 additional people. “The said fish ... is what they barter for things which are useful for them, because, as I have said already, nothing sprouts where they live” (*detto pesce... baratano in cose a lor necessarie, perché, come ho detto, niente vi nasce dove è la loro habitatione*).<sup>275</sup> This must mean that there were no cornfields on Røst, because he describes how cows were pastured there. A land register from 1723 shows that at that time there was a negligible crop of grain on Røst, about 40 kilos per household per year.<sup>276</sup> It is perfectly possible that the peasant fishermen on Røst did not grow any grain at all when the prices for stockfish were at their highest in the decades around 1432. Large ships arrived in Bergen “with cargoes of all kinds of

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270 QUERINI, modern Italian text, p. 198; FIORAVANTE, modern Italian text, p. 221.

271 Both Querini’s and Fioravante’s narratives have been published in Norwegian translations and were paraphrased in modern Italian by Helge Wold in 2004. The two original texts in Italian were edited by Ramusio in Venice in 1583; when quoting in Italian, I have used the latter.

272 FIORAVANTE, modern Italian text, p. 220 = Norwegian translation, p. 211.

273 QUERINI, original text, text fol 204r.

274 FIORAVANTE, modern Italian text, p. 220 = Norwegian translation, p. 210.

275 QUERINI, original text, fol 203d = QUERINI, modern Italian text, p. 198.

276 NEDKVITNE, Mens Bønderne seilte, p. 654; cf. table VI.7 in this chapter.

things which sprout (*tutte le cose che nascono*) from Germany, England, Scotland and Prussia. From this they get food and clothing.”<sup>277</sup>

Every household had 4–6 cows which produced food for their own consumption (*per sostentamento della sua brigata*). The Venetians were served large quantities of fish, butter and occasionally meat, in addition to unleavened bread made from imported rye. With this they drank fresh milk. Even a fastidious Venetian aristocrat found this food palatable: “We could never get enough of this food, and truly if it had not been so digestible, we would have died from overeating (*Ne mai ci potevamo satiare, et veramente se i detti cibi non fussero stati di natura lubrici, noi eravamo morti dal soverchio mangiare*).”<sup>278</sup>

The Italians arrived on the 3<sup>rd</sup> of February, which was at the start of the seasonal fisheries for spawning cod in Lofoten. “Almost every second day our host and his oldest sons rose to go fishing, at the time of night when it was most pleasant to sleep, and they did not return until at least eight hours later” (... *nostro hostiero con li figliuoli maggiori si levavano per andar a pescare quasi nella piu dilettevole hora del dormire, ... non tornando a casa per minor spatio che di ore otto*).<sup>279</sup> The Italians were found on the uninhabited island by a boy of sixteen and his brother; this was on a Friday, and all the adults had left to fish elsewhere. The fishermen did not return home until Sunday, and not until then could six boats be sent to rescue the shipwrecked Italians. The men on Røst sometimes used their farmhouses as a base for fishing, and sometimes fished from other villages if catches were better there.<sup>280</sup>

The peasant fishermen could also afford to drink German beer brewed from rye malt: “They also use beer, which is wine made from rye (*usano anche cervosa, cio è vino cavato di segala*).”<sup>281</sup> Venice was situated in Europe’s wine region, and beer was something exotic for them! There was also enough room in their budgets to buy luxurious cloth to make special clothing; on solemn occasions such as funerals, a widow would hold a banquet for her neighbours, “... who wear clothes according to their custom and financial condition, sumptuous and rich clothes (... *quali apparecchiansi secondo il lor costume et potere con suntuose et ricche veste*).”<sup>282</sup> Some of the cloth was imported: “They use clothes made of thick woollen cloth coming from London and other places, but almost never skins” (*Usano panni di lana grossi di Londra et d’altri luoghi, et non usano pelle se non poche*).<sup>283</sup> This information was

277 QUERINI, original text, fol 203d = QUERINI, modern Italian text, p. 198.

278 QUERINI, original text, fol 204r = QUERINI, modern Italian text, p. 199.

279 FIORAVANTE, original text, fol 210r = modern Italian text, p. 220 = Norwegian translation, p. 211.

280 QUERINI, modern Italian text, p. 197 = Norwegian translation, p. 185; FIORAVANTE, modern Italian text, p. 220 = Norwegian translation, p. 211.

281 FIORAVANTE, original text, fol 209d = modern Italian text, p. 220 = Norwegian translation, p. 210.

282 QUERINI, original text, fol 203d = modern Italian text, p. 198.

283 QUERINI, original text, fol 204r = modern Italian text, p. 198.

meant to inform readers in Venice that the inhabitants of Røst were part of European civilization – they did not run around in skins and hides made from domestic and wild animals!

Querini's involuntary visit to Røst took place in the first century after the Black Death, and at that time the stockfish-producing regions prospered because stockfish prices had increased.<sup>284</sup> We cannot measure how much of this surplus benefitted the Hansa merchants and how much the fishermen, but both profited.

Before about 1700, hand-lines were used almost universally in the seasonal fisheries for spawning cod.<sup>285</sup> In 1591, the bailiff in Lofoten wrote that in an average season, a man could catch 720–1320 cod.<sup>286</sup> The official statistics for the years 1861–1890 are divided into five-year periods, and the average catch per fisherman during this period varied from 723 to 1080 fish for a season in Lofoten.<sup>287</sup> The figures indicate that a fisherman's average catch was about 950 fish in a normal season in Lofoten using a hand-line.

Table VI.1 shows that the average weight of one stockfish at that time was 0.566 kg fully dried.<sup>288</sup> Later data from the pre-modern period confirm that this figure is representative for the spawning cod fisheries.<sup>289</sup> I have chosen to use the weight calculated for the Hanseatic lotfish from 1383 as an average, since that is the oldest information we have. An average fishing season in Lofoten resulted in 950 stockfish of about 0.566 kg each, which works out as 536 kilos (29 *våger*).

From this, the fisherman had to pay his tithe, which cannot be quantified until after the Reformation, when it was 9 of every 120 fish (7.5 %) in most districts.<sup>290</sup> A fisherman had to relinquish 10 % of his exports to pay for his stockfish to be freighted from the fishing village to Bergen.<sup>291</sup> This reduced his saleable volume by

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284 Table VI.2.

285 NEDKVITNE, *Mens Bønderne seilte*, pp. 71–77 and 235.

286 SCHØNNEBØL, Lofoten, p. 202. He says 6–11 hundred; I have assumed that he means large hundreds.

287 HELLAND, *Norges land og folk*, p. 46, cf. p. 52.

288 Table VI.1.

289 Cf. pp. 499–500.

290 *Kulturhistorisk leksikon for nordisk middelalder*, entry word “Tiende”; *Norsk økonomisk historie*, p. 37; NEDKVITNE, *Mens Bønderne seilte*, p. 618.

291 KIIL, *Nordlandshandelen*, pp. 139 and 141. A fisherman normally sent his fish production to his merchant in Bergen on a *jekt*. He then had to pay the skipper, who normally owned the *jekt*, 5 % for freight charges (table V.7 note 2). Neighbours took turns travelling on the *jekt* to Bergen with their own fish and that of a limited number of neighbours. It was the responsibility of the man who travelled with the goods that the fish was not damaged during the journey, that it was handed over to the right merchant in Bergen, that he received the right types of goods in return and a receipt which had to be delivered to the owner of the fish back home. For all this, the fisherman who travelled to Bergen had the right to collect a fee called the *føring* from the fishermen he represented of 5 %.

17.5 % to 442 kilos (24 *våger*). In 1834, the parson of Rana in Helgeland described 462 kilos (25 *våger*) as a “good” result for a season in Lofoten, and said that it was a “great” season when more was produced and a “poor” one when the quantity was less.<sup>292</sup> This was the amount left after compulsory expenses had been paid.<sup>293</sup>

Two fishermen in 1447 received goods from a Bergen winter resident worth 11 large hundreds plus 8 stockfish, corresponding to 747 kg, or 374 kg per fisherman.<sup>294</sup> One of them had delivered 407 kg of stockfish to the winter resident,<sup>295</sup> but how much the other delivered is unknown. This corresponds well with the figures above for one man’s stockfish production after expenses.<sup>296</sup> In this book, I have considered 442 kg (24 *våger*) of stockfish to be the normal result of an average fishing season in Lofoten for one man.

An average coastal household seems to have consumed about 40 % of their calories in the form of grain products, which corresponded to around 600 kg of flour per household of 6 people. This was a combination of imported grain purchased in Bergen and home-grown grain.<sup>297</sup>

Around the year 1300, a peasant fisherman had to give about 300 kg of stockfish in return for 600 kg of Hanseatic rye flour.<sup>298</sup> Since the quantity of marketable stockfish after an average season in Lofoten was about 442 kg, he would still have in the region of 142 kg of stockfish available for other purchases after paying for the flour and the expenses mentioned above. But in most regions the peasant fishermen did not need to buy that much flour, because they had cornfields of varying size.<sup>299</sup> This exchange ratio of stockfish to flour may have tempted a few peasants to settle permanently in fishing villages in western Finnmark already in the years 1250–1350.

After the Black Death, stockfish prices rose considerably, and now the fishermen could get 600kg of rye flour for 100 kg of stockfish on the open market in Bergen.<sup>300</sup> This meant that a peasant fisherman now needed only 100 kg of stockfish to provide his household with a normal year’s supply of rye flour. Many of them started to pay both the permanent state taxes (*leidang*) and land rent in stockfish.<sup>301</sup>

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292 HELTZEN, Ranens beskrivelse, p. 259.

293 Figures from the poor years 1664–1720 indicate that the annual production per fisherman could decline to 15–20 *våger* after the tithe had been paid, cf. NEDKVITNE, Mens Bønderne seilte, pp. 231–232.

294 Table VI.1, one hundred = 67.9 kilos.

295 Six hundreds at 67.9 kilos each.

296 HR II, 3, 309 §22 = DN XVI no. 161.

297 Table VI.7.

298 Table VI.2.

299 Table VI.7.

300 Table VI.2.

301 SANDNES, Ødetid og gjenreisning, p. 200.

In the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries, the highest *leidang* rate in northern Norway was 18.5 kilos (1 *våg*) of stockfish,<sup>302</sup> and the rate was probably the same in the Late Middle Ages. The land rent for an average farm in northern Norway in the 17<sup>th</sup> century was about 12 kg ( $\frac{3}{4}$  *våg*) of stockfish, and land rents were also probably similar in the Late Middle Ages.<sup>303</sup> Adding their taxes and land rents together gives 30 kg ( $1\frac{3}{4}$  *våg*) of stockfish. Necessary and constant expenditures on rye flour, taxes and land rents amounted to a maximum of 130 kg of stockfish (100 + 30) a year. This left the peasant fisherman with about 312 kg of stockfish (442–130) which could be used for other purposes. Extra taxes could be heavy; the highest of them was “the tenth penny tax” from 1520, which amount on average to 110 kg (6 *våger*) of stockfish in Finnmark and 60–70 kg (4 *våger*) in Lofoten and Vesterålen. Before 1513, extra taxes were rare.<sup>304</sup>

This meant that they had stockfish left to exchange for commodities which could be called luxuries, at least by peasants, the most important being German beer and imported cloth. The price of one barrel of German beer on the open market in Bergen is not stated in the available sources, but around the year 1400 its value seems to have corresponded to about 17 kg of stockfish.<sup>305</sup> The Hansa’s customers in Norway appreciated this luxury; in 1577/8, beer accounted for 57% of the grain products imported into Bergen as measured in lasts, and only 37% was flour.<sup>306</sup>

In the years 1432–1463, the Hansa exported cloth from England as “broadcloth” measuring 2 x 24 yards (1.8 x 22 metres), each piece being worth £2 when bought in an English port.<sup>307</sup> In Bergen the fishermen peasants had to pay more, and an educated guess would be around £3 for a broadcloth. A large hundred of stockfish (67.9 kg) in Bergen in the 1430s cost about  $\frac{3}{4}$  English pounds,<sup>308</sup> which means that £3 had the same value as four hundred stockfish (272 kg).<sup>309</sup> Foreign cloth was expensive, and buying one broadcloth would require most of the stockfish which the peasant fisherman had left after his necessary purchases of grain and pay-

302 STEINNES, *Gamal skatteskipnad*, pp. 192–193.

303 KNUDSEN, *Askvoll*, p. 233.

304 NEDKVITNE, *Mens Bønderne seilte*, p. 157.

305 One last of beer cost 10 marks in Lübeck in 1398–1400, and one last of rye flour cost 11 marks (table II.8). One last contained 12 barrels of beer, or 12 ship-pounds (at 136 kg) of rye flour (appendix VIII table 18 note 3). This means that one barrel cost a bit less than 136 kilos of rye flour. The exchange ratio in Bergen between rye flour and fish was about 7.3 during this period (table VI.2), which means that one barrel of German beer could be bought on the open market in Bergen for less than 19 kg stockfish ( $136 \div 7.3$ ), or about 17 kg of stockfish.

306 Table III.3.

307 GRAY, *Foreign Trade*, p. 9. His source was “Ulnagers’ Accounts”.

308 Appendix VIII table 11 note 3.

309 One English pound = 20 shillings. The value of one broadcloth = £3 = 60 shillings. Since a hundred of stockfish cost 15 shillings, the value of one broadcloth corresponded to the value of 4 large hundreds of stockfish, which weighed 272 kg ( $67.9 \times 4$ ).

ment of taxes and rent. But 40 square metres is a great deal of cloth, and years must have passed between occasions when he purchased a broadcloth.

Querini's description and our calculations both confirm that the stockfish-producing region was an economically attractive place to live in the Late Middle Ages.

The tax collectors were in no doubt that the coastal peasants who took part in commercial fisheries could better afford to pay extra taxes than those living in the fjords and inland regions. In 1520, Christian II imposed a property tax which was to be assessed at 10% of the taxpayer's property. The highest taxes were paid in Finnmark with an average of 9 marks, in Senja 7.4 marks, in Lofoten and Vesterålen 6 marks. These districts had in common outstandingly good access to fishing, but conditions for agriculture were poor or mediocre. The region around the Trondheim fjord had much better agricultural land but poor access to fishing, and they only paid 3 marks in property tax. In the administrative region of Namdalen in Trøndelag, the 150 peasants living nearest the coast paid on average 6 marks, while the 101 peasants living furthest away from the coast were taxed only 3 marks.<sup>310</sup> This pattern is repeated in all districts north of Bergen. Many extra taxes were imposed in the 16<sup>th</sup> century, and before 1574 the norm was that peasants living near the sea (*til sjøs*) paid double what inland farmers paid.<sup>311</sup>

Even stronger evidence is provided by changes in settlement patterns during the Late Middle Ages, because they indicate the peasants' own preferences. After the Black Death in 1349, population density fell drastically in coastal Norway, as it did everywhere else in Western Europe. A large Scandinavian project carried out between 1969 and 1978 tried to map how many farms were deserted in this period. In most coastal regions which were analysed, 40–70% of all farms seem to have been uninhabited when the population was at its lowest point.<sup>312</sup> The peasants in the Late Middle Ages could choose among many available farms, and their choice reveals their preferences. In our context, the main point is how the peasant fisher-

310 SANDNES, Mannedauden, p. 210.

311 SANDNES, Ødegårdstid i Norge, p. 151.

312 In Norway, a distinction is made between a farm which has its own name (*navnegård*) and the number of households which lived on this farm. In most cases, the sources make it impossible to count how many households there were on a farm, but it is often possible to discover whether a farm was inhabited. The percentages therefore refer to the reduction in the number of inhabited farms with names of their own, and not the reduction in the number of households. The percentages of deserted farms in the analysed districts along the coast north of Bergen were: Askvoll 53% (KNUDSEN, Askvoll, p. 260), Borgund 64% (SULEBUST, Borgund, pp. 332 and 278), Fosen 55% (SANDNES, Ødetid og gjenreisning, p. 156), Namdalen 66% (ibid. p. 158), Meløy 43% (ELLINGSEN, Meløy, p. 112), Gildeskål-Beiarn 65% (HOLTET, Gildeskål og Beiarn, p. 43), Salten fjerding 60% (AAR-SÆTHER, MA-thesis, p. 114), Steigen 44% (STENSLAND, Steigen, p. 131), Vestvågøy 80% (NIELSSEN, Omfang og lokalisering, p. 364) and Hadsel 68% (FOSSHEIM, Hadsel, p. 125).

men balanced the possibilities for commercial fishing against conditions for farming.

Before the year 1100 commercial fisheries did not exist, and most of a household's food resources came from their own farming and fishing. In all coastal regions north of Bergen, modest quantities of fish can be caught from most locations. In fjords or inland districts where the access to fishing is problematic, it was not difficult to obtain fish for one's own consumption by bartering timber or other goods for it. During this early period, there would normally be no reason to worry about the availability of fish when choosing the location of a new settlement. In northern Norway and most places in western Norway, the best conditions for agriculture are found along the coast.<sup>313</sup> The first agricultural settlements in the Neolithic period and the following epochs lie along the coast, and those along the large fjords are few and scattered.<sup>314</sup> We have to wait until the Viking Age and High Middle Ages (ca. 800–1350) to find agricultural settlements spreading into the smaller fjords and inland valleys.<sup>315</sup> The good agricultural land had been taken along the coast by that time, and the increasing population made it necessary to cultivate land and locate farms further inland.

After the Black Death, geographic comparisons of deserted farms confirm that fishing for a household's own consumption still did not determine where people preferred to settle.<sup>316</sup> Neither did participation in commercial fisheries, which took place from villages visited only during the fishing season. Settlement patterns were mainly determined by farming.<sup>317</sup>

But this conclusion is only valid for peasant fishermen, that is, for people who lived in a region where both agriculture and commercial fishing were essential to a household's economy. Some fjords and inland valleys lacked a maritime tradition. It was theoretically possible that individuals from these areas could travel to seasonal fishing villages in the winter, but lack of experience and equipment may have held them back. Such districts became less attractive in the Late Middle Ages because commercial fisheries had become so profitable by then.

Some of the regions analysed include areas which had a peasant fisherman economy and others which did not. The part of Namdalen in Trøndelag closest to the sea (*Nærøy parish*) increased its share of farms in Namdalen from 38% in 1330 to 43% in 1520. In the administrative region of Fosen, also in Trøndelag, the area closest to

313 SANDNES, *Ødegårdstid i Norge*, pp. 89 and 152; AARSÆTHER, *Værmenn*, p. 408.

314 MYHRE and MAGNUS, *Norges historie*, pp. 194–198, 310–311 and p. 417; LILLEHAMMER, *Norges historie*, pp. 80 and 88.

315 SIMONSEN, *Bygdesentrum og utvær*, p. 181.

316 STENSLAND, *Steigen*, pp. 156–157 and 160; NIELSSEN, *Omfang og lokalisering*, pp. 392–393; FOSSHEIM, *Hadsel*, p. 159.

317 SULEBUST, *Borgund*, pp. 319–320; ELLINGSEN, *Meløy*, p. 120; STENSLAND, *Steigen*, pp. 156–157 and 160; NIELSSEN, *Omfang og lokalisering*, pp. 392–393; FOSSHEIM, *Hadsel*, p. 159.

the sea increased its share of farms from 44 % to 57 % over the same period, even though the conditions for agriculture there were far worse than in the inland part of the region.<sup>318</sup> The historian Jørn Sandnes, who wrote the analyses for Trøndelag, found that the reason for this shift was the fact that stockfish production for the Hansa in Bergen had become a mainstay in the economy of coastal Trøndelag by the end of that period.<sup>319</sup> Farms where people could not participate in this new source of prosperity were more likely to be abandoned.

In northern Norway, few rural communities found it difficult to participate in commercial fisheries. The only such communities to have been analysed are those situated east and south of present-day Bodø. In the tributary Beiar fjord and the Beiar valley, grain was grown in 700 BC;<sup>320</sup> there are 24 barrows registered from the Iron Age (500 BC–1000 AD), and there are 14 finds from the Viking Age (800 AD–1000 AD).<sup>321</sup> Twenty-two farms there hosted one or several households in the High Middle Ages, and all were deserted in the Late Middle Ages.<sup>322</sup> A 2000-year-old agricultural tradition had disappeared. The Beiar fjord was frozen in winter time, so it was problematic for inhabitants to take part in the important seasonal cod fisheries in January–March.<sup>323</sup> The fjord was narrow and was far from good fishing grounds and shipping lanes. The maritime culture must have been weaker there than in most other parts of northern Norway. Before the commercial cod fisheries became so attractive in the Late Middle Ages, this could be compensated for by comparatively good conditions for agriculture there. After the Black Death, the disadvantages of the settlements along the Beiar fjord became more serious. Rumours about a “terrestrial paradise” along the coast seem to have drawn all surviving households out of this fjord. Along the fjord system inland from Bodø (Skjerstadfjorden, Saltdalsfjorden and Misvær fjorden), there were 29 farms dating from the High Middle Ages which had difficult access to the sea. Of these, 26 or perhaps 27 were deserted in the Late Middle Ages.<sup>324</sup>

The conclusion must be that the communities where agriculture and commercial fisheries could be combined were considered attractive places to live in the Late Middle Ages by state authorities, Italian visitors and the peasant fishermen themselves. Calculations based on stockfish prices make this clear. Inhabitants of these settlements were privileged enough to be able to purchase rye flour, German beer, luxury cloth and other imported goods “which it was better to have than to miss” at prices they could afford. Many households in regions where participation in commercial stockfish production was problematic moved to more favoured settlements

318 SANDNES, *Ødetid og gjenreisning*, p. 199.

319 SANDNES, *Ødetid og gjenreisning*, p. 201; SANDNES, *Ødegårdstid i Norge*, p. 86.

320 HOLTET, *Gildeskål og Beiar*, p. 10.

321 SIMONSEN, *Bygdesentrum og utvær*, pp. 187–188.

322 HOLTET, *Gildeskål og Beiar*, p. 41.

323 *Ibid.*, p. 44.

324 AARSÆTHER, *Bosetningsutviklinga*, pp. 406–407. The 29 farms are Aarsæther's zone 5.

along the coast. This prosperity of communities along the coast was possible because they traded with Hansa merchants in Bergen. There is consensus today among Norwegian historians on this point.

If a fisherman settled permanently in a fishing village with his household and fished all year, his income from his commercial production would increase, but he would then have to buy all his grain, and all or most of his meat and dairy products, timber and everyday woollen clothes (*wadmål*) etc. Despite these extra expenses, in the Late Middle Ages it was not difficult to support a household on fishing alone.<sup>325</sup>

As mentioned above, the establishment of new fishing villages in Finnmark through a push northwards and eastwards seems to have stopped at the North Cape at the beginning of the 14<sup>th</sup> century. This was possibly due to the raids by Carelians along the coast. After about 1450 these raids seem to have stopped, and the expansion continued eastwards to the Varanger fjord.<sup>326</sup> This establishment of fishing villages with permanent inhabitants in Finnmark was part of a wider development in the stockfish-producing regions.

Table VI.8 below lists the main fishing villages with permanent inhabitants in the 16<sup>th</sup> century. Since households living permanently in fishing villages could keep a few cows and sheep, it is necessary to demarcate the difference between a fishing village and a farm. A settlement is considered to be a fishing village if the inhabitants did not sow grain but instead exchanged fish for grain. Their commercial fishing mainly took place where they lived permanently.

The people on Røst, according to Querini, did not grow grain in 1432, even though limited cereal cultivation was possible and was practiced 300 years later when grain was more expensive. Each farmer had 4–6 cows which provided milk and some meat for his family. A public land register from 1723 puts the average number of cows per household at three. It is possible that Querini's memory was not accurate, or the Italians may have lodged with the wealthiest families on the largest farms, or animal husbandry may in fact have been a more important pursuit in 1432 when no grain was grown on Røst. They fished for cod commercially mainly from Røst, although they also could fish from neighbouring islands when the fishing was better there.<sup>327</sup> According to our definition, in 1432 Røst was a fishing village with permanent inhabitants.

Practically all fishing villages listed in table VI.8 were located from the Romsdal fjord northwards, which was where almost all stockfish was produced. The only exception was Bulandet, which is situated further south in Sunnfjord. In 1520, 15 taxpayers lived in Bulandet on several islands close to each other. No grain was grown there, although limited animal husbandry was possible, and the inhabitants

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325 NEDKVITNE, *Mens Bønderne seilte*, pp. 132–143.

326 Cf. p. 544.

327 Cf. above in this section.

participated in commercial cod fishing from the islands. On the mainland, there were a large number of deserted farms at that time, but the 15 households preferred Bulandet because of the possibilities for commercial fishing and stockfish production. I have included Bulandet among the fishing villages with permanent inhabitants even though it – and Røst – are borderline cases.<sup>328</sup>

Table VI.8. Taxpayers in fishing villages with permanent inhabitants in the 16<sup>th</sup> century

Name of fishing village ( <i>vær</i> )	Number of taxpayers	Source
Bulandet	15 (1520)	KNUDSEN, Askv., pp. 210–214
Bud	66 "	JOHNSEN, Kristiansund, p. 43
Ona	16 "	"
Grip	48 "	"
Odden	14 "	"
Brattvær	13 "	"
Veidholmen	26 "	"
Titran	14 "	SANDNES, Ødetid, p. 199
Sula	12 "	"
Utvorda in Flatanger	7 "	SANDNES, Namdalen, p. 318
Oksbåsen	7 (1559)	"
Fleinvær	11 (1520)	HOLTET, Gildeskål og Beiarn, p. 68; NRJ III, pp. 206–207
Skrova	13 (1520)	LINDBEKK, Lofoten, p. 269
Røst and Værøy	45 "	DYBDAHL, Tiendepen., p. 306
Valle	15 (1567)	AARSÆTHER, Værm., p. 413
Andenes fishing village	58 "	LINDBEKK, Lofoten, p. 11
Bleik	17 "	AARSÆTHER, Værm., p. 413
Gryllefjord	18 "	"
Torsken	14 "	"
Berg	26 "	"
Mefjord	16 "	"
Øyfjord	25 "	"
Baltestad	13 "	"
all fishing villages in Finnmark	358 (1520)	DYBDAHL, Tiend., pp. 308–309
	total 867	

Sources: "The tenth penny tax" from 1520, published in NRJ. For the administrative regions (*len*) of Senja and Troms, the tax registers are organised in a way which makes it impossible to know in which village a taxpayer lived (DYBDAHL, *Bosetning og folketall*, pp. 306–307); therefore, the tax registers for the *leidang* tax in 1567 have been used. For some fishing villages, e.g. Langenes in Vesterålen, no roll of taxpayers exists from the 16<sup>th</sup> century, so they have to be excluded. Therefore 867 is the minimum number of taxpayers who lived in fishing villages. Each taxpayer should be considered the head of a household.

328 KNUDSEN, Askvoll, pp. 210–216 and 243.

The household of a north Norwegian peasant fisherman in 1701 had on average six members.<sup>329</sup> The average household in a fishing village in Finnmark at that time had 4.3 members. The decades around 1700 were a period of crisis in the fisheries, and one should assume that the households in the Finnmark fishing villages were larger in the 16<sup>th</sup> century, because they had a higher number of servants.<sup>330</sup> Five people per household may be a reasonable estimate not only for the Finnmark fishing villages but also for the average size of all households in fishing villages along the coast. If the number of taxpayers in table VI.8 is multiplied by five, many of these villages must have been almost urban areas, with 200–300 inhabitants.<sup>331</sup> All in all, about 900 taxpayers and 4000–5000 people lived permanently in fishing villages at this time.<sup>332</sup>

In the administrative region of Troms and in western Finnmark, there were fishing villages with permanent habitation before the Black Death. It is a commonly held opinion that the emergence of permanently settled fishing villages along the southernmost part of the coast between Bulandet and Oksbåsen started after the Black Death.<sup>333</sup> Some fishing villages may have become permanent settlements after Baltic grain became available in Bergen around 1250, while others did so when the price of stockfish improved after about 1350. The dating has to be examined for each settlement, since much depends on the possibility of keeping livestock. But there is no doubt that the Late Middle Ages saw the most intense transformation of seasonal fishing villages into permanent household settlements.

Between about 1350 and 1520, a large number of farms were abandoned all along the Norwegian coast and became available for new tenants at substantially reduced rents. Those who survived the Black Death could have chosen a life of subsistence farming, produced their own grain, brewed their own beer, worn clothes made from the wool of their own sheep, and enjoyed a great deal of leisure time in winter. They really did not need to be involved in the commercial fisheries. Despite this, they continued to participate in them. What motivated them to do this?

The great seasonal cod fisheries took place at a time of the year when there was little farm work to be done. Economically, it was rational to engage in commercial fishing since there were no other productive ways to use the available time in the area.

Fishing provided security because they then had access to two independent sources of grain. In the Late middle Ages, most fishermen could afford to buy as much rye flour as they wanted in Bergen. Sources from the 17<sup>th</sup> century show that

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329 NEDKVITNE, *Mens Bønderne seilte*, p. 310 and p. 365 note 413.

330 *Ibid.*, p. 186 note 309. The number of servants declined between 1597 and 1711 (*ibid.*, p. 67).

331 SANDNES, *Ødetid og gjenreisning*, p. 74.

332 The total number of taxpayers in table VI.8 is a minimum figure, cf. note to the table.

333 SANDNES, *Ødetid og gjenreisning*, pp. 75–76; JOHNSEN, *Kristiansund*, pp. 38–40.

it was common for coastal peasants to keep piles of unleavened bread (*flatbrød*) or sacks of flour in reserve.<sup>334</sup> These could come in useful if there were difficulties purchasing flour in Bergen or if corn crops froze at home, which they did more often the closer the peasant fishermen lived to the northern limit for grain production at Malangen.<sup>335</sup>

Wearing clothes made of imported cloth from England, Flanders and elsewhere on Sundays and at feasts must have conferred status on a husband and wife. There is no reason to doubt that German beer was better than what they could brew themselves from Norwegian barley, and the consumption of foreign food must also have carried prestige.

The annual journey to Lofoten and seasonal fishing villages elsewhere may have become part of the yearly cycle and life cycle of North Norwegian men in the Late Middle Ages and, if the results from the present thesis are accepted, already at the end of the 13<sup>th</sup> century. In later centuries, a boy did not become a man until he had been to Lofoten. An adult man who stayed at home during the fishing season lost respect. The men looked forward to their stay in the fishing villages, which provided a change from the daily routine at home on the farm. Sailing and fishing in rough weather gave them an opportunity to demonstrate qualities which bestowed status among men. The annual stay in a fishing village became part of their identity.

The peasant fishermen preferred risky voyages at sea which led to a higher standard of living to a safe, calm but spartan life at home. This they demonstrated in the Late Middle Ages when they had a real choice.

#### E. POVERTY WITHOUT PROGRESS IN THE 16TH CENTURY

The ample access to agricultural resources after the Black Death is an exception in the long history of Norwegian coastal communities. From about 1520 at the latest the population again increased, and between 1520 and 1660 nearly all the farms which had been deserted during the High Middle Ages had been reclaimed and resettled. During this period there was again pressure on agricultural resources, as there had been before the Black Death. During the High Middle Ages, commercial stockfish production had provided a new source of income and could therefore compensate for lower agricultural yields. In the 16<sup>th</sup> century however, commercial stockfish production had been practiced for centuries and was seen as a normal component of the household income, but when fish prices went down, income from commercial fisheries also fell. The coastal population was confronted with two problems which amplified each other: decreasing levels of both home-grown grain and income from stockfish production. But the situation should not be over-dram-

334 NEDKVITNE, *Mens Bønderne seilte*, p. 319.

335 FJÆRVOLL, *Korndyrkinga*, pp. 111–112.

ated; the coastal population's decline started from a high level of prosperity, as was shown in the previous section.

From the 1590s, complaints about taxes from the stockfish-producing regions were common.<sup>336</sup> The authorities distinguished between taxpayers who lived "at the sea" (*til sjøs*) and those who were "inland" (*til lands*). In Trøndelag, up till 1574 the first group paid twice the amount of tax that those "inland" did, after 1574 they paid 1½ times as much, and reductions continued in 1597, 1629 and 1647. In 1647, peasant fishermen paid 50 % (in some cases 67 %) of the tax of inland peasants, whereas 2–3 generations earlier they had paid 200 %.<sup>337</sup>

Lower prices for stockfish made the fishing villages less attractive to live in year-round. The village of Grip on Møre had 48 taxpayers in 1520, 30 in 1648, and 16 in 1656. This is typical of the fishing villages in the southern stockfish-producing region of Møre; the permanent habitation of these villages seems to have culminated at the beginning of the 16<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>338</sup> The authorities saw what was happening, and in 1578 the Council of Nobles (*Herredag*) reduced the taxes for the fishing village of Sula on the coast of Trøndelag from 4 *våger* to 3 *våger* of stockfish because "the fishing village has a reduced population and many now are leaving it."<sup>339</sup> In northern Norway, a decreasing proportion of the total population lived in fishing villages. In Andenes, the number of people paying permanent taxes (*leidang*) decreased from 58 in 1567 to 37 one hundred years later in 1657/61. Værøy and Røst had 56 taxpayers in 1567 and the same number in 1661.<sup>340</sup> As mentioned above, limited animal husbandry was possible on these islands, which may explain why the number of inhabitants remained so stable. The population of fishing villages would have fallen more if it had not been for the credits which they received from Hansa merchants in Bergen. The need for a financial cushion in years when the cod fisheries failed increased when the margins became thinner. This meant that unpaid debts accumulated.<sup>341</sup>

A similar degree of stagnation and decline occurred in the other areas where the peasant fishermen lived. In 1520, the coastal communities of Roan and Osen in Trøndelag contained about 6 % of the population in the present-day *fylke* of South-Trøndelag, and in 1665 only 3.3 %.<sup>342</sup> Reclamation and resettlement of deserted farms was concentrated far from the coast even in northern Norway.<sup>343</sup> The administrative region (*len*) of Senja was coastal, and practically all its households partici-

336 SANDNES, Ødetid og gjenreisning, p. 320.

337 Ibid., pp. 263–4 and 320.

338 JOHNSEN, Kristiansund, p. 47; cf. SANDNES, Ødetid og gjenreisning, p. 319. In today's *fylke* of Møre og Romsdal, all the fishing villages were north of the Romsdal fjord.

339 *Norske Herredags-Dombøger* 1.rk. I, p. 241.

340 LINDBEKK, Lofoten og Vesterålen, p. 276.

341 Cf. chapter V.2a.

342 SANDNES, Ødetid og gjenreisning, p. 319.

343 SANDNES, Ødegårdstid i Norge, p. 103.

pated in commercial fisheries. From 1520 to 1660 the number of taxpayers increased by only 7%, from 500 to 536.<sup>344</sup> Around the Skjerstad fjord, including tributary fjords and valleys, many farms were deserted after the Black Death, and their resettlement was correspondingly strong in the 16<sup>th</sup> century. The number of taxpaying households increased from 78 in 1520 to 285 in 1661, an increase of 260%.<sup>345</sup> But developments varied and depended on the availability of local resources. The number of taxpayers in Lofoten increased by 210% between 1520 and 1618, but growth in the following period from 1618 to 1661 was only 17%.<sup>346</sup>

New households created by the population increase preferred to establish themselves in fjords and inland districts because that was where most of the deserted farms were, and these were the most easy to reclaim. Hansa grain was important throughout the 16<sup>th</sup> century, both in the fjords and on the coast.<sup>347</sup>

I suggested above that the seasonal cod fisheries in Lofoten and elsewhere may have become part of the year cycle for adult men from about 1300. Around the year 1520, there were somewhere in the region of 2500 taxpayers in northern Norway, each of whom is considered to be the head of household. Six people per peasant household was normal in northern Norway,<sup>348</sup> this gives approximately 15,000 people living in the region.<sup>349</sup> Men between 15 and 64 years of age were seen as the potential workforce in the seasonal cod fisheries, and 29% of the total population of northern Norway fell into this category in 1865.<sup>350</sup> If we apply the same percentage for the potential workforce to the population in 1520, that give us about 4400 men, which is the maximum number for those actually participating in the seasonal fisheries. In 1865, 64% of all men in the relevant age group from Nordland *fylke* participated in the seasonal fisheries from fishing villages in Lofoten, and many more participated in fishing villages elsewhere.<sup>351</sup> If the same proportion of men in the relevant age group participated in the fisheries in 1520, their number must have been 3000–4000, or about 1.5 men per household of six.

The normal stockfish production for one man from a season in Lofoten was 536 kg, or approximately ½ ton. In fishing villages in northern Norway outside Lofoten, the catches were usually smaller, and in Finnmark they were larger. Fish produced in Trøndelag and Møre must be added to this. If 3000–4000 fishermen produced

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344 Ibid., pp. 96 and 102.

345 AARSÆTHER, Bosetningsutviklinga, pp. 414–415.

346 DYBDAHL, Bosetning og folketall, p. 306; LINDBEKK, Lofoten og Vesterålen, p. 277.

347 NEDKVITNE, Mens Bønderne seilte, pp. 653–656.

348 Ibid., p. 310 and p. 365 note 413.

349 DYBDAHL, Bosetning og folketall, p. 309 estimates that there were 2495 taxpayers in northern Norway in 1520. An average of 6 persons per household gives 15,000 people in northern Norway. Cf. *Norsk økonomisk historie*, p. 18.

350 NEDKVITNE, Mens Bønderne seilte, p. 346.

351 Ibid., p. 208.

an average of ½ ton of stockfish each, this comes to 1500–2000 tons. Exports of stockfish from Bergen around 1520 were also calculated above at about 1500 tons. Taken together, the export figures, the population numbers, and the assumption that adult men of working age in northern Norway normally participated in the winter fisheries for spawning cod all present a coherent picture.

By the 1660s, the population of northern Norway had grown to 39,000;<sup>352</sup> with 6 people per household, this gives us 6500 households. If each household sent 1.5 men to Lofoten or another seasonal fishery, and each man produced ½ ton of stockfish, this comes to 5000 tons. But more was produced in Møre and Trøndelag, and production per household was higher in Finnmark. In the years 1650–54, average exports from Bergen were 6000 tons of stockfish.<sup>353</sup> Again, the export figures, the population numbers, and the assumption that adult men of working age in northern Norway normally participated in the winter fisheries give us a coherent picture.

The crisis in the Norwegian cod fisheries did not end until after 1740, when more of the cod started to be preserved as *klippfisk*.<sup>354</sup> Sources from the 18<sup>th</sup> century tell us that a certain weight of raw cod preserved and sold as *klippfisk* fetched a price which was 2.5–3 times as high as the same weight of raw cod preserved as stockfish.<sup>355</sup> Why then didn't they change the curing method two centuries earlier?

Stockfish production was so simple that it could be organised by the fishermen themselves, even without help from their families. When they came ashore to the seasonal fishing village in the evening they would remove the cods' heads and intestines and hang them up to dry. Some months later, the cod would be dry and could be transported to Bergen.

In order to produce *klippfisk*, a merchant had to provide salt which he transported to the fishing village. It was unpredictable where the best fishery would be that year, and the merchants therefore had to acquire an inshore craft (*jakt*) which was, in practice, a floating salting booth. The merchants bought the raw fish from the fishermen when these came ashore in the evening, and he and his crew salted it the *jakt*, usually in bins. At the end of the fishing season, he would dry the fish on a rocky coastal area that he owned or rented. At intervals the fish had to be turned so that it was dried on both sides. The merchant had to supervise the curing process, because the price of *klippfisk* depended on its quality.<sup>356</sup> He could live in the countryside, in one of the small towns which sprang up north of Bergen, or in Bergen itself. He needed capital for the ship, the salt, buying the raw fish, and wages for his

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352 BALSVIK AND DRAKE, *Mennsekene i Nord-Norge*, p. 89.

353 Cf. p. 265.

354 Cf. p. 527 about *klippfisk*, in English called Newfoundland fish.

355 NEDKVITNE, *Mens Bønderne seilte d.*, pp. 452–453.

356 *Ibid.*, p. 453.

crew and other helping hands. The finished product was sold to export merchants in Bergen. Changes in the way cod was preserved had to be initiated by merchants; the peasant fishermen could not do this on their own. Why didn't the merchants take the initiative in the 16<sup>th</sup> century when the crisis became apparent?

The Hansa winter residents could not travel northwards themselves, since both the state and the Kontor prohibited it. Germans could only do this if they left the Kontor and became Norwegian citizens. The winter residents held considerable credits in the stockfish-producing regions, and these credits became endangered if merchants sailed north and bought cod there which should have been delivered to Bergen as credit repayments. Even for the emerging merchant class of Bergen, it was more comfortable to imitate the traditional Hanseatic way of organising trade by sitting in Bergen and waiting for the *nordfar* to come to them with the ready-made exportable product. But slowly during the 17<sup>th</sup> century, a local merchant class emerged in towns and the countryside north of Bergen. The organisation of *klippfisk* production along the Norwegian coast could not be imitated directly from the way it was carried out in Newfoundland, so new organisational patterns had to be developed.

Richard Wilkinson argued in his 1973 book that poverty has been an incentive for innovation throughout economic history.<sup>357</sup> Why was there "poverty without progress" in the Norwegian cod fisheries in the two centuries spanning 1540–1740? First, commercial stockfish production emerged at a point in time (ca. 1100) when wind drying was the best available preservation method for cod, and it continued to yield profits. It was not necessary to change this, although it would have been profitable to do so. Second, powerful forces opposed change: the Hansa winter residents prevented and later slowed down the emergence of a local merchant class which in this case was a precondition for progress.

## F. THE ATTITUDE OF THE COASTAL POPULATION TO THE HANSA

The peasant fishermen were mostly illiterate, so conclusions about their attitudes to the Hansa must be based on the written testimonies of other people.

Querini tells us that on his way south from Røst to Trondheim in May 1432, he met the Archbishop of Nidaros, Aslak Bolt, who was then on a visitation to the northern parts of his diocese. Twelve years later in 1444, the Council of the Realm held a meeting in Bergen where relations with the Hansa were discussed. The leader of the council was the same Aslak Bolt. There was a confrontation at the meeting between the Bergen elite, who wanted a policy brought in to stop winter residency in Bergen, and the Archbishop, who argued that it was "a good thing for the country" that Hansa merchants were winter residents in Bergen because people from northern Norway, Finnmark, Iceland and other islands would then find buyers for

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357 WILKINSON, *Poverty and Progress*.

their goods.<sup>358</sup> This opinion no doubt rested on his experiences during visits to the stockfish-producing regions. The Archbishop may have argued in favour of the Hansa even on other occasions when there were problems concerning their tenure in Bergen.

During the Bergen fair in 1446, a general Thing (*allmenningsting*) was held in Bergen, and there negotiations were conducted between the Council of the Realm and the Kontor's aldermen. The Thing was open to common people, and in attendance in particular were many nordfar (...*dat gemene volk, besundergen de nordervar*) who showed their support to the Council of the Realm's anti-Hanseatic policy, which prevailed at that time there. Afterwards the lawman on Steigen and other nordfar asked for a meeting with the Kontor's aldermen. They explained that they had no choice but to support the state representatives, and asked if the Kontor had plans to harm (*krenken*) the nordfar. The aldermen assured them that they would do no such thing.<sup>359</sup>

But an understanding of the positive consequences of the stockfish trade did not necessarily mean support for the Hansa in political conflicts. In 1490, the Norwegian Council of the Realm adjudicated in a conflict between the Kontor and merchants from Holland in Bergen. The Kontor claimed that the Holland merchants could legitimately only trade in two *gårder*, and demanded that they cease trading elsewhere in Bergen. The Council replied that the most important consideration in this matter was "the common good, and particularly the good of those who sail northwards, that they can get the goods they need and are not ruined because they have consumed this year and summer what they have." Therefore they decided that merchants from Holland should be permitted to trade from three *gårder*, which was what they were doing at the time. The Hansa merchants could also continue trading as they had done.<sup>360</sup> The Norwegian church and state elite clearly thought that the more Hanseatic and Dutch merchants there were, the better.

During the war between Lübeck and Christian III in 1534/5, the Archbishop of Trondheim likewise argued that the region north of Bergen had to be kept outside the ongoing war because it was so dependent on Hansa trade.<sup>361</sup> There seems to have been a consensus among Norwegian local officials that Hansa trade was useful and necessary for people along the western and northern coast. The King, who lived in remote Copenhagen, did not always give this consideration a high priority, but that is another matter.

Medieval producers of goods became part of the "commercial revolution" through different economic mechanisms. Before the Black Death, land rent, state taxes and

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358 *Bergens Fundats*, p. 539.

359 DN XVI no. 161 = HR II, 3, 309 §5 and §6; cf. chapter V.2b.

360 HR III, 2, 369 = DN VI no. 610 = NGL 2.rk. III no. 57.

361 HAMRE, *Norsk historie 1513–1537*, p. 634.

church tithes collected by the Norwegian elite were much higher than in the Late Middle Ages. Peasants and other producers had to sell their products on the market to get money to pay these burdensome fees. If the duties were paid in kind, the elite who collected these goods sold it to merchants. The merchant community then became a kind of service institution to the economic elite, and provided them with merchandise which they needed to defend and exhibit their power and prestige.

This aspect was not absent in the fish trade in Bergen, but the main social mechanism behind the commercialisation of the stockfish trade is to be found elsewhere. The Hansa offered grain products, cloth and other goods directly to the peasant fishermen in exchange for stockfish. It was their free choice to go to Lofoten or another seasonal fishing village every winter to produce stockfish. If for some reason they chose not to participate in this, their standard of living would be reduced, but they would not starve or meet reprisals from the authorities.

The peasant households voluntarily became part of a European network where foreign merchants and not Norwegian landowners were the intermediaries. Querini and the fishermen on Røst had common references: they both were familiar with English woollen cloth and Baltic grain, which were important commodities in international exchanges at the time. Røst had a German parson, and a surviving member of Querini's crew was Flemish, and they understood each other. This commercial network formed a northern barrier against the Sámi pagans in the 12<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> centuries, and against the orthodox Carelians and Russians in the 14<sup>th</sup> to 16<sup>th</sup> centuries.

#### 4. COULD THE HANSA OBTAIN POLITICAL POWER BY CREATING FAMINE?

Could the Hansa merchants' economic importance be translated into political power for the Hansa organisation? This was the subject of Johan Schreiner's 1935 book *Hanseatene og Norges nedgang* (The Hanseatic League and the decline of Norway). He claimed that the Hansa held a stronger position in Norway than in any of the other foreign countries they visited "because the grain imports from Baltic towns removed Norway's economic independence." The empirical basis for this claim did not lie in an analysis of the Norwegian economy and its citizens' consumption of grain – Schreiner was not an economic historian. He based his conclusion on an analysis of the trade policy of Norwegian kings. King Håkon Håkonsson (1217–1263) and Håkon V (1299–1319) both conducted a trade policy which aimed "to create conditions which would favour the growth" of a Norwegian merchant class.<sup>362</sup> For him this included both domestic and foreign trade. In the 1280s

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362 SCHREINER, *Hanseatene og Norges nedgang*, pp. 23 and 53.

and 1290s, the authorities had to make concessions which meant a retreat from this protectionist policy, and at the end of the 13<sup>th</sup> century, Hansa merchants had forced their way to “a more favourable position in Norway than native merchants”.<sup>363</sup> Schreiner does not analyse the trade legislation of the time to prove that this was actually the case. Håkon V did resume a protectionist policy, but he was unable to put this into practice. It consisted of “strikes into the empty air”,<sup>364</sup> and “laws which existed on paper only”<sup>365</sup> “without any practical significance”.<sup>366</sup> Threats by the Hansa to stop grain imports resulted in trade concessions from the Norwegian government in 1278,<sup>367</sup> 1285,<sup>368</sup> 1312,<sup>369</sup> 1318,<sup>370</sup> 1332,<sup>371</sup> 1343<sup>372</sup> and 1350.<sup>373</sup> When Hansa privileges were confirmed in 1306,<sup>374</sup> 1318<sup>375</sup> and 1343,<sup>376</sup> previous trade legislation was formally revoked. In the 14<sup>th</sup> century, trade legislation was introduced when conditions permitted, but this was again rescinded when the Hansa decided to put strong pressure on Norwegian authorities.<sup>377</sup>

Chapter IV offered empirical analyses of Norwegian trade policy during the period of Hansa expansion up to 1380. Schreiner claimed that a main motive behind Norwegian trade policy was the protection of Norwegian merchants’ foreign and local trade against Hansa competition. The extant sources show that the primary motive of these policies was to protect consumer interests, and that defending native merchants’ local trade in towns was a secondary reason, while supporting Norwegians’ long-distance foreign trade was not a consideration at all. Hansa merchants, with their superior trade organisation, were given free rein in their competition with native merchants in foreign commercial transactions. It is not necessary to assume that the Hansa used political pressure to achieve their dominant position in Bergen’s foreign trade and to marginalise Norwegian merchants in local trade.

There are, nevertheless, sources which support Schreiner’s point of view. In 1247/8, Lübeck stopped their commercial shipping to Norway because of a political conflict, but it is not clear whether this was done to put political pressure on the Norwegian government or because reprisals were feared against Lübeck merchants

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363 *Ibid.*, pp. 32–34

364 *Ibid.*, p. 68.

365 *Ibid.*, p. 61.

366 *Ibid.*, p. 87.

367 *Ibid.*, p. 26.

368 *Ibid.*, pp. 28–30.

369 *Ibid.*, p. 53.

370 *Ibid.*, pp. 57–59.

371 *Ibid.*, p. 66.

372 *Ibid.*, p. 67.

373 *Ibid.*, p. 74.

374 *Ibid.*, p. 51.

375 *Ibid.*, p. 57.

376 *Ibid.*, p. 73.

377 *Ibid.*, pp. 91 and 31.

in Norway. King Håkon then wrote a letter to the urban council of Lübeck asking that shipping be restored.

Send your ships to us as usual the coming summer with goods which are necessary for our realm, with grain and malt, and let our merchants buy the same commodities from you while there is dearth (*caristia*) in our country... But we do not want the merchants to import more Lübeck beer than they need themselves during their voyage, because it does not improve our realm.<sup>378</sup>

*Caristia* is translated in dictionaries as “dearth; high prices”.<sup>379</sup> The wording gives no reason to assume that the situation was dramatic, with people dying from hunger. But in this situation the prices of grain would increase and the price of stockfish would sink. This would be harmful to peasant fishermen, and probably more importantly to members of the Bergen elite who wanted to exchange fish for grain.

Only once does a source state explicitly that a blockade by the Hanseatic League was used to obtain political concessions from Norwegian authorities. In 1284, Norway conducted a war against the German maritime (Baltic) towns and Denmark, and Lübeck’s urban council had the following to say about the events in their annals:

The towns (*stede*) equipped their ships and sailed to Norway where they caused great damage. Several cogs were in the Øresund and other places, and neither grain, beer, bread or other goods reached Norway. This caused a famine which was so severe that they had to sue for peace.<sup>380</sup>

This was written a hundred years later, ca. 1400, by the chronicler Detmar, and this piece of information was probably built on oral traditions in Lübeck. His account has been accepted by Schreiner and other Norwegian and German historians. Detmar had himself never been to Bergen or northern Norway and did not know about the conditions there. New research over the last decades, presented above in chapter VI.3b, should lead us to conclude that a cessation of grain deliveries would create problems for the peasant fishermen, but few would starve. Those who lived permanently in fishing villages would be worse off, but in 1284 there were few of them.<sup>381</sup> On the political level, new research has emphasised that Norwegian authorities in 1285 concluded a peace treaty with the Hansa for political reasons: they wanted to break the alliance between the Hansa and Denmark.<sup>382</sup> It is highly doubtful whether

378 UBStL I no. 153 = DN V no. 1. In a later letter, the King mentions *farinam* (flour) in addition to grain and malt as useful goods imported by the Lübeck merchants (UBStL I no. 154 = DN V no. 2).

379 Cf. NIERMEYER, *Mediae latinitatis lexicon*, and LATHAM, *Medieval Latin Word-list*, entry word “*caristia*”.

380 *Detmar* volume 19, p. 364.

381 Cf. pp. 555–557 and chapter VI.3c.

382 HELLE, *Norge blir en stat*, p. 257.

the events in 1284/5 provide evidence that the Hansa could translate economic dominance into political power in Norway.

On two occasions, in 1282 and 1316, Norwegian authorities granted merchants who imported grain, flour and malt a monopoly on stockfish exports. The first ordinance was abolished in 1284 after the war mentioned above. The background to the second one was famine, which at that time had struck all of northern Europe. This ordinance was abolished in 1318, probably because the harvests were again normal.<sup>383</sup> Schreiner, however, interpreted the repeal of both of these ordinances as capitulations to Hanseatic pressure; his view was that Norwegian dependence on Hanseatic grain gave the Hansa power to dictate the country's trade policy.<sup>384</sup>

In the Late Middle Ages, Bergenfahrer from Lübeck and the other Wendish towns repeatedly claimed that their grain imports were indispensable to the Norwegians. In 1476, the Bergen Kontor, representing the interests of the winter residents from Lübeck, sent a letter of complaint to a Hansa Diet about Zuiderzee merchants who disobeyed the aldermen. To emphasise the Baltic merchants' importance, they wrote that Norway and the Norwegians in no way could nourish themselves without grain products from Baltic towns.<sup>385</sup> In 1535, during the war against Denmark, a Hansa Diet requested that King Christian III permit trade with Bergen to continue unhindered despite the feud. They argued that the subjects of the Kingdom of Norway "can hardly nourish themselves if we as merchants do not import beer, grain, flour and similar necessary goods".<sup>386</sup> These are self-portraits painted for pragmatic purposes, which may or may not have been realistic. The situation along the coast was so varied that any generalisation is problematic. My suggestion for a general conclusion would be that Hanseatic grain products were necessary for the coastal population to live well, but the availability of these goods was not a question of life or death.

There were alternative sources for such goods. Norwegian merchants imported grain from England into Norway at least until 1310, and English merchants continued with this up to the end of the 14<sup>th</sup> century;<sup>387</sup> English ships also exported grain from Danzig to western Europe from the end of the 14<sup>th</sup> century,<sup>388</sup> and merchants from Holland exported increasing quantities of grain from Baltic ports starting in

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383 NGL III no. 2 = *Norske middelalderdokumenter* no. 34; HUB I no. 284 = NGL III no. 47 = *Norske middelalderdokumenter* no. 63.

384 SCHREINER, *Hanseatene og Norges nedgang*, pp. 57–60.

385 HR II, 7, 342 §24; "... wente dat lant unde de Normans sunder sware guder uth den Osterschen steden sick nenerley wyse moghen untholden."

386 DN VI no. 725; "... dat sick de verwanten des sulvigen konynckrykes fast swarlich erholden wurden, szo ohne van uns also hendeleren an bere, korne, mele unde der glyken noturffriger wahre nicht togeforet wurde." Cf. BRUNS, *Bergenfahrer*, p. LI.

387 Cf. chapter II.4d and table II.27.

388 Cf. SCHULZ, *Hanse und England*, p. 15; POSTAN, *England and the Hanse*, p. 97.

the 1390s.<sup>389</sup> But the Kontor took measures in Bergen so that little of this could be sold in the town.<sup>390</sup> However, if the winter residents left the town, there was nobody there who could stop these competitors from trading freely.

In preparation for the war against the Kings of Denmark and Norway in 1368, Hansa merchants were ordered by a Hansa Diet to evacuate from Bergen, Oslo and Tønsberg. Afterwards, Hansa warships raided and set fire to coastal settlements along the shipping route southwards from Bergen via Selbjørnen, Karmsund, and Agder to Bohuslän.<sup>391</sup> The evacuation was evidently ordered to prevent Norwegian authorities from seeking compensation for these acts by confiscating Hansa goods in Norway. The Kontor in Bergen found that this strategy went against their interests. The winter residents complained that they lost 30,000 Lübeck marks because they had to leave Bergen before the stockfish arrived, which they had paid for beforehand through their credit system. Large investments were bound up in Bergen and could not be moved elsewhere during a boycott. According to the Kontor, the only people to profit from a boycott were English and Flemish merchants.<sup>392</sup> They were right; the English exploited the Hansa absence to increase their presence in Bergen.<sup>393</sup> Even though the Kontor did not say so explicitly, they clearly wanted to conclude a separate, local peace agreement so that their trade could continue unhindered. The blockade ordered by a Hansa Diet met resistance from local merchants and created tensions in the organisation.

The second and last evacuation of the Kontor in Late Medieval times occurred in the years 1427–1433. In September 1426, Lübeck, Wismar, Rostock, Stralsund and Lüneburg declared war on the Dano-Norwegian king as part of a conflict over Schleswig. The Bergenfahrer at Bryggen had no interest in the war, and in January 1427 they concluded a local agreement with the commander of Bergenhus castle which allowed their trade in Bergen to continue. In May 1427, a Hansa Diet accepted this, but only until midsummer 1427.<sup>394</sup> They probably feared that shipping to and from Bergen would become the victim of privateers in the service of the Danish King. The winter residents' six-year absence from Bergen must have been a financial disaster for them. English merchants increased their traditional presence in Bergen, and merchants from Holland and Danzig appeared there in large numbers for the first time.<sup>395</sup> During the war with Holland in 1440, the Kontor expressed fears that Holland merchants would take over the Hansa's trade in Bergen if the German merchants were forced to evacuate the town again.<sup>396</sup>

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389 Cf. pp. 207–209 and 220.

390 Cf. pp. 467–471.

391 DN VIII no. 184; HR I, 2, 4 §8 and §19.

392 DN VIII no. 184.

393 Cf. p. 175.

394 HUB VI no. 654 = DN VII no. 382 (January 1427); HR I, 8, 194§10 (May 1427).

395 Cf. pp. 133–134, 146–147, 176 and 208–209.

396 HR II, 2, 397.

Querini's involuntary visit to Røst in 1432 took place during the 1427–1433 war, and his writings show how stockfish found its way to European markets even though Bergen was inaccessible. The 11 Venetians followed a small inshore cargo ship (*jekt*) from Røst in May 1432. Because of the war, they did not sail to Bergen but to Trondheim.

On arrival in Trondheim the skipper was informed that there was a war between the Germans and his Lord the King of Norway, and he decided not to continue. He put us ashore on a rock close to the town of Trondheim, and he recommended us to those who lived there. He himself returned [to Røst].<sup>397</sup>

The “rock” where the Italians stayed was in walking or riding distance of Trondheim; they may have stayed at a large farm called Lade owned by Bakke nunnery, which was rented to laymen, often nobles.<sup>398</sup> The next day was Ascension Day, and Querini's host accompanied the Italians to Nidaros Cathedral where they attended mass, and afterwards they were invited to the house of the Dean of the cathedral (*il rettor*), since the Archbishop was away on an ecclesiastic visitation. The 11 Italians were under the protection of the church all the time, and the “evil” parson of Røst accompanied them to Trondheim. The presence of the church was stronger than that of the state from Trøndelag northwards.

Querini was not interested in the fate of the stockfish cargo on the *jekt*, but the skipper and his crew must have sold these goods in Trondheim. The church at this time received large quantities of stockfish in tithes, land rents and other fees, and one should assume that it organised shipping from Trondheim to North Sea ports during the Hansa's absence from Bergen. A century later, in the years before the Reformation, the tensions were strong between the state and the Archbishop, and the latter then invited merchants from Holland to visit Trondheim.<sup>399</sup> Traders from Holland, the Zuiderzee towns and England may have visited Trondheim under the church's protection even in 1427–1433. I can see no reason why the state should have opposed such an arrangement. It was not the King who had ordered the Wendish towns to leave Bergen.

Even if these alternative trading routes had not existed, most households would have avoided famine by exploiting their remaining resources skilfully. As shown

397 *Giunti in Trondon, intendendo il patron nostro che si faceva guerra guerra fra Alemani et il suo signore il re di Norvega, deliberò di non andar piu oltra, si che ne messe in un scoglio appresso Trondon habitato, raccomandando ne a gli habitatori di quello et lui ritorno a dietro* (QUERINI, original text, fol. 204d).

398 “Rock” is my translation of *scoglio*. But *scoglio* also has the meaning of “rocky island”, and he also calls Røst a *scoglio*. There is an island in the area where it is possible to sleep and which is close enough to attend Sunday mass at Nidaros Cathedral; this is Munkholmen, which has a Benedictine monastery on it. But if this was where they slept, it is strange that Querini did not mention that monks looked after them. Perhaps he did not like monks?

399 Cf. p. 436.

above, the peasant fishermen operated a flexible economy, with safety nets which made it possible to avoid famine.<sup>400</sup> The citizens of Bergen and inhabitants of the fishing villages in Finnmark and the administrative region (*fogderi*) of Tromsø were worst off because no grain could be grown there. What their fate would have been without alternative, improvised trading routes we shall never know, because these alternatives did in fact function both in 1368/9 and in 1427–1433.

New wars broke out between the Hansa towns and the Dano-Norwegian state in 1506, 1509–12, 1522–23 and 1533–35. Bergenfahrer from Lübeck could not sail through Danish waters but maintained shipping to Bergen via Hamburg.<sup>401</sup> The Hansa Diets did not use the strategy emphasised by Schreiner – they did not declare a blockade of grain deliveries. The Bergenfahrer for their part changed their shipping route in order to continue trading in the face of wars they did not want. The commander of Bergenhus did not attack the winter residents in Bergen. He probably did not see any purpose in doing so, and he did not have sufficient military capacity in any case.

Famine could occur in the stockfish-producing regions, for reasons other than a Hansa blockade. In 1521, the commander of Bergenhus castle wrote to King Christian II that the fisheries had been poor in northern Norway, therefore people had little fish to deliver to Bergen in exchange for grain. “There is a serious dearth (*dyrtiid*) [in northern Norway], and many are dying from hunger”.<sup>402</sup> The famine was due to poor fisheries, according to the commander.<sup>403</sup> In 1521 and the previous years, the King had imposed heavy extra taxes on the peasants to finance his war with Sweden, and the winter residents claimed that in practice they were paying the fishermen’s taxes through reduced deliveries. The King may have been the root of the problem. The commander’s letter may have been an indirect way of telling Christian II that he now had to stop imposing additional extra taxes, since the fishermen could not pay more and the state officials were unable to collect more.

Walter Vogel, along with Friedrich Bruns, was the first historian to call attention to Norwegian dependence on Hanseatic grain. Vogel also claimed that Flemish weavers would lack money to buy food and were in danger of dying from starvation (*vom Hungertod bedroht*) if Hansa merchants stayed away and did not buy their cloth.<sup>404</sup> This may have been the case for unfortunate individuals in Flanders as well as Norway, but Vogel and Schreiner may also have exaggerated how dependent the fishermen and weavers were on Hansa merchants. Households had individual security nets which could be activated in emergencies.

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400 Cf. chapter VI.3b.

401 Cf. pp. 229–231.

402 HR III, 8, 1.

403 Table II.1.

404 VOGEL, *Deutsche Seeschiffahrt*, pp. 211–212.

If a Hansa boycott had created famine in the north, this would probably have been impossible to translate into political power because the central government would not have felt that these local conditions were their responsibility. The Dano-Norwegian kings during most of the Late Middle Ages were Danes and later Germans, and they stayed most of the time in Copenhagen and Schleswig-Holstein, showing little interest in the stockfish-producing regions. Fishermen in northern Norway had no political power and could not exert pressure on the Dano-Norwegian kings. In Flanders the situation was different. The Hansa Kontor was moved from Bruges to other towns in the Netherlands seven times between 1280 and 1457 to put pressure on political authorities.<sup>405</sup> Flemish merchants lost income when Hansa merchants stayed away, and they wielded political influence in their home towns and in Flanders as a whole. Therefore, a trade boycott could bring political gains to the Hansa. In Bergen, an embargo would lead to economic losses for the *Bergenfahrer*, but hardly any political gains.

To sum up, the Hansa abandoned Bergen only two times during the Late Middle Ages, in 1368/9 and 1427–1433, and both times the winter residents were the losers. The Hanseatic credit system presupposed annual, long-term deliveries, and an absence from Bergen meant serious economic losses. The *nordfar* had alternatives to the winter residents: they could trade in Bergen with merchants from England and Holland and summer guests from Danzig, or send their fish via Trondheim to North Sea markets. The absence of the Hansa strengthened their competitors. Each household tried to provide its own security net to circumvent famine during food crises. State officials did not see it as their responsibility to ensure that each household had enough to eat; therefore, it is doubtful whether creating a famine could be effective as a political weapon to pressure the state to comply with the Hansa's demands.

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405 RÖMER, *Hanse und Niederländische Städtewelt*, p. 130.

## PERSPECTIVES

In the introduction to this book, four main questions were presented. First, was the Hanseatic stockfish trade in Bergen quantitatively important before the Black Death, or was it of limited importance until the commercial revolution of the 16<sup>th</sup> century? Second, how did the Bergen trade fit into the northern European trade network of the Hansa merchants (chapters I-III)? Third, how did the Hansa obtain and retain their dominant position in the Bergen trade (chapters IV-V)? And fourth, what were the consequences of the Hansa's trade and of commercial stockfish production for Norwegian society (chapter VI)? We will now look at what conclusions can be drawn in answer to these questions.

### 1. THE COMMERCIAL REVOLUTIONS OF THE MIDDLE AGES AND THE 16<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY

During the period analysed in this book, 1100–1600, there were two “commercial revolutions” in northern Europe, one in the Middle Ages ca. 1100–1300 and one in the 16<sup>th</sup> century. Which of them led to the great expansion in the stockfish trade? This is an important question in Norwegian history, because it was the stockfish trade which first helped Norway become integrated into the international European trade network. The answer to this question also has the potential to shed light on the significance of Scandinavia to the early development of the Hansa. How important was their trade with Bergen and Scania before the Black Death compared to their trade via Gotland to Novgorod? This unsolved question was the main starting point for my master's thesis in 1975 and my doctoral thesis in 1983.<sup>1</sup>

The only materials which can be used to quantify the amount of trade carried out in northern Europe before the Black Death are the English customs accounts, supplemented by the English Chancery Rolls. In the Late Middle Ages, the *Pfundzoll* accounts from Lübeck for the years 1368–1400, supplemented by Lübeck's *Niederstadtbuch*, provide valuable information of the same kind. Those studying the Bergen trade are in the fortunate position that both English and German sources contain relevant information. The Norwegian historian Kåre Lunden limited himself to using the extant Lübeck *Pfundzoll* accounts.<sup>2</sup> In my 1983 thesis, all the English and German sources mentioned above were combined in a quantitative analysis for the first time.

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1 Cf. pp. 22–23.

2 Cf. pp. 19–20.

The English customs accounts for the years 1303–11 show that more than 80 % of the exports from Norway to England consisted of stockfish. The best way to quantify this was therefore to measure these exports in tons of stockfish. The result of my analysis of the available customs accounts for that period was that about 1566 tons of stockfish were exported annually to the four eastern English ports of Boston, Lynn, Ravensere and Hull.<sup>3</sup> To this has to be added the amount of fish shipped by English merchants who were active in Bergen, but who were exempted from paying English customs duties. There is qualitative evidence that stockfish was exported to ports on the Rhine estuary, and from there to the German interior. The importing ports were Bruges and Kampen. The ports of Bremen and Hamburg on the North Sea and Lübeck and other Wendish towns along the Baltic also received stockfish from Bergen. The information in these qualitative sources provides no basis for quantifying the exports, but doubling the quantifiable export of 1566 tons to include these other ports would in my opinion provide a conservative estimate. This will give us annual exports of stockfish from Bergen of somewhere in the region of 3000–4000 tons.<sup>4</sup>

From the Late Middle Ages (1350–1537), there are extant English documents which allow us to quantify amounts of trade at that time, and there is also similar material for Lübeck from 1368. An analysis of the period 1365–1400 yielded the result that there were stockfish exports of 244 tons to Lübeck,<sup>5</sup> 378 tons to Boston,<sup>6</sup> and 68 tons to King's Lynn.<sup>7</sup> This means that 690 tons are calculable from the sources. To this we must add significant levels of exports to the Zuiderzee towns and Bruges, with more limited quantities going to Bremen, Wismar, Rostock, Stralsund and Danzig.<sup>8</sup> In my view, this would justify a doubling of the calculated exports, giving us a figure in the region of 1000–1500 tons. At the end of the Late Middle Ages, in the normal years 1520–1521, 25–26 ships from North Sea towns exported stockfish from Bergen annually, and information from other sources about the amount exported per ship results in a quantifiable export of about 867 tons annually for those two years. We must add to this the exports on ships with Baltic skippers, most or all of them travelling to Baltic ports, and ships which were exempted from customs for some reason. It is reasonable to assume total exports were just short of 1500 tons of stockfish.<sup>9</sup> It seems that stockfish exports fell by half after the Black Death. This is not surprising, since the population in northern Norway, where most of the fishermen lived, also fell by approximately half as a consequence of the plague. Around the year 1520, there were about 15,000 people

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3 Table I.13.

4 Chapter I.5.

5 Chapter II.2.

6 Chapter II.4b.

7 Chapter II.4d.

8 Cf. relevant sections on the towns in chapter II, and the quantification in chapter II.7.

9 Chapter II.7.

living in northern Norway;<sup>10</sup> before the Black Death the figure is uncertain, but has been estimated at somewhere between 24,000 and 39,000.<sup>11</sup>

The last phase in our analysis concerned the commercial revolution of the 16<sup>th</sup> century. In 1577/8, a customs account from Bergen for the first time quantified the goods exported from and imported into Bergen; based on this source, stockfish exports were about 2800 tons annually at the time. Three other sources from the 1560s can be reconciled with an export of this size: the “ship tax” from 1563 on domestic shipping between the stockfish-producing regions and Bergen, the number of foreign ships visiting Bergen as listed in the customs accounts for 1566/7, and the tithe on stockfish production in 1567. The customs duties on exports from Bergen for the years 1597–1600 indicate that exports had increased further to about 4500 tons of stockfish annually. In the final decades of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, stockfish exports seem to have regained and even surpassed their level before the Black Death.

For the years 1650–1654, registered annual exports from Bergen were about 6000 tons, but exports those years seem to have been particularly high, at least higher than in the period before and after. During the commercial revolution of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, the most reliable estimates we can make today are that the population of northern Norway increased by about 2.6 times during the period 1520–1665, and stockfish exports from Bergen increased fourfold during the same period.<sup>12</sup>

The hypothesis which I find to be best supported by the available evidence is that most households in northern Norway were already sending one or more men to the seasonal cod fisheries ca. 1300, and to a more limited extent the same was done further south in Trøndelag and Møre. After the Black Death, stockfish production fell by half, along with the population and number of households. At the same time, the price of stockfish increased significantly. After about 1430, stockfish prices started to fall relative to silver, and after about 1500 they sank noticeably even in relation to grain products. The average household responded by increasing their stockfish production to prevent their traditionally good standard of living from falling. This could be done by sending more than one man to the seasonal fisheries in winter; many households had an adult son or a male servant who could help with fishing. They could also exploit other fisheries at other times of the year where this was possible. They produced dried cod, ling and, after the Reformation, halibut. Stockfish production became a significant part of international commercial exchanges during the commercial revolution of the High Middle Ages, but after that stockfish production and exports were subject to the same trade cycles as the rest of international commerce. The most relevant variables in the case of stockfish were prices in the northern European markets and fluctuations in population in the stockfish-producing regions. There are many sources of uncertainty in this picture,

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10 Cf. p. 265.

11 Chapter I.5.

12 Chapter III.1b.

but I believe that it is better supported by the empirical material than the alternatives.

The stockfish trade was relatively simple to organise: the nordfar produced the stockfish themselves, transported it to Bergen, and delivered it to the winter residents there. At the end of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, merchants from both Holland and England started exploiting North Sea herring and cod fisheries using large fishing ships and salting their catch on board. The Hansa continued to obtain herring and cod the traditional and easier way by purchasing it in Scania and Bergen. The fisheries north of Bergen and in Scania were land based, meaning that the fishermen slept ashore during the fishing season. Cheap equipment and little organisation were needed for this, at least in northern Norway. Holland and England moved to a higher organisational level in the fish trade, but the Hansa did not follow their lead. Before the Black Death, the northern European long-distance fish trade was totally dominated by the Hansa. In the 15<sup>th</sup> century, cured fish produced by the Dutch and English may have overtaken stockfish in value.

There has been much discussion about the dates for the “flowering of the Hansa”. In the Bergen trade, it is evident that a distinction has to be made between trade volume, economic organisation and political power. The quantitative level of the Bergen trade compared to other branches of Hansa trade was highest before the Black Death. The Kontor’s stockfish trade reached its final level of organisational complexity around 1350–1430 with the widespread use of credits. The political clout of the Bergen Kontor, supported by Lübeck and the Hansa Diets, was greatest in the final century of the Middle Ages, ca. 1430–1534, when it managed to delay the Hansa’s economic decline in Bergen by a century.

Dollinger’s discussion of when the Hansa as a whole reached its peak is unclear because he does not distinguish between the different aspects mentioned above which combined to make the Hansa important. But he claims that economically the Hansa reached its summit in the second half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century. Their last expansionist push was their involvement in the salt trade with the Atlantic coasts of France and Iberia during this period. Dollinger limits himself to discussing the geographic extent of the Hansa’s salt-trade network.<sup>13</sup> Stephan Selzer in his 2010 book realized the importance of the Black Death: “There can hardly be any doubt that population, production and demand were far higher in the 13<sup>th</sup> century than in the 15<sup>th</sup> century also in the region where the Hansa traded.”<sup>14</sup> The theory that there was a first pinnacle in stockfish exports before the Black Death fits into a general northern European pattern for Hansa trade as seen by historians today.

13 DOLLINGER, *La Hanse*, pp. 12 and 312; English translation, pp. XXI and 252–253; German translation, pp. 14 and 321; on the salt trade after the Black Death, cf. chapter VI.2c.

14 SELZER, *Mittelalterliche Hanse*, pp. 44–45; *Daher kann kaum ein Zweifel daran bestehen, dass auch im hansischen Wirtschaftsraum die Bevölkerungszahl, die Güterproduktion und die Nachfrage im 13. Jahrhundert weitaus höher anzusetzen sind als im 15. Jahrhundert.*

## 2. RISE AND DECLINE OF THE HANSA'S COMMERCIAL NETWORK

The second important innovation in my 1983 thesis was an analysis of Bergen's commercial network. I used all available sources up to the Reformation, and thereafter mainly customs accounts which become accessible in larger numbers for the post-Reformation period. My conclusion was that shipping routes and merchant groups were more multi-faceted and more complex than formerly thought, which made it possible to discuss the reasons for the Hansa's dominance of the stockfish trade from a new basis.

Bergen had a commercial network before the winter residents appeared around the year 1250. The main shipping route was to eastern England, where merchants could trade their stockfish for grain and cloth. The key commodities involved in the Bergen trade could be bought and sold there. Merchants also visited Flanders, buying cloth and other commodities produced by skilled craftsmen. Norwegian merchants visited the Scanian fair, where western European craft products, salt and herring were available. The merchants who were engaged in Bergen's foreign trade came from England, Norway, German North Sea ports, Flanders and Gotland. From Bergen there were shipping lanes north to the stockfish-producing regions. Bergen citizens sailed from Bergen to Vågan in Lofoten, and other skippers sailed to smaller marketplaces in western Norway.<sup>15</sup>

In the 1240s, merchants from the newly-founded German towns in the Baltic appeared in Bergen, and at the same time German merchants settled in Bergen as winter residents. In 1278, merchants from Lübeck and other German towns received their first privilege from the Norwegian king. They infiltrated the trade network with England, and by 1300–1310 they had taken over most of it. Their main innovation was to import large quantities of grain products into Bergen from the new German towns in the Baltic. They also sailed from Bergen to Bruges and Deventer for purposes of trade. Winter residents from Lübeck sent ships to a wide range of ports along the North Sea and the Baltic. Merchants from England and from German North Sea towns continued their traditional visits to Bergen as summer guests.<sup>16</sup> Baltic merchants took the Bergen trade onto a higher technological and organisational level. Their advantage over Scandinavian colleagues was that they were professionals, used correspondence and written accounts in their commercial transactions, engaged in specialised trade more, and had more capital to invest.<sup>17</sup> Their English competitors were on the same technological level as the

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<sup>15</sup> Chapters I.1 and p. 419.

<sup>16</sup> Chapters I.3f, I.4b and I.4c.

<sup>17</sup> Chapter IV.1.

Hansa, but could not match their extensive networks, particularly their access to grain from the Baltic.

As far as domestic commerce with the northern regions is concerned, when Hansa merchants first settled in Bergen as winter residents, they continued their traditional trade with merchants from Bergen and Trondheim. After the Black Death, they reorganised their trade by making more fishermen and local landowners from the stockfish-producing regions responsible for transporting the fish themselves from the fishing villages to Bergen. Through a system of credits, the winter residents created long-term ties with the Norwegian stockfish producers and other customers.<sup>18</sup> Lübeck and Baltic merchants took over Bergen's traditional trade, made it more sophisticated, increased its volume, and extended it geographically into the Baltic.

The Wendish merchants were the pioneers in professional commerce between the North Sea and the Baltic, Bergen included. They dominated this trade between the east and west up to about 1430. After that, they suffered the fate of most pioneers: their trade network was infiltrated by potential competitors. Professional merchant communities grew up in many northern European towns, and they marginalised the Wendish towns.

Between about 1350 and 1430, the Baltic winter residents' commercial network with foreign ports stagnated, and in the following period it declined. Merchants and skippers from Lübeck, Wismar and Rostock who had winter residents in Bergen gradually ceased to visit Boston and other English ports around 1430–1480. They also stopped sailing to continental North Sea ports, and increasingly left this trade to skippers from the North Sea, above all Hamburg, Bremen, Holland and the Zuiderzee towns.<sup>19</sup> The winter residents concentrated on return sailings between Bergen and their Wendish home towns. Shipping from Bergen to the Baltic and to the North Sea was now in the hands of two different groups of captains. Nearly all winter residents were citizens of Baltic towns, and they continued to exert control over how trade was organised. They either sold their stockfish in Bergen to summer guests from North Sea towns, who then shipped it to their home ports, or they sold it by correspondence to merchants resident in North Sea towns. This division of the Bergen trade involving skippers and summer guests from several towns, both inside and outside the Hansa, forced the Kontor, as the representative of the winter residents, to use political means to ensure that the winter residents retained control at Bryggen.

Another challenge to the Baltic merchants came from the citizens of Bergen. Under the protection of Christian II (1513–23), the Bergen citizenry started a very modest level of foreign trade, but after about 1560 they became serious competitors

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18 Chapter V.2.

19 Chapters II.5 and V.3.

to the Hansa merchants.<sup>20</sup> The Hansa had weak contacts with Finnmark and Troms, and because of the distance it was problematic for the fishermen from the north to travel to Bergen. This created an opening for citizens of Bergen and Trondheim to expand their domestic trade with these northernmost regions towards the end of the Middle Ages.<sup>21</sup>

After 1350, the only extension of the Hansa's "approved" commercial network was the intensification of their salt trade with the Atlantic coasts of France, Spain and Portugal.<sup>22</sup> In the 15<sup>th</sup> century, merchants from Hamburg and Bremen started to sail directly to Norwegian North Atlantic islands, and after 1500 increasingly to Iceland, but this cannot be included under the term Hansa trade, since the Hansa did its best to stop it.<sup>23</sup> The Hansa no longer organised commercial expansion, but instead had become a problem for northern German merchants who wanted to expand their trade.<sup>24</sup>

Phillippe Dollinger adopted a northern European perspective in his 1964 book on the Hansa. Commercial networks existed in northern Europe before the Hansa. The Hansa infiltrated and used existing structures, made them more sophisticated, and extended them geographically. After about 1430, competitors from Holland, England and towns along the North Sea and the Baltic in their turn infiltrated the Hanseatic networks and imitated their practices, marginalised the central Hansa towns, and developed northern European trade further. The Hansa represented a stage in the long-term development of European trade.

### 3. THE BERGEN KONTOR AND THE STATE

The third new contribution in my thesis has been an analysis of the causes of Hansa dominance in the Bergen trade. The Hansa marginalised Norwegian merchants sometime in the period 1250–1320 mainly because they were professional, urban merchants and the Norwegian traders only engaged in foreign trade as a side-line. Their dominance over English competitors between the years 1250 and 1430 was based on their superior commercial networks. This is hardly controversial today.<sup>25</sup> But when the winter residents' commercial networks declined after about 1430, they had to rely increasingly on political measures to retain their dominance. Political measures could compensate for their lack of competitiveness with merchants

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20 Chapter V.5d and 5.e.

21 Chapters pp. 425–428 and 543–546.

22 Cf. p. 524.

23 Cf. p. 188, 234 and 476–478.

24 Cf. 475–484.

25 Chapter IV.1.

from Holland and England. The winter residents also used the Kontor to subordinate the trade conducted by Hanseatic summer guests to their own interests.

Hansa merchants differed from other merchant groups in medieval Bergen in the extent to which they organised themselves. They made great efforts to obtain special trading rights, formalised as far as possible in written privileges. Other merchant groups in Bergen began to organise themselves in a similar manner, combining an administrative and legal organisation with communal privileges, living quarters and shops. The English merchants in Bergen lived in a housing complex called “the Englishmen’s *gård*”, and merchants from Holland later lived in two or three such housing complexes.<sup>26</sup> Italian merchants organised themselves in a similar way in foreign ports in the Mediterranean. In English, these establishments were called factories, and the Italians called them “*fondachi*”. This way of organising trade in foreign ports was well known, but in medieval northern Europe no merchants’ group relied on it as extensively as the German Hansa.

In its origins, the factory was the medieval merchants’ answer to a major problem: how to create a legal framework for their trade, and protect goods and capital which they brought into foreign countries. One way of doing this was to trust the local ruler or state; the alternative was collective self-help through establishing a factory.

In this thesis, a state has been defined as an organisation with a monopoly on legitimate violence, and with the highest level of control over laws and courts of law within a certain area. In Norway, a state existed in this sense starting in the 12<sup>th</sup> century, and when the first Hansa merchants began trading regularly in Bergen around the middle of the 13<sup>th</sup> century, they were dealing with a state society. In the Baltic the situation was different; there the Hansa merchants encountered pre-state societies when they started trading at the end of the 12<sup>th</sup> and in the 13<sup>th</sup> centuries. A clan, tribe, chieftain or prince could offer individual protection to a visiting merchant, but predictable laws and courts which were relevant to commercial needs did not exist. The only alternative was to establish a “factory” which received privileges from the local chieftain or prince. This factory could at a later date be transformed into an urban community with the local prince’s approval. The German members of the factory would then become citizens, the German aldermen would become urban councillors, and the factory’s statutes would be replaced by a German law code. German merchants in the Baltic encountered pre-state societies, and therefore the factory type of organisation was more important for them than it was for North Sea merchants. Germans from Baltic towns brought some of their convictions about the usefulness of the factory system with them when they began their maritime trade in the North Sea region in the 13<sup>th</sup> century, even though the social environment was different in the west.<sup>27</sup>

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26 Cf. pp. 174 and 211.

27 Chapter V.5a.

In a state society, a “factory” had social functions which were different from those in a pre-state society. Its purpose was not to create a legal framework which the local prince or chieftain was unable to deliver, but to alter to their own advantage the legal framework which the state had created. Urban laws existed in Norway at least since the 12<sup>th</sup> century (*Bjarkøyrett*). In 1276, the King issued a revised urban law, and two years later the Hansa received its first privileges which modified the urban law on minor points only. From 1282 to 1319, the state tried to formulate and enforce trade legislation in order to regulate the activities of the increasing number of foreign merchants in Bergen. But the Hanseatic winter residents organised themselves, and in the period after 1284, and particularly after 1319, they gradually obtained exemptions from the parts of this legislation which they felt to be burdensome.<sup>28</sup> Lübeck and the other Baltic towns were the driving force behind this use of the factory system, and one of the reasons for this may have been that their experience in the Baltic made it natural for them to act through a factory when working to improve the legal framework which affected their trade. Merchants from Bremen, Kampen, Deventer, Hamburg, England and the Low Countries were less inclined to contest Norwegian state legislation, probably because their experience in North Sea polities made them disposed to leave legislation to the state.<sup>29</sup> But the vigorous policy of the Kontor provided the winter residents with significant advantages, and Hansa merchants from the North Sea found it to their advantage to trade under the Kontor’s privileges.<sup>30</sup>

A secondary function of the Bergen Kontor was to limit the trade conducted by the English after 1370 and by Holland merchants after 1433. This was achieved partly by pressuring the state to issue privileges and ordinances limiting commerce by the Dutch. But the Kontor also used illegal violence against both competitors. Seen from the Hansa’s point of view, this policy was a success, and there is no doubt that English and Dutch merchants would have played a more prominent role in Bergen without the Kontor’s political intervention. The winter residents and the Kontor used political pressure and violence to retain the economic ascendancy which in the previous century they had gained through economic efficiency.<sup>31</sup> Merchants from Holland exported large quantities of grain from Danzig and had the potential to become serious competitors even in Bergen. The Kontor successfully used political means to prevent this from happening.

The basis of the Kontor’s and Lübeck’s power to put pressure on the Norwegian state from 1366 to 1537 was a skilful exploitation of internal tensions in Scandinavia. In the years 1332–1360, there were tensions between Denmark and Sweden over the control of Scania. Until about 1450, periodic wars erupted between Den-

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28 Chapters IV.2 and IV.3m.

29 Chapter V.5a.

30 Cf. pp. 85–89 and 342–346.

31 Chapters II.4d, II.5d and V.4.

mark and the Holstein aristocracy over the control of Schleswig.<sup>32</sup> Between about 1434 and 1521, Danish efforts to include Sweden in a Nordic Union led to several wars. Selling political support in exchange for privileges was not unique to Scandinavia; the Hansa exploited the wars between England and France in a similar way to improve their privileges in England.<sup>33</sup> Special to Bergen was the Kontor's local military dominance, which gave them a stronger position than in any other foreign town they visited.<sup>34</sup> After their defeat in the war against Denmark in 1534, the military strength of Lübeck and its Baltic neighbours declined so much that they were less attractive as allies, and the Kontor no longer dared to demonstrate their military power in Bergen. Neither economic competitiveness nor political clout could now help maintain the Hansa's dominant position in Bergen. German summer guests started to wonder whether it served them better to submit as individuals to the state's common laws, and the winter residents valued more favourably the prospect of becoming citizens of Bergen.<sup>35</sup>

Two Kontors lasted longer than the other settlements. The Kontor in London was shut down by English state authorities in 1598, and the Bergen Kontor survived until 1766, when the last Hansa merchant sold his houses to his son, who had become citizen of Bergen. The Hansa made special efforts to retain their privileges in London and Bergen because they were important. In England, they paid significantly lower customs, particularly on exports of English cloth;<sup>36</sup> in Bergen, they had permission for winter residency, retail trading, and protection for their credits. But the state would have closed the Kontors anyway if the Hansa's trade had not been seen as important for the state and society at large. Hansa merchants opened up internal German and Baltic markets to English cloth. They provided stockfish producers with access to internal German markets, and offered them badly needed credits. In the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries, stockfish prices were falling and so was the standard of living in the coastal regions north of Bergen. This made state authorities reluctant to interfere with the stockfish trade and Hansa privileges.

Merchants from Holland became the principal long-distance traders in 16<sup>th</sup>-century northern Europe. Authorities in Holland interfered little in their merchants' commercial activities, but gave them full political and military support if they encountered problems in foreign countries. Holland traders were inclined to accept state legislation in the European countries they visited, and were better adapted to the economic and political environment of the 16<sup>th</sup> century than the Kontor was.<sup>37</sup>

The Hansa belonged to an earlier stage in the developing relationship between the state and merchants, where help for merchants at home and abroad was low on

32 Cf. 341, 372–373 and 483.

33 JÖRN, *Der Londoner Stalhof*, pp. 11–12.

34 Chapter V.1g.

35 Chapter V.5e.

36 JÖRN, *Der Londoner Stalhof*, pp. 130–131, 294 and 301.

37 BRUIJN, *Scheepvaart*, p. 141.

the state's list of priorities and the structures provided by the Kontors or factories were a necessary form of self-help.

#### 4. THE CONSEQUENCES OF HANSA TRADE FOR NORWEGIAN SOCIETY

The underlying controversy in the historiography about the Hansa and Norway was, up to around 1960, whether Hansa trade had favourable or detrimental consequences for Norwegian society. Were they exploiters, or initiators of economic progress? It is considered bad form for historians to act as moral judges – this is the task of politicians, philosophers and theologians. Value judgements therefore often have to be teased out from neutral descriptions. Before about 1960, the relevant empirical material had been superficially analysed. This meant that controversies could be perpetuated due to lack of data. Vagueness made it easier for underlying prejudices to influence the analyses. Since the 1960s, a large number of detailed, pertinent analyses have been carried out by historians and archaeologists of the stockfish-producing regions north of Bergen, and these have been used extensively in the present book. At the same time, nationalism as a motivation for historical research has declined in Norway as well as in Germany. The preceding chapters have made it clear that the consequences for Norway of the Hansa's presence there has to be analysed separately for different social groups in Norwegian society.

For local officials in Bergen, the Kontor's semi-governmental structure was definitely a problem. States need a monopoly on legitimate violence to function. The commander of Bergenhus castle did have this power in the rural districts of western and northern Norway, but not in the town of Bergen itself. The core duty of a medieval state was social pacification and legal jurisdiction, and this was highly problematic for the royal judge (*lagmann*) in Bergen. The military commander and the judge both found that their jobs brought them into conflict with the Kontor.

The citizens of Bergen were marginalised by the Hanseatic winter residents. Power to create the legal framework for trade in Bergen was in practice transferred from the state to the Kontor; at least this was so from about 1430. The winter residents could organise trade in Bergen in a way that was most profitable to themselves. Before the reign of Christian II (1513–23), Norwegian citizens' foreign commerce was non-existent, and their trade with the stockfish-producing regions north of Bergen was limited. The citizens had an antagonistic relationship with the winter residents.

For the Dano-Norwegian kings in Copenhagen, Bergen was a peripheral part of the realm which they rarely visited, knew little about, and for which they cared little. They may have thought that the Bergen trade was organised well by the Kontor, but it is more likely that their passivity was due to indifference. Combined with the

Kontor's military power locally, this created a situation where after about 1380 the state ceased to have a trade policy in Bergen. Instead, they treated Bergen's privileges as a commodity which could be sold to the Hansa in exchange for political concessions. The Hansa constantly interfered in conflicts between Denmark and Holstein, Denmark and Sweden, and in domestic Danish conflicts; the Hansa was a problem for the kings when they supported their enemies, but were a resource when they were allies.

The peasant fishermen north of Bergen constituted the large majority of the Norwegians whose lives were affected by the Hansa. Around the year 1520, somewhere in the region of 15,000 people lived in northern Norway, and practically all households lived a short walking distance from the sea or a fjord and were part of a maritime culture. To this number must be added several thousand people along the coasts of Trøndelag and western Norway. Before the Black Death, the population in these regions was double that size. These peasant fishermen traditionally practiced a combination of corn cultivation, animal husbandry and fishing for their own consumption. The Hansa provided them with a fourth source of income: they could sail to a seasonal fishing village in Lofoten or elsewhere a couple of months every winter and produce stockfish, which they then sold in Bergen. In return, they received rye flour, German beer and high-quality cloth to make special clothes for Sundays and festive days. These commercial fisheries could be integrated without problem into these households' yearly cycle and gender-based division of labour. No wonder that people in the coastal regions looked upon the Hansa with other eyes than the elite in Bergen did.

## ZUSAMMENFASSUNG

Das vorliegende Buch ist die überarbeitete und aktualisierte Fassung meiner Ph. D. These von 1983. Das Thema waren der westnorwegische Außenhandel von 1100 bis 1600 und die Rolle, die die deutsche Hanse dabei gespielt hat. Die wichtigsten Ergebnisse der Arbeit sind nie in Frage gestellt worden, und ich danke dem Vorstand des Hansischen Geschichtsvereins dafür, dass er es möglich gemacht hat, dass das Buch jetzt gedruckt erscheinen kann. Das benutzte Quellenmaterial lag für das Mittelalter in zuverlässigen Editionen vor; für die Zeit bis 1600 wurde ausgewähltes unveröffentlichtes Material aus den Archiven in Lübeck, Bremen, Rostock, Stralsund, Danzig, Oslo und Kopenhagen herangezogen.

### KURZE THEMATISCHE ZUSAMMENFASSUNG

Das bei weitem wichtigste Handelsgut im norwegischen Außenhandel war während des Untersuchungszeitraums der Stockfisch, der fast ausschließlich von Bergen aus exportiert wurde. Ich habe vier Probleme in den Mittelpunkt gestellt, die zusammen ein umfassendes Bild des Bergener Handels in der fraglichen Zeit ergeben sollten.

Das erste war die Frage, ob die enorme Ausweitung des Stockfischhandels während der „kommerziellen Revolution des Mittelalters“ im Jahrhundert vor dem Schwarzen Tod (1349) oder während der „kommerziellen Revolution des 16. Jahrhunderts“ stattfand. Die Analyse der verfügbaren quantitativen Quellen führte zu dem Ergebnis, dass der Stockfischhandel vor dem Schwarzen Tod einen Höhepunkt erreichte und sowohl für norwegische Wirtschaft als auch für die hansischen Kaufleute von besonderer Bedeutung war. Im späten Mittelalter war er annähernd in demselben Maße rückläufig, in dem auch die Bevölkerung abnahm. Im 16. Jahrhundert stieg er wieder an, jetzt aber etwas stärker als das Bevölkerungswachstum. Der Grund dafür mag darin zu suchen sein, dass die Stockfischpreise im 16. Jahrhundert zurückgingen und die Fischer mehr Stockfisch produzieren mussten, um ihren Lebensstandard aufrecht zu erhalten. Diese grundlegenden quantitativen Probleme werden in den Kapiteln I bis III behandelt.

Eine zweite wichtige Innovation in meiner Untersuchung von 1983 war die Analyse der kommerziellen Netzwerkbeziehungen in Bergen, die in den Schifffahrtsrouten und den am Stockfischhandel beteiligten Kaufleutegruppen ihren Niederschlag fanden. Mein Ergebnis war, dass diese sehr viel weitreichender und komplexer waren, als man früher gedacht hatte. Ein Vergleich der Zollabrechnungen aus Boston in England mit denen aus Lübeck aus dem 14. Jahrhundert zeigte, dass die

wendischen und andere hansische Städte mehr norwegischen Fisch über die Nordsee nach westlichen Häfen exportiert haben müssen als in den Ostseeraum. Vor etwa 1430 lag der Handel zwischen Bergen und den Nordseehäfen hauptsächlich in den Händen von Schiffern und Kaufleuten aus den wendischen Städten; zwischen 1430 und 1480 übernahmen Bürger aus den Nordseestädten nach und nach diesen Handel. Dieses Problem wird ebenfalls in den Kapiteln I bis III diskutiert.

Die dritte wichtige Frage, die in der Arbeit behandelt wurde, war die Frage nach den Gründen für die Überlegenheit der Hanse im Bergenhandel. 1983 herrschte in Norwegen die Auffassung vor, dass die Hanse die angebliche Abhängigkeit Norwegens von hansischen Getreidelieferungen ausgenutzt habe, um die norwegischen Autoritäten unter Druck zu setzen, damit sie ihnen äußerst günstige Handelsbedingungen zugestanden. Diese Vorstellung fand in den Quellen keine Bestätigung. Es zeigte sich jedoch, dass die deutschen Kaufleute im 13. und 14. Jahrhundert die norwegischen und englischen Händler an den Rand drängen konnten, weil sie in der Lage waren, ihren Handel ökonomisch effektiver zu organisieren. Im Verhältnis zu den norwegischen Kaufleuten lag ihr Vorteil darin, dass sie professionelle Kaufleute waren, während der Außenhandel für die meisten ihrer norwegischen Wettbewerber nur ein Nebenerwerb war. Im Verhältnis zu den Engländern lag der hauptsächlichste Vorteil der Hansen darin, dass sie über ein europaweites Netzwerk verfügten, das ihnen den Zugang zu allen wichtigen Häfen eröffnete, wo sie zu den günstigsten Bedingungen Stockfisch verkaufen und Getreideprodukte und hochwertige Tuche einkaufen konnten. Das war und ist Gegenstand von Kapitel IV. Im letzten Jahrhundert des Mittelalters waren die Holländer – und in etwas bescheidenerem Maße auch die Engländer – die Hauptkonkurrenten der hansischen Bergenfahrer. Zu dieser Zeit war die Handelsorganisation der Engländer der der Hansen längst nicht mehr unterlegen. Das Kontor versuchte deshalb mit politischen Mitteln, die eigene Vorherrschaft in Bergen zu verteidigen und zu bewahren und war damit bis etwa 1560 erfolgreich. Ein Jahrhundert lang konnte das Kontor mit politischen Mitteln seine Vorherrschaft behaupten. Um diese späte Phase geht es in Kapitel V. Nach 1560 war der dänisch-norwegische Staat so stark geworden, dass sich das Kontor nicht mehr auf seinen politischen Einfluss verlassen konnte. Das Kontor musste den legalen Rahmen akzeptieren, den der Staat ihm einräumte, und mit anderen fremden Kaufleuten und vor allem mit den Bergener Bürgern in Wettbewerb treten, deren Handel auf demselben technologischen Niveau stattfand wie der hansische. Die Geschichte der Beziehungen des Bergener Kontors zum Staat, zu den Konkurrenten und zu den Handelspartnern in der nachreformatorischen Zeit bis 1766 muss noch geschrieben werden.

Das vierte Problem, das in diesem Buch behandelt wird, betrifft die Auswirkungen des hansischen Stockfischhandels auf die Lebensbedingungen der Küstenbewohner nördlich von Bergen. Das ist der umstrittenste Punkt in der Geschichtsschreibung zu den Beziehungen zwischen der Hanse und Norwegen. Waren die Hansen im mittelalterlichen Norwegen Ausbeuter oder Initiatoren wirtschaftlichen

Fortschritts? Es versteht sich von selbst, dass die Meinungsverschiedenheiten in der nationalstaatlich orientierten Historiographie bis in die 1960er Jahre entlang der nationalen Grenzen verliefen. Seit den 1960ern sind viele empirische Untersuchungen über die Gemeinden an den Küsten nördlich von Bergen durchgeführt worden. Dabei ging es nicht in erster Linie darum, die Folgen des Hansehandels zu analysieren, sondern die Lebensbedingungen in den dortigen Gemeinden zu erforschen, in denen die kommerzielle Stockfischproduktion einer von verschiedenen wichtigen Wirtschaftsfaktoren war. In meiner Arbeit von 1983 und in der vorliegenden überarbeiteten Fassung habe ich diese Untersuchungen als die empirische Grundlage zur Bewertung der alten deutsch-norwegischen Kontroverse benutzt. Die bäuerlichen Fischer verbanden traditionellerweise den Getreideanbau, die Viehhaltung und den Fischfang zur Sicherung des eigenen Lebensunterhalts. Die Hanse bot ihnen eine vierte Einkommensquelle, indem sie im Winter für ein paar Monate zu einem saisonalen Fischerdorf auf den Lofoten oder andernorts segeln und dort Stockfisch produzieren konnten, den sie dann in Bergen verkaufen konnten. Im Gegenzug erhielten sie Roggenmehl, deutsches Bier und hochwertige Bekleidung, die sie an Sonn- und Feiertagen tragen konnten. Der kommerzielle Fischfang konnte problemlos in den Jahresablauf und die geschlechtsspezifische Arbeitsteilung integriert werden. Staat, Kirche und Grundherren zwangen die bäuerlichen Fischer nicht, marktfähigen Stockfisch herzustellen, und die Fischer bezahlten nur einen kleinen Teil als Steuern und Abgaben. Sie entschieden sich aus freien Stücken, Stockfisch für die hansischen Kaufleute zu produzieren, weil es ihren Lebensstandard verbesserte. Andere zogen es vor, sich in Fischerdörfern in Finmark und anderswo niederzulassen, wo kein Getreide angebaut werden konnte. Zahlreiche Quellen bezeugen die positiven Auswirkungen des Stockfischhandels auf die Lebensverhältnisse der Küstenbewohner und die positive Einstellung dazu seitens der Letzteren. Die Auffassung, die hansischen Kaufleute hätten Stockfischproduzenten ausgebeutet, findet in den empirischen Daten keine Unterstützung. In Bergen gab es jedoch häufiger Konflikte zwischen den staatlichen Behörden und den Bergener Kaufleuten auf der einen und dem Hansekontor und den deutschen Kaufleuten und Seeleuten auf der anderen Seite. Im Stockfischhandel wurden alle Konflikte in Bergen ausgetragen; die positiven Folgen des Hansehandels zeigten sich in den Stockfisch produzierenden Regionen. Diese positiven Wirkungen des Hansehandels werden in Kapitel VI dargestellt.

Das Bergener Kontor und seine Kaufleute stellten eine Internationalisierung dar, die wichtige, vielschichtige und langfristig wirkende Konsequenzen für die norwegische Gesellschaft hatte. Der zweite Teil der Zusammenfassung ist chronologisch angelegt und zeigt die Entwicklung der Beziehungen zwischen der Hanse und Bergen auf dem Hintergrund der Entwicklung der norwegischen Gesellschaft und der Hanse im allgemeinen.

## CHRONOLOGISCHE ZUSAMMENFASSUNG

Deutsche Kaufleute aus Lübeck und anderen Ostseestädten scheinen zuerst in den 1240er Jahren nach Bergen gekommen zu sein. Die vorangehende Zeit muss als „vorhansisch“ bezeichnet werden.

Stockfischexporte aus Bergen setzten kurz vor 1100 ein, und in der vorhansischen Periode waren englische und kontinentale Städte an der Nordsee die wichtigsten Absatzmärkte. Träger dieser Exporte waren Händler aus Norwegen, England, dem Westen „Deutschlands“ und vielleicht auch Bauernkaufleute von der Insel Gotland. Zu dieser Zeit gab es einen funktionierenden norwegischen Staat, der den norwegischen Städten ein verbindliches Stadtrecht gab. Fremde waren denselben Rechten und Gerichten unterworfen wie die Norweger. Es ist gelegentlich behauptet worden, deutsche und andere fremde Kaufleute hätten keinen Rechtsschutz besessen, wenn sie skandinavische Städte besuchten. Das ist nicht richtig. Die genannten Kaufleutegruppen standen in freiem Wettbewerb untereinander und unterlagen den für alle gleichen rechtlichen Rahmenbedingungen.

In dem Jahrhundert zwischen 1247 und 1349 erlangte die Hanse ihre beherrschende Position im Bergener Außenhandel. Sowohl Stockfischexporte als auch Importe von Getreideprodukten gab es schon vor der Hanse, aber ihr Umfang stieg in diesem Jahrhundert erheblich an. Der wesentliche Grund dafür war die Tatsache, dass die Kaufleute aus Lübeck und anderen hansischen Städten gleichzeitig Handelsbeziehungen zu Ost- und Nordseehäfen unterhielten und dabei ein Netzwerk schufen, das es ihnen ermöglichte, größere Mengen an Mehl, Malz und Bier aus dem Osten, aber ebenso Tuche und andere gewerbliche Produkte aus dem Westen anzubieten. Ein anderer Vorteil gegenüber den norwegischen Kaufleuten war der, dass sie professionell organisiert waren, was sie in den Stand versetzte, in jedem Jahr die notwendigen Güter zuverlässig zu liefern. Diesen Wettbewerbsvorteil verstärkten sie dadurch, dass sie sich schon seit den 1250er Jahren als „Wintersitzer“ in Bergen niederließen. Um 1320 besaß die Hanse fast eine Monopolstellung im Bergener Außenhandel. Diese Entwicklung machte die kommerzielle Stockfischproduktion für die bäuerlichen Küstenbewohner noch attraktiver, zumal sie die Getreideprodukte aus dem Ostseeraum als einen festen Bestandteil ihrer Wirtschaft betrachten konnten. Die bäuerlichen Fischer brauchten keine aufwendigen Investitionen vorzunehmen, um sich an der Stockfischproduktion zu beteiligen: Ein Fischerboot und Angelschnüre besaßen sie bereits. Zu Beginn des 14. Jahrhunderts scheint der Fang von laichendem Kabeljau vor den Lofoten und anderswo für die Mehrheit der erwachsenen Männer fest in ihren Jahres- und Lebensablauf eingeplant gewesen zu sein. Das war die Situation gegen Ende des Bevölkerungswachstums des Hochmittelalters, und die Knappheit an verfügbaren landwirtschaftlichen Ressourcen mag es für die Bauern an der Küste besonders verlockend gemacht zu haben, ihre Lebensgrundlage auf diese Weise zu verbessern. Die Ankunft von Lübe-

cker und Kaufleuten aus anderen Ostseestädten in den 1240er Jahren brachte einen Prozess in Gang, der innerhalb weniger Jahrzehnte wichtige Auswirkungen auf die Stadt Bergen wie auch auf die Bauern nördlich der Stadt entfaltete.

In dieser Zeit versuchte der norwegische Staat zum ersten Mal eine separate Handelsgesetzgebung für ausländische Kaufleute einzuführen. Dafür gab es sowohl interne als auch externe Gründe. In den Jahren 1274 und 1276 schuf der Staat mit zwei nationalen Rechtsbüchern eine gemeinsame Gesetzgebung für Stadt und Land. Diese Gesetzgebung ging davon aus, dass die ausländischen Kaufleute denselben Gesetzen gehorchen und die dieselben Gerichte aufsuchen sollten wie die einheimischen, mit einigen wenigen und unbedeutenden Ausnahmen. In den folgenden Jahrzehnten hielten die staatlichen Behörden die Zeit jedoch für gekommen, eigene rechtliche Regeln für die fremden Kaufleute zu erlassen, und vor allem König Håkon V. (1299–1319) verfügte zu diesem Zweck zahlreiche Ordonnanzen; unter anderem verbot er das „Wintersitzen“, den Detailhandel oder den Handel mit Gästen; auch wurde den Deutschen formal nicht erlaubt, eine gemeinsame Organisation zu bilden. Es ist jedoch unklar, ob irgendeine dieser Ordonnanzen zu Lebzeiten Håkons V. umgesetzt wurde; in den Jahrzehnten nach seinem Tod wurden sie jedenfalls nicht befolgt. Die Ausnahme waren Zölle und Steuern, die die Hansen bezahlten. Dafür gab es verschiedene Gründe. Die „Wintersitzer“ waren vermutlich schon immer organisiert, auch wenn sie vor 1366 förmlich noch keine Kontorgemeinschaft gebildet hatten. Immerhin waren sie in der Lage, Widerstand gegen die staatlichen Maßnahmen zu organisieren. Bündnisse der Heimatstädte der Kaufleute vermittelten dem König politische Unterstützung als Gegenleistung für großzügige Privilegien. Es kann auch bezweifelt werden, dass der Staat über eine Verwaltung verfügte, welche die Durchsetzung der Gesetze hätte kontrollieren können. In der langen expansiven Phase von 1247 bis 1349 errang die Hanse ihre dominierende Stellung durch ökonomische Effizienz; staatliche Gesetzgebung änderte die von der Wirtschaft geschaffenen Realitäten nicht.

Die Trennlinie zur nächsten Periode ist der Schwarze Tod, der Bergen 1349 erreichte. In den folgenden Jahrzehnten halbierte sich die norwegische Bevölkerung, vielleicht reduzierte sie sich sogar auf ein Drittel. Die Menge des erzeugten Stockfisches war abhängig von der Anzahl der Menschen, die jeden Winter an dem kommerziellen Fischfang beteiligt waren, und wenn sich ihre Anzahl halbierte, dann müsste das auch für die Stockfischexporte gelten. Ein Vergleich der Exportzahlen, errechnet auf der Grundlage englischer Zollabrechnungen aus Boston und benachbarter englischer Häfen sowie der Lübecker Pfundzollbücher, deutet darauf hin, dass dies in der Tat geschah.

Als ein Ergebnis aber des Bevölkerungsrückgangs erhöhten sich die verfügbaren Geldmittel pro Einwohner überall in Westeuropa, so dass der Lebensstandard stieg. Getreideprodukte waren preiswerte Lebensmittel, die sich jeder leisten konnte. Tierische Produkte, Milch, Fleisch und Fisch, waren teurer, aber auch attraktivere Nahrungsmittel. Nach dem Schwarzen Tod stieg der Konsum dieser Produkte. Für den

Stockfisch ergab sich die Situation, dass die Produktion zurückging, während die Nachfrage stieg. Das führte natürlich zu einem steilen Anstieg der Preise. Um 1400 erhielten die Verkäufer in Bergen für eine bestimmte Menge an Stockfisch drei Mal soviel Roggenmehl wie sie ein Jahrhundert zuvor, um 1300, erhalten hatten. Für einige wurde es attraktiver, den Getreideanbau ganz aufzugeben und sich in einem Fischerdorf niederzulassen, wo Getreide gar nicht angebaut werden konnte. In Finmark westlich des Nordkaps scheinen Norweger schon vor dem Schwarzen Tode damit begonnen zu haben, sich in Fischerdörfern anzusiedeln; jetzt zogen sie auch in Fischerdörfern östlich des Nordkaps und in den Varangerfjord, so dass die Bevölkerung in Finmark zunahm. Hier ernährten sie sich von Roggen aus dem Ostseeraum, hielten ein paar Kühe oder Schafe und fischten für den eigenen Bedarf. Wäre die Hanse nicht gewesen, gehörten möglicherweise Finmark und die nördlichen Teile der heutigen Provinz (*fylke*) Troms nicht zu Norwegen.

Die „Wintersitzer“ in Bergen erhielten ihren Anteil an dem gestiegenen Mehrertrag. Wir wissen nicht, wie groß der Anteil war, aber sowohl den Fischern als auch den Kaufleuten ging es im späten Mittelalter gut. In Lübeck erreichte die Zahl der Bergenfahrer, die Ratsmitglieder wurden, zwischen 1408 und 1459 einen Höhepunkt, als in den meisten Jahren zwei Bergenfahrer im Rat saßen. Die Mitgliedschaft in der Lübecker Zirkelgesellschaft und anderen patrizischen Gesellschaften war mit hohem Ansehen in der Stadt verbunden, und in diesen Gesellschaften waren die Bergenfahrer zwischen etwa 1390 und 1460 sehr zahlreich vertreten.

In dieser Zeit bewahrten die hansischen Bergenfahrer ihre Wettbewerbsvorteile gegenüber ihren ausschließlich englischen Konkurrenten. Ihre Überlegenheit hatte dieselben Gründe wie in den vorangegangenen Jahrzehnten: ihre Vernetzung mit einer großen Zahl von Häfen entlang den Küsten von Nord- und Ostsee. Aber die gewachsenen Profite erlaubten es den „Wintersitzern“ auch, den Stockfischproduzenten Kredite zu gewähren und sie in ein System einzubinden, das langfristige Konsequenzen hatte. Der Austausch zwischen den Hansekaufleuten und ihren norwegischen Handelspartnern fand auf dem Bergener Markt statt, meistens in den Monaten Juli bis September. Der Norweger hatte Schulden bei einem der „Wintersitzer“ in Bryggen. Zwischen beiden war kein Geld geflossen; der Zahlungsausgleich zwischen ihnen war die Höhe der Schuld, die in das Rechnungsbuch des Kaufmanns eingetragen und in einer Urkunde festgehaltenen war, die dem Schuldner ausgehändigt wurde. Wenn der Wert der Güter, die der Norweger lieferte, nicht dem der Waren entsprach, die er als Gegenleistung bekam, wurde die Höhe der Schuld angepasst. Die Schuld wurde nie in voller Höhe zurückgezahlt. Für den Fischer war es eine Garantie dafür, dass der Kaufmann seine Waren im nächsten Jahr kaufen und ihm Kredit für den Fall einräumen würde, dass der Fang bescheiden ausfallen könnte; für den Hansekaufmann war sichergestellt, dass der Handelspartner ihn auch in Zukunft beliefern würde.

Dieses System unterminierte den freien Markt im Stockfischhandel. In früheren Jahren hatten die Fischer den Stockfisch in den saisonalen Fischerdörfern hergestellt

und das fertige Produkt auf lokalen Märkten in Nordnorwegen wie Vågen auf den Lofoten an einheimische Kaufleute verkauft. Diese einheimischen Kaufleute segelten nach Süden und verkauften ihren Fisch auf dem freien Markt in Bergen an Fernhändler verschiedenster Herkunft. Jetzt zogen es die meisten Stockfischproduzenten vor, mit ihrem Fisch selbst nach Bergen zu segeln und ihn direkt an die hansischen „Wintersitzer“ zu verkaufen, um von den besagten vorteilhaften Krediten zu profitieren. Die einheimischen Kaufleute, viele von ihnen Bürger aus Bergen, wurden an den Rand gedrängt. Diese „geschlossenen Geschäfte“ machten den Stockfischhandel für die hansischen Kaufleute und Stockfischproduzenten berechenbarer und profitabler, schädeten aber anderen Kaufleuten, einheimischen wie fremden.

In der ersten Phase bis etwa 1430 war dieses Kreditsystem eine freiwillige Vereinbarung, die über die generelle Verpflichtung, wonach jedermann seine Schulden zurückzahlen hatte, hinaus nicht durch Gesetze oder Verordnungen geregelt war. In dieser Zeit sahen die Könige in den hansischen Privilegien ein Mittel, um die politische Unterstützung der Hanse in ihren zahlreichen Konflikten und Kriegen zu gewinnen. Bergen war eine periphere Stadt geworden, um die sich die Unionskönige wenig kümmerten. Es kann aber auch sein, dass die Könige sich passiv verhielten, weil sie in der Art und Weise, in der der Bergener Handel funktionierte, kein ernstes Problem sahen.

Eine irgendwie geartete Organisation der hansischen Kaufleute muss es in Bergen seit den 1250er Jahren gegeben haben; ihre Aufgabe bestand in der Regelung innerer Angelegenheiten. Sie könnte sogar einen koordinierten passiven Widerstand gegen die handelspolitischen Maßnahmen Håkons V. organisiert haben, aber die Quellen schweigen darüber. Die hansische Organisation wurde formal als Kontor eingerichtet, das 1366 der Kontrolle durch den Hansetag unterworfen wurde. Das scheint aber an der Rolle, welche die Organisation gespielt hat, bis etwa 1430 nichts geändert zu haben. Als die wendischen Städte 1368 und 1427–1433 Krieg gegen Dänemark und Norwegen führten, musste dies mit dem Bergener Kontor abgesprochen werden, doch war das 1284 auch schon der Fall gewesen. 1372 vertrieben die Deutschen die Engländer mit Gewalt aus Bergen; die Ursachen dafür lagen jedoch in besonderen Umständen, die sich aus den Nachwirkungen des Krieges von 1368 ergaben.

Zusammengefasst ergibt sich, dass die Organisation des Bergenhandels in der Periode von 1350 bis 1430 weiterhin von den Kräften des Marktes bestimmt wurde; politische Maßnahmen seitens des Staates oder des Kontors waren von begrenzter Bedeutung. Die Hansekaufleute bewahrten ihre Vorrangstellung mit ökonomischen Mitteln. Das änderte sich in der folgenden Periode.

In der Zeit von 1430 bis 1534 traten die Probleme der Hansen in Bergen zunehmend deutlicher in Erscheinung. Kaufleute aus Lübeck und anderen wendischen Städten bildeten den Kern der ökonomischen Organisation in Bergen. In den vorangehenden Epochen waren der Handel und die Schifffahrt in den Ostseeraum

und zu den Nordseehäfen wesentlich von ihnen betrieben worden. Nach 1430 zogen sie sich nach und nach von der Schifffahrt zu den Nordseehäfen zurück, und nach 1480 stellten sie den Handel mit Boston in England ein. Sie beschränkten sich jetzt auf die Handelsbeziehungen zu den heimatlichen Häfen im Ostseeraum. Aber die wichtigsten Märkte für den Bergener Stockfisch waren am besten von den Nordseehäfen zu erreichen. Das machte den Unterschied zwischen den „Wintersitzern“, die das ganze Jahr über in Bergen lebten und den Stockfischproduzenten Kredite gewährten, und den „Sommerfahrern“, die nur wenige Wochen in Bergen Handel trieben, bedeutsamer. Die „Wintersitzer“ aus Lübeck benötigten jetzt die „Sommerfahrer“, um den Stockfisch zu den Häfen auf dem westeuropäischen Kontinent zu transportieren, nach Deventer, Kampen und Bremen, die zur Hanse gehörten, und nach dem nicht-hansischen Amsterdam. „Sommerfahrer“ aus Danzig und anderen nicht-wendischen Ostseestädten kamen mit ihrem Getreide nach Bergen.

Lübeck wollte, dass die „Sommerfahrer“ ausschließlich mit den „Wintersitzern“ Handel trieben, aber diese sahen keinen Grund, warum sie nicht auch direkt mit den norwegischen Handelspartnern Geschäfte machen sollten. Lübeck argumentierte, dass wenn die „Sommerfahrer“ aus Deventer, Kampen und Danzig dies täten, dass dann ein freier Markt in Bergen entstehen würde. Die verschuldeten Stockfischproduzenten würden dann auch mit verschiedenen Kaufleuten handeln. Das wiederum würde die „geschlossenen Geschäfte“ der „Wintersitzer“ mit den bei ihnen verschuldeten Stockfischproduzenten zugrunde richten, was den Profit der „Wintersitzer“ schmälern und die Kredite gefährden würde. Es kam zu Spannungen innerhalb der hansischen Gemeinschaft in Bryggen. Das Kontor stand unter dem Einfluss der „Wintersitzer“ aus Lübeck, und sie hatten die Macht, die Statuten des Kontors gegen „Sommerfahrer“ sowohl aus hansischen als auch aus nicht-hansischen Städten anzuwenden, was sie in zunehmendem Maße auch taten. Sie verteidigten mit politischen Mitteln, was wirtschaftlich nicht länger zu halten war.

Während des wendisch-dänischen Krieges (1427–1433) waren sechs Jahre lang keine Kaufleute aus den wendischen Städten in Bergen anwesend. In diesen Jahren erschienen in Bergen neue Wettbewerber, die den wendischen Kaufleuten in den folgenden Jahrzehnten viele Schwierigkeiten machten. Besonders wichtig unter ihnen waren die Holländer. Sie verkauften Tuch und andere gewerbliche Produkte aus dem Westen in ihren zahlreichen Marktbuden, aber sie kauften auch Stockfisch und wollten zudem Getreideprodukte verkaufen, die sie in preußischen Häfen erwarben. Kaufleute aus Danzig boten Getreideprodukte an, englische Kaufleute hielten an ihren traditionellen Handelsgewohnheiten fest. Diese Konkurrenten hatten ihren Handel inzwischen ebenso anspruchsvoll organisiert wie die wendischen Städte. Deshalb mussten Letztere versuchen, mit Hilfe der politischen Möglichkeiten des Kontors den Aktivitäten ihrer Konkurrenten in Bergen Grenzen zu setzen.

Ein drittes Problem der Bergenerfahrer in dieser Periode war, dass die Holländer und Engländer damit begannen, neue Fischangebote aus der Nordsee und den Gewässern um Island in den nordeuropäischen Fernhandel einzuführen. So wur-

den gesalzener Hering und Kabeljau zu Alternativen und Konkurrenten zum Bergener Stockfisch. Dieser verschwand völlig von den englischen Märkten, und sein Preis verfiel auf den verbleibenden kontinentalen Märkten sowohl im Verhältnis zum Getreide als auch zu den neuen gesalzene Fischen.

Die Aufgaben des Bergener Kontors bestanden ursprünglich darin, das Zusammenleben der Kaufleute nach innen zu regeln und nach außen die Interessen der Kaufleute gegenüber den staatlichen Behörden zu vertreten. In dieser Periode aber wuchs ihm vorrangig die Aufgabe zu, die Interessen der „Wintersitzer“ gegen die der Konkurrenten zu verteidigen, nämlich der hansischen „Sommerfahrer“, der Holländer, Bergener Bürger und anderer Norweger, die außerhalb des „geschlossenen Kreditsystems“ ihren Handelsgeschäften nachgingen.

Formal besaß das Kontor Machtbefugnisse nur gegenüber den eigenen Mitgliedern, die an die Kontorstatuten gebunden waren. Die Disziplinierung der hansischen „Sommerfahrer“ war daher ziemlich einfach: Es war ihnen verboten, mit den Handelspartnern der „Wintersitzer“ Geschäfte abzuschließen, nicht nur mit den verschuldeten, sondern auch mit denen, die üblicherweise mit den „Wintersitzern“ handelten, ohne Schulden bei ihnen zu haben. Sie durften im Großhandel keine Güter an Norweger verkaufen, die diese bei ihren einheimischen Geschäften einsetzen konnten. Sie durften ihre Güter nicht gegen Geld verkaufen; das bedeutete, dass sie nur mit dauerhaften Partnern Geschäfte machen durften, bei denen der Warenaustausch als Plus oder Minus in ein Rechnungsbuch eingetragen wurde. Wenn sie Getreideprodukte aus dem Ostseeraum importierten, mussten sie ihren Stockfisch wieder in den Ostseeraum exportieren; das machte es den Kaufleuten aus den hansischen Nordseestädten unmöglich, in Danzig oder einer anderen baltischen Stadt Getreide einzukaufen und den Stockfisch in ihre Heimatstadt zu verschiffen. Das war die Art des Dreieckshandels, den die wendischen Städte in der vorangehenden Periode so erfolgreich praktiziert hatten. Wie die Vertreter der zur Hanse gehörenden süderseeischen Städte und Danzigs hervorhoben, konnten die „Sommerfahrer“ ungehindert nur mit den „Wintersitzern“ Handel treiben. Diese Maßnahmen wurden von dem Oldermann des Bergener Kontors wirksam durchgesetzt. Es versteht sich von selbst, dass sie ernste Spannungen innerhalb des Kontors hervorriefen.

Gegenüber den Holländern, Norwegern und anderen Nicht-Deutschen besaß das Kontor keine Machtbefugnisse, aber es gibt zahlreiche Beispiele dafür, dass es unrechtmäßige Zwangsmittel einsetzte. So forderte das Kontor, dass alle in Bergen die Regel anerkennen und beachten sollten, dass ein verschuldeter Norweger nur mit seinem Gläubiger Geschäfte abschließen durfte. Wenn ein verschuldeter Norweger seinen Stockfisch an jemand anderen verkaufte, dann kam es durchaus vor, dass der „Wintersitzer“ den Fisch beschlagnahmte, ohne an den Käufer eine Entschädigung zu zahlen. Das Kontor übernahm den Beschluss eines Hansetags in die Statuten, wonach kein hansischer Kaufmann Güter an Nicht-Hansen verkaufen durfte, die diese Güter in ihrem Handel in Bergen weiterverkaufen könnten. Da diese Maßnahme auf einem Hansetag beschlossen worden war, konnte das Kontor

verlangen, dass die Ostseestädte die Holländer und Engländer daran hinderten, Getreide aus ihren Häfen zu verschiffen.<sup>1</sup> Diese politischen Maßnahmen gegen Holländer und Engländer in Bergen verschärften die Spannungen und ermutigten sie, wie gezeigt, Alternativen in der Fischerei zu entwickeln. Die Holländer steigerten ihren Schiffsverkehr zwischen der Nord- und der Ostsee, während er in Richtung Bergen stagnierte.

Die Handelspolitik des Kontors zwischen 1430 und 1534 verzögerte den Niedergang des Hansehandels in Bergen um vielleicht ein Jahrhundert. Der starke dänisch-norwegische Staat beendete die politische Option. Nach dem Krieg 1533–1534 war es offenkundig, dass die Hanse nicht mehr stark genug war, um in Nord-europa als politischer Akteur aufzutreten. Der dänisch-norwegische Staat und die lokalen Behörden in Bergen waren in der Lage, die Hanse ihrer eigenen Gesetzgebung zu unterstellen, ohne örtliche Repressalien oder politische Konsequenzen befürchten zu müssen. Das Verbot des Kontors, Getreide und andere Handelsgüter an norwegische Kaufleute zu veräußern, bedeutete eine ernste Beschränkung des Handels der Bergener Bürger nach Norden in die Stockfisch produzierenden Regionen. Die Behinderung ihrer Stockfischeinkäufe beeinträchtigte auch den Aufbau eigener Außenhandelsstrukturen. Zwischen 1545 und 1560 musste aber das Kontor seine Boykottmaßnahmen einstellen. In der Folge intensivierten die Bergener Bürger und andere Norweger ihre Handelsbeziehungen mit dem Norden und organisierten nun einen eigenen Exporthandel.

Nach 1560 hatte die Hanse keinen wirtschaftlichen Vorsprung mehr vor ihren Konkurrenten, noch war sie in der Lage eine protektionistische Wirtschaftspolitik durchzusetzen. Der Weg schien frei zu sein für die Holländer, die Engländer und die Bergener Bürger. Aber die Holländer und die Engländer waren nicht mehr in demselben Maße am Stockfischhandel interessiert, wie das in früheren Jahren der Fall war. Der Grund dafür liegt vermutlich darin, dass seit dem Ende des 15. Jahrhunderts die Stockfischpreise sowohl im Vergleich zum Silber als auch zu andern Gütern zurückgingen. Die Gewinne der Kaufleute müssen rückläufig gewesen sein. Gleichzeitig eröffneten sich den englischen und niederländischen Kaufleuten andernorts neue Handelsmöglichkeiten während der „kommerziellen Revolution“ des langen 16. Jahrhunderts.

Die Bergener Bürger hatten praktisch jedoch keine Alternative zum Exporthandel von ihrer Heimatstadt aus, der seit der Zeit Christians II. als Vizekönig (1507–1512) und besonders nach 1560 staatlicherseits zunehmend wirkungsvoller gefördert wurde. Aber die staatlichen Autoritäten wussten, dass die Bergener Bürger den komplexen Bergener Exporthandel, mit hohen Kreditsummen und Kontakten zu Märkten in Innerdeutschland, allein nicht bewältigen konnten. Da die staatlichen Behörden die „Wintersitzer“ als nützlich für die Küstenbevölkerung und für den Staat erachteten, in einer Zeit sinkender Preise und Gewinn sogar auch für die

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1 NGL 2. rk. I no. 375 § 14; HUB V no. 1050 = HR I, 6, 70 § 17.

Fischer, wurden die Privilegien des Kontors bis 1766 erneuert. Dann verkaufte der letzte deutsche Kaufmann aus Bremen seine Häuser in Bryggen an seinen Sohn, der das Bergener Bürgerrecht erworben hatte.

Eine unter Hansehistorikern vieldiskutierte Frage ist die, wann die Hanse ihre größte Blütezeit erlebte. Für den Bergenhandel muss die Antwort differenziert ausfallen. Der Umfang des Handels scheint seinen Höhepunkt in den Jahrzehnten vor dem Schwarzen Tod erreicht zu haben. Die wirtschaftliche Organisation war zwischen 1350 und 1430 am stärksten und geschlossensten; in dieser Zeit segelten die „Wintersitzer“ aus Lübeck und anderen wendischen Städten zu vielen Häfen im Nord- und Ostseeraum, handelten mit den Stockfischproduzenten auf der Grundlage eines „geschlossenen Kreditsystems“, erzielten dank vorteilhafter Preise gute Gewinne und waren ihren Konkurrenten überlegen, ohne politische Maßnahmen ergreifen zu müssen. Politisch entfaltete das Kontor die größte Macht in der Zeit von 1430 bis 1534, als es mit Hilfe der Kontorstatuten und gewaltsamem Vorgehen gegen nicht zur Hanse gehörende Konkurrenten die dominierende Stellung der Hanse ein Jahrhundert lang verteidigen konnte, während die Hanse andernorts bereits im Niedergang begriffen war.

Stockfischhandel gab es schon vor der Hanse. Hansekaufleute schalteten sich erst zwischen 1240 und 1349 ein und übernahmen ihn dann, indem sie ihn hinsichtlich des Umfangs erheblich ausweiteten und ihn organisatorisch weiterentwickelten. 200 Jahre später betraten neue „Mitspieler“ die Bühne. In der nachreformatorischen Zeit gehörten zu den Bergener Bürgern Kaufleute mit sehr unterschiedlichen Erfahrungen im Stockfischhandel. Einige hatten Vorfahren, die als Bergener Bürger schon immer an dem einheimischen Teil des Stockfischhandels teilgenommen hatten, einige waren ehemalige Hansekaufleute, die es vorgezogen hatten, das Bergener Bürgerrecht zu erwerben, andere waren Holländer mit Traditionen im Stockfischhandel, die bis in die 1430er Jahre zurückreichten. Die Förderung durch einen starken Staat seit etwa 1560 erleichterte es den Bürgern, diesen Handel auszubauen. Sie kamen mit den wirtschaftlichen und politischen Bedingungen des 16. Jahrhunderts besser zurecht als das Kontor. Philippe Dollinger sah in seinem Buch „La Hanse“ in der Geschichte der Hanse eine Stufe in der Entwicklung des nordeuropäischen Handels. Die Geschichte des Bergenhandels hat gezeigt, wie fruchtbar diese Perspektive ist.

## APPENDIX I

### SHIPS REGISTERED IN THE CUSTOMS ACCOUNTS FROM RAVENSERE, HULL, LYNN AND BOSTON 1303–49, WITH A CARGO FROM NORWAY.

As explained in chapters I.3b – I.3d the customs accounts do not register the ships' port of departure overseas. This has to be assessed on the basis of the commodities in its cargo. The methods for doing this are explained in chapters I.3b – I.3d. In the tables below are the ships which according to these methods had Norway as their ports of departure. Only the four ports mentioned above have shipping to Norway.

The value of the cargo on each ship has been summarized separately for Norwegians and foreigners. The names are spelled as they are written in the original.

*The following import accounts have survived and have been examined 1303–1349:*

	Archive reference in PRO	Number in DN XIX	Date
Hull and			
Ravensere	E-122/55/16	430	04.07.1304 – 29.09.1304
	55/17	442	29.09.1304 – 29.09.1305
	55/19	447	29.09.1305 – 29.09.1306
	55/23	453	29.09.1306 – 07.07.1307
	56/3	457	07.07.1307 – 29.09.1307
	57/1	454	29.09.1307 – 29.09.1308
	56/7	–	29.09.1308 – 20.08.1309
	134/1	473 and 533	02.08.1310 – 29.09.1310
	56/10	476	29.09.1310 – 09.10.1311
	57/10	517	20.07.1322 – 29.09.1323
	56/26	523	29.09.1324 – 29.09.1325
Lynn	E-122/93/2	422	25.02.1303 – 26.06.1304
	93/3	436	29.06.1304 – 29.09.1307
	93/4	460	29.09.1308 – 08.08.1309
	93/7	–	04.08.1309 – 20.08.1309
	93/17	518	20.07.1322 – 01.10.1323
	93/19	521	29.09.1323 – 29.09.1324
	93/22	524	29.09.1324 – 29.09.1325
	93/25	–	29.09.1325 – 16.05.1326
Boston	E-122/5/9	423	12.02.1303 – 29.09.1303

	6/3	–	08.11.1308 – 28.08.1309
	6/5	–	02.08.1310 – 29.09.1310
	6/21	–	29.09.1326 – 26.04.1327
	7/4	537 and 544	23.01.1333 – 28.06.1333
Boston export	E-122/5/7	–	12.02.1303 – 29.09.1303
Boston wool	E-122/5/8	–	10.02.1303 – 29.09.1303

### *Ravensere*

Ravensere was a fishing village outside Hull near Spurn's Head. Hull was the seaport of York, the largest town in northern England, and Ravensere passed on fish to both both York and Hull. A fish market was held in the autumn. Herring which was caught in the North Sea in July – October, was the main species. In addition Hanseatic and Norwegian merchants arrived with stockfish from Bergen. The stockfish in Ravensere was classified according to the norms used by Hansa merchants in Bergen, this makes it certain that the fish really came from Bergen. In table 1 I have not named fish according to its classification name, but grouped it under the common name "stockfish". The different qualities of hides are also only called "hides". On each ship there are normally several merchants, but in table 1 only the name of the skipper is given. Some skippers owned part of the cargo, others did not own any goods and were skippers only. A few ships had cargoes which belonged partly to Norwegians, partly to foreigners. For details, see DN XIX.

I have considered herring which arrived in spring as Norwegian. The North Sea and the Scanian fisheries were in the autumn. See table I.5 and the comments to that table.

Table 1 Ships with Norwegian goods in extant customs accounts Ravensere 1303–1349 <sup>(1)</sup>

Date	Skipper	Skipper's home port	Commodities <sup>(2)</sup>	Norwegians' goods	Foreigners' goods
26.07.04	Thorstan de Ordenburg	Norway	Masts, hides, moss for dyeing, falcons, horse	£7–09	
28.10.04	Arnald Kendale <sup>(3)</sup>	Norway	Beams	£10–00	
10.11.04	Conrad de Beregh	Bergen	Masts, rafters	£13–00	
06.04.05	Colban de Northberg	Norway	Herring, oil, hides	£6–06	
06.04.05	Salomon de Wisbe	Visby	Stockfish, herring, hides		£35–02
20.06.05	Johne le Long	Norway	Stockfish, oil, boards	£46–13	£3–03
04.08.05	Henrik de Norweg	Hansa town? <sup>(4)</sup>	Bord de Melving (=Elbing), sturgeon, barrel staves, boards.	None	

Date	Skipper	Skipper's home port	Commodities <sup>(2)</sup>	Norwegians' goods	Foreigners' goods
04.08.05	Frater Goswyn, navis abbatis et conventus monasterii de Holme	Trondheim	Stockfish, oil, hides, boards	£40-15	
08.08.05	Haquin de Norwag, navis regis de Norwag	Norway	Stockfish, oil, hides, boards, furs	£34-03	
08.08.05	Falker de Stav[oren]	Stavoren	Stockfish, oil, hides boards		£73-15
10.08.05	Johs le Wyte de Norweg	Norway	Stockfish, oil, hides, boards	£25-12	
13.08.05	Haymun Mossel	Unknown	Stockfish, oil, boards		£24-06
20.09.05	Hamund Firnesse	Norway	Stockfish, oil, hides, boards	£55-13	
02.04.06	Johs Dertman	Hansa town	Stockfish, oil, hides		£59-10
14.05.06	Johs le Wythe	Bergen	Stockfish, oil, hides, boards	£46-16	
04.07.06	Cristin Parwe	Unknown	Stockfish, oil, hides, boards, rafters		£35-12
24.07.06	Hemyng de Thrunden	Trondheim	Stockfish, oil, hides, boards, sulphur	£39-02	
24.07.06	Hermann Scep	Unknown	Stockfish, oil, hides, boards	£15-14	£6-19
10.08.06	Johs Bloc	Hansa town	Stockfish, oil, hides		£254-10
20.08.06	Sewart de Norberghen	Norway	Oil, hides, boards	£13-11	
21.08.06	Johs de Lubico	Lübeck	Stockfish, oil, hides		£158-00
24.08.06	Hermann Sale	Hansa town	Stockfish, oil, hides, felt hats <sup>(5)</sup>		£141-16
28.08.06	Haldin de Northberg	Bergen	Stockfish, oil, hides, boards, rafters	£31-11	
02.09.06	Albryght Laue	Hansa town	Stockfish, oil		£86-09
23.10.06	Olav fil. Ivar de Thonesbergh	Tönsberg	Rafters, small timber. He sold his ship.	£17-07	
10.03.07	Johs le Wyte de Lubico	Lübeck	Herring from Norway		£35-00
10.04.07	Johs de Dertmund de Radestoke	Rostock	Stockfish, oil, hides		£84-13
11.05.07	Reginald de Lubico	Lübeck	Stockfish, rafters, laths		£6-00
09.07.07	Henrik Bonesolke	Unknown	Stockfish, rafters, boards, chests, cheeses ( <i>keces</i> )		£11-13
09.07.07	Thrund Grot	Norway	Hides, rafters, [hay] forks	£7-05	
19.07.07	Salomon de Gutland	Gotland	Stockfish, oil		£19-10

Date	Skipper	Skipper's home port	Commodities <sup>(2)</sup>	Norwegians' goods	Foreigners' goods
19.07.07	Bertram Westhow	Hansa town	Stockfish		£123-00
19.07.07	Gerard Molend	Hansa town	Stockfish, oil, hides, butter		£101-15
05.08.07	Johs Mell	Hansa town	Stockfish, oil, hides, wax		£115-17
24.11.07	Otkyn Thusandpund	Hansa town	Stockfish, oil, hides, boards, rafters, furs, whetstones		£61-11
24.11.07	Hermann Hemeler	Lübeck	Stockfish, oil, hides, whetstones		£84-01
24.11.07	Bertram de Stralsund	Stralsund	Stockfish, oil, hides		£207-00
20.12.07	Folkir de Hamburg	Hamburg	Stockfish		£28-11
06.05.08	Arnald de Estland	Hansa town	Stockfish, hides		£78-18
07.05.08	Tymann de Burgh	Hansa town	Stockfish, oil, hides		£95-03
29.05.08	Olav de Northbergen	Bergen	Stockfish, oil, herring, hides, boards, rafters	£12-02	
06.06.08	Peter de Carpesund	Norway	Stockfish, oil, hides, rafters	£7-05	
06.06.08	Haslak Heupa de Northberg	Bergen	Stockfish, oil, boards, rafters, hides	£20.01	
18.06.08	Homundr de Northbergen	Bergen	Stockfish, oil, hides, rafters	£22-6	
19.06.08	Herner de Northbergen	Bergen	Stockfish, oil, hides, boards, rafters	£11-04	
22.06.08	Egebrecht de Rocha	Unknown	Stockfish, oil		£28-03
29.06.08	Hermann Desen de Lubico	Lübeck	Stockfish, oil, hides, furs		£90-18
01.07.08	Hermann Hemeler de Lubico	Lübeck	Stockfish. Oil, hides		£65-05
06.07.08	Haystayn Perhowe	Trondheim	Stockfish, oil, hides, boards, sulphur, furs, small timber ( <i>spira</i> )	£59-17	
04.09.08	Helynd de Northberg	Bergen	Stockfish, oil, boards, rafters	£18-03	
04.09.08	Hermann de Soterlond	Hansa town	Stockfish, oil, hides, <i>kenciis</i>		£66-03
15.09.08	Robert Bord de Norbergh	Bergen	Stockfish, oil, boards, rafters	£19-08	
03.02.09	Johs Thousandpond	Hansa town	Herring "from Norway"		£13-05
03.02.09	Tidemann de Hamburg	Hamburg	Herring		£10-10
28.04.09	Albert de Lubico	Lübeck	Stockfish, oil	£18.04	£100-07

Date	Skipper	Skipper's home port	Commodities <sup>(2)</sup>	Norwegians' goods	Foreigners' goods
11.05.09	Hermann Hemeler	Lübeck	Stockfish, oil, hides, tar, pitch, sulphur	£14–13	£84–18
11.05.09	Gerkin de Lubico	Lübeck	Stockfish, hides		£115–10
13.06.09	Hulfe de Northbergh	Bergen	Stockfish, hides, beams	£8–04	
15.06.09	Radulf de Lubico	Lübeck	Stockfish, oil, hides, boards, furs		£107–04
07.07.09	Gerard de Wismer	Wismar	Stockfish, oil, hides		£89–16
13.01.11	Albert de Camp	Kampen	Herring from Norway		£21–00
13.01.11	Edward fil. Mint	Unknown	Herring from Norway		£22–00
05.05.11	Johs Bake	Unknown	Stockfish, herring		£6–00
22.06.11	Johs de Norwagia <sup>(6)</sup>	Hansa town	Barrel staves, wain-scot, oars	None	
29.06.11	Godefred de Lubyke	Lübeck	Stockfish, oil, hides		£102–17
29.06.11	Johs Whitynburg	Hansa town	Stockfish, barrel staves		£7–11
04.07.11	Johs Clerc de Stavan-gre	Norway/ Stavanger	Stockfish, oil, hides, boards, rafters, tar	£7–13	£106–18
09.07.11	Olav de Berthen	Bergen	Stockfish, oil, boards, pitch, rafters	£15–0	£2–10
17.07.11	Osbert de Estend	Unknown	Rafters, hides		£10–18
17.07.11	Thorkell de Oustnesse	Norway	Rafters, hides, oil	£7–6	
17.07.11	Peter Bules	Unknown	Rafters, hides		£5–12
20.07.11	Arnulph Hydetop de Rostoke	Rostock	Stockfish, oil, boards, rafters		£15–04
05.08.11	Hidde Bloke	Hansa town	Stockfish, boards		£155–19

Sources: See references to the Public Record Office (PRO) and DN XIX above.

- (1) The values are given in pounds and shillings, one pound = 20 shillings.
- (2) *Oleum* literally means oil and can be fishoil or olive oil from the Mediterranean. In the customs accounts of the East English ports it in most cases occur in the same cargo as fish, and therefore must be fishoil.
- (3) The skipper seems to have been English, the merchant was Olof le Lung (cf. Olav Lang) who was Norwegian.
- (4) All goods belonged to Will. de Rodes. The skipper may have been citizen of a Hansa town with Norwegian ancestry, cf. table I.1. The goods evidently did not come from Norway.
- (5) *capell de fultro*.
- (6) This type of wooden products mostly came from the Baltic, (cf. table I.3) and “de Norwagia” may in this case have been a family name. But it is theoretically possible, but less likely, that Johannes was a Norwegian and that the wooden products had been made in Norway.

## Hull

Hull was a larger port than Ravensere, but it had less trade and shipping to Norway. Even here the stockfish is often classified according to the norms of the Hanseatic settlement in Bergen. In periods the imports are only called “fish” (*piscis*), and this

name could theoretically cover far more than stockfish. But *piscis* is always counted in hundreds, and this demonstrates that it can not be herring which was always quantified in lasts, baskets or barrels, and very rarely in hundreds. *Piscis* regularly occur in cargoes where the other commodities are typical Norwegian exports, only on a couple of occasions does *piscis* seem to be imported from the Netherlands. In table 2 I have written “stockfish” when the Hanseatic terms from Bergen are used, otherwise “fish”.

Table 2 Ships with Norwegian goods in extant customs accounts Hull 1303–1349 <sup>(1)</sup>

Date	Skipper	Skipper's home port	Commodities	Norwegians' goods	Foreigners' goods
26.09.04	Ulf de Norberwe	Bergen	Stockfish, oil, hides, boards	£22–16	
27.09.04	Thurstan de Berwe	Bergen	Beams, tar, hides, furs, moss for dyeing, horse, one bear ( <i>j ursum</i> )		£7–3
28.09.04	Gunnor de Northberwe	Bergen	Stockfish, hides, tar, boards, harness (for horses)	£10–11	£3–2
28.09.04	Clays Plathe	Hansa town	Wool from Norway, boards, ashes, troughs, pitch, wadmal, wheat <sup>(2)</sup>		£7–0
10.10.04	Gunnor Baret	Oslo?	Beams, butter, hides, furs, falcons, wadmal	£12–00	£30–08
18.10.04	Frater Osbert de Norwegia	Norway	Stockfish, oil, beams, wax	£4–00	£0–10
20.02.05	Albert le Long de Strallesond	Stralsund	Herring <sup>(3)</sup>		£15–0
28.02.05	Folcard del Howe	Unknown	Herring		£23–05
04.03.06	Tydemann de Lubyke	Lübeck	Herring, hides, furs		£37–02
06.04.06	Hinrik de Roustok	Rostock	Herring, hides, butter		£23–04
06.04.06	Hinrik de Gripeswold	Greifswald	Herring, hides, stockfish		£20–12
08.04.06	Hinrik Starke de Strallesond	Stralsund	Herring, sealskins		£35–05
08.04.06	Henrik de Norway	Norway <sup>(4)</sup>	Herring		£28–00
12.06.06	Ulf de Northbergh	Bergen	Fish, oil, boards, hides, rafters	£29–01	
17.07.06	Haucon de Tonesberg	Tønsberg	Hides, boards, rafters, small timber	£05–01	
29.10.06	Fretheric de Northberg	Bergen	Stockfish, oil, boards	£25–15	

Date	Skipper	Skipper's home port	Commodities	Norwegians' goods	Foreigners' goods
14.02.07	Seward de Strallesond	Stralsund	Herring		£18-00
10.03.07	Ingilbert de Maydenburgh	Magdeburg	Herring, hides		£34-05
25.05.07	Simon de Carnesond	Unknown	Stockfish, oil, boards, beams, hides, furs		£7-03
10.06.07	Hinrik de Rosetoke	Rostock	Stockfish, oil, hides, boards, furs		£16-14
08.02.08	Sayn de Balgh	Norway	Herring	£14-00	
13.02.08	Gerard de Strallesond	Stralsund	Herring		£27-00
13.02.08	Hermann de Brandenburg	Hansa town	Herring <sup>(5)</sup>		£12-00
24.03.08	Seward de Tonesbergh	Tønsberg	Herring, hides, fish	£24-05	
08.04.08	Hermann de Calnesowe	Hansa town	Herring "from Norway" is registered in this table, the rest of the cargo was evidently Baltic <sup>(6)</sup>		£1-10
12.05.08	Hinrik de Wismere	Wismar	Fish, boards, beams		£14-06
13.05.08	Fretheric de Norbergh	Bergen	Fish, boards, beams	£57-00	
18.05.08	Seward de Bergh	Bergen	Boards, beams, hides	£10-01	
14.10.08	Johs Gaserike	Hansa town	Fish		£1-00
22.01.09	Engelbriht de Camp	Kampen	Herring, hides		£16-05
06.02.09	Jacob de Strallesond	Stralsund	Herring, hides		£21-08
06.02.09	Jacob de Lubike	Lübeck	Herring		£21-00
06.02.09	Engelbriht de Maydenbourgh	Magdeburg	Herring		£18-00
18.08.10	Thormod de Northweg	Norway	Boards, rafters, hides, butter	£9-09	
02.03.11	Jacob de Gutland	Gotland	Herring		£21-00
15.03.11	Tydemann Stelebiter	Elbing?	Herring, stockfish, hides		£26-03
08.06.11	Christian Emelberg	Unknown	Stockfish, hides, boards, rafters		£10-17
08.06.11	Tydemann de Rostok	Rostock	Rafters, masts, butter, hides, moss for dyeing		£15-00
26.02.23	Ranulph de Wylsham	"de Lubyk"	Herring "from Norway"		£32-00
26.02.23	Wyld de Herderwyk	Harderwijk	Herring "from Norway"		£50-00
26.02.23	Gosekin de Herderwyk	Harderwijk	Herring "from Norway"		£55-00

Date	Skipper	Skipper's home port	Commodities	Norwegians' goods	Foreigners' goods
12.07.23	Johannis de Colbergh	Kolberg	Flour of rye, hides, boards, "butter from Norway" <sup>(7)</sup>		£1–16
14.03.25	Johannis Lange	Unknown	Herring, fish		£50–14
14.06.25	Fulchard Fres	Unknown	Rye <sup>(8)</sup>	None	
05.08.25	Henrik de Berghen	Unknown	Rye, wax <sup>(9)</sup>	None	

Sources: See references to the Public Record Office (PRO) and DN XIX above.

1. Cf. notes 1 and 2 to table 1 above.
2. The "wool from Norway" I have listed as Norwegian goods, the remaining cargo probably came from the Baltic.
3. Cf. table I.5
4. See table 1 above 04.08.05. The whole cargo belonged to a merchant from Stralsund. The skipper may have been a citizen of Stralsund with Norwegian ancestors. Cf. table I.1.
5. These three herring ships arrived at the same time, the first skipper was named "Svein" and must have been Norwegian, the three ships are registered with the lowest herring prices that year. Therefore I have assumed that all three came from Norway (Bohuslän).
6. The ship seems to have sailed Stralsund – Bohuslän – Hull.
7. The Baltic Rye was worth £22–10, the butter from Norway, hides and boards only £1–16. The ship seems to have sailed from Kolberg, along the southern Norwegian coast and ended in Hull. The rye was evidently not loaded in Norway.
8. One of the merchants is called Siwardus de Thornden which would be a normal way of anglicising Sigurd from Trondheim. But it may also be an anglicised German name.
9. Berghen may also be Bergen auf Rügen. Henrik may also have been citizen of a Baltic town with ancestors in Bergen in Norway (cf. table I.1). Rye and wax were exports from the Baltic.

## Lynn

The chancery rolls give evidence that Lynn was the main English destination for Norwegian merchants, and most English merchants visiting Norway were citizens of Lynn. Letters from the chancery concerning trade and shipping by Norwegian and English merchants to Norway were nearly always sent to Lynn. The town was at the estuary of the river Ouse and its hinterland was the catchment area of this river up to Cambridge. This area had a significant surplus of grain which was exported via Lynn. Hansa merchants bought their grain in the Baltic, and showed diminishing interest for Lynn in the period covered by this appendix.

Since a significant part of the shipping was operated by Norwegians, it is not problematic to pick out the ships arriving from Norway. The fish is partly named with the quality labels used by the Germans on Bryggen, partly as *piscis durus* and partly simply as "fish". When the customs officials use *piscis*, I have used "fish" in table 4, in the two first cases *stockfish*.

*Piscis* may theoretically refer to many kinds of fish.

Table 3 Number of merchants who imported fish to Lynn 1304–06.

Name	1304	1305	1306
Fish ( <i>piscis</i> )	17	3	1
Stockfish	0	27	15
Herring	19	20	19
Sturgeon	1	0	0
Salmon	0	0	1

PRO E-122 for the relevant years, cf. above.

The customs official who wrote the account for 1304 did not use terms meaning stockfish, but he used 17 times the term *piscis*. He distinguished between three species, fish, herring and sturgeon. 11 of the merchants importing *piscis* were Norwegians. In 1305 the official used *piscis* only three times, but terms meaning stockfish increased to 27. In 1305 and 1306 *piscis* disappeared almost completely, and of the four merchants who imported it, two were Norwegians. The number of merchants importing herring was constant the three years, the term *piscis* clearly did not include herring. The conclusion to be drawn from this must be that in Lynn 1304–1306 “fish” was used synonymously with “stockfish”.

Table 4 Ships with Norwegian goods registered in extant customs accounts from Lynn 1303–1326

Date	Skipper	Skipper's home port	Commodities	Norwegians' goods	Foreigners' goods
02.04.03	Heynce de Stath	Stade ?	Herring, hides	£15–13	£12–00
06.04.03	Stenkel de Norweg	Norway	Herring	£66–13	
06.04.03	Nicholas de Berwen	Bergen	Herring	£11–05	
10.05.03	Selef de Gutland	Gotland	Herring		£80–00
01.06.03	Thorgout de Berwen	Bergen	Bord, beams	£30–00	
04.06.03	Johne Wale	Hansa town	Stockfish		£82
07.06.03	Arnald de Esp	Hansa town	Stockfish, boards, troughs		£55
26.06.03	Thor de Norweg	Bergen	Boards, oil	£34–10	
15.07.03	Albert Campe de Alman	Kampen	Stockfish, hides, boards		£40–00
22.07.03	Hermann Godebusche	Hansa town	Boards, beams		£19–00
21.08.03	Grim de Norweg	Norway	Boards, oil	£37–00	
24.08.03	Wyther de Norweg	Norway	Stockfish, oil, boards, beams	£19–10	
11.09.03	Syworth Scalderother	Norway	Stockfish, oil, boards	£70–00	
16.09.03	Adam de Northberwen	Bergen	Fish, oil, boards, hides, wadmal	£32–00	£10–15
23.09.03	Ketel de Tunesberghe	Tønsberg	Boards, beams	£50–00	
24.09.03	Askell de Norweg	Norway	Beams	£18.05	

Date	Skipper	Skipper's home port	Commodities	Norwegians' goods	Foreigners' goods
13.10.03	Ulf de Norwag	Norway	Fish, beams	£30–00	
17.10.03	Thor Gaut	Norway	Stockfish, boards	£26–00	
17.10.03	Haquin de Norwag	Norway	Boards	£5–15	
24.02.04	Ellyng Breyde de Norwag	Norway	Fish, oil, boards	£106–15	
16.03.04	Gunne Bret de Norw.	Norway	Herring, hides	£124–0	
16.03.04	Osbertus de Norwag	Norway	Herring, hides	£121–3	
24.03.04	Marcus de Stralsund	Stralsund	Herring		£18–13
02.04.04	Eyner Blonese	Norway	Herring	£247–10	
22.04.04	Roger de Rypon	Ripon <sup>(1)</sup>	Fish, oil		£24–00
24.04.04	Selef de Gutland	Gotland	Herring		£60–00
17.07.04	Adam fil Hugo de Cayth	Unknown	Fish, oil <sup>(2)</sup>		£22–15
22.07.04	Thor Gaut de Norwag	Norway	Fish, boards	£40–00	
?.07.04	Oder Gaut de Norw.	Norway	Boards, beams	£36–00	
?.07.04	Sywrth Scalroth de Norwag	Trondheim	Fish, oil, boards	£116–00	
27.07.04	[???] de Thornden	Trondheim	Fish, oil, boards	£80–05	
27.07.04	[???] de Thornden	Trondheim	Fish, oil, boards	£36–12	
29.07.04	[???] de Thornden	Trondheim	Fish, oil, hides	£60–11	
03.08.04	Johne de Thornden	Trondheim	Fish, oil, boards	£34–04	
03.08.04	Omund de Tonesberg	Tønsberg	Fish, oil	£19–00	
?.08.04	Osbertus del Vike	Oslofjord	Fish, hides	£11–15	
09.08.04	Selef de Gutlond	Gotland	[unreadable], hides		£111–0
07.09.04	Johne le Clerk de Thornden	Trondheim	Fish, oil, boards, hides	£43–15	
?.09.04	Omundr Slumbe de Thornden	Trondheim	Fish, boards	£91–10	
03.10.04	Ludekyn de Brahm	Bremen	Fish		£12–10
?.10.04	Salomon de Gutland	Gotland	Fish, furs, wadmal <sup>(3)</sup>		
20.11.04	Thurstan le Swarte de Axele	Oslo	Hides	£8–0	
08.04.05	Johne Mulle de Lubic	Lübeck	Herring, hides		£27–00
13.04.05	Johne de Minstre de Gutlond	Gotland	Herring		£56–00
15.04.05	Rad. de Suffeld	Unknown	Herring		£56–05
15.04.05	Ludekyn de Brehm	Bremen	Herring		£22–00
15.04.05	Omundr de Berwen	Bergen	Herring, hides <sup>(4)</sup>	£19–00	
29.04.05	Anfin de Tonesberg	Tønsberg	Herring, butter	£56–00	
30.04.05	Ketel de Auxele	Oslo	Herring, stockfish, hides	£25–00	

Date	Skipper	Skipper's home port	Commodities	Norwegians' goods	Foreigners' goods
06.05.05	Gunner Prat de Tonnesberg	Tønsberg	Herring, stockfish, hides	£68–10	
11.05.05	Nicholas de Tonnesberg	Tønsberg	Herring, stockfish	£55–00	
16.05.05	Frater Osbertus de Auxele	Oslo	Herring	£40–00	
19.05.05	Ingelbert de Lubic	Lübeck	Stockfish		£5
08.06.05	Eyner de Auxele de Norwagia	Oslo	Stockfish, hides, furs	£149–00	
11.06.05	Swyn de Northberg	Bergen	Stockfish, oil, hides, boards	£62–03	£6–04
16.06.05	Ulw de Northberg	Bergen	Fish, hides boards	£33–00	
??.06.05	Johne Bucskyn de Norwagia	Norway	Oil, hides, boards	£40–00	
??.07.05	Oder Gaut de Northberg	Bergen	Stockfish, hides, boards	£37–10	
12.07.05	Olav le Lung de Norwagia	Norway	Fish, oil, boards	£39–00	
04.08.05	Stangrim de Northberg	Bergen	Stockfish, oil, hides, boards	£70–00	
04.08.05	Oder Gaut de Northberg	Bergen	Stockfish, oil, hides, boards	£60–00	
25.08.05	Omundre Slumbe de Thornden	Trondheim	Stockfish, hides, boards	£11–00	
27.08.05	Tidemann de Brahm	Bremen	Stockfish, hides		£10–03
24.09.05	Elia Rous de Axele	Oslo	Stockfish, hides, boards	£64–00	
??.10.05	Johne le Clerk de Thornden	Trondheim	Stockfish, oil, boards	£114–00	
15.10.05	Ingelbert de Thornden	Trondheim	Stockfish, oil, hides, boards	£60–00	
18.10.05	Swen de Northberg	Bergen	Stockfish, oil, hides, boards	£63–00	
18.10.05	Johne Buckskyn de Northberg	Bergen	Stockfish, oil, hides boards	£50.00	
20.10.05	Hamon Gaut de Norwagia	Bergen <sup>(9)</sup>	Stockfish, oil, hides, boards	£46–13	
22.10.05	Thor Gaut de Norwagia	Norway	Stockfish, oil, hides, boards	£80–00	
??.10.05	Peter Posche de Gutland	Gotland	Stockfish, oil, hides, boards		£55–00
02.11.05	Johne Lung de Norwagia	Norway	Stockfish, oil, boards	£34–10	£37–00

Date	Skipper	Skipper's home port	Commodities	Norwegians' goods	Foreigners' goods
10.11.05	Simon Ruske de Gutland	Gotland	Stockfish, oil, hides		£65-07
?.11.05	Albert de Campe	Kampen	Stockfish		£12-00
28.11.05	Ketel de Northberg	Bergen	Stockfish, oil	£24-00	
07.05.06	Selef de Gutlond	Gotland	Stockfish, oil		£50-10
10.06.06	Johne de Minstre	Gotland? <sup>(5)</sup>	Herring, hides		£18-00
?.06.06	Gunor Sut de Tonnesberg	Tønsberg	Herring, stockfish, hides	£25-00	
10.07.06	Omunder Slumbe de Thornden	Trondheim	Stockfish, hides, boards	£42-19	
14.07.06	Ernald le Quayte de Northberg	Bergen <sup>(6)</sup>	Stockfish, oil, boards, beams	£91-00	£20-00
14.07.06	Albert de Camp	Kampen	Stockfish, oil, boards		£14.05
19.07.06	Halwer Colle de Northberg	Bergen	Stockfish, oil, boards	£80-00	
16.08.06	Augustin Parwe de Norwagia	Norway	Stockfish, boards	£23-00	
16.08.06	Ermund Skeype de Norwagia	Norway	Stockfish, oil, boards	£81-13	
19.09.06	Selef de Gutlond	Gotland	Stockfish boards, beams		£43-04
?.09.06	Selef de Gutlond	Gotland	Stockfish, boards, hides, butter, ashes, flounder in barrels <sup>(7)</sup>		£50-17
09.10.06	Hinrik Pape de Strallesond	Stralsund	Stockfish		£1-05
09.10.06	Willelm Scot de Northberg	Bergen	Stockfish	£8-00	
?.10.06	Ludbrich Kempe	Kampen	Stockfish		£5-00
01.04.07	Tidemann de Strallesond	Stralsund	Herring "from Norway"		£31-00
07.04.07	Johne Whyte	Lübeck? <sup>(8)</sup>	Herring, hides, butter, salt		£21-00
04.05.07	Salomon de Gutlond	Gotland	Stockfish, oil		£13-05
?.06.07	Tidemann fil. Hinrik de Strallsound	Stralsund	Stockfish, oil, hides		£39-14
?.06.07	Olof Smerlichir <sup>(9)</sup>	Bergen?	Stockfish, oil, boards	£25-06	
29.06.07	Collebeynsson		Stockfish	£16-00	
03.07.07	Sywrth	Oslo	Hides, furs, spears, butter	£26-00	
10.07.07	Johne Whyte <sup>(10)</sup>	Bergen	Stockfish, fish from Iceland, oil, boards, rafters	£55-12	

Date	Skipper	Skipper's home port	Commodities	Norwegians' goods	Foreigners' goods
01.08.07	Omundr de Thorndeyn	Trondheim	Stockfish, oil, hides	£102-00	
18.08.07	Arne	Norway	Rafters	£8-00	
18.04.09	Johne Sterebot	Bergen	Herring	£6-05	
08.07.09	Bernard de Brem	Bremen	Fish, hides		£16-00
14.07.09	Grigor la Falayse	Unknown	Fish, hides		£50-00
07.09.22	Johne de Thornegge	Lynn	Stockfish, oil <sup>(13)</sup>		£280-0
06.12.22	Burghard de Brem	Bremen	Stockfish		£245-0
04.02.23	Ludbrith de Hatten	Hansa town	Stockfish, barrel staves, sturgeon, fruits <sup>(14)</sup>		£91-15
23.03.23	Nicholas Monse	Mons in Belgium	Herring, stockfish, hides, furs <sup>(11)</sup>	£164-19	
23.03.23	Johne de Thornegge	Lynn	Stockfish <sup>(13)</sup>		£161-10
27.05.23	Johne de Thornegge	Lynn	Boards <sup>(12)</sup>	£12-00	
25.07.23	Walter Benecrost	Lynn?	Stockfish <sup>(13)</sup>		£14-00
30.07.23	Nicholas de Norwag	Norway	Masts, beams	£48-00	
27.11.23	Orn de Norwagia	Norway	Beams	£12-00	
30.11.23	Will de Bauseye	Unknown	Stockfish		£20-00
12.02.24	Orm de Norwegia	Norway	Herring	£14-00	
31.01.25	Wilhelm van Geyn	Hansa town	Herring, hides, falcons <sup>(15)</sup>	£20-00	£114-0
04.02.25	Henrik de Anslo	Oslo	Herring, hides, furs, stockfish <sup>(16)</sup>	£28-00	£49-16
26.04.25	Lutekyn de Tunesbergh, navis de Norwagia	Tønsberg	Herring, hides, moss for dyeing cloth, stockfish, furs	£76-14	
20.05.25	Orn Desting <sup>(11)</sup>	Norway	Boards, beams, hides	£46-14	
10.06.25	Scalandr de Norwagia	Norway	Boards, rafters, small timber, hides, <i>cade</i>	£8-14	£6-10
01.07.25	Clement de Thorendeyn	Trondheim	Boards, tables, sulphur, stockfish, oil, hides, hides of moose,	£112-00	
25.07.25]	Orn Hest	Norway	Beams, small timber, hides, moss for dyeing cloth	£14-04	
03.09.25	Syworth de Norwagia	Norway	Beams, hides, stockfish	£14	

Date	Skipper	Skipper's home port	Commodities	Norwegians' goods	Foreigners' goods
06.10.25	Simon Barde	English?	Stockfish, hides <sup>(17)</sup>		£8–15
13.01.26	Peter Mabillon	Flanders?	Stockfish (£33–03), oil (2–5), other £6 <sup>(18)</sup>		£35–08

Sources: All extant customs accounts from the custom started in 1303 until 1350. See references to PRO and DN XIX at the start of this appendix.

- (1) Ripon is an inland town in Yorkshire. The merchant who owned the goods paying customs had a German name, Gottschalk. He seems to have shipped fish from Bergen on an English ship.
- (2) An indication that the ship came from Norway, is that one of the merchants was Albert de Camp and he several times traded to Norway. The ship also imported tertell (cloth), this indicates that it may have come from Flanders.
- (3) Skipper Salomon from Gotland/Visby imported 06.04.05 stockfish, herring and hides and 19.07.07 stockfish and oil to Ravensere. This time a merchant from "Sweden" imported furs and wadmal and a German merchant "fish" on his ship. He may have sailed Visby – Bergen – Lynn. This is uncertain and he has not been included in the table.
- (4) The five ships who paid customs for herring 8–15 of April all had herring and seem to have sailed together. One of them was Norwegian. April was in the middle of the herring season in Bohuslän.
- (5) 13.04.05 skipper Johan de Münster from Gotland imported herring to Lynn. This may be the same skipper who imported herring on this occasion. The merchants are from Gotland, Bremen and Dortmund, and the ship is called "Flanderfare". At this time of year the herring is most likely to have come from Bohulän.
- (6) On this ship the merchants Meynard from Hamburg and Peter from Trondheim seem to have been in a companionship importing and exporting in common. The last two items are likely to have been loaded on the ship in the Baltic.
- (7) Two ships owned by Selef arrived within a short timespan, both may have started from Visby and sailed via Bergen.
- (8) Johne Whyte from Lübeck arrived in Ravensere one month earlier (10.03.07) with "herring from Norway".
- (9) Olof's ship was called "Gaut", which must refer to Gotland. "Gaut" also arrived with several skippers: Hamon Gaut from Norway (Lynn 20.10.05), Ernard Gaut from Bergen (Lynn 24.11.05), Ernard Qyute from Bergen (Lynn 14.07.06). "Gaut" must have belonged to a small colony of merchants from Gotland living in Bergen.
- (10) Johne Whyte can be an anglicised Norwegian or German name, and both Johan/Jon and Wite/Kvite were common names. It speaks in favour of the first alternative that the names of the merchants on the ship are Norwegian, but in this early period there was no statute which prevented Norwegians from sailing with Hanseatic skippers. It speaks in favour of the German alternative that skipper *Johne Whyte* from Lübeck often visited Lynn with Norwegian goods these years.
- (11) One of the merchants on this ship is called "Ludekyn de Rostock" when he arrived, but "Ludekyn from Tønsberg" when he departed. The merchants have German and Norwegian names. In Tønsberg and Oslo the Germans were integrated in the urban society.
- (12) One Norwegian merchant. The skipper was from Lynn, and there were probable many English merchants on board who were exempted from customs.
- (13) One Hansa merchant. The skipper was English, and there were probable many English merchants on board who were exempted from customs.
- (14) Only stockfish and barrel staves included in the value. This ship has a mixture of goods produced in Norway, the Baltic and southern Europe which indicates that it may have come from Bruges or some other market in Flanders.
- (15) One of the merchants is Reginald de Anslé (Oslo). This kind of goods was produced both in Norway and the Baltic.
- (16) The merchants have German and Norwegian names, one is Tore from Tønsberg.
- (17) The merchant who paid customs seems to be German
- (18) The merchants on this ship seem to have sailed from Bergen to Flanders, and continued to Lynn.

### **Boston**

Boston had a smaller foreign trade than Hull/Ravensere and Lynn, but it was here the Hansa merchants arriving from Bergen after 1303 concentrated their trade. The customs officials in Boston used the term *piscis* (= fish) when they registered the imported fish products. In Hull/Ravensere and Lynn the officials distinguished between several species and commodities. This may be due to Boston being a market for imported stockfish from Bergen, but no other imported fish, while the two other ports had fish imports from several destinations.

The richer material from the Late Middle Ages makes it evident that the typical Hanseatic combination of “fish and oil” (*piscis et oleum*) in the Boston customs accounts was *stockfish* and fishoil from Norway (chapter II.4a). Already in 1350 the chancery wrote to the customs officials in Boston asking them not to collect a new customs from four Hansa ships which had arrived with fish and oil from Norway (... *cum oleo, stockfisshes et aliis mercandis de partibus de Norwagie*) (DN XIX no. 568). The following year four other Hansa vessels were liberated from customs, they had arrived from Norway with *piscibus que dicuntur stockfissh et aliis mercandis de partibus Norwagie*. In the same letter the assortment of goods is called *piscis, oleum et alia mercimonia* (DN XIX no. 569). Later in the year other Hansa merchants who travelled from Boston to Norway to fetch *piscis vocatos stockfissh et alia bona* were liberated from a new customs duty. This favour was explicitly only given to those Hansa merchants who traded fish from Norway. This indicates that all or most Hansa merchants in Boston participated in this trade, or that the English king at least considered this trade to be particularly important (DN XIX no. 570). In 1351 all Hansa merchants who arrived in Boston from Norway with *piscis durus* were exempted from a general arrest (DN XIX no. 572). In 1346 the bailiffs in Boston took arrest in *stockfish* belonging to eight named merchants from Lübeck (Calendar of Patent Rolls 1345–1348, p. 152). Ca. 1350 Hansa merchants imported significant quantities of what in English was called *stockfissh* and in Latin *piscis durus* or only *piscis*. In addition they imported *oleum*, fishoil.

This trade between Norway and East England in fish and oil had existed at least since the start of the 14<sup>th</sup> century. In 1316 a Hansa ship on its way from Norway was wrecked outside Scarborough with *oleum, piscis et alia bona* (DN XIX no. 503). The largest Hanseatic ships with stockfish in Ravensere 1304–11 had cargoes where 93% of the value was stockfish, 4% fishoil, 2% hides and 1% timber (table IV.4). On this background it is reasonable to assume that all Hansa ships in the customs accounts for Boston with *piscis* and *oleum* came from Norway. In tables 5–8 all ships with *piscis* on board have been registered. There are no Norwegian skippers or merchants in the extant customs accounts for Boston 1303–1333, they visited neighbouring Lynn, Ravensere and Hull.

Table 5 Ships with *piscis* in Boston 20.01.1333 – 28.06.1333

Date	Skipper	Skipper's home port	Commodities	Norwegians' goods	Foreigners' goods
20.04.33	Empkyn de Kele	Kiel?	Fish, oil, hides, boards, <i>potbred</i> (?)		£118–00
20.04.33	Bernard de Heythe	Hansa town	Fish, oil, hides, boards, butter		£137–00
03.05.33	Robert Permay	England <sup>(1)</sup>	Beams, boards	£0–07	
21.06.33	Ludekyn de Osterwyke	Hansa town	Fish, oil, hides, boards, whetstones		£59–00
21.06.33	Johne Wod	Hansa town	Fish, oil		£72
21.06.33	Johne Heythe	Hansa town	Fish, oil, hides, boards, haddock, whetstones, sulphur, whale-meat, falcons		£150–12

Source: PRO E-122/7/4 and E-122/7/5; DN XIX no. 537 (correct date) and 544 (wrong date).

(1) There were probably several English merchants on board who were exempted from customs. One was Norwegian.

On the Background of what was said above about a significant Hanseatic trade Norway-Boston in fish and oil there can not be any doubt that the five ships with fish and oil in table 5 imported stockfish and fish oil from Bergen.

Table 6 Ships with *piscis* in Boston 29.09.1326–2.04.1327

Date	Skipper	Skipper's home port	Commodities	Norwegians' goods	Foreigners' goods
14.10.26	Johne Dytmerche	Hansa town	Fish, oil, hides, boards, whetstones		£199–10
20.10.26	Johne Raceburg	Hansa town	Fish, oil, hides, whetstones		£185–00
20.10.26	Ludekyn Sack	Hansa town	Fish, oil, hides, beams, whetstones, steel		£173–00
12.11.26	Johne Sibesone	Hansa town	Fish, oil, hides, boards		£240–00
12.11.26	Fredric Stien	Hansa town	Fish, oil, hides, boards		£161–10
12.11.26	Hermann le Young	Hansa town	Fish, oil, hides, boards		£165–10
12.11.26	Hermann Parlement	Hansa town	Fish, oil, hides, boards		£106–10
12.11.26	Conrad Screder	Hansa town	Fish, oil, hides, boards		£135–00

Date	Skipper	Skipper's home port	Commodities	Norwegians' goods	Foreigners' goods
13.11.26	Bert. de Horlyng	Hansa town	Fish, oil, hides, boards		£76–10
25.04.27	Johne Thousandpund	Hansa town	Fish, oil, hides, boards, whetstones		£219–00
25.04.27	Bernard Heyth	Hansa town	Fish, oil, hides, boards, butter		£128–00
25.04.27	Nicholas de Ancle	Anklam?	Fish, oil, hides, herring		£114–10
25.04.27	Hinrik Woulp	Hansa town	Fish, hides, boards		£154–00
26.04.27	... kon de Rostock	Rostock	Fish, oil, hides, boards, whetstones		£129–00

Source: PRO E-122/6/21; not printed DN XIX.

Table 7 Ships with *piscis* in Boston 02.08.1310–29.09.1310

Date	Skipper	Skipper's home port	Commodities	Norwegians' goods	Foreigners' goods
11.08.10	Damebs Chesthovene	Hansa town	Fish, oil		£71–00
11.08.10	Godemund de Lubike	Lübeck	Fish, oil		£86–10
15.08.10	Johne Beke	Hansa town	Fish, hides		£130–00
07.09.10	Albert Parlement	Hansa town	Fish, oil, hides		£90–00
07.09.10	Radulf Scothorp	Hansa town	Fish, oil		£95–00
09.09.10	Hinrik Brunesywyke	Braunschweig	Fish, oil		£119–10
09.09.10	Johne Hombre	Homburg?	Fish		£208–10
09.09.10	Frederic Parkham	England? <sup>(1)</sup>	Fish, oil		£192–00
10.09.10	Conrad Lunge	Hansa town	Fish, oil, wax		£82–00
10.09.10	Will. Snelle	Hansa town	Fish		£126–00
10.09.10	Johne Sevenbrether	Hansa town	Fish, oil, <i>baidouck</i> (?)		£174–00
11.09.10	Hermann le White	Hansa town	Fish, oil		£144–00
22.09.10	Johne Thousandpond	Hansa town	Fish, hides, boards		£127–00
22.09.10	Will. Stalebuke	Hansa town	Fish		£80–10
24.09.10	Arnald Lewe	Hansa town	Fish		£113–00

Source: PRO E-122/6/5; not printed DN XIX.

(1) The merchants were German, but the skipper may have been English.

In this last account (table 7) the customs official evidently often wrote down only the main commodity, fish, to save time. The important thing for the customs was the value, not the kind of commodity. But when he includes the other ones they turn out to be the same as in the preceding accounts, all of them were export items from Norway. Only a small quantity of wax seems to have been shipped from the Baltic via Bergen.

Table 8 Ships with *piscis* in Boston 08.11.1308–02.07.1309 <sup>(1)</sup>

Date	Skipper	Skipper's home port	Commodities	Norwegians' goods	Foreigners' goods
15.02.09	Johne Thousandpond junior	Hansa town	Hides <sup>(2)</sup>		£6–00
09.05.09	Albert de Lubike	Lübeck	Hides <sup>(3)</sup>		£7–00
17.05.09	Johne Tispel	Hansa town	Fish		£86–00
20.06.09	Conrad le Lung	Hansa town	Fish, oil, hides, boards, sulphur		£33–00
20.06.09	Gerkin Wernethorp	Hansa town	Fish, oil, hides, boards, rafters, sulphur		£70–00
20.06.09	Gerkin Werpford	Hansa town	Fish, hides, boards		£54–00
31.06.09	Albert Segge	Hansa town	Fish, hides, boards, rafters		£10–00
02.07.09	Hermann Rese	Hansa town	Fish, oil, hides		£141–00
02.07.09	Will. Snell	Hansa town	Fish, oil, boards		£64–00
02.07.09	Daniel de Estland	Hansa town	Fish, oil, hides		£78–10

Source: PRO E-122/6/3; not printed DN XIX.

- (1) This account states in the heading that it ends 28.08.09, but no ships are registered after 02.07.09. It is unlikely that no ship should arrive during these two months, which was in the middle of the sailing season. It is most likely that the register stopped being written 02.07.09 or shortly afterwards.
- (2) This skipper imported “herring from Norway” to Ravensere 12 days earlier (03.02.09).
- (3) He imported a large cargo of stockfish to Ravensere 12 days earlier (28.04.09).

The ships with *piscis* in Boston 1308–1333 had only goods which are known from other sources to have been exported from Norway, with two exceptions. In the earliest customs account from Boston 1303 the situation is different. 25 ships imported *piscis*, 16 of these also imported typical Baltic goods, and 4 of the 25 also imported cloth which was a typical Flemish import.

These “mixed cargoes” pose problems when summarizing the value of Norwegian imports to Boston in the period. All goods belonging to one merchant was summarized in these accounts (Johan from Lübeck, fish, oil, furs goats' hides, value £20). If a merchant had both Norwegian and Baltic goods, it is impossible to isolate the values which were imported from Norway. But the majority of individual merchants had either Norwegian or Baltic goods, even if they arrived on the same ship. In table 9 I have only included merchants who had goods which normally came from Norway. Individual merchants who had “mixed cargoes” imported for £360–18, how much of this was Norwegian goods is unknown. But it makes the sum of the values in table 9 a minimum figure.

Table 9 Ships with *piscis* in Boston 10.02.03 – 29.09.1303 <sup>(1)</sup>

Date	Skipper	Skipper's home port	Commodities <sup>(2)</sup>	Foreigners' goods
17.05.03	Hinrik de la Porte de Lubik	Lübeck	Stockfish <sup>(3)</sup> , fish, oil	£103
17.05.03	Johne de Dertemund	Dortmund	Fish, oil, hides, butter, <i>wax</i>	£124
17.05.03	Ludulph de Breem	Bremen	Fish, oil, <i>cloth</i>	£113
17.05.03	Hermann de Lubik	Lübeck	Fish, oil	£ 55
14.07.03	Frederic de Lubik	Lübeck	Fish, oil	£118
14.07.03	Johne de Lippe	Lippstadt?	Fish, oil, <i>wax</i>	£ 99
14.07.03	Gerhard de Rostock	Rostock	Fish, oil, hides, <i>wax, furs</i>	£154
24.07.03	Everard Hardenek	Hansa town	Fish, <i>wadmal, wax, furs</i>	£ 18–13
24.07.03	Johne Spikman	Hansa town	Fish, oil, <i>wax, furs, cloth</i>	£141
24.07.03	Willelm Breem	Bremen	Fish, oil, hides, <i>wax</i>	£118
12.08.03	Johne Wale de Lubik	Lübeck	Fish, oil, <i>cloth</i>	£ 99
22.08.03	Hinrik del Sten	Hansa town	Fish, oil, <i>wax, furs</i>	£124
22.08.03	Arnald Crouse	Hansa town	Fish, oil, wax, furs	£ 82
22.08.03	Johne Heth	Hansa town	Fish, oil, <i>wax, furs, gos-hawks, steel, millstones</i>	£ 95
24.08.03	Tidemann de Minstre	Münster	Fish, oil, hides, <i>wax, furs, cloth</i>	£ 61
29.08.03	Johne Wale de Rodestok	Rostock	Fish, oil, <i>cloth</i>	£125
05.09.03	Wernekin Godeyer	Hansa town	Fish, oil	£103
07.09.03	Ludbright de Svythen	Hansa town	Fish, oil	£116
07.09.03	Hermann de Lubik	Lübeck	Fish, oil, hides	£ 86
09.09.03	Johne de Wytenburgh	Hansa town	Fish, <i>wax, copper</i>	£ 94
09.09.03	Conrad Hovener	Hansa town	Fish, boards, <i>whetstones, wax</i>	£ 53
13.09.03	Johne le Lung	Hansa town	Fish, <i>furs</i>	£ 84
14.09.03	Anton de Lubik	Lübeck	Fish, oil, boards, <i>wax, furs, falcons</i>	£ 87
16.09.03	Johne de Parkham	Hansa town	Fish, oil, boards, <i>furs</i>	£115
16.09.03	Gerkin Vring	Hansa town	Fish, oil	£ 53

Source: PRO E-122/93/2; GRAS, *Customs system*, pp. 288–301; DN XIX no. 422.

- (1) The column “Norwegians’ goods” has been omitted since there were no Norwegian merchants.
- (2) The commodities which evidently did not come from Norway have been italicised. This goods has been excluded from the summary in the last column.
- (3) There are three merchants on this first ship from Bergen. The two first merchants are said to import *stoc-fibs*, the third *piscis*. All the following ships with fish use the term *piscis*. It is evident that the customs official started by calling the product stockfish since that was the term he was used to in English, but changed to *piscis* partly because the account was to be written in Latin and *piscis durus* was not a term in common use, partly perhaps because *piscis* was shorter and there was no doubt as to the correct spelling. This initial uncertainty confirms that *piscis* = stockfish even in this account.

Bergen merchants bought grain products from the Baltic and sold stockfish in Bruges in Flanders. During one voyage they could combine visits to a Baltic port, Bergen, Flanders and East England, and load and discharge goods in each of them. To judge from the composition of cargoes in table 9, sailing Baltic – Bergen – East England must have been common. Skipper Tidemann van Münster and skipper Johan Spikman, with merchants from Dortmund and Cologne on board, may have loaded both Flemish and Baltic goods in Bruges. Bergen was at this time part of a North European network.

After 1303 the Hansa seems to have concentrated its trade from the Baltic and the Netherlands including Flanders to London, therefore these “mixed cargoes” are absent from tables 5–8 above. This will be discussed in chapter I.3i.

## APPENDIX II

### SHIPS REGISTERED IN THE ENGLISH CUSTOMS ACCOUNTS 1350–1500, WITH A CARGO FROM NORWAY

The purpose of this appendix is first to identify how many ships arrived from Norway to Boston and other English ports in the period. Next it is to demonstrate that the same Hansa merchants who traded from Bergen to Lübeck and other Hanseatic ports, also traded from Bergen to Boston.

The methods used to identify ships with cargoes from Norway in the customs accounts are discussed in chapter I.3c. In the Late Middle Ages new methods are available making the identification more certain.

In the customs service two persons wrote independent accounts, the collector and the controller. In several periods both accounts have been preserved, and a comparison reveals that one account could call the fish on a particular ship “stockfish” (*piscis durus*), the parallel account could name it “fish” (*piscis*). Examples are ships nos. 38–44, 95, 97, 99 and several others to Boston in the register below. This confirms the conclusion from appendix I that customs officials in Boston used “stockfish” and “fish” as synonyms, Norwegian stockfish was so dominant that no further specification was necessary.

In the period 1368–1400 are available parallel customs registers for shipping from Bergen to Lübeck and Boston. Many Hansa merchants are registered in both accounts. If the names of merchants who traded from Lübeck to Bergen also are to be found in the customs accounts in Boston with fish, this increases the likelihood that the relevant ships in the customs accounts came from Bergen. Therefore I have examined the names of all merchants who arrived in Boston on ships with fish, to find whether their names also occur in the Bergen trade from Lübeck, or that they are named as Bergenfahrer in other sources.

Stockfish, often called only fish (*piscis*) dominated the import from Bergen to England. In the High Middle Ages I considered all “fish” (*piscis*) imported to East English ports as stockfish from Norway, unless there were indications to the contrary. For the Late Middle Ages this has to be modified. Stockfish was then produced in Prussia (Cf. p. 130). Numbers 140, 156 and 158 below exemplify small stockfish cargoes imported to Boston and Lynn on ships which evidently had loaded their goods in Prussia. The accounts from Hull have examples of the same, but I have not found it necessary to include these in the list below. This stockfish is easy to identify because it came in small quantities on ships where Baltic goods dominated. Large fish cargoes on the other hand are never found with typical Baltic goods in the English customs accounts. The fisheries in Prussia may have been important for local consumption there, but it was not important in the export to East England.

In this appendix the first names of the Bergenfahrer have been normalised in the cases where this can be done with certainty: Tideke to Didrik, Meus to Bartholomeus etc. In this normalisation I have used LECHNER, *Pfundzollisten*, pp. 426ff. This is necessary if names from different sources are to be identified as referring to the same person. English customs officials often misunderstood German names. Where parallel accounts have been preserved, it appears that *Snythewynd* has been transformed to *Smyth*, *Melbek* to *Crambek*. If I have considered an identification of names as probable but not certain, the divergent name in the customs account is written in brackets.

When identifying names one has to assume that same name means same person, but one has to set a time limit for how long it is realistic to think that a person was active. Many Bergenfahrer arrived in Bergen at an early age, often below 20. As old men they could live as capitalists and members of the Bergenfahrer guild in their home town and trade to Bergen from there. It is not unreasonable to think that a merchant could be active in the Bergen trade in different roles for 50 years. If the same name occurs in the Bergen trade with a distance of more than 50 years, I have considered them as two different persons. Even in other cases the assumption that same name means same person has to be evaluated on the background of other available evidence.

Distorted, unidentifiable names and identical names referring to different persons are both sources of error, but in opposite directions.

We know the names of a small part of the Hansa merchants trading to Bergen in the Late Middle Ages. On almost every ship with *piscis* in Boston 1365–1490 there is one or several known Hanseatic Bergenfahrer. This is strong evidence that all these ships came from Bergen, and that the shipping between the two towns was controlled by the Hanseatic Bergenfahrer.

*The following accounts have been examined:*

	Archive reference in	From	To
	PRO		
Boston	E-122/		
	7/10	1365 20/10	1366 30/9
	7/13	1377 26/12	1378 30/6
	7/17	1383 2/12	1384 29/9
	7/19	1386 28/11	1387 24/12
	7/20	1388 8/5	1388 16/5
	7/22	1390 29/9	1391 29/9
	7/23	–“–	
	7/24	1391 29/9	1391 8/12
	7/26	–“–	
	7/27	–“–	
	7/30	1392 29/9	1393 6/4
	7/30A	1393 1/10	1394 1/8

Archive reference in PRO	From	To
7/31	1397 29/9	1398 29/9
8/1	1400 8/10	1400 26/11
8/2	1400 27/11	1401 19/8
8/6	1401 19/8	1402 25/6
8/8	1404 31/3	1405 10/2
8/7	1405 10/2	1405 29/9
8/11	1405 29/9	1406 7/9
8/14	1408 24/7	1409 28/1
8/15	—“—	
8/17	1409 8/5	1409 29/9
8/18	—“—	1410 1/2
11/12	1410 29/9	1411 29/9
8/21	1412 20/6	1412 29/9
8/25	1413 12/4	1413 29/9
9/68	1459 15/12	1460 24/5
10/1	1460 1/9	1461 4/3
10/2	—“—	
10/4	1463 19/7	1464 3/5
10/5	1465 5/2	1465 29/9
10/6	—“—	
10/7	1466 25/3	1467 25/3
10/8	1467 25/3	1468 6/3
10/9	1468 6/3	1468 20/12
10/11	1468 25/12	1468 10/3
10/12	1470 15/9	1470 22/9
10/16	1471 6/7	1471 29/9
10/13	1471 29/9	1471 27/11
10/14	1471 27/11	1472 14/3
10/17	1472 14/5	1472 8/10
10/18	1472 8/10	1473 8/10
10/20	1477 5/5	1477 29/9
10/22	1482 29/9	1483 9/4
10/21	—“—	
10/24	1483 29/9	1484 29/9
10/25	—”-	
10/26	1484 29/9	1485 3/4
11/2	1486 29/9	1487 29/9
11/3	1487 29/9	1488 29/9
11/4	—“—	
11/6	1490 6/11	1491 29/9

	Archive reference in PRO	From	To
	11/8	1491 29/9	1492 29/9
	11/14	1496 29/9	1497 29/2
Lynn	E-122/	94/9	1388 20/3 1388 24/4
	93/31	1390 1/4	1390 27/11
	94/12	1390 27/11	1391 29/9
	94/15	1394 29/9	1396 9/2
	94/16	1396 12/2	1397 17/2
	95/8	1402 22/8	1402 6/11
	95/12	—“—	
	95/27	1405 5/3	1405 2/12
	96/35	1440 2/9	1441 29/9
	96/37	1456 6/3	1457 24/1
	96/40	1458 29/9	1459 29/9
	96/41	1459 29/9	1461 3/3
	97/3	1461 4/3	1461 24/11
	97/2	1462 29/8	1463 24/2
	97/1	1463 24/2	1463 7/6
	97/4	1464 19/11	1465 19/11
	97/6	1466 19/3	1466 2/11
	97/8	1466 2/11	1467 2/11
	97/9	1467 2/11	1468 2/11
	97/10	1468 2/11	1469 17/9
	97/12	1471 5/6	1471 13/11
	97/11	1471 12/11	1472 13/11
	97/17	1480 13/11	1481 29/9
	98/1	1483 29/9	1484 29/9
	98/6	1486 29/9	1486 26/10
	98/7	1487 29/9	1488 29/9
	98/10	1489 29/9	1490 29/9
	98/11	1490 29/9	1491 29/9
	98/14	1494 29/9	1495 29/9
Hull	E-122/	59/1	1378 29/9 1379 29/9
	59/3	—“—	
	59/8	1383 27/7	1384 27/7
	59/28	1388 20/3	1388 21/4
	59/3	1390 1/3	1390 15/3
	59/15	—“—	
	59/19	1391 29/9	1391 8/12
	59/21	—“—	
	59/26	1396 29/9	1397 17/7

Archive reference in PRO	From	To
159/11	1398 29/9	1399 29/9
60/2	1401 3/4	1401 7/7
187/7	1405 29/9	1405 25/10
61/71	1453 6/4	1453 29/9
61/74	1459 1/1	1459 12/8
62/1	1461 7/3	1461 29/9
62/3	1462 16/8	1463 10/3
62/4	1463 6/7	1463 ca 30/8
62/6	1464 29/9	1465 16/3
62/7	1465 16/3	1465 29/9
62/9	1466 29/9	1466 29/9
62/11	1468 18/7	1468 29/9
62/12	1469 18/10	1469 9/8
62/13	1471 5/2	1471 18/6
62/14	1471 18/6	1471 29/9
62/16	1471 29/9	1472 29/9
62/19	1473 6/8	1473 29/9
63/1	1484 9/4	1484 29/9
63/8	1490 29/9	1491 29/9

The archive reference for a particular ship in PRO is found by comparing the date for the relevant ship in the register below to the list of references above.

The sign “–” in the list above means that two parallel accounts have been preserved, both the collector’s and the controller’s.

*Abbreviations:*

Sk = Skipper.

Merchants = The number of merchants on the ship.

PB = Lübeck’s *Pfundzollbücher* 1368–1400, the registers of ships sailing to and coming from Bergen (Archiv der Hansestadt Lübeck, *Pfundzollbücher*). The following number tells how many times the merchant in question is registered in the extant *Pfundzollbücher*. The final date tells the first and the last year he is mentioned there.

Executor = Executor in a will written by a Bergenfahrer in Lübeck. They are all printed in BRUNS, Bergenfahrer on the page given in the footnote.

= refers to an earlier ship where the same merchant is listed and information about him is given. The first figure is the number of the ship, the second figure is the number of the merchant on the ship in the list below.

***Boston***

Boston was after 1303 the main port for the Hansa in East England (chapter I.3i).

As mentioned above the archive reference for a particular ship in PRO is found by comparing the date for the relevant ship in the register below to the list of references at the start of appendix II.

- (1) 1365 25/10 Sk. Johan Boow Merchants: 15  
Commodities: Fish, oil, eels, boards, hides of sheep and deer, ermine, furs of marten, *nacfell*, *potbred*.  
Identified Bergenfahrer:
1. Nicholas Schonewold: PB 40x 1368–83. Executor 1381.<sup>1</sup>
  2. Meineke van Hamme: PB 28x 1370–81. Wrote his testament 1368, donations to churches in Bergen.<sup>2</sup> Executor 1372, 1374 and 1373.<sup>3</sup>
  3. Hinrik Sperling: PB 26x 1370–83. Wrote his testament 1378, donations to churches in Bergen.<sup>4</sup> Executor 1384.<sup>5</sup>
  4. Tidemann Schoping: PB 5x 1379–1400. Wrote his testament 1419, donations to churches in Bergen.<sup>6</sup> He wrote his testament 54 years after his name is registered in the customs accounts for Boston. This may be two persons. But the Bergenfahrer often came to Bergen at an early age, and he is said to be ill when he wrote his testament. If he was 20 in 1365, he would have been 74 when he was on his deathbed in 1419.
  5. Johan Grashof: PB 4x 1369–70. Executor 1377.<sup>7</sup> Was the uncle and inheritor of the Lübecker Bergenfahrer Tidemann Bremer who was on his deathbed in 1369.<sup>8</sup>
  6. Radulf van Lippe: Probably the same as Rulof van Lippe, PB 3x 1369–70.
  7. Johan Boymann: PB 1x 1370
  8. Gerhard van Münster: Bergenfahrer who was attacked by pirates in 1383.<sup>9</sup>
  9. Johan Bodeker: Merchant from Braunsberg in Prussia who in 1378 is accused of violence in the realm of the Danish king.<sup>10</sup> Later he was town councillor in Braunsberg.<sup>11</sup>
- (2) 1365 25/10 Sk. Hinrik Lusce Merchants: 12  
Commodities: Fish, oil, boards, hides of sheep and deer, ermine, *nacfell*, *potbred*.  
Identified Bergenfahrer:
1. Hinrik Brandenburg: PB17x 1368–81
  2. Hinrik Stenvorde: PB 12x 1368–83
  3. Wynant van Grulle: PB 9x 1368–70
  4. Hermann Brun: PB 9x 1370
  5. Ludeke Kolman: PB 6x 1370
  6. Hermann Vure: PB 1x 1400
  7. Johan Rode: Was 1368 in partnership with the Lübecker Bergenfahrer Meineke van Hamme and received a gift in his testament.<sup>12</sup> Partnership with the Lübecker Bergenfahrer Hinrik Biskop in 1376.<sup>13</sup>
  8. = 1) 8
- (3) 1365 25/10 Sk. Eghebrecht Dodensone Merchants: 13  
Commodities: Fish, oil, boards, hides of sheep and deer, ermine, *nacfell*  
Identified Bergenfahrer:

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1 BRUNS, Bergenfahrer, p. 28.  
2 Ibid. p. 15.  
3 Ibid. pp. 18, 21 and 33.  
4 Ibid. p. 25.  
5 Ibid. p. 155.  
6 Ibid. p. 51.  
7 Ibid. p. 24.  
8 Ibid. p. 16.  
9 HR I, 2, 348; HR I, 3, 345.  
10 HR I, 2, 175.  
11 HR I, 5, index, cf. HR I, 4, 520 §13.  
12 BRUNS, Bergenfahrer, p. 14, cf. 1) 2 above.  
13 Ibid. p. 21.

1. = 1) 2
  2. Godeke Berkhof: PB 11x 1368–70
  3. Martin Rinkerode: PB 10x 1369–79
  4. Johan Swarte: PB 4x 1381–1399, P “1380”. Partnership with Lübecker Bergenfahrer in 1385.<sup>14</sup> Executor 1360 and 1397.<sup>15</sup>
  5. Helmich van Springe: PB 2x 1379
  6. = 1) 7
  7. Marquart Luchow: Mentioned in the *Pfundzoll* “To Malmø” 1369, appendix III 3)
  8. = 2) 7
  9. = 2) 8
- (4) 1365 26/10 Sk. Johan Ruter Merchants: 25  
Commodities: Fish, oil, boards, hides of sheep and deer, ermine, sulphur, falcons, *nacfell*, *potbred*.  
Identified Bergenfahrer:
1. Hermann Nortmeyger: PB 36x 1370–1383. Executor 1379 and 1380.<sup>16</sup>
  2. = 1) 2
  3. Hinrik Tymmerman: PB 25x 1369–1400. Stayed 1407 at the Hanseatic settlement in Boston.<sup>17</sup> Executor 1421.<sup>18</sup>
  4. Johan Godebotz: PB 20x 1370–1383
  5. Marquart Stubbe: PB 16x 1379–1400. Executor 1372 and 1381.<sup>19</sup>
  6. Johan van der Heide: PB 12x 1383–1400
  7. Nicholas Sterneberg: PB 7x 1381–83. Wrote his testament in 1381, owned a house (*stue*) in Bergen.<sup>20</sup>
  8. Jacob van Leyden: PB 6x 1369–70
  9. = 2) 4
  10. Johan Vridach: PB 5x 1399–1400. Exported 1387 malt from Lynn and Boston to Bergen.<sup>21</sup> Stayed 1407 at the Hanseatic settlement in Boston.<sup>22</sup>
  11. Hinrik Lange: PB 4x 1370–98. Executor 1369.<sup>23</sup>
  12. Rotger Grulle: PB 1x 1381. Rulof Grulle who appears in PB 1x 1398 is probably the same man.
  13. = 3) 5.
  14. Hermann Stenvorde: PB 2x 1369. Owned house in Bergen 1373.<sup>24</sup> Executor 1369.<sup>25</sup> Mentioned 1378 as deceased Bergenfahrer.<sup>26</sup>
  15. Johan Krevelbone: PB 1x 1379. Executor 1378.<sup>27</sup>
  16. = 1) 7
  17. Gyse Gerhardsson: Partnership with Lübecker Bergenfahrer Werner Coesfeld in 1367.<sup>28</sup>
  18. Erp (= Herbert) Krumben: Executor 1369, is to inherit a firm (*stue*) in Bergen, outstanding debts included, from Johan Steding who is his partner.<sup>29</sup>

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14 Ibid. p. 153.

15 *Regesten der Lübecker Bürgertestamente* II no. 842; BRUNS, Bergenfahrer, p. 38.

16 BRUNS, Bergenfahrer, pp. 26 and 28.

17 HUB V no. 779 = DN XIX no. 708.

18 BRUNS, Bergenfahrer, p. 53.

19 BRUNS, Bergenfahrer, pp. 19 and 29.

20 Ibid. p. 27.

21 *Hanseakten aus England* no. 232.

22 HUB V no. 779 = DN XIX no. 708.

23 BRUNS, Bergenfahrer, p. 15.

24 HUB IV no. 457.

25 BRUNS, Bergenfahrer, p. 16.

26 Ibid. p. 25.

27 Ibid. p. 25.

28 Ibid. p. 13.

29 Ibid. p. 17.

- (5) 1365 26/10 Sk. Bernd (*Bernharde*) van Halle Merchants: 13  
Commodities: Fish, oil, boards, hides of sheep and deer, ermine, *nacfell*, *potbred*.  
Identified Bergenfahrer:
1. = 1) 1
  2. = 1) 2
  3. = 4) 3
  4. Johan Make: PB 9x 1398–1400. In 1393 called Bergenfahrer from Rostock.<sup>30</sup> Stayed 1407 at the Hanseatic settlement in Boston.<sup>31</sup>
  5. = 1) 4
  6. Gerwin Pape: PB 2x 1370
  7. = 1) 7
  8. = 2) 6
  9. = 2) 5
  10. = 2) 7
- (6) 1365 27/10 Sk. Lauretius Swede (*Sweuthen*) Merchants: 18  
Commodities: Fish, oil, boards, hides of sheep and deer, ermine, furs of marten and otter, ashes, *potbred*.  
Identified Bergenfahrer:
1. Lambert Schulte: PB 35x 1369–83
  2. = 1) 2
  3. = 4) 3
  4. Johan Gronow: PB 24x 1369–99. In the testament dated 1359 of another Bergenfahrer who had the same name (Johan Gronow) and who was his relative and partner in Bergen, he received the older relative's part in the firm and movable property in Bergen.<sup>32</sup> Executor 1376.<sup>33</sup>
  5. = 4) 4
  6. = 4) 6
  7. = 4) 7
  8. = 4) 8
  9. = 2) 4
  10. = Hinrik Hoveman: PB 4x 1368–70. Executor 1361.<sup>34</sup>
  11. = 1) 7
  12. = 4) 17
  13. = 2) 7
- (7) 1366 24/3 Sk. Nikolaus Brenholm Merchants: 15  
Commodities: Fish, oil, boards, hides of sheep and deer, ermine, *potbred*  
Identified Bergenfahrer:
1. Johan van Hamme: PB 30x 1370–83. Executor 1384 and 1389.<sup>35</sup> Partnership with the Bergenfahrer Johan van Hamelen in 1390.<sup>36</sup>
  2. Johan Schoping: PB 26x 1368–99. Executor 1410.<sup>37</sup> Hans Schoping inherited in 1419 a firm with outstanding debts in Bergen, Hans and Johan may be the same person.<sup>38</sup>
  3. Hinrik Vreden: PB 5x 1381–83
  4. = 6) 10
  5. = 4) 14

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30 HUB V no. 121.

31 HUB V no. 779 = DN XIX no. 708.

32 BRUNS, Bergenfahrer, p. 12.

33 Ibid. p. 26.

34 Ibid. p. 12.

35 Ibid. pp. 31 and 33.

36 Ibid. p. 33.

37 Ibid. p. 44.

38 Ibid. p. 51.

6. = 2) 7
- (8) 1366 24/3 Sk. Adlard de Doreen Merchants: 13  
Commodities : Fish, oil, boards, hides of sheep and deer, ermine, whetstones. The fish of 12 of the 13 merchants is called *piscis*, of the last one *piscis durus*.  
Identified Bergenfahrer:
1. Karsten Eckhof: PB 6x 1379–80. Executor 1380 and 1384.<sup>39</sup> He was the owner of the house where the Bergenfahrer guild in Lübeck had their gatherings 1387–1406.<sup>40</sup>
  2. = 1) 6
  3. = 4) 14
  4. Ludeke Schoping: PB 1x 1370
  5. = 4) 18
- (9) 1366 26/3 Sk. Arnold Lütke (*Littell*) Merchants: 24  
Commodities: Fish, oil, boards, hides of sheep and deer.  
Identified Bergenfahrer:
1. = 1) 2
  2. = 2) 3
  3. = 4) 6
  4. Hinrik Sak: PB 12x 1369–79. Executor in seven testaments for Bergenfahrer 1358–1384.<sup>41</sup>
  5. = 3) 2
  6. Hinrik van Stade: PB 15x 1370–99. Wrote his testament in 1369, had a child in Bergen.<sup>42</sup> Wrote a new testament in 1381, owned houses in Bergen.<sup>43</sup> There seems to have been at least two persons with this name, the identifications are therefore uncertain.
  7. = 2) 3
  8. = 4) 8
  9. = 4) 10
  10. = 1) 4
  11. = 4) 11
  12. = 1) 6
  13. = 4) 14
  14. Peter van Stade: PB 2x 1383. Executor 1381.<sup>44</sup> In 1379 he represented the Bergenfahrer at Anglo-Hanseatic negotiations.<sup>45</sup> In 1383 called former spokesman for the Bergenfahrer in Boston.<sup>46</sup>
  15. = 4) 12 above
  16. = 4) 15 above
- (10) 1366 26/3 Sk. Johan Boow Merchants: 22  
Commodities: Fish, oil, boards, hides of sheep and deer, ermine, horns.  
Identified Bergenfahrer:
1. = 4) 1
  2. = 7) 2
  3. = 1) 1
  4. = 4) 4
  5. = 2) 2
  6. = 9) 6
  7. = 4) 10
  8. = 4) 11

39 Ibid. pp. 28 and 31.

40 Ibid. p. CXVIII.

41 Ibid. pp. 18, 22, 24, 25, 31, 155; *Regesten der Lübecker Bürgertestamente* II no. 713.

42 Ibid. p. 15.

43 Ibid. p. 29.

44 Ibid. p. 29.

45 HR I, 2, 210 §8 = DN XIX no. 600 §8 section 3.

46 HUB IV no. 768 = DN XIX no. 608.

9. Tideke Westhof: PB 1368–1383  
 10. = 4) 14  
 11. = 4) 12  
 12. Hermann Pening: PB 1x 1370  
 13. = 4) 18
- (11) 1366 26/3 Sk. Hinrik van Sund Merchants: 19  
 Commodities: Fish, oil, boards, hides of sheep and deer, ermine, *nacfell*, *potbred*.  
 Identified Bergenfahrer:  
 1. = 1) 2  
 2. = 9) 4  
 3. = 3) 2  
 4. = 4) 8  
 5. = 1) 4  
 6. = 4) 10  
 7. = 6) 10  
 8. = 1) 6  
 9. = 4) 14  
 10. Evert van Sladen: PB 2x 1381  
 11. = 4) 15  
 12. = 2) 7
- (12) 1366 6/5 Sk. Bernd (*Bernhard*) van Halle Merchants: 15  
 Commodities: Fish, oil, boards, hides of sheep and deer, ermine, whetstones, herring. The fish of 13 of the 15 merchants is called only *piscis*, one had only herring, and the last one had both “fish” and “herring”. This last example shows that herring was not included under the concept fish.  
 Identified Bergenfahrer:  
 1. = 4) 4  
 2. = 2) 2  
 3. = 4) 6  
 4. = 5) 4  
 5. = 4) 8  
 6. = 1) 4  
 7. = 1) 6  
 8. = 9) 14  
 9. = 4) 14  
 10. = 8) 4  
 11. = 4) 18
- (13) 1366 25/9 Sk. Johan Boow Merchants: 23  
 Commodities: Fish, oil, boards, hides of sheep and deer, ermine, furs of otter, moss for dying cloth, threads of linen. The small consignment of linen thread (13 shillings) belonged to the sailors and not to the Bergenfahrer on board.  
 Identified Bergenfahrer:  
 1. Amelius Luchow: PB 43x 1368–98. In 1372 executor and principal inheritor when his brother the Bergenfahrer Hinrik Luchow wrote his testament.<sup>47</sup> Amelius wrote his own testament in 1375, 1376 and 1380, he owned a house in Bergen and donated to churches there.<sup>48</sup> In 1414 he sold (all?) his properties in Bergen.<sup>49</sup>  
 2. = 4) 3

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47 BRUNS, Bergenfahrer, pp. 18–19.

48 Ibid. pp. 22, 23 and 26.

49 Ibid. p. 36.

3. Johan van Stade: PB 16x 1360–1400. Stayed 1407 at the Hanseatic settlement in Boston.<sup>50</sup> Stayed at Bergen Kontor in 1415.<sup>51</sup>
  4. Bernd Morsell: PB 7x 1369–98
  5. = 4) 7
  6. = 8) 1
  7. = 4) 8
  8. = 1) 4
  9. = 4) 10
  10. = 6) 10
  11. Wigbert Ravensberg: Probably identical to Wigbolt Ravensberg mentioned PB 4x 1370–98.
  12. = 1) 6
  13. = 4) 14
  14. = 4) 15
  15. = 1) 7
  16. = 4) 18
- (14) 1366 29/9 Sk. Peter Houghman Merchants: 32  
Commodities: Fish, oil, boards, hides of sheep and deer, ermine, furs of marten and otter, *nacfell*, *potbred*.  
Identified Bergenfahrer:
1. Hinrik Holtkamp: PB 43x 1370–83. Wrote his testament in 1384, donations to churches in Bergen.<sup>52</sup>
  2. = 13) 1
  3. = 1) 1
  4. = 6) 4
  5. = 2) 2
  6. = 9) 4
  7. Hinrik Biskop: PB 10x 1369–1400. Executor 1368.<sup>53</sup> Wrote his testament in 1374, donations to churches in Bergen.<sup>54</sup> Mentioned 1376 as deceased, had been the partner of the Lübecker Bergenfahrer. Johan Rode [see above 2) 7].<sup>55</sup> There were evidently two persons with that name.
  8. = 2) 3
  9. = 8) 1
  10. = 3) 4
  11. = 1) 4
  12. = 1) 6
  13. Bernt Tymmerman: PB 3x 1370–81
  14. = 3) 5
  15. = 4) 14
  16. Hinrik Vur: PB 1x 1379
  17. Hinrik Brun: PB 1x 1370
  18. = 4) 18
  19. = 2) 8
- (15) 1366 25/9 Sk. Johan Hardestrome Merchants: 33  
Commodities: Fish, oil, boards, hides of sheep and deer, skins of otter and marten, *nacfell*, *potbred*.  
Identified Bergenfahrer:
1. = 1) 1
  2. = 6) 1
  3. = 6) 4

50 HUB V no. 779 = DN XIX no. 708.

51 HUB VI no. 50 = DN I no. 646.

52 BRUNS, Bergenfahrer, p. 31.

53 Ibid. p. 15.

54 Ibid. pp. 20–21.

55 Ibid. p. 21 note 1.

4. = 9) 4
5. = 4) 7
6. = 4) 8
7. = 4) 10
8. = 7) 3
9. = 6) 10
10. = 4) 11
11. = 4) 12
12. = 14) 17
13. = 1) 7
14. = 14) 16
15. Werner Schoping: PB 1x 1398. Wrote his testament in 1410, donations to churches in Bergen.<sup>56</sup>
16. = 2) 7
17. = 2) 8

- (16) 1366 25/9 Sk. Arnold Lütke (Littell) Merchants: 29  
 Commodities: Fish, oil, boards, hides of sheep and deer, ermine, furs of otter, marten and beaver, whale blubber, *nacfell*, *potbred*.  
 Identified Bergenfahrer:
1. = 1) 1
  2. = 2) 2
  3. = 9) 4
  4. = 4) 6
  5. = 14) 7
  6. = 2) 3
  7. = 4) 7
  8. = 4) 8
  9. = 7) 3
  10. = 7) 4
  11. Gerd van Hamme: PB 5x 1381–1400
  12. 6) 10
  13. 4) 11
  14. Arnt van Sladen: PB 4x 1368–70. In 1382 the urban council of Münster asked the council of Lübeck to send the valuables of the deceased Bergenfahrer Arnt van Sladen to his relatives in Münster.<sup>57</sup>
  15. = 1) 6
  16. = 4) 12
  17. = 4) 14
  18. = 14) 16
  19. = 14) 17
  20. = 2) 7

- (17) 1378 27/5<sup>58</sup> Sk. Merard Wellynx Merchants: 6  
 Commodities: Fish, oil, boards, hides of sheep and deer, ermine, furs of otter, *potbred*.  
 Identified Bergenfahrer:
1. Johan Pape: PB 10x 1383–1400. Imported stockfish to Boston 1383,<sup>59</sup> to London 1397.<sup>60</sup> Spokesman for the Bergenfahrer in Boston 1407.<sup>61</sup> Exported stockfish from Bergen in the 1380s.<sup>62</sup>

<sup>56</sup> Ibid. p. 44.

<sup>57</sup> HUB IV p. 78, note 2.

<sup>58</sup> The customs account from 26/12 1377 to 30/12 1378 (PRO E-122/7/13) is almost unreadable. I have only been able to identify this ship from Bergen.

<sup>59</sup> *Calendar of Close Rolls* 1381–85, p. 619.

<sup>60</sup> *Calendar of Close Rolls* 1396–99, p. 36.

<sup>61</sup> HUB V no. 779 = DN XIX no. 708.

<sup>62</sup> MecklUB XXII no. 12.561 §3, cf. HR I, 3, 345.

2. Hermann van Leyden: PB 7x 1368–1383
  3. Johan Ost: PB 1x 1383. Possibly identical to Johan Osterwik, mentioned PB 42x 1379–1400
  4. Hinrik van Lue: PB 8x 1370–1383
- (18) 1384 5/4 Sk. Nicholas Gildemester<sup>63</sup> Merchants: 4  
Commodities: Fish, oil, hides of sheep, furs of otter.  
Identified Bergenfahrer:
1. Johan Scheduling: PB 17x 1369–1400. Wrote his testament 1372, owned a firm (*stue*) in Bergen.<sup>64</sup> In 1392 in partnership with known Bergenfahrer.<sup>65</sup>
  2. Hinrik Notlike: PB 13x 1370–1381. Wrote his testament in 1403, donations to churches in Bergen.<sup>66</sup>
  3. Wineke Brandenburg: Imported malt to Bergen from Boston and Lynn in 1387.<sup>67</sup>
- (19) 1384 5/4 Sk. Gerlach Grulle Merchants: 7  
Commodities: Fish, oil, hides of sheep.  
Identified Bergenfahrer:
1. = 18) 2
  2. Hinrik Bornholm: PB 14x 1369–1398. In 1384 he is called Bergenfahrer in Boston.<sup>68</sup> Traded in 1397 with a canon at Nidaros Cathedral.<sup>69</sup> Wrote his testament in 1409, donations to churches in Bergen, the Kontor in Bergen owed him money.<sup>70</sup>
  3. Elard Minden: Executor 1368.<sup>71</sup> Bergenfahrer in Boston in 1384 and 1393.<sup>72</sup>
  4. Johan Reynberg: identical to Johan Reynbech PB 1x?
- (20) 1384 4/4 Sk. Andreas Neyenhaus Merchants: 6  
Commodities: Fish, oil, hides of sheep.  
Identified Bergenfahrer:
1. = 17) 1
  2. = Hermann Paal: PB 9x 1379–99. Owned a house in Bergen in 1375,<sup>73</sup> was 1376–94 the partner of several known Bergenfahrer.<sup>74</sup>
  3. Johan Osnabrück: PB 2x 1381. Executor 1351.<sup>75</sup> Wrote his testament 1358, had business connections in Bergen.<sup>76</sup>
  4. Ludeke Delmenhorst (*Delmost*): Executor 1416.<sup>77</sup>
- (21) 1386 20/12 Sk. Konrad Johansson Merchants: 15  
Commodities: Fish, oil boards.  
Identified Bergenfahrer:
1. = 6) 4

63 Probably identical to skipper Claus Gildemester who sailed between Lübeck and Bergen in 1381 and 1383 (cf. p. 663 and 667).

64 BRUNS, Bergenfahrer, p. 18.

65 Ibid. p. 37.

66 Ibid. p. 39.

67 *Hanseakten aus England* no. 232.

68 HUB IV no. 791, cf. HUB V no. 118.

69 BRUNS, Bergenfahrer, p. 43.

70 Ibid. p. 43.

71 Ibid. p. 15.

72 HUB IV no. 791 and HUB V no. 118.

73 BRUNS, Bergenfahrer, p. 21.

74 Ibid. pp. 152–154.

75 Ibid. p. 11.

76 Ibid. p. 11.

77 Ibid. p. 51.

2. Bernd Knoflok: PB 8x 1398–1400. Executor 1372, was the partner of a Bergenfahrer.<sup>78</sup> Lübecker Bergenfahrer in 1382.<sup>79</sup>
  3. Hinrik Kropelin: PB 7x 1383
  4. Evert Russenberg: PB 3x 1381
  5. Johan Holst: PB 3x 1381–1400. Mentioned as deceased Bergenfahrer in 1411 and 1419.<sup>80</sup>
  6. Johan Kalveswynkel: PB 2x 1369
  7. Hermann van Minden: PB 1x 1399. Merchant in Bergen 1400.<sup>81</sup> Spokesman for the Bergenfahrer in Boston 1407.<sup>82</sup> Bergenfahrer in Boston 1411.<sup>83</sup>
  8. Johan van Kalve: PB 1x 1398. Executor 1378.<sup>84</sup>
  9. Albert Brokman: Executor 1396 and 1416.<sup>85</sup> Mentioned 1406 as former partner of a Bergenfahrer.<sup>86</sup>
  10. = 19) 4
- (22) 1386 22/12 Sk. Hinrik Hagemester Merchants: 19  
Commodities: Fish, oil, tar  
Identified Bergenfahrer:
1. Johan van Hamelen: PB 36x 1369–1400. Executor at four testaments written by Bergenfahrer 1396–1416.<sup>87</sup> Partner of known Bergenfahrer 1390.<sup>88</sup> Spokesman for the Bergenfahrer in Lübeck and the Kontor in Bergen five times 1401–1409.<sup>89</sup>
  2. Ludeke van der Heide: PB 9x 1370–99. Wrote his testament in 1415, had a firm and a child in Bergen.<sup>90</sup> Executor at five testaments written by Bergenfahrer 1415–33.<sup>91</sup> Representative of the Bergenfahrer in Lübeck 1427.<sup>92</sup> Stayed at the Hanseatic settlement in Boston 1407.<sup>93</sup>
  3. Hinrik van Olden: PB 9x 1368–1400. “Bergenfahrer in Boston” in 1384.<sup>94</sup> Was in Bergen 1388.<sup>95</sup>
  4. = 21) 2
  5. Arnold Schonewold: PB 6x 1381–83. Had a firm in Bergen 1396.<sup>96</sup>
  6. Ernst van Lübeck: PB 3x 1398–1400
  7. = 21) 7
  8. = 21) 9
- (23) 1387 4/2 Sk. Johan Abbot Merchants: 4  
Commodities: Fish  
Identified Bergenfahrer:

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78 Ibid. p. 20.

79 UStL IV no. 397.

80 BRUNS, Bergenfahrer, pp. 36 and 292.

81 DN I no. 570; DN XXI no. 213.

82 HUB V no. 779 = DN XIX no. 708.

83 HUB V no. 1000 = DN XIX no. 725 = *Calendar of Close Rolls* 1409–13, p. 152 = HR I, 6, 82.

84 BRUNS, Bergenfahrer, p. 25.

85 Ibid. pp. 37 and 51.

86 Ibid. p. 37 note 3.

87 Ibid. pp. 37–51.

88 Ibid. p. 33.

89 Ibid. pp. 288, 290 and 43; HUB V no. 693. Member of the urban council of Lübeck 1416–1425.

90 BRUNS, Bergenfahrer, p. 49.

91 Ibid. pp. 50, 54, 57, 61, 62.

92 Ibid. p. 227.

93 HUB V no. 779 = DN XIX no. 708.

94 HUB IV no. 791.

95 BRUNS, Bergenfahrer, p. 31.

96 Ibid. p. 41.

1. = 22) 1
  2. = 22) 2
  3. Hinrik Hetlage: PB 7x 1381–83
- (24) 1387 4/2 Sk. Jacob Snidewint Merchants: 4  
Commodities: Fish  
Identified Bergenfahrer:
1. = 22) 1
  2. = 21) 2
  3. Johan Krusing: Died 1396 in Bergen, probably citizen of Stralsund.<sup>97</sup>
- (25) 1387 4/2 Sk. Hermann van Minden Merchants: 4  
Commodities: Fish  
Identified Bergenfahrer:
1. Hartwich Semme: PB 17x 1398–1400. In 1387 he imported malt to Bergen from Boston and Lynn.<sup>98</sup> Partnership with known Bergenfahrer in 1389.<sup>99</sup> Executor in 1398 and 1406.<sup>100</sup> Had a firm in Bergen 1400.<sup>101</sup> In 1393 he represented the interests of a Bergenfahrer from Deventer in Lübeck.<sup>102</sup>
  2. = 4) 6
- (26) 1387 4/2 Sk. Hinrik van Sund Merchants: 3  
Commodities: Fish  
Identified Bergenfahrer:
1. = 6) 4
  2. Johan Sveverlink: PB 1x 1400
  3. Johan Grove: PB 1x 1379. Wrote his testament 1398, donations to the Bergenfahrer's altar in St. Mary's in Lübeck.<sup>103</sup> In 1401 alderman of the Bergenfahrer guild in Lübeck.<sup>104</sup> Had a firm in Bergen in 1396.<sup>105</sup> Executor 1406 and 1413.<sup>106</sup>
- (27) 1387 4/2 Sk. Nicholas Vur Merchants: 3  
Commodities: Fish  
Identified Bergenfahrer:
1. Johan Sterneberg: PB 5x 1379–83. Executor 1380.<sup>107</sup>
  2. = 21) 9
- (28) 1387 28/5 Sk. Hermann van Minden<sup>108</sup> Merchants: 4  
Commodities: Fish  
Identified Bergenfahrer:
1. = 17) 1
- (29) 1387 6/10 Sk. Sivert Gerhardsson Merchants: 3  
Commodities: Fish, oil, hides of sheep  
Identified Bergenfahrer:

<sup>97</sup> *Der Stralsunder Liber Memorialis* I no. 913.

<sup>98</sup> *Hanseakten aus England* no. 232.

<sup>99</sup> BRUNS, Bergenfahrer, p. 154.

<sup>100</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 39 and 41.

<sup>101</sup> *Ibid.* p. 39.

<sup>102</sup> *USL* IV no. 588 and index.

<sup>103</sup> BRUNS, Bergenfahrer, p. 39.

<sup>104</sup> *Ibid.* p. 290.

<sup>105</sup> *Ibid.* p. 156.

<sup>106</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 43 and 47.

<sup>107</sup> *Ibid.* p. 28.

<sup>108</sup> He was a Bergenfahrer cf. 21) 7. He was also skipper cf. 25).

1. Hinrik Semelow: PB 4x 1369–83. In 1393 representative for the Bergenfahrer in Lübeck.<sup>109</sup> He had a firm in Bergen in 1396,<sup>110</sup> the same year he had a debt to a Bergenfahrer to be paid in Bergen fish.<sup>111</sup>
- (30) 1387 6/10 Sk. Hermann van Minden<sup>112</sup> Merchants: 3  
Commodities: Fish, oil, furs of otter  
Identified Bergenfahrer:  
1 = 25) 1  
2 = 21) 2
- (31) 1387 6/10 Sk. Nicholas Bas Merchants: 2  
Commodities: Fish, oil, boards  
Identified Bergenfahrer:  
1 = 26) 2
- (32) 1387 6/10 Sk. Jacob Vogel (*Foule*) Merchants: 2  
Commodities : Fish, oil, boards, hides of sheep  
Identified Bergenfahrer:  
None of the two merchants are known as Bergenfahrer. But two months later 10.12.1387 the skipper *Jacob Foule* from Wismar received a licence to export goods from Boston to Bergen.<sup>113</sup> *Jacob Foule* was skipper arriving from Bergen in 08.05.1388 (ship no. 36 below).
- (33) 1387 6/10 Sk. Godeke Wale Merchants: 4  
Commodities: Fish, oil, hides of sheep  
Identified Bergenfahrer:  
1 Johan Vorwerk: PB 1x 1383. Was in 1410 the business partner of a Bergenfahrer.<sup>114</sup> Wrote his testament in 1414, donations to churches in Bergen.<sup>115</sup>  
2 Wilhelm Levenkamp: Bergenfahrer in Boston 1411.<sup>116</sup>
- (34) 1387 15/10 Sk. Wessel (=Werner) Wering Merchants: 5  
Commodities: Fish  
Identified Bergenfahrer:  
1 = 6) 4  
2 = 25) 1  
3 Johan Buxtehude: PB 4x 1379–81. In 1385 a citizen of Lübeck with this name was winter resident in Bergen.<sup>117</sup> Several members of the Buxtehude family traded to Bergen at the end of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, nine of these had Johan or Henneke (= Johan) as their first name.<sup>118</sup>  
4 Hermann Husman: P 1x “1380”. In 1393 called Bergenfahrer from Deventer.<sup>119</sup>  
5 Hinrik Rutenberg: PB 3x 1400. In 1415 he was citizen of Lübeck and winter resident in Bergen.<sup>120</sup>

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109 HUB V no. 132 = UStL IV no. 596.

110 BRUNS, Bergenfahrer, p. 156.

111 Ibid. p. 38.

112 He was a Bergenfahrer, cf. 21) 7. He had been skipper earlier, cf. 25).

113 *Hanseakten aus England* no. 241 = DN XIX no. 614.

114 BRUNS, Bergenfahrer, p. 157.

115 Ibid. p. 47.

116 *Calendar of Close Rolls* 1409–13, p. 152 = HUB V no. 1000 = HR I, 6, 82 = DN XIX no. 725.

117 BRUNS, Bergenfahrer, p. 32.

118 Ibid. pp. 421–422.

119 HUB V no. 113 = UStL IV no. 588 = HR I, 4, 95.

120 HUB VI no. 50 = DN I no. 646.

- (35) 1387 30/10 Sk. Fredrik van Varle Merchants: 4  
Commodities: Fish, oil  
Identified Bergenfahrer:  
1 = 17) 1  
2 Hinrik Schinkel: PB 2x 1383
- (36) 1388 8/5 Sk. Jacob Vogel (*Foule*) Merchants : 35  
Commodities : Fish, oil, boards of spruce, hides of sheep, deer and hare, ermine, furs of squirrel, otter, beaver and marten, horn of goats, tar, whetstones. One merchant has “salted fish” in barrels. The others have “fish” counted in hundreds, which in practice means stockfish.  
Identified Bergenfahrer:  
1 = 6) 4  
2 = 4) 6  
3 = 17) 1  
4 = 20) 2  
5 = 21) 2  
6 Jacob van Schusen: PB 7x 1398–1400. Wrote his testament 1405, had a firm in Bergen.<sup>121</sup> Called Bergenfahrer in Boston in 1384.<sup>122</sup>  
7 Evert Ravensberg: PB 4x 1379.98. Executor 1400.<sup>123</sup>  
8 = 20) 3  
9 = 21) 6  
10 = 26) 2  
11 = 34) 4  
12 Hermann Sylen: PB 2x 1399–1400  
13 Hermann Oldendorp: PB 1x 1383. Received a firm (*stue*) in Bergen as donation in a testament 1385.<sup>124</sup> Stayed at the Bergen Kontor 1411<sup>125</sup> and 1415.<sup>126</sup> He was alderman at the Kontor 1417.<sup>127</sup> Had a firm in Bergen 1433.<sup>128</sup>  
14 Godeke Gandecran: PB 1x 1399  
15 Johan Lemeghowe: Among his possessions in 1399 were six silver spoons in Bergen.<sup>129</sup>  
16 Wilhelm Waterhaus: Traded to Bergen in 1407.<sup>130</sup>  
17 Hildebrand Vorenwold (*van Wold*): Received part of a firm (*stue*) in Bergen 1378 as donation in a testament.<sup>131</sup> Owned part of a firm (*stue*) in Bergen in 1391.<sup>132</sup> Executor 1391.<sup>133</sup>  
18 Ludeke Grove: PB 1x 1384
- (37) 1388 8/5 Sk. Fredrik van Varle Merchants: 28  
Commodities: Fish, oil, boards, hides of sheep, goats, deer and seals, furs of otter and squirrel, whetstones. The sailors also import one barrel of beer.  
Identified Bergenfahrer:  
1 = 20) 2  
2 = 36) 7

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121 BRUNS, Bergenfahrer, p. 40.

122 HUB V no. 791.

123 BRUNS, Bergenfahrer, p. 39.

124 Ibid. p. 32.

125 DN XV no. 46.

126 DN I no. 646 = HUB VI no. 50.

127 HR I, 6, 385 §9.

128 BRUNS, Bergenfahrer, p. 160.

129 Ibid. p. 37.

130 HUB V no. 756 = DN XIX no. 707.

131 BRUNS, Bergenfahrer, p. 24.

132 Ibid. p. 156.

133 Ibid. p. 34.

- 3 Egbert Knokel: P 4x "1380". Wrote his testament in 1396, owned a house in Bergen.<sup>134</sup>  
 4 = 21) 5  
 5 = 20) 3  
 6 = 21) 6  
 7 = 36) 13  
 8 = 26) 2  
 9 = 34) 4  
 10 = 36) 16  
 11 = 36) 17
- (38) 1390 13/11 Sk. Jacob Kropelin Merchants: 12  
 Commodities: Stockfish, oil, hides of sheep and deer, ermine, furs of squirrel, beaver and otter. In a parallel account what is here called "stockfish" is called "fish".  
 Identified Bergenfahrer:  
 1 Lubbert Stenvorde: PB 10x 1369–1400. In 1366 he had outstanding debts in Bergen.<sup>135</sup> In 1373 he owned a house in Bergen.<sup>136</sup> Transferred in 1379 his firm in Bergen to among others "the young Lubbert [Stenvorde]", evidently a relative.<sup>137</sup> In the PB two Lubbert Stenvorde seem to be registered.  
 2 Hinrik Kerseber: PB 5x 1379–1400  
 3 = 34) 3  
 4 Arnd Make: PB 3x 1381–83. Called "German merchant in Bergen" in 1398 (named Arnald Make), he was witness in a court case.<sup>138</sup>  
 5 21) 5  
 6 35) 2  
 7 21) 7  
 8 Ludeke Rode: PB 1x 1399  
 9 Engelbrecht Nyeman: Inherits firm (*stue*) in Bergen 1387.<sup>139</sup>
- (39) 1390 13/11 Sk. Wedege Daynhort Merchants: 11  
 Commodities: Stockfish, oil, boards, hides of sheep and deer, furs of squirrel, otter and fox. One merchant imported two barrels of beer. In a parallel account what is here called "stockfish" is called "fish".  
 Identified Bergenfahrer:  
 1 Johan Coesveld: PB 27x 1381–1400. Traded with Bergen fish in London 1397.<sup>140</sup>  
 2 = 6) 4  
 3 = 33) 2
- (40) 1390 13/11 Sk. Everard Hagemester Merchants: 10  
 Commodities: Stockfish, oil, hides of sheep and deer, ermine, furs of squirrel and otter. One merchant had seven lasts of beer. In a parallel account what is here called "stockfish" is called "fish".  
 Identified Bergenfahrer:  
 1 = 22) 3  
 2 Volkmar van der Heide: PB 4x 1383  
 3 Ertman van der Brugge: PB 1x 1399  
 4 = 36) 15

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134 Ibid. p. 36.

135 HR I, 1, 389 = NGL 2.rk. I no. 343.

136 HUB IV no. 457.

137 HUB IV no. 655.

138 DN I no. 562.

139 BRUNS, Bergenfahrer, p. 32.

140 *Calendar of Close Rolls* 1396–1399, p. 36.

- (41) 1390 13/11 Sk. Ludeke van der Heide Merchants: 26  
 Commodities: Stockfish, oil, boards, masts, hides of sheep, deer and seal, ermine, furs of squirrel, beaver and otter, whetstones, goats' horns, *potbred* and *nacfell*. Three merchants had a total of 14 barrels of beer. In a parallel account what is here called "stockfish" is called "fish".  
 Identified Bergenfahrer:  
 1 = 9) 6  
 2 Jacob van Alen: PB 10x 1383–1400. Stayed at the Hanseatic settlement in Boston 1407.<sup>141</sup>  
 3 Ulrik van der Heide: PB 9x 1383–1400. Executor 1409, had then a debt to the Bergenfahrer Hinrik Bornholm [19) 2]<sup>142</sup>  
 4 = 23) 3  
 5 Nicholas Perleberg: PB 6x 1381–83  
 6 Johan Rodenborg: PB 5x 1398–99  
 7 = 37) 3  
 8 = 36) 7  
 9 Hinrik van Hamme: PB 3x 1370–1400  
 10 = 2) 6  
 11 Hinrik Distelow: PB 1x 1370. Killed when the Vitaliner pirates attacked Bergen 1393.<sup>143</sup>  
 12 Hermann Hopper: PB 2x 1390–1400  
 13 Gereke Smit: PB 1x 1398  
 14 = 36) 16  
 15 Johan Losing: Partnership with a Bergenfahrer in 1366.<sup>144</sup> Owned houses in Bergen in 1395.<sup>145</sup>  
 16 Mathias Bruder: Wrote his testament in 1406, owned house in Bergen, donations to churches in Boston.<sup>146</sup>
- (42) 1390 13/11 Sk. Hinrik Konstin (*Counst*) Merchants: 11  
 Commodities: Stockfish, oil, boards, hides of sheep and deer, ermine, furs of squirrel and otter. In a parallel account what is here called "stockfish" is called "fish".  
 Identified Bergenfahrer:  
 1 = 4) 6  
 2 = 17) 1  
 3 = 20) 2  
 4 = 21) 6  
 5 = 33) 1  
 6 = 34) 5  
 7 Richart Gulcrope: His stockfish was confiscated in London 1397.<sup>147</sup>
- (43) 1391 4/4 Sk. Jacob Kropelin Merchants: 16  
 Commodities: Stockfish, oil, boards, hides of sheep and deer, ermine, furs of squirrel, beaver and otter, whetstones. In a parallel account what is here called "stockfish" is called "fish".  
 Identified Bergenfahrer:  
 1 = 39) 1  
 2 = 38) 1  
 3 Johan Scuttorp: PB 9x 1369–1398  
 4 21) 2

141 HUB V no. 779 = DN XIX no. 708.

142 BRUNS, Bergenfahrer, p. 43.

143 MecklUB XXII no. 12.613.

144 BRUNS, Bergenfahrer, p. 13.

145 UStL IV no. 624.

146 BRUNS, Bergenfahrer, p. 42.

147 *Calendar of Close Rolls* 1396–1399, p. 36.

- 5 Tideke Steer: PB 7x 1381–1400. Was partner in a firm in Bergen 1379.<sup>148</sup> In 1393 representative of the Bergenfahrer guild in Lübeck.<sup>149</sup>
- 6 Johan van Münster: PB 4x 1379–99. Executor 1414 and 1432.<sup>150</sup> Were there two persons with this name? Cf. 1) 4.
- 7 41) 11
- 8 21) 7
- 9 33) 2
- (44) 1391 4/4 Sk. Wedege Daynhort Merchants: 15  
 Commodities: Stockfish, oil, coalfish, boards of spruce, hides of sheep, deer and seal, ermine, furs of squirrel and otter, whetstones. In a parallel account what is here called “stockfish” is called “fish”.  
 Identified Bergenfahrer:
- 1 4) 6
- 2 17) 1
- 3 41) 6
- 4 37) 3
- 5 36) 7
- 6 21) 5
- 7 Johan van der Berge: PB 2x 1400. In 1388 he had a firm in Bergen.<sup>151</sup>
- 8 34) 5
- 9 41) 11
- 10 41) 16
- 11 Hans Grambeken: Bought a house in Bergen 1426.<sup>152</sup> Owned house in Bergen 1428.<sup>153</sup>

The following ships are registered with fewer merchants on board. This is probably due to new procedures in the registration. Earlier the names of those who owned the goods seem to have been registered, from now on the names of those who paid the customs. One merchant who followed the ship to Boston, may have paid customs for the goods of several fellow merchants who remained in Bergen. In many cases, particularly after 1400, only one merchant is registered as paying customs for all owners.

In 1408 (ship no. 116 below) Reiner Wiger is the skipper. The customs is paid by “the skipper, Johan Pape (*Pope*), Hermann Ruskyn and their partners, merchants of the Hansa (*de hansa*)” collectively. The commodities are named and the total value summarized of all goods on the ship. The value of the goods on the ship is high, and it is explicitly said to belong to the three named persons and an unnamed number of “their partners” (*et sociis suis*). There is no reason to interpret this new way of registering ships from Bergen as an expression of a new organisation of business partnerships.

When I give the number of “Merchants” below, “Named merchants” are meant, in addition come other merchants included under “and his/their partners”.

148 HUB IV no. 655.

149 HUB V no. 132.

150 BRUNS, Bergenfahrer, pp. 47 and 64.

151 *Ibid.* p. 33.

152 HUB VI no. 632 = UStL VI no. 745.

153 BRUNS, Bergenfahrer, p. 158.

- (45) 1391 27/10 Sk. Jacob Snidewint Merchants: 4  
Commodities: Fish, oil, boards  
Identified Bergenfahrer:  
1 = 21) 6  
2 = 41) 11  
The skipper was plundered in 1387 on his way from Bergen to England.<sup>154</sup>
- (46) 1391 27/10 Sk. Marquart Fermer Merchants: 3  
Commodities: Fish, oil  
Identified Bergenfahrer:  
1 Bernd Kruse: PB 1x 1398
- (47) 1391 27/10 Sk. Hermann Busch Merchants: 1  
Commodities: Fish  
Identified Bergenfahrer:  
1 Hinrik Melbek: Wrote his testament 1400, donations to churches in Bergen.<sup>155</sup>
- (48) 1391 27/10 Sk. Simon van Stavoren Merchants: 1  
Commodities: Fish, oil, boards  
1 Hinrik Grambek: Owned in 1428 a firm/house (*stue*) in Bergen “in which he used to live”.<sup>156</sup>
- (49) 1391 27/10 Sk. Godeke Brewe Merchants: 4  
Commodities: Fish, oil  
Identified Bergenfahrer:  
1 = 9) 6  
2 = 17) 1  
3 = 21) 5  
4 = 21) 7
- (50) 1391 27/10 Sk. Fredrik van Varle Merchants: 13  
Commodities: Fish, oil  
Identified Bergenfahrer:  
1 = 4) 6  
2 = 9) 6  
3 = 21) 2  
4 = 21) 5  
5 = 21) 6  
6) = 46) 1  
7) Albert Platere (*Plat*): In 1383 representative of the Bergenfahrer in Boston.<sup>157</sup>  
8) = 47) 1
- (51) 1392 1/10 Sk. Godeke Brewe Merchants: 2  
Commodities: Fish oil, timber  
Identified Bergenfahrer: None
- (52) 1392 1/10 Sk. Ludolf Brink...(unreadable) Merchants: 2  
Commodities: Fish, oil  
Identified Bergenfahrer: None
- (53) 1392 1/10 Sk. Johan Gerhardsson Merchants: 2  
Commodities: Fish, oil

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154 HUB IV no. 891.

155 BRUNS, Bergenfahrer, p. 39.

156 Ibid. p. 158–159.

157 HUB IV no. 768 = DN XIX no. 608.

- Identified Bergenfahrer:  
1 = 36) 7
- (54) 1392 1/10 Sk. Gerhard Browy...(unreadable) Merchants: 3  
Commodities: Fish, oil  
Identified Bergenfahrer:  
1 22) 3  
2 36) 16
- (55) 1392 20/10 Sk. Peter Kolberg Merchants: 3  
Commodities: Fish, oil  
Identified Bergenfahrer:  
1 Johan Nyppe: PB 8x 1383–1400. Stayed in Bergen 1372.<sup>158</sup> In 1391 he had a firm in Bergen.<sup>159</sup>  
Executor 1396.<sup>160</sup> In 1428–29 he had a firm in Bergen.<sup>161</sup> Mentioned 1438 as deceased Bergenfahrer.<sup>162</sup>  
2 Hermann Roman: PB 2x 1400. Executor 1419.<sup>163</sup>
- (56) 1393 13/3 Sk. Nicholas Bankynsson (?) Merchants: 3  
Commodities: Fish, oil  
Identified Bergenfahrer:  
1 = 39) 1  
2 = 21) 2  
3 = The last name is unreadable, it may be Johan Make [ 5) 4 ].
- (57) 1393 13/3 Sk. Johan ...(unreadable) Merchants: 3  
Commodities: Fish, oil  
Identified Bergenfahrer:  
The name of one of the three merchants is unreadable
- (58) 1393 13/3 Sk. [Godeke] Brewe Merchants: 3  
Commodities: Fish, oil  
Identified Bergenfahrer:  
1 = 40) 2  
The name of one of the three merchants is unreadable
- (59) 1393 13/3 Sk. Marquart Fermer Merchants: 4  
Commodities: Fish, oil  
Identified Bergenfahrer:  
1 = 4) 6  
2 = 37) 3  
3 = Konstantin Osterrode: PB 1x 1383
- (60) 1393 6/11 Sk. Godeke Brewe Merchants: 5  
Commodities: Fish, oil, boards, hides of sheep, furs of otter  
Identified Bergenfahrer:  
1 = 17) 1  
2 = 5) 4  
3 = 38) 2  
4 = 36) 15

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158 BRUNS, Bergenfahrer, p. 18.

159 Ibid. p. 37.

160 Ibid. p. 37.

161 Ibid. pp. 158 and 159.

162 HUB VII no. 344.

163 BRUNS, Bergenfahrer, p. 52.

- (61) 1393 6/11 Sk. Tidemann Clenecamb Merchants: 5  
 Commodities: Fish, oil, hides of sheep  
 Identified Bergenfahrer:  
 1 = 4) 6  
 2 = 17) 1  
 3 = 20) 2  
 4 = 41) 11  
 5 Hinrik Weytendorp (*Wekynthorp*): PB 1x 1400. Executor 1406.<sup>164</sup> Wrote his testament 1416, owned a house in Bergen.<sup>165</sup>
- (62) 1393 6/11 Sk. Peter Kolberg Merchants: 5  
 Commodities: Fish, oil, hides of sheep  
 Identified Bergenfahrer:  
 1 = 26) 2
- (63) 1393 6/11 Sk. Wilhelm Pyke Merchants: 5  
 Commodities: Fish, oil, hides of sheep  
 Identified Bergenfahrer:  
 1 = 17) 1  
 2 Hinrik Nening: PB 2x 1399  
 3 = 33) 2  
 4 = 41) 16
- (64) 1394 31/3 Sk. Jacob Coole Merchants: 3  
 Commodities: Fish, oil  
 Identified Bergenfahrer:  
 1 Konrad Blogebom: PB 1x 1398. Executor 1406.<sup>166</sup> Cf. UStL V, index
- (65) 1394 21/7 Sk. Johan Rodewolt Merchants: 6  
 Commodities: Fish, oil, boards, hides of sheep and deer  
 Identified Bergenfahrer:  
 1 = 17) 1  
 2 = 21) 5  
 3 Hermann Semme: PB 2x 1383–85, P “1380”
- (66) 1397 13/10 Sk. Johan Sconemor Merchants: 2  
 Commodities: Stockfish, oil, timber, ermine  
 Identified Bergenfahrer:  
 1 = 17) 1  
 2 = 47) 1
- (67) 1397 13/10 Sk. Walter Cotum Merchants: 2  
 Commodities: Stockfish, oil, hides of sheep  
 Identified Bergenfahrer:  
 1 = 38) 9
- (68) 1398 10/4 Sk. Peter Frank Merchants: 2  
 Commodities: Fish, oil, timber, hides of sheep, furs  
 Identified Bergenfahrer:  
 1 = 33) 2

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164 Ibid. p. 42.

165 Ibid. p. 50.

166 Ibid. p. 41.

- (69) 1398 10/4 Sk. Thomas Sylk Merchants: 3  
Commodities: Fish, oil, hides of sheep, furs of otter  
Identified Bergenfahrer:  
1 = 64) 1  
The two remaining merchants are without a first name, and therefore can not be identified.
- (70) 1398 10/4 Sk. Hinrik Langewethill Merchants: 3  
Commodities: Fish, oil, timber, hides of sheep, ermine, furs of otter  
Identified Bergenfahrer:  
1 = 47) 1  
The two remaining merchants are without a first name, and therefore can not be identified.
- (71) 1400 3/11 Sk. Johan Luning Merchants: 3  
Commodities: Stockfish, fish, oil, hides of sheep  
Identified Bergenfahrer:  
1 = 64) 1  
2 = 41) 15  
The skipper freighted goods from Bergen to England in 1405.<sup>167</sup>
- (72) 1400 3/11 Sk. Nicholas Rotermund Merchants: 3  
Commodities: Fish, oil, ermine, pitch  
Identified Bergenfahrer:  
1 = 39) 1  
2 = 33) 2  
3 = Johan Busch: Wrote his testament in 1415, has outstanding debts and a daughter in Norway, donations to churches in Bergen and Boston.<sup>168</sup>
- (73) 1400 3/11 Sk. Bartholomeus Honnd Merchants: 3  
Commodities: Stockfish, fish, oil, furs. One merchant is registered with stockfish, the two others with fish.  
Identified Bergenfahrer:  
1 = 41) 12
- (74) 1400 3/11 Sk. Nicholas Rorebek Merchants: 2  
Commodities: Fish, oil, furs  
Identified Bergenfahrer:  
1 Albert van Strode: In 1411 he was spokesman for the Bergenfahrer in Boston.<sup>169</sup>
- (75) 1400 3/11 Sk. Didrik Wellyke Merchants: 2  
Commodities: Fish, oil, furs  
Identified Bergenfahrer:  
1 Johan Wetter: Wrote his testament 1392, owned firm in Bergen. His nephew, who also was called Johan, received all his movable property in Bergen. This second Johan may be meant here.<sup>170</sup>
- (76) 1400 3/11 Sk. Konrad van Loningen (*Loyne*) Merchants: 3  
Commodities: Fish, oil, furs  
Identified Bergenfahrer:  
1 4) 6  
2 Brun Sprenger: PB 1x 1399. Wrote his testament 1413, owned house in Bergen, donations to churches in Bergen and Boston.<sup>171</sup>

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167 HUB V no. 693 = UStL V no. 137.

168 BRUNS, *Bergenfahrer*, p. 47.

169 HUB V no. 1000 and 1024 = DN XIX no. 725 and 728.

170 BRUNS, *Bergenfahrer*, p. 34.

171 *Ibid.* p. 45.

- (77) 1401 7/3 Sk. Johan Luning [cf. 71 ] Merchants: 4  
Commodities: Stockfish, fish, oil, furs.  
Identified Bergenfahrer:  
1 = 64) 1  
2 = 41) 16
- (78) 1401 16/3 Sk. Johan Willebrade Merchants: 2  
Commodities: Fish, oil, timber, furs  
Identified Bergenfahrer:  
1 = 74) 1
- (79) 1401 7/9 Sk. Johan Luning [ cf. 71 ] Merchants: 2  
Commodities: Fish, oil, furs  
Identified Bergenfahrer:  
1 = 64) 1
- (80) 1401 9/9 Sk. Nicholas Brounesberg Merchants: 2  
Commodities: Fish, oil, furs  
Identified Bergenfahrer:  
1 = 21)5  
2 Daniel Kil: PB 1x 1398
- (81) 1401 9/9 Sk. Godeke van Hagh Merchants: 2  
Commodities: Fish, oil, furs  
Identified Bergenfahrer:  
1 Johan Stenhus (*Senhus*): PB 3x 1383, P “1380” 1x. Alderman for the Bergenfahrer in Boston 1383.<sup>172</sup>  
Was partner of a known Bergenfahrer 1385–90.<sup>173</sup> Executor 1397.<sup>174</sup>
- (82) 1401 14/10 Sk. Johan Lüneburg (*Lunebergh*) Merchants: 1  
Commodities: Fish, oil, furs  
Identified Bergenfahrer:  
1 The skipper is registered in the Lübeck *Pfundzoll* from Bergen with stockfish in 1400.
- (83) 1401 14/10 Sk. Wilhelm Hodeson Merchants: 1  
Commodities: Fish, oil  
Identified Bergenfahrer:  
1 Hinrik Arndes: PB 1x 1399. Wrote his testament 1421 and 1430, Lübecker Bergenfahrer, donations to charitable puposes in Bergen and England.<sup>175</sup>
- (84) 1401 3/11 Sk. Johan Nyllard Merchants: 2  
Commodities: Fish, oil, furs  
Identified Bergenfahrer:  
1 17) 1
- (85) 1401 11/11 Sk. Johan Luning Merchants: 3  
Commodities: Fish, oil, furs of otter, furs  
Identified Bergenfahrer:  
1 = 21) 5
- (86) 1401 11/11 Sk. Johan Lucchow (*Liccow*) Merchants: 2

172 HUB IV no. 768 = *Calendar of Close Rolls* 1381–85, p. 286 = DN XIX no. 608 = NGL 2. rk.I no. 357.

173 BRUNS, *Bergenfahrer*, p. 153–154.

174 *Ibid.* p. 33.

175 *Ibid.* pp. 54 and 62.

- Commodities: Fish, oil, furs  
Identified Bergenfahrer:
- 1 Johan Slig (*Slicc*): PB 8x 1399–1400. Johan Slige was executor 1396.<sup>176</sup>  
2 = 72) 3
- (87) 1401 16/11 Sk. Johan Nase Merchants: 2  
Commodities: Fish, oil, furs  
Identified Bergenfahrer:  
1 = 80) 2
- (88) 1401 16/11 Sk. Peter Sweder Merchants: 2  
Commodities: Fish, oil, furs  
Identified Bergenfahrer:  
1 = 17) 1
- (89) 1402 20/4 Sk. Laurens Sten Merchants: 2  
Commodities: Fish, oil, furs  
Identified Bergenfahrer:  
1 = 17) 1  
2 = 38) 8
- (90) 1402 20/4 Sk. Johan Eillardsson Merchants: 2  
Commodities: Fish, oil  
Identified Bergenfahrer: None
- (91) 1402 20/4 Sk. Nicholas Rorebek Merchants: 2  
Commodities: Fish, oil, furs  
Identified Bergenfahrer: None
- (92) 1402 20/4 Sk. Ludeke Eglarhouse Merchants: 2  
Commodities: Fish, oil, furs  
Identified Bergenfahrer: None
- (93) 1404 13/4 Sk. Luter Lange Merchants: 6 (one English)  
Commodities: Stockfish, oil, hides of sheep, ermine, moss for dyeing cloths.  
Identified Bergenfahrer:  
1 = 74) 1
- (94) 1404 13/4 Sk. Nicholas Wene Merchants 6  
Commodities: Stockfish, oil, timber, hides of sheep, moss for dyeing cloths.  
Identified Bergenfahrer:  
1 = 36) 7  
2 Johan Lüneburg: Executor 1426.<sup>177</sup> In 1439 he sent goods Lübeck – Bergen.<sup>178</sup>  
3 = 80) 2  
4 = 83) 1
- (95) 1405 15/2 Sk. Didrik Gronow (*Gronoube*) Merchants: 2  
Commodities: Stockfish, oil, furs. In a parallel account what is here called “stockfish” is called “fish”.  
Identified Bergenfahrer:  
1 = 4) 10  
2 Johan Botzenborg: PB 1x 1379

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176 Ibid. pp. 37.

177 Ibid. p. 58.

178 HUB VII, p. 222 note 1.

- (96) 1405 15/2 Sk. Gotschalk Rough Merchants: 2  
Commodities: Stockfish, oil, furs  
Identified Bergenfahrer: None
- (97) 1405 12/3 Sk. Luter Lange Merchants: 2  
Commodities: Stockfish, oil, furs. In a parallel account for poundage what is here called stockfish is called “fish” for one of the two merchants.  
Identified Bergenfahrer:  
1 = 4) 10
- (98) 1405 12/3 Sk. Reiner Wiger Merchants: 2  
Commodities: Stockfish, oil, furs of otter  
Identified Bergenfahrer:  
1 = 33) 2
- (99) 1405 12/3 Sk. Thomas Bealson Merchants: 2  
Commodities: Stockfish, oil, furs. In a parallel account what is here called stockfish is called “fish”.  
Identified Bergenfahrer:  
1 = 74) 1
- (100) 1405 28/7 Sk. Mathias Konow Merchants: 1  
Commodities: Fish, oil, furs  
Identified Bergenfahrer:  
1 Hermann Witte: Bergenfahrer in Boston 1411.<sup>179</sup> Winter resident from Lübeck in Bergen 1415.<sup>180</sup>
- (101) 1405 2/7 Sk. Nicholas Stene Merchants: 1  
Commodities: Fish, oil, furs  
Identified Bergenfahrer: None
- (102) 1405 6/11 Sk. Reiner Wiger Merchants: 2  
Commodities: Stockfish, oil, hides of sheep, furs, timber  
Identified Bergenfahrer:  
1 = 100) 1
- (103) 1405 6/11 Sk. Johan Bonlus Merchants: 1  
Commodities: Fish, oil, timber, hides of sheep, furs  
Identified Bergenfahrer:  
1 Johan Nybberg: PB 7x 1398–1400. Received a firm (*stue*) in Bergen and a house in Boston in 1394.<sup>181</sup>
- (104) 1405 6/11 Sk. Arnold Hinriksson Merchants: 1  
Commodities: Stockfish, oil, timber, hides of sheep, furs  
Identified Bergenfahrer:  
1 Johan Attendorp: PB 1x 1369
- (105) 1405 6/11 Sk. Walter van Dersso Merchants: 1  
Commodities: Fish, oil, timber, hides of sheep, furs.  
Identified Bergenfahrer: None
- (106) 1405 6/11 Sk. Peter Sweder Merchants: 1  
Commodities: Fish, oil, timber, hides of sheep, furs.  
Identified Bergenfahrer: None

179 HUB V no. 1000 = HR I, 6, 82 = *Calendar of Close Rolls* 1409–13, p. 152 = DN XIX no. 725.

180 DN I no. 646.

181 BRUNS, *Bergenfahrer*, p. 35.

- (107) 1405 6/11 Sk. Johan Petersson Merchants: 1  
Commodities: Fish, oil, hides of sheep, furs  
Identified Bergenfahrer: None
- (108) 1405 6/11 Sk. Bernhard Stour Merchants: 1  
Commodities: Stockfish, oil, timber, hides of sheep, furs  
Identified Bergenfahrer: None
- (109) 1405 6/11 Sk. Hinrik Strouke Merchants: 1  
Commodities: Fish, oil, hides of sheep, furs, moss for dyeing cloths, whetstones  
Identified Bergenfahrer: None
- (110) 1406 20/2 Sk. Bartholomeus Honnd Merchants: 1  
Commodities: Stockfish, oil, furs, timber  
Identified Bergenfahrer: None
- (111) 1406 20/3 Sk. Nicholas Wene Merchants: 2  
Commodities: Stockfish, oil, timber, hides of sheep, furs  
Identified Bergenfahrer:  
1 Johan Klinkendorp: PB 9x 1398–1400. In 1411 he traded between Bergen and Boston.<sup>182</sup>
- (112) 1406 12/4 Sk. Bernhard Stour Merchants: 1  
Commodities: Stockfish, oil, furs, hides of sheep, linen cloth  
Identified Bergenfahrer: None
- (113) 1406 12/4 Sk. Johan Petersson Merchants: 1  
Commodities: Stockfish, oil, furs, timber  
Identified Bergenfahrer:  
1 = 22) 2
- (114) 1406 12/4 Sk. Roger Balok Merchants: 1  
Commodities: Stockfish, oil, furs, timber  
Identified Bergenfahrer: None
- (115) 1406 12/4 Sk. Reiner Wiger Merchants: 1  
Commodities: Stockfish, oil, furs  
Identified Bergenfahrer: None
- (116) 1408 9/11 Sk. Reiner Wiger Merchants: 1  
Commodities: Stockfish, oil, timber, hides of sheep, furs  
Identified Bergenfahrer:  
= 17) 1
- (117) 1408 9/11 Sk. Godeke Rover Merchants: 1  
Commodities: Stockfish, oil, timber, hides of sheep, furs of otter  
Identified Bergenfahrer:  
1 The skipper: PB 2x 1399–1400
- (118) 1408 9/11 Sk. Hermann Sasse Merchants: 1  
Commodities: Stockfish, oil, hides of sheep, furs of otter, moss for dyeing cloths  
Identified Bergenfahrer: None

182 HUB V no. 1000 = HR I, 6, 82 = *Calendar of Close Rolls* 1409–13, p. 152 = DN XIX no. 725.

- (119) 1408 9/11 Sk. Didrik Hugging Merchants: 1  
Commodities: Stockfish, oil, timber, hides of sheep, furs of otter, moss for dyeing cloths  
Identified Bergenfahrer:  
1 = 74) 1
- (120) 1408 9/11 Sk. Nicholas Trykkylly Merchants: 1  
Commodities: Stockfish, oil, timber, hides of sheep, furs  
Identified Bergenfahrer: None
- (121) 1408 9/11 Sk. Hermann Borken Merchants: 1  
Commodities: Stockfish, oil, timber, hides of sheep, furs  
Identified Bergenfahrer:  
1 Tideke Junge “of the Hansa” (*de hans*): PB 4x 1398–99. Stayed 1407 at the Hanseatic settlement in Boston,<sup>183</sup> and 1415 at the Kontor in Bergen.<sup>184</sup> Executor 1415.<sup>185</sup>
- (122) 1408 9/11 Sk. Hinrik Dambeke Merchants: 1  
Commodities: Stockfish, oil, timber, furs, moss for dyeing cloths  
Identified Bergenfahrer:  
1 Johan Witte: PB 1x 1384. Wrote his testament 1427, donations to churches in Bergen.<sup>186</sup> When he died in 1433 (or earlier), he was the business partner of a known Bergenfahrer.<sup>187</sup>
- (123) 1408 9/11 Sk. Hinrik Vurwell Merchants: 1  
Commodities: Stockfish, oil, timber, hides of sheep, furs  
Identified Bergenfahrer: None
- (124) 1409 9/5 Sk. Johan Hinriksson Merchants: 2  
Commodities: The Bergenfahrer Albert van Stroden “*de hans*” has stockfish and oil. Two English merchants on the same ship have iron, garlic, soap, alum and wax.  
Identified Bergenfahrer:  
1 = 74) 1
- (125) 1409) 20/11 Sk. Nicholas Sabill Merchants: 2  
Commodities: Fish, oil, furs  
Identified Bergenfahrer:  
1 Hermann Holthusen: PB 2x 1398–99  
2 = 74) 1
- (126) 1409) 20/11 Sk. Bertolt Maybome Merchants: 2  
Commodities: Fish, oil, furs, moss for dyeing  
Identified Bergenfahrer: None, but both merchants are “*de hans*”
- (127) 1409) 20/11 Sk. Otto Rukke Merchants: 3  
Commodities: Fish, oil, furs  
Identified Bergenfahrer: None but all are “*de hans*”
- (128) 1409 20/11 Sk. Wilhelm Poldeman Merchants: 3  
Commodities: Fish, oil, furs, moss for dyeing cloth  
Identified Bergenfahrer:

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183 HUB V no. 779 = DN XIX no. 708

184 DN I no. 646

185 BRUNS, Bergenfahrer, p. 50

186 Ibid. p. 59

187 Ibid. p. 160

- 1 Hinrik Greve: In 1436 he was Bergenfahrer in Boston,<sup>188</sup> in 1437 alderman for the hanseatic settlement in Boston.<sup>189</sup>  
All merchants and skipper are “*de hans*”.
- (129) 1409 20/11 Sk. Bartolomeus Remetre Merchants: 1  
Commodities: Stockfish, oil, timber, hides of sheep, furs, moss for dyeing cloth  
Identified Bergenfahrer:  
1 Wilhelm Ringhoff: Was partner of known Bergenfahrer in 1410 and 1437.<sup>190</sup> Executor in 1414, 1426 and 1433.<sup>191</sup>
- (130) 1409 20/11 Sk. Rankin Iivotland Merchants: 1  
Commodities: Stockfish, oil, timber, hides of sheep, furs, moss for dyeing cloth  
Identified Bergenfahrer: None but all are “*de hans*”
- (131) 1409 20/11 Sk. Tidemann Sasse Merchants: 3  
Commodities: Stockfish, fish, oil, boards, furs, moss for colouring cloth. One merchant has “stockfish”, the two others “fish”.  
Identified Bergenfahrer:  
1 Nicholas Witte: Stayed at the Kontor in Bergen 1415.<sup>192</sup>
- (132) 1410 3/10 Sk. Otto van Bremen Merchants: 1 (Englishman)  
Commodities: Stockfish, fish, oil. The skipper has “stockfish”, the merchant “fish”.
- (133) 1410 30/10 Sk. Godeke Raven Merchants: 3  
Commodities: Fish, oil, timber, hides of sheep, furs of otter, moss for colouring cloth  
Identified Bergenfahrer:  
1 = 4) 10  
2 = 129) 1
- (134) 1410 30/10 Sk. Bartholomeus Remetre Merchants: 2  
Commodities: Fish, oil, timber, hides of sheep, furs  
Identified Bergenfahrer: None but all are “*de hans*”
- (135) 1410 30/10 Sk. Bernhard Stour Merchants: 2  
Commodities: Fish, oil, timber, hides of sheep, furs, moss for colouring cloth  
Identified Bergenfahrer:  
1 = 111) 1  
The skipper was from Bremen, and in 1405 he had his ship plundered at the Norwegian coast.<sup>193</sup>
- (136) 1410 30/10 Sk. Reiner Wiger Merchants: 2  
Commodities: Fish, oil, timber, hides of sheep  
Identified Bergenfahrer:  
1 = 103) 1  
2 = 74) 1
- (137) 1411 11/2 Sk. Hermann Borken Merchants: 2  
Commodities: Fish, oil, timber, furs  
Identified Bergenfahrer:  
1 = 129) 1

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188 HR II, 2, 25.

189 HR II, 2, 28.

190 BRUNS, Bergenfahrer, pp. 66 and 157.

191 Ibid. 47, 56 and 62.

192 DN I no. 646.

193 *Calendar of Patent Rolls* 1401–1405, p. 513 = DN XIX no. 662.

- (138) 1411 11/2 Sk. Johan Skarstorp Merchants: 1  
Commodities: Fish, oil, timber, furs  
Identified Bergenfahrer:  
1 = 4) 10
- (139) 1411 14/2 Sk. Hermann Sasse Merchants: 2  
Commodities: Fish, oil, timber, furs, moss for colouring cloth  
Identified Bergenfahrer:  
1 = 129) 1  
2 = 21) 7
- (140) 1412 7/9 Sk. Bernhard Ludkinsson Merchants: 1  
Commodities: Pitch, tar, empty barrels, barrel staves, arcs for bows, threads, Prussian canvas, gold.  
Finally £2 in stockfish and £3 in oil.  
The goods is said to be what remained after the ship was wrecked at Saltfleethaven in Lincolnshire just north of Boston. The skipper “and his partners” were *de hansa*. The stockfish was 9% of the saved goods. This ship evidently did not come from Bergen, but from Prussia. It is included in the list to demonstrate that stockfish at this time occasionally was imported from Prussia to England.
- (141) 1413 4/7 Sk. Johan Brokehus Merchants: 17  
Commodities: Stockfish, oil, timber, hides of sheep and deer, furs, moss for dyeing cloths, whetstones  
Identified Bergenfahrer:  
1 = 4) 10  
2 = 21) 7  
3 = 74) 1  
4 = 33) 2  
5 Sweder van Benthem: Executor 1394, received from his uncle, who was his business partner, “all the houses and equipment which I have in Bergen and England, and which may belong to me”.<sup>194</sup> In 1407 and 1411 he was the spokesman for the Bergenfahrer in Boston.<sup>195</sup> In 1415 he stayed at the Bergen Kontor.<sup>196</sup>  
6 Helmich ter Porten: Traded to Bergen in 1453.<sup>197</sup>
- (142) 1460 30/3 Sk. Hinrik Kideman<sup>198</sup> Merchants: 1  
Commodities: Stockfish, oil, moss for dyeing cloth, nuts, hides of goats, furs, osmond iron  
Identified Bergenfahrer:  
1 Hemming Gruter: In 1457 he exported woolen cloth from Boston to Bergen, he belonged to the Hansa.<sup>199</sup>
- (143) 1460 5/4 Sk. Wilhelm Fulsken<sup>200</sup> Merchants: 2  
Commodities: Stockfish, oil, hides of goats, furs, moss for dyeing cloth, osmond iron  
Identified Bergenfahrer:  
1 = 148) 2

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194 BRUNS, *Bergenfahrer*, p. 35.

195 HUB V no. 757 = DN XIX no. 705; HUB V no. 1024 = DN XIX no. 728.

196 DN I no. 646.

197 RGP volume 36 no. 2066 = HUB VIII, p. 647 footnote 3.

198 His ship's name is “George of Braunschweig”.

199 *Calendar of Patent Rolls* 1452–61, p. 348.

200 His ship's name was “Clement of Danzig”.

- (144) 1460 4/10 Sk. William Johnson<sup>201</sup> Merchant: 3  
Commodities: Stockfish, wadmal  
All three merchants were English. The ship is most likely to have come from Iceland.
- (145) 1460 10/11 Sk. Thomas Copryn<sup>202</sup> Merchants: 2  
Commodities: Stockfish, oil, hides of goat, moss for dyeing cloth, tar, osmond iron, wainscot  
Identified Bergenfahrer:  
1 = 142) 1  
2 = Hans Northoff: Executor 1487.<sup>203</sup>
- (146) 1460 18/11 Sk. Hermann Westfal<sup>204</sup> Merchants: 2  
Commodities: Stockfish, oil, hides of goats, moss for dyeing cloth, furs of squirrel, marten, beaver and otter, osmond iron, linen  
Identified Bergenfahrer:  
1 = 142) 1
- (147) 1463) 12/12 Sk. Tideke Cruceman<sup>205</sup> Merchants: 7  
Commodities: Stockfish, oil, hides of goats and cows, furs of marten, boards of spruce, tar, seal blubber, osmond iron, wainscot  
Identified Bergenfahrer:  
1 Tideke Cruceman: The skipper was 1486 steward (*Schaffer*) of the Bergenfahrer guild in Lübeck.<sup>206</sup>  
2 Martin Bolkow: Town councillor in Stralsund, he traded 1477 Bergen – Boston.<sup>207</sup>  
3 Johan/Hans Möller: Traded 1476 Bergen – Deventer.<sup>208</sup> Executor 1475.<sup>209</sup> He was 1485 steward (*Schaffer*) of the Bergenfahrer guild in Lübeck.<sup>210</sup> In 1490 spokesman for the Bergen Kontor.<sup>211</sup>  
The last four of the seven merchants are called English (*ind.*) in the customs accounts.
- (148) 1466 1/4 Sk. Tidemann Burger<sup>212</sup> Merchants: 4  
Commodities: Stockfish, oil, saltfish, moss for colouring cloth, linen, caraway  
Identified Bergenfahrer:  
1 = 147) 3  
2 Wineke Popkese: In 1477 he is called Bergenfahrer trading to Boston.<sup>213</sup>
- (149) 1467 4/2 Sk. Thomas Stapel<sup>214</sup> Merchants: 3  
Commodities: Stockfish, oil, moss for colouring cloths, canvas  
Identified Bergenfahrer:  
1 = 148) 2

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201 His ship's name was "Catheryn of Boston".

202 His ship's name was "George of Stralsund".

203 BRUNS, Bergenfahrer, p. 127.

204 His ship's name was "George of Stralsund", the same as the preceding ship.

205 His ship's name was "George of Stralsund".

206 BRUNS, Bergenfahrer, p. 285.

207 HUB X no. 599.

208 HR II, 7, 391 §18 = NGL 2.rk. II, p. 748 §18 = DN XVI no. 261.

209 BRUNS, Bergenfahrer, p. 117.

210 *Ibid.*, p. 285.

211 HR III, 2, 440.

212 His ship is called "Catharine of Kampen".

213 HUB X no. 599.

214 His ship is called "Lyoop of Danzig".

- 2 Nicholas Witte: In 1477 he is called Bergenfahrer trading to Boston.<sup>215</sup> In 1481 he was member of a jury in a case at the Bergen Kontor.<sup>216</sup>
- 3 Karsten Nitsell: In 1477 he is called Bergenfahrer trading to Boston.<sup>217</sup>
- (150) 1467 12/9 Sk. William West<sup>218</sup> Merchant: 1  
Commodities: Stockfish  
Skipper and merchant were English, the ship may have come from Iceland or Bergen.
- (151) 1468) 4/1 Sk. Thomas Hayward<sup>219</sup> Merchants: 4  
Commodities: Stockfish, oil, moss for colouring cloths  
Identified Bergenfahrer:  
1 = 147) 3  
2 = 148) 2  
3 Hermann Schepeller: Lived in Bergen 1475.<sup>220</sup> Alderman at the Bergen Kontor 1476.<sup>221</sup> In 1477 he is called Bergenfahrer trading to Boston.<sup>222</sup> In 1481 he is called Bergenfahrer and citizen of Wismar.<sup>223</sup> In 1491 he is named as the deceased, former owner of a firm in Bergen.<sup>224</sup>  
4 = 149) 3
- (152) 1484) 8/3 Sk. Luce Salter<sup>225</sup> Merchants: 4  
Commodities: Stockfish, oil  
Identified Berenfahrer:  
1 Tideke Borchstorp (*Borthorp*): Witness in a court case at the Bergen Kontor in 1458.<sup>226</sup> Three of the four merchants are *de hansa* the fourth is English.
- (153) 1484 22/11 Sk. John Clay<sup>227</sup> Merchants: 3  
Commodities: Stockfish, oil, osmond iron  
Identified Bergenfahrer:  
1 = 152) 1  
2 Ludeke Tedendorp: In 1487 called Bergenfahrer. Through another Bergenfahrer living in Lynn he organised the sale of the goods of the Hansa merchant Hans Brink who had just died in Boston.<sup>228</sup>

## Lynn

Lynn was all through the Middle Ages the dominant home port for English merchants trading to Bergen, but after 1303 Lynn was a subsidiary port for the Hanseatic Bergenfahrer (cf. chapter I.3i).

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215 HUB X no. 599.

216 Ibid. no. 929.

217 Ibid. no. 599.

218 His ship is called "Botholph of Boston".

219 His ship is called "Gabriel of Boston".

220 BRUNS, Bergenfahrer, p. 178.

221 HUB X no. 515.

222 Ibid. no. 599.

223 BRUNS, Bergenfahrer, p. 186 note 1.

224 Ibid. p. 186.

225 His ship is called "Barbara Goderyk of Boston".

226 HUB IX no. 45.

227 His ship is called "Botolph of Boston".

228 BRUNS, Bergenfahrer, pp. 183–184, cf. p. 124.

English merchants were exempted from the permanent “petty customs” imposed in 1303. In the Late Middle Ages the Crown periodically imposed an extraordinary customs called “poundage and tunnage”, which had to be paid by all, English merchants included. The register below therefore is based on far fewer accounts than the register of Hanseatic ships and merchants sailing to Boston above.

The archive reference for a particular ship in PRO is found by comparing the date for the relevant ship in the register below to the list of references at the start of appendix II.

- (154) 1388 22/4 Sk. Robert Coweson<sup>229</sup> Merchants: 4 (Englishmen)  
Commodities: Stockfish “from Norway”, oil  
Known Bergen merchants:  
1 John Wace: Traded 1392 from Lynn to Bergen.<sup>230</sup>
- (155) 1390 3/4 Sk. William Thorp<sup>231</sup> Merchants: 11 (Englishmen)  
Commodities: Stockfish, oil  
Known Bergen merchants:  
1 = 154) 1
- (156) 1390 4/7 Sk. Gerhard van Collett<sup>232</sup> Merchants: 3  
Commodities: 3% or £½ of the cargo’s value was stockfish. The rest of the cargo is typical Baltic goods, wainscot, barrel staves, wax, linen, canvas and osmond iron. The ship is included in this list to demonstrate that small quantities of stockfish came from the Baltic.
- (157) 1390 14/7 Sk. Johan Rorebyker<sup>233</sup> Merchants: 4 (Englishmen)  
Commodities: Stockfish  
Known Bergen merchants:  
1 = 154) 1  
Other sources confirm that English merchants at this time used ships from Danzig to ship goods from Bergen to Lynn.<sup>234</sup>
- (158) 1390 4/8 Sk. Wilhelm Sabel<sup>235</sup>  
Commodities: The ship had only Baltic goods evidently loaded in Danzig, including two hundreds of stockfish worth 8 1/3 shillings. The ship is included in this list to demonstrate that small quantities of stockfish came from the Baltic.
- (159) 1390 28/10 Sk. Ludeke van der Heide<sup>236</sup> Merchants: 6 (Englishmen)  
Commodities: Stockfish  
Even skippers from Wendish towns shipped goods for English merchants.

229 His ship is called “Maryknight of Lynn”.

230 DN XIX nos. 618 and 628.

231 His ship is called “Nicholas of Lynn”.

232 His ship is called “Christopher of Danzig”.

233 His ship is called “Christopher of Danzig”, the same as the ship registered 10 days earlier. St. Christopher may have been a popular saint in Danzig!

234 DN XIX no. 621.

235 His ship is called “Maryknight of Danzig”.

236 His ship is called “Christopher of Wismar”. The skipper is registered as merchant in Boston 1386 [ 22) 2 ] and as skipper in Boston [ ship no. 41) ].

- (160) 1390 30/10 Sk. Gisebrecht Jansson<sup>237</sup> Merchants: 7 (Englishmen)  
Commodities: Stockfish  
Known Bergen merchants:  
1 William Britham: He traded 1413 to Norway.<sup>238</sup>
- (161) 1391 26/6 Sk. Thomas Fowler<sup>239</sup> Merchants: 6 (Englishmen)  
Commodities: Stockfish, oil  
Known Bergen merchants:  
1 = 154) 1  
The skipper sailed 1393 between Lynn and Bergen.<sup>240</sup>
- (162) 1391 4/9 Sk. Ludeke Berfeld<sup>241</sup> Merchants: 4 (Englishmen)  
Commodities: Stockfish  
1 = 154) 1
- (163) 1394 10/10 Sk. Wilhelm Pyke<sup>242</sup> Merchant: 1  
Commodities: Stockfish, oil
- (164) 1395 22/9 Sk. Gudbrand Broun<sup>243</sup> Merchant: 1 (Norwegian)  
Commodities: Small timber, furs of squirrel  
The only merchant on board is called Hallvard, which is Norwegian and the name of the patron saint of Oslo diocese. The ship evidently came from Eastern Norway.
- (165) 1395 30/9 Sk. Wilhelm Pyke<sup>244</sup> Merchants: 2  
Commodities: Stockfish, oil  
Both merchants were German.
- (166) 1396 30/6 Sk. Olav Henriksson<sup>245</sup> Merchants: Only the skipper  
Commodities: Spars, boards, hides of sheep, furs of squirrel, beaver and marten, cork
- (167) 1402 20/10 Sk. Hermann van Münster Merchants: 5 (Englishmen)  
Commodities: Stockfish, oil
- (168) 1402 20/10 Sk. Bernd Smyth Merchants: 3 (Englishmen)  
Commodities: Stockfish, oil
- (169) 1405 25/8 Sk. Thomas Fowler<sup>246</sup> Merchants: 3 (Englishmen)  
Commodities: Stockfish

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237 His ship is called "Maryknight of Osterdam".

238 DN XX no. 730.

239 His ship is called "Mary of Lynn".

240 DN XIX no. 628.

241 His ship is called "Maryknight of Danzig".

242 His ship is called "Maryknight of Bremen".

243 His ship is called "Christopher". Gudbrand Brun was town councillor in Oslo in 1419 (DN II no. 649).

244 His ship is called "Maryknight of Bremen".

245 His ship is called "St. Olav of Bergen" in the parallel export account for Lynn (PRO E-122/94/16).

246 He was also skipper on ship no. 161. He was citizen of Lynn.

From the 1440s to the end of the Middle Ages there are numerous extant customs accounts from Lynn, and many ships have stockfish as their main cargo. In this period the stockfish is most likely to have come from Iceland. None of the ships are positively said to come from Bergen. I have not included them in this register.

### ***Hull***

Hull was the preferred port of Norwegian skippers and merchants, they mostly came from eastern Norway and sold timber. There were not many of them, but they were harbingers of things to come. Timber exports from eastern Norway were to surpass the stockfish export from Bergen in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, and England was in periods the main market. There are small quantities of many different commodities on each ship, clearly meant for local consumption in York and Hull, and not for transport to the London market like the stockfish.

I have not aimed to register all ships with timber which may have come from Norway. I have only chosen those with Norwegian skippers or merchants, and excluded those with only non-Norwegians on board. The subject of this thesis is the Bergen trade.

From the 1450s there are numerous extant accounts from Hull, and many of them have stockfish as their main cargo. In this period all of it is likely to have come from Iceland. I have not registered this import.

The archive reference for a particular ship in PRO is found by comparing the date for the relevant ship in the register below to the list of references at the start of appendix II.

- |       |   |                                   |                              |
|-------|---|-----------------------------------|------------------------------|
| (170) | 1383 27/7   | Sk. John Roulot <sup>247</sup>    | Merchants: 8 (Englishmen)    |
|       | Commodities: Fish, oil, hides of goats, furs of otter, whale blubber, butter                      |                                   |                              |
| (171) | 1384 10/5   | Sk. Johan Bron <sup>248</sup>     | Merchants: Only skipper      |
|       | Commodities: Spars, masts, beams, planks ( <i>plankys</i> ), moss for dyeing cloths               |                                   |                              |
| (172) | 1384 20/6   | Sk. Johan Bron <sup>249</sup>     | Merchants: Only skipper      |
|       | Commodities: Spars, planks  |                                   |                              |
| (173) | 1384 13/6   | Sk. Johan Cogevale <sup>250</sup> | Merchants: Strange Clausson/ |
|       | Nicholasson   |                                   |                              |
|       | Commodities : Planks, masts, spars, whetstones, hides of sheep, oil, porpoise ( <i>porcpeys</i> ) |                                   |                              |
| (174) | 1397 17/7   | Sk. Johan Skemming <sup>251</sup> | Merchants: Only skipper      |
|       | Commodities: Spars, planks, furs, hides   |                                   |                              |

247 His ship is called "Catharine of York".

248 His ship is called "Bronsberg of Tønsberg".

249 His ship is called "Bronsberg of Tønsberg".

250 His ship is called "Christopher of Tønsberg".

251 His ship is called "Maryknight of Tønsberg".

- (175) 1399 12/5 Sk. Gudbrand from Tønsberg<sup>252</sup> Merchants: 5  
Commodities: Planks, hides of goats and sheep, furs of squirrel, marten and otter, furs of cats (*katfell*)  
oil, moss for colouring cloths, osmond iron
- (176) 1399 26/8 Sk. Torstein van Toft<sup>253</sup> Merchants: 4  
Commodities: Planks, spars, small masts, hides of sheep, furs of squirrel and otter, whetstones, moss  
for colouring cloths, osmond iron
- (177) 1401 2/7 Sk. Jacob Torsteinsson<sup>254</sup> Merchants: 7  
Commodities: Spars, masts, planks, hides of sheep, furs of squirrel, marten and otter, butter, seal  
blubber, bacon, moss for dyeing cloths, whetstones

### ***Newcastle on Tyne***

For Newcastle and Yarmouth archive reference is given for each ship.

- (178) 1391 11/6 Sk. Oluff from Norway<sup>255</sup> Merchants: Only skipper  
Commodities: Spars, boards, beams, furs of squirrel, oil, moss for dyeing cloths, *bastes*.<sup>256</sup>
- (179) 1500 25/5 Sk. Tor Halvorsson<sup>257</sup> Merchants: Johne Henriksson  
Commodities: Spars, rafters, firewood, arrows (*shaftes*).<sup>258</sup>
- (180) 1500 16/11 Sk. Hans Eilivsson<sup>259</sup> Merchants: Only skipper  
Commodities: Rafters, spars of oak, *gurthstavers*.<sup>260</sup>
- (181) 1506 14/5 Sk. Halvard Tolston<sup>261</sup> Merchant: Johne Mors  
Commodities: Deals, oil (*trane*).<sup>262</sup>
- (182) 1506 15/5 Sk. Amond Dintston<sup>263</sup> Merchants: Only skipper  
Commodities: Spars.<sup>264</sup>

### ***Yarmouth***

- (183) 1400 27/7 Sk. Johne Presse Merchants: Only skipper  
Commodities: Spars “de Norway” and deals “de Norway”.<sup>265</sup>

252 His ship is called “Maryknight of Oslo”.

253 His ship is called “Maryknight of Oslo”.

254 His ship is called “Maryknight of Oslo”.

255 His ship is called “Bronsberg”, called from Tønsberg in ship 171 and 172.

256 Source: PRO E-122/106/22 and 23.

257 His ship is called “George of Tønsberg”.

258 Source: PRO E-122/108/4 and 5.

259 His ship is called “James of Tønsberg”. James = Jacob.

260 Source: PRO E-122/108/4 and 5.

261 His ship is called “Joseph of Oslo”.

262 Source: PRO E-122/108/12.

263 His ship is called “Anna of Oslo”.

264 Source: PRO E-122/108/12.

265 Source: PRO E-122/150/2.

### APPENDIX III

#### SKIPPERS, MERCHANTS AND VALUES REGISTERED IN THE LÜBECK PFUNDZOLL AS DEPARTING FOR OR ARRIVING FROM BERGEN 1368–1400

The purpose of this appendix is to provide a list of ships which are registered as sailing between Lübeck and Bergen. This list will be used to quantify the goods sent between the two ports and to analyse the shipping lanes and the network of ports as a whole used by the Bergenfahrer. The names of the individual merchants will be compared to the names of merchants importing fish to Boston and other East English ports as registered in the English customs accounts in the same period.

Nine volumes of Lübeck's *Pfundzoll* have been preserved, from 1368–71, 1378, 1379, 1381, 1383/4, 1384/5, 1398, 1399 and 1400. During the cold war they were in the DDR and the Soviet Union. I was able to read seven of them when I stayed at the Zentrales Staatsarchiv in Potsdam (DDR) in 1978, and I also received a microfilm of these volumes. I was informed that the volume for 1378 was in a poor condition, and could not be used. The volume from 1384/5 the DDR archivists believed had been lost during the war. In reality was kept in the Soviet Union. Today both volumes are available at the *Archiv der Hansestadt Lübeck*, and I received a CD of them in 2012. To include these last two volumes in all tables and discussions would have involved much work because identifications of names would have to be extended to include the two additional volumes. This would give different figures, a large number of tables would have to be reworked and given new figures. I have no reason to believe that the inclusion of these two new volumes would have changed anything to the result given by the seven already examined. I therefore chose to include the two new volumes only when it could be done with acceptable work, and the result could be expected to be interesting. When the two books are used, it will appear from the footnotes. I used the sources which were available when I first wrote the thesis, which was in the age of the Berlin wall!

The *Pfundzollbücher* present many methodological challenges which have been discussed in LECHNER, *Pfundzollisten* and WEIBULL, *Lübeck's handel och sjøfart*. Here I shall explain shortly how I have been tackled one problem where the solution is not self evident.

The names of merchants are often crossed out without any information about customs paid or the value of their goods. During one accounting period a merchant could export and import goods on several ships, but he often paid customs for many of them on one occasion. The customs official would then summarize the relevant values and register them all under one ship. The merchant had perhaps been registered by name on two or three earlier ships, but his name was now crossed out there

as a sign that customs had been paid elsewhere. No value was added to his name. The result would be that one ship was registered with a too high value and two or three with too low values. (LECHNER, *Pfundzollisten*, p. 36). If these transitions were made within the same list, for example “from Bergen” or “to Bergen” in the same accounting period, this will not represent a source of error for the total value transported “from Bergen” or “to Bergen” that year or period. But if one merchant during one period received two consignments from Danzig and two from Bergen, and all four consignment were summarized and registered under one of the ships from Danzig, this becomes a source of error.

Such crossed out names are found on most ships in the Bergen lists 1368–1400. Only in 23 of these cases are we told to which list the values of the crossed out merchant have been transferred. In 20 of these 23 cases the transfers are said to have taken place within the same list (“from Bergen”, “to Bergen” in the same accounting period). In one of the three remaining cases a value has been transferred from *versus Bergen* to *de Bergen*, in a second case in the opposite direction. The last mentioned case demonstrates that this may be a serious source of error. The well known Lübeck Bergenfahrer Johan van Hamelen [ appendix II 22) 1 ] imported 14 *terlink*<sup>266</sup> English cloth *de Anglia* (P 1399, p. 102), probably Boston, and sent several consignments of goods to and from Bergen. All of it was summarized and customs paid in the list *versus Bergen* (PB 1399, p. 213). When evaluating these transfers of values between lists as potential sources of error, it is important to bear in mind that values were transferred both to and from the Bergen-lists. Transfers in opposite directions would then cancel each other out.

The *Pfundzollbuch* from 1368–71 seems to be the one with the highest number of such transfers. What is the size of the problem? There are 363 consignments imported “from Bergen”. 135 of these lack values and name is crossed out. 126 of the consignments belong to merchants whose name it was possible to read. 89 of these consignments belong to merchants who are registered as paying customs elsewhere in the “from Bergen” list. Their crossed out imports are probably included here. This leaves us with 37 crossed out names whose payment must have been registered in other lists. This means that ca. 10% of the 363 consignments “from Bergen” had their values registered in other accounts. A further 5 of these 37 consignments belonged to merchants who were registered in the list “to Bergen”. The conclusion must be that for 32 of the 363 consignments (that is 9%) the value “from Bergen” is registered “to” or “from” other ports than Bergen. But the real percentage may be higher, because a crossed out consignments “from Bergen” may have paid customs “from Danzig” even if the same merchant was registered with value “from Bergen” list.

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266 One *terlink* = 28–30 cloths, see LÜBBEN, *Mittelniederdeutsches Handwörterbuch*, entry word “*terlink*”.

Another source of error is that a consignment only paid customs once. If a Bergenfahrer loaded grain products on a ship in Wismar, and the ship called at Lübeck on the way to supplement its cargo, the goods which had already been paid duty for in Wismar would not be mentioned in the Lübeck *Pfundzoll*.

These sources of error make it difficult to use the values given per ship and merchant. Skipper Egart Bartzow early in 1370 sailed to Bergen with only one registered merchant. Probably many more merchants had loaded grain products on his ship in other Baltic ports. Skipper Macke's ship sailed later in the season with 24 merchants and the high total value of 1423 marks also bound for Bergen. Much of this goods may in reality have been shipped on other vessels and the payment registered collectively on Macke's ship (table 4 in this appendix).

Summing up, the level of transfers between lists was around 10%. Transfers in opposite directions may have cancelled each other out. The sources of error mentioned above have to be discussed when the *Pfundzoll* is used, how serious they are depends on the problem discussed.

In the tables below the first column of figures is the total number of merchants named on the relevant ships, both those paying customs there and those whose name is crossed out as sign that customs has been paid elsewhere. The second column is the number of merchants whose goods on the relevant ship are given a value and who paid customs. The third column is the value given to the goods belonging to the merchants in the previous column.

### ***Pfundzollbuch 1368–71***

The account is divided into the following periods:

1368 18/3 – 1368 8/5

1368 9/5 – 1368 23/6

1368 24/6 – 1368 30/10

1368 1/10 – 1369 10/3

1369 11/3 – 1369 12/7

1369 13/7 – 1369 4/10

1369 5/10 – 1369 24/12

1369 25/12 – 1370 13/4

1370 14/4 – 1370 3/10

1370 4/10 – 1371 2/5

Table 1 Ships registered in the *Pfundzoll* as importing goods from Bergen to Lübeck in 1368

Date	Skipper	Number of merchants on board	Of these registered with goods	Value of the registered goods in Lübeck marks
9/5 - 23/6	Hinrik van Borken	2	0	0
–“–	Reimar Pampow	12	0	0

Date	Skipper	Number of merchants on board	Of these registered with goods	Value of the registered goods in Lübeck marks
–“–	Bernd Aldewerlt	3	1	42
–“–	Martin van Altzen	5	0	0
–“–	Hinrik van Sund	5	0	0
–“–	Mostke	8	4	218
–“–	Bertolt van Vene	5	1	60
–“–	[Johan] Denschenborg	3	2	58
–“–	Timme Hagemester	9	2	207
24/6 - 30/9	Reimar Pampow	12	12	1287
–“–	Tidemann Hagemester	22	22	2124
–“–	[Johan] Denschenborg	3	3	367
	All 12 ships	89	47	4362 Lübeck marks

Source: LECHNER, *Pfundzollisten*, pp. 163–164 and 226.

1368 30/4 the winter residents received an order from a Hansa Diet to leave Bergen immediately (HR, I, 3, 302 = DN VIII no. 182; HUB IV no. 257 = DN VIII no. 184). They must have done so during the month of May. The table indicates that the winter residents arrived in Lübeck in the period before and after Midsummer. Most fish arrived from the north to Bergen later than May during the so called Bergen fair which was in July-September. In 1368 at that time there would be no Hansa merchants in Bergen to buy the fish. The stockfish import from Bergen to Lübeck in the extraordinary year 1368 must have been far below normal.

Table 2 Ships registered in the *Pfundzoll* as importing goods from Bergen to Lübeck in a “long” 1370 <sup>(1)</sup>

Dates	Skipper	Number of merchants on board	Of these registered with goods	Value of the registered goods in Lübeck marks
1369	Johan Scherf	25	14	517
25/12–1370	Hinrik Drivut	26	10	807
13/4				
–“–	Macke	29	15	1079
–“–	Klaus Vos	21	16	1554
14/4 - 3/10	[Johan] Denschenborg	20	14	1657
–“–	Martin van Altzen	3	2	74
–“–	Bernd Aldewerlt	17	16	1021
–“–	Marquart Joel	31	25	1661
–“–	Mathias Hagemester	7	7	424
–“–	Klaus Lange <sup>(2)</sup>	6	5	421
–“–	Martin van Altzen <sup>(2)</sup>	31	19	1184
–“–	Georg van Altzen <sup>(2)</sup>	12	5	192

Dates	Skipper	Number of merchants on board	Of these registered with goods	Value of the registered goods in Lübeck marks
1370 4/10	Martin van Altzen <sup>(3)</sup>	5	5	691
-1371 2/5	Georg van Altzen	8	7	427
–“–	Mathias Hagemester	22	11	441
–“–	Vursteon	10	9	530
	All 16 ships	273	180	12.680 Lübeck marks

Source: Archiv der Hansestadt Lübeck, *Pfundzoll* 1368–71; cf. BRUNS, *Bergenfahrer*, pp. XXXII–XXXV.

(1) In reality 1369.12.25 – 1371.05.02.

(2) These three ships are registered as a group of its own (BRUNS, *Bergenfahrer*, p. XXXV).

(3) In this last chronological period 1370.10.04–1371.05.02 it is not always said where the ships came from and sailed to. The four ships registered “from Bergen” in this period is therefore a minimum. Cf. BRUNS, *Bergenfahrer*, p. XXXI.

Shipping to and from Norway was again free after 1369 11/11. The *Bergenfahrer* sent ships from Lübeck immediately, and before 1369 24/12, ten ships had sailed to Bergen, all of them probably with grain products (cf. table 3). But when were the fishermen in the stockfish producing regions informed about the return of the Hansa merchants to Bergen? The number of fishermen who participated in the fisheries in Lofoten and elsewhere in January–March 1369 and 1370 may have been lower than normal, because they were unsure whether the stockfish they produced would find buyers in Bergen. It should therefore be assumed that the stockfish production sent southwards to Bergen in 1370 and further on to Lübeck (table 2) was lower than normal.

Table 3 Ships registered in the *Pfundzoll* as exporting goods to Bergen/Malmø from Lübeck at the end of 1369

Dates	Skipper	Number of merchants on board	Of these registered with goods	Value of the registered goods in Lübeck marks
4/10–24/12	[Elard] Grawerok	11	11	423
–“–	Heinz Semelow	15	10	860
–“–	Hinrik Raven	1	1	20
–“–	Sweder Wulf	9	8	250
–“–	Mathias Hagemester	8	8	333
–“–	Klaus Lange	10	9	395
–“–	Henneke van Berge	9	8	245
–“–	Johan Drivut	16	15	795
–“–	Johan Grote	1	0	0
–“–	Walter Johansson	16	12	634
			Known <i>Bergenfahrer</i> <sup>(1)</sup>	

Dates	Skipper	Number of merchants on board		Of these registered with goods	Value of the registered goods in Lübeck marks	
–“–	Johan Glashagen	17	13	78%	16	458
–“–	Klaus Vos	11	8		11	352
–“–	Klaus Grote	15	11		11	262
–“–	Gerhard Sostap	16	12		12	401
–“–	Hermann Vlint	11	10		7	250
–“–	Johan Grossmer	11	9		11	257
	All 16 ships	177			150	5937 Lübeck marks

Source: Archiv der Hansestadt Lübeck, *Pfundzoll* 1368–71; cf. BRUNS, *Bergenfahrer*, pp. XXXII–XXXV.

(1) The six last ships below are registered “to Malmö” but evidently sailed to Bergen. See the discussion below.

1369 3/8 a cease-fire was concluded between the Hansa towns and the Norwegian king (HR I, 1, 503; HUB IV no. 311; DN VIII no. 186 and 187). 1369 5/9 it was ratified by the King (HR I, 1, 506). 1369 21/10 a Hansa diet permitted the *Bergenfahrer* to start trading to Bergen again from 1369 11/11 (HR I, 1, 510). Two days later 1369 23/10 a Prussian envoy to the diet reported home that the *Bergenfahrer* planned to sail from Hanseatic ports eight days before it was officially permitted (HR I, 1, 32). This was late in the sailing season, and it must have been urgent to arrive as early as possible to Bergen. We do not know when the first ships in practice were permitted to leave Lübeck. The first 10 ships in table 3 are those which officially had left Lübeck “to Bergen” before 24<sup>th</sup> of December, mostly with rye flour (cf. BRUNS, *Bergenfahrer*, p. XXXII).

The customs officials of Lübeck probably checked that the *Bergenfahrer* did not leave the town before 11<sup>th</sup> of November. But some *Bergenfahrer* may have left earlier, with or without the officials’ connivance. In the register “to Malmö” are listed six ships in the same period with almost only rye flour and in large quantities. Such cargoes were not usual to Malmö, but they were standard to Bergen.<sup>267</sup> In table 3 these six ships are listed at the end. I have examined how many of the named merchants were known *Bergenfahrer*, it will appear from table 3 that 78% were. Registering Malmö as official destination in the period before it was permitted to sail to Bergen, was a way of arriving some days earlier to Bergen. The *Bergenfahrer* had shipped a normal quantity of grain products to Bergen before Christmas. This permitted them to start the next season in a normal way. Perhaps the most ambitious of them even reached a North Sea or Baltic port with an export cargo of stockfish before the winter storms.

The cease-fire was signed 1369 3/8, and from that date it was evident that the winter residents would return shortly. There was time for preparations in Bergen and Lübeck. But the year 1369 was special, so I would not draw any firm conclu-

<sup>267</sup> This can be seen by comparing to the lists “to Malmö” the following year (Archiv der Hansestadt Lübeck, *Pfundzoll* 1368–1371, pp. 628–629).

sions as to whether the grain export to Bergen (table 3) was representative for a normal year at that time.

Table 4 Ships registered in the *Pfundzoll* as exporting goods from Lübeck to Bergen in a “long” 1370

Dates	Skipper	Number of merchants on board	Of these registered with goods	Value of the registered goods in Lübeck marks
1369	Egart Bartzow	1	1	23
25/12–1370 13/4	[Johan] Denschenborg	14	12	525
–“–	Martin van Altzen	17	13	520
–“–	Heinz Sten	12	11	472
–“–	Simon van Horst	22	17	921
–“–	Mathias Hagemester	12	11	322
–“–	Johan Basse	15	14	271
14/4–3/10	Peter Trumpe	5	4	65
–“–	Marquart Joel	4	4	57
–“–	Johan Drivut	2	1	18
–“–	Johan Scherf	6	6	140
–“–	Bernd Aldewerlt	23	21	655
–“–	Macke	25	24	1423
–“–	Klaus Lange	8	8	171
–“–	[Johan] Denschenborg	12	12	400
–“–	Martin van Altzen	25	13	436
–“–	Johan Brukman	14	12	396
–“–	Bernd Aldewerlt	8	8	309
–“–	Mathias Hagemester	1	1	14
1370 4/10– 1371 2/5	Martin van Altzen (2)	4	4	41
	Johan Sasse	15	15	271
–“–	Johan Rusche	9	9	191
–“–	Wilhelm Sabel	4	4	36
–“–	Georg van Altzen	3	2	327
	All 24 ships	261	227	8004 Lübeck marks

Source: Archiv der Hansestadt Lübeck, *Pfundzoll* 1368–71; cf. BRUNS, *Bergenfaher*, pp. XXXIII–XXXV.

In the last chronological period 1370 4/10–1371 2/5 it is not always said where the ships came from and sailed to. The five ships registered “to Bergen” in this period is therefore a minimum. Cf. BRUNS, *Bergenfaher*, p. XXXI. But some of the five ships may have departed in January–April the following year. These two sources of error draw in opposite directions and partly must have neutralised each other.

***Pfundzollbuch 1378***

When I registered the *Pfundzollbücher* at the *Zentrales Staatsarchiv* in Potsdam DDR in 1978, the volume for 1378 was not preserved well enough to be made accessible to external users. Luckily Friedrich Bruns had used the book as empirical basis in several contexts (BRUNS, Bergenfahrer, p. XXXVIII). At that time I had to limit my use of the book to the problems which Bruns had discussed. Today the 1378–book is accessible, but it would cost much work to integrate it in all discussions where it is possible to use it. My most important use of the *Pfundzollbücher* was in the quantitative analyses, and here Bruns' summaries are reliable and can be used without problems.

Import from Bergen to Lübeck: 18.056 marks in 21 ships  
 Export from Lübeck to Bergen: 6.881 marks in 20 ships

The incomes from the *Pfundzoll* were used to fight pirates, but there are no indications that they prevented shipping to and from Bergen that year.

***Pfundzollbuch 1379***

According to the heading this account starts 2<sup>nd</sup> of February (*Maria purificatio*), but according to the summary at the end it starts at 6<sup>th</sup> of January (*Epiphanie*). According to the same summary it ends 13<sup>th</sup> of December (*Lucia*) (P. 1379, p. 181). The account should be considered a full year. It is divided into three periods, but no dates for the periods are given.

The *Pfundzoll* was meant to cover the costs of the struggle against pirates, but there is no evidence of extraordinary conditions in the Bergen trade this year.

Table 5 Ships registered in the *Pfundzoll* as importing goods from Bergen to Lübeck in 1379

Dates	Skipper	Number of merchants on board	Of these registered with goods	Value of the registered goods in Lübeck marks
First period	Erpeshagen	0	0	0
–“–	Klaus Drivut	0	0	0
–“–	Kurt Botzen	4	4	235
–“–	Marquart Vrese	18	16	639
–“–	Klaus Gramelo	0	0	0
–“–	Klaus Vur	22	19	795
–“–	Heinz Malchin	12	10	429
–“–	Radeke van Selle	11	10	333
–“–	Kurt Botzen	3	3	125
–“–	Detlef Klinkerode	14	13	391
–“–	Heinz Malchin <sup>(1)</sup>	24	19	1195

Dates	Skipper	Number of merchants on board	Of these registered with goods	Value of the registered goods in Lübeck marks
— —	Steneken	19	17	721
— —	Martin van Altzen	1	1	100
— —	Heinz van Sund	19	17	1397
— —	Wegheborg	11	10	427
Second period	Heinz Malchin	3	3	450
— —	Kurt Botzen	6	6	498
— —	Helmich Berghvelt	26	25	1312
— —	Martin van Mere	1	1	48
— —	Heinz Drivut	11	10	486
— —	[Johan] Papengut	21	21	1192
Third period	Johan Rusche	19	17	1222
— —	Johan Burman	15	12	1207
— —	Peter Trumpe	24	19	1120
— —	Johan Münster	22	22	1346
— —	Bembeke Pastowe	15	15	745
— —	Heinz Drivut	23	23	1294
	All 27 ships	345	315	17.714 Lübeck marks <sup>(2)</sup>

Source: Archiv der Hansestadt Lübeck, *Pfundzoll* 1379 from 48d; cf. BRUNS, *Bergenfahrer*, p. XXXVIII.

(1) Included one merchant with goods worth 40 marks registered separately later.

(2) Bruns says 17.629 marks on 24 ships (BRUNS, *Bergenfahrer*, p. XXXVIII).

Three skippers arrived from Bergen without merchants on board. In my opinion this meant that they arrived in ballast. The fish southwards occupied less space than the grain products northwards, in the 16<sup>th</sup> century ships also came in ballast from Bergen. Bruns interpreted skippers with no registered merchants as a ship which had been registered in a wrong list, and he therefore excluded them in his summary. This is the reason why Bruns has 24 ships from Bergen, my list 27 ships, three ships more.

Many ships visited Bergen from Lübeck twice in a sailing season. In this list two skippers, Heinz Malchin and Kurt Botzen, are registered as visiting Bergen three times. This is unusual, but must have been fully possible. None of them are registered as sailing from Lübeck to Bergen in 1379. They probably sailed from another Baltic town with grain products, and returned to Lübeck with fish.

Table 6 Ships registered in the *Pfundzoll* as exporting goods to Bergen from Lübeck in 1379

Dates	Skipper	Number of merchants on board	Of these registered with goods	Value of the registered goods in Lübeck marks
First period	Erpeshagen	15	13	424
— —	Hinrik Holtkamp	13	11	246

Dates	Skipper	Number of merchants on board	Of these registered with goods	Value of the registered goods in Lübeck marks
—“—	Hemming Richter	8	7	250
—“—	Johan Stange	12	12	235
—“—	Peter Vynne	1	1	20
—“—	Mathias Martenstorp	16	14	349
—“—	Detlef Klinkerode	11	11	287
—“—	Martin van Altzen	10	10	315
—“—	Hinrik Plote	5	5	307
—“—	Wineke Brokman	15	15	270
—“—	Kurt Botzen	6	6	261
—“—	Marquart Vrese	20	20	633
—“—	Martin van Mere	20	19	532
—“—	Heinz Drivut	3	3	59
—“—	Klaus Vur	17	17	321
—“—	[Heinz] Hamburg	1	1	33
—“—	Klaus Drivut	9	9	299
—“—	Steneken	13	13	425
—“—	Klaus van Pole	11	11	251
—“—	Hinrik Steen	2	2	18
—“—	Gotschalk Vorråd	2	2	52
—“—	Peter Samow	15	15	393
—“—	Radeke Selle	7	7	134
—“—	Wegenborg	16	16	265
Second period	Heinz Drivut	16	16	407
—“—	Gotschalk Vorråd	4	4	103
—“—	[Johan] Rusche	19	19	577
—“—	Heinz Drivut	7	5	146
Third period	Johan Papengut	6	6	117
—“—	Martin van Altzen	2	2	27
—“—	Georg van Altzen	6	4	103
	All 31 ships	308	295	7852 Lübeck marks <sup>(1)</sup>

Source: Archiv der Hansestadt Lübeck, Pfundzoll 1379 from 53d; cf. BRUNS, *Bergenfahrer*, p. XXXVIII.

(1) Bruns says 7564 marks on 30 ships (BRUNS, *Bergenfahrer*, p. XXXVIII).

### *Pfundzollbuch 1380*

The extant *Pfundzollbuch* from 1380 does not include Bergen. It may have been there originally, the first 14 pages are lost.

***Pfundzollbuch 1381***

The account is divided into three periods:

Before the feast of St. John (1381 24/6)

25/6 – 25/7

After the feast of St. Jacob (1381 25/7)

No date for the start and end of the account is given. One should assume that the account covered the whole sailing season, like the previous accounts from 1378 and 1379. The *Pfundzoll* was meant to cover the costs of the struggle against pirates, but there is no evidence of extraordinary conditions in the Bergen trade this year.

Table 7 Ships registered in the *Pfundzoll* as importing goods from Bergen to Lübeck in 1381

Dates	Skipper	Number of merchants on board	Of these registered with goods	Value of the registered goods in Lübeck marks
Before 24/6	Martin van Mere	14	10	1027
–“–	Peter Vynne	15	8	750
–“–	Klaus Humerman	0	0	0
–“–	Hinrik Westhof	23	20	1882
–“–	Reimar Dertzow	17	11	1658
–“–	Klaus Sece	12	9	512
–“–	[Johan] Grubenhagen	12	11	1115
24/6 - 25/7	Peter Vynne	4	4	87
–“–	[Johan] Rusche	1	1	40
After 25/7	Heinz Drivut	21	12	1537
–“–	Peter Vynne	20	14	2640
–“–	Hermann Kolberg	17	7	945
–“–	Goldensted	16	11	695
–“–	Klaus Bertoltsson	16	6	1041
–“–	Marquart Engeland	26	17	1780
–“–	Gerd Holt	18	10	1040
–“–	Johan van dem Wolde	14	11	1096
–“–	Johan Sassendorp	20	17	976
–“–	Johan Grubenhagen	0	0	0
–“–	Eggert	0	0	0
	All 20 ships	266	179	18.821 Lübeck marks

Source: Archiv der Hansestadt Lübeck, *Pfundzoll* 1368–71; cf. BRUNS, *Bergenfahrer*, pp. XXXVIII–XXXIX.

Three ships arrived from Bergen without registered merchants or goods. They must have arrived in ballast. In later periods with better sources there are numerous examples that ships sailed fully laden with grain products from the Baltic to Bergen, and returned in ballast (appendix VII tables 2 and 4).

Table 8 Ships registered in the *Pfundzoll* as exporting goods to Bergen from Lübeck in 1381

Dates	Skipper	Number of merchants on board	Of these registered with goods	Value of the registered goods in Lübeck marks
Before 24/6	[Hinrik] Keding	3	2	119
--	Georg van Altzen	13	13	628
--	Klaus Bertoltsson	12	8	350
--	Martin van Altzen	12	11	411
--	Peter Juwel	8	8	292
--	Johan Rusce	9	8	381
--	Georg van Altzen	4	4	194
--	Peter Vynne	23	18	713
--	Gerd Holt	14	14	589
--	Martin van dem Mere	18	18	820
--	[Hinrik] Nortmeyer	12	12	263
--	Gerd Glashagen	9	9	267
--	Klaus Gildemester	25	25	769
--	Reimar Dertzow	0	0	0
--	Johan Scheve	7	7	278
--	Beckerholt	13	12	347
--	Martin van Altzen	0	0	0
--	Georg van Altzen	5	5	280
--	[Wineke] Brokman	5	5	75
--	Jacob Vecle	0	0	0
--	Klaus Bertoltsson	7	7	245
--	Henneke Hund	10	10	335
25/6 - 25/7	Peter Vynne	25	25	798
After 25/7	Reimar Dertzow	12	11	466
--	Wineke Brokman	5	3	135
--	Klaus Bertoltsson	13	13	268
--	Peter Vynne	7	7	135
--	Godeke van Soest	7	7	172
	All 28 ships	278	262	9330

Source: Archiv der Hansestadt Lübeck, *Pfundzoll* 1368–71; cf. BRUNS, *Bergenfahrer*, pp. XXXVIII–XXXIX.

Two ships sailed to Bergen without registered merchants or goods. To Bergen the ships were normally fully laden with grain products which demanded much space, ships did not sail to Bergen in ballast. The two skippers had probably loaded their cargoes further east in Wismar, Rostock or Danzig and paid their customs there.

***Pfundzollbücher 1383/4 and 1384/85***

The period 1383–1385 is covered by two *Pfundzollbücher* which are connected chronologically. I shall call them the books of 1383 and 1384 even if each book does not cover a calendar year. The date when the two are connected, is not given in the accounts, but there can be little doubt that it was the feast of St. John 1384. The last expense in the 1383–account was paid 28<sup>th</sup> of June 1384 (*Pfundzoll* 1383, p. 181d), which indicates that the incomes ceased to be collected somewhat earlier, probably 24<sup>th</sup> of June (St. John) which was much used as an accounting date. The evidence that the two books are connected chronologically is that the last ship in the 1383–account is also the first ship in the 1384–account. These are the ships of Heinz Drivut in table 10 and Georg van Altzen in table 12. The merchants on these two ships are divided between the two accounts.

The two books are divided into the following periods:

1383 6/1 – 1383 23/8

1383 24/8 – 1383 21/9

1383 22/9 – 1383 12/12

1383 13/12 – 1384 9/4

1384 10/4 – 1384 23/6

1384 24/6 – 1384 14/8

1384 15/8 – 1385 21/2

1385 22/2 – 1385 1/4

After 1385 2/4 to unknown end-date.

This means that the sailing seasons 1383 and 1384 are complete. That is not the case for the sailing season 1385.

Most of these dates are given in the accounts but some need references. The date 1383 13/12 (Lucie) is taken from *Pfundzoll* 1383, p. 181d.

The *Pfundzoll* was collected to combat pirates, but there is no indication that shipping to Bergen was anomalous these years.

Table 9 Ships registered in the *Pfundzoll* as importing goods from Bergen to Lübeck in 1383

Dates	Skipper	Number of merchants on board	Of these registered with goods	Value of the registered goods in Lübeck marks
6/1 - 23/8	Evert Johansson	3	1	34
–“–	[Johan] Papengut	3	0	0
–“–	Johan Lullehusen	4	2	165
–“–	Didrik Rodewolt	3	2	110
–“–	Tidemann Schroder	0	0	0
–“–	Elard Grawerok	5	2	70
–“–	Klaus Drivut	2	0	0

Dates	Skipper	Number of merchants on board	Of these registered with goods	Value of the registered goods in Lübeck marks
–“–	Simon van Horst	9	8	263
–“–	Martin van Altzen	6	2	45
–“–	Peter Vynne	11	9	278
–“–	Gerd Holt	1	1	10
–“–	Elard Schiveman	2	1	110
24/8 - 21/9	[Jacob] Jungeshovet	12	10	651
–“–	Simon van Horst	1	1	25
22/9 - 12/12	Martin van Altzen	10	10	844
–“–	Heinz Drivut	20	20	1511
–“–	[Wedege] Degherart	6	5	330
–“–	[Arnd] Brandeshagen	16	14	940
–“–	Buddendorp	6	6	615
–“–	Helmich Bergevelt	11	9	485
–“–	Beneke Bochholt	8	8	271
–“–	Josef Lutbek	18	13	458
–“–	Peter Vynne	17	13	626
	All 23 ships	174	137	7841 Lübeck marks

Source: Archiv der Hansestadt Lübeck, *Pfundzoll* 1383/4; cf. BRUNS, *Bergenfahrer*, pp. XXXIX.

The import values from Bergen are particularly low in 1383. Bruns thought this might be due to part of the incomes being registered in a parallel, now lost book, but it may as well be due to a poor season in Lofoten. 1383 was a peak year for the trade to Sweden (KOPPE, *Lübeck- Stockholmer Handelsgeschichte*, p. 6).

Table 10 Ships registered in the *Pfundzoll* as importing goods from Bergen to Lübeck in 1384

Dates	Skipper	Number of merchants on board	Of these registered with goods	Value of the registered goods in Lübeck marks
1383 13/12 - 1384 9/4	Godeke van Soest	4	4	195
	Arnd Brandeshagen	21	7	652
–“–	Jacob Beyger	12	7	236
–“–	Reimar Tengel	14	9	560
–“–	Jacob Vogel	23	9	494
10/4 - 23/6	Arnd Brandeshagen	11	11	580
–“–	[Jacob] Vogel	6	6	340
–“–	Egart Bartzow	15	14	708
–“–	Heinz Drivut	32	25	1054
24/6 - 14/8	Heinz Drivut	6	6	334 Same ship <sup>(1)</sup>
–“–	Godeke van Soest	22	17	852
–“–	Georg van Altzen	28	24	1425

Dates	Skipper	Number of merchants on board	Of these registered with goods	Value of the registered goods in Lübeck marks
1384 15/8	Hinrik Broechagen	16	11	1287
-1385 21/2	Peter Vynne	15	12	937 <sup>(2)</sup>
— “ —	Godeke van Soest	8	8	1895
— “ —	[Claus] Langheberg	13	11	1385
— “ —	Radeke Knyf	11	5	209
— “ —	Johan Ryman	4	3	446
— “ —	Klaus Johansson	10	8	1113
— “ —	Heinz Drivut	12	7	1365
— “ —	Jacob Jungeshovet	16	13	1286
— “ —	Gruwel	17	9	890
— “ —	Nicholas Bertoltsson	2	2	250
— “ —	Radeke van Selle	6	5	431
— “ —	Claus Langheberg	0	0	0
— “ —	Nicholas de Vemerem	12	11	1053
	All 25 ships	336	244	19.942
	Hermann van Osnabrück included <sup>(3)</sup>			20.497 Lübeck marks

Source: Archiv der Hansestadt Lübeck, *Pfundzoll* 1383/84 from p. 83 and 1384/5; cf. BRUNS, *Bergenfahrer*, pp. XL–XLI.

(1) The *Pfundzollbuch* 1383/4 ends at St. John and the one of 1384/5 starts at the same date. The customs officials were at that date clearly in the middle of the registration of Heinz Drivut's ship, the merchants on that ship are registered in both books.

(2) 7c stockfish à 5 marks included.

(3) The town councillor and Bergenfahrer Hermann van Osnabrück exported and imported on several ships registered in the 1384 *Pfundzoll*, in all cases he is crossed out as a sign that he has paid customs elsewhere. On a separate page at the end of the list “from Bergen” it is noted that Hermann had paid customs for goods worth 1300 Lübeck marks, a high sum. Bruns divided this sum on all Hermann's crossed out entries in the 1384 *Pfundzoll* from all ports, and found that import “from Bergen” then had to be heightened with ca. 530 marks.

Table 11 Ships registered in the *Pfundzoll* as exporting goods to Bergen from Lübeck in 1383

Dates	Skipper	Number of merchants on board	Of these registered with goods	Value of the registered goods in Lübeck marks
6/1–23/8	Martin van Altzen	13	13	279
— “ —	Sutebotlere	28	26	1024
— “ —	Wedege Degherart	10	10	260
— “ —	Mathias van Selle	12	11	299
— “ —	[Johan] Denschenborg	13	11	288
— “ —	Degherart van Minden	11	11	300
— “ —	Hermann van Kampen	15	15	301
— “ —	Gerd Helt	17	16	407
— “ —	Didrik Rodewolt	6	4	149
— “ —	Evert van Kampen	10	9	126

--	Mornewech	8	8	152
--	Sutebotlere	19	19	469
--	Josef [Lutbek]	15	15	250
--	Klaus Drivut	28	25	515
--	Hinrik Grovenberg	8	8	179
--	Marquart Grote	1	1	32
--	Marquart Vrese	2	2	55
--	Heinz Malchin	0	0	0
--	Mathias Rover	16	15	423
24/8–21/9	Martin van Altzen	14	14	241
22/9–12/12	Arnd Brandeshagen	1	1	26
--	Klaus Gildemester	1	1	20
	All 22 ships	248	235	5795 Lübeck marks

Source: Archiv der Hansestadt Lübeck, *Pfundzoll* 1383/4; cf. BRUNS, *Bergenfahrer*, p. XXXIX.

Table 12 Ships registered in the *Pfundzoll* as exporting goods to Bergen from Lübeck in 1384.

Dates	Skipper	Number of merchants on board	Of these registered with goods	Value of the registered goods in Lübeck marks
1383 13/12	Heinz Drivut	22	19	635
-1384 9/4	Peter Vynne	16	16	579
--	Simon van Horst	12	8	307
--	Georg van Altzen	26	23	482
--	Martin van Altzen	14	8	355
10/4 - 23/6	Arnd Brandeshagen	23	23	605
--	Jacob Beyger	12	10	321
--	Godeke van Soest	12	12	264
--	Jacob Vogel	8	5	164
--	Gerd Holt	24	24	780
--	Reimar Tengel	18	16	365
--	[Johan] Gultzow	15	11	279
--	Georg van Altzen	9	5	181
24/6 - 14/8	Georg van Altzen	24	23	658 Same ship <sup>(1)</sup>
--	Peter Vynne	9	7	348
--	Johan Rode	11	11	499
--	Heinz Drivut	8	6	315
--	[Johan] Rusche	5	3	79
--	Godeke van Soest	7	6	210
1384 15/8	Radeke van Selle	9	9	297
-1385 21/2	Peter Vynne	7	5	73
--	Georg van Altzen	3	3	50
--	[Johan] Denschenborg	3	3	66
	All 22 ships	297	256	7912

Dates	Skipper	Number of merchants on board	Of these registered with goods	Value of the registered goods in Lübeck marks
Hermann van Osnabrück included				8012 Lübeck marks <sup>(2)</sup>

Source: Archiv der Hansestadt Lübeck, *Pfundzoll* 1383/84 from p. 82 and 1384/85; Cf. BRUNS, Bergenfahrer, pp. XL–XLI.

(1) Cf. table 10 note 1. Here it is the merchants on Georg van Altzen's ship which are registered in the *Pfundzollbücher* from both 1383/4 and 1384/5.

(2) Cf. table 10 note 3. Friedrich Bruns thought the sum for 1384 should be heightened with ca. 100 marks to include Osnabrück's exports.

The account for 1384 continues into the calendar year 1385. The first period covers 1385 22/2 – 1385 1/4. The second period starts 1385 2/4, but the end date is not given, it was probably in the autumn. The lack of an end date makes it impossible to use 1385 statistically. Working through the original serves no purpose, below are Bruns' summaries (BRUNS, Bergenfahrer, p. XLI).

Ships registered in the *Pfundzoll* as importing goods from Bergen to Lübeck in 1385:

22/2 – 1/4:	2 ships	Value of goods:	1.948 Lübeck marks
After 2/4:	12 –“–	–“–	9.032 –“–
All 14 ships:			10.980 –“–
Hermann van Osnabrück's goods included:			11.346 Lübeck marks

Ships registered in the *Pfundzoll* as exporting goods to Bergen from Lübeck in 1385.

22/2 – 1/4:	6 ships	Value of goods:	2.389 Lübeck marks
After 2/4:	14 –“–	–“–	6.823 –“–
All 20 ships:			9.212 –“–
Hermann van Osnabrück's goods included:			9.532 Lübeck marks

### ***The three Pfundzollbücher 1398–1401***

These are three *Pfundzollbücher* more or less connected chronologically. I shall call them the books of 1398, 1399 and 1400.

The three books are divided into the four following periods:

- 1398 2/6 – 1399 27/2 (1398–book)
- 1399 30/3 – 1400 14/2 (1399–book)
- 1400 7/3 – 1401 14/2 (1400–book)

The incomes 1398–1401 were used to combat pirates (*Vitaliner*), but there are no indications that their activities reduced the trade Bergen - Lübeck. 1398–1400 should be normal years in the Bergen trade.

In these three *Pfundzollbücher* 1398, 1399 and 1400 the value of the goods of many merchants and their customs paid are not registered. The customs official only noted the cargo space which the merchant had hired on the ship, measured in lasts or barrels. The explanation may be that there were two customs officials who wrote one book each, and the value and customs were in many cases written in the parallel book which has not survived. The “other book” (*alio libro*) is mentioned two times in the book from 1399 (WEIBULL, Lübecks Schifffahrt und Handel, p. 29). This means that registers for several periods in the Bergen trade are of limited use for our purpose these three years. This will be discussed when it is relevant.

For some merchants only the customs is registered, for our purpose this poses no problem, this sum has to be multiplied by 288 to calculate the value.

### *Pfundzollbuch 1398*

The *Pfundzollbuch* from 1398 starts 2<sup>nd</sup> of June (P. 1398, p. 2) and continues to the 27<sup>th</sup> of February the following year (P. 1398, p. 204). The three months March-May 1398 are lacking to get a whole year, and this was an important season for grain exports to Bergen. Most of the fish imports from Bergen to Lübeck took place later in the year, the lacking three months are therefore less of a source of error for the import. The 1398–book gives minimum figures, but less so for the fish import from Bergen.

Table 13 Ships registered in the *Pfundzoll* as exporting goods from Bergen to Lübeck in 1398 (9 months)

Dates	Skipper	Number of merchants on board	Of these registered with goods	Value of the registered goods in Lübeck marks
1398 2/6	Werner van Ulsen	16	15	980
-1399 27/2	Reimar Tengel	21	17	2402
–“–	Fredrik Varle	17	12	2412
–“–	Heinz van Sund	6	6	236
–“–	Richart Lange	18	11	1248
–“–	Johan Huning	4	1	100
–“–	Godeke van Hachede	4	3	733 <sup>(1)</sup>
–“–	[Henneke] Hund	12	10	1886
–“–	Hermann Nyestad	11	8	741
–“–	Godeke van Achim	1	1	48
–“–	Tidemann van Münster	9	7	1971
–“–	[Johan] Schoneke	5	5	500

Dates	Skipper	Number of merchants on board	Of these registered with goods	Value of the registered goods in Lübeck marks
–“–	Heinz Lange	25	25	1125
–“–	Tidemann Swarte	13	12	785
	All 14 ships	162	133	15.167 Lübeck marks

Source: Archiv der Hansestadt Lübeck, *Pfundzoll* 1398; cf. BRUNS, *Bergenfahrer*, pp. XL–XLI.

(1) Including 378 marks from Hermann Lyningh, which was paid after the account had been terminated.

March–May are lacking in the *Pfundzollbuch* for 1398. This was an important season for sending grain ships to Bergen. The figures in table 14 therefore have to be considered as minimum figures for the annual export to Bergen in 1398.

Table 14 Ships registered in the *Pfundzoll* as exporting goods to Bergen from Lübeck in 1398 (9 months)

Dates	Skipper	Number of merchants on board	Of these registered with goods	Value of the registered goods in Lübeck marks
1398 2/6	[Nicholas] Grabow	17	14	1513
-1399 27/2	Richart Lange	20	16	1269
–“–	Hermann Nyestad	5	3	23
–“–	Cremon	4	4	155
–“–	Johan Luchow	15	12	467
–“–	Tidemann Swarte	22	21	653
–“–	Johan Schoneke	21	19	541
–“–	Dobbermann	20	20	447
–“–	Johan van Selle	9	9	333
	All 9 ships	133	118	5400
	Goods estimated value			200 marks <sup>(1)</sup>
	Total value			5600 Lübeck marks

Source: Archiv der Hansestadt Lübeck, *Pfundzoll* 1398; cf. BRUNS, *Bergenfahrer*, pp. XL–XLI.

(1) Some goods are only registered with quantity, not value. Bruns estimated their value to 200 marks.

### *Pfundzollbuch* 1399

The *Pfundzollbuch* from 1399 starts 30<sup>th</sup> of March (Easter Day) (P. 1399, p. 1) and the customs officials handed their account to the Lübeck Exchequer 14<sup>th</sup> of February the following year. They are likely to have ceased collecting customs on that day. 1½ months in February–March 1399 are lacking to get an entire year. This is early in the season and is not a serious source of error, particularly not for the fish import.

In this period are registered 19 ships “from Bergen”. For the first four ships the value of each merchant’s goods is registered, for the remaining 15 only the cargo capacity used by the merchant, calculated in “barges” (*schuta*) or “space occupied by

a barrel” (*tonnen rum*). The final distance up to Lübeck the fish was freighted on *schuta* (BRUNS, Bergenfahrer, p. XCV). In 1400 is mentioned *1 schuta cum piscibus de 18c*, in 1399 *1 schuta cum 2½ tonnerum*. The value of the goods stored in a certain cargo space depended on the kind of goods which was stored there. In the lists “from Bergen” 1398–1400 the value of a *tonnen rum* is given nine times: 50, 60, 64, 90, 100, 127, 192, 329, and 500 Lübeck marks. It creates significant sources of error to estimate an average when individual prices are so different. Bruns tried, but his result was not convincing, and I have abstained (BRUNS, Bergenfahrer, p. XLIII).

Table 15 Ships registered in the *Pfundzoll* as exporting goods from Bergen to Lübeck in 1399 (10½ months)

Dates	Skipper	Number of merchants on board	Of these registered with goods	Value of the registered goods in Lübeck marks
1399 30/3	[Tideke] Krumbek	15	13	512
-1400 14/2	Klaus Lange	26	20	996
–“–	Marquart Rebeen	10	10	542
–“–	Johan Westfal	26	20	983
–“–	Nicholas Rotermund	13		
–“–	Ateldorn	16		
–“–	Johan Kurdes	23		
–“–	Reimar Tengel	12		
–“–	Kurt Voghelere	5		
–“–	Bernt van der Heide	8		
–“–	Brochovet	15		
–“–	Richart Lange	10		
–“–	Klaus Johansson	1		
–“–	Rotger Schulte	10		
–“–	Hinrik van der Kulen	10		
–“–	[Hemming] Grube	11		
–“–	[Bernt] Smyt	9		
–“–	Johan Wesfal	6		
–“–	[Tideke] Stenbeke	10		
	All 19 ships	236		Unknown

Source: Archiv der Hansestadt Lübeck, *Pfundzoll* 1399; cf. BRUNS, Bergenfahrer, pp. XLII–XLIII.

As mentioned in the introduction to table 16, 1½ months are lacking in February–March to make 1399 a full year. This is early in the sailing season, and it is not probable that many ships sailed to Bergen that early. The figure below may be a minimum figure, but is close to the real total.

Table 16 Ships registered in the *Pfundzoll* as exporting goods to Bergen from Lübeck in 1399 (10½ months)

Dates	Skipper	Number of merchants on board	Of these registered with goods	Value of the registered goods in Lübeck marks
1399 30/3 -1400 14/2	[Johan] Schonemor	13	12	541
	Klaus Holst	22	19	1038
—“—	Tideke Stenbeke	29	23	649
—“—	Godeke van Achim	25	24	482
—“—	Nicholas Drivut	21	16	541 <sup>(1)</sup>
—“—	Heinz Rode	8	7	149
—“—	Hinrik Alardsson	21	19	408
—“—	Marquart Grote	12	12	771
—“—	Johan van Mehame	4	4	138
—“—	Brockhovet	23	23	865 <sup>(2)</sup>
—“—	Hinrik Dethmers	14	14	531
—“—	[Henning] Grube	17	14	406
—“—	Heinz Monik	12	12	2997 <sup>(3)</sup>
—“—	Nicholas Grabow	4	4	326
—“—	Hinrik van Vreyden	13	12	315
—“—	Bernd van der Heide	5	2	28
—“—	Johan Westfal	0	0	0
—“—	Jones Petersson	2	2	45
	All 18 ships	245	219	10.231 Lübeck marks

Source: Archiv der Hansestadt Lübeck, *Pfundzoll* 1399; cf. BRUNS, *Bergenfahrer*, pp. XLII–XLIII.

- (1) Five lasts grain products have not been given any value. I have estimated their value to be 50 marks (cf. prices table II.8).
- (2) 2½ lasts of beer have not been given any value. I have estimated their value to be 25 marks (cf. prices table II.8).
- (3) Includes goods worth 2448 Lübeck marks which the *Bergenfahrer* Johan van Hamelen [cf. appendix II 22) 1], sent on several ships “from England”, “from Bergen” and “to Bergen”. Bruns has argued that this sum should not be included here (BRUNS, *Bergenfahrer*, p. XLII). But it must be assumed that goods sent “to Bergen” on other occasions could be summarized and registered under “from Bergen” or “from England” without this being written explicitly. I therefore consider it most correct to include his customs payment here where the customs officials entered it (PB 1399, p. 213), and assume that these transfers of values neutralised each other. Johan van Hamelen’s large payment was also discussed in the introduction to this appendix III. The largest single item was 14 “terlink” à 28–30 broadcloths from England.

### *Pfundzollbuch* 1400

The *Pfundzollbuch* from 1400 started 7<sup>th</sup> of March 1400 and the officials finalized the account 14<sup>th</sup> of February 1401 (P. 1400, p. 323). They must have stopped collecting customs on that day. Three weeks are lacking February/March 1400 to get an entire year. This is out of season and a very short period, therefore the account can be considered an entire year.

The registration procedures used for the last 15 ships in table 15 was continued in the *Pfundzollbuch* from 1400.

Table 17 Ships registered in the *Pfundzoll* as exporting goods from Bergen to Lübeck in 1400 (11½ months)

Dates	Skipper	Number of merchants on board	Of these registered with goods	Value of the registered goods in Lübeck marks
1400 7/3	Tideke Krumbek	8		
-1400 3/7	Jones Petersson	7		
–“–	Johan van der Borch	9		
–“–	Mathias Niekerke	8		
–“–	Kallert	2		
1400 4/7	Reimar Berntsson	8		
-1401 14/2	Otke Poleman	15		
–“–	Hinrik van Vreyden	7		
–“–	Hermann Dovel	17		
–“–	Gerd Vischer	9		
–“–	Johan van Varle	14		
–“–	Johan Lüneburg	8		
–“–	[Bernd] Smyt	13		
–“–	Hinrik Vort	9		
–“–	Richart Lange	22		
–“–	Hinrik Nortmeyer	17		
–“–	Nicholas Wige	15		
–“–	Godeke van Achim	13		
–“–	Johan Turegut	12		
–“–	Johan Westfal	7		
–“–	Tideke Voghelere	15		
	All 21 ships:	235		Unknown

Source: Archiv der Hansestadt Lübeck, *Pfundzoll* 1400; cf. BRUNS, *Bergenfahrer*, pp. XLIII–XLIV.

Table 18 Ships registered in the *Pfundzoll* as exporting goods to Bergen from Lübeck in 1400 (11½ months)

Dates	Skipper	Number of merchants on board	Of these registered with goods	Value of the registered goods in Lübeck marks
1400 7/3	[Hinrik] Dume	2	2	185
-1401 20/1	Heinz Rode	10		
–“–	Ludeke Malchin	9		
–“–	Godeke Rover	8		
–“–	Reynold	17		
–“–	Klaus Wigher	24		
–“–	Hinrik van Vreyden	19		

Dates	Skipper	Number of merchants on board	Of these registered with goods	Value of the registered goods in Lübeck marks
—“—	Steven Dupeler	11		
—“—	Reimar Berndsson	16		
—“—	Ateldorn	16		
—“—	Henneke [=Johan] Hund	1		
—“—	Johan Wicle	4		
—“—	Johan Hund	6		
—“—	Johan Turegut	9		
1401 21/1	Johan Vrese	3		
-1401 14/2	Elner van Bremen	11		
—“—	Bernd van Greve	6		
—“—	Hinrik Withun	1		
	All 18 ships: <sup>(1)</sup>	173		Unknown

Source: Archiv der Hansestadt Lübeck, *Pfundzoll* 1400; cf. BRUNS, *Bergenfahrer*, pp. XLIII–XLIV.

- (1) The skippers Henneke Hund and Johan Hund are registered close to each other in the list. This may be two skippers with almost the same name, or it may be the same skipper who had one official name (Johan) and another name for those who were on familiar terms with him (Henneke).

## APPENDIX IV

### HOME TOWNS OF SKIPPERS REGISTERED IN LÜBECK'S PFUNDZOLL AS SAILING BETWEEN LÜBECK AND BERGEN 1368–1400. EMPIRICAL BASIS FOR TABLE II.10.

*Skippers included in table II.10, first column*

Name	Home town	Reference for home town
Bernd Aldewertl	Lübeck	LECHNER, Pfundzollisten, index; HR I, 2, 18 §12
Martin van Altzen <sup>(1)</sup>	Rostock/ Lübeck	MecklUB XVII, index (Rostock 1364) HR I, 3, index (Lübeck 1387)
Henneke van Berge	Lübeck	BRUNS, Bergenfahrer, p. 33 and index
Klaus Bertoltsson <sup>(2)</sup>	Holland	RGP volume 65 no.608
Kurt Botzen	Lübeck	BRUNS, Bergenfahrer, p. 45
Arnd Brandeshagen	Stralsund	<i>Der Stralsunder liber memorialis</i> I, no. 679 and IV no. 161
Wineke Brokman	Lübeck	HR I, 3, 447 §4
Hinrik Dethmers	Lübeck	MecklUB XXII no. 12.461
Hermann van der Duvel	Stralsund	<i>Der Stralsunder liber memorialis</i> II no. 356 and III no. 752
Klaus Drivut	Lübeck	HR I, 2, 2 §9
Nicholas Grabow	Lübeck	BRUNS, Bergenfahrer, p. 226
Johan Grote	Lübeck	BRUNS, Bergenfahrer, pp. 26 and 38; HUB V no. 1137
Mathias Hagemester	Danzig	HUB IV no. 666
Klaus Holst	Hamburg	HR I, 2 index; HR I, 3 index
Klaus Humerman	Lübeck	BRUNS, Bergenfahrer, pp. 30 and 33
Johan van Huning	Prussia	<i>Hanseakten aus England</i> , p. 298
Evert Johansson	Kampen	HR I, 4, 3 §32
Hermann van Kampen	Lübeck	BRUNS, Bergenfahrer, p. 13
Hinrik Keding	Lübeck	Ibid., p. 29
Detlef Klinkrode	Lübeck	LECHNER, Pfundzollisten, index
Klaus Lange	Stralsund	<i>Der Stralsunder liber memorialis</i> I no 913
Amelius Luchow	Lübeck	BRUNS, Bergenfahrer, pp. 22, 23, 26 and 36
Johan Lüneburg	Lübeck	USL IV, VI and VII, indexes
Mathias Martensdorp	Prussia	HR I, 3, 141
Johan van Münster	Lübeck	BRUNS, Bergenfahrer, pp. 47 and 64; USL IV, p. 72
Hinrik Nortmeyer	Lübeck	HR I, 4, 38 §16
Reimar Pampow	Lübeck	HR I, 2, 18 §12
Klaus van Pole	Lübeck	<i>Civilitates</i> , anno 1350 no. 236
Otke (=Otto) Poleman	Bremen	HR I, 4 index; HR I, 5 index ; <i>Hanseakten aus England</i> , index

Name	Home town	Reference for home town
Hinrik Raven	Lübeck	HR, I, 5, 169; LECHNER, Pfundzollisten, index
Wilhelm Sabel	Danzig	Appendix II ship 158
Johan Scheve	Rostock	HUB IV no. 791; HUB V no. 118
Evert Struk	Prussia	HR, I, 3, 141
Klaus Vos	Lübeck	BRUNS, Bergenfahrer, p. 13
Marquart Vrese	Lübeck	HR I, 3, 348; HUB IV no. 891
Evert Warendorp	Lübeck	BRUNS, Bergenfahrer, pp. 19 and 27
Ludeke Wilstede	Lübeck	BRUNS, Bergenfahrer, p. 14; LECHNER, Pfundzollisten, index

(1) Martin van Altzen is not included in table II.10 since he seems to have been first citizen of Rostock, later of Lübeck.

(2) Klaus Bertoltsson belonged to a group of Hollandish envoys.

*Skippers included in table II.10, second column*

Name	Home town	Reference for home town
Beneke (Bernhard) Bocholt	Lübeck	MecklUB XIII no. 7986
Johan van Borken	Lübeck	UStL V no. 176
Johan Brukman	Lübeck	<i>Regesten der Lübecker Bürgertestamente</i> , no. 954
Johan Denschenborg	Lübeck	<i>Civilitates</i> , index
Simon van Horst	Lübeck	UStL IV, index
Johan Hund	Lübeck	BRUNS, Bergenfahrer, p. 226
Klaus Johannesson	Holland?	RGP volume 66 no. 867. A common name among Hollanders
Marquart Joel	Lübeck	<i>Regesten der Lübecker Bürgertestamente</i> , no. 956
Hermann Kolberg	Danzig	HR I, 2, index
Tideke Krumbek	Wismar	MecklUB XXII no. 12.666
Hinrik van der Kulen	Lübeck	HUB V no. 618
Johan Kurdes	Rostock	MecklUB XV nos. 9239 and 9373
Richart Lange	Reval	HR I, 5, index
Johan Luchow	Lübeck	HR I, 6, 248 §12; UStL V no. 570
Heinz Malchin	Lübeck	LECHNER, Pfundzollisten, index
Heinz Moneke	Elbing	HR I, 3, index; HUB V, index
Heinz Rode	Stralsund	HR I, 1, 485; <i>Der Stralsunder liber memorialis</i> I no. 590 and 784
Nicholas Rotermund	Bremen	<i>Hanseakten aus England</i> , index
Mathias Rover	Lübeck	LECHNER, Pfundzollisten, index
Johan Rusche	Lübeck/ Stockholm	KOPPE, <i>Lübeck- Stockholmer Handelsgeschichte</i> , p. 15
Johan Sasse	Lübeck/ Stralsund	<i>Civilitates</i> , index; <i>Der Stralsunder liber memorialis</i> I no. 218

Name	Home town	Reference for home town
Johan Sassendorp	Braunsberg, Prussia	HR I, 5, 255 index
Johan Scherf	Lübeck	<i>Civilitates</i> , index
Johan Schoneke	Lübeck	UStL III, index
Rotger Schulte	Hamburg	HR I, 7, index
Johan Stange	Lübeck	<i>Civilitates</i> , index
Hinrik Sten	Lübeck	LECHNER, Pfundzollisten, index
Hinrik van Sund	Lübeck	Ibid., p. 548
Tidemann Swarte	Lübeck	UStL V no. 22
Werner van Ulsen	Lübeck	MeckIUB XIV no. 829
Gerd Vischer	Stralsund	<i>Der Stralsunder liber memorialis</i> II no. 46
Tideke Vogel	Stralsund	<i>Der Stralsunder liber memorialis</i> III no. 84 and 331
Gotschalk Vorrad	Danzig	HR I, 5, 436
Hinrik Vort	Wismar	MeckIUB XXI no. 12.018
Hinrik van Vreyden	Stralsund	<i>Der Stralsunder liber memorialis</i> I no. 591
Johan Vrese	Lübeck	LECHNER, Pfundzollisten, index
Johan Westfal	Lübeck	Ibid.
Johan van den Wold	Lübeck	UStL V no. 352 §11

## APPENDIX V

### HOME TOWNS OF MERCHANTS REGISTERED IN THE CUSTOMS ACCOUNTS FROM BOSTON 1365–1413 WITH GOODS FROM BERGEN. EMPIRICAL BASIS FOR TABLE II.25.

The following sources have been examined for information about home towns: USStL; LECHNER, Pfundzollisten; *Hanseakten aus England*; BRUNS, Bergenfahrer; *Regesten der Lübecker Bürgertestamente*; *Civilitates, Lübecker Neubürgerlisten*; HUB; *Der Stralsunder liber memorialis*; MeckLUB; *Preussisches Urkundenbuch*; *Bremisches Urkundenbuch*; HR; RGP volume 65; the Bergen lists in the *Pfundzoll* form Lübeck 1368–1400.

German and English sources often spell the names of Hansa skippers and merchants differently. In appendixes V and VI German spelling is used.

A main problem when identifying names from different sources is whether same name means same person. If a stockfish merchant in Boston is to be identified with certainty with a merchant of the same name in a source from a Hansa town, there has to be evidence in addition to the same name. Such evidence could be information that the person in the named Hansa town traded to Bergen, was business partner to a known Bergenfahrer, gave credit to a known Bergenfahrer, or was executor at the testament of a known Bergenfahrer. If the only thing the two have in common is the name, and both first and second name were fairly common, I will only consider this to be an indication that it was the same person. Further problems concerning name identifications are discussed in the introduction to appendix II.

The second major source of error is the criteria for identifying the home town of the merchant. Sometimes it is explicitly said that a merchant was citizen of a certain town. Another certain criterion is that he wrote his testament in the town, was executor of a testament, entered into a judicially binding agreement or had property in the town. More generally I have assumed that if a person is mentioned in a document issued by the authorities in a certain town, this was his home town, unless the circumstances indicate that he is likely to have been from another town. If a merchant is only shown as trading in a town, I will only consider this an indication that he may have been citizen in the town.

The Lübeck *Pfundzoll* presents special problems. They contain the names of thousands of merchants exporting and importing from and to Lübeck, but have no information about the merchants' home towns. Ahasverus von Brandt estimated that about half the merchants registered in the *Pfundzoll* were citizens of Lübeck (BRANDT, *Knochenhaueraufstände*, reprint, pp. 133–134). As examples, both

Lübeck and Rostock merchants were active in the shipping between the two towns, and merchants from Danzig and Wismar called at Lübeck on their way to Bergen. On the route Lübeck – Bergen the situation was different because there lived numerous Lübeckers also at the other end of the route at the Kontor in Bergen. The Bergen lists in the *Pfundzoll* contain the names of ca. 850 merchants, only six of them can be identified with certainty as non-Lübeckers (cf. p. 117). If a stockfish merchant in Boston also traded Bergen – Lübeck, this is an indication that he was a Lübecker, but no proof.

Identity as Bergenfahrer and home town can be determined with the reliable criteria mentioned above for 102 of the merchants who are registered with Bergen commodities in Boston (cf. table 1 below). For 92 others the identity is based on the same name only, and the home town is determined because the merchant is mentioned in a document from the relevant town (cf. table 2 below).

Table 1 Merchants whose home towns are identified with reliable criteria. Basis for table II.25, first column

<i>Name of merchant</i>	<i>Home town</i>	<i>In Boston</i>	<i>Reference for home town</i>
Hinrik Arndes	Lübeck	1401–04	Appendix II 83) 1
Sweder van Benthem	Lübeck	1413	Appendix II 141) 5
Johan van der Berghe	Lübeck	1391	Appendix II 44) 7
Hinrik Biskop	Lübeck	1366	Appendix II 14) 7
Konrad Blogebom	Lübeck	1394–1401	Appendix II 64) 1
Hinrik Bornholm	Lübeck	1384	Appendix II 19) 2
Hinrik Brandenburg	Lübeck	1365	Appendix II 2) 1; <i>Regesten der Lübecker Bürgertestamente</i> , no. 770
Albert Brokman	Lübeck	1386–87	Appendix II 21) 9; UStL V, index
Hermann Brun	Lübeck	1365	Appendix II 2) 4; UStL IV, index
Mathias Burder	Lübeck	1390–1401	Appendix II 41) 16
Johan Busch	Lübeck	1400–01	Appendix II 72) 3
Johan Buxtehude	Lübeck	1387–90	Appendix II 34) 3
Ludeke Delmenhorst	Lübeck	1384	Appendix II 20) 4
Hinrik Distelow	Lübeck	1390–93	Appendix II 41) 11; <i>Regesten der Lübecker Bürgertestamente</i> , p. 241; <i>Civilitates</i> , year 1351 no. 131
Karsten Eckhof	Lübeck	1366	Appendix II 8) 1
Johan Vorwerk	Lübeck	1390	Appendix II 33) 1
Hinrik Vur	Lübeck	1366	Appendix II 14) 16; <i>Regesten der Lübecker Bürgertestamente</i> no. 533. On Peter van Stade, see below
Gyse Gerardsson	Lübeck	1365–66	Appendix II 4) 17
Johan Godebotz	Lübeck	1365–66	Appendix II 4) 4; <i>Civilitates</i> , year 1350 no. 16; <i>Regesten der Lübecker Bürgertestamente</i> , no. 982

<i>Name of merchant</i>	<i>Home town</i>	<i>In Boston</i>	<i>Reference for home town</i>
Hinrik Grambek	Lübeck	1391	Appendix II 48) 1; BRUNS, Bergenfahrer, pp. 158 and 162; HUB VI no. 632
Johan Grashof	Lübeck	1365	Appendix II 1) 5
Johan Gronow	Lübeck	1366–91	Appendix II 6) 4
Johan Grove	Lübeck	1387	Appendix II 26) 3
Johan van Hamelen	Lübeck	1386	Appendix II 22) 1
Johan van Hamme	Lübeck	1366	Appendix II 7) 1; <i>Civilitates</i> , year 1355 no. 201; <i>Regesten der Lübecker Bürgertestamente</i> , no. 896
Meineke van Hamme	Lübeck	1365–66	Appendix II 1) 2
Johan van der Heide	Lübeck	1365–1400	Appendix II 4) 6; UStL III no. 469; <i>Civilitates</i> , year 1353 no. 26; <i>Hanseakten aus England</i> , p. 264
Ulrik van der Heide	Lübeck	1390	Appendix II 41) 3
Hinrik Hoveman	Lübeck	1365–66	Appendix II 6) 10; <i>Civilitates</i> , year 1355 no. 147; <i>Regesten der Lübecker Bürgertestamente</i> , no. 1007
Johan Holst	Lübeck	1386–1401	Appendix II 21) 5
Hinrik Holtkamp	Lübeck	1366	Appendix II 14) 1
Hermann Husman	Deventer	1387–88	Appendix II 34) 4
Tideke Junge	Lübeck	1408	Appendix II 121) 1; UStL VI no. 371
Johan van Kalve	Lübeck	1386	Appendix II 21) 8
Johan Klinkendorp	Lübeck	1406	Appendix II 111) 1
Egbert Knokel	Lübeck	1388–93	Appendix II 37) 3
Bernd Knoflok	Lübeck	1386–93	Appendix II 21) 2
Johan Krevelbone	Lübeck	1365–66	Appendix II 4) 15
Erp Krumben	Lübeck	1365–66	Appendix II 4) 18
Hinrik Kropelin	Lübeck	1386	Appendix II 21) 3; UStL V no. 352 note 14
Johan Coesveld	Lübeck	1390–1401	Appendix II 39) 1; UStL IV no. 494 and no. 184
Hinrik Lange	Lübeck	1365–66	Appendix II 4) 11
Hermann van Leyden	Lübeck	1378	Appendix II 17) 2; LECHNER, Pfundzollisten, p. 465; <i>Das Lübecker Niederstadtbuch</i> I, pp. 605, 629, 700, 755 and 873
Johan Lemegowe	Lübeck	1388–93	Appendix II 36) 15
Radulf van Lippe	Lübeck	1365–66	Appendix II 1) 6; UStL IV no. 245
Johan Losing	Lübeck	1390–1400	Appendix II 41) 15; LECHNER, Pfundzollisten, p. 467
Amelius Luchow	Lübeck	1366	Appendix II 13) 1
Johan Make	Rostock	1365–93	Appendix II 5) 4
Hinrik van Lue	Lübeck	1378	Appendix II 17) 4; UStL III and IV index; HR I, 2, index

<i>Name of merchant</i>	<i>Home town</i>	<i>In Boston</i>	<i>Reference for home town</i>
Hinrik Melebek	Lübeck	1391–98	Appendix II 47) 1
Elard Minden	Lübeck	1384	Appendix II 19) 3
Johan van Münster	Lübeck	1391	Appendix II 43) 6
Johan Nybberg	Lübeck	1405	Appendix II 103) 1
Engelbrecht Nyeman	Lübeck	1390–97	Appendix II 38) 9
Johan Nyppe	Lübeck	1392	Appendix II 55) 1
Hermann Nortmeyer	Lübeck	1365–66	Appendix II 4) 1
Hinrik Notlike	Lübeck	1384	Appendix II 18) 2
Hinrik van Olden	Lübeck	1386–92	Appendix II 22) 3
Hermann Oldendorp	Lübeck	1388	Appendix II 36) 13
Johan van Osnabrück	Lübeck	1384–88	Appendix II 20) 3; BRUNS, Bergen-fahrer, p. 31; <i>Regesten der Lübecker Bürgertestamente</i> , no. 303; UStL IV, p. 115; <i>ibid.</i> V no. 627
Hermann Paal	Lübeck	1384–93	Appendix II 20) 2
Johan Pape	Rostock	1378–1408	Appendix II 17) 1; particularly MecklUB XXII no. 12.561
Evert Ravensberg	Lübeck	1388–1404	Appendix II 36) 7
Martin Rinkerode	Lübeck	1365	Appendix II 3) 3; UStL IV no. 486
Wilhelm Ringhoff	Lübeck	1409–11	Appendix II 129) 1; UStL VII no. 566
Johan Rode	Lübeck	1365–66	Appendix II 2) 7; LECHNER, Pfundzollisten, p. 481
Hermann Roman	Lübeck	1392	Appendix II 55) 2
Evert Russenberg	Lübeck	1386	Appendix II 21) 4; UStL IV nos. 72 and 684
Hinrik Rutenberg	Lübeck	1387–91	Appendix II 34) 5
Hinrik Sak	Lübeck	1366	Appendix II 9) 4
Johan Scheduling	Lübeck	1384	Appendix II 18) 1
Jacob Sehusen	Lübeck	1388	Appendix II 36) 6
Hinrik Semelow	Lübeck	1387	Appendix II 29) 1
Hartwich Semme	Lübeck	1387	Appendix II 25) 1
Arnold Schonewold	Lübeck	1386	Appendix II 22) 5
Nicholas Schonewold	Lübeck	1365–66	Appendix II 1) 1; LECHNER, Pfundzollisten, pp. 484–485
Johan Scoping	Lübeck	1366	Appendix II 7) 2; UStL IV no. 345
Tidemann Scoping	Lübeck	1365–66	Appendix II 1) 4
Werner Scoping	Lübeck	1366	Appendix II 15) 15
Lambert Schulte	Lübeck	1365–66	Appendix II 6) 1; LECHNER, Pfundzollisten, p. 485
Johan/Hans Scuttorp	Lübeck	1391	Appendix II 43) 3; LECHNER, Pfundzollisten, p. 485
Arnd van Sladen	Lübeck	1366	Appendix II 16) 14
Johan Slig	Lübeck	1401	Appendix II 86) 1
Hinrik Sperling	Lübeck	1365	Appendix II 1) 3

<i>Name of merchant</i>	<i>Home town</i>	<i>In Boston</i>	<i>Reference for home town</i>
Brun Sprenger	Lübeck	1400	Appendix II 76) 2
Hinrik van Stade	Lübeck	1366	Appendix II 13) 3; LECHNER, Pfundzollisten, p. 488
Peter van Stade	Lübeck	1366	Appendix II 9) 14; UStL III, index; LECHNER, Pfundzollisten, p. 485
Hermann Stenvorde	Lübeck	1365–66	Appendix II 4) 14
Lubbert Stenvorde	Lübeck	1390–91	Appendix II 38) 1
Johan Stenus	Lübeck	1401	Appendix II 81) 1
Tideke Steer	Lübeck	1391	Appendix II 43) 5
Johan Sterneberg	Lübeck	1387	Appendix II 27) 1
Nicholas Sterneberg	Lübeck	1365–66	Appendix II 4) 7
Marquart Stubbe	Lübeck	1379–1400	Appendix II 4) 5
Johan Swarte	Lübeck	1365–66	Appendix II 3) 4; UStL III no. 272
Hinrik Tymmermann	Lübeck	1365–66	Appendix II 4) 3
Hinrik Weitendorp	Lübeck	1393	Appendix II 61) 5; UStL VI no. 75
Johan Wetter	Lübeck	1400	Appendix II 75) 1
Hermann Witte	Lübeck	1415	Appendix II 100) 1
Nicholas Witte	Lübeck	1409	Appendix II 131) 1
Johan Witte	Lübeck	1408	Appendix II 122) 1

In table 1 above are included merchants who have been identified reliably. It is considered certain that the same name in the English customs accounts and Hansa sources refers to the same person. Secondly I also consider the town identification as reliable. In appendix II the 102 merchants in table 1 were used to identify Bergenfahrers' ships in Boston, all merchants in table 1 have references to appendix II.

The identification of the merchants in table 2 are uncertain. If only the town identification is uncertain, but the name identification certain, the merchants have been used to identify Bergenfahrer in appendix II. Several references to appendix II are found in table 2. But in many cases even the name identification is uncertain. These cases have not been used in appendix II to identify ships coming from Bergen. Many merchants in table 2 lack references to appendix II.

Table 2 Merchants whose home towns are identified with uncertain criteria. Basis for table II.25 second column <sup>(1)</sup>

<i>Name of merchant</i>	<i>Home town</i>	<i>In Boston</i>	<i>Reference for home town</i>
Johan van Attendorp	Lübeck	1405	Appendix II 104) 1
Godeke Berkhof	Lübeck	1365–66	Appendix II 3) 2
Johan Bodeker	Braunsberg in Prussia	1365–66	Appendix II 1) 1
Hinrik Bodeker	Lübeck/ Gadebusch	1390–93	<i>Civilitates</i> , year 1351 no. 421; MecklUB XVI no. 9443

<i>Name of merchant</i>	<i>Home town</i>	<i>In Boston</i>	<i>Reference for home town</i>
Johan Boyman	Lübeck	1365–66	Appendix II 1) 7
Johan Bocholt	Greifswald	1366	HR I, 1, index
Johan van Borken	Lübeck	1400	UStL V no. 176
Johan Borgere	Lübeck	1365–66	<i>Civilitates</i> , year 1333 no. 84
Ertmann van der Brugge	Lübeck	1390	Appendix II 40) 3
Johan van Brugge	Lüneburg	1365–66	UStL IV no. 269; MecklUB XVIII no. 10.597, XIX no. 11.059 and no. 11.060
Hinrik Brun	Lübeck	1366	Appendix II 14) 17; <i>Civilitates</i> year 1353 no. 57
Tidemann Brunswik	Lübeck	1366	<i>Civilitates</i> , year 1346 no. 3; <i>Regesten der Lübecker Bürgertestamente</i> , no. 814
Hinrik Buren	Lübeck/ Danzig	1366	USt L VI no.402; <i>Civilitates</i> , year 1352 no. 12; <i>Preussisches Urkundenbuch</i> IV no. 662
Johan Bussenberg	Rostock	1405	MecklUB XX, p. 488
Hinrik Drewes	Stralsund	1401	<i>Der Stralsunder liber memorialis</i> III, no. 158
Johan Ekerman	Braunschweig	1388	HR I, 3, 344 A §4
Ludolf Ekerman	Lübeck	1388	UStL III no. 457
Fredrik van Verden	Hildesheim	1384	HR I, 6, p. 157 note 2
Johan Volquerstorp	Lübeck	1388	<i>Civilitates</i> , year 1353 no. 189; <i>Regesten der Lübecker Bürgertestamente</i> , index; HR I, 8, 965
Hinrik Vreden	Lübeck	1366	Appendix II 7) 3
Johan Vridach	Lübeck/ Stralsund	1365–66	<i>Civilitates</i> , year 1350 no. 76; <i>Der Stralsunder liber memorialis</i> I, nos. 744 and 821
Johan Vridach	Lübeck/ Reval	1404–13	Appendix II 4) 10; HUB V no. 1010 and VI no. 221
Hermann Vure	Lübeck	1365–90	Appendix II 2) 6
Hinrik Greve	Danzig	1409	HUB VI no. 1074
Ludeke Grove	Bremen	1388	Appendix II 36) 18; <i>Bremisches Urkundenbuch</i> IV and V, index
Rotger Grulle	Lübeck	1365–66	Appendix II 4) 12; <i>Civilitates</i> , year 1351 no. 254; <i>Regesten der Lübecker Bürgertestamente</i> nos. 498 and 565
Winant van Grulle	Lübeck	1365–66	Appendix II 2) 3
Hermann van Halle	Danzig	1386–87	HUB V no. 362
Gerd van Hamme	Lübeck	1366	Appendix II 16) 11
Hinrik van Hamme	Stralsund	1390	Appendix II 41) 9; <i>Der Stralsunder liber memorialis</i> IV no. 153
Volkmar van der Heide	Lübeck	1390–93	Appendix II 40) 2

<i>Name of merchant</i>	<i>Home town</i>	<i>In Boston</i>	<i>Reference for home town</i>
Hinrik Hetlag	Lübeck	1387–90	Appendix II 23) 3
Hermann Holthusen	Lübeck	1409	Appendix II 125) 1
Hermann Hopper	Lübeck	1390–1400	Appendix II 41) 12; HR I, 6, 288
Johan Kalveswynkel	Lübeck	1386–1391	Appendix II 21) 6
Johan van Camen	Lübeck	1401	HR VI no. 248 §35; UStL V no. 570
Godeke Grandecran	Lübeck	1388	Appendix II 36) 14
Hinrik Kerseber	Lübeck	1390–93	Appendix II 38) 2
Johan Klipping	Prussia	1365	HR I, 2, 311; <i>Preussisches Urkundenbuch</i> IV, p. 269
Nicholas Klot	Stralsund	1365	<i>Der Stralsunder liber memorialis</i> I no. 697
Hermann Koch	Parchim	1387–90	MecklUB XXI no. 12.139
Ludeke Kolman	Lübeck	1365	Appendix II 2) 5
Hermann Kropelin	Rostock <sup>(2)</sup>	1393	MecklUB XVII index; <i>ibid.</i> XX, p. 423; <i>ibid.</i> XXI, p. 200; <i>ibid.</i> XXIII, nos. 12.937 and 13.255
Tideke Kropelin	Rostock	1384–90	MecklUB XIV no. 8790; <i>ibid.</i> XIX no. 10.882; <i>ibid.</i> XX, p. 487
Bernt Kruse	Bremen	1391	Appendix II 46) 1; HR I, 4, 645 §24; <i>Bremisches Urkundenbuch</i> V no. 21
Bertolt Lange	Rostock/ Lübeck	1365–78	MecklUB XX, p. 474; <i>ibid.</i> nos. 12.549 and 12.558; <i>Civilitates</i> , year 1347 no. 7; UStL IV no. 590 note 1; <i>ibid.</i> VI no. 359
Tidemann Lange	Rostock	1366	<i>Civilitates</i> , year 1350 no. 70; MecklUB XX, p. 453
Jacob van Leyden	Lübeck	1365–66	Appendix II 4) 8
Johan van Ler	Danzig	1413	<i>Der Stralsunder liber memorialis</i> III no. 409
Ewert Lewencamp	Deventer	1387	HR I, 4–6, indexes
Ernst van Lübeck	Lübeck	1386	Appendix II 22) 6; <i>Civilitates</i> , year 1349 no. 90; <i>Regesten der Lübecker Bürgertestamente</i> no. 760
Marquart Luchow	Lübeck	1365	LECHNER, Pfundzollisten, p. 467
Nicholas Lutteke	Lübeck	1365–66	<i>Civilitates</i> , year 1348 nos. 13 and 143
Arnd Make	Lübeck	1390	Appendix II 38) 4
Gerd Möen	Rostock	1366	MecklUB XX, p. 445; <i>ibid.</i> XXI no. 12.142
Hermann van Minden	Lübeck	1386–91	Appendix II 21) 7
Martin van Minden	Stralsund	1391	<i>Der Stralsunder liber memorialis</i> III nos. 71 and 219
Bernt Morsell	Lübeck	1366	Appendix II 13) 4
Gerd van Münster	Lübeck	1365–66	HR I, 2, 181; HR I, 3, 119; <i>Civilitates</i> , year 1346 no. 153
Hermann Nagel	Bremen	1388	<i>Bremisches Urkundenbuch</i> IV no. 207

<i>Name of merchant</i>	<i>Home town</i>	<i>In Boston</i>	<i>Reference for home town</i>
Hinrik Nening	Lübeck	1393	Appendix II 63) 2
Johan Nyenkerke	Lübeck	1413	UStL VI no. 323
Bernt van Osnabrück	Lübeck	1366	<i>Civiltates</i> , year 1355 no. 166
Johan van Ost	Lübeck	1378	<i>Regesten der Lübecker Bürgertestamente</i> no. 952; MecklUB XVII, index; <i>Preussisches Urkundenbuch</i> V, p. 241
Konstantin Osterrode	Lübeck	1393	PB 1x 1383
Gerwin Pape	Stralsund	1365	Appendix II 5) 6; <i>Der Stralsunder liber memorialis</i> I nos. 830 and 858
Hinrik Pening	Stralsund	1365–66	<i>Der Stralsunder liber memorialis</i> I no. 668; <i>ibid.</i> II no. 341
Hermann Pening	Lübeck	1366	Appendix II 10) 12
Johan Perleberg	Stralsund	1390	<i>Der Stralsunder liber memorialis</i> IV no. 336; MecklUB XX, pp. 455 and 459 gives evidence for a stay in Rostock
Nicholas Perleberg	Lübeck	1390	Appendix II 41) 5
Johan Pilgrim	Rostock	1390	MecklUB XVII, index
Albert Platere	Stralsund	1391	<i>Der Stralsunder liber memorialis</i> I nos. 931, 960 and 983
Helmich ter Porten	Deventer	1413	HR II, 2, 232
Wigbolt Ravensberg	Lübeck	1366	Appendix II 13) 11; HR I, 6, 248 §29
Johan Reynberg	Lübeck	1384–86	Appendix II 19) 4; <i>Civiltates</i> , year 1351 no. 32
Ludeke Rode	Lübeck	1390–1402	Appendix II 38) 8
Johan Rodenborg	Lübeck	1390–91	Appendix II 41) 6
Johan Rusche	Stralsund	1408	<i>Der Stralsunder liber memorialis</i> III no. 25
Hermann Semme	Lübeck	1394	Appendix II 65) 3
Hinrik Schinkel	Stralsund	1387–90	Appendix II 35) 2; <i>Der Stralsunder liber memorialis</i> III no. 37; <i>ibid.</i> IV no. 484
Ludeke Schoping	Lübeck	1366	Appendix II 8) 4
Hinrik Scuttorp	Cologne	1390–92	HUB V, index; HR I, 3, 199; HUB IV no. 768 = DN XIX no. 608
Evert van Sladen	Lübeck	1366	Appendix II 11) 10
Johan Sluter	Lübeck/ Stralsund	1386–1404	LECHNER, Pfundzollisten, p. 487; <i>Regesten der Lübecker Bürgertestamente</i> no. 666; <i>Der Stralsunder liber memorialis</i> II no. 459
Gereke Smit	Lübeck	1390	Appendix II 41) 13
Helmich van Springe	Lübeck	1365–66	Appendix II 4) 5; <i>Regesten der Lübecker Bürgertestamente</i> no. 656
Albert van Staden	Bremen	1365	<i>Bremisches Urkundenbuch</i> IV no. 168
Hermann Stark	Stralsund	1391	<i>Der Stralsunder liber memorialis</i> I nos. 654 and 655

<i>Name of merchant</i>	<i>Home town</i>	<i>In Boston</i>	<i>Reference for home town</i>
Hinrik Stenvorde	Rostock	1365–66	Appendix II 2) 2; MecklUB XXII no. 12.748
Siegfried Stobelow	Rostock	1400–01	MecklUB XV no. 9036; XIX no. 10.674; XX, pp. 432 and 441; XXI index
Albert Strode	Boizenburg	1400–13	UStL III no. 745
Johan Sveverlink	Lübeck	1387–88	Appendix II 26) 2
Hermann Sylen	Lübeck	1388	Appendix II 36) 12
Bernt Tymmermann	Lübeck	1366	Appendix II 14) 13
Johan Tymmermann	Lübeck	1400–09	UStL V nos. 335 and 434; HUB V no. 1085
Hermann van Wenden	Bremen	1402–08	<i>Bremisches Urkundenbuch</i> V no. 387
Konrad Weming	Lübeck	1409	UStL V no. 320
Volkmar van Wrede	Livland	1390	MecklUB XXII no. 12.584; HR I, 8, 960
Tideke Westhof	Lübeck	1366	Appendix II 10) 9
Johan Wicman	Stralsund	1401	<i>Der Stralsunder liber memorialis</i> II nos. 347 and 429; <i>ibid.</i> III no. 741; MecklUB XX, p. 485; <i>ibid.</i> XXI no. 12.238
Nicholas Witte	Lübeck	1365–66	LECHNER, <i>Pfundzollisten</i> , p. 501
Hermann Womate	Bremen	1413	UStL VI no.34

- (1) Some names can be found in two or more towns, and where it can not be determined who was the Bergenfahrer. The alternative towns are named in table 2, but merchants with uncertain alternatives are excluded from the second column in table II.25.
- (2) The Lord Mayor of Wismar Hermann Kropelin is not mentioned after 1386 (MecklUB XXI no. 11.784).

## APPENDIX VI

### HOME TOWNS OF HANSEATIC SKIPPERS WHO SAILED BETWEEN BERGEN AND EAST ENGLAND 1350–1440. EMPIRICAL BASIS FOR TABLE II.26.

For a list of sources used and discussions of methodological problems, see introduction to appendix V.

Table 1 Skippers whose home town is identified in the source. Basis for table II.26, first column

Name of skipper	Home town	Source
Ludeke Berfeld	Danzig	Appendix II 162)
Tidemann Blok	Kolberg	HR I, 3, 345; <i>ibid.</i> I, 3, 348
Frederik Farne	Bremen	<i>Calendar of the Close Rolls</i> 1385–89, p. 358 = <i>Hanseakten aus England</i> no. 241 = DN XIX no. 614
Jacob Vogel	Wismar	<i>Calendar of the Close Rolls</i> 1385–89, p. 358 = <i>Hanseakten aus England</i> no. 241 = DN XIX no. 614
Marquart Vrese	Lübeck	HR I, 3, 345; <i>ibid.</i> I, 3, 348
Hinrik Grawert	Stralsund	HR II, 2, 25; <i>ibid.</i> II, 2, index
Nicholas Hagemester	Danzig	DN XIX no. 621 (1392)
Heinz Hagemester	Rostock	HR I, 3, 345
Ludeke van der Heide	Wismar	Appendix II 159)
Johan Hoppe	Prussia	<i>Hanseakten aus England</i> no. 225 = DN XIX no. 613 (1386)
Simon Huswacker	Rostock	UStL IV no. 590 = HUB IV no. 791 (1383)
Wilhelm Pyke	Bremen	Appendix II 163); <i>ibid.</i> 165)
Johan Rorebyker	Danzig	Appendix II 157) (1390)
Jacob Snidewint	Rostock	HR, I, 3, 348
Bernhard Stour	Bremen	<i>Calendar of the Patent Rolls</i> 1401–1405, p. 513; DN XIX no. 662 (1405)
Johan Wagen	Hamburg	HR, II, 2, 25; <i>ibid.</i> II, 2, index

Table 2 Skippers whose home towns are identified with reliable criteria. Basis for table II.26, second column.

Name of skipper	Home town	Source for trade to Bergen	Source for home town
Nicholas Bas	Stettin	Appendix II 31)	HUB V no. 1055
Nicholas Bornholm	Lübeck	Appendix II 7)	LECHNER, <i>Pfundzollisten</i> , p. 510

Name of skipper	Home town	Source for trade to Bergen	Source for home town
Ludeke Buxtehude	Lübeck	<i>Calendar of the Close Rolls</i> 1349–53, p. 385 = DN XIX no. 571 = <i>Hanseakten aus England</i> no. 147, cf. no. 145 (1351)	HR I, 1, 251
Hinrik Dambeke	Stralsund	Appendix II 122)	<i>Der Stralsunder liber memorialis</i> II no. 56
Gerlach Grulle	Stralsund	Appendix II 19)	<i>Der Stralsunder liber memorialis</i> I no. 1017 and 1022; <i>ibid.</i> II no. 309
Johan Hardestrome	Stralsund	Appendix II 15)	<i>Der Stralsunder liber memorialis</i> IV no. 4
Johan Hoppe	Prussia	<i>Hanseakten aus England</i> no. 225 = DN XIX no. 613 (1386)	<i>Hanseakten aus England</i> no. 225 = DN XIX no. 613
Peter Kolberg	Danzig	Appendix II 55)	<i>Hanseakten aus England</i> no. 225 note 4
Mathias Konow	Stralsund	Appendix II 100)	<i>Der Stralsunder liber memorialis</i> II nos. 121–122
Hinrik Konstin	Lübeck	Appendix II 42)	UStL IV and V, indexes
Ludeke Lange	Bremen	Appendix II 93) and 97)	HR I, 8 no. 1134
Arnold Lütke	Rostock/ Wismar	Appendix II 9) and II 16)	HR I, 1, 382 = UStL III no. 572 = HUB IV no. 179 = NGL 2.rk. I no. 342 document 2 <sup>(1)</sup>
Konrad van Lonigen	Stralsund	Appendix II 76)	<i>Der Stralsunder liber memorialis</i> II, no. 85
Johan Lüneburg	Lübeck	Appendix II 82)	UStL IV–VII, indexes
Johan Luning	Danzig	Appendix II 71)	<i>Hanseakten aus England</i> no. 302; UStL V no. 137 = HUB V no. 693
Hinrik Lusce	Gotland	Appendix II 2)	HUB IV no. 537
Hermann van Minden	Lübeck	Appendix II 30)	BRUNS, <i>Bergenfahrer</i> , index
Hinrik Rode	Stralsund	<i>Calendar of the Close Rolls</i> 1349–53, p. 167; DN XIX no. 568 (1350)	<i>Der Stralsunder liber memorialis</i> I nos. 230, 590 and 784; HR I, 1, 485
Nicholas Rotermund	Bremen	Appendix II 72)	<i>Hanseakten aus England</i> , index
Johan Scharstorp	Stralsund	Appendix II 138)	<i>Der Stralsunder liber memorialis</i> II no. 299
Hinrik van Sund	Lübeck	Appendix II 11)	LECHNER, <i>Pfundzollisten</i> , p. 548
Peter Sweder	Stettin	Appendix II 88)	HUB V no. 1055

Name of skipper	Home town	Source for trade to Bergen	Source for home town
Lubbert Warendorp	Lübeck	<i>Calendar of the Close Rolls</i> 1349–53, p. 167; DN XIX no. 568 (1350)	MecklUB XIII no. 7812

(1) He was in 1363 the victim of a piracy connected to the war which King Håkon of Norway conducted against Albrecht of Mecklenburg and his subjects, among whom were citizens of Rostock and Wismar. Cf. p. 123.

Table 3 Skippers whose home town is identified through similarity of name only.  
Basis for table II.26, third column.

Name of skipper	Home town	Source for trade to Bergen	Source for home town
Bertolt van Alen	Rostock	<i>Calendar of the Close Rolls</i> 1349–53, p. 167; DN XIX no. 568 (1350)	MecklUB XV, p. 415; ibid. XVII, p. 59
Hermann Borken	Rostock	Appendix II 121) and 137)	MecklUB XII, p. 489
Johan Bower	Rostock	Appendix II 1), 10) and 13)	MecklUB XX no. 11.741
Hermann Busch	Stralsund	Appendix II 47)	<i>Der Stralsunder liber memorialis</i> III no. 474
Johan van Dulmen	Lübeck	<i>Calendar of the Close Rolls</i> 1349–53, p. 167; DN XIX no. 568 (1350)	UStL III no. 304
Peter Frank	Stralsund	Appendix II 68)	<i>Hanseakten aus England</i> , no. 345 §7
Johan Gerhardsson	Stralsund	Appendix II 53)	<i>Der Stralsunder liber memorialis</i> III and IV, indexes
Diderik Gronow	Wolgast	Appendix II 95)	<i>Der Stralsunder liber memorialis</i> I no. 1018
Everard Hagemester	Stralsund	Appendix II 40)	<i>Der Stralsunder liber memorialis</i> II and III, index
Bernt van Halle	Lübeck	Appendix II 5) and 12)	LECHNER, Pfundzollisten, p. 520 <sup>(1)</sup>
Diderik Hugging	Danzig	Appendix II 119)	HR I, 3, 200 §25; ibid. I, 3, 203 §1
Jacob Kollen	Lübeck	Appendix II 64)	UStL VII no. 150
Johan Luchow	Lübeck	Appendix II 86)	HR I, 6, 248 §12
Andreas Nyenhus	Rostock	Appendix II 20)	MecklUB XX, p. 445; ibid. XXIV no. 13.574
Godeke Raven	Lübeck	Appendix II 133) (1410)	MecklUB XXII no. 12.461 ; UStL IV no. 597 note 1 (1393)
Johan Ruter	Rostock	Appendix II 4)	MecklUB XX, p. 453

Name of skipper	Home town	Source for trade to Bergen	Source for home town
Hermann Sasse	Lübeck	Appendix II 118) and 139)	UStL VII nos. 652 and 656
Tidemann Sasse	Rostock	Appendix II 131)	MecklUB XX, p. 418
Johan Schonemor	Bremen	Appendix II 66)	<i>Bremisches Urkundenbuch</i> III no. 319
Laurentius Swede	Lübeck	Appendix II 6)	UStB IV no. 88
Nicholas Wend	Stralsund	Appendix II 94)	<i>Der Stralsunder liber memorialis</i> III no. 759

(1) It is not said that he was a Lübecker, but he traded in 1368 from Lübeck to several ports in the Baltic.

## APPENDIX VII

### SHIPPING THROUGH ØRESUND ON ITS WAY TO OR FROM BERGEN 1566/7 AND 1577/8

*Sundtoll* was in the period 1567–1600 a collective term for several customs collected by the Danish state at Helsingør (Elsinore). Four of these were relevant for shipping to and from Norway.

The “ship-customs” (*skipstollen*) was 1–3 Rosenobles per ship. Exempted were the subjects of the Danish king and merchant from Hamburg, Lüneburg, Lübeck, Wismar, Rostock and Stralsund (the Wendish towns). The customs was paid per ship, and the commodities are not mentioned in the register. If skippers from Denmark, Norway or the Wendish towns had goods from other towns or countries on board, the exemption was cancelled and they had to pay ships-customs. When Norwegian or Danish skippers freighted goods for Wendish merchants or the other way round, they also had to pay. If a ship from one Wendish town freighted goods for merchants from another Wendish town, the exemption was still valid. Skippers from Wendish towns had to present a “sea-letter” issued by the authorities in their home town verifying that the goods on board also belonged to merchants from the Wendish towns. If they could not produce a sea letter, full “ship-customs” had to be paid.

“Tun- and scribe- money” (tønne- og skriver- penninger) were a small duty paid by skippers who were exempted from “ship-customs”. Here the commodities in the cargo are often registered (ballast, fish, flour, beer etc.), but never the quantities. Ship-customs + tun.money in theory registered all cargo ships which passed Øresund.

“Lighthouse-money” (fyrpenge) were paid with a fixed amount per unit of different goods, for example per last. All ships passing Øresund had to pay and their goods is registered. Ships in ballast are not included.

“Cargo-money” (*Lastepengene*) were also paid with a fixed amount per unit of different goods, but here Dano-Norwegian ships and Wendish ships were exempted. The registers of “Cargo-money” give the same type of information about quantities as the “Lighthouse-money”. Since most ships trading to Bergen were from the Wendish towns, “Cargo-money” are of limited interest from a Norwegian point of view.

In theory the shipping of North Sea towns are registered completely, ships and merchants from Wendish towns, Norway and Denmark are registered in part.

Table 1 Ships registered in the Sundtoll on their way to Bergen, and customs paid in Bergen 29/9 1566 – 28/9 1567

Date Øresund	Skipper	Home town	Port of departure	Cargo in Øresund in lasts (abbreviated l.)	Customs in Bergen
19/4	Werner Schröder	Hamburg	Stettin	35 l. beer, flour	–
16/5	Otto Meurssen	Hoorn	Danzig	26 l. flour	–
20/6	Eiler Friis	Hamburg	Stralsund	45 l. beer, flour	Paid
28/6	Gerd Hermansen	Bremen	Danzig	30 l. flour, 20 <i>vat</i> beer	–
28/6	Volder Voldersen	Bremen	Danzig	70 l. flour, 2 <i>vat</i> beer, hemp, timber	Paid
30/6	Martin Hull	Hamburg	Danzig	40 l. flour, 8 <i>vat</i> beer	Paid
1/7	Martin Hansen	Stavoren	Stralsund	56 l. beer, flour, malt	Paid
2/7	Albert Hinriksen	Kampen	Stralsund	103 l. beer, flour, malt	Paid
2/7	Gerlac Johansen	Stavoren	Stralsund	78 l. beer, flour, malt	Paid
2/7	Herre Abbis	Stavoren	Stralsund	73,5 l. beer, flour, malt	Paid
2/7	Hans Vurst	Kampen	Stralsund	95 l. beer, flour, malt	Paid
12/7	Michael Grawe	Rostock	Rostock	32 l. beer, flour, malt	Paid
12/7	Hans Ditlef	Rostock	Rostock	40 l. beer, flour, malt	Paid
14/7	Jürgen Berndsen	Stralsund	Rostock	60 l. beer, flour	Paid
14/7	Hinrik Karwitz	Stralsund	Rostock	36 l. beer, flour	Paid
14/7	Luder Becher	Bremen	Danzig	66 l. flour	Paid
14/7	Johan Hannkam	Bremen	Danzig	75 l. flour, 11 <i>vat</i> beer	Paid

Sources: *Sundtoll* in Rigsarkivet, København 1566 and 1567; The accounts of the captain of Bergenhus printed in NLR IV, pp. 6–12. A hanseatic *vat* = an English barrel. 12 *vat* of beer = one last.

Table 2 Ships registered in the Sundtollen on their way from Bergen, and customs paid in Bergen 29/9 1566 - 28/9 1567

Date in Øresund	Skipper	Home town	Destina-tion	Cargo in Øresund in lasts (abbreviated l.)	Customs in Bergen
11/6	Lyder Becher	Bremen	Danzig	Ballast	Paid
5/7	Jacob Vistock	Treptow		Wine	Paid
7/7	Werner Schröder	Hamburg	Stralsund	7 l. fish	–
13/8	Michael Grawe	Rostock		Ballast	Paid
13/8	Hans Ditlef	Rostock		4 l. Bergerfish	Paid
13/8	Peter Ullenberg	Rostock		2½ l. Bergerfisk, 2½ l. <i>sporder</i> , one l. fishoil	Paid
13/8	Peter Ulf	Rostock		Ballast	Paid
14/8	Gregorius Kort	Danzig		7 l. Bergerfisk, 8 l. salmon, 3 l. fishoil, 1½ l. butter, 6 barrels tallow, 600 woolen sheepskins	Paid
17/9	Hinrik Korwitz	Stralsund		5 l. rotscher, 3 l. <i>sporder</i> , 8 l. fishoil, 20 våg salmon <sup>(1)</sup>	Paid

Date in Øresund	Skipper	Home town	Destination	Cargo in Øresund in lasts (abbreviated l.)	Customs in Bergen
13/10	Hans Köller	Lübeck		15 l. rotscher, 93 l. other fish	Paid

Sources: *Sundtoll* in Rigsarkivet, København 1566 and 1567; The accounts of the captain of Bergenhus printed in NLR IV, pp. 6–12.

(1) The goods on Hinrik Korwitz' ship are registered under three dates: 17/9 (p. 734), 25/9 (p. 747), 2/10 (p. 750).

Table 3 Ships registered in the Sundtoll 11.01.1577 – 15.04.1578 on their way to Bergen <sup>(1)</sup>, and information about the same ship in the Bergen customs 01.05.1577 – 30.04.1578

Date Øresund	Skipper	Home town	Cargo Øresund in lasts and commodities	Date Bergen	Cargo Bergen in lasts and commodities. b.=beer
26/3	Didrik Ebbe	Lübeck	40 beer, flour		
28/3	Paul Wirike	Wismar	50 "		
28/3	Andreas Hoppener	Rostock	30 "		
28/3	Frederik Sander	Wismar	35 "		
29/3	Theus Lange	"	30 "		
1/4	Mathias Bene	"	50 beer, flour, malt		
3/4	Jochum Fodrow	Rostock	28 beer, flour		
4/4	Hans Westendorf	Wismar	40 beer, malt		
4/4	Hinrik Woldir	Wismar	40 beer, flour, malt		
6/4	Jochum Grebenis	Rostock	40 "		
18/4	Hoitke Reinikens	Molkwerum	40 "		
20/4	Hans Siverts	Rostock	60 "		
20/4	Klaus Röll	"	27 "	24/5	27 b., malt
22/4	Hans Michilsen	"	80 "	18/6	65 b., flour, malt
22/4	Jochum Panrich	Wismar	50 "	24/5	43½ b., flour
25/4	Markus Weddige	Rostock	55 "		
25/4	Reimar Martens	Molkwerum	48 rye, flour, malt		
29/4	Herre Hollikens	"	55 "		
29/4	Peter Hansen	"	64 "		
2/5	Klaus Holst	Rostock	30 "		
2/5	Luckis Wolters	Treptow	30 "		
2/5	Silvester Kirke	Rostock	40 beer, flour		
13/5	Wiicke Annis	Molkwerum	39 beer, flour, malt		
17/5	Mathias Wedow	Rostock	27 beer, flour	10/6	27 b., flour
18/5	Michael Berents	Lübeck	35 "	2/9	40 b., flour
20/5	Martin Krisow	Stralsund	48 "	14/6	50 b., flour, malt
20/5	Hans Schinilbonn	"	45 beer, flour, malt		
20/5	Jochum Bors	"	30 beer, flour	19/6	33 b., flour, malt
20/5	Jochum Sepelin	Rostock	24 "	14/6	23½ b., flour
21/5	Jochum Klempge	Treptow	30 "		

Date Øresund	Skipper	Home town	Cargo Øresund in lasts and commodities	Date Bergen	Cargo Bergen in lasts and commodities. b.=beer
29/5	Andreas Hoppener	Rostock	30 "	8/7	30 b., flour, malt
1/6	Filip Roirs	"	28 beer, flour, malt	8/7	28 b., malt
1/6	Erik Berents	"	26 "	8/7	28 b., flour, malt
1/6	Jürgen Stalborch	"	38 "	8/7	26 b., malt
1/6	Laurens Frese	"	24 "	8/7	27 b., malt
15/6	Klaus Krommike	Stralsund	48 "	8/7	40 b., flour, malt
25/6	Hans Rike	Rostock	45 beer, flour	10/7	48 b., malt
25/6	Agge Annis	Molkwerum	44 "	8/8	47½ flour
26/6	Hinrik Kanne	Lübeck	50 "	10/7	71½ b., flour
28/6	Baltzar Wiland	Wismar	37 beer, flour, malt	10/7	30 b., flour
29/6	Jochum Grebenis	Rostock	40 "	12/7	29 b., flour
1/7	Klaus Sloirff	"	40 "	2/8	30 b.
1/7	Hans Möller	"	46 "	13/7	40 b., flour
5/7	Herre Hollikens	Molkwerum	60 flour	8/8	62½ flour <sup>(2)</sup>
10/7	Jochum Heyne	Stralsund	30 beer, flour	13/8	36 b., flour, malt
11/7	Jochum Stekenes	Stralsund	40 beer, flour, malt	13/8	45 b., flour
20/7	Theus Lange	Wismar	23 beer, malt	21/8	33 b., ma.
20/7	Rasmus Nilsen	Rostock	20 beer, flour, malt	2/9	21 b., flour, malt
20/7	Hinrik Woldir	Wismar	40 "	14/8	16 b.
5/8	Jacob Witte	Kolberg	40 flour	26/8	28 flour
30/8	Karsten Marquart	Rostock	55 beer, flour	7/10	42 b., flour
21/10	Andreas Hoppener	"	30 beer	8/10	38½ b.
21/10	Klaus Sloirf	"	38 "		
21/10	Hinrik Egbrecht	"	38 "	27/1	44 b.
30/10	Jochum Deen	"	30 "	6/2	39 b.
9/11	Reimar Martens	Molkwerum	46 "		
14/11	Oluf Schröder	Lübeck	Unspecified	10/12	34½ b., mead
5/4	Hinrik Woldir	Wismar	40 beer		
8/4	Baltzar Wiland	"	30 beer, malt		
8/4	Theus Lange	"	32 "		

Sources: *Sundtoll* in Rigsarkivet, København 1577 and 1578; The Bergen customs in Riksarkivet, Oslo, RK, Bergenhus Len, eske 11, Bergenhus slottsregnskap 1577–1578.

- (1) Several ships are without destination in the Sundtoll, but they are registered in the Bergen customs which demonstrates that their destination was Bergen.
- (2) The Bergen customs says 62½ ship-pound (stykker) flour. A comparison with the Sundtoll makes it likely that the scribe has made a mistake. The skipper has probably said or had a letter saying 62½ lasts of "stykke-mel" which means flour measured in "stykker" = ship-pound which means flour in sacks and not in barrels.

Table 4 Ships registered in the Sundtoll 01.05.1577–15.05.1578 on their way from Bergen <sup>(1)</sup>, and information about the same ship in the Bergen customs 01.05.1577 – 30.04.1578

Date Øresund	Skipper	Home town	Cargo Øresund in lasts and commodity <sup>(2)</sup>	Date Bergen	Cargo Bergen. l. = lasts, ba. = barrels
14/5	Hinrik Woldir	Wismar	Ballast		
14/5	Theus Lange	Wismar	6 rotscher		
14/5	Didrik Ebbe	Lübeck	7 sporder, 1 rotscher		
15/5	Jochum Grebenis	Rostock	Ballast		
17/5	Jochum Fodrow	Rostock	Ballast		
11/6	Jochum Panrich	Wismar	Ballast	25/5	Ballast
11/6	Klaus Röll	Rostock	Ballast	24/5	Ballast
15/6	Mathias Wedow	Rostock	Ballast	10/6	Ballast
20/6	Rasmus Nilsen	Rostock	Ballast	18/6	Ballast
21/6	Hans Sanders	Rostock	Ballast	14/6	Ballast
21/6	Jochum Sepelin	Rostock	Ballast	14/6	Ballast
26/6	Bertil Jansen	Lübeck	“fish”		
3/7	Karsten Marquart	Lübeck	11 sporder, 9 rotscher,		
11/7	Silvester Kirke	Rostock	Ballast		
11/7	Hinrik Egbrecht	Rostock	Ballast		
22/7	Filip Roirs	Rostock	Ballast	8/7	Ballast
22/7	Erik Berndsen	Rostock	Ballast	8/7	Ballast
22/7	Andreas Hoppener	Rostock	Ballast	8/7	Ballast
23/7	Hans Siverts	Rostock	Ballast		
3/8	Hinrik Kanne	Lübeck	4 sporder, 3 rotscher	10/7	Ballast
24/8	Baltzar Dunnebeir	Rostock	Ballast		
24/8	Hans Möller	Rostock	4½ rotscher	13/7	Ballast
24/8	Jochum Grebenis	Rostock	4 sporder, 2 rotscher	12/7	Ballast
2/9	Klaus Sloirf	Rostock	20 rotscher and rav, 15 sporder, 3 fishoil	2/8	8 l. rotscher
14/9	Jochum Heynne	Stralsund	10 sporder, 3 rotscher	13/8	6 l. rotscher
17/9	Theus Lange	Wismar	20 rotscher, 3½ rav, 2 fishoil, 4 sporder	21/8	Ballast
17/9	Hinrik Woldir	Wismar	20½ rotscher, 4 sporder, 3 rav, 2½ fishoil, 1 seal blubber	14/8	20 l. rotscher
20/9	Hans Rike	Rostock	22 rotscher and rav, 8 sporder	10/7	10 l. rotscher
21/9	Rasmus Nilsen	Rostock	12 rotscher, 4 sporder, 1 butter	2/9	18 l. rotscher

Date Øresund	Skipper	Home town	Cargo Øresund in lasts and commodity <sup>(2)</sup>	Date Bergen	Cargo Bergen. l. = lasts, ba. = barrels
16/10	Jochum Klempge	Treptow	20 rotscher (?) and rav, 10 sporder	14/9	Unspecified
9/11	Karsten Marquart	Lübeck	31 rotscher, 10 sporder, 5 fishoil	7/10	510 ba. rotscher, 48 ba. sporder, 30 ba. rav, 100 våger rundfish
2/12	Andreas Hoppener	Rostock	Unspecified		
10/3	Hinrik Egbrecht	Rostock	"Fish"	27/1	219½ ba. rotscher, 121 ba. sporder, 38 ba. fishoil, 7 ba. seal blubber, 4 <i>kipper</i> fish <sup>(3)</sup>
10/3	Jochum Deen	Rostock	"Fish"	6/12	178 ba. rotscher, 144 ba. sporder, 20 ba. fishoil
10/3	Oluf Schröder	Lübeck	"Fisk"	10/2	282 ba. rotscher, 138 ba. sporder, 16 ba. fishoil
3/4	Jochum Pape	Lübeck	48 rotscher		

Sources: *Sundtoll* in Rigsarkivet, København 1577 and 1578; The Bergen customs in Riksarkivet, Oslo, RK, Bergenhus Len, eske 11, Bergenhus slottsregnskap 1577–1578.

- (1) Several ships are without port of departure in the Sundtoll, but they are registered in the Bergen customs which demonstrates that they came from Bergen.
- (2) *Sporder* is a quality of stockfish, *rav* is a quality of dried halibut.
- (3) *Kipper* was a measure for *rekling* which was a quality of dried halibut (*Norsk historisk leksikon*, entry word "kipper").

## APPENDIX VIII

### PRICES

Prices of stockfish in import harbours (tables 1–5), outside import harbours (tables 6–10) and in Bergen (tables 11–13) and summary of preceding tables (table 14).

Prices of rye grain in Prussian ports and in Lübeck (tables 14–15).

Prices of rye flour in Bergen (tables 16–18).

Prices of herring and salmon in England and the Netherlands (tables 19–21).

When calculating silver values, I have used those given for the relevant coin in available books. If no silver value is available for the relevant coin, I have converted into a coin where the silver value is known.

The tables are basis for figures VI.1 – VI.3.

Some books are used so frequently as sources in the tables in Appendix VIII that I have chosen to refer to them by the author's name only, omitting the name of the book. This is done to make the text and the tables simpler to read. The books referred to in this way are:

BRUNS, *Bergenfahrer*

JESSE, *Der wendische Münzverein*

POSTHUMUS, *History of Prices in Holland*

ROGERS, *Agriculture and Prices*

WIEBE, *Geschichte der Preisrevolution*

Table 1. Prices of stockfish in ports of import 1290–1319

Port	Year	Number of prices	Silver price per hundred	Silver price per 100 kg
Yarmouth <sup>(1)</sup>	1290	1	146 g	
Lynn <sup>(2)</sup>	1303	1	(114 g)	
Lynn <sup>(3)</sup>	1319	1	160 g	
Average all ports		2	153 g	225 g

(1) In 1290 a ship which was to sail from Yarmouth to Norway loaded provisions of two hundred stockfish, à 9 shillings per hundred (DN XIX no. 349). One shilling contained in 1290 249,75 troy grains, each grain 0,0648 g (WIEBE, p. 69). 9 shillings = 9 x 249,75 x 0,0648 g = 146 g of silver.

(2) In 1303 the English king in Lynn used his right of pre-emption to buy 400 hundreds of stockfish from German merchants in Lynn, a large quantity. He paid 6 shillings per hundred, which the German aldermen claimed was too low, and they claimed 7 shillings (HUB II no. 40 = DN XIX no. 426). In Norway the king also practiced his right of pre-emption and paid below market price (chapter IV.3d).

(3) In 1319 the Norwegian king owed 66 hundred stockfish to a merchant from Lynn worth 10 shillings per hundred (DN XIX no. 509). In such cases the merchant would give the price where he intended to sell it, in this case in Lynn. A computation corresponding to that in note 1 gives 160 g silver per c.

Table 2 Prices of stockfish in ports of import 1351–1440

Port	Year	Number of prices	Silver price per hundred <sup>(1)</sup>
Boston <sup>(2)</sup>	1383	1	269 g
Hull <sup>(3)</sup>	1430	1	216 g
Port in Netherlands <sup>(4)</sup>	1431–43	4	206 g
Kampen <sup>(5)</sup>	1440	1	224 g
Hamburg <sup>(6)</sup>	1409	1	240 g
Bruges <sup>(7)</sup>	1409	1	297 g
Bruges <sup>(8)</sup>	1410	1	240 g
Lübeck <sup>(9)</sup>	1385–98	3	255 g
Lübeck <sup>(10)</sup>	1418	2	228 g
Rostock <sup>(11)</sup>	1385–1417	6	313 g
Danzig <sup>(12)</sup>	1397–1404	9	267 g
Königsberg <sup>(13)</sup>	1400–1402	4	257 g
Port in Prussia <sup>(14)</sup>	1440–41	2	159 g
Average all ports		36	241 g <sup>(15)</sup>

- (1) Calculated with the help of JESSE, pp. 209–210 and p. 215; WIEBE, pp. 9–70.
- (2) In 1383 a Hanseatic ship was plundered “under Scotland” with stockfish on board. “Lotfish” was by the owner estimated to 5 Lübeck marks per c, *alse en copman van dem andere cofte in dem Markede*, that is the price when sold from one merchant to another at a marketplace (HR I, 3, 345). Bruns claimed that the marketplace in Bergen was meant (BRUNS, p. LXXIV). It is more likely that it was the price in the English port where the fish was meant to be sold, this was the common practice in demands for compensations. 5 Lübeck marks corresponded to 26 English shillings (JESSE, p. 215).
- (3) In 1430 an English merchant shipped *piscis durus* from Hull to the Flanders. He told the customs officials that his goods were worth £1 per hundred (RGP volume 65 no. 1027 note 2). When exporting, the price from which the customs was calculated should correspond to the purchasing price in England.
- (4) Three Prussian ships were seized in the North Sea in 1431, 1439 and 1440, the value of two consignments of *Berger fish* and one consignment of stockfish are said to be one Flemish pound per hundred (HUB VII no. 767 §24 and §50; RGP volume 36, pp. 808 and 833). In 1443 one consignment of *stockvisch* on its way from Iceland to Amsterdam is also estimated to one Flemish pound per hundred (RGP volume 66 no. 1259). Even if it is explicitly said to be Icelandic stockfish, it is included in this table and in table VI.3 because it has the same price as Bergen fish in the same period. The silver value of one Flemish pound in 1434 was according to POSTHUMUS II, p. XLV  $0,86 \times 240 = 206$  g.
- (5) In the *Pfundzoll* from Kampen between September/Oktober 1439 and 24.08.1441 the value of the goods is never registered. In most cases the customs were collected with a fixed sum per unit of goods (*Het Kampen pondtollregister van 1439–41*, p. 213). In a few cases customs seems to have been calculated as 1/65 of the goods' value (*ibid.*, p. 210). Only the first time that stockfish was imported, is the consignment explicitly said to be *Berger visces*. On this occasion the customs was paid at the rate of 4 grot per hundred (*ibid.*, p. 237). With a ratio 1:65 this Bergen fish should be worth 260 grot or 13/12 Flemish pounds, that is slightly more than one Flemish pound. Converted into silver this will be  $260 \times 0,86 = 224$  g (POSTHUMUS II, p. XLV). In the final part of the register the customs officials demanded a fixed customs payment of 2 stuivers per hundred *stockvisches* (*ibid.* p. 210). With a ratio of 1: 65 the value should be 130 stuivers = 156 grot = 0,65 Flemish pounds (10 stuivers = 12 grot). The two prices used in Kampen's customs of ca. one pound and 2/3 pound may be explained by assuming that the highest used as its basis the price in Kampen, the lowest the price in Bergen. The previous note 4 confirms that one pound was a common price in the Netherlands, and the discussion of the prices in the English customs accounts later in this appendix confirms that 2 nobles = 2/3 pounds was on the same level as the estimated price there, which again was meant to correspond to the price level in Bergen. Therefore the silver price of 224 g is used in this table.

- (6) 1409 Hildebrand Veckinchusen in Bruges received 15 hundred stockfish from Lübeck (*Briefwechsel eines deutschen Kaufmannes*, no. 22). When it arrived in Hamburg, the total costs amounted to 5,5 Lübeck marks per hundred. This was not the market price in Hamburg, but the market price in Lübeck plus freight and other costs to Hamburg.
- (7) November 1409 Hildebrand Veckinchusen received the same consignment as in note 6 in Bruges via Sluis. His costs had then increased to 1 pound 1 shilling Flemish = 252 grot per hundred (*Die Handelsbücher des Hildebrand Veckinchusen*, p. 15, 268 and 350). 1 grot = 1,180 g. silver (JESSE, p. 220). One hundred stockfish = 297 g. silver.
- (8) Summer 1410 Hildebrand Veckinchusen in Bruges received stockfish worth 5,5 Lübeck marks per hundred (LESNIKOV, *Veckinchusen*, p. 317). Hildebrand traded even on other occasions in Norwegian stockfish, and this consignment probably also was Norwegian. This was Hildebrand's costs, not the sales price in Bruges (cf. table 2 note 6 and table 7 note 2).
- (9) All three prices from Lübeck are from the *Pfundzoll*. In 1398 two merchants paid customs for five hundred stockfish each, the sum was the same for both 16 pfennig which means that the customs officials estimated the fish to be worth 24 Lübeck marks or 4,8 Lübeck marks per hundred (P. 1398, p. 197d). In 1385 a merchant paid customs corresponding to the value 5 1/3 marks per hundred (BRUNS, p. LXXV). The estimated value in a customs payment for rackvisch in 1385 was 5 Lübeck marks per hundred, even if the *rackvisch* was larger and had a market value ca. 50% higher than for the average stockfish, the *lotvisch* (HR I, 3, 345). The customs officials collected 3 1/3 pfenning per hundred, irrespective of the size of the fish and changing market prices. This corresponded to an estimated price of five Lübeck marks per hundred. English customs officials simplified their work in a similar way. *Halfwaxen* were smaller than the *lotvisch* (BRUNS, p. LXXIV), but were in 1366 given the same estimated value of one pound per hundred (PRO E-122/7/10). In Lübeck the customs ordinance does not say that the estimated value of imported goods should correspond to the purchasing price in the overseas port (HR I, 1, p. 374; HR I, 4, 441 §5). It should be assumed that the customs prices corresponded to the price level in Lübeck. Bruns has registered a fourth price from the *Pfundzoll* in 1399 of 4 1/11 marks per hundred "fish" (BRUNS, p. LXXV). This price he has not found in the Bergen accounts 1399, he must have come across it elsewhere. It must remain uncertain whether this price is really for Bergen stockfish.
- (10) October 1418 Hildebrand Veckinchusen, this time in Lübeck, bought two consignments of "lotfish", one at 7 marks 8 sh. Lübish the other at 7 marks 12 sh. Lübish per hundred. (*Die Handelsbücher des Hildebrand Veckinchusen*, pp. 497–498). Average 7 marks 10. sh. = 1344 pfennig. 1 pfenning = 0,170 g. silver (JESSE, p. 209). 1 hundred lotfish = 228 g. silver.
- 11) From 1385, 1395 and 1416–18 are preserved prices of six consignments of stockfish purchased for public use in Rostock.

Year	Silver price per hundred	Designation in source	Source
1385	354 g	Bergervisch	HR I, 3, 186
1385	354 g	Stockvisch	HR I, 3, 186
1395	393 g	Strumuli	HR I, 4, 649
1416/17	223 g	Bergervisch	HR I, 6, 254
1416/17	230 g	Bergervisch	HR I, 6, 291
1417	323 g	Stockvisch	HR I, 6, 598
All prices	313 g		

Prices are in Rostock marks worth 2/3 Lübeck marks, the silver value is calculated according to this (HR I, 6, 598; JESSE, p. 70). Several of these prices are significantly higher than the customs prices in Lübeck calculated in note 8 above. The reason may be that several consignments were bought in small quantities from intermediaries.

- (12) In the Gdansk archive there is an account book which has registered the expenses of the customs collector in Gdansk 1397–1404 (WAP. Pfundgelt, Elbing no. 369,1). Purchases were made of seven consignments of *Bergervisch*, two of *lotvisch* and one of *halfvisch*, the names give evidence that this was stockfish from Bergen (cf. table VI.1). *Halfvisch* or *halfwassene* was Bergen fish below a certain size. If this consignment is excluded, the remaining nine had a price per hundred of 75, 92, 96, 96, 96, 96, 108, 108 and 112 Prussian scot, on average 98 scot with 24 scot per Prussian mark (KEYSER, Danzigs Geschichte, Anhang). At this time one Prussian mark was worth 24 Lübeck skillings (JESSE, p. 221). This means

that one Prussian scot = one Lübeck skilling, 98 Prussian scot = 98 Lübeck skillings = 6 mark 2 skillings Lübeckish. One Lübeck *pfennig* contained at this time 0,227 g silver (JESSE, p. 209), 98 skillings will then contain 267 g silver.

- (13) The extant account books of The German Order register the purchase of four consignments of stockfish in Königsberg 1400–1402.

Year	Silver price per hundred	Designation	Source
1400	229 g	Stockvisch	<i>Handelsrechnungen</i> , p. 123
1400	275 g	–“–	Ibid., p. 143
1401	229 g	–“–	Ibid., p. 125
1400/02	294 g	–“–	Ibid., p. 122
All prices	257 g		

The last import 1400/02 is explicitly said to be stockfish from Bergen. The previous ones are at the same price level and it is reasonable to assume that even they came from Bergen. The silver value is calculated assuming that 1 Prussian mark = 1,5 Lübeck marks (JESSE, p. 221).

- (14) During the war 1438–41 several Prussian ships were seized by Hollandish privateers. Two consignments of *Bergervisch* were seized on their way to Prussia, both estimated to 6 2/3 Prussian marks per hundred (HUB VII no. 767 §1 and §125). In this account one Prussian mark is considered to have the same exchange value as one Lübeck mark (HUB VII no. 767 §86). The silver value per hundred = (0,124 x 12 x 16 x 6,67) = 159 g (JESSE, p. 209). In the same claim for damages Bergen fish on its way to a port in the Netherlands is estimated to be worth 8 Prussian marks = one Flemish pound (cf. note 4 above and HUB VII no. 767 §16).
- (15) The average is calculated by dividing the sum of the figures in the last column with 13.

Table 3 Prices of stockfish in ports of import 1441–1500

Port	Year	Number of prices	Silver prices per hundred (l)
Boston <sup>(2)</sup>	1447	1	136 g
Boston <sup>(3)</sup>	1468	1	164 g
Lynn <sup>(3)</sup>	1468	1	173 g
Kampen/Deventer <sup>(4)</sup>	1463	1	164 g
Lübeck <sup>(5)</sup>	1458–83	9	182 g
Average all prices <sup>(6)</sup>		13	175 g

- (1) Calculated on the basis of WIEBE, p. 70 and JESSE, p. 211.
- (2) In 1447 “the English” robbed a Hanseatic Bergenfahrer, the ship had in its cargo 700 hundreds of stockfish worth 4000 marks, this means 5,7 Lübeck marks per hundred which corresponds to 136 g of silver (JESSE, p. 209). The piracy took place at *Stromeshoved*. Bruns thought it must have been along the Norwegian coast in the shipping lane between Bergen and Lübeck (BRUNS, p. LXXV). In my view the information that the pirates were English makes it more likely that the ship was on its way to England and that *Stromeshoved* was somewhere along the English coast between Bergen and Boston. The Hansa navigators often put their own names on landmarks. They often called a promontory which ended in a cliff “hoved” (SCHILLER and LÜBBEN, *Mittelniederdeutsches Wörterbuch*, entry word “Hovet”). “Head” in English could have the same meaning. When sailing from Bergen to England, the ships would often sail straight west and arrive in Shetland or Orkney which then still were Norwegian. Then they would continue southwards along the Scottish coast. In the sound between Orkney and the Scottish mainland there is an island called Stroma, and the northernmost part of the then Scotland to meet the Hansa ships is today called Duncansby Head. The Hansa navigators here met strong streams and a promontory, and it is not unreasonable that they may have called this promontory *Stromeshoved*. If it was here the Bergenfahrer were plundered, the prices in the demands for damages would be those in the destination which was Boston. In the previous period 1351–1440 the price in Boston was higher than in other ports, now it was at the same level. This may be due to the import of Icelandic stockfish which after ca. 1412 may have pushed the prices in England downwards.

- (3) In 1468/9 the Hansa demanded compensations for stockfish confiscated in Boston, Lynn and London. In Lynn they estimated the price to 20 shillings per hundred, in Boston to 19 shillings, in London the price of *cropling* and *tiling* was estimated to be the same as in Boston (HUB IX no. 541).
- (4) A consignment of *lotvisch* was estimated to be worth 7 Lübeck marks per hundred in Kampen and Deventer (BULL, Bergen og Hansestæderne, p. 135). The same consignment was estimated to be worth 10 Bergen guilders in Bergen (table 11 note 7). Converted to silver value this means an increase in value from 95 g to 164 g per hundred from Bergen to Deventer, a price increase of 73%. From this should be paid freight and other expenses.
- (5) Bruns has collected 9 prices from Lübeck for *rundvisch*:

Year	Silver price per hundred	Designation	Source
1458	205 g	Stockvisch	BRUNS, p. LXXV
1460	210 g	Lotvisch from Bergen	BRUNS, p. 171
1469	145 g	Stockvisch	BRUNS, p. LXXVI
1473	203 g	Fish from Bergen	BRUNS, p. 176
1474	193 g	Stockvisch	BRUNS, p. LXXVI
1475	195 g	—“—	Ibid.
1479	150 g	—“—	Ibid.
1482	132 g	—“—	Ibid.
1483	203 g	Iceland fish	BRUNS, p. 176 note 1
Average	182 g		

- (6) The average of all prices is calculated by adding all 13 prices and divide by 13.

Table 4 Prices of stockfish in ports of import 1501–1550

Port	Year	Number of prices	Silver prices per hundred <sup>(1)</sup>
Zutphen <sup>(2)</sup>	1504	1	100 g
Port in Holland <sup>(3)</sup>	1533	1	73 g
Lübeck <sup>(4)</sup>	1520–31	14	101 g
Wismar <sup>(5)</sup>	1517	1	57 g
Danzig <sup>(6)</sup>	1525	1	105 g
Baltic port <sup>(7)</sup>	1533	1	136 g
Average all prices		19	99 g <sup>(8)</sup>

- (1) Calculated on the basis of JESSE, pp. 209–211, if no other information is provided.
- (2) In 1504 a merchant from Cologne bought six baskets of stockfish in Zutphen for 60 guilders (KUSKE, *Der Kölner Fischhandel*, p. 268). One basket contained three hundreds of stockfish, this means one hundred stockfish brought a price of 3 1/3 guilders (ibid. p. 271). One Rhenish guilder at this time contained 30 g silver. If Rhenish guilders are meant, this price corresponded to (3,33 x 30) g = 100 g silver per hundred (JESSE, p. 219).
- (3) In 1533 Hollanders seized a ship from Stralsund containing 228 barrels of *Bergervisch*. When the booty was divided, each barrel was estimated to be worth five Hollandish gold-guilders (*Niederländische Akten und Urkunden zur Geschichte der Hanse* I no. 140 §8). One gold-guilder corresponded in this period to 19,06 g silver (POSTHUMUS I, pp. CVIII and CXV), this means one barrel was worth 95 g silver. 93 barrels bought to the Heilig-Geist-hospital 1524–31 weighed on average 182 Lübeckish pounds = 88,3 kg (cf. table III.4 note 2). If the barrels seized by the Hollanders had the same average weight, the price of one hundred stockfish (= 67,9 kg) corresponded to 73 g silver. That is significantly less than the prices for Lübeck calculated in note 4 below. The explanation may be that the Lübeck prices are market prices, and therefore realistic, the prices discussed here are estimates and may have been set lower than the market price in the port of destination.
- (4) All these prices from Lübeck are taken from BRUNS, pp. LXXIX–LXXX, and are for rotscher sold in barrels. Five of Bruns' 19 prices are given per barrel. The weight of the stockfish which was contained in a barrel varied strongly at his this time for reasons which are explained in table III.4 note 2. To avoid this

serious source of error, only sources which make it possible to calculate the net weight of the stockfish in the barrel have been included, that is 14 prices. Bruns has calculated these prices per 100 Lübeck pounds = 48,5 kg, his average is 4 Lübeck marks and 4 skillings. (BRUNS, pp. LXXIX-LXXX). At this time one Witte contained 0,354 g of silver (JESSE, p. 210), this corresponds to 72 g of silver per 100 Lübeck pounds of rotscher or 101 g of silver per hundred rotscher (= 67,9 kg). The accounts of Bergenhus castle 1517–23 shows that there was no price difference between the two qualities of stockfish *rotscher* and *rundfish* at this time (cf. NRJ I, pp. 466, 559, 560 etc.).

- (5) One *våg* (=18,5 kg) of stockfish was bought to St. Jürgen church in Wismar in 1517, the price was 14 Lübeck skillings (SCHILLER and LÜBBEN, *Mittelniederdeutsches Wörterbuch* V, p. 573). This is a quotation used in the dictionary as an example and it is taken from the account book of the church/hospital. One hundred stockfish (= 67,9 kg will then cost 51 skillings.
- (6) 100 Amsterdam pounds of *Bergervissche* were seized on a Hollandish ship with destination Danzig in 1525, and its value was estimated to four guilders (HR III, 9, 148 §5). One Carolus guilder contained at this time 19 g silver (POSTHUMUS I, pp. CXV and CXVI). 100 Amsterdam pounds = 49,4 kg (POSTHUMUS II, pp. 31 and 335; *ibid.* I, p. LIII).
- (7) A ship from Rostock was seized at Elsinore (Helsingør) in 1533 on its way from Bergen to a Baltic port. The “screwed” barrels of stockfish on board were estimated to be worth 10 Lübeck marks each (HR IV, 1, 239). The barrels purchased by the Heilig-Geist hospital 1524–31 contained on average 88 kg of stockfish (table III.4 note 2). If these barrels in 1533 had the same average net weight, one hundred stockfish (= 67,9 kg) should be worth 136 g of silver (JESSE, p. 211).
- (8) The average of all prices is calculated by adding all 19 prices and divide by 19.

Table 5 Prices of stockfish in ports of import 1551–1600

Port	Year	Number of prices	Silver price per hundred
Amsterdam <sup>(1)</sup>	1562–95	15	106 g
Lübeck <sup>(2)</sup>	1558	1	119 g
Average all prices		16	107 g

- (1) Posthumus calculated the average price for stockfish purchased to Amsterdam’s municipal orphanage for 15 separate years in the period 1562–1595. He does not tell how many prices are the empirical basis for each average (POSTHUMUS II, pp. 767–773). The prices are in guilders per 100 Amsterdam pounds (= 49,4 kg). Posthumus’ average prices for each year have been converted to silver price by using the silver value of the coin that year as quoted in POSTHUMUS I, pp. CVIII–CVIX. The average for the 15 prices is 77 g per 100 Amsterdam pounds and 106 g silver per hundred (POSTHUMUS II, pp. 31 and 335; *ibid.* I, p. LIII). In some instances it is stated explicitly that the stockfish came from Bergen.
- (2) 5 Lübeck marks for 100 Lübeck pounds of rundfish (BRUNS, p. LXXVI). 100 Lübeck pounds = 48,4 kg (BRUNS, p. LXXIV). One hundred stockfish (= 67,9 kg) would then cost 119 g (JESSE, p. 210).

Table 6 Silver prices of stockfish outside ports of import 1283–1338

Place	Year	Price per hundred <sup>(1)</sup>	Source
London <sup>(2)</sup>	1272–1307	120 g	BUGGE, <i>Handelen mellom England og Norge</i> , p. 129
Clare, Suffolk	1283	120 g	ROGERS II, p. 553
Hereford <sup>(3)</sup>	1289/90	200 g	BUGGE, <i>Handelen mellom England og Norge</i> , p. 129
Hereford <sup>(3)</sup>	1289/90	400 g	<i>Ibid.</i>
Hereford <sup>(3)</sup>	1289/90	640 g	<i>Ibid.</i>
Battle, Sussex	1306/7	384 g	<i>Accounts of the Cellarers of Battle Abbey</i> , p. 47
Foxlete, York	1307	320 g	ROGERS II, p. 554
Durham	1308/9	400 g	FRASER, <i>North East England</i> , p. 48

Place	Year	Price per hundred <sup>(1)</sup>	Source
Schwerin <sup>(4)</sup>	1309	236 g	MecklUB V no. 3296
Schwerin <sup>(4)</sup>	1309	205 g	Ibid.
Hartlepool	1333/4	176 g	<i>Extracts from the Account Rolls of Durham I</i> , p. 30
Winchester	1337	288 g	<i>Compotus Rolls of St Swithun Priory, Winchester</i> , p. 246
Durham	1337/8	528 g	<i>Extracts from the Account Rolls of Durham I</i> , p. 34
Average		309 g	

(1) Calculated on the basis of WIEBE, p. 69 and JESSE, p. 209, if no other information is provided.

(2) A price tariff for retail sale per fish in London from the time of Edward I contains the following prices:

Best stockfish: 1½ pence

Best dried ling: 1 pence

Middle stockfish of cod: ¾ pence

Smallest stockfish of cod: ½ pence

Best kropling: 1/6 pence

The purpose of price tariffs was to keep prices low, it should therefore be assumed that prices actually paid were higher (Munimenta Gildhallae, Liber Albus LXXIX, Liber Custumarum I, p. 119, quoted after BUGGE, *Handelen mellom England og Norge*, p. 129).

(3) The three prices from the accounts of the Bishop of Hereford 1289–90 illustrate seasonal variations. The stockfish from Bergen arrived in late autumn, then the prices were lowest. Much of the stockfish was consumed during Lent, and prices increased when the Lent approached. One stockfish, probably best quality, cost 1¼ pence before Christmas, then increased via 2½ pence to 4 pence, that is from 12,5 shilling over 25 shilling to 40 shilling per hundred. These prices are high because they are retail prices per fish.

(4) Two consignments of stockfish were purchased to the household of the Count of Schwerin (MecklUB V no. 3296). Prices are given in Slavic marks, and I have converted them to Lübeck marks according to the ratio 16 Slavic skillings = 12 Lübeck skillings (JESSE, p. 70), or 3 Lübeck marks = 4 Slavic marks.

Table 7 Prices of stockfish outside ports of import 1351–1440

Place	Year	Number of prices	Silver price per hundred
England <sup>(1)</sup>	1359–1438	11 (13)	405 g (455 g)
Cologne <sup>(2)</sup>	1419	1	384 g
Frankfurt <sup>(3)</sup>	1419	1	327 g
Mecklenburg/Brandenburg <sup>(4)</sup>	1353–73	17	388 g
Marienburg <sup>(5)</sup>	1399	2	327 g
Continental ports		21	379 g

(1)

Place	Year	Silver price per hundred	Source
Battle, Sussex	1359/60	1355 g	<i>Accounts of the Cellarers of Battle Abbey</i> , p. 59
– „ –	1369/70	713 g	Ibid., p. 63
Wye, Kent	1370	645 g	ROGERS II, p. 556
Durham	1375	258 g	<i>Extracts from the Account Rolls of Durham I</i> , p. 46
Battle, Sussex	1375/6	516 g	<i>Accounts of the Cellarers of Battle Abbey</i> , p. 72
London	1397	337 g	<i>Calendar of Close Rolls 1396–99</i> , p. 36. Cf. below
Battle, Sussex	1409/0	335 g	<i>Accounts of the Cellarers of Battle Abbey</i> , p. 101
– „ –	1412/13	302 g	Ibid., p. 105
Durham	1417	324 g	<i>Extracts from the Account Rolls of Durham I</i> , p. 55

Place	Year	Silver price per hundred	Source
Frampton	1425	432 g	ROGERS III, p. 312
Ormesby, Norfolk	1430	270 g	Ibid.
Castre	1431	324 g	Ibid.
Cambridge	1438	108 g	ROGERS III, p. 313
Average all prices		455 g (405 g)	

1351–1411 one shilling contained 12,9 g silver, 1412–40 10,79 g (WIEBE, p. 69).

Comment to the price from London: 3 M *halfwassene* og 1 M *cropling* is in this source estimated to be worth £38. In 1383 *halfwassene* cost  $\frac{4}{5}$  of the *lotfish*, *cropling*  $\frac{1}{2}$  of the *lotfish* (HR I, 3, 345). These ratios mean that a consignment consisting of  $\frac{3}{4}$  *halfwassene* and  $\frac{1}{4}$  *cropling* would cost  $(\frac{3}{4} \times \frac{4}{5}) + (\frac{1}{4} \times \frac{1}{2}) = \frac{29}{40}$  of what the same number of *lotfish* would cost. 4M *lotfish* in London 1397 would then cost (£38 x 40):29 = £52. That makes 26 shilling per hundred.

The average for all 13 prices above is 455 g silver. The first and last price are atypical. If they are excluded, the average of the 11 remaining prices is 405 g. I would consider 405 g as more representative than 455 g.

- (2) In 1419 Sivert Veckinchusen sold *lotfish* in Cologne for 36 Rhenish guilders per *stucke* or “piece” (*Briefwechsel eines deutschen Kaufmannes*, no. 213). If one *stucke* of *lotfish* in 1419 weighed 30 *liespfund* as it did in 1477 (cf. table VI.1 note 3), the price Sivert obtained in Cologne can be calculated to 12 guilders per hundred (BRUNS, p. LXXIV). One guilder at this time contained 2,953 g of gold which corresponded to 32 g of silver (POSTHUMUS II, p. 25, cf. JESSE, pp. 215 and 217). This gives one hundred *lotfish* the value of 384 g.
- (3) In 1418/1419 Hildebrand Veckinchusen’s representative sold in Frankfurt 12 *stucke* stockfish. If one *stucke* corresponded to 3 hundreds of *lotfish* (table VI.1 notes), the consignment corresponded to 36 hundreds of *lotfish*. The sales price was 368 Rhenish guilders (*Die Handelsbücher des Hildebrand Veckinchusen*, p. 527). One guilder at this time contained 2,953 g of gold which corresponded to 32 g of silver (POSTHUMUS II, p. 25, cf. JESSE, pp. 215 and 217). This gives 368 guilders the value of 11776 g silver, and 1 hundred *lotfish* the value of 327 g silver.
- (4) MecklUB contains the following stockfish prices from the hinterland of the Wendish towns:

Year	Silver price per hundred	Source
1353	515 g	MecklUB XIX no. 7821
1353	380 g	– „ –
1353	482 g	MecklUB XIII no. 7822
1353	855 g	– „ –
1358	386 g	MecklUB XIV no. 8453
1358	322 g	– „ –
1358	386 g	– „ –
1358	322 g	– „ –
1358	257 g	MecklUB XIV no. 8509
1370	429 g	MecklUB XVI no. 10.112
1372	321 g	MecklUB XVIII no. 10.291
1372	370 g	– „ –
1372	113 g	– „ –
1373	443 g	MecklUB XVIII no. 10.424
1373	386 g	– „ –
1373	443 g	– „ –
1373	193 g	– „ –
Average all prices	388 g	

Silver prices are calculated on the basis of JESSE, p. 209. Many prices are given in Rostock marks (cf. table 2 note 11) or Slavic marks (cf. table 6 note 4). None of the 17 stockfish consignments above are explicitly said to come from Norway or Bergen. The terms used are *strumuli* and *stockvisch*. Since stockfish was

imported from Bergen to Rostock, Wismar and Lübeck (cf. chapters II.3c, II.3b, II.3c) it is probable that all or most of it was Norwegian.

- (5) There are extant excerpts of the accounts of the German Order 1390–1420 (*Handelsrechnungen* pp. 2 and 4). In 1399 was purchased to Marienburg two consignments of stockfish, both cost 5 Prussian marks per hundred. One Prussian mark corresponded to 1,5 Lübeckish mark (JESSE, p. 221), this makes the silver value 327 g (JESSE, p. 209). Bergen fish was at this time not unusual in Danzig which was Marienburg's port for overseas trade (cf. 129–135). The price level for stockfish in Danzig may have been ca. 20 % lower than in Marienburg.

Table 8 Prices of stockfish outside ports of import 1441–1500

Place	Year	Number of prices	Silver price per hundred
England <sup>(1)</sup>	1441–1500	35	243 g
Frankfurt <sup>(2)</sup>	1495	1	136 g
Hildesheim <sup>(3)</sup>	1448	1	147 g
Münster <sup>(4)</sup>	1467–1500	8	150 g
Average all 45 prices			222 g
Average all 10 prices continental ports <sup>(5)</sup>			148 g

- (1) I have included only fish called “stockfish” and “fungiæ”, and where the prices are given in hundreds. There are more prices given in single fish, but they tend to be higher. The average for Rogers' 35 prices is 27 shillings per hundred, lower than the 38 shillings from the previous period 1351–1440. In silver value the prices declined even more, since the silver content of English pennies continued to diminish. 1351–1411 one shilling contained 12,9 g silver, 1412–60 10,79 g, 1461–1500 8,63 g (WIEBE, pp. 69–70). Average silver price for the 35 prices 1441–1500 therefore have to be calculated separately for the prices before and after 1460.  $[(146 \times 10,79) + (803 \times 8,63)] : 35 = 243$  g silver.
- (2) In 1495 the merchant Paul Müllich still had not received payment in Frankfurt for one *stucke* or “piece” of rackvish, which he estimated to be worth 12 Rhenish guilders (RÖRIG, Nürnberg-Lübecker Müllichs, p. 348). In 1477 the Wendish towns ordained that one *stucke* of rackvish should contain two hundred rackfish and weigh 24 *liespfund* net (HR III, 1, 38). One *liespfund* = 6,8 kg, this means 24 *liespfund* = 163 kg. In other words, Müllich in 1495 claimed that his 163 kg were worth 12 Rhenish guilders. One guilder at this time contained 2,527 g gold (POSTHUMUS II, p. 27), the value ratio gold/silver was 10,77 (POSTHUMUS I, p. CXVI; WIEBE, p. 85; LOPEZ, Back to Gold, p. 234). This means that his 163 kilos were worth 327 g silver. 67,9 kg (= the weight of one hundred lotfish) would then be worth 136 g of silver.
- (3) In 1448 a Bergenfahrer from Lübeck sold 7 *stucke* stockvissches in Hildesheim, 14,5 Rhenish guilders per *stucke* (BRUNS, p. 87 note 3). If this was lotfish one stuck would contain three hundred fish, this means one hundred cost 4,9 Rhenish guilders. One guilder contained at this time 2,777 g gold (POSTHUMUS II, p. 25) and the value ratio gold/silver was 10,77 (cf. previous note 2). The price for one hundred stockfish = 67,9 kg will then be 147 g silver.
- (4) Wiebe registered 8 stockfish prices from Münster 1467–1500, the average price is 0,205 g gold per kilo stockfish (WIEBE, p. 331). With a value ratio gold/silver of 10,77 (cf. the previous note 2) and one hundred lotfish weighing 67,9 kg, one hundred lotfish should cost 150 g silver. A source of error here that we do not know how Wiebe calculated the price of 0,205 g gold per kg stockfish. How familiar was he with the weight of one hundred, one barrel and one *stucke* of stockfish? He wrote his book in 1895 before Bruns' book on the Bergenfahrer had appeared in 1900.
- (5) If all prices are included, the empirical material is dominated by England, which in the beginning of this period was an important market for Norwegian stockfish, but which gradually was phased out. The English prices held a higher level than continental prices. The average for continental ports gives a realistic picture of the price level in markets where most of the Norwegian stockfish was sold in the first part of the period, and all of it after ca. 1480. I have entered the average which included England in table 14, since England in fact was a market in this period.

Table 9. Prices of stockfish outside ports of import 1501–50

Place	Year	Number of prices	Silver price per hundred
England <sup>(1)</sup>	1501–50	116	169 g
Münster <sup>(2)</sup>	1501–50	132	135 g
Utrecht <sup>(3)</sup>	1506–50	20	116 g
All three regions			140 g
Münster and Utrecht <sup>(4)</sup>			126 g

- (1) All 116 prices are from ROGERS, *A History of Agriculture and Prices in England*. English coins 1500–26 contained 8,63 g silver per shilling, 1527–39 7,67 g per shilling. In the 1540s the silver value varied strongly, but a normal level was ca 4,5 g (WIEBE, pp. 69–70). The average silver value per hundred stockfish can then be calculated as:  $[(1373 \times 8,63) + (763 \times 7,67) + (434 \times 4,5)] : 116 = 169$  g silver. At this time England imported its stockfish from Iceland and not from Bergen.
- (2) On the basis of 132 individual stockfish prices Wiebe calculated an average price for each decade 1501–1550 expressed in gram gold per kilo stockfish. The average of Wiebe's five averages is 0,184 g gold per kilor (WIEBE, p. 331). The value ratio gold/silver was 10,77 and the weight of hundred stockfish 67,9 kg (cf. table V1.1). This makes the average price for all five decades 135 g silver.
- (3) From 1506 onwards there are extant accounts from the Hospital of St. Bartholomew in Utrecht (POSTHUMUS II, pp. 273 ff). In some cases we are informed that stockfish came from Amsterdam via retailers in Utrecht to the hospital (POSTHUMUS II, p. 335). 1501–1530 Posthumus gives the prices in Utrecht stuivers per 100 Amsterdam pounds (= 49,4 kg) (POSTHUMUS II, pp. 31 and 335; POSTHUMUS I, p. LIII). One Utrecht stuiver was at this time worth 0,0722 g gold (POSTHUMUS II, p. 23), which corresponded to 0,78 g silver. 1531–1550 Posthumus gives the prices in Hollandish guilders (= carolus gulden, cf. POSTHUMUS II, p. 20) which at this time contained 1,77 g gold = 19,06 g silver (POSTHUMUS I, pp. CVIII, CXV and CXVI). Posthumus gives average prices for stockfish for 20 of the years in the period 1506–49. He does not tell how many individual prices make the basis of each average, but it may be one or more. The average of the 20 annual averages in grams of silver:  $[(895 \times 0,78) + (51 \times 19,06)] : 20 = 84$  g silver per 100 Amsterdam pounds. This corresponds to 116 g silver per hundred stockfish (= 67,9 kg).
- (4) I have entered the average for Münster and Utrecht in table 14, since England in this period no longer was a market for Norwegian stockfish.

Table 10. Prices of stockfish outside ports of import 1551–1600

Place	Year	Number of prices	Silver prices per hundred
England <sup>(1)</sup>	1551–74	30	207 g
Münster <sup>(2)</sup>	1551–60	25	145 g
Utrecht <sup>(3)</sup>	1556–1600	33	136 g
Average Münster and Utrecht <sup>(4)</sup>			141 g

- (1) Rogers has for the years 1550–74 30 individual stockfish prices (ROGERS III, pp. 330–334). In the 1550s the silver value of English coins varied strongly, but the average can be estimated to 5,3 g per shilling. 1560–74 the silver value was 5,75 g per shilling (WIEBE, p. 70). The average silver price of stockfish 1551–74:  $[(665 \times 5,3) + (469 \times 5,75)] : 30 = 207$  g silver per hundred stockfish.
- (2) Wiebe has 25 stockfish prices from Münster 1551–60, on average 0,197 g gold per kg stockfish (WIEBE, p. 331). A value ratio gold/silver of 10,77 and a weight of 67,9 kg per hundred stockfish, makes it possible to convert Wiebe's average to 145 g silver per hundred stockfish.
- (3) Posthumus has average stockfish prices from the Hospital of St. Bartholomew in Utrecht for 34 of the years 1556–1600 (POSTHUMUS II, pp. 275–276). The prices are given in Hollandish guilders (= carolus gulden) per 100 Amsterdam pounds (cf. the previous table 9 note 3). The silver value of one guilder is quoted in POSTHUMUS I, pp. CVIII–CVIX, and one Amsterdam pound is 49,4 kg. The same calculation as in table 9 note 3 above gives a price of 136 g silver per hundred stockfish.
- (4) I have left out England since England in this period no longer was a market for Norwegian stockfish. I have entered the average for Münster and Utrecht in table 14.

*The price material in the English customs accounts*

To what extent can prices in the English customs accounts be used as evidence of the price level in Bergen? In English ports foreigners from 1303 had to pay a customs on goods they imported of 3 pence per English pound. The value of the goods was to be purchase price in the country where the goods had been bought (GRAS, *Customs system*, p. 263). This was also how it was practiced.

In 1434 German merchants in London complained that “a short time ago a new arrangement was introduced, that we shall pay customs for imported goods according to its value in England, but our privileges witness that we shall not pay customs according to a higher value than what we bought the goods for *over zee*.” (HR II, 1, 319). Even the Genovese complained about the new arrangement (*Calendar of Close Rolls* 1429–1435, p. 277). The Privy Council consented to abolish the novelty, and decided 16.10.1434 that the merchants should pay customs for their goods according to “how much it cost him beyond the sea there as he bought it” as had been the custom from olden times (*Proceedings of the Privy Council* IV (1429–1436), p. 239). This means that the value of stockfish from Norway as registered in the East English customs accounts was meant to be its value in Bergen. But the conflict in 1434 also shows that English customs authorities wanted a different arrangement which gave them higher incomes.

In Ravensere the average customs price for all qualities and sizes of stockfish 1305–11 is 3,5 shillings per hundred (NEDKVITNE, *Handelssjøfarten*, pp. 96–97). According to N.S.B. Gras the customs prices have to be considered as “a declaration on the part of the merchant of the lowest figure which the customs officials would accept, always tending to be below the real market price” (GRAS, *Customs system*, p. 122). This is a rather pessimistic evaluation of the price material in the English customs, and Gras does not give evidence for it. According to the instructions for the customs officials, the assessment of the value should be founded on “letters” which showed how much the merchant had paid for his goods, in practice this must be quittances. If a merchant did not have such letters, merchants coming from the same port should swear an oath on the value of his goods (GRAS, *Customs system*, pp. 262–264). This was practiced when ships arrived in East English ports from Norway. In 1325 the customs official in Hull explicitly stated that the value of two cargoes of imported stockfish from Norway was based on the oath of a jury (*per juratos*) (PRO E-122/56/26; DN XIX no. 523). The customs officials must have been well informed about market prices of the main commodities in overseas ports.

The relationship between market prices and customs prices can not be tested empirically for stockfish for lack of data, but for exported wheat it can. Also for exports the customs price was to correspond to the purchasing price, this time in England. This makes it relevant to compare the customs price for wheat to its market price in England. Below I have compared customs prices for wheat exported

from Lynn 1306–07 to Rogers' marker prices for the same two years in England (PRO E-122/93/3; ROGERS I, p. 228).

Customs prices and market prices in England for wheat 1306–07

Customs prices in Lynn	45 prices	45 pence per quart of wheat
Rogers' prices in England	80 prices	57 pence per quart of wheat

Rogers' market prices are 27% above the customs prices in Lynn. The difference between retail and wholesale can hardly explain the gap. Rogers' prices are taken from the account books of large ecclesiastical and secular institutions, and they must have bought their wheat from the same producers and in the same quantities as exporting merchants. The explanation is rather that prices in the rich corn-growing region around Lynn and the Wash were lower than in England as a whole.

On this background it is reasonable to assume that the customs prices of stockfish in Ravensere 1305–11 mirrored the market prices in Bergen. At this time one English shilling = 17,25 g silver (WIEBE, p. 69). A market price in Bergen of 3,5 shillings per hundred mentioned above would then correspond to 60 g silver, which has been entered in table 11.

In 1311 the customs of 3 pence per pound mentioned above was abolished, to be reintroduced in 1322. But now there were changes. The customs was part of a mutual agreement between the English state and foreign merchants made in 1303 (*Carta mercatoria*), and this made it in practice impossible to increase the tariff of 3 pence. In Lynn prices of stockfish are given in a few customs accounts 1322–1326, but not in Hull and Boston. In Lynn the estimated price of stockfish increased, which in practice meant an increase in customs. Was this due to a price increase in Bergen, or was it an indirect way of increasing the customs on foreign merchants' goods in Lynn? The Crown appointed certain citizens of Lynn to collect the customs. Merchants of Lynn had at this time important interests in the fish trade to Bergen. These citizens had an interest in the Hansa merchants and other foreign merchants paying high customs on their imports, since this would give the Lynn citizens a competitive advantage.

1322–1325 arrived in Lynn seven ships which for reasons discussed in appendix I must have come from Bergen, and where the prices of the stockfish on board is quoted. The seven ships are registered in appendix I table 4.

- Skipper Burchard van Bremen had seven Hansa merchants on board, all had their stockfish valued at 14 shillings per hundred (06.12.1322).
- Skipper Ludbriht van Hatten had three Hansa merchants with stockfish, even these had their stockfish valued at 14 shillings per hundred (04.02.23).
- The English skipper John Thornegge had four Hansa merchants whose goods were valued at 14–16 shillings per hundred, on average 14,8 shillings (23.03.23).

- Another English skipper was Walter Benecrost who seems to have arrived from Bergen with an unknown number of English merchants who were exempt from customs, and one Norwegian merchant whose stockfish also was valued at 14 shillings per hundred (25.07.23).
- Skipper Henrik from Oslo arrived mostly with herring, but one merchant had a small cargo of stockfish valued at 20 shillings per hundred (04.02.25). This stockfish may have been valued higher because the merchant's cargo was so small, only three hundreds.
- Another Norwegian ship had among other things stockfish valued at 13 2/3 shillings (26.04.25).
- A skipper from Trondheim had his stockfish valued at 14 shillings per hundred (01.07.25).

In these extant customs accounts all stockfish which with certainty came from Norway was valued at 14 shillings per hundred or close to it. The fish is quantified in the accounts partly in hundreds, partly in thousands and partly in lasts. One English last was one thousand (M) fish (CARUS-WILSON, Bristol, p. 337). This was clearly the case also in these accounts because one last and one M stockfish are both priced at £7 (26.04.25; 01.07.25; 06.12.22), corresponding to 14 shillings per hundred. "Stockfish" or "cropling" also came on ships which seem to have departed from Flanders, but this fish was valued lower at ca. 7 shillings (13.01.26; 23.03.23; 31.01.25) or ca. 4 shillings per hundred (03.01.24; 05.02.24; 04.05.25).

My conclusion would be that the customs officials after the customs was reintroduced in 1322 started to take their point of departure in a standard estimated value of 14 shillings for stockfish from Norway, but they could be flexible for reasons not stated in the accounts. This must have been simpler to administer than to demand written quittances, or use juries to estimate the value. This fixed value was probably higher than the market price in Bergen, how much higher is not possible to estimate. This was a way of increasing the customs payments unofficially and indirectly. Both Crown and the merchants of Lynn profited from such an increase. These high estimated prices are only found in Lynn, not in Boston and Hull where stockfish was also imported. In Hull 1325 it is explicitly said that prices still were estimated by a jury, as mentioned above. A standard price per hundred also made it more necessary to quote the quantity of imported stockfish, this was only done in Lynn.

In 1303 the foreign merchants negotiated with the state from a position of relative strength, since concessions were given in negotiations from both sides. In the first decade the Crown officials respected the letter of the arrangement. In 1322 the new customs was established, and the state could manipulate it without foreign merchants being able to do anything about it. In the 1320s the Hansa merchants still were not organised in Hansa diets.

In the Late Middle Ages it is equally questionable how closely the prices from the English customs accounts correspond to the price level in Bergen. In the customs accounts from Lynn and Boston in 1388 (PRO E-122/94/9 and 7/20) is found for the first time that the customs officials used a standard estimated value of 20 shillings per hundred stockfish universally. Until 1405 both English and Hanseatic merchants paid their customs of three pence per English pound on the bases of this estimated value (PRO E-122/94/9, 95/12 and 95127). This time this evidently was organised by the Exchequer in London, in the 1320s it may have been a local arrangement in Lynn. In the customs accounts for Lynn 1440 the estimated value had been reduced to 10 shillings per hundred for English merchants (PRO E-122/96/35), but Hansa merchants continued to pay according to the traditional estimated value of 20 shillings per hundred. The reduction for English merchants took place some time between 1405 and 1440. In the customs accounts for Hull 1453 (PRO E-122/61/71) the estimated value for English merchants had been reduced even further to £1/3 per hundred stockfish. How should this reduction be interpreted? The argument for reducing the estimated value must have been that the value no longer corresponded to the market price in Bergen as it should. Ca. 1440 Parliament and urban communities were strong in relation to the state (LYON, *A Constitutional and Legal History of Medieval England*, p. 604). English merchants may have persuaded the Crown to lower customs payments in accordance with the formal prescriptions from 1303 explained above. But the Crown's customs officials were not willing to cut their revenues for stockfish imports by half if they did not have to, therefore customs for Hansa merchants remained the same.

An alternative explanation is that English merchants after 1412 increasingly bought their stockfish in Iceland, and there the price level may have been lower than in Bergen. I have not found other examples that the customs officials estimated the value of English goods differently from foreign merchants' (cf. customs accounts printed in CARUS-WILSON, Bristol). This explanation is confirmed by the fact that English merchants who told the customs officials that they came from Bergen, had their fish valued to £1 in Bristol as late as 1461 (CARUS-WILSON, Bristol, pp. 215–216), just like the Hanseatic Bergenfahrer. It may seem that "stockfish" from Bergen was priced at £ 1 and stockfish from Iceland at £½ and £1/3. £1, £½ and £1/3 are round figures.

After 1322 in Lynn and after 1388 - at the latest - in all English ports no direct relationship existed between the English customs prices and the prices in Bergen. But the Crown's power to put any value on the imported goods was limited by the formal norms from 1303, and which still were in force. I therefore think the customs prices indicate that the price of stockfish in Bergen rose from 1305–11 to 1388–1405, and that the price level started to decline some time in the middle of the 15th century, all expressed in English currency. Because of the increasing importance of the Iceland fish after 1412, it is not possible to use the customs prices to date and quantify the price decline in Bergen in the 15th century.

1351–1411 one shilling contained 12,9 g silver, 1412–60 10,79 g, this means that a price fall from 20 to 10 shillings would have meant the silver value sank from 1388–1405 to the 1440s from 259 g to 108 g and further to 72 g in the 1450s. In table 11 the two last estimates have been entered as the value in Iceland.

Table 11. Stockfish prices in Bergen 1300–1500

Year	Silver price per hundred	Market price or estimated value?
1305–11 <sup>(1)</sup>	60 g	Market price
ca 1300 <sup>(2)</sup>	69 g	Market price
1388–1405 <sup>(1)</sup>	259 g	Estimated value, customs
1431 <sup>(3)</sup>	156 g	Estimated value
1433 <sup>(4)</sup>	(90 g)	Estimated value in Helgeland
1441 <sup>(5)</sup>	149 g	Estimated value
1440s and 1450s <sup>(1)</sup>	(108 g and 72 g)	Estimated value in Iceland
1460 <sup>(6)</sup>	119 g	Estimated value
1463 <sup>(7)</sup>	95 g	Market price
1490 <sup>(8)</sup>	(42 g)	Estimated value

(1) Cf. the discussion above on the price material in the English customs accounts.

(2) A Norwegian manuscript from the 16<sup>th</sup> century quotes a source from the beginning of the 14<sup>th</sup> century which gives a market price (*i kiøb*) of 1/3 mark “burned” silver per hundred stockfish (STEINNES, *Jordetal og marketal*, pp. 15 and 28). One mark “burned” silver had the same value as 12 English shillings (STEINNES, *Mynt-rekning på 13–hundratalet*, p. 392). This gives a price of 4 English shillings per hundred stockfish. The English customs accounts indicate 3½ shillings per hundred, as shown in note 1 above. The English price was a wholesale price, the Norwegian price a retail price. This may explain the small difference between the two prices. Silver value: One shilling = 17,25 g (WIEBE, p. 69), four shillings 69 g silver.

(3) In 1431 King Erik complained to the English king’s ambassadors about the behaviour of English merchants in northern Norway. The bailiff of Helgeland reported a loss of 1400 lasts of fish worth 52 English nobles per last (DN XX no. 794). The English counted 10 hundreds stockfish per last (PRO E-122/94/9, 95/12 and 95/17), the Hanseatic Bergenfahrer 24c if it was lof fish (table VI.1 note 2; BRUNS, p. 215). If the English last is used, the estimated price will be 5,2 nobles per hundred = 35 shillings per hundred. At this time one shilling contained 10,79 g silver (WIEBE, pp. 69–70), this gives a silver price of 377 g per hundred. If the Hanseatic last is meant the price per hundred stockfish will be 2 1/6 noble = 14,5 shillings = 156 g silver (CARUS-WILSON, Bristol, p. 337; WIEBE, p. 70). The bailiff of Helgeland is most likely to have reported damages to his superiors in Hanseatic lasts since that was what people in northern Norway were used to, and the price would be what he could get for the fish when he sold it in Bergen.

(4) In 1433 the tariff for a duty called Michael’s- and Peter’s grain was published. It was paid to the achbishop, and at the coast between Titran in North-Trøndelag and Steigen in the county of Nordland the tariff could be paid either with two “valid” (gilde) stockfish or one våg (18,5 kg) of grain, probably barley (NGL 2.rk.I no. 267–270). One hundred “valid” stockfish had the same value as 60 våger grain. Normally one våg grain = one *skjepp* (NHL “Skjepp”). In northern Norway (Hålogaland) in the 1430s one *skjepp* = 1/8 *forngild* mark (STEINNES, *Mål, vekt og verderekning*, p. 138). At this time 1 *forngild* mark = 1 Lübeck mark (STEINNES, *Mål, vekt og verderekning*, p. 152). This makes one hundred “gilde” stockfish = (60 : 8) Lübeck marks = 7,5 Lübeck marks. But what is a “gild” stockfish?

Alf R. Nielsen claims that smaller dues of 2–6 stockfish were paid with the largest quality *Königslobben*. This is found in the leidang tax for Andenes 1567. There is no evidence that *Königslobben* existed as early as in 1433, the largest quality was then called *Lobben*. In the 1567 register, the quality referred to by Nielsen is called *Lobben* (NIELSSEN, *Ødetida på Vestvågøy*, pp. 79–80; NLR V, p. 181). In a demand for

compensations from 1468/9 *Lobben* had double price compared to *Lotfish* (HUB IX no. 541). If Michael's grain was meant to be paid with *Lobben*, this means that one hundred *Lobben* = 7,5 Lübeck marks, and one hundred *Lotfish* = 3,75 Lübeck marks = 90 g silver (JESSE, p. 209). If the tax was meant to be paid with *Lotfish* it means a silver price of 180 g per hundred *Lotfish*.

The lowest price of 90 g is more likely than 180 g. The exchange ratio discussed here was supposed to correspond to the price relations in the coastal regions. Here stockfish must have been significantly cheaper than in Bergen and the ports of import. In Bergen the only other prices in this period are 259 g and 156 g, and in the ports of import the level seems to have been 200–250 g (table 2 above). Compared to this 90 g in the richest stockfish producing regions seems to be reasonable.

- (5) Cf. table 2 note 5.
- (6) A merchant from the Hansa town Tiel, probably a summer guest, owed money to a firm on Bryggen in Bergen, and in 1460 he settled his account with them. The payments were in English pounds and nobles, and some payments given in Bergen are counted in guilders. Probably so called Bergen guilders are meant, but the identity of these guilders is not important since it is said explicitly that six guilders in Bergen were considered to be worth one English noble, and one noble was 1/3 English pound. They considered one hundred of stockfish to be worth 10 of these guilders (HUB VIII no. 889). One hundred stockfish was then worth 11 English shillings, converted into silver price 119 g (WIEBE, p. 70). Since the settlement of the account took place in Bergen and the price of stockfish is in Bergen guilders, there can be little doubt that the prices in Bergen are meant. Other payments were to be made in Boston and were made in English pounds and nobles and not in guilders (HUB VIII no. 889).
- (7) In 1463 the Hansa merchant Hermann Schoteler bought a consignment of stockfish in Bergen. If the fish arrived safely in Kampen/Deventer, the fish was to be classified (*wraken*) there and the price was to be paid in Lübeck currency. If the cargo was lost on the way, he should pay 10 Bergen guilders (*berger gulden*) per hundred for the non-classified stockfish (BULL, Bergen og Hansestæderne, p. 135). The context makes clear that the first price was the one in Kampen/Deventer included in table 3 note 4 above, the last price was the one in Bergen. 10 Bergen guilders is the same price as described in the previous note 6 above, but because the silver content of English coins had sunk in the meantime, the silver value was in 1463 only 95 g.
- (8) In 1490 a merchant from Lynn was robbed in Bergen of 10 lasts of stockfish. According to his own complaint the value was two English pounds per last (HR III, 2, 511 §11). If this was *rundfisk* counted in hundreds, there would be 10 hundreds in a last, and the price would correspond to 40 English shillings for 10 hundreds. This meant 4 shillings per hundred = 35 grams of silver per hundred. 1461–1500 one shilling contained 8,63 g silver (WIEBE, p. 70). This price is so low as to be improbable. If this was *rotscher*, it might at this time have been transported in barrels, and in one last there were 12 barrels. 40 shillings per last would then mean 3,5 shillings per barrel. At this time the net weight of the stockfish in one barrel normally was ca. 49 kg (table III.4 note 2). One hundred stockfish weighed 67,9 kg, its price would then be 4,9 shillings. Converted into silver value this would be 42 g. This is still very low, particularly since demands for compensation usually set the values higher than the market price. This deviation is probably due to the term “last” of stockfish. The 12 barrels may for example have contained less than 49 kilos of stockfish. The barrels may also have contained sub standard fish. Despite this I have included this price in table 11, but not included it in the calculation of the average in table 14.

Table 12 Stockfish prices in Bergen 1501–1550

Year	Price per våg in Danish skillings	Silver price per hundred <sup>(1)</sup>
1518–23 <sup>(2)</sup>	24 sk. Market price	66 g
1529 <sup>(3)</sup>	32 sk. Estimated value	
1531 <sup>(4)</sup>	32 sk. Market price	
1533 <sup>(5)</sup>	32 sk. Estimated value	
1534 <sup>(6)</sup>	20 sk. Estimated value, tendentious	
1536 <sup>(7)</sup>	32 sk. Market price	72 g

- (1) In the accounts of Bergenhus castle 1520, 20 Danish skillings = 1 *lodd* = 14,6 g silver (NHL entry words “Lodd”, “Skålvekt”). In 1536 24 Danish skillings = 1 *lodd* = 14,6 g silver (*Norsk historisk leksikon*, entry word “Daler”). There had been inflation 1520–1536. According to the accounts of Bergenhus castle

1518–23 one våg = 24 skillings = 18 g silver. According to the accounts of Archbishop Olav Engelbrekts-son in 1536 one våg = 32 skillings = 19,5 g silver. For one hundred (= 67,9 kg) stockfish the price will then be 59 g and 66 g respectively.

- (2) Market prices for stockfish taken from the accounts of the captain of Bergenhus castle 1518–23. The captain received large quantities of stockfish as taxes, and sold it for market price on the open market in Bergen.

Price per våg in Danish skillings	Number of prices
20 sk.	2
21 sk.	0
22 sk.	42
23 sk.	4
24 sk.	143
25 sk.	46
26 sk.	33
27 sk.	0
28 sk.	21
Average all prices 24,1 sk.	273

- (3) In 1529 several citizens of Bergen demanded compensation for an assault by Kontor merchants six years earlier. One våg is by all complainants estimated to be worth two Danish marks = 32 skillings (HR III, 9, 482 §5).
- (4) According to the captain of Bergenhus Esge Bilde the market price for one våg rostscher in Bergen 1531 was two Danish marks (DN IX no. 676).
- (5) In 1533 the Danish nobleman Vincens Lunge received compensations from Archbishop Olav in stockfish according to an estimated value of 2 Danish marks per våg (DN IX no. 737).
- (6) In a complaint against the Hansa merchants from 1534, Bergen citizens claimed that the stockfish producers in northern Norway only received 20 Danish skillings per våg from the winter residents (SCHREINER, *Hanseatene og Norge*, p. 170). This was far below the market price in Bergen at the time. The claim is evidently tendentious even if it is possible that indebted nordfar received a price which was lower than on the open market.
- (7) The account book of Archbishop Olav Engelbrekts-son of goods sold and bought in Bergen 1536 contains 10 prices for ordinary stockfish, all are two Danish marks = 32 skillings per våg (*Olav Engelbriktssons rekneskapsbøker*, pp. 38 and 141).

Table 13 Stockfish prices in Bergen 1550–1600

Year	Price per våg in Danish skillings	Silver price per hundred
1558/9 <sup>(1)</sup>	50 sk.	99 g
1563 <sup>(2)</sup>	48 sk.	88 g
1567 <sup>(3)</sup>	52 sk.	103 g
1569/70 <sup>(4)</sup>	54 sk.	99 g
1577 <sup>(5)</sup>	48 sk.	80 g
1596–1600 <sup>(6)</sup>	51 sk.	84 g
Average		92 g

- (1) In 1558/9 the captain of Steinsvikholm castle near Trondheim sold six large consignments of stockfish, four of them for 4 Bergengylden 2 skillings = 50 skillings, two for 0,75 daler = 40,5 skillings. (NLR VI, p. 333; *Norsk historisk leksikon* entry word “Bergengylden”). Of the four consignments worth 50 skillings one was sold to a winter resident on Bryggen, two others are explicitly said to have been sold in Bergen. I have assumed that 50 skillings per våg was the market price in Bergen this year. One daler = 54 skillings = two lodd á 14,6 g silver (*Norsk historisk leksikon*, entry word “Skålvekt” and “Daler”; NLR VI, p. 333). This makes one våg = 50 skillings = 27 g silver. One hundred stockfish = 99 g silver.

What about the two last consignments priced 40,5 skillings? One was bought by Tonis Klausen who was town councillor in Bergen (FOSSEN, Bergen, index). Citizens of Bergen at this time traded widely north of Bergen, it should be assumed that the two cheapest consignments were sold at Steinsvikholm (NLR V, p. 333).

- (2) The captain of Bergenhus in 1563 sold stockfish in Bergen for 3 marks (= 48 skillings) per våg. They counted 54 skillings per daler (NLR III, p. 198). This makes one våg = 48 skillings = 26 g silver (*Norsk historisk leksikon*, entry word “Lodd”). One hundred stockfish = 95 g silver.
- (3) The captain of Bergenhus in 1567 sold five consignments of stockfish. Three of them were sold for one daler (= 54 skillings) per våg, the two last for 3 Danish marks (=48 skillings) (NLR V, p. 57). This makes the average price 52 skillings = 28 g silver per våg. One hundred stockfish (67,9 kg) = 103 g silver.
- (4) A document from 1569/70 has a list of prices to be expected when goods received as taxes were sold (NRJ IV, p. 639). One våg Bergerfish = one daler = 29 g silver (*Norsk historisk leksikon*, entry word “Skålvekt” and “Daler”).
- (5) The captain of Bergenhus in 1577 bought stockfish from Hansa merchants and sent it to Copenhagen. He bought it for 3 marks = 0,75 daler per våg, that is 22 g silver (still one daler = 2 lodd = 29,2 g silver). Now one daler contained 64 skillings, this means 0,75 daler contained 48 skillings (*Norsk historisk leksikon*, entry words “Daler” and “Lodd”; NRA, R.K. Bergenhus len, eske 11, Bergenhus slottsregnskap 1577–1578.) One hundred stockfish = 80 g silver.
- (6) In the accounts of the captain of Bergenhus 1596–1600 one daler = 64 skillings (*Norsk historisk leksikon*, entry word “Daler”; NRA Lensregnsk. Bergenhus eske 31, 1599–1600, p. 36). The account contains the following prices for stockfish:

Term used in source	Price per våg in Danish skillings	Marker price or estimated value?
Rotscher	60 sk.	Market price
–“–	64 sk.	Estimated value
Rundfish	48 sk.	Market price
–“–	48 sk.	–“–
–“–	48 sk.	–“–
–“–	48 sk.	Estimated value
Bergerfish	53 sk.	Market price
–“–	56 sk.	–“–
–“–	48 sk.	–“–
–“–	48 sk.	Estimated value
–“–	48 sk.	–“–

Rotscher had an estimated value of 64 skillings (= 4 mark), Rundfish and Bergerfish 48 skillings (= 3 mark). Rotscher was at this time produced from the largest cod, that is probably the reason for the higher price. The purpose of this table is to find which prices fishermen and Hansa merchants could expect in Bergen at this time. Average of the seven market prices in the table is 51 skillings = 23 g per våg (*Norsk historisk leksikon*, entry words “Lodd” and “Daler”. 64 skillings = 29,2 g silver). One hundred (67,9 kg) = 84 g.

Table 14 Stockfish prices 1280–1600 in grams of silver per hundred (=120) fish

Period	Bergen	Ports of import	Outside ports of import, England	Outside ports of import, the continent
1280–1350	65 <sup>(1)</sup>	153	309	–
1351–1440	156 <sup>(2)</sup>	244	405	379
1441–1500	107 <sup>(3)</sup>	175	243	148

Period	Bergen	Ports of import	Outside ports of import, England	Outside ports of import, the continent
1501–1550	69 <sup>(4)</sup>	99	169	126
1551–1600	92 <sup>(5)</sup>	107	207	141

Source: Tables 1–13, this is a summary of the main result of each table.

(1) For the High Middle Ages the prices in the customs accounts point to a price of 3,5 English shillings (60 g silver) (section on prices in customs accounts above; WIEBE, p. 69; table 1 note 1). The price calculated in table 11 note 2 points to 4 English shillings or 69 g silver as normal in Bergen for a large hundred (1c) of stockfish at the beginning of the 14<sup>th</sup> century (WIEBE, p. 69) The middle value between the two is used in table 14.

(2) After the Black Death in the 1380s and 1390s the English customs accounts use a price of 20 shillings (259 g silver) for a large hundred. It is unclear how the customs prices were determined at this time (cf. section on prices in the customs accounts above; WIEBE, *Preisrevolution*, p. 69). Since prices in Boston and London were at that time 26 shillings (table 2 note 2 and table 7 note 1), one can safely assume that normally prices in Bergen were below 20 shillings.

In the 1440s the English customs accounts used a price of ca. 10 shillings (108 g). This suggests a fall in prices from the 1390s, but there may be other reasons for the decline (cf. section on prices in the customs accounts above). A demand for indemnity from 1431, which was probably meant to mirror the prices in Bergen, uses a price of 14,5 shillings (156 g) per large hundred. Such demands were usually exaggerated (table 11 note 3; WIEBE, p. 69). A reasonable estimate for the 1430–40s is somewhat below 14,5 shillings (156 g). This is in keeping with a normal price of 90 g silver in the 1430s in the stockfish producing region between Titran and Steigen in the present day *fylker* of Trøndelag and Nordland (table 11 note 4; WIEBE, p. 69).

What has been said suggests that a silver price of 14,5 shillings = 156 g silver is the nearest one can come to a representative market price in Bergen 1350–1440.

(3) For 1441–1500 the middle value between 95 and 119 grams (= 107 g) has been chosen, these are the two most reliable prices for Bergen in this period. For the reasons behind these choices, see the relevant footnotes to table 11.

(4) 1520–1536 the market price for stockfish in Bergen rose from 24 to 32 Danish skillings for one *våg*, or 66 to 72 g silver per large hundred (= 67,9 kg) (table 12) The middle value between the two is 69 g, which is used in table 14. Further north the prices were lower. In 1534 one *våg* was estimated in Trondheim to ½ Joachimsthaler which corresponded to 24 Danish skillings (DN IX no. 747; *Norsk historisk leksikon*, entry word “Joachimsdaler”).

(5) The price material 1551–1600 is so rich that no discussion of it is needed beyond that given in table 13.

Table 15 Grain prices per 100 kg in grams of silver 1280–1600 in England and Germany

Period	English wheat	German rye
1280–1350	43	
1350–1440	34	22
1441–1500	23	19
1501–1550	25	22
1551–1600	54	45

Source: ABEL, *Agrarkrisen*, pp. 306–309 (English translation p. 304).

Table 16 Prices of rye (not ground) in Prussian ports 1399–1600 in grams silver per 100 kg.

1399:	18 g
1405:	16 g
1432:	16 g
Average 1399–1432	17 g

1448:	15 g
1494:	9 g
Average 1448–1494	12 g
1508:	8 g
1536:	15 g
1541–50:	18 g
Average 1508–1550	17 g
Average 1551–1600	30 g

Source: ABEL, *Agrarkrisen und Agrarkonjunktur*, pp. 56 and 289 (English translation pp. 51 and 306). Prices 1399–1536 are for Königsberg, 1541–1600 for both Königsberg and Danzig.

Table 17 Prices of rye (not ground) in Lübeck 1398–1600 in grams silver per 100 kg

Year	Price in Lübeck marks	Price in silver <sup>(1)</sup>	Number of prices <sup>(2)</sup>
1398–1400 <sup>(3)</sup>	11,0	20 g	21
1452–1500 <sup>(4)</sup>	20,4	20 g	31
1501–1550 <sup>(4)</sup>	26,8	19 g	46
1551–1600 <sup>(4)</sup>	73,5	44 g	73

Source: cf. footnotes.

(1) Calculated with the help of JESSE, pp. 209–211.

(2) If Hansen writes 4–6 skilling per *Scheffel* for a year, I have taken it as two prices, one of four and another of six skillings.

(3) The *Pfundzollbücher* from Lübeck 1398–1400 quote the prices of 21 consignments of rye flour sent from Lübeck to Bergen. Their average price was 11 Lübeck marks per last. I have assumed that the customs officials used the price in Lübeck, but I can not exclude the possibility that they used an estimated value (table II.8). At this time one Lübeck mark contained 44 g silver. One last of rye flour will then be worth  $11 \times 44 = 484$  g silver. One last of rye flour weighed 1632 kg. The silver price will then be  $(484 : 16,32) \text{ g} = 30 \text{ g}$  per hundred kilos of rye flour (JESSE, p. 209).

This is the price of flour, but the figures in table 17 are of grain. In their demands for compensation against the Hollanders in 1441 the Hansa estimated the price of one last rye grain and one last of rye flour as the same (HUB VII, p. 465). Since one last of flour was 1632 kg, but one last of grain was 2408 kg (appendix VIII table 18 note 3; VOGEL, *Deutsche Seeschifffahrt*, p. 557), this means that 100 kg of flour was ca. 50% more expensive than the same weight of grain. The same price relation between flour and grain is found in a demand for compensations from 1468/9 (HUB IX no. 541), and in Norwegian sources (STEINNES, *Mål, vekt og verderekning*, p. 137; LUNDEN, *Korn og kaup*, p. 144). The price of rye flour Lübeck 1398–1400 of 30 g silver per 100 kg, corresponds to a price of 20 g silver for rye grain. The prices in Lübeck in this table and those in Prussia in table 16 both were low in the Late Middle Ages 1398–1550, and increased thereafter. But the price level was lower in Prussia than in Lübeck.

(4) Source 1452–1600: HANSEN, *Getreidehandel Lübecks*, pp. 129–136. Prices are here given in *Scheffel* à 34,5 liters. The specific weight of rye grain is 0,73 kg/litre (VOGEL, *Deutsche Seeschifffahrt*, p. 557). This means that one *Scheffel* of rye grain weighed  $34,5 \text{ litres} \times 0,73 = 25 \text{ kg}$ . This makes four *Scheffel* = 100 kg.

Table 18 Prices in grams of silver of 100 kg rye flour in Bergen 1302–1500

Year	Silver price	Market price or estimated value?
1302 <sup>(1)</sup>	48 g	Estimated value
1270–1349 <sup>(2)</sup>	48 g	Estimated value
1341 <sup>(3)</sup>	Under 51 g	Market price
1393 <sup>(4)</sup>	32 g	Estimated value

Year	Silver price	Market price or estimated value?
1423 <sup>(5)</sup>	44 g	Market price
1440 <sup>(6)</sup>	31 g	Estimated value
1491 <sup>(7)</sup>	24 g	Estimated price
1500 <sup>(8)</sup>	23 g	Markert price

- (1) The first price of flour from Bergen is to be found in an ordinance from 1302. One mark *formgild* is considered a normal price for one Norwegian ship-pound (NGL III, p. 43; cf. STEINNES, Mål, vekt og verdereking, p. 138). One mark *formgild* was 1/3 mark burned silver, One mark burned silver = 214 g silver. The price of flour will then be  $(214 : 3) = 71$  g silver per ship-pound. One Norwegian ship-pound was 148 kg (STEINNES, Mål, vekt og verdereking, pp. 152 and 106). 100 kg of flour should then cost 48 g silver. This figure is used in table VI.2
- The “flour” was not made of wheat, otherwise it is not said which kind of grain it was. It may have been Norwegian barley or Baltic rye. In England the price difference between rye and barley was small in this period. 1260–1350 barley cost on average 4 skillings 1 pence per quart, rye 4 skillings 6 pence (ROGERS I, p. 245), this means that barley was 9% cheaper per quart. But quart was a cubic measure, and barley had a specific weight which was ca. 8% lower (AAKJER, Maal, Vægt og Taxter, p. 215). This means that the price per kilo of barley and rye was the same in England, and so it probably was in Bergen. This may be the reason why the term “flour” and “grain” are used without specifying which kind of grain. This was not significant for the exchange value.
- (2) Land rents were in Western Norway paid in different kinds of goods, and there were fixed value rates between them. The normal estimated value of flour in Western Norway ca. 1270–1349 was 1 Norwegian ship-pound of flour = 3 “*laup*” of butter (LUNDEN, Korn og kaup, p. 143). 1 *laup* of butter = 1/9 mark “burned” silver (STEINNES, Mål, vekt og verdereking, p. 136). This makes one Norwegian ship-pound of flour = 71 g silver. This is the same estimated value as is the ordinance from 1302 discussed in note 1.
- (3) The only market price between foreign importers and Norwegians before the Black Death is from 1341. Five lasts and one ship-pound of flour (= 61 ship-pounds) and one ship-pound of hemp was sold for 178 *laup* (= 15,4 kg) of butter in Bergen (DN X no. 47). As mentioned in note 2 above, one *laup* butter = 1/9 marks burned silver (STEINNES, Mål, vekt og verdereking, p. 136), or 23,8 g silver, 178 *laup* will then be worth 4232 g silver. One last rye flour = 12 ship-pound (STEINNES, Mål, vekt og verdereking, p. 151; BRUNS, p. LXXIV). A Norwegian ship-pound was 148 kg (STEINNES, Mål, vekt og verdereking, p. 153). But a hanseatic ship-pound was 20 *liespfund* à 6,8 kg, that is 136 kg (BRUNS, p. LXXIV); This is confirmed by an unprinted source from Stralsund 1592: “*The last 12 stuck, in dat stücke 20 lb* (Stadtarchiv Stralsund, Hans Fach 10/27). One last rye flour will then weigh 1632 kg. Their names (Wittenborg and Aldewert) demonstrate that the two sellers were Hansa merchants. They are likely to have sold their flour in Hanseatic lasts. If the hemp is kept apart, the price of one ship-pound (= 136 kg) of flour will be  $(4232 : 61) = 61$  g silver. The price of 100 kg will then be  $(61 : 136) \times 100 = 51$  g silver. This price has to be reduced because we are unable to separate the value of the 136 kg of hemp. As shown in the two preceding notes the estimated value of 100 kg flour was before the Black Death 48 g silver, this calculation in note 3 suggests that the market price was at the same level.
- (4) In 1393 the Vitaliner pirates robbed several merchants from Bremen of their goods in Bergen, among other things 8 ship-pounds of flour with an estimated value of 7 Bremen marks, that is 7/8 Bremen marks per ship-pound (HR I, 4, 645 §29). In Bremen 1387 they coined 528 pennies per weighed mark (JESSE, p. 73). One mark weighed 233,8 g, this means that one penny weighed 0,44 g. The amount in silver in these coins was measured in *Lot*, and if a coin contained 16 *Lot*, this meant in modern parlance 100% silver. The coins in Bremen at this time contained 9,5 *Lot*. This means that a penny-coin contained in grams  $[(0,44 : 16) \times 9,5] = 0,26$  g of silver (JESSE, pp. 73, 51 and 209). One mark = 192 pennies. The silver price of one ship-pound of flour will be  $0,26 \text{ g} \times 192 \times 7/8 = 44$  g of silver. Since one Hanseatic ship-pound weighed 136 kg, the silver price per 100 kg will be  $(44 : 136) \times 100 = 32$  g silver.
- (5) In 1423 a merchant from Stralsund sold 2,5 lasts of flour in Bergen, each last for 22 Lübeck marks (*Der Stralsunder Liber Memorialis* III no.55). One last = 1632 kg. 100 kg cost 1, 35 Lübeck marks. One mark was 192 pennies, and one Lübeck pfenning contained in 1422 0,17 g (JESSE, p. 209). 100 kg flour had the value of  $(0,17 \times 192 \times 1,35) = 44$  g silver.

- (6) After the Hansa-Holland war 1438–41 the Prussian towns which had suffered from Hollandish piracies demanded compensations (HUB VII no. 767). The prices are evidently those in the port of destination, in most cases Flanders, and the prices are mostly quoted in Flemish pounds. But among the complainants are also Hinrik Königsberg (§86) who in 1440 had 8 lasts of flour worth 21 Lübeck marks per last taken on his way from Lübeck to Bergen. There can be no doubt that he claimed compensation according to the price in Bergen. The same merchant demanded compensation for another consignment of goods which was robbed on the way from Hamburg to Flanders. It was bought for 60 Lübeck marks, but could have been sold in Flanders for 11,25 pound grot (= 90 Lübeck marks), and he demanded to be compensated according to the value in Flanders (HUB VII no. 767 §86). 21 marks per last (à 1632 kg) corresponds to 31 g silver per 100 kg rye flour (JESSE, p. 209). This means that the price of rye flour per last from 1423 to 1440 had fallen from 21 to 22 Lübeck marks, but expressed in silver per 100 kg from 44 to 31 grams. This was due to the falling silver content of Lübeck coins.
- (7) In 1491 an English merchant was robbed in Bergen among other things for 200 quart barley. One quart contained 8 bushels à 35,2 litres, that is one quart = 281,6 litres (Zupko entry word “Bushel”). In traditional agriculture the specific weight of barley was ca 0,63 kilos per litre (AAKJER, Maal, Vægt og Taxter, p. 215). One quart would then weigh 175 kg. The merchant claimed 3,2 English shillings for each quart. One shilling at this time contained 8,63 g silver (WIEBE, p. 70). The silver value of 100 kg barley grain will then be  $[(8,63 \times 3,2) : 175] \times 100 = 16$  g. As mentioned in table 17 note 3 flour was 50% more expensive than grain, this gives a price for flour of 24 g per 100 kg.
- (8) On ship-pound of flour cost 2,5 Bergen guilders ca. 1500 in Bergen, according to a source written in 1565 (SCHREINER, Hanseaten og Norge, p. 384). 2,5 Bergen guilders = 30 Danish skillings = 30 Lübeck skillings (*Norsk historisk leksikon*, entry words “Mark” and “Bergen-gylden”). One ship-pound weighed 136 kg and cost 30 skillings, this means 100 kg cost 22 skillings. In 1502 one Lübeck Witte contained 0,354 g silver (JESSE, p. 210). 22 skillings then corresponded to  $(0,354 \times 3 \times 22) = 23$  g silver.

Table 19 Prices of flour in Bergen 1518–23

Price per barrel in Danish skillings (1)	Number of prices	Price per ship-pound in Danish skillings	Number of prices	Prices in grams of silver per 100 kg (2)
36 sk.	7	50 sk	1	
39 sk.	1	60 sk.	5	
42 sk.	15	66 sk	1	
48 sk.	3	68 sk.	1	
54 sk.		72 sk.	4	
Average 42,5 sk.	27	64 sk.	12	34 g

Source: The accounts of the captain of Bergenhus printed in NRJ I-III.

- (1) One ship-pound of flour = 1½ barrels. In Bergen was at this time used a barrel of 162 litres (*Norsk historisk leksikon*, entry word “Tønne”). Flour of rye has a specific weight of 0,57 kilos per litre (AAKJER, Maal, Vægt og Taxter, p. 215), this makes the weight of the flour in a barrel 92 kilos. This makes the flour in 1,5 barrels = one Hanseatic ship-pound = 136 kg. This is confirmed in a list of measures and weights in northern Norway from 1569/70 where 1,5 barrels of flour is said to be equal to one ship-pound (NRJ IV, p. 650). In the customs accounts from Bergen 1587/8 the customs from Hanseatic ships was to be paid with either one ship-pound or 1½ barrel of flour (NRA, Bergenhus Lensregnskap eske 1.5 1597/8; cf. BRUNS, p. LIV). In a source from Danzig 1583 one last of flour in barrels (each last = 12 barrels à 92 kg) is considered equal to 2/3 lasts of flour in sacks (each last = 12 ship-pound à 136 kg) (WAP 300/19/4).
- (2) One barrel of 92 kg = 42,5 skillings, this means 100 kg = 45 skillings. One ship-pound of 136 kg = 64 sk, this means 100 kg = 47 skillings. The price difference is insignificant, a price of 46 Danish skillings per 100 kg flour seems to have been normal on the open market in Bergen at this time. 20 Danish skillings = 1 *lodd silver* = 14,6 g (table 12 note 1), this means 46 Danish skillings = 34 g silver = 100 kg flour.

Table 20 Prices of flour in Bergen 1567–1600

Year	Silver price per 100 kg flour
1567 <sup>(1)</sup>	58 g silver
1569/70 <sup>(2)</sup>	65 g silver
1577/8 <sup>(3)</sup>	65 g silver
1596/ 1600 <sup>(4)</sup>	73 g silver
Average all prices	65 g silver

Sources: Accounts of the captain of Bergenhus in the relevant years.

- (1) The accounts of the captain of Bergenhus in 1567 have two prices for flour in sacks of 1,87 and 3,75 daler per ship-pound (NLR V, pp. 51 and 54). One daler = 2 lodd = 29,2 g silver. One ship-pound = 136 kg flour (*Norsk historisk leksikon*, entry word "Daler"). The two prices corresponded to 57 g and 110 g of silver per 136 kg, and 42 and 81 g of silver per 100 kg. The same accounts have five prices of flour in barrels of 2,25 daler, 2,08 daler, 2 daler, 1,77 daler and 1,5 daler per barrel. This corresponds to 66, 61, 58, 52 and 44 g silver per 100 kg. The average for all seven prices is 58 g per 100 kg. The most expensive consignment of flour in sacks and the three cheapest ones in barrels are explicitly said to be German, probably all were.
- (2) In a list of estimated values for goods received i taxes 1569–70 one ship-pound of flour is estimated to 3 daler or 88 g silver (NRJ IV, p. 639; *Norsk historisk leksikon*, entry word "Daler") or 65 g per 100 kg.
- (3) In the accounts of Bergenhus 1577/8 there are two prices of German flour, both at three daler per ship-pound, that is 65 g silver per 100 kg flour (see note 2).
- (4) The accounts from Bergenhus 1596–1600 contain the following prices of flour. 64 skillings = 4 mark = 1 daler = 2 lodd silver = 29,2 g silver (see preceding notes):

Commodity and unit	Price Danish currency per unit	Price in silver per unit	Price in silver per 100 kg	Transaction
1 ship-pound German flour	3,75 daler	110 g	81 g	Sale
1 ship-pound German flour	3,75 daler	110 g	81 g	Sale
1 ship-pound German flour	3 daler	88 g	65 g	Sale
1 barrel German flour	2 daler	58 g	64 g	Sale
Average all four sales			73 g	
1 barrel Norwegian flour	1 daler	29 g		?
1 barrel Norwegian flour	1 daler	29 g		Estimate
1 barrel Norwegian flour	1 daler	29 g		Estimate
1 barrel flour	1 daler	29 g		Estimate
1 barrel Norwegian flour	1,5 mark	11 g		Estimate
1 barrel Norwegian flour	1,5 mark	11 g		Estimate

The Norwegian flour was sold to Norwegian clergy as part of their wages for prices significantly below the market price. The four consignments of German flour were all sold. The average per 100 kg was 73 g.

Table 21 Herring prices in grams of silver per barrel <sup>(1)</sup> in England 1259–1600

Year	Price in grams of silver
1259–1350 <sup>(2)</sup>	60 g
1375–1440 <sup>(3)</sup>	140 g
1441–1500 <sup>(4)</sup>	99 g
1501–1550 <sup>(5)</sup>	89 g
1550–1600 <sup>(6)</sup>	136 g

Source: ROGERS, Agriculture and Prices I-VII.

- 1) An English barrel was in the Middle Ages 114 litres (ZUPKO, entry word "Barrel").
- 2) Herring prices are before 1375 always given in number of herrings, at this time it was unusual to salt herring in barrels in England. 1259–1350 Rogers' prices per thousand (M) were on average 7 shillings 5pence (ROGERS I, p. 641), that is 119 g silver per thousand (WIEBE, p. 69). To convert this into prices per barrel we have to know how many herring there normally were in one barrel of 114 litres. I have not found information on this from the Middle Ages. The size of the herring varied between the different North European stocks.

In the accounts of Bergenhus castle 1566 they salted 520 west Norwegian herring per barrel (NLR V, p. 275), elsewhere the figure is 480–560 herring (NLR V, pp. 115ff). In recent centuries it has been common to count 486 herring per barrel *Norsk historisk leksikon*, entry word "Tønne III"). This was Atlanto-Scandic herring spawning along the West Norwegian coast (MYKLEBUST, *Norske fisker*, pp. 75 and 80). From the 17<sup>th</sup> century, and probably even earlier, barrels of 116 litres were used (*Norsk historisk leksikon*, entry word "Tønne III").

The Baltic stock fished at Scania was significantly smaller. In 1378 London citizens complained that when the English salted herring in Scania themselves, that is before the peace in Stralsund 1370, one barrel contained 1000–1200 herrings, "but now the largest barrels do not contain above 900" (DN XIX no. 594). A Hanseatic barrel was 118 litres, the so called "Rostock barrel". At the Bohuslän fisheries they counted 640 herrings per barrel (TOMFOHRDE, *Die Heringsfischereiperiode an der Bohuslän-Küste*, p. 78), even here using the Hanseatic barrel of 118 liter (JANSSON, *läst och lästetal*, p. 36). It is not clear whether the Bohuslän herring belonged to North Sea stock caught off England, or the Atlanto-Scandic stock caught off Western Norway (MYKLEBUST, *Norske fisker*, pp. 80–90).

Before the herring stock was as reduced as it is today, the average weight per herring off East Anglia was ca. 210 g. The Norwegian Directorate of fisheries in 1910 calculated the average size of West Norwegian herring to be 255 g, this was representative for the size in this period (information from the Institute of Maritime Research in Bergen). If the relative size of the two stocks was the same in the Middle Ages, and if the same intestines were removed in both fisheries, and if the same quantity of salt was used to the same weight of herring, the number of herring in a barrel will increase proportionate to the decrease in weight per herring. If the relevant figures were 520 herring of 255g in a barrel of 116 litres in Norway, and the known figures in East Anglia were herrings of 210g in a barrel of 114 litres, simple arithmetic gives as a result 608 herring per barrel in East Anglia.

Above was calculated that one thousand (= 1200) herring in England 1250–1350 cost 119 g silver. For 608 herring (= one barrel) the silver price will be [ (119 : 1200) x 608 ] silver = 60 g silver. This price is not for a barrel of salted herring, but for smoked or dried herring of the same quantity as was later salted in a herring.

- (3) In the period 1375–1400 Rogers has 11 prices per barrel, the average is 10,2 shillings (ROGERS II, p. 556). For the decade 1401–1410 Rogers has calculated an average of 11,2 shillings (ROGERS IV, p. 545). 1375–1410 one shilling = 12,9 g silver, 1411–40 = 10,8 g (WIEBE, p. 69). The average silver price per barrel for the 3,5 decades 1375–1410 is [ (10,2 x 2,5 + 11,2) x 12,9 ] : 3,5 g = 135 g. For the three decades 1411–1440 the average is [ 40,3 x 10,8 ] : 3 = 145 g. The average for all 6,5 decades is 140 g silver per barrel.
- (4) The period 1441–1500 has to be divided in 1461, when the silver content per shilling was reduced from 10,8 g to 8,6 g (WIEBE, pp. 69–70). If Rogers' average prices in shillings per decade are converted to gram silver in the same way as in the preceding note 3, the result will be 99 g silver per barrel of herring for the six decades 1441–1500 (ROGERS IV, p. 545).
- (5) 1501–50 the silver content of the coins was reduced several times in the middle of a decade (WIEBE, pp. 69–70). I have therefore calculated the average price on the basis of Rogers' individual prices, and not on the basis of the averages per decade (ROGERS III, pp. 320ff). Silver price per barrel will then be 89 grams.
- (6) 1551–1600 the silver content per shilling was ca. 5,7 g. (WIEBE, p. 70). My point of departure was here Rogers' averages per decade, this gives 136 g silver per barrel for the five decades 1551–1600 (ROGERS IV, p. 545; ROGERS V, p. 429).

Table 22 Herring prices in grams of silver per barrel <sup>(1)</sup> in England and Holland 1411–1600

Year	Rogers' prices	Posthumus' prices, number of prices in parenthesis <sup>(2)</sup>	Posthumus' prices in % of Rogers'
1411/1414–1440	140 g	134 g (25)	92 %
1441–1500	99 g	80 g (76)	81 %
1501–1550	89 g	72 g (72)	81 %
1551–1600	136 g	118 g (85)	87 %

Sources: ROGERS: table 21 above; POSTHUMUS, *History of Prices in Holland*.

- (1) The barrels are in Holland called *vat*, and had the same size as an English barrel (POSTHUMUS II, p. 155).
- (2) The prices are from the hospitals Oudmunster and St. Bartholomeus in Utrecht (POSTHUMUS II, pp. 128 and 272), the municipal orphanage in Amsterdam (POSTHUMUS II, p. 766), the hospitals St. Katharina and Holy Ghost in Leiden (POSTHUMUS II, pp. 493 and 658). Posthumus quotes his prices as annual averages for each institution.

For the two institutions in Utrecht the prices are quoted in albi until 1463, 1464–1530 in Utrecht stuivers (à 12 albi), after 1530 in Hollandish guilders. The silver value of the coins changed, sometimes from year to year (POSTHUMUS II, p. 24), therefore the silver value has to be calculated for each price individually, and the average calculated afterwards. For the period from 1544 onwards Posthumus has a table for the silver value of one guilder (POSTHUMUS I, p. CVIII). For the preceding period he gives the gold value of 100 albi for each year (POSTHUMUS II, pp. 23–27). In Holland the value ratio silver/gold was in 1521 10,77, and this had not changed significantly since the beginning of the 14<sup>th</sup> century (POSTHUMUS I, p. CXVI; WIEBE, p. 85; LOPEZ, *Back to Gold*, p. 234).

The prices from St. Katharina hospital are quoted 1414–1574 in grot. In 1389 one grot contained 1,05 g silver, 1434 0,86 g silver, in 1453 0,82 g and 1490/91 0,77 g. We do not know when these devaluations took place (POSTHUMUS II, p. XLV). Between 1434 and 1490/91 the decline is so small that no great mistake is made if one assumes that one grot had the same silver value until we have informations about a new value. The difference between 1389 and 1434 is larger. 1414–1432 there are eight prices. Since these prices are closer in time to 1434 than to 1389, I have chosen to convert them into silver using the grot-value from 1434. From the period 1491–1544 it has not been possible to find any clue to the value of one grot. The prices from St. Katharina Hospital 1501–17 has therefore been left out. 1544–1574 on grot = 1/40 carolus guilder (POSTHUMUS II, p. XLVIII).

Table 23 Prices of salmon in England 1351–1600

Year	Number of prices	Prices in grams of silver <sup>(1)</sup> per barrel <sup>(2)</sup>
1351–1440 <sup>(3)</sup>	4	408 g
1441–1500	33	234 g
1501–1550 <sup>(4)</sup>	55	224 g
1551–1600	39	304 g

Sources: ROGERS III, pp. 310ff; ROGERS IV, p. 545; ROGERS V, p. 422.

- (1) WIEBE, pp. 69–70
- (2) Rogers' prices for salmon (*salmo*) are mostly quoted per fish, they are not used in averages. Others are in barrels à 42 gallons or pipes of 84 gallons (ZUPKO, *Weights and measures*, entry words "Barrel" and "Pipe"). 1 pipe = 2 barrels.
- (3) Before 1350 Rogers has no price per barrel. 1351–1440 he has 5 prices per barrel:

Year	Unit and price	Prices in grams of silver per barrel
1376:	1 barrel: 33,3 shillings	429 g
1376:	1 pipe: 66,7 shillings	429 g
1395:	1 barrel: 32 shillings	413 g
1404:	1 barrel: 28 shillings	361 g

Year	Unit and price	Prices in grams of silver per barrel
1406:	1 pipe: 93,3 shillings	602 g

Source: ROGERS II, pp. 552ff; ROGERS III, pp. 310ff; Silver prices according to WIEBE, p. 69.

The price from 1406 is ca 50 % higher than the others. The four remaining ones are ca. 30 shillings per barrel, the average silver value is 408 g per barrel. Four prices is not much, and a comparison to the prices per fish is therefore useful. 1351–1440 Rogers has 21 prices per fish, they are on average  $1/26$  of the average price per barrel of 408 grams silver. The price per fish is 1441–1500  $1/25$  and 1501–43  $1/27$  of the price per barrel. The constant relationship between prices per fish and per barrel corroborates that the four barrel prices from 1351–1440 are representative.

- (4) 1544–50 is excluded because the silver content of the coins fell so rapidly that it is difficult to calculate the silver prices.

# SOURCES, LITERATURE AND ABBREVIATIONS

## PRINTED SOURCES

Below are registered all printed sources which were examined for evidence of trade with Bergen and Norway. In several of them no such evidence was found. I have nevertheless included even them, because in this case no evidence is also a result.

Abbreviations for printed sources are listed below in the alphabetic order of the abbreviation.

*Absalon Pederssøns dagbok 1552–1572*, ed. Ragnvald Iversen, Bergen 1963.

*Accounts of the Cellarers of Battle Abbey 1275–1513*, ed. E. Searle and B. Ross, 1967 (Sussex Record Society LXV).

*The Acts of the Parliament of Scotland I*, ed. C. Innes, 1844.

*Ágrip af Noregskonungasögum*, Old Norse text and English translation, editor and translator Matthew James Driscoll, London 1995 (Viking Society for Northern Research); Old Norse text and Norwegian translation, editor and translator Gustav Indrebø, Oslo 1936.

*Alfrædi islenzk*: Islandsk encyklopedisk litteratur I, ed. Kr. Kålund, København 1908 (Samfund til udgivelse af gammel nordisk litteratur, skrifter volume 37).

*Annales Danici Medii Aevi*, ed. E. Jørgensen, København 1920.

“Aus bremischen Familienpapieren”, ed. Heinrich Smidt, in: *Hansische Geschichtsblätter* no. 4, Jahrg. 1874, Leipzig 1875, pp. 53–74.

BANG, NINA ELLINGER: *Tabeller over skibsfart og varetransport gennem Øresund 1497–1660 I-II*, København 1906 and 1922.

*Bergens Fundats*, in: *Norske Magazin I*, ed. N. Nicolaysen, Christiania 1858, pp. 519–564, original written ca. 1560; another edition, *Bergen Fundas*, ed. Mikjel Sørli, Bergen 1957.

*Bergens kalvskind*, ed. P.A. Munch, Christiania 1843; another edition, *Bergens kalvskinn: AM 329 fol. i Norsk Riksarkiv*, ed. Finn Hødnebo, Oslo 1989.

*Bremisches Urkundenbuch I-VI*, ed. D.R. Ehmck and others, Bremen 1873–1940.

*Briefwechsel eines deutschen Kaufmannes im 15. Jahrhundert*, ed. Wilhelm Stieda, Leipzig 1921.

*The Brokerage Books of Southampton 1443–1444 I-II*, ed. Olive Coleman, Southampton 1960.

*Böglunga sögur I-II*, Old Norse ed. Hallvard Magerøy, Oslo 1988; Norwegian translation by Gunnar Pedersen *Baglarsoger*, in: *Den norrøne litteraturen IV*, Oslo 1962, pp. 201–262.

*Calendar of the Chancery Rolls, Various 1277–1326*, London 1912.

*Calendar of the Chancery Warrants preserved in the Public Record Office 1244–1326*, London 1926.

*Calendar of the Charter Rolls 1226–1516 I-VI*, London 1903–1927.

*Calendar of the Close Rolls. Edward I-Henry VII*, volumes 1–47, London 1892–1963; cf. *Close Rolls*.

*Calendar of Documents Relating to Scotland I-V*, ed. Joseph Bain, Edinburgh 1881–1986

*Calendar of Early Mayor Court Rolls of the city of London 1298–1307*, Cambridge 1924.

*Calendar of Fine Rolls 1272–1509 I-XXII*, London 1911–1949.

*Calendar of Inquisitions Miscellaneous preserved in the Public Record Office I-VII*, London 1916

*Calendar of the Letter-books of the City of London I-XII*, ed. Reginald Sharpe, London 1899–1911.

*Calendar of the Liberate Rolls, Henry III 1226–1272 I-VI*, London 1916–1964.

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## ABBREVIATIONS

Abbreviations for printed sources are listed above under “Printed sources”. Below are other abbreviations.

- B = Boston in East England.
- H = Hull in East England
- L = King’s Lynn in East England
- P = Lübeck’s *Pfundzollbücher* 1368–1400. In the Archiv der Hansestadt Lübeck.
- PB = Lübeck’s *Pfundzollbücher* 1368–1400, registers of ships sailing to and coming from Bergen. In the Archiv der Hansestadt Lübeck.
- PRO = Public Record Office, London
- R = Ravensere, a fishing village near Spurn Head in Yorkshire, England, today deserted.
- WAP = Wojewodskie Archiwuni Panstowie, in Gdansk.

# INDEXES

## INDEX OF MATTERS

- agents/servants acting as trade representatives for
- secular and ecclesiastical elite 46, 280–282, 286, 291, 282, 436, 439
  - merchants 190, 191, 215, 239, 294–295, 338, 363, 383, 403, 417–418, 461, 469, 470
- agriculture in stockfish producing regions 535–546
- allmenningsting* in Bergen, a thing assembly open for all where the authorities informed the people (cf. “courts”) 302, 416, 563
- altar relevant for Bergenfahrer
- Bergenfahrer altar in Lübeck’s Marienkirche 629
  - for St. Olav in Bruges 84
  - for St. Olav in Stralsund’s Nikolaikirche 128, 151, 153, 166, 357,
- barrels
- Hanseatic standard barrel = “Rostock barrel” of 118 litres: 720
  - English standard barrel of 114 litres: 720
  - barrel of herring, Hanseatic = barrel of 118 litres = 640 Bohuslän herring: 720
  - barrel of herring, English = barrel of 114 litres = 608 North Sea herring? 720
  - barrel of herring, Holland (*vat*) = English barrel of herring: 721
  - barrel of herring, Norwegian of 116 litres = 520 west Norwegian herring: 720
  - barrel of salmon = 42 gallons = ½ pipe: 721
  - barrel of rye-flour = standard grain-barrel of 162 litres, contained 2/3 ship-pound of flour = 92 kg: 718
  - barrel of Norwegian rye-grain and barley-grain: 538
  - one pipe same volume as two barrels: 721
  - barrel of stockfish: 701, 702, 712
  - screwed barrel of stockfish, of varying but increasing weight, from ca. 49 kg to ca. 148 kg between 1480 and 1600: 259, 260, 702
  - barrel of rav (halibut) 364
  - one *vat* beer, either a large container corresponding to ½ last = ca. 6 barrels 258, or = one English/Dutch barrel 692
- baskets 44, 218, 392, 516, 526, 600, 701
- bear, live animal 59, 600
- beer
- from England 61, 68, 79, 171
  - Bremen 222, 225, 434
  - Hamburg 225–227, 422
  - Lübeck 46, 112, 120, 422, 434
  - Wismar 118–120, 366
  - Rostock 123, 124, 366
  - Stralsund 46, 253, 254, 459
  - beer and malt in Bergen’s imports 258, 270
  - beer as unwanted import 300, 305, 348, 566
  - prices 114, 300, 318, 507, 551
  - quality control 366, 460
  - brewing in Bergen 326
  - beer brewed by peasants 538
  - German beer consumed by fishermen 437, 548
  - pubs/Bierstuben on Bryggen, see “pubs”
- “Bergenfahrer” is in this book used in the sense “Hansa merchant who traded to Bergen”, both winter residents and summer guests are included. Bruns used it in the more restricted sense “member of a Bergenfahrer guild in a Hansa town”. He assumed that all of these were owners of or worked in a firm in Bergen, which means that they were “winter residents”. He did not include “summer guests” in the term. Which definition is most fruitful, depends on the subject to be discussed.
- Bergen fair (*nordfarstevne*) in July–September 261, 324, 379, 381, 396, 408, 410, 415–416, 423, 428, 452, 454, 539, 563, 655
- bergervisch* (Bergen fish) 123, 130, 132, 140, 154, 172, 195, 203, 219, 228, 237, 692, 698–702, 714
- Black Death (cf. “population”) 29, 93–94, 96,

- 148, 161, 197, 247, 248, 317, 330, 331, 357, 402–403, 408, 418, 420, 501, 503–504, 507, 508, 511–512, 552–553, 557–558, 573–574
- blockades in wartime
- of Bergen 86, 192, 227, 472, 566, 568, 570
  - of Boston 143, 149, 151
- bread, unleavened 50, 141, 222, 538, 540, 548, 558, 566
- bricks 205
- bronze 30
- Bryggen, the quarter in Bergen where the Hansa merchants lived.
- the name: 339 (“Bryggen” from 1410, “the merchants’ Brygge” from 1498, “the German Brygge” used occasionally from the 16th century and as the official name 1857–1945).
  - *stuelstave* 174, 214, 271, 349–350, 359–360, 361–363, 374–378, 380, 381
  - *kleve* 359, 360, 362, 375–378, 380
  - storerooms 108, 152, 229, 314–316, 323–324
  - *gard/gård* 174, 211, 212, 288, 301, 349–350, 362, 375–380
  - sales booths 108, 326, 375–376
  - barbers’ booths 377, 485
  - wine cellar 346, 392
  - watchmen/guards 225, 358, 359, 452
  - the social environment 346–351
  - pubs/Bierstuben on Bryggen, see “pubs”
- butter as export 30, 35, 50, 58, 59, 81, 205, 218, 225, 284, 305, 317, 318, 538, 598, 600–602, 604, 606, 610, 611, 613, 692
- butter consumed or traded in Norway 434, 538, 540, 548
- butter prices 318, 509, 717
- calorie value of fish and flour 19, 510, 537–540, 550
- candles 318
- candlesticks 218
- caps 61, 318
- cargo capacity of merchant ships
- to North Sea ports 71, 246,
  - to Baltic ports 252, 253, 257, 691–696
- carpet 61
- cauldrons 30, 112
- cement 205, 218, 219
- chartering of cargo ships, cf. “Freight lords”
- Hanseatic Bergen trade 68, 87, 91, **108–109**, 124, 131, 133, 134, 136, 145, 150, 161, 167, 184, 191, 193, 194, 201, 206, 210, 247, 251, 268, 381, 481
  - Norwegian foreign trade 76–77, 280, 282–285
  - between fishing villages and Bergen 420, 430, 436, 439, 442
- cheese as merchandise 59, 214, 375, 509, 538, 540, 597
- church institutions as traders
- archbishop of Nidaros 84, 217, 227, 281–282, 291, 292, 317, 411, 427, 429, 432, 433, 436–439, 441, 443–444, 447, 562–563
  - bishops 48, 49, 82–84, 129, 282, 283, 291, 373, 405, 432, 439, 440
  - cathedral canons 83, 84, 437, 439–440, 627
  - monasteries 66, 281, 283–285, 290, 292, 539, 597
  - parish priests 284, 432, 440, 441, 443, 499
  - royal chapels 284
- church, treading practices
- selling goods received as taxes 282–284, 438, 439, 443, 539
  - intermediary trade 283, 432, 438, 439, 443
  - renting out cargo space on their ships 282–285, 292, 429, 437, 439
  - receiving credits from Hanseatic and other merchants 405, 411, 429, 432, 439
  - legal restrictions on their trading 283, 285, 317, 439, 441–442
  - consumers of imported goods 82, 227, 282, 328, cf. 75, 525
  - financial dealings in foreign countries 83–84
  - total stockfish deliveries in Bergen 290, 441
- cloak with hood from Bruges 188
- cloth of linen or hemp
- linen cloth from England 61
  - linen cloth from the continent 30, 34, 42, 81, 112, 205, 220, 232, 318, 463
  - canvas/cloth of hemp from the continent 90, 113, 218, 219, 437, 489
  - tablecloth 37
  - for covering a coffin 148
  - linen thread 625
- cloth of wool

- from England 24, 30, 31, 61, 65, 68, 72, 77, 79, 112, 126, 127, 143, 146–149, 150–151–152, 161, 168, 171, 172, 177, 184, 282, 283, 454, 485, 548
- broadcloth from England 551, 552, 672
- cloth from Flanders 24, 28, 76, 82, 90, 188
- broadcloth from Bruges 188
- cloth from Ypres and Ghent 188
- from Zuiderzee 205, 222, 224, 226, 463
- from Holland 209, 218, 219, 226, 485
- from Leiden 105, 128, 224, 313
- from Zeeland 196
- from Lübeck and Magdeburg 112
- *syloffar*, woolen cloth from Lübeck 437
- from Scotland 183
- customers in Norway 30, 52, 415, 497, 548, 551, 554
- coal 61
- coins and currencies
  - the use of coins 29–30, 51, 83, 84, 90, 124, 151, 159, 166, 193, 218, 222, 250, 350, 381, 403, 404, 424, 432, 452, 434, 461, 463–464, 474, 484, 494, 564, 691, 712
  - Bergen guilder 701, 712, 713, 718
  - Bremen mark 717
  - Danish mark/daler 712–713, 718, 719
  - English pound sterling 502, 508, 697, 704–706, 711, 712, 715, 718, 720, 722
  - English mark 175
  - English noble 502, 711, 712
  - Flemish pound grot 248, 698, 700, 718
  - Holland guilder/Karolusguilder 134, 208, 701, 702, 706, 721
  - Joachim-thaler 715
  - Lübeck mark 249, 698, 700, 702, 712, 716, 717
  - Lübeck guilders 406 (?)
  - Norwegian mark in coins 318, 401
  - Norwegian mark burnt silver 711, 717
  - Norwegian mark *forngild* 401, 711, 717
  - Prussian mark 134, 700, 705
  - Rhenish guilder 239, 461, 486, 701, 704, 705
  - Rostock mark 699, 704
  - Slavic mark 703, 704, 706
  - Utrecht stuiver 721
- compass 526, 534
- consumer interests in Norwegian trade policy
  - 306, 320, **322–324**, 329–331
  - convoys in the Bergen trade
    - Hansa ships 81, 101, 106, 107, 109, 110, 131, 206, 222–223, 230, 464, 478–480
    - English ships 176
  - copper 112, 183, 613
  - Council of the Realm (*riksråd*) in Bergen 216, 346, 394, 440, 441
  - confronting the Hansa 68, 169, 366, 386–387, 396, 399, 415, 416, 475, 504, 532, 562, 563
  - as court of justice 209, 211–213, 410, 563
  - courts of justice relevant for trade in Bergen
    - urban thing assemblies led by *gjaldker* (before 1276) 30, 302, 305, 384
    - *lagmann* (lawman)’s court (after ca. 1200) 300–301, 307, 310, 319, 335, 340, 384, 386, 387, 389, 392, 393, **394–395**, 396–399, 405, 409, 410, 416, 493, 579, 582
    - see “Council of the Realm”
    - Kontor’s alderman 336, 337, 350, 384–387, 389–391, 474, 647
    - urban council in Lübeck or another Hansa town 319, 336, 385, 388–391, 396, 397
    - Bergenfahrer guild in Lübeck 340, 386
    - Kampen’s alderman 334
    - English merchant guild in Bergen 393
  - credit
    - to peasant fishermen and other *nordfar*, at Bryggen 106–108, 172, 319, 325–326, 332, 357, 363, 373, **401–418**, 419–424, 429, 431, 491, 492, 502, 559, 621, 622, 632, 638
    - the size of credit from Bryggen 374, 401–405, 429
    - written registration of credit (books, rolls, letters) 325–326, 402, 403
    - prices in trade between Bryggen merchants and indebted *nordfar* 408, 713
    - debt collection 84, 402, 405–412, 426, 485, 492
    - state legislation on credit 332, 401, 402, 408–412, 424, 491–492
    - Kontor’s statutes on credit 359, 371, 406–408, 421, 422, 424, 432–433, 449, 450, 463–465, 470–471, 490–491
    - to peasants (*bunde*) 413, 415
    - to Icelanders 403, 413

- to Orcadians 405
- to Shetlanders 403, 413
- to Faeroese 403, 413
- to Bergen citizens, from Bryggen 414, 423
- to north Norwegian skipper-merchants, from Bryggen 404, 417, 421, 448
- to Norwegian officials, from Bryggen 401, 429, 432–433, 439, 441
- from English merchants in Bergen 68, 174–176, 402–403, 466
- from Hollanders in Bergen 212, 218
- from citizens of Bergen 415, 428, 485, 486, 491, 562
- from citizens of Trondheim 429
- in northern Europe in general 400–401, 405
- to Norwegians abroad 32, 46, 84, 130
- between merchants 135, 221, 388, 401, 414, 391, 493, 630, 633
- credit to nordfar slowed changes 494, 581
- credit made Bergen Kontor negative to wars 568, 571
- cusk (*brosme brosmé*) 533, 534
- custom (*olde wonheit*) and written law in trade legislation
  - Kontor's practices in relation to Norwegian law and custom in Bergen 298–300, 318, 325, 330, 386, 488–489
  - Kontor's practices in relation Hanseatic custom 96–100, 202, 206, 334, 464, 480
  - Hollanders' practices in relation to law and custom in Bergen 210, 212
  - English practices in relation to law and custom in Bergen 46
- customs duties, extant accounts
  - English customs accounts 40, 44, 49, 51, 55–66, 67, 69–72, 76, 77, 81, 85, 90, 91, 93, 94, 142, 152, 154–168, 199, 221, 246, 279–296, 454–458, 500, 515–521, 532, 595–651, 678–690
  - poundage (*subsidiu*) in English ports, 172–174, 176
  - Bergen 1518–22 105–108, 118, 139, 177, 204, 214, 223, 230, 246–247, 266, 271
  - Bergen 1566–1600 72, 246–247, 250–266, 270–271, 273, 274
  - Bergen 1650–1654 93, 257–258, 265,
  - Bergen, customs on domestic shipping sailing northwards, 263
  - Pfahlgeld in Danzig 136–138
  - Pfahlgeld in Stralsund 253–254, 268–269
  - Pfundzoll in Hamburg 227–229
  - Pfundzoll in Lübeck 111–121, 124, 132, 133, 142–145, 189, 246–247, 258, 454–458, 652–678
  - Seebrief-Register in Rostock 266, 274–275
  - Sundtoll 138, 216, 251–254, 256–262, 266–269, 273, 691–696
  - towns along the Schelde river 194–197
  - river Ijssel 219
  - prices in the accounts 94, 114–115, 175, 699, 707–710
- customs duties, no extant accounts
  - for Bohuslän herring 42–43, 88
  - in Bergen 1294–1517: 311–313, 329, 468
- eel 519, 520, 620
- faktor, manager of a firm (*stue*) on Bryggen 336, 376, 378
- falcons/falconers 31, 35, 59, 84, 187, 596, 600, 607, 610, 613, 621
- famine 317, 318, 320, 324, 326–328, 535–540, 564–571
- feathers as merchandise 218
- fisheries for cod
  - for spawning cod in January–March 28, 442–443, 532, 535–537, 548, 549, 557–558, 560
  - cod in May–June in Finnmark (*loddetorskefiske*) 425, 534, 541–542
  - ling and halibut along the Norwegian trench 532–534
  - fish for household consumption close to the farm 539–540, 553
  - cod on the North Sea banks 515–516, 521–525, 533
  - cod around Iceland 525–526
  - cod around Newfoundland 526–528
  - in the Baltic 30–131, 140, 515, 615
- fishing boats in Norway
  - open rowing-boats for fishing 28, 415, 416, 436, 439–440, 522, 523, 532–534, 541, 548
  - seksring (fishing boat for three men) 436, 523
  - åttring (fishing boat for four men) 426, 523
  - fishing boat for six men (cf. the later *flørefar*) 533

- fishing gear  
 – hand lines 28, 438, 533, 549  
 – long lines 525, 533  
 – lines for Greenland sharks 436–438  
 – hooks 28, 436–438  
 – fishermen's skin-coats and boots 437, 438, 548  
 – nets for cod 526  
 – nets for herring 521, 522  
 fishing villages in Norway  
 – with seasonal settlement 263, 409, 443, 494, 529, 535–536, 548, 549, 553, 558, 560, 561, 564  
 – permanent settlement 540, 555–557, 559, 566  
 – as market places 25, 417, 419, 420, 425–429, 442, 443  
 – market peace 92  
 – Finnmark 414, 417, 425–428, 440, 444, 445, 449, **540–546**, 550, 555–557, 570  
 – Bohuslän 45  
 fish preservation  
 – general **512–529**  
 – drying to stockfish 130, 420, 444, 477–478  
 – salting and drying cod to bacalao/klippfisk 272, 494, 561–562  
 – dried/smoked herring from Norway 44–45  
 flounder 60, 77, 515, 519, 606  
 “Foreign merchants” (*utlendzsker kaupmenn*).  
 Norwegian legal term for merchants who were born outside the Norwegian realm. From the reign of Håkon V (1299–1319) they did not enjoy full legal rights in Bergen or other Norwegian towns. The merchant could be naturalised if he married a Norwegian woman, or had been forced to leave his country of origin with wife and children because of unfortunate circumstances. In Bergen there were two categories of “foreign merchants”: “winter residents” and “summer guests” 309  
 forks [for hay or dung] as merchandise 59, 597  
 Freight lords (Frachtherren), cf. “chartering” **102–104**, 109, 119, 124, 127, 267–268, 273, 275, 371, 479, 480  
 furs, hides and skins  
 – hides from domestic animals (cattle, goat, sheep) 70, 84, 85, 112, 157, 171, 193, 218, 219, 224, 281–284, 296, 305, 317, 434, 442, 485, 596–613,  
 – cattle 35, 57, 81, 82, 155, 288, 646  
 – goat/billygoat 35, 57, 60, 81, 155, 280, 288, 631, 645, 646, 650, 651  
 – sheep 57, 81, 155, 620–627, 629–634, 636–638, 640–645, 649, 650, 651, 692  
 – leather 35  
 – “furs” from wild animals without specification 25, 33, 35, 37–40, 41, 45, 53, 54, 57, 71, 76, 77, 99, 244, 291, 317, 434, 597–601, 604–608, 612, 613, 637–645, 650  
 – beaver 35, 155, 626, 631–633, 646, 649  
 – bear 35, 57  
 – cat 651  
 – deer 57, 620–626, 631–634, 637, 645  
 – ermine (of stoat/weasel) 57, 155, 620–626, 631, 632–634, 637, 638, 640  
 – fox 632  
 – hare 631  
 – marten 35, 155, 620, 622, 625, 626, 631, 646, 649, 651  
 – otter 155, 622, 624–627, 630, 631, 634, 636, 638, 639, 641–644, 646, 650, 651  
 – reindeer 57, 288  
 – roe deer 57  
 – sable, quality of fur from marten 35 (in Tristram saga), 40  
 – seal 57, 600, 631, 633, 634  
 – squirrel 35, 40, 57, 155, 434, 631–634, 646, 649, 651  
 – vair 40  
 – white furs (*hvitverk*) 35, 40  
 – “nacfell” (meaning unknown) 620, 621, 622, 624–626, 633  
 gard/gård, see “Bryggen”  
 gloves 61, 318  
*glys/glisismouarning* (= trinkets, finery, small-wares) as merchandise 305, 325  
 grain and flour  
 – Baltic rye 19, 61, 79, 112–115, 133, 331, 504–507, 509, 548, 602, 657, 693, 715–719  
 – Baltic wheat 113  
 – English wheat 28, 30, 31, 33, 61, 77, 79, 171, 317, 504, 600, 708, 715  
 – English rye, barley, oats, mashlum 171, 718  
 – wheat from Scania 41

- Imported barley 258
- flour versus grain in the import 258, 602
- cereal farming along the Norwegian coast 535–546, 555–557
- Norwegian barley 61, 506, 507, 538, 539, 558,
- Norwegian oats 506, 538, 540
- consumption per person 537–540, 550, 551
- Norwegian dependence on Hanseatic grain 535–546, 564–571
- prices 504–507, 509, 715–719
- Greenland shark (*båkjerring*) 436–438
- guilds
  - Bergenfahrer guild in Lübeck (1380) 20–22, 102, 124, 152, 153, 163, 203, 235, 243, **339–340**, 352, 356, 364–366, 371, 382, 386, 478–480, 616, 623, 634, 629, 646
  - Bergenfahrer guild in Deventer (1473) 204, 334
  - Bergenfahrer guild in Amsterdam (1486) 213–216
  - Bergenfahrer guild in Hamburg (ca. 1520) 360
  - Bergenfahrer guild in Bremen (ca. 1550) 360
  - Wiekfahrer guild in Rostock (1470) 125, 126
  - hypotheses about Bergenfahrer guilds in other towns 121, 128, 204
  - stockfishmongers’ guild in London (1310) 73, 74, 79
  - merchant guild in Lynn 170
  - prohibition against guilds in Bergen 335
  - English merchants’ guild in Bergen 393
  - German craft guilds in Bergen 335, 380, 487
  - separate assembly of Zuidezee merchants in Bergen 334, 335
  - German membership in Norwegian guilds in Bergen 348
  - Gotlandfahrer guild in the Baltic 39, 342
  - German merchants’ Guildhall in London 34, 54
- gunpowder 218, 383
- haddock 60, 516, 520, 521, 540, 610
- halibut, cf. “rav” and “rekling” 229, 259, 364, 415, 532–534, 574, 696
- hammer 219
- hats of felt (*capell de fultro*) 219, 597
- hawks 31, 35, 613
- helmets 61
- hemp 28, 113, 218, 259, 437, 717
- hens as merchandise 213, 322
- herring fisheries
  - the Bohuslän coast 42–45, 85, 283–285, 311
  - the Norwegian North Sea coast 112, 534–535
  - at Scania 40–42, 514
  - in the North Sea 49, 185, 207, 216, 478, **515–525**, 528–531.
  - export of Norwegian herring 46, 49, 52, 56, 59–60, 66, 70, 77, 85, 87, 88, 129, 161, 171, **296**, 596–608, 611, 612, 624
  - quality control in Dutch herring fisheries 235
  - prices 508–511, 719–721
- honey 30, 31, 41, 61, 77, 282, 294, 324
- hops (*humle*) 113, 205, 219, 225
- horns from goats as merchandise 631, 633, cf. 623
- horses, live animals 59, 279, 576, 600
- horses’ harnesses 59, 225, 279, 600
- hundred = a large hundre = 120; 498
- inheritance
  - after Hansa merchants in Bergen 229, 353, 357, **388**,
  - after indebted nordfar 411–412,
- iron, osmund included 112, 193, 205, 218, 259, 643, 645–648, 651
- jars (amphora) 112
- jekt*, inshore cargo ship sailing between the fish producing regions and Bergen, cf. “ship types”
- King as merchant 280–281, 291, 434–436
- Kontor in Bergen, the organisation
  - establishment of the Kontor 51, **334–336**, 342
  - membership 12–14, 87, 129, 192–193, 197, 198, 201, 208, 220, 313, **337–338**, 360–370
  - Achteinmannen 337
  - aldermen 232, 336, 382
  - Kontor’s book/rolls 109, 358

- Kontor’s court of justice 384–393
- Kontor’s holk 381
- Kontor’s militia 160, 175, 180–183, 209–210, 213, 367, **381–384**, 397–400
- Morgensprache 336–337, 385
- secretary 368, 380, 387
- statutes, see separate entry
- Kontor’s contacts in Lübeck 364–365
- social ties between members 342–351, 370–371
- Kontor in Bergen, its functions
  - relations to Norwegian state 107–108, 210–212, 312, 321, 322, 332, 424, 471
  - the aldermen as advocates/protectors in conflicts with Norwegians 393–397
  - winter residents’ control of Kontor organisation 131, 139, 335–336
  - protection of winter residents’ credits 358–359, 371, 404, **406–412**, 432, 469
  - restrictions on trade with non-Germans 151, 179, 192, 201, 208, 210–213, 223, 327, 407–408, 421–422, 428, 431, 441, 467, 468, 469, 470
  - restrictions on Hanseatic summer guests’ trade 131, 138–139, 203, 406–407, 463–465
  - restrictions on North Sea towns’ grain import 96, 100–102, 218, 223, 224, 464, 468, 469
  - restrictions on Zuiderzee merchants’ house building 358, 370
  - separate Zuiderzee alderman 358
  - internal discipline 349–350, 394
  - Freight lords 102, 103, 109
  - organise convoys 107, 222, 223, 230, 478–480
  - prevent “forbidden journeys” 310, 323, 476, 477
  - quality control in Bergen 104, 202, 223, 234–236, 238, 366, 415, 459, 477
  - schot 336
  - restrictions on social contacts to non-members 347–348
  - supervision of Boston settlement 148, 149, 153, 162, 163
  - resistance against wars 372–373
- lagmann*, judge in the king’s court in Bergen, see “courts of justice”
- “last” as measures for commercial goods and a ship’s capacity
  - Hanseatic last of goods which was weighed = 12 Hanseatic shippounds = 1632 kg 498
  - Hanseatic last of goods in barrels = 12 barrels 115, 264, 326, 326,
  - Hanseatic last of lotfish (= 12 Hanseatic shippounds = 24 hundreds) 498, 711
  - Hanseatic last of rotscher in barrels (12 barrels), the weight discussed 259–260
  - Hanseatic last of flour in sacks (= 12 Hanseatic shippounds = 1632 kg) 115, 717
  - Hanseatic last of flour in barrels 718
  - English last of stockfish/*rundfisk* (= 10 hundreds = 1200 fish) 173, 709, 711, 712,
  - English last of fresh/dried/smoked herring (=10 thousands = 12.000 herring) 45, 516
  - medieval ship-last (*skipslest*) = ca. 3 cubic metres = 2 English tons) 523
- laws relevant for trade in Bergen (cf. “ordinances”, “statutes”, “privileges”)
  - Bjarkøyrett, Norwegian urban law before 1276: 297, 301, 580
  - Urban law (*stadhar retter*) of King Magnus Lagabøter in 1276: 44, 287, **297**, 300–305, 307, 309, 319–321, 324–327, 335, 382, 386, 387, 467, 580
  - Gulathing law, regional law for western Norway before 1274: 300
  - Frostathing law, regional law valid in the fish producing regions before 1274: 285, 301, 319
  - National law (*landzens lagh*) of King Magnus Lagabøter in 1274: 297, 300, 301, 307, 309, 386
- lead 30, 61, 205, 259, 283, 318
- ling 25, 92, 259, 498, **532–534**, 536, 574, 703
- low German language 346–347
- magnates/nobles
  - active foreign trade 21, 27, 46, 81, **278–281**, 331
  - active domestic trade 434–449
  - as customers of Hansa merchants 68, 328–329, 432–449
- malt
  - from England 61, 68, 80, 171, 282, 283, 621, 627, 629

- from the Baltic 41, 46, 50, 52, 87, 96, 97, 112, 118–120, 122, 123, 134, 135, 138, 140, 141, 253, 254, 401, 452, 458, 459, 566, 567, 692–694
- paid as customs in Bergen 105, 250, 312, 467
- malt versus beer in the import 258, 265, 270, 300, 312, 313
- domestic consumption 324, 434, 435, 437, 489
- quality control in Bergen 366, 415
- mead (alcoholic drink from honey) 61, 113, 434, 694
- “Men with permanent residence” (*husfaste menn*). Heads of households who owned or rented at least  $\frac{1}{4}$  *gård* for at least one year in Bergen or other Norwegian towns. Before the reign of Håkon V (1299–1319) they fulfilled the requirement for enjoying full legal rights in the town, irrespective of their land of birth. 301–304, 326
- metals, see “copper”, “iron”, “steel”, “lead”, “tin”, “bronze”
- moss for dyeing cloth (*litmose*) 58, 596, 600, 607, 624, 640, 642–647, 650, 651
- mudfish 520
- norvar* (nordfar), a Hanseatic term for a person who arrived in Bergen from the fish producing regions north of Bergen for purposes of trade. He could be a fisherman or a merchant. If he was indebted to a winter resident he belonged to that merchant’s *rechte norvar* and was “unfree”. 403–405, 413–415, cf. “credit”.
- Norwegian merchants as citizens in foreign towns 34, 47–48
- nuts as merchandise 645
- oil from cod liver 35, 49, 58–60, 70, 73, 81, 84, 85, 151, 155, 157, 161, 171, 172, 205, 217, 219, 226, 280–284, 287, 288, **296**, 312, 435, 442, 469; see goods on the ships registered in appendices I, II and VII.
- oil from herring 112
- ordinances (Old Norse *rettarbot*, literally “improvement of the law”), cf. “laws”, “privileges” and “statutes”.
  - issued by the Norwegian state 25, 42, 44, 59, 210–212, 285, **297–299**, **303–307**, 312, 314, 317, 319, 320, 325, 327–332, 335, 385, 386, 401, 402, 408, 409–410, 419, 420, 424, 426, 429, 467, 493, 567, 580
  - issued by Hansa diets 96, 99, 101, 206, 391, 394, 395, 407, 462, 464, **470**,
  - issued by the urban council of Lübeck 268
- paper 218
- partnership in trade
  - divided ownership of a firm in Bergen 147–148, 191, 232, 339, 356–357, 360–361, 364, 403, 404, **451–460**, 462, cf. appendix II.
  - other partnerships between Hansa merchants 121, 124, 129, 152, 164, 193, 207, 384, **461**,
  - non-Hansa merchant a partner 82–83, 215, 293, 310, 401, 409, 469, 470,
- peas 171, 218
- peasants’ trade
  - foreign trade 24, 41, 289–290
  - to Iceland and Greenland 285–286
  - to fish producing regions north of Bergen, see “nordfar” and “credit”
  - to Bergen with agricultural products 223, 322–324, 413–415
  - legal regulations of peasants’ trade 285, 420–421, 448–449
- pirates
  - “vitaliner” pirates 123, 131, 170, 174–175, 199, 221–222, 224, 227, 233, 354, 367, **368–370**, 402, 633, 669, 717
  - Englishmen 150, 180–182, 189, 199, 700
  - operating from Scotland 106, 150, 183, 367, 479, 484
  - Friesland 191
  - Flanders 199
  - other pirates 36, 307, 340
  - measures against pirates 160, 381, 478, 659, 662, 664, 669
- pitch 58, 599, 600, 638, 645
- population figures, cf. “Black Death”
  - Bergen 374, 381
  - fish producing regions 29, 93, 94, 265, 541, 542, 544, 545, 553, 558–561, 573–574
  - northern Europe 24, 552
- pork as merchandise 141, 324

- porpoise 650
- pots (olla) 112
- pottery 36, 93, 98
- pound, Lübeck = 0,485 kg; Amsterdam = 0,494 kg 702
- privileges of foreign merchants in Bergen
- situation before the first privilege in 1278: 300–303
  - the Hansa: 42–43, 50–52, 85–89, 91, 96, 125, 135, 208, 300, 303–331, 334, 342–346, 406–407, 472
  - English merchants 300–301, 466, 468, 579, cf. 66
  - Dutch merchants 209–213, 313, 467–468, 470, 484
  - privileges and state legislation 297–299, 386–388, 451, 460, 475–476, 487–496, 564–571, 579–582
- privileges of the Hansa, who controlled admission?
- Kontor's power 370–372, 389, 406–407, 473–474, 490, 494
  - Lübeck's power 87, 339–345, 365–366, 367–370, 389, 472–473, 479–480
  - Hansa diets' power 199, 337–338, 367–368, 389–390, 476, 480, 489
  - each town its own privilege? 42–43, 86–89, 107, 135, 197, 199–201, 220, 304, 341, 472–473, 490
- privileges of citizens of Bergen 321, 345, 431, 442, 489, 494
- privileges of Norwegian merchants abroad 33, 47, 86, 387
- protectionism in Norwegian trade legislation 310–331, 409–410, 423–424, 484–496
- pubs/Bierstuben/*schuttinge staven* serving German beer in Bergen 226–227, 326, 331, 346, 348, 350, 397
- quernstone/millstone 77, 329, 613
- rav (= quality of dried halibut) 259, **364**, 415, 532, 695, 696
- rekling (= quality of dried halibut) 229, 415, 696
- retail sale of stockfish in northern Europe
- Hamburg 226
  - London 72–75
  - Lübeck 50
  - Rhine area 172–179
  - Rostock 122, 699
- retail trade in Bergen
- legislation 211, 305, 318, 323, 324–327
  - the town marketplace 305, 318, 323, 324, 326
  - Norwegians' sales booths 184, 324–326, 485, 486
  - Hollanders' sales booths 210–214, 470, 484
  - Scottish sales booths 184
  - sales booths on Bryggen 108, 326, 375–376
  - sale of "smallwares" on Bryggen 222
  - Hansa merchants and their indebted customers, see 400–449
- river transport of stockfish
- Zwin 35, 82, 187, 194, 196
  - Rhine 33, 85, 90, 186, 226, **234–240**, 271
  - Maas 33
  - Schelde 194
  - Ijssel 33, 85, 90, 186, 197, 204, 219, 236, 240, 271
  - Weser 186, 226, 232, 234, 237
  - Elbe 186, 226, 234
  - Wisla 46
- rope 61, 259, 315
- saithe (=coal-fish) 532, 540
- salmon 60, 205, 259, 260, 508, 516, 519, 520, 603, 692, 721
- salt
- from Lüneburg 41–45, 112, 119, 141, 225, 514, 517, 524, 606
  - from peat 514, 530
  - from sea evaporation 150, 182, 190, 207, 218, 372, 434, 514, **524–525**, 530, 575, 578
  - from Netherlands 218, 219, 524
  - from England 61, 73, 171, 524
  - from Scotland 105, 183, 250
  - Norwegian salt 434
- sámi people 25, 445, 477, 499, 541, 542, 544, 564
- schatland*, lands which paid taxes to the Norwegian Crown: Orkney, Shetland, Faeroes, Iceland and Greenland. Sometimes Finnmark is also included. After 1294 all foreign trade to these lands was in theory to go via Bergen. 188

- schot/schoss, a duty paid by Hansa merchants
- in Bergen 336, 364, 461
  - in Boston 148, 152, 153
  - in Brügge 196, 248
- seal blubber 155, 205, 217, 219, 469, 646, 651, 695, 696 (cf. “furs, hides, skins”)
- setesvein*, the Archbishop of Nidaros’ liegemen in the fish producing regions 443
- sheep kept at coastal farms 29, 543, 555 (cf. “furs, hides, skins”)
- shippound, Hanseatic = 136 kg, Norwegian = 148 kg
- ship types in the Bergen trade and north European fish trade
- *austfararskip* 36, 49
  - *bussa* (Norwegian) 280, 282–284, 288, 291, 292, 522
  - *busse* (German merchant ship) 379
  - *herring buss* (Dutch *buis*) 522, 523, 527, 528, 530
  - *byrding* (Norwegian inshore craft) 442
  - boat (= small, open vessel for transport) 26, 47, 186, 285, 305, 314, 315, 351, 408, 541, 490
  - boat for fishing, see “fishing boat”
  - *dogger* 523, 525–528, 530
  - river barge 87, 187, 196, 203, 204, 238, 518, 670
  - *schuta* = river barge 670, 671
  - ferry (*ferja* = small Norwegian cargo ship) 40
  - *holk* 135, 191, 381, 435
  - *jakt* 494, 561
  - *jekt* 31, 223, 265, 416, 417, 420, 426–428, 430, 435, 437, 439, 440, 445, 446, 448, 549, 569,
  - *knar* 26
  - *cog* (German merchant vessel) 40, 42, 49, 50, 59, 75, 77, 80, 178, 526, 566,
  - *cog* (Norwegian owned) 291
  - *kreiert* 127, 222, 224
  - *nordfar-ship* (= inshore cargo vessel) 213, 435
  - *warship* 26, 41, 42, 75, 109, 134, 180, 193, 198, 208, 215, 301, 367, 387, 437, 528, 568
  - *longship* (open warship) 522
- shipwrecks 50, 53, 54–55, 82, 127, 130, 300, 301, 302, **309–310**, 546, 609, 645
- silk cloth 37, 61, 318
- thread 305, 318
- silver spoons/silverware 30, 353, 388, 547, 631
- skate (fish) 187
- skipdráttur*, the duty to participate when ships were drawn ashore at the end of the sailing season 301
- skerufisk*, see “stockfish classification”
- slaughter/butchery of domestic animals 218, 305–306, 322–324, 485
- soap 219
- spices 61, 210, 218, 220, 282
- sporder*, see “stockfish classification”
- state power in Bergen, see:
- “Bergenhús castle and its commander”
  - “Council of the Realm”
  - “courts of justice” (‘urban thing assemblies’ and ‘lagmann’)
  - “urban council”
- statutes of the Bergen Kontor 102–109, 138, 179, 192, 223, 327, 347–349, 358, 359, 376, 381–383, 389, 395, 397, 406, 432, 441, 449, cf. 335
- Hansa diet’s first approval of statutes in 1366: 336, 384
  - later changes prescribed by diets of Hansa towns 96, 99–102, 336, 342, **385–386**, 421, 469, compare pp. 358 and 376
  - the Kontor’s right to adopt statutes 102, 202, 336, 337, 371, 406–407, 480
  - the Kontor’s assembly of *faktors* (*ersame copman*) passed the statutes 337, 385
  - the 1494 version of statutes 101, 109, 202, 323, 347
  - summer guests were submitted to the statutes 138–139, 337, 406, 465, 490
  - non-Germans forced to respect statutes 407–408, 422, 450, 470
  - punishments for disobeying statutes 208, 323, 340, 350, 389–391, 394, 490, 493
  - Norwegian authorities’ attitudes to statutes 385, 410
- steel 397, 610, 613
- stockfish staples
- in Bergen 307, 310–311, 422
  - in Cologne 236
  - in Deventer 99, 100
  - in Lübeck and the Wendish towns 96–105, 117, 142, 238, 240, 241, 270

- in Monikereede and Sluis 82, 187, 191
- stockfish classification
  - the procedure of *wraken* 104, 223, 366, 463, 498–500, 712
  - königslobben **498–500**, 711
  - (gemeine) lobben 112, **498–500**, 506, 507, 711, 712
  - rackvisch **498–500**, 699, 705
  - lotvisch 70, 71, 154, 158, 173, **498–500**, 506, 507, 549, 698, 699, 701, 704, 705, 711, 712
  - halfwassene **498–500**, 699, 704
  - cropelinge 154, **498–500**, 701, 704, 709
  - titling 154, 229, **498–500**, 701
  - middelfish (= halfwassene?) 500
  - screien (Norwegian *skrei* = stockfish) 187, 189
  - scrafish (= Norwegian stockfish) 525)
  - rundvisch 259, 262, 270, 499, 696, 702, 712, 714
  - rotscher 130, 137, 140, 202, 205, 218, 219, 222, 229, 259, 260, 262, 270, 404, 428, 477, 510, 530, 692, 695, 696, 701, 702, 712, 714
  - skrufisk (= rotscher pressed into a barrel with a screw) 259, 260
  - sporder 259, 692, 695, 696
  - vlackvisch from Prussia 130
- stockfishmongers in London 73–74, 79
- stockfish production by one man in Lofoten 94, 404, 417, 428, 444, **549–550**, 550–552, 560–561
- stuck* (= “piece”)
  - when measuring stockfish in the 15th century, it usually meant a “package” weighing ca. 1½ Hanseatic shippound 498–500, 705
  - when measuring flour and malt, it usually meant one hanseatic shippound 717
- stue* in Norwegian, *stave* in Low German, house or firm on Bryggen, see “Bryggen”
- sturgeon 60, 74, 517, 519, 520, 596, 603, 607
- sulphur 35, 58, 597, 598, 599, 607, 610, 612, 621
- summer guests from Hansa towns
  - their number 133–134, 378–381, 465
  - trading with winter residents 131, 327–328, 461–466
  - trading with Norwegians 134, 324–327, 370–371, 463, 490
  - how they were accommodated on Bryggen 358, 376–378, 407, 461, 462
  - in relation to Norwegian law 300–308
  - in relation to the Kontor’s statutes 370–371
- tallow 218, 692
- tar as merchandise 35, 58, 112, 183, 219, 357, 415, 599, 600, 628, 631, 645, 646
- taxes and duties imposed by the state and relevant for traders (cf. “customs”)
  - *boejargjald* (town-duty) 326
  - dronningskatt 434
  - fines 393
  - finneskatt 499
  - landehjelp 434
  - landvarde 25, 438
  - landøre 311
  - leidang **301–302**, 319–321, 329, 360–362, 374–375, 377–378, 382
  - *sackiagjald* 311
  - property tax on the booths of the Hollanders 214
  - the tenth penny tax 434, 551, 556
- tiles for roofs 205, 218, 220
- timber from Norway, cf. table I.3
  - barrel staves 58, 596, 599, 607, 608, 645, 648
  - beams 58, 60, 596, 599–601, 603, 604, 606, 607, 610, 650, 651
  - boards 46, 47, 49, 58, 280–282, 287, 596–607, 610–613, 620–627, 630–637, 644, 646, 649, 651
  - boards of spruce 631, 634, 646
  - boards for chests 58, 597
  - boards for wainscots 58, 599, 646, 648
  - oars 58, 599
  - planks 650, 651
  - rafters 58, 60, 81, 187, 280, 596–601, 606, 607, 612, 651
  - small timber (*spira*) 58, 597, 598, 600, 607, 649
  - spears 58, 349, 606
  - troughs 58, 600, 603
- tin 171, 172
- trademark of owner attached to the goods 456–457

- triangular trade: North Sea merchants' trade  
 via Bergen to the Baltic  
 – to Lübeck 225, 452  
 – Wismar 121–122, 225, 452  
 – Rostock 125, 227, 274–275, 361, 692  
 – Stralsund 224, 269, 692  
 – Greifswald 269  
 – Stettin 692  
 – Danzig 134, 135, 208–209, 220, 269, 692  
 – Königsberg 269  
 – Riga 269  
 – Stockholm 269  
 – Wendish towns' restrictions on it 464
- triangular trade: Baltic merchants' trade via  
 Bergen to North Sea ports  
 – England 39, 53–55, 62–65, 142–144, 146–168, 184–186  
 – Flanders 80–82, 142–143, 191–192  
 – Zealand 196  
 – Amsterdam 217, 275  
 – Zuiderzee towns 206–207  
 – Bremen 275  
 – Spain and Portugal 275
- trout (*berger ore*) 112, 130, 140
- Umlandsfahrt* 53, 54, 80–83, 85, 90, 139, 142, 190, 207
- urban council of Bergen 184, 287–288, 290, 328, 346, 347, 373, 380, 394, 395, 398, 409, 422–428, 447, 448, 486, 487, 491, 493  
 – of Oslo, Tønsberg and Trondheim 287, 428–429, 446–448, 649
- vinegar 218, 224, 225
- våg* = 18,5 kg, measure for stockfish and other commodities
- wadmal 58, 59, 174, 285, 325, 437, 485, 555, 600, 603, 604, 608, 613, 646
- walrus tusks 25, 35
- watch duty  
 – night watch in Bergen 301, 304  
 – Germans keeping watch on Bryggen 225, 358, 359, 462  
 – watch in wartime on a mountain top for enemy ships 301
- wax 30, 34, 35, 37, 54, 71, 76, 77, 81, 90, 113, 183, 218, 318, 324, 350, 598, 600, 602, 611, 613, 643, 648
- weapons  
 – belonging to Hansa merchants 337, 349, 376, 378–379, **381–384**, 394–395, 397–398  
 – belonging to others 181, 308  
 – as merchandise 58, 205, 219, 224, 383, 606  
 – armour/harness 378, 379, 381–383  
 – axe 349, 392, 394  
 – bow 225, 645  
 – cannon of iron 204, cf. 487  
 – crossbow (*armborst*) 368, 379  
 – steel bow 397  
 – musket/gun (*bussen*) 378, 379, 381, 383, 399  
 – halberd 349, 397  
 – rapier 395, 398  
 – spear 58, 349, 606  
 – sword 349, 397
- whale blubber/meat 25, 610, 626, 650
- whetstones 59, 81, 84, 598, 610, 611, 613, 623, 624, 631, 633, 634, 642, 645, 650, 651
- wine 30, 84, 183, 220, 259, 312, 318, 324  
 – Rhine wine 33–34, 35, 82, 309  
 – Gascony wine 82, 171
- wine cellar at Bryggen 346, 392
- winter residents from Hansa towns as a social group  
 – earliest evidence 34, 35, 90  
 – their number 374–381  
 – the “faktor” as manager of one firm (*stue*) 336, 376, 378  
 – journeymen (*Gesellen*) 378  
 – apprentices (*Jungen*) 378  
 – their home towns 271, 352–363  
 – internal solidarity 342–346, cf. 397–398  
 – social isolation in Bergen 346–351  
 – prohibition against having a wife in Bergen 349  
 – the “Bergen games” 351  
 – “renegades” who became citizens of Bergen 492–493  
 – credit system, see. “credit”  
 – the winter residents' “servants” among Norwegian skippers 417–418, 432, 448  
 – their legal status in relation to Norwegian law 303–304, 319–322, 423–434
- winter residents from  
 – England 174–175, 466–467

- Holland 214–215, 467
- wool 24, 28, 59, 81, 146, 161, 602, 557, 600
- writing used in trade 243–244, 278, 294–295, 319, 448, 458, 576
- written acknowledgements of debt 176, 402, 403
- correspondence between merchants 190, 458
- account books/rolls 261, 278, 402, 404, 414, 417, 459, 463
- writing for administrative purposes is not included

## INDEX OF PLACE NAMES

In this index the main text, footnotes, table notes and appendices are included

Only places which had some connection to Norwegian foreign trade are included. Modern place names used to explain the location of medieval place names are normally not included.

Place names were often used as family names (e.g. Hinrik van Dortmund), they are not included. In the English customs accounts before the Black Death the scribe normally meant the home town of the merchant, but the identifications of home towns on the basis of the customs accounts are not reliable.

Place names in book titles are not included.

Lübeck, England, Bergen and Norway have not been included, they occur too often.

All occurrences of the place name are registered. For the search to be effective, compare to the “Table of contents”.

Little known Norwegian place names are located within the administrative units (*fogderier*) to which they belonged in the late Middle Ages. Their names and boundaries are shown on the map at the end of the book.

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| <p>Aberdeen 80</p> <p>Agder 27, 41, 53, 54, 83, 122, 138, 190, 191, 198, 280, 309, 568</p> <p>Akershus castle in Oslo 266, 298</p> <p>Alrekstad 26</p> <p>Alstadhaug, parish in Helgeland 423, 499</p> <p>Amsterdam 134, 137, 186, 194, 200, 203, 204, <b>207–220</b>, 234, 240, 241, 243, 272, 275, 313, 352, 358, 399, 423, 436, 437, 460, 467, 473, 474, 484, 456, 591, 698, 702, 706, 721</p> <p>Amsterdam's Bergenfahrer guild 213–216</p> <p>Andenes, fishing village in Vesterålen 31, 248, 414, 417, 425, 426, 429–431, 444–447, 532, 556, 559, 711</p> <p>Anklam 47, 50, 254, 268, 611</p> <p>Antwerp 135, 194–196, 243, 272</p> <p>Apostles' church in Bergen 284</p> | <p>Ardenne pottery 36</p> <p>Arnemuiden in Zeeland 195, 196</p> <p>Arnhem, Hansa town 233</p> <p>Askvoll, parish in Sunnfjord 552</p> <p>Aubø, farm on Sjernerøy near Stavanger 289</p> <p>Audunargard in Bergen 121</p> <p>Austråt in Trøndelag 440</p> <p>Avaldsnes, royal residence at the shipping lane to Bergen 198, 284, 292</p> <p>Avignon 83</p> <p>Baltestad, fishing village in Troms 556</p> <p>Bardowick 39</p> <p>Basel 234</p> <p>Beiar fjord in Salten 552, 554</p> <p>Bellagard, <i>gard</i> at Bryggen 287–288</p> <p>Berg, fishing village in Senja 556</p> |
|---|--|

- Bergenhuis, the castle and its captain 108, 141, 177, 182–184, 198, 205, 211, 214, 215, 217–220, 224–226, 247, 248, 251, 255, 260, 266, 308, 311, 313, 314, 334, 346, 348, 372, 373, 378, 380, 382, 383, 386, 387, 392, 395, 397–400, 411, 424, 426, 427, 429, 432–437, 439–443, 448, 449, 468, 475, 477, 485–487, 489–491, 578, 570, 582
- Bergenhuis, the garrison 331, 383–384
- Bergen-op-Zoom 194, 195, 290
- Berwick-on-Tweed 80
- Bielefeld, Hansa town 232
- Blakeney, east English port 74, 169, 515
- Bleik, fishing village in Vesterålen 556
- Bodø 29, 423, 534, 554
- Boitzenburg on the Elbe 164
- Bordeaux 64
- Borgund, marketplace in today's Ålesund 419, 420, 552
- Boston, Hanseatic settlement 75–76, 78, 146–154, 162–166, 182, 186, 232, 243, 453–458
- Boston, port 21, 34, 50, 55, 56, 60–63, 68, 70, 71, 73, 74, **75–79**, 81, 85, 87, 97, 125–129, 131, 134, 142–144, **146–154**, 155–161, 167–169, 172–174, 176, 184, 191, 194, 195, 199, 204, 207, 233, 241, 242, 245–247, 275, 288, 292–294, 352, 365, 503, 518, 529, 573, 577, 584, 588, 591, 595–596, 609–647, 678–690
- Bourgeneuf, port 182, 524
- Brabant 194–197, 217, 243, 515, 517
- Brandenburg 64, 340
- Bratten, *gard* in Tønsberg 287
- Bratten, *gard* at Bryggen 377
- Brattvær, fishing village in Nordmøre 556
- Braunschweig 64, 163, 165–167, 226, 232–233, 367, 368, 388, 483, 611, 645, 683
- Bredsgården, *gard* at Bryggen 375, 377
- Bremen 17, 34, 35, 42, 43, 50, 55, 64, 87–89, 92, 105, 107, 117, 118, 122, 125, 127, 141, 158, 163, 165, 167, 179, 180, 186, 197, 208, **220–225**, 226, 227, 230, 232, 234, 237, 240–242, 245, 246, 251, 257, 260–262, 267, 269–276, 345, 352, 355, 358, 360, 362, 363, 369, 376, 378, 379, 404, 414, 416, 417, 434, 451–453, 458–460, 462, 464, 465, 471–473, 477–479, 494, 498, 573, 577, 578, 580, 584, 591, 594, 604, 605, 607, 608, 613, 644, 649, 675, 676, 683, 684–688, 690, 692, 708, 717
- Bremen beer 225, 234
- Bremen's guild of Bergenfahrer 360
- Bremergården, *gard* at Bryggen 375, 377
- Bremen voyages to north Atlantic islands 224, cf. 188, 237, 529
- Brielle 54, 209
- Bristol 158, 173, 296, 322
- Bruges, town and port 35, 76, 78, **80–85**, 87, 97, 142, 180, **186–194**, 195, 196, 199, 204, 205, 207, 228, 238–241, 243, 244, 246, 248, 249, 275, 282, 294, 327, 337, 338, 369, 374, 453, 458, 476, 516, 518, 571, 573, 576
- Bruges, the Kontor 78, 186–193, 196, 199, 239, 241, 248, 249, 294, 337, 338, 369, 374, 476, 571, 518,
- Brødregården, *gard* at Bryggen 377
- Brønnøy, parish in Helgeland 423, 440, 441
- Bud, fishing village in Romsdal 415, 556
- Bugården, *gard* at Bryggen 377
- Bulandet, fishing community in Sunnfjord 555–557
- Burnham in Norfolk 165
- Burgundy 187, 200, 212, 215, 470
- Bohuslän, before 1658 part of Norway 40–45, 49, 53, 54, 60, 65–67, 83, 85–88, 95, 129, 171, 180, 197, 283, 284, 296, 309, 311, 568, 602, 608
- Cambridge 602, 704
- Carelians, people living to the east of Finnmark 421, 439, 541, 543–546, 555, 564
- Celle 64
- Cley in Norfolk 169
- Coesfeld 64, 87, 388
- Cologne 33–35, 53–55, 64, 85, 87, 89–91, 167, 168, 224, **234–240**, 322, 334, 339, 363, 388, 483, 614, 685, 701, 703, 704
- Copenhagen, goods sent to 104, 247, 256, 260, 434, 714
- Copenhagen, political power exercised from 379, 384, 398, 409, 475, 482, 487, 563, 571, 582
- Cornwall 75
- Cromer in Norfolk 181

- Damme in Flanders 82, 84, 187, 192, 516, 518
- Denmark, trade to 33, 35, 36, 42, 55, **140–141**, 258, 515; cf. Copenhagen, Scania, Ålborg
- Danzig 17, 22, 46, 116, 118, 124, **129–139**, 141–143, 145, 149, 152, 163–164, 166–168, 176, 178–180, 190, 207, 209, 215, 216, 220, 241–244, 258, 267–270, 272, 275, 363, 366, 367, 371, 388, 407, 449, 452, 458, 461, 465, 482, 490, 494, 495, 515, 567, 568, 571, 573, 580, 584, 591, 592, 645, 646, 648, 649, 663, 675–677, 679, 683, 684, 687–689, 692, 698, 701, 702, 705
- Destingen, *gard* at the Stranden quarter 288
- Deventer 33, 83, **85–87**, 99, 100, 103–105, 107, 117, 141, 142, 164, 184, 186, 189, 195, **197–207**, 208, 210, 222–224, 235, 237, 242–244, 246, 251, 271, 273–275, 360, 367, 370, 371, 383, 388, 390, 391, 406, 407, 458, 461–463, 469, 473, 474, 479, 494, 517, 576, 580, 591, 629, 630, 646, 680, 684, 685, 700, 701, 712
- Deventer's Bergenfahrer guild 204, 334–335
- Devon in England 75
- Dinant 30, 163
- Dogger Bank 521–523
- Dordrecht in Holland 189
- Dorpat (Tartu) 130, 139, 140
- Dortmund 34, 39, 64, 77, 91, 231–233, 239, 608, 613, 614
- Dragsmork, monastery in Bohuslän 284, 292
- Dramshusen, *gard* at Bryggen 377
- Dreggen, part of Bryggen 377
- Düna (Dauguva) estuary 34
- Durham 75, 498, 503, 525, 702, 703,
- Eidsborg in Telemark 81
- Einarsgård, *gard* at Bryggen 221, 377
- Elbe 24, 39, 89, 226, 229, 232, 234, 255
- Elbing (Elblag), Hansa town 46, 47, 51, 52, 54, 55, 64, 130, 131, 596, 601, 676
- Elburg, Hansa town 197, 198, 201, 204
- Engelgården, *gard* at Bryggen 34, 377
- England, cf. individual English towns and headings in "Contents".
- English trade policy relevant to the Bergen trade 65, 67, 77–79, 151–152, 175, 180–182, 300, 393, 405, 468.
- Estland (= eastern Baltic) 37, 38, 54, 64, 334, 473
- Faeroes 41, 188, 311, 403, 413, 434, 476, 485, 529, 546
- Falster 46
- Falsterbo in Scania 36, 38, 39, 522
- Fana, parish south of Bergen 432
- Finnegården, *gard* at Bryggen 377, 415
- Finnmark 40, 93, 94, 225, 263, 265, 414, 415, 417, 422, 425–431, 434, 435, 438, 440, 443–445, 448, 449, 477, 478, 497, 534, 537–539, **540–546**, 550–552, 555–557, 560–562, 570, 578
- Flakstad, parish in Lofoten 423
- Flanders (cf. Bruges) 24, 35, 36, 54, 76, **80–85**, 87–89, 92, 127, 128, 131, 142–144, 146, 155, 167, **186–194**, 195, 196, 199, 200, 203, 206, 228, 241, 242, 281, 290, 358, 472, 515, 517–519, 521, 523, 558, 571, 576, 608, 614, 698, 709, 718
- Fleinvær, fishing village in Salten 556
- Flekkerøy, at the shipping lane to Bergen 460
- Folkestad, farm in Sunnmøre 286
- Fosen, coastal region (fogderi) in Trøndelag 426, 436, 552, 549
- Fountains, monastery in Yorkshire 283
- Frankfurt am Main 104, 234–240, 243, 499, 703–705
- Frisia, ancient name for the Dutch coastal region 34, 77, 83, 85
- Friesland, province in the Netherlands 105, 191, 214, 219, 227, 246, 251, 271, 484, 528
- Fyn 427
- Gardariki, Norse name for Russia where Holmgard (Novgorod) was the most visited town 33
- Garten, farm in Fosen 286
- Gascony wine 82
- Gein near Utrecht 203–204
- Ghent cloth 188
- Gildeskål, parish in Salten 552
- Gotland 37, 39, 40, 53, 54, 64, 82, 91, 92, 167, 187, 192, 341, 342, 572, 576, 587, 597, 601, 603–606, 608

- Greenland 284, 286, 311, 546  
 Greifswald 43, 47, 50–52, 64, 81, 89, 128, 164, 204, 267–269, 340, 341, 343, 344, 600, 683  
 Greifswald's Bergenfahrer guild, 128  
 Greifswald, privilege of 1361, 298, 316, 321, 323, 330, 345  
 Grimsby 23, 28, 221, 278  
 Grip, fishing village in Nordmøre 556, 559  
 Groningen, Hansa town 35, 82, 473  
 Grunnfarnes, farm in Senja 534  
 Gryllefjord, fishing village in Senja 428, 429, 556  
 Gullskoen, *gard* at Bryggen 377  
 Göta river, southern frontier of Norway until 1658  
 Götaland in Sweden 187  
 Göttingen 229, 233, 456
- Haithabu 25, 36–38, 41  
 Halberstadt in Saxen-Anhalt 232, 233  
 Haløre market, Norse name for the Scania market 40–42  
 Hamar 48, 84, 283, 539  
 Hamburg 34, 43, 51, 54, 64, 80–82, **87–89**, 92, 102, 105, 107, 116, 117, 124, 125, 149, 166, 167, 185, 186, 189, 194, 203, 206, 223, **225–231**, 234, 240, 241, 244, 245, 251, 255, 267, 269, 271–275, 302, 304, 312, 319, 341, 343–345, 352, 355, 358, 361–363, 372, 422, 459, 465, 473, 480–483, 485, 494, 570, 573, 577, 578, 580, 598, 675, 677, 687, 692, 698  
 Hamburg's guild of Bergenfahrer 360  
 Hamburgers in Trondheim 436–438, 477, 571  
 Hamburgers' voyages to north Atlantic islands 185, 229, 234, 476–477, 478, cf. 488  
 Hannover 232, 233, 355, 388  
 Hardanger, region (fogderi) in western Norway 440, 441  
 Hardewijk, Hansa town 86  
 Harstad, modern town in Troms 29, 534  
 Hartlepool in East England 74, 180, 181, 503, 703  
 Helgeland, region (fogderi) in northern Norway 414, 425, 430, 435, 440, 442, 445, 499, 500, 537, 538, 540, 711  
 Helnes, fishing village in Finnmark 543  
 Herøy, parish in Helgeland 445  
 Hidra, at the shipping lane to Bergen 180  
 Hildesheim 233, 237, 683, 705  
 Hoke, village outside Bruges 82  
 Holland, province in present day Netherlands 20, 68, 80, 99, 101–102, 105, 106, 111, 117, 128, 134, 136, 137, 139, 151, 172, 189, 195, 197, 199–203, 206, **207–220**, 222, 226, 228, 235, 238, 242–247, 250, 251, 258, 271, 272, 313, 334, 338, 341, 342, 350, 358, 359, 361, 366, 374, 383, 395, 408, 415, 422, 428, 429, 434–436, 449, 463, 465, **466–471**, 474, 482, 484–486, 491–493, 498, 563, 567–569, 571, 575, 577–581, 585, 591–594, 675, 676, 700–702, 706, 718  
 Holland merchants' customs duties in Bergen 313, 341–342  
 Hollanders in Trondheim 436–438, 569, 571  
 Holland's North Sea fisheries, see Netherlands  
 Hollenderstretet, quarter in Bergen 207, 481  
 Hollingstedt in Schleswig 33  
 Holmedalen, *gard* at Bryggen 377, 453, 459  
 Holmgard, Norse name for Novgorod 33  
 Holstein, county 341, 348, 372, 483, 571, 581  
 Honningsvåg, fishing village in Finnmark 543  
 Hoorn in Holland 209, 273, 692  
 Hovedøy, monastery in Oslo 283, 285, 292  
 Hull 55–60, 62, 63, 66, 71, 76, 85, 156, 168, 169, 172, 173, 177, 180, 189, 282, 284, 286, 292–294, 296, 593, 595, 596, 599–602, 615, 618–619, 650–651, 698, 707–710  
 Hull, stockfish and herring imports 516–521  
*Hälögaland*, ancient name for northern Norway 92, 415, 422, 711
- Ijssel, river 33, 85, 87, 90, 186, 197, 204, 219, 236, 240, 271  
 Ingøy, island in Finnmark 427, 444, 545  
 Ipswich 56  
 Iceland and Bergen/Norway 30, 38, 41, 59, 92, 94, 174, 282, 285, 286, 295, 300, 311, 317, 403, 413, 485, 546, 562, 606  
 Iceland and Hansa towns 156, 185, 188, 189, 229, 234, 236, 310, **476–478**, 529, 578, 701  
 Iceland and England 146, 154, 156, 158, 170, 173, 174, 177, 182, 185, 186, 242,

- 466, 519, 520, 523, **525–529**, 646, 647, 650, 720
- Iceland and Holland 698
- Jacobsfjorden, *gard* at Bryggen 349–350
- Jutland; see Umlandsfahrt
- Jämtland, until 1645 part of Norway 40
- Kalmar 1285 treaty 50, 86, 89, 306, 307, 317
- Kampen 43, 50, 64, 85–87, 89, 92, 100, 101, 105, 107, 117, 125, 166, 180, 186, 195, 196, **197–207**, 208, 217, 219, 223, 224, 235, 237, 242, 251, 273, 274, 314, 329, 334, 335, 340, 350, 360, 366, 367, 370, 371, 383, 390, 407, 423, 461, 463, 469, 473, 474, 479, 573, 580, 591, 599, 601, 603, 606, 646, 675, 692, 698, 700, 701, 712
- Kampen's alderman in Bergen 334
- Kappen, *gard* at Bryggen 377
- Karlsøy, parish in Troms 429, 541, 542
- Karmsund, part of the shipping lane to Bergen 133, 177, 182, 198, 199, 568
- Kirkestappen, fishing village in Finnmark 543
- Kjelvik, fishing village in Finnmark 414, 425, 427, 444, 445, 447, 544
- Kjøpmannsstuen*, the Kontor's administrative building 336
- Kleve in Nordrhein-Westfalen 233
- Kohusen, *gard* at Øvregaten in Bergen 427
- Kola peninsula 435
- Kolberg, Hansa town 125, 129, 167, 251, 515, 602, 687, 694
- Konungahella, Norwegian town at the Göta river 32, 198
- Kroken, *gard* in Trondheim 288
- Kvænangen, fjord in Troms 542
- Königsberg (Kaliningrad) 130, 268, 269, 698, 700
- Langesund in Telemark 41, 169
- Leiden town 721
- Leiden cloth 105, 128, 224, 313
- Leipzig 226, 234
- Leksa, farm in Trøndelag 285, 286
- Lindesnes, at the shipping lane to Bergen 122, 124, 126, 138, 180, 181, 198, 309
- Lippstadt, Hansa town in Westphalia 64, 90, 613
- Lista, at the shipping lane to Bergen 180, 248, 280, 485
- Livonia/Livland (cf. Riga, Reval/Tallinn, Pernau, Wolmar, Dorpat/Tartu) **139–140**, 189, 192, 199, 200, 207, 215
- Lofoten 25, 26, 92, 94, 310, 403, 404, 414, 416, 417, 419, 423, 425, 428, 430, 431, 441, 442, 444, 447, 499, 512, 532, 534, 537, 537–539, **546–552**, 558, 560, 561, 564, 576, 583, 586, 587, 590
- London as trade centre 34, 40, 54, **72–75**, 79, 83, 147, 158, 161, 167–169, 172, 177, 229, 272, 296, 315, 316, 322, 324, 327, 328, 431, 514, 548, 626, 632, 633, 650, 701, 702, 703
- London Kontor (Stalhof) 78, 148, 149, 151–154, 162, 163, 188, 248, 249, 336, 338, 339, 344, 363, 366, 377, 382, 384, 387, 451, 453, 495, 581
- London's stockfishmongers 73–74
- London's customs accounts 56, 155, 156
- Loppa, parish in Finnmark 543, 545
- Lund, town and archbishop's see in Scania 42, 141, 174, 222
- Lübbecke in Minden, Westphalia 388
- Lübeck's guild of Bergenfahrer 20, 102, 109, 124, 152, 153, 179, 203, 204, 230, 235, 243, 267, **339–340**, 364, 366, 382, 386, 459, 477–481
- Lübeck beer, see „beer“
- Lübeck-Saxon third (*derdendeel*) at the Bruges Kontor 193, 241
- Lüneburg 42, 44, 49, 102, 164, 214, 225, 226, **232, 237**, 355, 372, 568, 683
- Lünen in Westphalia, Hansa town 64
- Lynn 27, 31–33, 40, 44, 54–63, 65–67, 70–78, 80, 81, 85, 87, 91, 92, 151, 152, 154, 156, 158, 159, **168–177**, 184, 185, 241, 242, 245, 279–284, 286–288, 290–296, 322, 327–329, 402, 503, 516–519, 521, 573, 595, 602–608, 609, 615, 618, 621, 627, 629, 647–650, 697, 700, 708–710, 712
- Lynn's general merchant guild, 170
- Lyse, monastery south of Bergen 283
- Løddingen, parish in Salten 414, 443, 444
- Maastricht 33
- Magdeburg 39, 64, 112, 226, 234, 601

- Magerøya, island in Finnmark 421, 543–545  
 Mainz 234, 239  
 Makkaur, fishing village in Finnmark 445, 544  
 Malangen, fjord in Troms 29, 540–542, 558  
 Malmö 42, 114, 141, 621, 656, 657  
 Marienburg, castle of the Teutonic order 130, 132, 134, 703, 705  
 Marstrand in Bohuslän 45, 85, 119, 195, 198, 206, 307, 309, 340, 382  
 Mecklenburg 45, 52, 64, 123, 164, 341, 354, 368, 689, 703  
 Mefjord, fishing village in Senja 556  
 Meløy, parish in Helgeland 552  
 Middelburg in Zeeland 186, 194–196, 241  
 Minden in Westphalia 64, 388  
 Misvær fjord in Salten 534, 554  
 Molkwerum, village at the Zuiderzee 251, 267, 271, 274, 693, 694  
 Monikereede, village near Bruges 35, 82, 187, 196  
 Münster 34, 39, 64, 90, 91, 233, 236, 613, 614, 626, 705, 706  
 Munkeliv, monastery in Bergen 283, 378, 382, 383, 539  
 Mölln south of Lübeck 82  
 Møre, here used about today's *fylke* of *Møre og Romsdal* 94, 263, 286, 414, 415, 419, 429, 430, 443, 444, 532–534, 537, 538, 539, 559–561, 574  
 Namdalen, region (fogderi) in Trøndelag 248, 414, 430, 440, 552, 553, 556  
 Netherlands, here used about all provinces in present day Netherlands and Belgium 139, 185, 186, 192, 194, 195, 227, 236, 243, 244, 268, 271, 272, 363, 365, 482, 485, 495, 508, 529, 571, 600, 614, 648  
 Netherlands, North Sea fisheries 514–525, 528–531, 533  
 Newcastle 40, 56, 74, 81, 85, 155, 156, 169, 176, 180, 651  
 Newfoundland 476, 494, 511, 525–529, 561, 562  
 Nidarholm, monastery in Trondheim 283  
 Nidaros, diocese and church province with its cathedral in Trondheim 84, 90, 217, 227, 281, 282, 265, 285, 286, 291, 292, 301, 317, 323, 346, 411, 416, 419, 425–427, 429, 432–433, 435–441, 443–446, 539, 541, 543, 545, 562, 563, 569, 627, 713  
 Nijmegen, Hansa town 201, 234  
 Nordfjord, region (*fogderi*) in western Norway 286, 430, 431  
 North Cape in Finnmark 414, 427, 532, 541, 543–545, 555  
 Northberg, English name for Bergen in Norway cf. 56, 290  
 Nordmøre, region (*fogderi*) in western Norway 414–430  
 Norfolk 31, 66, 73–75, 169, 295, 516, 704  
 Northumbria 26  
 Notoy, island south of Bergen 129  
 Novgorod 33, 37–40, 45, 54, 104, 130, 188, 244, 248, 249, 330, 374, 572  
 Nürnberg 234, 237  
 Nærøy, parish in Trøndelag 553  
 Odden, fishing village in Trøndelag 556  
 Odense treaty/recess of 1560: 486, 488, 490, 492–494  
 Oksbåsen, fishing village in Trøndelag 556–557  
 Omgang, fishing village in Finnmark 439, 444, 445, 447  
 Ona, fishing village in Romsdal 556  
 Orkney 27, 30, 183, 188, 278, 279, 282, 288, 311, 405, 413, 476–477, 484, 485, 529, 546, 700  
 Orkney, Hansa merchant's trade 476, 529  
 Orléans 64  
 Oslo 36, 42, 44, 46, 48, 49, 52, 85, 95, 125, 183, 188, 192, 193, 279, 282–285, 287, 289, 291, 298, 299, 320, 338, 353, 475, 487, 539, 568, 600, 604–608, 649, 651  
 Osnabrück, Hansa town 64, 90, 91  
 Padeborn, Hansa town 232, 233, 355  
 Parchim in Mecklenburg 164, 684  
 Paris 64, 66  
 Pernau in Livonia/Livland 132, 139, 140  
 Pingsdorf pottery 36  
 Poland 135  
 Pomerania 46, 47, 52, 301  
 Portugal, see Spain  
 Prussian towns (Danzig, Elbing, Thorn, Königsberg, Braunsberg) 52, 54, 55, 87, 129–139, 170, 180, 207, 215, 220, 296,

- 367, 401, 453, 505, 515, 548, 615, 620, 645, 657, 675, 676, 682, 684, 687, 688, 698, 718
- Rana, parish in Helgeland 550
- Ravensere (about the port, cf. 596, 742) 44, 46, 47, 55, 56–60, 62, 63, 66, 70, 71, 76, 77, 81, 85, 87, 91, 281–284, 286, 288, 289, 292–294, 296, 515–517, 520, 532, 573, 593, 596–599, 608, 609, 612, 707, 708
- Reval (Tallinn) 51, 52, 64, 130, **139–140**, 191, 244, 249, 676
- Revelsgården, *gard* at Bryggen 361, 375, 377
- Rhine area 17, 24, 33–36, 38, 53, 54, 80, 85, 87, 89–91, 186, 188, 191, 197, 217, 226, 233, **234–240**, 246, 248, 271, 300, 370, 573
- Rhine wine 30, 34, 82, 300, 346, 392
- Riga 38–40, 43, 47, 50, 61, 132, 139, 140, 141, 180, 244, 268, 269, 343
- Rome 33, 83, 193
- Romsdal, region (*fogderi*) in western Norway 415, 419, 430, 555, 559
- Rostock 41, 43, 45–47, 48–49, 50–52, 64, 81, 89, 102, 103, 105, 109, 110, 116–121, **122–126**, 127, 128, 138, 141, 142, 145, 149, 163, 165–167, 174, 175, 193, 204, 206, 223, 227, 230, 231, 241–243, 245, 246, 251, 254, 255, 266–272, 274, 275, 280, 283, 287, 299, 340, 341, 343, 344, 353–358, 361, 363, 366–370, 372, 409, 421, 423, 452, 458–460, 465, 469, 476, 479, 480, 482, 483, 497, 568, 573, 577, 584, 597, 599–601, 608, 611, 613, 622, 663, 675, 676, 679–681, 683–696, 698, 699, 702, 704
- Rostock winter residents 353–356
- Rostock barrel 720
- Rostock beer 123, 124, 366
- Rostock trade to Oslo and Tønsberg 46, 47–49, 52, 125, 193, 283, 287, 475
- Rostock's guild of Wiekfahrer and St. Olav's guild 125
- Runde, island in Sunnmøre 533
- Russia/Russians in the Baltic, 36, 37, **39–40**, 53, 92, 244, 249 (cf. Novgorod and Holmgard)
- Russians in northern Norway 417, 435, 439, 541, 544, 546, 564
- Rügen 45, 54, 515, 602
- Ryfylke, region (*fogderi*) south of Bergen 182, 198, 280, 286
- Ribe in Denmark 60, 338
- Ripon in Yorkshire (?) 607–608
- Rødøy, parish in Helgeland 435, 440, 441, 447, 499
- Røst, parish in Lofoten 403, 420, 447, 532, **546–549**, 555, 556, 559, 562, 564, 569
- Saxony, in Old Norse *Saksland* 35, 45, 203
- Salten, region (*fogderi*) in northern Norway 29, 414, 430, 442, 537, 538, 552, 554
- Sappen, *gard* in Tønsberg 287
- Scania, Danish province 316, 321, 330, 341, 468, 580
- Scania market/fair (started September, ended officially November 11<sup>th</sup>) 18, **40–45**, 46, 53, 54, 81–83, 85, 91, 92, 128, 139, 170, 177, 207, 221, 222, 295, 323, 449, 572, 575, 576, 596, (cf. Haløre market)
- Scania herring 59, 60, 514, 515, 517–521, 524, 525, 528, 720
- Scarborough 74, 81, 515, 516, 520, 523, 609
- Schelde river 194–196
- Schleswig 25, 36–39, 41, 348, 372, 483, 568, 571, 581
- Scotland 27, 32, 66, 67, 73, 80, 81, 105, 106, 131, 150, 180, **183–184**, 213, 250, 251, 275, 291, 301, 356, 367, 479, 484–486, 492, 522 525, 548, 698, 700
- Seløy close to Lindesnes at the shipping lane to Bergen 126
- Senja, island in the *fogderi* of the same name 29, 428–430, 436, 440, 441, 444, 446, 447, 534, 537, 538, 552, 556, 559
- Shetland (old Norse Hjalmland) 30, 183, 188, 224, 237, 311, 403, 413, 476, 484, 485, 522, 529, 546, 700
- Sjernerøy, island near Stavanger 280, 289
- Skagen in Denmark 43, 55, 134, 182, 269
- Skagen, *gard* in Stavanger 289
- Skanør in Scania 40, 42, 43, 522
- Skeggen, *gard* at Bryggen 375, 377
- Skiringssal, Viking age marketplace 25
- Skjerstad fjord in Salten 554, 560
- Skjøtningsberg, fishing village in Finnmark 414, 417, 445, 447
- Skrova, fishing village in Lofoten 556

- Sluis, outport for Bruges 83, 187, 190, 191, 193, 196, 517, 699
- Solgården, *gard* at Bryggen 377
- Soltau on Lüneburger Heide 238
- Southampton 44, 49, 56, 167
- Spain/Iberia 190, 524, 275, 494, 529, 575, 578
- Speier on the Rhine 534, 539
- Stade, Hansa town 345, 603
- Stalhof in London, see London Kontor
- Stalhof in Boston, see Boston Hanseatic settlement
- Stappen, fishing village in Finnmark 445, 447, 543
- Stavanger town 289, 599
- Stavanger diocese/bishop 83, 129, 282, 289, 398
- Stavoren, Hansa town 50, 64, 85, 86, 191, 197, 199, 200, 251, 273, 340, 366, 473, 517, 597, 692
- Steigen, parish in Salten 414, 416, 440, 552, 563, 711, 715
- Steinsvikholm, castle in Trøndelag 430
- Sternberg in Mecklenburg 64
- Stettin 44, 50, 110, **128–129**, 167, 687, 688, 692
- Stockholm 18, 130, 140, 269, 311, 676
- St. Mary's Church, parish church at Bryggen 84, 336, 339, 347, 487
- St. Mary's Church in Lübeck 629
- St. Mary's Church in Oslo 284, 353
- St. Omer 82, 83
- Storebelt 251, 252, 257, 264
- Stralsund 43–51, 54, 64, 81, 82, 89, 102, 105, 109, 110, 116, 117, 125, **126–128**, 134, 139, 142, 145, 151, 153, 163, 165–167, 204, 207, 223, 224, 230, 231, 241, 242, 246, 251, 253, 254, 268–270, 272, 340, 341, 343, 344, 357, 363, 367, 369, 372, 388, 409, 458–460, 465, 482, 483, 494, 568, 573, 598, 600–602, 604, 606, 629, 646, 675–677, 683–695, 701, 717, 720
- Stralsund merchants as winter residents 128, 357
- Stralsund's St. Olav altar 128, 151
- Stranden, quarter in Bergen 121, 209, 212–214, 227, 247, 288, 353, 375, 421, 423, 426, 427, 445, 446
- Strasbourg 234
- Stromeshoved* 700
- Sula, fishing village in Trøndelag 556, 559
- Sunnfjord, region (*fogderi*) in western Norway 92, 414, 415, 430, 555
- Sunnhordland, region (*fogderi*) south of Bergen 248, 415
- Sunnmøre, region (*fogderi*) in western Norway 263, 286, 414, 415, 419, 429, 430, 443, 444, 532–534, 537
- Svendsgården, *gard* (two) at Bryggen 377
- Sweden, trade relations 64, 86, 608
- Sweden, political relations 106–108, 123, 192, 198, 210, 211, 297, 302, 309, 311, 317, 330, 331, 341, 345, 368, 382, 570, 580, 581, 583
- Sørvær, fishing village in Finnmark 440, 447, 543
- Søstergården, *gard* at Bryggen 377
- Tannagard, *gard* in Trondheim 288
- Ter Doest, monastery near Bruges 84
- Teutonic Order, organisation 130, 132, 134, 135, 700
- Teutonic Order, towns on its lands 116, 132, 133, 163, 167 (cf. Prussia and Livonia/Livland)
- Texel, island at the Zuiderzee 199
- Thorn, Hansa town in Prussia (Torún) 52, 55
- Tiel, Hansa town 33, 53, 191, 712
- Titran, fishing village in Trøndelag 556, 711, 715
- Tjøtta, parish in Helgeland 423
- Torsken, parish in Senja 556
- Tournai in Flanders 83
- Travemünde, Lübeck's outport 479
- Treptow, Hansa town 251, 692, 693, 696
- Troms(ø), medieval *fogderi* and parish, today *fylke* in northern Norway. The two have different borders. 25, 29, 31, 93, 94, 248, 263, 265, 414, 417, 418, 425, 427, 429, 430, 444, 445, 447, 448, 497, 537–542, 557, 570, 578, 589
- Trondenes, parish in Senja 248, 414, 423, 429, 445, 446
- Trondheim 30, 31, 36, 69, 95, 83, 279, 286, 288, 289, 295, 301, 382, 414, 415, 417–420, 425, 426, 428–433, 436–439, 441, 442, 445–448, 450, 477, 547, 552, 569,

- 571, 577, 578, 597, 598, 602, 604–608, 709, 715 (cf. “Nidaros diocese”, “Hollanders in Trondheim”, “Hamburgers in Trondheim”)
- Trøndelag 92, 94, 265, 266, 279, 285, 419, 440, 537–539, 552–554, 559–561, 569, 574, 583, 715
- Tunes, fishing village in Finnmark 414, 417, 427, 444, 445, 447, 449, 543
- Tønsberg 42, 44, 46, 48, 49, 50, 52, 66, 67, 125, 193, 279, 280, 284, 287, 289, 324, 327, 329, 340, 568, 600, 601, 603–608, 650, 651
- Tunsberghus, the medieval castle of Tønsberg 49, 52, 129
- Ulstein, parish in Sunnmøre 286
- Utrecht 33, 35, 83, 85, 203, 706, 721
- Utstein, monastery near Stavanger 284, 292
- Utvorda, fishing village in Trøndelag 556
- Vadsø, fishing village in Finnmark 544, 545
- Valle, fishing village in Lofoten 556
- Varanger fjord in Finnmark 435, 541, 545, 555, 589
- Vardø fishing village and Vardøhus castle in Finnmark 225, 414, 416, 426, 435–440, 445, 447, 543, 544
- Veere in Zeeland 197
- Vefsn, parish in Helgeland 540
- Veidholmen, fishing village in Nordmøre 556
- Venice 546–549, 569
- Vesterålen, region (*fogderi*) in northern Norway 430, 431, 440, 441, 447, 499, 537–539, 551, 552
- Vestvågøy, parish in Lofoten 552
- Vetterliden, *gard* at Bryggen 377, 418
- Veøy, marketplace in Romsdal 419, 420
- Vindafjord at the shipping lane to Bergen 181
- Visby 39, 40, 43, 45, 47, 50, 53, 54, 64, 91, 343, 596, 608
- Visby, its German merchant organisations 342
- Wlissingen in Zeeland 196
- Vynlande* 473
- Værøy, parish in Lofoten 556, 559
- Vågan, marketplace and fishing village in Lofoten, today named Storvågan 25, 26, 31, 92, 310, 419, 420, 576
- Vågsbotn, quarter in Bergen 174, 211, 368, 369
- Walcheren, peninsula in Zeeland 196, 197
- Warendorf in Westphalia 64
- Warnemünde, outport of Rostock 266
- Wash, gulf in Eastern England 24, 28, 31, 708
- Wegeleben in Westphalia 191, 232, 233, 355, 390
- Weichsel, today Wisla, river in Poland 46, 130, 517
- Wells in Norfolk 169
- Wendish towns: Lübeck, Wismar, Rostock, Stralsund, Hamburg, Lüneburg
- Weser river 186, 226, 232, 234, 237
- Westphalia 85, 89–91, 92, 165, 191, 192, 203, 224, 231–233, 237, 237–140, 368
- Westerschouwen in Zeeland 196
- Whitby in Yorkshire 515, 516, 520
- White Sea 40, 439, 541
- Widabel*, port in northern Bohuslän 44
- Wiek (Viken), ancient name for the Oslofjord region 125
- Wiekfahrer’s guild in Rostock 125–126
- Winchester 75, 503, 703
- Wisclemburg, “the castle at Wisla” 46
- Wismar 43, 45, 46, 49–52, 64, 86, 89, 105, 109, 110, 116, 117, **118–122**, 123, 125–127, 142, 145, 151, 166, 167, 174, 175, 204, 216, 223, 225, 230, 231, 232, 241–243, 246, 251, 254, 267, 268, 270–272, 275, 304, 340, 341, 343, 344, 363, 372, 396, 409, 452, 458, 459, 465, 479, 480, 483, 568, 573, 577, 599, 601, 630, 647, 648, 676, 677, 679, 687, 688, 691, 693–695, 701, 702, 705
- Wismar, Norwegian immigration 47–48
- Wismar winter residents 353–357
- Wismar’s struggle against Lübeck’s Freight Lords 102–104
- Wismar excluded from Kontor 368–370
- Wismar beer 118–119, 366
- Wittenberg 64
- Wolgast, town/port in Pommern 47, 167, 689
- Wolmar, Hansa town in Livonia/Livland 139, 140
- Worms 234

- Yarmouth 44, 56, 66, 73, 74, 85, 155, 156,  
169, 172, 503, 651, 697
- York 169, 596, 650
- Yorkshire 31, 189, 516
- Ypres cloth 188
- Zeeland 43, 102, 189, **194–197**, 199, 201,  
203, 208, 219, 240, 242–243
- Zeeland herring fisheries 515, 521, 528
- Zierikzee in Zeeland 196, 209
- Zuiderzee, today IJsselmeer 54, 80, 81, 82,  
92, 180, 236–239, 242, 251
- Zuiderzee towns, group of Hansa towns  
(Kampen, Deventer, Zwolle, Zutphen,  
Stavoren, Elburg, Arnhem were active in  
Bergen) 64, **85–87**, 88, 89, 122, 128, 179,  
196, **197–207**, 217, 223, 226, 228, 230,  
240, 241, 243, 245, 271, 272, 327, 335,  
352, 354, 360, 362, 471, 495, 507, 517,  
518, 569, 573, 577
- Zuiderzee towns' conflicts with Bergen Kon-  
tor 100–104, 107, 125, 151, 208, 218,  
220, 222, 235, 348, 358, 359, 366, 370–  
371, 383, 404, 407, 463–465, 469, 473–  
475, 479, 480, 567
- Zuiderzee merchants as winter residents 359–  
360, 363, 370, 376
- Zutphen, Hansa town 64, 85, 86, 197, 198,  
208, 701
- Zwin, river leading to Brügge 35, 82, 187,  
194, 196
- Zwolle, Hansa town 85, 86, 197, 208, 235,  
360, 469
- Øresund (cf. Sundtoll) 40, 41, 50, 99, 131,  
133–135, 170, 193, 206, 208, 216, 219,  
230, 251–254, 256–269, 273, 363, 372,  
453, 460, 478, 481, 482, 566, 691–696
- Øyford, fishing village in Senja 556
- Åfjorden, *gard* at Bryggen 375, 377
- Ålborg 33, 83, 134, 141

## INDEX OF HISTORICAL PERSONS

The names are from sources written in Middle Low German, Latin, English, French and Scandinavian languages. The same name is often written differently or misunderstood. The first name is easiest to identify across language borders, the second name is often more problematic. To overcome these problems I have organised the index according to first names, and normalised them. Second names have only been normalised if it is evident what it meant, or if the same first name is connected to two second names which seem to be variations of the same name.

“Johannes” and derivations from it was the most common name in our material, spelled in many ways in several languages. In this index I have standardised this name to Johan (Germans), John (Englishmen) and Jon (Norwegians).

First names often appear in different forms. “Gerhard” could be shortened to “Gereke” or “Gert”. In such cases I have assumed that these versions were used as separate names, unless circumstances indicate differently. In other cases the connection between the long and short form is more evident, as when “Bartholomeus” is shortened to “Meus”. In the latter case I have normalised to the long form. Cf. the introduction to Appendix II.

It is often debatable whether identical names in two sources refer to the same person. This is discussed in the introduction to Appendix II.

In the description of persons I have only used information given in this book. In many cases more information can be found by going to the references given in this book or other sources.

“Bergenfahrer” is in this index used in the sense “German merchant who traded to Bergen”. “Winter resident” is used in the sense “German merchant who lived in Bergen or who owned a house or firm in Bergen”. Most sources do not permit to decide whether a merchant who owned a house or firm in Bergen also lived or had lived there.

Place names were often used as family names in medieval towns. This second name would then be the town or village where the relevant person or one of his ancestors was born. This makes it difficult to decide whether “Hinrik van Dortmund” was a citizen of Dortmund, or a citizen of Lübeck – or another Hansa town – whose ancestors came from Dortmund. In this register I have written “Hinrik from Dortmund” if it is evident or likely that he was a citizen of Dortmund. If it is evident or likely that “Dortmund” is his family name, I have kept the way it is written in the source, which could be “Johan Dortmund” or “Johan van Dortmund”. Only if this question is relevant for the main text and the conclusions drawn there, did I make any research on this point. It could be possible to arrive at more precise conclusions by consulting additional sources.

For Middle Low German names I have used the orthography of Friedrich Bruns, *Bergenfahrer*.

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| Absalon Pedersen Beyer, priest and author in Bergen 346, 392, 487       | Albert Platere, <i>Bergenfahrer</i> 635, 685                                |
| Adam from Bergen, skipper 76, 603                                       | Albert Segge, skipper 612   |
| Adam fil. Hugo de Cayth, skipper 604                                    | Albert van Staden, <i>Bergenfahrer</i> 685                                  |
| Adlard from Doreen, skipper 623   | Albert Strode, Hanseatic <i>Bergenfahrer</i> 163, 638, 643, 686             |
| Agge Annis, skipper from Molkwerum 254, 694                             | Albrecht of Mecklenburg, King of Sweden 123, 689,                           |
| Agnes “in the sales booths of the Hollanders” 213                       | Alv in Kroken, merchant from Trondheim 288                                  |
| Albert Brand, skipper 137   | Amelius Luchow, winter resident and town councillor in Lübeck 624, 675, 680 |
| Albert Brokman, winter resident from Lübeck 628, 679                    | Amond Dintston, skipper from Oslo 651                                       |
| Albert to der Brugge, winter resident and town councillor in Lübeck 456 | Anders Hansen, mayor of Bergen 425, 426                                     |
| Albert Grote, winter resident from Lübeck 162                           | Anders Jonsen, <i>setesvein</i> of the Archbishop 445                       |
| Albert Hinriksen, skipper from Kampen 692                               | Anders Jonsson, butcher in Bergen 485                                       |
| Albert from Kampen, skipper and merchant 85, 599, 603, 606, 608         | Anders Mogensen, skipper of a <i>jekt</i> 447                               |
| Albert Lange, skipper from Stralsund 600                                | Anders Sogn, urban councillor in Bergen 425, 426, 437, 447                  |
| Albert Laue, Hansa skipper 597  | Andreas Hoppener, skipper from Rostock 693–696                              |
| Albert from Lübeck, skipper 77, 598, 612                                | Andreas Nyenhus, skipper 627, 689   |
| Albert Parlement, skipper 611   | Andreas Sappe, merchant (from Tonsberg?) 287                                |

- Andries Colennée, “skipper from Norway” 193
- Anfinn from Tønsberg, skipper 604
- Anton from Lübeck, skipper 613
- Arnald, see Arnold
- Arnd, see Arnt
- Arne, skipper from Norway 607
- Arne “in Aubø” and “in Skagen” from Stavanger 289
- Arne Tordsen, *setesvein* of the Archbishop 445, 447
- Arnold from Esp, skipper 603
- Arnold from Estland, skipper 598
- Arnold Hinriksson, skipper 641
- Arnold Kendale, skipper 596
- Arnold Kruse, skipper 613
- Arnold Lewe, skipper 611
- Arnold Lütke, skipper from Rostock/Wismar 623, 688
- Arnold Sconewold, winter resident from Lübeck 455, 456, 681
- Arnt Brandeshagen, skipper from Stralsund
- Arnt Klausson, captain of a privateer from Holland 26
- Arnt Make, winter resident 455, 456, 632
- Arnt Paal, winter resident 456
- Arnt Redersen, Hollander in Bergen 214
- Arnt van Sladen, winter resident from Lübeck 455, 626
- Arnt *snidker* (carpenter), citizen of Bergen 485
- Arnulf Hydetop, skipper from Rostock 599
- Arnulf Skrupover, merchant from Oslo 48
- Arvid Ingjeldsson, urban councillor in Bergen 419, 421
- Askel Knutsson, skipper of *jekt* 447
- Askel from Norway, skipper 603
- Aslak “in Aubø” and “in Skagen”, skipper from Stavanger 289, 290, 598
- Aslak Bolt, Archbishop of Nidaros 562
- Aslak Engelbrektsson, *setesvein* of the Archbishop 444–447
- Ateldorn, skipper 671, 674
- Audfinn, bishop of Stavanger 129
- Auwel Petersson, skipper from Amsterdam 134, 208
- Baltzar Dunnebeir, skipper from Rostock 695
- Baltzar Klinkow, merchant from Stralsund 459
- Baltzar Wiland, skipper from Wismar 694
- Bartholomeus Goldsmith (*Gulsmyd*), merchant from Oslo 192
- Bartholomeus Honnd, skipper 638, 642
- Bartholomeus Jan Betson, skipper from Amsterdam 208
- Bartholomeus Remetre, skipper 644
- Barthol[omeus] Riker, see Bredor Rikr
- Batholomeus Voet, pirate 372
- Bembeke Pastowe, skipper 660
- Beneke [=Bernhard] Bocholt, skipper from Lübeck 665, 676
- Bernd, see Bernt
- Bernhard, cf. Bernt
- Bernhard from Bremen, skipper 607
- Bernhard van Heide, skipper 610, 611
- Bernhard Ludkinson, skipper 645
- Bernhard from Norway, citizen of Stralsund 47
- Bernhard from Norway, citizen of Wismar 48
- Bernhard Stour, skipper from Bremen 642, 644, 687
- Bernt Aldewerlt, skipper from Lübeck 655, 658, 675
- Bernt van der Berne, Lübeck Bergenfahrer 140
- Bernt Desenk, skipper 137
- Bernt van Greve, skipper 674
- Bernt van Halle, skipper 132, 622, 624, 689
- Bernt van der Heide, skipper 671, 672
- Bernt Knoflok, winter resident and skipper from Lübeck 628, 680
- Bernt Kröpelin, winter resident from Wismar 117, 121, 353, 456
- Bernt Kruse, Bergenfahrer from Bremen 635, 684
- Bernt Morsell, Bergenfahrer 625, 684
- Bernt van Osnabrück, Bergenfahrer 685
- Bernt Scoping, winter residents 456
- Bernt Smyt, skipper 649, 671, 673
- Bernt Tymmermann, Bergenfahrer 625, 686
- Bertil Jansen, skipper from Lübeck 695
- Bertil Olufsen, scribe on Bergenhus castle 433
- Bertolt van Alen, skipper 689
- Bertolt Burammer, urban councillor in Danzig 461
- Bertolt Egel, skipper and Bergenfahrer from Stralsund 117
- Bertolt van Göttingen, winter resident 456

- Bertolt Holthusen, winter resident 456  
 Bertolt Horlyng, skipper 611  
 Bertolt Lange, Bergenfahrer 684  
 Bertolt Maybome, skipper 643  
 Bertolt van Vene, skipper 655  
 Bertram from Norway, citizen of Stralsund 47  
 Bertram from Stralsund, skipper 598  
 Bertram Westhow, skipper 598  
 Birger, Swedish earl 302  
 Bjarne Erlingsson, Norwegian magnate 279  
 Borchart van Holthusen, winter resident 456  
 Borchart from Norway, citizen of Stralsund 47  
 Bottolv Bottolvsen from Skjøtningsberg in Finnmark 417  
 Bredor/Barthol Rikr, merchant from Trondheim 288, 289  
 Brun Sprenger, winter resident from Lübeck 454, 455, 638, 682  
 Brynjulv Natolvsson, nordfar 422, 423  
 Børge, skipper from Falkenberg in Halland, which was Danish until 1645, 141  
 Bård from Falkestede, merchant from Norway 286
- Charles V, emperor 436  
 Christian I, Dano-Norwegian king 127, 135, 210–212, 230, 382, 387  
 Christian II, Dano-Norwegian king 106–109, 125, 129, 183, 213, 373, 382, 383, 410, 411, 428, 438, 448, 449, 475, 482, 484, 486, 493, 552, 570, 577, 582  
 Christian III, Dano-Norwegian king 481, 563, 567, 593  
 Christian Molberg, inspector of fisheries 533  
 Christoffer, King of the Nordic countries 209, 386, 424  
 Christoffer Valkendorf, commander of Bergenhus 487  
 Cristofero Fioravante, author and sailor from Venice 547
- Dagfind Tollaksen, skipper of a *jekt* 447  
 Damebs Chesthovene, skipper in Boston 611  
 Daniel from Estland, skipper 612  
 Daniel Kil [=Kiel?], Bergenfahrer 639  
 Degherart van Minden, skipper 666  
 Detlef Klinkerode, skipper from Lübeck 659, 661, 675  
 Detlef van Osnabrück, winter resident 456
- Detlef Verdu, skipper 137  
 Detmar, chronicler from Lübeck 566  
 Detmar van Tunen, winter resident and town councillor in Lübeck 456  
 Didrik van Asten, winter resident 456  
 Didrik of Bern's saga 34  
 Didrik/Tideke Borchstorp, winter resident 647  
 Didrik Didriksen, winter resident 375  
 Didrik Ebbe, skipper 693, 695  
 Didrik Gronow, skipper 640, 689  
 Didrik Holloger, Mayor of Rostock 353  
 Didrik Hugging, skipper 643, 689  
 Didrik (Dirck) Johanson, winter resident from Deventer 390  
 (Didrik) Tideke Junge, winter resident from Lübeck 454–456, 643, 680  
 (Didrik) Tideke Kropelin, Bergenfahrer 684  
 (Didrik) Tideke Kruceman, skipper from Stralsund 646  
 (Didrik) Tideke Krumbeke, skipper 671, 673, 676  
 (Didrik) Thidericus from Norway, citizen of Rostock 47  
 Didrik Rodewolt, skipper 664, 666  
 Didrik van Someren, winter resident from Bremen 451  
 (Didrik) Tideke Steer, winter resident from Lübeck 455, 456, 634, 682  
 Didrik (Tideke) Stenbeke, skipper 671, 672  
 Didrik Tolner, Bergenfahrer from Hannover 232  
 Didrik (Tideke) Vogeler, skipper 673, 677  
 Didrik Wellyke, skipper 638  
 (Didrik) Tideke Westhof, Bergenfahrer 624, 686  
 Tideke Wiltbek, winter resident 456  
 Dineys Raffen, merchant from Lübeck 459  
 Duncan Scot, citizen of Bergen 485
- Edward I, King of England 55, 297  
 Edward fil. Mint, skipper 599  
 Egart Bartzow, skipper 654, 658, 665  
 Egbert Knokel, winter resident from Lübeck 455, 456, 632, 680  
 Eghebrecht Dodensone, skipper 620  
 Egil's saga 38, 41, 442  
 Eiler Friis, skipper from Hamburg 692  
 Einar Blonose, Norwegian skipper 283, 604

- Einar from Oslo, skipper 605  
 Eindride Erlendsson, Norwegian magnate 129  
 Eindride Peine, merchant from Tønsberg 49, 280  
 Elard Grawerok, skipper 133, 656, 664  
 Elard Minden, winter resident from Lübeck 165, 627, 681  
 Elard Schiveman, skipper 665  
 Elia Rous, skipper from Oslo 605  
 Elner van Bremen, skipper 674  
 Emplryn from Kele, skipper 610  
 Engelbrecht from Kampen, skipper 601  
 Engelbrecht from Lübeck, skipper 605  
 Engelbrecht from Magdeburg, skipper 601  
 Engelbrecht Nyeman, Bergenfahrer from Lübeck 455, 632, 681  
 Engelbrecht (Eghebrecht) from Rocha, skipper 598  
 Engelbrekt Halvorsen, skipper of a *jekt* 444  
 Engelbrekt from Trondheim, skipper 605  
 Epperdt Bremer, Bergenfahrer from Bremen 460  
 Erik Berntsson, skipper from Rostock 694, 695  
 Erik Bjørnsson, commander of Bergenhus castle 432  
 Erik Fincke, skipper of a *jekt* 447  
 Erik Jorandsen, skipper of a *jekt* 447  
 Erik Magnusson, King of Norway 46, 87  
 Erik from the monastery of Munkeliv in Bergen 283  
 Erik of Pommern, King of the Nordic union 357, 369, 466, 711  
 Erik Valkendorf, Archbishop of Nidaros 425, 443  
 Erlend Timme, Norwegian knight 46  
 Erling Breide, urban councillor in Bergen 287, 604  
 Erling Steinvegg, pretender to the Norwegian throne 41  
 Erling Vidkunsson, Norwegian magnate 279  
 Ernard Kvite/Gaut, skipper from Bergen 606, 608  
 Ernst van Lübeck, Bergenfahrer 628, 684  
 Ermund Skeype, skipper 606  
 Erp (= Herbert) Krumben, winter resident from Lübeck 455, 621, 680  
 Erperslagen, skipper 659, 660  
 Ertmann van der Brugge, Bergenfahrer 632, 683  
 Esge Bilde, commander of Bergenhus castle 141, 348  
 Everard Hagemester, skipper 632, 689  
 Everard Hardenek, skipper 613  
 Evert Jacobsson, Mayor of Amsterdam 215–216  
 Evert Johansson, skipper from Kampen 664, 666, 675  
 Evert Lewenkamp, Bergenfahrer 684  
 Evert Paal, winter resident from Lübeck 141, 456  
 Evert Ravensberg, Bergenfahrer from Lübeck 631, 681  
 Evert Russenberg, Bergenfahrer from Lübeck 628, 681  
 Evert Schröder, skipper 262  
 Evert van Sladen, Bergenfahrer 624, 685  
 Evert Struk, skipper from Prussia 676  
 Evert Warendorp, Bergenfahrer and skipper from Lübeck 676  
 Eystein, King of Norway 25  
 Eystein, Archbishop in Nidaros 541  
 Eystein Perhowe/Parwe, skipper from Trondheim 598, 606  
 Fredrik from Bergen, skipper 660, 601  
 Fredrik I, Dano-Norwegian king 411, 412, 482  
 Fredrik II, German emperor 53  
 Fredrik Farne, skipper from Bremen 687  
 Fredrik Friis, skipper based in Bergen 434  
 Fredrik Krog, skipper from Bremen 261, 262  
 Fredrik from Lübeck, skipper 613  
 Fredrik Ostra, winter resident from Hamburg 361  
 Fredrik Parkham, skipper 611  
 Fredrik Sander, skipper from Wismar 693  
 Fredrik Sneppe, merchant from Hamburg 229  
 Fredrik Stien, skipper 610  
 Fredrik van Varle, skipper 144, 631, 635, 669  
 Fredrik van Verden, Bergenfahrer 683  
 Gaute Isaksson, Norwegian magnate 280  
 Georg van Altzen, skipper 655–656, 658, 661, 663–665, 667, 668  
 Gereke from Lübeck, skipper 599

- Gereke Smit, Bergenfahrer 633, 685  
 Gereke Vring, skipper 613  
 Gereke Warendorp, skipper 612  
 Gereke Werpford, skipper 612  
 Gerhard van Anendorp, citizen of Stralsund 357  
 Gerhard Browy..., skipper 636  
 Gerhard van Collet, skipper from Danzig 648  
 Gerhard Molend, skipper 598  
 Gerhard van Münster 620  
 Gerhard from Rostock, skipper 613  
 Gerhard Sostap, skipper 657  
 Gerhard from Stralsund, skipper 601  
 Gerhard from Wismar, skipper 599  
 Gerlach Grulle, skipper from Stralsund 627, 688  
 Gerlach Johansen, skipper from Stavoren 692  
 Gert van Alen, winter resident 456  
 Gert "barber", citizen of Bergen 485  
 Gert Girinck, winter resident from Deventer 390  
 Gert van Eynen, Bergenfahrer from Danzig 461  
 Gert Glashagen, skipper 663  
 Gert van Hamme, Bergenfahrer 626, 683  
 Gert Harneman, Bergenfahrer from Deventer 461  
 Gert Hermanssen, skipper from Bremen 262, 692  
 Gert Holt, skipper 662, 663, 665–667  
 Gert Kock, winter resident from Bremen 362  
 Gert Möen, Bergenfahrer 684  
 Gert van Münster, Bergenfahrer 684  
 Gert Trobe, winter resident 375  
 Gert van der Vechte, winter resident 456  
 Gert Vischer, skipper 143, 673, 677  
 Gert Westhof, winter resident 456  
 Gerwin Pape, Bergenfahrer 622, 685  
 Gisbrecht Jansson, skipper from Osterdam 649  
 Gobel Schoneke, winter resident 456  
 Godeke van Achim, skipper 143, 669, 672, 673  
 Godeke Berkhof, Bergenfahrer 620, 682  
 Godeke Brewes, skipper 635, 636  
 Godeke Burmester, winter resident and town councillor in Lübeck 364  
 Godeke Grandecran, Bergenfahrer and skipper 631, 684  
 Godeke Grote, Bergenfahrer 132  
 Godeke van Hackede, skipper 669  
 Godeke van Hagh, skipper 639  
 Godeke Paal, winter resident 456  
 Godeke Raven, skipper 644, 689  
 Godeke Rover, skipper 642, 673  
 Godeke van Soest, skipper 120, 663, 665–667  
 Godeke Wale, skipper 630  
 Godemund from Lübeck, skipper 511  
 Goswan in Nidarholm monastery, merchant and monk 283, 293, 597  
 Gotfried from Lübeck, skipper 599  
 Gotschalk Rough, skipper 641  
 Gotschalk Vorråd, skipper 661, 677  
 Gregorius Andersson Unge, Norwegian magnate 83  
 Gregorius Clementsen, nordfar from Trondheim 417  
 Gregorius de la Faleyse, skipper 607  
 Gregorius Haffszo, winter resident 375  
 Gregorius Kort from Danzig, skipper 692  
 Grettis saga 443  
 Grim from Norway, skipper 603  
 Gudbrand Bron, skipper from Tønsberg 649, 651  
 Gude, servant of the commander of Bergenhus 429  
 Gude Eriksen, citizen of Trondheim 429  
 Gudleiv Gerdski, Norwegian merchant 37  
 Guido, count of Flanders 84  
 Gunnar from Bergen, skipper 600  
 Gunnar Bratt, skipper from Oslo or Tønsberg 287, 600, 604, 605  
 Gunnar Jonsson, urban councillor in Bergen 423, 425  
 Gunnar Sut, skipper from Tønsberg 287, 606  
 Gyse Gerhardsson, Bergenfahrer from Lübeck 621, 679  
 Haldin from Bergen, skipper 597  
 Haldor in Kjelvik, urban councillor in Bergen 425, 427  
 Haldor Olsen from Troms, servant of German winter resident 417, 418  
 Halfred's saga 41  
 Halvard, merchant from eastern Norway 649  
 Halvard Søgn, *setesvein* of the Archbishop 437, 438, 445  
 Halvard Tolston, skipper from Oslo 651

- Halvor Kolle, skipper from Bergen 606  
 Hamon Gaut, skipper 605, 608  
 Hans, Dano-Norwegian king 174, 382, 393  
 Hans Berchman, Bergenfahrer from Lübeck 460  
 Hans Brant, Bergenfahrer from Lübeck 165  
 Hans Brinck, Bergenfahrer from Lübeck 152, 647  
 Hans Dickman, winter resident from Bremen 362  
 Hans Ditlef, skipper from Rostock 692  
 Hans Eilivsson, skipper from Tønsberg 651  
 Hans Engelke, Bergenfahrer from Lübeck 166  
 Hans Grambeken, Bergenfahrer from Lübeck 634  
 Hans Holste, skipper from Lübeck 108  
 Hans Krevet, winter resident from Padeborn 232, 233  
 Hans Krummer, winter resident 456  
 Hans Kynckel, Bergenfahrer from Lübeck 129  
 Hans Köller, skipper from Lübeck 693  
 Hans Leffardes, merchant from Deventer 458  
 Hans Michilsen, skipper from Rostock 693  
 Hans Möller, skipper from Rostock 694, 695  
 Hans Möller, Bergenfahrer from Lübeck 166, 646  
 Hans Northhoff, Bergenfahrer from Lübeck 646  
 Hans Olsen, skipper of a *jekt* 447  
 Hans Rese, Bergenfahrer from Lübeck 232  
 Hans van Reydeken, Bergenfahrer from Lübeck in Boston 163  
 Hans Rike, skipper from Rostock 262, 694, 695  
 Hans Ruge, merchant from Wismar 459  
 Hans Ruman, winter resident from Lübeck 404  
 Hans Sanders, skipper from Rostock 695  
 Hans Schinilbonn, skipper from Stralsund 253, 460, 693  
 Hans Schoping, Bergenfahrer from Lübeck 622  
 Hans Schulten, Bergenfahrer in Boston 163  
 Hans Scuttorp, skipper from Lübeck 681  
 Hans Siverts, skipper from Rostock 693, 695  
 Hans Steffen, winter resident from Hamburg 361, 362  
 Hans Stubbeman, winter resident from Bremen 459  
 Hans Vegener, winter resident 375  
 Hans Vurst, skipper from Kampen 692  
 Hans Westendorf, skipper from Wismar 693  
 Hartwich Greven, winter resident from Wismar 355  
 Hartwich Semme, winter resident from Lübeck 455, 456, 629, 681  
 Hawardus from Norway, citizen of Rostock 47, 48  
 Haymun Mossel, skipper 597  
 Heinrich Steffens, Norwegian-German author and professor 533  
 Heinz, see Hinrik  
 Helmich Albertsson, winter resident from Hamburg 361  
 Helmich Berghvelt, skipper 660, 665  
 Helmich Helmichsen, winter resident 375  
 Helmich ter Porten, Bergenfahrer 645, 685  
 Helmich van Springe, Bergenfahrer 621, 685  
 Helynd (Erling?) from Bergen, skipper 598  
 Hemming Grube, skipper 671  
 Hemming Gruter, Bergenfahrer from Braunschweig 166, 645  
 Hemming Hemmingsen, skipper 137  
 Hemming Richter, skipper 661  
 Heming from Trondheim, skipper 597  
 Henneke van Berge, skipper from Lübeck 656, 675  
 Henneke van Demen, Hansa merchant in Oslo 192  
 Henneke Hengde, skipper 137  
 Henneke (= Johan) Hund, skipper 663, 669, 674, 676  
 Henning Arntssen, skipper from Lübeck 108  
 Henning Grube, skipper from Lübeck 672  
 Henning Kelsen, skipper of a *jekt* 447  
 Henrik Krummedike, member of the Norwegian council of the realm 141, 440  
 Henrik from Norway, skipper and citizen of a Hansa town 46–47, 596, 600  
 Henrik from Oslo, skipper 607  
 Henry I, King of England 27  
 Henry II, King of England 34  
 Henry III, English king 281, 300  
 Henry IV, English king 159, 170, 174, 393, 468  
 Henry VI, English king 466  
 Henry VII, English king 393

- Henry V, German emperor 33  
 Henry from Stratham (anglification of a German name) 49  
 Herder van Stade, winter resident 456  
 Hermann Aldewerlt, Bergenfahrer 717  
 Hermann Borken, skipper 643, 644, 689  
 Hermann from Brandenburg, skipper 601  
 Hermann Brun, skipper 620, 679  
 Hermann Busch, skipper 635, 689  
 Hermann Desen, skipper from Lübeck 598  
 Hermann Dinckela, Bergenfahrer from Bremen 459  
 Hermann van der Duvell, skipper from Stralsund 120, 673, 675  
 Hermann Ellebeck, winter resident from Hamburg 361, 362  
 Hermann Godebusch, skipper 603  
 Hermann van Halle, Bergenfahrer and skipper 683  
 Hermann Hemeler, skipper from Lübeck 77, 598, 599  
 Hermann Hesse, winter resident from Wegelben 191, 194, 232, 390, 409, 453  
 Hermann Holthusen, Bergenfahrer 643, 684  
 Hermann Hopper, Bergenfahrer and skipper 633, 684  
 Hermann Husman, Bergenfahrer from Deventer 117, 199, 630, 680  
 Hermann Junge, skipper 610  
 Hermann from Kalnesowe, skipper 601  
 Hermann van Kampen, skipper from Lübeck 666, 675  
 Hermann Koch, Bergenfahrer 684  
 Hermann Kolberg, skipper 662, 676  
 Hermann Kolnare (from Cologne), winter resident 34, 90  
 Hermann Kropelin, Bergenfahrer 684, 686  
 Hermann van Leiden, Bergenfahrer from Lübeck 627, 680  
 Hermann van Loen, winter resident 456  
 Hermann from Lübeck, skipper 613  
 Hermann Lying, Bergenfahrer 670  
 Hermann Make, Bergenfahrer from Rostock 117  
 Hermann van Minden, winter resident and skipper from Lübeck 162, 454, 455, 628–630, 684, 688  
 Hermann van Münster, skipper 649  
 Hermann Nagel, Bergenfahrer 684  
 Hermann Nortmeyer, Bergenfahrer from Lübeck 621, 681  
 Hermann from Norway, citizen of Rostock 47  
 Hermann from Norway, shoemaker and citizen of Wismar 48  
 Hermann Nyestad, skipper 669, 670  
 Hemann Oldendorp, winter resident and skipper from Lübeck 455, 631, 681  
 Hermann Osnabrück, Bergenfahrer and town councillor in Lübeck 364, 532, 666, 668  
 Hermann Oveneter, Bergenfahrer from Lübeck 90, 191, 194  
 Hermann Paal, winter resident from Lübeck 455, 456, 627, 681  
 Hermann Parlement, skipper 610  
 Hermann Pening, Bergenfahrer 624, 685  
 Hermann Plender, winter resident from Bremen 362  
 Hermann Plessing from *Northberg* in Germany 56  
 Hermann Rese, skipper 612  
 Hermann Robekyn, winter resident 454  
 Hermann Roman, Bergenfahrer from Lübeck 636, 681  
 Hermann Sale, skipper 597  
 Hermann Sasse, skipper 642, 645, 690  
 Hermann Scep, skipper 597  
 Hermann Schepeller, Bergenfahrer from Wismar 166, 647  
 Hermann Schoteler, Bergenfahrer from Kampen 390, 712  
 Hermann Scoping, Bergenfahrer from Lübeck 423  
 Hermann Semme, Bergenfahrer 637, 685  
 Hermann Soterland, skipper 598  
 Hermann Stark, Bergenfahrer 685  
 Hermann Stenvorde, winter resident from Lübeck 455, 621, 682  
 Hermann Sylen, Bergenfahrer 631, 686  
 Hermann Vlint, skipper 657  
 Hermann Vure, Bergenfahrer 620, 683  
 Hermann van Wenden, Bergenfahrer 686  
 Hermann Westfal, skipper from Stralsund 646  
 Hermann Witte, winter resident from Lübeck 454, 455, 641, 682  
 Hermann Witte, skipper 611  
 Hermann Womate, Bergenfahrer 686  
 Herner from Bergen, skipper 598  
 Herre Abbis, skipper from Stavoren 692

- Herre Hollikens, skipper from Molkwerum 253, 693, 694
- Hidde Bloke, skipper 599
- Hildebrand Veckinchusen, Hansa merchant at the Bruges Kontor 131, 187–190, 228, 239, 248, 499, 699, 704
- Hildebrand Vorenwold, winter resident from Lübeck 631
- Hinrik Alardsson, skipper 672
- Hinrik Arndes, winter resident from Lübeck 454, 455, 639, 679
- Hinrik Best, skipper 137
- Hinrik Biskop, winter resident from Lübeck 455, 456, 620, 625, 679
- Hinrik Blauw, winter resident from Kampen 362
- Hinrik Bodeker, Bergenfahrer 682
- Hinrik Bonesolke, skipper 597
- Hinrik van Borken, skipper 654
- Hinrik Bornholm, winter resident from Lübeck 165, 455, 456, 627, 633, 679
- Hinrik Brandenburg, Bergenfahrer from Lübeck 620, 679
- Hinrik from Braunschweig, skipper 611
- Hinrik Broekhagen, skipper 666
- Hinrik Brun, Bergenfahrer 625, 683
- Hinrik Buren, Bergenfahrer, 683
- Hinrik Buxtehude, winter resident 456
- Hinrik Dambek, skipper from Stralsund 643, 688
- Hinrik Dethmers, skipper from Lübeck 672, 675
- Hinrik Distelow, winter resident from Lübeck 455, 633, 679
- Hinrik Drewes, Bergenfahrer 683
- Hinrik (Heinz) Drivut, skipper 655, 660–662, 664–667
- Hinrik Dumen, skipper 673
- Hinrik Dumen, merchant from Hamburg 459
- Hinrik Egbrecht, skipper from Rostock 694–696
- Hinrik van Estele, winter resident from Bremen 451
- Hinrik Fris, winter resident from Bremen 362
- Hinrik Gerenrode, Bergenfahrer from Lübeck 165
- Hinrik Goldenbogen, Bergenfahrer from Lübeck 237
- Hinrik Grambek, winter resident from Lübeck 455, 635, 680
- Hinrik Grawert, skipper from Stralsund 687
- Hinrik from Greifswald, skipper 600
- Hinrik Greve, Bergenfahrer from Braunschweig 163, 165, 232, 644, 683
- Hinrik Grovenberg, skipper 667
- Hinrik (Heinz) Hagemester, skipper from Rostock 125, 628, 687
- Heinz Hamburg, skipper 120, 661
- Hinrik van Hamme, Bergenfahrer 633, 683
- Hinrik van Hasselt, winter resident from Kampen 20, 362
- Hinrik Hetlage, Bergenfahrer 629, 684
- Hinrik Holtkamp, winter resident and skipper from Lübeck 455, 456, 625, 660, 680
- Hinrik Hoppenbrouwer, merchant from Kampen 461
- Hinrik Hoveman, Bergenfahrer from Lübeck 622, 680
- Hinrik van der Hude, Bergenfahrer and urban councillor from Bremen 225, 360, 376, 451, 452
- Hinrik Kanne, skipper from Lübeck 694, 695
- Hinrik Karwitz, skipper from Stralsund 692, 693
- Hinrik Keding, skipper from Lübeck 663, 675
- Hinrik Kerseber, Bergenfahrer 632, 684
- Hinrik Kideman, skipper from Braunschweig 232, 645
- Hinrik Königsberg, Bergenfahrer 718
- Hinrik Koning, Bergenfahrer from Wismar 117, 121
- Hinrik Konstin, skipper from Lübeck 633, 688
- Hinrik Cracht, winter resident from Lübeck 389, 456
- Hinrik Kron, urban councillor in Rostock 421, 459, 469
- Hinrik Kropelin, Bergenfahrer from Lübeck 628, 680
- Hinrik van der Kulen, skipper 671, 676
- Hinrik (Heinz) Lange, skipper and Bergenfahrer from Lübeck 119, 621, 670, 680
- Hinrik Langewethill, skipper 638
- Hinrik of Letland, chronicler 37
- Hinrik Lippe, Bergenfahrer 77
- Hinrik Loffue, Bergenfahrer from Bremen 362
- Hinrik Luchow, Bergenfahrer from Lübeck

- 456, 624  
 Hinrik van Lue, Bergenfahrer from Lübeck 627, 680  
 Hinrik Löwe, Duke of Saxony 36, 45, 46  
 Hinrik Lusche, skipper from Gotland/Visby 620, 688  
 Heinz Malchin, skipper 121, 659, 660, 667, 676  
 Hinrik Melbek, winter resident from Lübeck 455, 635, 681  
 Hinrik van Minden, winter resident 456  
 Heinz Monike (Moneke), skipper 672, 676  
 Hinrik Müller, Bergenfahrer from Lübeck 165  
 Hinrik Nening, Bergenfahrer 637, 685  
 Hinrik Nortmeyer, skipper 663, 673, 675  
 Hinrik Notlike, winter resident from Lübeck 455, 456, 627, 681  
 Hinrik Noyteman, winter resident 375  
 Hinrik Nyppe, winter resident 456  
 Hinrik van Olden, Bergenfahrer from Lübeck 165, 628, 681  
 Hinrik Pape, skipper from Stralsund 606  
 Hinrik Pening, Bergenfahrer 685  
 Hinrik Plote, skipper 613, 661  
 Hinrik de la Porte, skipper from Lübeck 613  
 Hinrik Raven, skipper from Lübeck 656, 676  
 Hinrik Redels, Bergenfahrer from Bremen 362  
 Hinrik van Reydeken, Bergenfahrer from Lübeck 165  
 Hinrik (Heinz) Rode, skipper from Stralsund 672, 673, 676, 688  
 Hinrik from Rostock, skipper 600, 601  
 Hinrik Rostock, Bergenfahrer and urban councillor from Wismar 356  
 Hinrik Rust, winter resident 350  
 Hinrik Rutenberg, winter resident from Lübeck 455, 456, 630, 681  
 Hinrik Sak, Bergenfahrer from Lübeck 623, 681  
 Hinrik Schinkel, Bergenfahrer 631, 685  
 Hinrik Scuttorp, Bergenfahrer 685  
 Hinrik (Heinz) Semelow, winter resident and skipper from Lübeck 456, 630, 656, 681  
 Hinrik Severin, winter resident from Kampen 362  
 Hinrik Sparke, winter resident 456  
 Hinrik Sperling, winter resident from Lübeck 455, 620, 681  
 Heinz from Stade, skipper 603  
 Hinrik van Stade, winter resident from Lübeck 455, 456, 623, 682  
 Hinrik Starke, skipper from Stralsund 600  
 Hinrik Sten, skipper (1303) 613  
 Hinrik (Heinz) Sten, skipper (1370–1379) 658, 661, 677  
 Hinrik Stenhus, winter resident 456  
 Hinrik Stenvorde, Bergenfahrer 620, 686  
 Hinrik Sternberg, winter resident 456  
 Hinrik tor Straten, Bergenfahrer from Lübeck 275  
 Hinrik Strouke, skipper 642  
 Hinrik (Heinz) van Sund, skipper from Lübeck 143, 624, 629, 655, 660, 669, 677, 688  
 Hinrik Tymmerman, Bergenfahrer from Lübeck 621, 682  
 Hinrik Vort, skipper 673, 677  
 Hinrik Vorråd, urban councillor in Danzig 461  
 Hinrik Vreden, Bergenfahrer 622, 683  
 Hinrik van Vreyden, skipper 672, 673, 677  
 Hinrik Vur, Bergenfahrer from Lübeck 625, 679  
 Hinrik Vurwell, skipper 643  
 Hinrik Weigener, skipper 267  
 Hinrik Weitendorp, winter resident from Lübeck 455, 637, 682  
 Hinrik Wentmark, Bergenfahrer from Lübeck 165  
 Hinrik Westhof, skipper 662  
 Hinrik from Wismar, skipper 601  
 Hinrik Withun, skipper 674  
 Hinrik Woldir, skipper from Wismar 693–695  
 Hinrik Woulp, skipper 611  
 Hoitke Reinikens, skipper from Molkwerum 693  
 Håkon Håkonsson, King of Norway 42, 50, 66, 67, 71, 81, 300, 302, 319, 542, 564, 566  
 Håkon V, duke residing in eastern Norway, then King of Norway 43, 44, 52, 65, 82, 84–89, 281, 291, 297–299, 304, 309, 312, 313, 316, 318, 320, 324, 325, 328–332, 341, 343, 401, 402, 564, 565, 588, 590  
 Håkon VI, King of Norway 123, 194, 198, 205, 316, 321, 323, 326, 330, 364, 385, 410, 689  
 Håkon, Bishop of Bergen 82

- Håkon from Norway, skipper 597, 604  
 Håkon from Trondheim, skipper 293  
 Håkon from Tønsberg, skipper 600  
 Hårek from Tjøtta, Norwegian magnate 41
- Ingelram from St. Omer, Norwegian merchant 82  
 Isak, domestic skipper in the Norwegian archbishop's service 437  
 Isak Gautesson, Norwegian magnate 280, 292  
 Ivar Bjørnsson, *setesevein* of the Archbishop 444  
 Ivar Jonsson, *setesevein* of the Archbishop 444  
 Ivar Nev, Norwegian nobleman (lendmann) 278  
 Ivar from *Skerfhungre*, Norwegian merchant 286
- Jacob van Alen, Bergenfahrer 633  
 Jacob Andersen, skipper of a *jekt* 447  
 Jacob Beygher, skipper 119, 665, 667  
 Jacob from Gotland, skipper 601  
 Jacob Jungeshovet, skipper 665, 666  
 Jacob Coole (=Kollen?), skipper 637, 689  
 Jacob Kropelin, skipper 632, 633  
 Jacob van Leiden, Bergenfahrer 621, 684  
 Jacob from Lübeck, skipper 601  
 Jacob, parson in Løddingen 443  
 Jacob Mus, skipper 134  
 Jacob from Norway, citizen of Stralsund 47  
 Jacob Nyeman, winter resident from Bremen 362  
 Jacob Olufsen from Tunes in Finnmark 417  
 Jacob Roters, winter resident from Kampen 362  
 Jacob Scroder, Bergenfahrer from Hamburg 229  
 Jacob van Sehusen, winter resident from Lübeck 165, 455, 456, 631, 681  
 Jacob Snidewint, skipper from Rostock 125, 629, 635, 687  
 Jacob from Stralsund, skipper 601  
 Jacob Sustermilde, winter resident from Lübeck 404  
 Jacob Torsteinsson, skipper from Oslo 651  
 Jacob Vecle, skipper 120, 121, 663  
 Jacob Vistock, skipper from Treptow 692  
 Jacob (Coppeke) Vogel (*Foule*), skipper from Wismar 630, 665, 667, 687
- Jacob Witte, skipper from Kolberg 694  
 Jadder (Jatgeir) Lande, Norwegian magnate and merchant 280  
 James (Jacob) IV, King of Scotland 367  
 Jens Jude (= from Jylland), *setesevein* of the Archbishop 444  
 Jens Lock, skipper of a *jekt* 447, 448  
 Jochum Bors, skipper from Stralsund 253, 693  
 Jochum Deen, skipper from Rostock 694, 696  
 Jochum Fodrow, skipper from Rostock 693, 695  
 Jochum Grebenis, skipper from Rostock 693–695  
 Jochum Heynne, skipper from Stralsund 694, 695  
 Jochum Klempge, skipper from Treptow 693, 696  
 Jochum Klinkow, urban councillor in Stralsund 459  
 Jochum Panrich, skipper skipper from Wismar 693, 695  
 Jochum Pape, skipper from Lübeck 696  
 Jochum Sepelin, skipper from Rostock 693, 695  
 Jochum Stekenes, skipper from Stralsund 254, 460, 694  
 Jochum Swarte, skipper from Stralsund 134, 135  
 Johan Abbott, skipper 628  
 Johan Attendorf, Bergenfahrer 641, 682  
 Johan Bake, skipper 599  
 Johan Basse, skipper 658  
 Johan Beke, skipper 611  
 Johan Berch, Bergenfahrer from Westphalia 232, 455  
 Johan van der Berge, winter resident from Lübeck 455, 634, 679  
 Johan Bloc, skipper 597  
 Johan Bocholt, Bergenfahrer 683  
 Johan Bodeker, Bergenfahrer 620, 682  
 Johan Bole, captain of a privateer from Holland 21  
 Johan Bonlus, skipper 641  
 Johan Boow, skipper 620, 623, 624  
 Johan Borgere, Bergenfahrer 683  
 Johan van Borken, skipper and Bergenfahrer 673, 676, 683

- Johan Botzenborg, Bergenfahrer 640  
 Johan Boyman, Bergenfahrer 620, 683  
 Johan Bower, skipper 689  
 Johan van Bremen, winter resident from Lübeck 456  
 Johan Brokehus, skipper 645  
 Johan Bron, skipper from Tønsberg 650  
 Johan van Brugge, Bergenfahrer 683  
 Johan Brukman, skipper 658, 676  
 Johan van Buren, winter resident 221, 456  
 Johan Burman, skipper 660  
 Johan Busch, winter resident from Lübeck 162, 454, 455, 638, 679  
 Johan Bussenberg, Bergenfahrer 683  
 Johan Buxtehude, winter resident from Lübeck 455, 456, 630, 679  
 Johan Bylevelt, Bergenfahrer from Bielefeld 232  
 Johan van Camen, Bergenfahrer from Lübeck 684  
 Johan Coesveld, Bergenfahrer from Lübeck 632, 680  
 Johan Cogevale, skipper from Tønsberg 650  
 Johan van Damme (*Henneke van Demen*) 192  
 Johan Denschenborg, skipper 655, 658, 666, 667, 676  
 Johan Dertman, skipper 597  
 Johan Dortmund, skipper from Rostock 597, 613  
 Johan Drivut, skipper 656, 658  
 Johan van Dulmen, skipper 689  
 Johan Dytmerche, skipper 610  
 Johan Eckhof, winter resident 456  
 Johan Eillardsson, skipper 640  
 Johan Ekerman, Bergenfahrer 683  
 Johan van Erghesem, merchant in Frankfurt am Main 239  
 Johan Gaserike, skipper 601  
 Johan Gerhardsson, skipper 635, 689  
 Johan Glashagen, skipper 657  
 Johan Godebotz, Bergenfahrer from Lübeck 621, 679  
 Johan Grashof, Bergenfahrer from Lübeck 620, 680  
 Johan Gronow, winter resident from Lübeck 455, 456, 622, 680  
 Johan Grossmer, skipper 657  
 Johan Grote, skipper from Lübeck 656, 675  
 Johan Grove, winter resident from Lübeck 455, 629, 680  
 Johan Grubenhagen, skipper 662  
 Johan Gultzow, skipper 667  
 Johan van Ham, winter resident from Bremen 362  
 Johan van Hamelen, winter resident and town councillor in Lübeck 232, 455, 456, 622, 628, 653, 672, 680  
 Johan van Hamme, Bergenfahrer from Lübeck 622, 680  
 Johan Hannkam, skipper 692  
 Johan Hardestrome, skipper from Stralsund 625, 688  
 Johan van der Heide, Bergenfahrer and town councillor from Lübeck 228, 621, 680  
 Johan Heide, skipper 610, 613  
 Johan Hinriksson, skipper 643  
 Johan (Hennekin) Holloger, winter resident from Rostock 353  
 Johan Holst, winter resident from Lübeck 455, 456, 628, 680  
 Johan Hombre, skipper 611  
 Johan Hoppe, skipper from Prussia 687, 688  
 Johan [Henneke] Hund, skipper 674, 676  
 Johan van Huning, skipper from Preussia 143, 669, 675  
 Johan Kalcher, winter resident 417  
 Johan van Kalve, Bergenfahrer from Lübeck 628, 680  
 Johan Kalveswynkel, Bergenfahrer 628, 684  
 Johan Klausson, Mayor of Amsterdam 215  
 Johan Klinkendorp, Bergenfahrer from Lübeck 162–163, 642, 680  
 Johan Klinkow, Mayor of Stralsund 459  
 Johan Klipping, Bergenfahrer 684  
 Johan from Kolberg, skipper 602  
 Johan Kornelisson, merchant from Nijmegen 238  
 Johan Krevellbone. Bergenfahrer from Lübeck 621, 680  
 Johan Krukow, member of the Norwegian council of the realm 440  
 Johan Kruse, winter resident 455, 629  
 Johan Kurdes, skipper 671, 676  
 Johan Lang, skipper 613  
 Johan Lemeghowe, winter resident from Lübeck 455, 631, 680  
 Johan van Ler, Bergenfahrer 684  
 Johan from Lippe, skipper 613

- Johan Losing, winter resident from Lübeck 455, 633, 680
- Johan from Lübeck, skipper 597
- Johan Luchow, skipper 132, 143, 639, 670, 676, 689
- Johan Lullehusen, skipper 664
- Johan Luning, skipper from Danzig 638, 639, 688
- Johan Lüneburg, skipper and Bergenfahrer from Lübeck 143, 189, 639, 640, 673, 675, 688
- Johan Make, Bergenfahrer from Rostock 622, 636, 680
- Johan van Mehame, skipper 672
- Johan Melbek, winter resident 455
- Johan Mell, skipper 598
- Johan Möller, see Hans Möller
- Johan Mulle from Lübeck 604
- Johan Münster, skipper from Gotland 604, 606, 608
- Johan Münster, Bergenfahrer and skipper from Lübeck 119, 634, 660, 675, 681
- Johan Nase, skipper 640
- Johan Northoff, Bergenfahrer from Lübeck 66
- Johan Nybberg, winter resident from Lübeck 148, 456, 641, 681
- Johan Nyebur, merchant from Lübeck 365
- Joahn Nyenkerke, Bergenfahrer 685
- Johan Nyllard, skipper 639
- Johan Nyppe, winter resident from Lübeck 455, 456, 636, 681
- Johan Osnabrück, winter resident from Lübeck 455, 627, 681
- Johan Ost/Osterwik Bergenfahrer 627, 685
- Johan Pape, Bergenfahrer from Rostock 117, 125, 162, 626, 634, 681
- Johan Papengut, skipper 660, 661, 664
- Johan Parkham, skipper 613
- Johan Paryss, Bergenfahrer from Lübeck 231
- Johan Perleberg, Bergenfahrer 685
- Johan Petersson, skipper 642, 672, 673
- Johan Pilgrim, Bergenfahrer 685
- Johan Raceburg, skipper 610
- Johan Reynbek, Bergenfahrer 627, 685
- Johan Riike, captain of a privateer from Holland 216
- Johan Rode, Bergenfahrer and skipper from Lübeck 620, 625, 667, 681
- Johan Rodenborg, Bergenfahrer 633, 685
- Johan Rodewolt, skipper 637
- Johan Rorebyker, skipper from Danzig 648, 687
- Johan Rusche, skipper 658, 660–663, 667, 676, 685
- Johan Ruschenberg, winter resident and town councillor in Lübeck 401, 456
- Johan Ruter, skipper 621, 689
- Johan Ryman, skipper 666
- Johan Sasse, skipper 658, 676
- Johan Sassendorp, skipper 662, 676
- Johan Scharstorp, skipper from Stralsund 688
- Johan Scheduling, winter resident from Lübeck 455, 456, 627, 681
- Johan van Schenger, captain of a privateer from Holland 216
- Johan Scherf, skipper 119, 655, 658, 677
- Johan Scheve, Bergenfahrer and skipper form Rostock 165, 663, 676
- Johan Schoneke, skipper 132, 669, 670, 677
- Johan Schonemor, skipper 637, 672, 690
- Johan Scoping, winter resident from Lübeck 455, 622, 681
- Johan (Hans) Scuttorp 633, 681
- Johan van Selle, skipper 670
- Johan Sevenbrether, skipper 611
- Johan Sibesone, skipper 610
- Johan Sina, Bergenfahrer and urban councillor in Lübeck 191, 232, 453
- Johan Skarstorp, skipper 645
- Johan Skemming, skipper from Tønsberg 650
- Johan Slig, Bergenfahrer from Lübeck 640, 681
- Johan Sluter, Bergenfahrer 685
- Johan Spikman, skipper 613, 614
- Johan van Stade, winter resident from Lübeck 454–456, 625
- Johan Stange, skipper 661, 677
- Johan Steding, winter resident 621
- Johan Stenhus, Bergenfahrer from Lübeck 162, 639, 682
- Johan Sterneberg, Bergenfahrer from Lübeck 629, 682
- Johan Sveverlink, Bergenfahrer 629, 686
- Johan Swarte, Bergenfahrer from Lübeck 621, 682
- Johan Thekenborg, Hansa merchant in Brügge 84

- Johan Thusandpond, skipper 598, 611  
 Johan Thousandpond junior 612  
 Johan Tispel, skipper 612  
 Johan Turegut, Bergenfahrer and skipper 132, 673, 674  
 Johan Tymmerman, Bergenfahrer 686  
 Johan van Varle, skipper 120, 673  
 Johan van Volquerstorp, Bergenfahrer 683  
 Johan Vorwerk, winter resident from Lübeck 455, 630, 679  
 Johan Vrese, skipper 132, 674, 677  
 Johan Vridach, Bergenfahrer 621, 683  
 Johan Wagen, skipper from Hamburg 687  
 Johan Wale, skipper from Lübeck/Rostock 293, 603, 613  
 Johan Wartberg, winter resident(s) from Lübeck 133, 453, 456  
 Johan Wesseler, merchant from Lübeck 365  
 Johan Westfal, skipper 121, 671–673, 677  
 Johan Wetter, winter resident from Lübeck 455, 638, 682  
 Johan Wicle, skipper 132, 674  
 Johan Wicman, Bergenfahrer 686  
 Johan Willebrade, skipper 639  
 Johan Witte, skipper from Lübeck 597, 606, 608  
 Johan Witte, winter resident from Lübeck, 455, 643, 682  
 Johan Wittenborg, skipper 599, 613, 717  
 Johan Wod, skipper 610  
 Johan van dem Wolde, skipper 662, 677  
 Johannes from Norway, citizen of Rostock 47  
 John I, King of England 283  
 John from Boston, skipper 134  
 John Clay, skipper from Boston 647  
 John Lovekyn, stockfishmonger in London 74  
 John Presse, skipper 651  
 John Roulot, skipper from York 650  
 John Thornegg, skipper from Lynn 67, 77, 607, 708  
 John Wace, merchant from Lynn 648  
 Jon from Bergen, merchant 76, 603  
 Jon Bucksbyn, skipper from Bergen 605  
 Jon Elg, canon in Nidaros 83  
 Jon Ellingsen, urban councillor in Bergen 425, 427, 447  
 Jon Eriksen, skipper of a *jekt* from Trondheim 428, 429, 447  
 Jon Gautesen, *setesvein* of the Archbishop 445  
 Jon Henriksson, merchant from Tønsberg 651  
 Jon Clerc, skipper from Stavanger 599  
 Jon le Clerc, skipper from Trondheim 604, 605  
 Jon Cogevale, skipper from Tønsberg  
 Jon Kristoffersen from Andenes 417  
 Jon Lang, skipper from Bergen 284, 293, cf. 596, 602, 605  
 Jon Mors, merchant from Oslo 651  
 Jon, skipper from Norway 599  
 Jon Olavsson, urban councillor in Bergen 423  
 Jon Simonsson, skipper of a *jekt*, in the Archbishop's service 437  
 Jon Skreder (tailor) from Trondheim 429  
 Jon Sterebot, skipper from Bergen 607  
 Jon Stål, Norwegian magnate (*lendmann*) 278  
 Jon Teiste, the Archbishop's representative 217  
 Jon Thomasson, citizen of Bergen 485  
 Jon Tordsen, skipper of a *jekt* 447  
 Jon from Trondheim, skipper 604  
 Jon Whyte, skipper from Norway/Bergen 280, 293, 597, 606, 608  
 Josef Lutbek, skipper 665, 667  
 Jürgen Berntsen, skipper from Stralsund 692  
 Jürgen Eggertsen, winter resident 415  
 Jürgen Fraugeman, merchant from Wismar 459  
 Jürgen Stalborch, skipper from Rostock 694  
 Jürgen Tünnen, merchant from Rostock 459  
 Jørgen Hanssønn "the Scribe" (*skriver*), commander of Bergenhus castle 427, 435, 436, 443, 475  
 Kale Kalsson, earl of Orkney 278  
 Karsten Eckhof, winter resident from Lübeck 455, 456, 623, 679  
 Karsten Emelberg, skipper 601  
 Karsten van Geren, chronicler and secretary at the Bergen Kontor 160, 339, 368, 380, 382, 387  
 Karsten Make, winter resident 456  
 Karsten Marquart, skipper 694–696  
 Karsten Nitsell, Bergenfahrer from Stralsund 166, 647  
 Karsten Nyestad, winter resident 456  
 Karsten Parwe, skipper 597  
 Karsten Sastroir, merchant from Stralsund 460

- Karsten Span, skipper 137  
 Ketil from Bergen, skipper 606  
 Ketil from Oslo, skipper 604  
 Ketil from Tønsberg, skipper 603  
 Klaus, Bergenfahrer from Bremen 459  
 Klaus Badensch, merchant from Wismar 459  
 Klaus Bertoldsson, skipper 662, 663, 675, 676  
 Klaus van Brugge, winter resident 456  
 Klaus Drivut, skipper from Lübeck 659, 661, 664, 667, 675  
 Klaus Fessen, urban councillor in Rostock 459  
 Klaus Gent, skipper 137  
 Klaus Gerbrandsson, skipper from Antwerpen 195  
 Klaus Gildemester, skipper 120, 121, 143, 144, 663, 667  
 Klaus Gramelo, skipper 659  
 Klaus Grote, skipper 657  
 Klaus Hering, Bergenfahrer from Lübeck 356  
 Klaus Holst, skipper of a *jekt* 434, 435  
 Klaus Holst, skipper from Hamburg 672, 675  
 Klaus Holst, skipper from Rostock 693  
 Klaus Humerman, skipper from Lübeck 662, 675  
 Klaus Johansson, skipper 666, 671, 676  
 Klaus Krommike, skipper from Stralsund 254, 694  
 Klaus Lange, skipper from Stralsund 655, 658, 671, 675  
 Klaus Langeberg, skipper 666  
 Klaus Petersson, Bergenfahrer from Hamburg 229  
 Klaus Plathe, skipper 600  
 Klaus van Pole, skipper from Lübeck 661, 675  
 Klaus Pragerank, Bergenfahrer from Hamburg 166  
 Klaus Reppenhagen, Bergenfahrer from Wismar 356  
 Klaus Röll, skipper from Rostock 693, 695  
 Klaus Sece, skipper 662  
 Klaus Sloirf, skipper from Rostock 694, 695  
 Klaus Stobelow, Bergenfahrer 162  
 Klaus Struss, winter resident 356  
 Klaus Vos, skipper from Lübeck 655, 657, 676  
 Klaus Vur, skipper 144, 659, 661  
 Klaus Wigher, skipper 673  
 Klaus Witte, see Nikolas Witte  
 Knut Alvsson, Norwegian magnate 382  
 Knut, skipper from Wismar (?) 396  
 Kolbein from Bergen, skipper 596, cf. 606  
 Konrad from Bergen, skipper 596  
 Konrad Bløgebom, Bergenfahrer from Lübeck 637, 679  
 Konrad Grotehus, Bergenfahrer from Lübeck 127  
 Konrad Hovener, skipper 613  
 Konrad Johansson, skipper 627  
 Konrad Lang, skipper 611, 612  
 Konrad from Lippstadt, Bergenfahrer from Lübeck 90  
 Konrad van Loningen, skipper from Stralsund 638, 688  
 Konrad from Norway, citizen of Stralsund 47  
 Konrad from Norway, merchant 187  
 Konrad Skreder (tailor), skipper 610  
 Konrad van der Stege, merchant from Elbing 54–55  
 Konrad Weming, Bergenfahrer 686  
 Konstantin Osterrode, Bergenfahrer 636, 685  
 Kristian Torbjørnsen, urban councilor in Bergen 425, 426  
 Kurt bi dem Borne, Bergenfahrer from Göttingen 233  
 Kurt Botzen, skipper from Lübeck 659, 660, 661, 675  
 Kurt Islancke, winter resident 391  
 Kurt Koning, Bergenfahrer from Lübeck 141  
 Kurt Minden, winter resident 456  
 Kurt Piil, skipper of a *jekt* 430  
 Kurt Remme, winter resident 217  
 Kurt Trybbe, winter resident from Bremen 362  
 Kurt van Verden, winter resident 456  
 Kurt Vogheler, skipper 671  
 Kurt Vorstenberg, winter resident from Bremen 451  
 Kurt Winters, skipper from Bremen 262  
 Lambert Ekey, Bergenfahrer from Lübeck 140  
 Lambert from Noway, citizen of Wismar 48  
 Lambert Schulte, Bergenfahrer from Lübeck 622, 681  
 Lambert Westendorp, Bergenfahrer from Lübeck 165  
 Lasse Jude, *setesvein* of the Archbishop 449  
 Laurens Frese, skipper 694

- Laurens Sten, skipper 640
- Laurentius Swede, Hansa skipper 622, 690
- Laurentius, parson in Fana south of Bergen 432
- Lauritz Bentsson, *setesvein* of the Archbishop and houseowner in Bergen 425, 427, 444, 445, 447
- Lauritz Ellingsen, skipper of a *jekt* 447
- Lille Tommes, see Thomas
- Lodin, Norwegian Viking age merchant 37
- Lubbert van Alstede, winter resident from Lübeck and citizen of Bergen 492, 493
- Lubbert from Danzig, skipper 136
- Lubbert Hogenschield, Hansa merchant in Brügge 84
- Lubbert Kampen, skipper 606
- Lubbert Stenvorde, winter resident and skipper from Lübeck 455, 456, 632, 682
- Lubbert Vlint, skipper from Stralsund 127
- Lubbert Warendorp, skipper from Lübeck 689
- Luce Salter, skipper from Boston 647
- Luckis Wolters, skipper from Treptow 693
- Ludeke (*Luder*) Becher, skipper from Bremen 692
- Ludeke Berfeld, skipper from Danzig 649, 687
- Ludeke (*Ludekyn*), skipper from Bremen 604
- Ludeke Buxtehude, skipper from Lübeck 688
- Ludeke Delmenhorst, Bergenfahrer from Lübeck 627, 679
- Ludeke Dining, winter resident from Lübeck 456
- Ludeke Eglarhouse, skipper 640
- Ludeke Grove, Bergenfahrer 631, 683
- Ludeke van Hamelen, winter resident from Lübeck 456
- Ludeke van der Heide, skipper from Wismar 121, 633, 648, 687
- Ludeke van der Heide, winter resident from Lübeck 239, 454–456, 628
- Ludeke Kolman, Bergenfahrer 620, 684
- Ludeke/Luter Lange, skipper from Bremen 640, 641, 688
- Ludeke Malchin, skipper 132, 673
- Ludeke Mertens, Bergenfahrer from Hamburg 166
- Ludeke (*Luder*) Meyer, winter resident from Hamburg 361
- Ludeke Nyenborg, Bergenfahrer from Lübeck 163, 165, 453
- Ludeke van Osnabrück, winter resident 456
- Ludeke from Osterwik, skipper 610
- Ludeke Rode, Bergenfahrer 632, 685
- Ludeke (*Ludekyn*) merchant from Rostock/Tønsberg 608
- Ludeke (*Ludekyn*) Sack, skipper 610
- Ludeke Scoping, Bergenfahrer 623, 685
- Ludeke Tedendorp, Bergenfahrer 647
- Ludeke Wilstede, skipper from Lübeck 676
- Ludolf, skipper from Bremen 613
- Ludolf Brink..., skipper 635
- Ludolf Ekerman, Bergenfahrer 683
- Magnus Lagabøter (the law-mender), King of Norway 43, 301, 303
- Magnus Eriksson, King of Sweden and Norway 51, 88, 123, 128, 129, 298, 312, 323, 330, 339, 341, 408
- Magnus Eriksson's urban law for Sweden 311
- Macke, skipper (= Arnt Make?) 654, 655, 658
- Margrete, Queen of the Nordic countries 192
- Markus from Stralsund, skipper 604
- Markus Weddige, skipper from Rostock 693
- Marquart Engeland, skipper 662
- Marquart Fermer, skipper 635, 636
- Marquart Grote, skipper 667, 672
- Marquart Joel, skipper 655, 658, 676
- Marquart Luchow, Bergenfahrer 621, 684
- Marquart from Norway, citizen of Wismar 48
- Marquart Petersson, Bergenfahrer from Lübeck 166
- Marquart Rebeen, skipper 671
- Marquart Schiphorst, winter resident 456
- Marquart Stubbe, Bergenfahrer from Lübeck 621, 682
- Marquart Vrese, skipper from Lübeck 120, 659, 661, 667, 676, 687
- Martin van Altzen, skipper from Rostock/Lübeck 143, 655, 656, 658, 660, 661, 663, 665–667, 676
- Martin Andrea, urban councillor in Stralsund 459
- Martin Bolkow, Bergenfahrer and urban councillor in Stralsund 128, 166, 646
- Martin Hansen, skipper from Stavoren 692
- Martin Hull, skipper from Hamburg 692
- Martin Krisow, skipper from Stralsund 253,

- 459, 693  
 Martin van Mere, skipper 660–663  
 Martin van Minden, Bergenfahrer 684  
 Martin Rinkenrode, Bergenfahrer from Lübeck 621, 681  
 Martin Vlind, winter resident from Lübeck/Rostock 356  
 Mathias Bene, town councillor and Bergenfahrer from Stralsund 357  
 Mathias Bene, skipper from Wismar 693  
 Mathias Burder, winter resident from Lübeck 455, 633, 679  
 Mathias Hagemester, skipper from Danzig 655, 656, 658, 675  
 Mathias Konow, skipper from Stralsund 641, 688  
 Mathias Martenstorp, skipper from Prussia 661, 675  
 Mathias Niekerke, skipper 673  
 Mathias Rover, skipper 667, 676  
 Mathias van Selle, skipper 666  
 Mathias Wedow, skipper from Rostock 693, 695  
 Mathias Wetken/Witten, winter resident from Hamburg 361  
 Mats Fynde (from Fyn in Denmark), house-owner in Bergen 427  
 Meineke van Hamme, winter resident from Lübeck 455, 456, 620, 680  
 Merard Wellynx, skipper 626  
 Michael Berents, skipper 693  
 Michael Grawe, skipper from Rostock 692  
 Michael Kramer, merchant from Rostock 459  
 Mikkel Olsen, skipper of a *jekt* from Lofoten 447  
 Mogens Olsen, *setesvein* of the Archbishop 444
- Nikolas, Icelandic Abbot 33  
 Nikolas from Anklam, skipper 611  
 Nikolas Bankynsson, skipper 636  
 Nikolas Bas, skipper from Stettin 630, 687  
 Nikolas from Bergen, skipper 603  
 Nikolas Bertholdsson, skipper 666  
 Nikolas Bornholm/Brenholm, skipper from Lübeck 622, 687  
 Nikolas Brounesberg, skipper 639  
 Nikolas Drivut, skipper 672  
 Nikolas Gildemester, skipper 143, 144, 627
- Nikolas Grabow, skipper from Lübeck 132, 133, 670, 672, 675  
 Nikolas Hagemester, skipper from Danzig 687  
 Nikolas Klot, Bergenfahrer 684  
 Nikolas in Leksa, Norwegian merchant trading to Iceland 285, 286  
 Nikolas Lutteke, Bergenfahrer 684  
 Nikolas Monse, skipper 607  
 Nikolas from Norway, citizen of Stralsund 47, cf. 607  
 Nikolas Perleberg, Bergenfahrer 633, 685  
 Nikolas Pomerensis, merchant from Stavanger 129  
 Nikolas Rorebek, skipper 638, 640  
 Nikolas Rotermund, skipper from Bremen 143, 638, 671, 676, 688  
 Nikolas Sabill, skipper 643  
 Nikolas Schoneswold, Bergenfahrer from Lübeck 620, 681  
 Nikolas Stene, skipper 641  
 Nikolas Sterneberg, winter resident from Lübeck 455, 456, 621, 682  
 Nikolas Tykkyll, skipper 643  
 Nikolas from Tønsberg, skipper 605  
 Nikolas de Vemerem, skipper 666  
 Nikolas Vur, skipper 629  
 Nikolas Wend/Wene, skipper 640, 642, 690  
 Nikolas Wige, skipper 673  
 Nikolas Witte, winter resident from Lübeck 455, 644, 682, 686  
 Nikolas [Klaus] Witte, winter resident from Wismar 166, 356, 647  
 Nils Arnesen, urban councillor in Trondheim 429  
 Nils Engelbrektsson, skipper of a *jekt* 437  
 Nils Henriksson Gyldenløve, member of the Norwegian Council of the Realm 396, 398, 440  
 Nils Persen, nordfar from Troms 418  
 Nils Selbjørnsson, *setesvein* of the Archbishop 444
- Odd Gaut, skipper from Bergen 604, 605  
 Odericus Vitalis, English chronicler, 26  
 Olav from Bergen, skipper 598, 599  
 Olav Engelbrektsson, Norway's last Catholic Archbishop 429, 446, 563, 569  
 Olav Guttormsen, skipper of a *jekt* 447  
 Olav Haraldsson, Norwegian king and saint

- 38, 84, 125, 128, 166, 204, 292, 334  
 Olav Henriksson, skipper from Bergen 649  
 Olav Håkonsson, king of Norway and Denmark 330, 385  
 Olav Ivarsson, skipper from Tønsberg 597  
 Olav Lang, skipper and urban councillor in Bergen 288, 599, 605  
 Olav in Leksa, Norwegian merchant trading to Greenland 285  
 Olav Nilsson, commander of Bergenhus castle 160, 182, 357, 378, 382, 383, 386, 387, 434  
 Olav Olsen, skipper of a *jekt* 447  
 Olav Olavsson, captain of privateer from Norway 160  
 Olav Petersson, local magante in northern Norway 443  
 Olav Trondsen, skipper of a *jekt* 447  
 Olof Prus, skipper 137  
 Olof Smerlichir, skipper from Gotland (?) 606, 608  
 Oluf, provost in Senja 440, 441  
 Oluf Alvsen, *setesevein* of the Archbishop 445  
 Oluf Bentsson, skipper of a *jekt* 447  
 Oluf Persen, urban councillor in Bergen and *setesevein* of the Archbishop 425, 426, 444–447  
 Oluf Schröder, skipper from Lübeck 694, 696  
 Oluf Torbjørnsen, urban councillor in Bergen 425, 426  
 Oluf Tordsson, *setesevein* of the Archbishop 443  
 Oluf Torgilsen, urban councillor in Bergen 427  
 Oluf, skipper from Tønsberg 651  
 Omund Imba, skipper on the merchant ship “Imbos” 279, 290  
 Omund Slumbe, skipper from Trondheim 604–607  
 Omund [Homundr] skipper from Bergen 598, 604  
 Omund, skipper from Tønsberg 604  
 Orm Desting, merchant from Bergen 288  
 Orm, skipper from Norway 607  
 Osbert from Estend, skipper 599  
 Osbert from Oslo, skipper and monk 284, 291, 600, 604, 605  
 Otke Poleman, skipper from Bremen 673, 675  
 Otke Thusandpund, skipper 598  
 Ottar, Norwegian chieftain and merchant 25, 36, 37, 278, 540  
 Otto van Bremen, skipper 644  
 Otto Meurssen, skipper from Hoorn 692  
 Otto Rugge, skipper 643  
 Paul “drummer”, German musician on Bryggen 395  
 Paul Hollander, merchant living in Bergen 215  
 Paul Müllich, merchant from Nürnberg 234, 237, 705  
 Paul Wirike, skipper from Wismar 693  
 Peder, parson of Brønnøy parish 440, 441  
 Peder Bagge, skipper of a *jekt*, in the Archbishop’s service 437  
 Peder Barber (Bartskjær), skipper of a *jekt* in the Archbishop’s service 437  
 Peder Clausson Friis, Norwegian chronicler and parson 45  
 Per Henningsen, *setesevein* in the Archbishop’s service 425, 427, 444, 445, 447  
 Per Iversen, *setesevein* in the Archbishop’s service 444, 445, 447  
 Per Skriver, scribe at Bergenhus castle 433  
 Peter Bules, skipper 599  
 Peter Burmester, Bergenfahrer from Lübeck 127  
 Peter Dass, parson and poet 499  
 Peter Frank, skipper 637, 689  
 Peter Hansen, skipper 253, 693  
 Peter Hollander, co-judge in Bergen 486  
 Peter Houghman, skipper 625  
 Peter Juwel, skipper 663  
 Peter Kafmester, skipper 137  
 Peter from Carpesund, skipper from Norway 598  
 Peter Kolberg, skipper from Danzig 636, 637, 688  
 Peter Mabillon, skipper 608  
 Peter “piper”, German musician on Bryggen 395  
 Peter Posche, skipper from Gotland 605  
 Peter Rode, skipper 137  
 Peter Samow, skipper 661  
 Peter van Stade, winter resident and skipper from Lübeck 623, 679, 682  
 Peter Sweder, skipper from Stettin 640, 641, 688

- Peter from Trondheim 608  
 Peter Trumpe, skipper 658, 660  
 Peter Ulf, skipper from Rostock 692  
 Peter Ullenburg, skipper from Rostock 692  
 Peter Vynne, skipper 661–663, 665–667  
 Philip, Duke of Burgundy 187  
 Philip Roirs, skipper from Rostock 694, 695  
 Piero Querini, merchant from Venice 403, 420, 532, 546–549, 552, 555, 562, 564, 569  
 Pål Arnesen, skipper of a *jekt* 447
- Radeke Knyf, skipper 666  
 Radeke Selle, skipper 132, 659, 661, 666, 667  
 Radulf Cosman, merchant from Lynn 32  
 Radulf van Lippe, Bergenfahrer from Lübeck 620, 680  
 Radulf from Lübeck, skipper 599  
 Radulf da Roma, merchant from Lynn 32  
 Radulf from Scuttorp, skipper 611  
 Radulf from Suffeld, skipper 604  
 Rankin Ivtotland, skipper 644  
 Rasmus Nilsen, skipper from Rostock 262, 694, 695  
 Ravn Holmgardsfar, Norwegian merchant 37  
 Reginald from Lübeck, skipper 597  
 Reginald from Oslo 608  
 Reginald Pening, merchant 77  
 Reidar Jonsen, urban councillor in Bergen 425, 426  
 Reimar Berntsson, skipper 671, 673, 674  
 Reimar Dertzow, skipper 120, 121, 662, 663  
 Reimar Martens, skipper from Molkwerum 254, 693, 694  
 Reimar Pampow, skipper from Lübeck 119, 654, 655, 675  
 Reimar Tengel, skipper 140, 663, 667, 669, 671  
 Reiner Wiger, skipper 634, 641, 642, 644  
 Richart Gulcrope, Bergenfahrer 633  
 Richart Lange, skipper 669–671, 673, 676  
 Richart van Minden, winter resident 456  
 Roald Björnsson, *setesvein* of the Archbishop 444  
 Robert Bord, skipper from Bergen 598  
 Robert Coweson, skipper from Lynn 648  
 Robert Permay, skipper from England 610  
 Roger Belok, skipper 642  
 Roger from Rypon (= Ripon in Yorkshire?), skipper 604, 608  
 Rotger Grulle, Bergenfahrer 621, 683  
 Rotger Schulte, skipper 671, 677
- Salomon from Visby/Gotland, skipper 596, 597, 604, 606, 608  
 Sander Jonsson, citizen of Bergen 428, 485  
 Sayn from Balgh, skipper 601  
 Selef from Gotland, skipper 288, 603, 604, 606, 608  
 Siegfried Stobelow, Bergenfahrer 686  
 Sigurd, cf. Sivert  
 Silvester Kirke, skipper from Rostock 693, 695  
 Simon, skipper of a *jekt* in the Archbishop's service 437  
 Simon Andersen, skipper of a *jekt* 431  
 Simon Barde, skipper from England 608  
 Simon from Carnesond, skipper 601  
 Simon Hake, Hansa merchant in Bruges 191  
 Simon van Horst, skipper 658, 665, 667, 676  
 Simon Huswacker, skipper from Rostock 125, 687  
 Simon Ruske, skipper from Gotland 606  
 Simon van Stavoren, skipper 635  
 Simon Svendsen, urban councillor in Trondheim 428, 447  
 Sivert, skipper 291  
 Sivert Askelsen, skipper of a *jekt* 447  
 Sivert, skipper from Bergen 597, 601  
 Sivert Gerhardsson, skipper 629  
 Sjurd Mortz, urban councillor in Bergen 425, 427  
 Sivert, skipper from Norway 607  
 Sivert, skipper from Oslo 606  
 Sivert Skallerot, skipper in the Archbishop's service 281, 291, 603, 604  
 Sivert Straack, skipper of a *jekt* 437  
 Sivert, skipper from Stralsund 601  
 Sivert, skipper from Tønsberg 601  
 Sivert Veckinchusen, merchant from Cologne 239, 704  
 Skell Klaus, merchant from Amsterdam 218, 219  
 Skinna-Bjørn, Norwegian merchant 37  
 Skule Bårdsson, Norwegian duke 280, 443  
 Snare Aslaksson, Norwegian magnate 279, 280  
 Snare from Falkestede (= Folkestad?), Norwegian merchant 286

- Snorri Sturluson, saga author 35, 37, 41, 42  
 Stein, Norwegian merchant 280  
 Steingrim from Bergen, skipper 605  
 Sten, fisherman 443  
 Sten Jonsson, skipper of a *jekt* 423  
 Steneken, skipper 660, 661  
 Stenkel, skipper from Norway 603  
 Steven Dupeler, skipper 674  
 Svein Alfvasson, vice-king of Norway 25  
 Svein from Balgh, skipper 601, 602  
 Svein from Bergen, skipper 605  
 Svenn Skriver, houseowner in Bergen 427  
 Sverre Sigurdsson, King of Norway 30, 31, 33, 34, 300  
 Sweder van Benthem, winter resident and skipper from Lübeck 148, 152, 162, 163, 454, 455, 645, 679  
 Sweder Wulf, skipper 656
- Theus Lange, skipper from Wismar 262, 693, 694, 695  
 Thomas, "little Thomas", urban councillor in Bergen 184  
 Thomas Bealson, skipper 641  
 Thomas Copryn, skipper from Stralsund 646  
 Thomas Fowler, skipper from Lynn 649  
 Thomas Hayward, skipper from Boston 647  
 Thomas Melchebourne, merchant from Lynn 68  
 Thomas Stapel, skipper from Danzig 646  
 Thomas Sylk, skipper 638  
 Thomas Torkelsson, skipper of a *jekt* 437  
 Tideke, cf. Didrik  
 Tidemann Blok, skipper from Kolberg 129, 687  
 Tidemann Brekevelde, Lübeck 189  
 Tidemann from Bremen, skipper 605,  
 Tidemann Bremer, winter resident from Lübeck 620  
 Tidemann Brunswik, Bergenfahrer 683  
 Tidemann Burger, skipper from Kampen 646  
 Tidemann from Burgh, skipper 598  
 Tidemann from Dortmund 77  
 Tidemann Hagemester, skipper 655  
 Tidemann from Hamburg, skipper 598  
 Tidemann Henriksson, skipper from Stralsund 606  
 Tidemann Klenecamb, skipper 637  
 Tidemann Lange, Bergenfahrer 684  
 Tidemann from Lübeck, skipper 600  
 Tidemann from Lübeck, winter resident 456  
 Tidemann van Münster, skipper ca. 1400: 143, 669  
 Tidemann van Münster, skipper ca. 1300: 613, 614  
 Tidemann from Rostock, skipper 601  
 Tidemann Sasse, skipper 644, 690  
 Tidemann Scoping, winter resident from Lübeck 455, 456, 620, 681  
 Tidemann Scroder, skipper 664  
 Tidemann Semme, Bergenfahrer from Lübeck 190, 191  
 Tidemann Stelebiter, skipper 601  
 Tidemann Hinriksson from Stralsund, skipper 606  
 Tidemann Swarte, skipper 132, 670, 677  
 Tidemann Vogel, winter resident 456  
 Tidemann Wise from Lübeck 90  
 Tonis Klaussen, urban councillor in Bergen 714  
 Tor Gaut, skipper from Bergen 284, 603–605  
 Tor Halvorsson, skipper from Tønsberg 651  
 Tor from Norway/Bergen, skipper 603  
 Tord Galle, skipper of a *jekt* 447  
 Tord Trondsen, skipper of a *jekt* 447  
 Torgeir, Norwegian merchant in a bishop's service 291  
 Torkel from Oustnesse, Norwegian merchant 286, 599  
 Torkel Tollefsen, skipper of a *jekt* 447  
 Torleif Erlingsson, urban councillor in Bergen 423, 425  
 Tormod from Norway, skipper 601  
 Torstein from Bergen, skipper 600  
 Torstein from Ordenburg (=Aardenburg?), Norwegian skipper 596  
 Torstein Swarte, skipper from Oslo 604  
 Torstein van Toft, skipper from Oslo 651  
 Tristram's saga (= the Norse version of *Tristan and Iseult*) 35  
 Trockler van dem Loff, winter resident 418  
 Trond Grot, skipper from Norway 597
- Ulf from Norway/Bergen, skipper 599, 600, 604, 605  
 Ulrik van der Heide, Bergenfahrer from Lübeck 633, 680

- Vidar, merchant from Norway 280  
 Vidar, skipper from Norway 603  
 Vidkun Erlingsson, magnate 279  
 Vincens Lunge, commander of Bergenhus castle 416, 435–438, 713  
 Volder Voldersen, skipper from Bremen 692  
 Volkmar from Hamburg, skipper 598  
 Volkmar van der Heide, Bergenfahrer 632, 683  
 Volkmar van Hove, skipper 600  
 Volkmar from Stavoren, skipper 597  
 Volkmar van Wrede, Bergenfahrer 686
- Waldemar Atterdag, King of Denmark 205, 207, 208, 321, 341  
 Waldemar the Great, King of Denmark 45  
 Walter Benecrost, skipper from Lynn (?) 607, 709  
 Walter Cotum, skipper 637  
 Walter van Dersso, skipper 641  
 Walter Johansson, skipper 656  
 Wedege Daynhort, skipper 632, 634  
 Wedege Degherart, skipper 665, 666  
 Weghenborg, skipper 660, 661  
 Werner Coesfeld, winter resident from Lübeck 141, 456, 621  
 Werner Huning, Bergenfahrer from Lübeck 141  
 Werner Schröder, skipper from Hamburg 692  
 Werner Scoping, winter resident from Lübeck 455, 626, 681  
 Werner van Ulsen, skipper 669, 677  
 Wessel Busch, Bergenfahrer from Lübeck 166  
 Wessel Wering, skipper 630  
 Wigbert/Wigbolt Ravensberg, skipper 625, 685  
 Wicke Annis, skipper from Molkwerum 253, 693  
 Wilhelm Bremen, skipper 613  
 Wilhelm Fulsken, skipper from Danzig 645  
 Wilhelm van Geyn, skipper 607  
 Wilhelm Hodeson, skipper 639  
 Wilhelm Leuwencamp, Bergenfahrer 163, 630  
 Wilhelm Poldeman, skipper 643  
 Wilhelm Pyke, skipper from Bremen 158, 637, 649, 687  
 Wilhelm Ringhoff, winter resident from Lübeck 454, 644, 681  
 Wilhelm Sabel, skipper from Danzig 648, 658, 676  
 Wilhelm van Schedingen, winter resident 458  
 Wilhelm Scot, skipper from Bergen 606  
 Wilhelm Snelle, skipper 611, 612  
 Wilhelm Stalebuk, skipper 611  
 Wilhelm Waterhus, Bergenfahrer 631  
 Wilhelm Willigenhaven, Bergenfahrer from Deventer 461  
 Wilken van Benthem, Bergenfahrer from Lübeck 147, 152  
 Willem Beukelsson, herring merchant from Biervliet in Holland 521  
 William Britham, English merchant 649  
 William Hereward, English merchant 32  
 William Johnson, skipper from Boston 646  
 William of Sabina, papal envoy to Norway 83  
 William tailor, citizen of Bergen 395  
 William Thorp, skipper from Lynn 648  
 William Walworth, stockfishmonger and Lord Mayor of London 74  
 William West, skipper from Boston 647  
 Wineke Brandenburg, Bergenfahrer 627  
 Wineke Brokman, skipper from Lübeck 120, 661, 663, 675  
 Wineke Popkese, Bergenfahrer 656  
 Wizlaw, Prince of Rügen 54  
 Wolf van Mylna, merchant 82  
 Wynant van Grulle, Bergenfahrer 620, 683

## INDEX OF MODERN SCHOLARS

Only names in the main text are included, footnotes and tablenotes are excluded

- Abel, Wilhelm 115, 504–506, 508, 511, 512
- Bath, Slicher van 512
- Blom, Grethe Authen 432, 442
- Bolton, Jim 167
- Brattegard, Olav 374
- Bridbury, Anthony 524
- Bruns, Friedrich 16, 18, 21, 22, 97, 98, 103, 111, 113, 150, 152, 162, 164, 209, 215, 231, 267, 351, 352, 354, 362, 364, 365, 402, 413, 415, 570, 659, 660, 665, 668, 671
- Brøgger, Anton 541
- Bugge, Alexander 14–18, 23, 53, 55, 56, 96–98, 146, 170, 240, 277, 288–290, 303, 305
- Burkhardt, Mike 20, 21, 365
- Bächtold, Hermann 34
- Carus-Wilson, Elanora 18, 74, 173, 526
- Christlieb, Marie 266, 267
- Degryse, R. 516–518, 522
- Dollinger, Phillippe 22, 194, 344, 384, 575, 578, 594
- Gras, N.S.B. 18, 707
- Heath, Peter 523, 526
- Helberg, Bjørn Hebba 28, 29
- James, M. K. 22
- Kiil, Alf 497, 511
- Koppe, Wilhelm 18
- Kranenburg, H. A. H 528
- Kuske, Bruno 236, 238
- Lechner, Georg 18, 111, 616, 678,
- Lüdtke, Hartwig 36
- Lunden, Kåre 19, 20, 98, 240, 250, 374, 572
- Munch, Peter Andreas 14, 15, 303, 320
- Nielssen, Yngvar 303
- North, Michael 22
- Polanyi, Karl 19
- Postan, Michael 18, 146, 168, 179, 180
- Posthumus, N. W. 508, 509
- Power, Eileen 18
- Rafto, Thorolf 374
- Rogers, Thorold 508–510, 516, 517, 519, 521, 708, 721
- Rörig, Fritz 17
- Samsonowicz, Henryk 136
- Sandnes, Jørn 93, 554
- Sartorius, Georg 128
- Schildhauer, Johannes 136
- Schreiner, Johan 17–20, 23, 53, 97, 98, 103, 146, 168, 177, 209, 215, 238, 240, 241, 245, 250, 291, 303, 306, 308, 311, 351, 352, 418, 420, 432, 442, 487, 511, 529, 537, 564–567, 570, 571
- Schulerud, Arne 510
- Selzer, Stephan 13, 306, 345, 365–366, 373, 375
- Stein, Walter 248
- Tomföhrde, Theodor 523
- Veale, Elspeth 18
- Vogel, Walter 16, 17, 19, 203, 517, 528, 570, 571
- Vollan, Odd 513
- Weber, Max 23, 383
- Weibull, Curt 18, 19, 652
- Wilkinson, Richard 562
- Wubs-Mrozewicz, Justyna 201, 209, 210, 359



ALEXANDER DROST, MICHAEL NORTH (HG.)

**DIE NEUFINDUNG DES RAUMES**  
GRENZÜBERSCHREITUNGEN  
UND NEUORDNUNGEN

Globale Warenströme, Arbeitsmigranten und unzählige Touristen haben nicht nur zu einer Erhöhung des grenzüberschreitenden Austausches geführt, sondern beeinflussen mehr und mehr auch unsere mentalen Landkarten von Landschaften und Regionen in der Welt. Die nationalstaatlichen Grenzen bilden nicht mehr den einzigen Ordnungsrahmen für die Verortung von „Eigenem“ und „Fremden“. Vielmehr eröffnen sich auf allen Ebenen des täglichen Lebens, in Politik, Wissenschaft und Wirtschaft neue Räume, in denen wir uns zurechtzufinden suchen. Diese Räume und ihre Konstruktion nimmt der vorliegende Band in den Blick.

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JÖRG DRIESNER

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STRALSUND, KOPENHAGEN UND RIGA  
IN DER FRÜHEN NEUZEIT

(WIRTSCHAFTS- UND SOZIALHISTORISCHE  
STUDIEN, BAND 18)

Der Ostseeraum mit seinen angrenzenden, oft bis tief ins Hinterland reichen Wasserstraßen stellte über Jahrhunderte hinweg eine kulturelle Austauschzone dar. Neben Dingen des täglichen Bedarfs kamen bereits im 17. Jahrhundert Kunstgegenstände und Luxusartikel hinzu. Auf der Grundlage von Nachlassinventaren und Testamenten bürgerlicher Haushalte werden in diesem Buch Kulturströmungen und Transferwege am Beispiel der Städte Stralsund, Kopenhagen und Riga aufgezeigt. Dabei wird deutlich, dass sich gerade in der Zeit des Barocks und der Aufklärung moderne und bis zum heutigen Zeitpunkt nachwirkende Tendenzen im Bereich der Alltags- und Wohnkultur herausbildeten, die die Fundamente für einen globalen Mode- und Gütertransfer bildeten.

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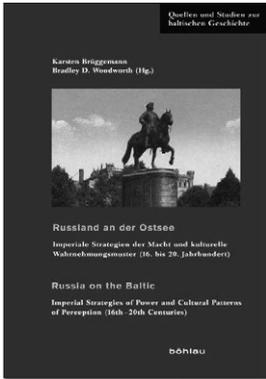
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REGIONAL FEATURES AND THE EUROPEAN CONTEXT

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Seit der Epochenwende von 1989 hat Alexis de Tocquevilles Beobachtung, dass die Vereinskultur einen zentralen Stellenwert in demokratischen Gesellschaften habe, neue Aktualität gewonnen. Nicht nur in den ehemals staatssozialistischen Gesellschaften, sondern in der gesamten Ostseeregion verbindet sich die Betrachtung des Vereinswesens, das seit langem in je eigenen nationalen Traditionen präsent ist, mit der Debatte über die Rolle von zivilgesellschaftlichem Engagement in der Gegenwart. Die Beiträge dieses Buches führen nord-, ost- und mitteleuropäische Entwicklungen seit dem ausgehenden 18. Jahrhundert zusammen und werfen auch einen Blick auf Prägungen seit dem Mittelalter. Zum Vergleich sowie zur Erörterung transnationaler Verflechtungen werden Großbritannien, Deutschland, Polen, Russland und die Habsburger Monarchie einbezogen. Die Aufsätze zeigen das breite Spektrum von Vereinskultur in der Ostseeregion auf und geben neue Impulse für die Diskussion über »Einheit in der Vielfalt« in der europäischen Geschichte.

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Die jahrhundertelange Beziehung zwischen Russland und dem Baltikum bietet mehr als die immer noch verbreitete Konzentration auf die Konfliktgeschichte erwarten lässt. In diesem Band analysieren Autorinnen und Autoren aus sechs Ländern die spezifisch russisch-baltischen Erfahrungen vom 16. bis zum 20. Jahrhundert. Aus ihren Beiträgen ergibt sich ein differenziertes Bild dieser Verflechtungsgeschichte, das neue Impulse für die Erforschung dieser historischen Nachbarschaft in all ihren Facetten liefert.

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Map on the inside of the backcover:

Place names along the North Sea and Atlantic coast of Norway mentioned in the text. The boundaries and the names in large letters refer to 16th century administrative units called fogderi.

North of Bergen the names mostly refer to fishing villages, market places and parishes where the peasant fishermen lived. The largest concentrations of fishing villages were in Lofoten, on the island of Senja and in Finnmark.

South of Bergen the names mostly refer to locations along the shipping lane to Bergen. There is a concentration of names around Lindesnes, at the southernmost tip of Norway. Here Hansa ships arriving from the Baltic in the east waited for favourable winds to sail northwards to Bergen. Ships sailing between the Baltic and the southern coast of the North Sea also could need to make a stop here for the same reason. These islands and fjords provided good hiding for pirates of many nationalities attacking Hansa shipping.

Names found on the map, and the "Fogderi" in which they are located:

Alstahaug, Helgeland	Ingøy, Finnmark	Skjøtningsberg, Finnmark
Andenes, Vesterålen	Karlsøy, Troms	Skrova, Lofoten
Askvoll, Sunnfjord	Karmsund, Ryfylke	Stavanger
Austrått, Fosen	Kirkestappen, Finnmark	Steigen, Salten
Avaldsnes, Ryfylke	Kjelvik, Finnmark	Steinsvikholm, Stjørdal
Baltestad, Senja	Kristiansand, Mandal	Sula, Fosen
Beiarfjord, Salten	Kvænangen, Troms	Sørvær, Finnmark
Berg, Senja	Leksa, Fosen	Titran, Fosen
Bergen	Lindesnes, Lista	Tjøtta, Helgeland
Bleik, Vesterålen	Lista, Lista fogderi	Torsken, Senja
Bodø, Salten	Loppa, Finnmark	Tromsø, Troms
Borgund, Sunnmøre	Lyse, Nordhordland	Trondenes, Senja
Brattvær, Nordmøre	Løddingen, Salten	Trondheim
Brønnøy, Helgeland	Makkaur, Finnmark	Tunes, Finnmark
Bud, Romsdal	Malangen, Senja	Ulstein, Sunnmøre
Bulandet, Sunnfjord	Mefjord, Senja	Utstein, Ryfylke
Ersfjord, Senja	Meløy, Helgeland	Utvorda, Namdalen
Fana, Nordhordland	North Cape, Finnmark	Vadsø, Finnmark
Flakstad, Lofoten	Nærøy, Namdalen	Valle, Lofoten
Fleinvær, Salten	Odden, Nordmøre	Varangerfjord, Finnmark
Flekkerøy, Mandal	Okbåsen, Fosen	Vardø, Finnmark
Garten, Fosen	Omgang, Finnmark	Vefsn, Helgeland
Gildeskål, Salten	Ona, Romsdal	Veidholmen, Nordmøre
Grip, Nordmøre	Rana, Helgeland	Vestvågøy, Lofoten
Gryllefjord, Senja	Runde, Sunnmøre	Veøy, Romsdal
Harstad, Senja	Rødøy, Helgeland	Vindafjord, Ryfylke
Helnes, Finnmark	Røst, Lofoten	Værøy, Lofoten
Herøy, Helgeland	Seløy, Lista	Vågan, Lofoten
Hidra, Lista	Senja, Senja fogderi	Øyafjord, Senja
Honningsvåg, Finnmark	Skjærstadfjord, Salten	Ålesund, Sunnmøre