

Trading Networks and Peasant Consumption in late Medieval and Early-Modern Eastern Denmark

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This article analyses the patterns of consumption found among the urban and the rural population in the Sound region between c. 1400 and 1550 and tries to show how trade networks to the Hanseatic towns of the Baltic influenced these patterns. The source material clearly shows that the notable German population influx in the Danish towns in the Sound region seems to have advanced the spread of Hanseatic material culture considerably, and that it were most commonly encountered here. A large variety of the foreign cloth, beer, wine and spices was for sale in the towns of the Sound region and some of these commodities even found their way into the possession of peasants as signs of wealth and status. However, it remains necessary to remember that even though the general economic condition of the Danish rural population improved during the late medieval period, the peasantry was a diversified group of individuals, of which some prospered and others remained poor. For the poorer peasants it must have been more important to get by and survive than to spend a meagre surplus on expensive foreign goods.

1. Introduction

In a time, when roads mostly only were tracks cut into the landscape, and the average day's journey on land was about 30 km, seaborne traffic enjoyed massive advantages. Not only was it possible to transport far larger amounts of goods at the same time, it was also much faster. Even the slowest of cogs would cover about 10 km an hour, and so the sea lanes that led through the Baltic were among the highways of medieval trade.¹ The citizens in the towns of the Sound region, like Malmø and

¹ Norbert Ohler: *Reisen im Mittelalter* (1986), pp. 140-41.

Copenhagen that formed part of the international Northern European trading network, came in close contact with commodities from all over Europe and even further afar. However, very little has been written about how the proximity of the Scanian fairs influenced the consumption of the peasant population on both sides of the Sound.

During these last few decades the primary interest in the history of the Hanseatic sphere of influence and beyond has shifted from the purely economic aspects towards socio-cultural aspects of the past such as for instance the consumption of food and drink.² In this connection, much new knowledge has been gained about the spread of new cultural trends through the use of tools derived from other social sciences such as network analysis. This reflects the maturing of inter-disciplinary approaches that brought together fields such as history, archaeology, art history, literary analysis and also natural science.³ The four volumes about "Cultural exchange in Early Modern Europe 1400-1700", a research project financed by the European Science Foundation clearly underline this trend.⁴

The following survey will take a look at how the economic development of the cities of Western Europe and the integration of the Scandinavian market into the larger "European World Economy" affected the Sound area economically, socially and culturally. It will include an analysis of how fine-meshed and diversified the trading network between towns, villages and hamlets in the region was and focus on, if, and how consumption in the towns and the countryside was affected by intensified mercantile contact and increasing sales. As consumption to a large extent also is a question of selection and de-selection, the character of consumption not only reflects complex long-distance trade mechanisms

² See for instance: Günter Wiegelmann and Ruth-E. Mohrmann (ed.): *Nahrung und Tischkultur im Hanseraum*. Münster, 1996.

³ For surveys of recent approaches to Hanseatic research see R. Hammel-Kiesow (ed.): *Vergleichende Aufsätze in der hansischen Geschichtsforschung (Hanseatische Studien XIII)*, (Trier, 2002), and E. Müller-Mertens and H. Böcker (eds): *Konzeptionelle Aufsätze der Hanse-Historiographie (Hanseatische Studien XIV)*, (Trier, 2003).

⁴ Robert Munchenbled (ed.): *Cultural Exchange in Early-Modern Europe, 1400-1700*. Cambridge, 2007.

and increased wealth. The presence of trading goods such as ceramics, spices, cloth, beer and wine in the historical and archaeological source material can provide us with a measure of North-western European cultural codes and lifestyle practises, notably in the spheres of food, drink and manner of dressing. The study of individual "luxury" products in different geographical and social environments injects a vertical dimension into the analysis. The success of these commodities does not only give us an indication about whom the population traded with; the patterns of consumption also show us whom they felt connected to culturally.⁵

Furthermore, a survey of consumption has the advantage of interaction between the fields of history, archaeology and science, as the combination of historical, archaeological and scientific source material can give us a larger insight into the larger socio-economic context, and also of the communities of everyday life. Pottery, salt, iron, hops and flax for linen made up the majority of goods bought by Danish peasants, even though the range was much wider. In my analysis of consumption, I have thus chosen to focus on commodities such as beer, cloth, wine and spices in order to find out, if there were any differences in consumption between not only town and country, but also between the coastal region and localities further inland.⁶

As always, when dealing with a survey concerning the Sound area, one has to comment on the scarcity of source-material compared to other European regions. In this case, the main obstacle is the fact that almost no written sources about economic transactions from within the rural communities have survived. However, we are fortunate to have Lübeck's poundage records from the years 1492-1496, which, without always being precise about the destination of the ships, give a reasonable picture of which goods were shipped to what destinations, and thus provide a

⁵ David Gaimster: «The Baltic ceramic market 1200-1600: measuring Hanseatic cultural transfer and resistance», in *Cultural exchange in Europe 1400-1700*, vol. IV, pp. 30-58.

⁶ There are many different definitions of what constitutes a coastal zone. Modern definitions operate with a zone that stretches up to 200 km inland, but in this context it would be more reasonable to designate this for conditions of the late medieval and early modern period. Here I will operate with a coastal zone that stretches no further inland than half a day's journey, i.e. 15 km.

possible indicator of what goods were available for sale in the trading ports of Denmark.

In addition to this, a few merchant's accounts from Malmø, dating from 1521-1559 have survived, which give a certain insight into which products were sold by the rural communities and which were bought by the peasantry in return. Combined with the poundage records, these can provide a fairly accurate, if somewhat sketchy picture of the exchange of goods. Furthermore, inventories from different citizens from Malmø, Elsinore and Køge, dating to 1546-1559, 1571-1621 and 1597-1655 respectively, exist. These not only provide us with insight into the worldly possessions of towns people from different social classes, but as several of these inventories originate from the homes of merchants, listing what commodities were in stock, we are presented with a more varied range of products sold within the towns and in the countryside.

Uniquely, a complete list of peasant possessions exists from the island of Lolland from as early as 1505. That year, Karine Jeppes and her husband were robbed of all their worldly possession by the nobleman Anders Tidemand of Ålholm, who was engaged in a feud with the wealthy peasant. Additionally, inventories from peasant farms from the district of Smørum just outside Copenhagen exist for the period 1644-1648. Apart from listing the worldly possession of farmers, they also provide some information about networks between farmers concerning trade and money lending. As these only give part of the picture, and not include the day to day trade among peasants, the records of the parish clerk Anders Jensen Kier from 1667-1693 have also been included.

2. Trading Networks in the Sound Region

The merchant's account book most widely used and discussed in Danish research is the one kept by Ditlev Enbeck (or Embeck) in Malmø from 1521-1535.⁷ His name leads to the assumption that he originally

⁷ Erik Arup: *Studier i Engelsk og Tysk Handels Historie. En Undersøgelse af Kommissionhandelens Praksis og Teori i Engelsk og Tysk Handelsliv 1350-1850* (1907); Emilie Andersen: *Malmøkøbmanden Ditlev Enbeck og hans regnskabsbog* (1954).

came from the town of Einbeck in Saxony, famous for its beer. The account book itself is written in the lingua franca of the Hanseatic League, Low German – another testimony to the large German influx in the medieval Danish towns. The account has mainly been used as an example of commission trade and gives a picture of quite varied and extensive trade. Between 1524 and 1528, Enbeck was the partner of Reymer Sander of Lübeck, who himself had apprentices, who worked for him in Scania, Sweden and in Riga. Sander was active not only on the traditional east-west route between Reval and Amsterdam, but had trade connections that stretched inland, far into Northern and Central Germany.⁸

Ditlev Enbeck's trade was part commission, part company trade, and was, at least for a shorter period, connected to an extensive network of merchants, who could supply him with cloth, salt and beer, but also with more rarely encountered and rather sumptuous foreign goods like glass, spices and weapons. In return Ditlev Enbeck sent herring, horses, pork, barley and oats, which he had acquired throughout Scania, to Lübeck, where fish and agricultural products were in high demand. But Reymer Sander was not his only contact in Lübeck. Not only did he do business with Ghert Lefferdink, another partner of Reymer Sander's, but also with Hinrich von Santen, the bailiff of Lübeck in Scania. As Carsten Jahnke has shown, through Hinrich von Santen Enbeck had contacts in Sweden apart from his own and was himself well connected to aldermen in Ystad and Malmö.⁹

On a more regional basis, Enbeck's network stretched well into the hinterland of Scania and with links across the Sound to Copenhagen and Køge. It is interesting to note that Enbeck had close business ties to members of his own family. His sister Elsebe, who was married to the alderman Peder Andersen Skriver of Malmö, as well as his sister's daughter Mette, who was married to another alderman, Peder Harcke of Malmö,

⁸ Carsten Jahnke: *Netzwerke in Handel und Kommunikation an der Wende vom 15. zum 16. Jahrhundert am Beispiel zweier Revaler Kaufleute*, habil. Masch (2004), pp. 44-53.

⁹ Carsten Jahnke: *Netzwerke in Handel und Kommunikation an der Wende vom 15. zum 16. Jahrhundert am Beispiel zweier Revaler Kaufleute*, habil. Masch, (2004), p. 53.

did business with Ditlev. From 1517 until 1521, when he most likely moved to Copenhagen, Ditlev's brother Tomas Enbeck also dealt with Ditlev, albeit less extensively.¹⁰ Such close family ties were one of the most important and defining elements of the merchant businesses of the Baltic, not only socially, but also economically.¹¹

However, there were some significant local differences. As will be seen later in detail, the sale of beer, hops, cloth and spices were more or less limited to Malmö itself and the surrounding villages, while salt was distributed widely. The more distant localities provided Enbeck with most of the horses and pigs he sold on, while villages closer to Malmö provided Enbeck with the majority of oats and barley.

This specialisation in production, with most of the grain being grown close to the town and animals being raised for sale further inland clearly reflects environmental conditions. Most of the animals were raised in areas where the soil and the forests limited the possibility of growing cereals, but provided excellent conditions for raising horses, cattle and pigs. Distance from the sea also must have played an important role when it came to buying grain, as transportation on land still was rather rudimentary and quite expensive. In order to earn as much as possible, grain bought close to the coast must have been preferable. Live stock however, could more easily be moved from further inland, as the animals were able to move themselves.

Even though no account books have survived which could form basis for an analysis of the extent of a trading network of the other side of the Sound in Zealand, it is possible to recreate a picture based on three merchant's inventories from the town of Køge just south of Copenhagen from the early 17th century. Compiled after the merchants' death on the basis of now lost account books in order to settle their affairs, these give indications about whom they traded with through lists of credit and debit.¹²

¹⁰ *Ditlev Enbecks regnskabsbog*, pp. 25-26.

¹¹ Carsten Jahnke: *Netzwerke in Handel und Kommunikation an der Wende vom 15. zum 16. Jahrhundert am Beispiel zweier Revaler Kaufleute*, habil. Masch, (2004), p. 3.

¹² *Skifter fra Køge 1597-1655* (Jost Korning, Erich Christensen, Carl Hansen), pp. 210-238, 289-368.

The geographical spread is more or less identical in the three lists and is mostly concentrated in the area within 20 km of Køge. This can easily be explained as determined by means of transportation and at first glance also through law. By the early 17th century, many Danish towns had more or less successfully limited trade to the towns, largely eliminating trade in the countryside apart from local fairs. In order to ensure the individual city's economic survival, most were given an economic zone, stretching out 15-20 km from the town in all directions. Peasants living in these zones had to seek into the given town, even though they could have achieved higher prices in other towns further away.¹³ The trade contacts of Jost Korning shown on the map below seem to indicate that merchants from Køge came close to interfering with the trade zones of Roskilde and Store Heddinge. But exceptionally, Køge was not granted a privileged zone of trade around the town as such. However, in 1562 the merchants of Køge had been able to obtain royal support in order to limit trade in the town's hinterland and at small illegal ports on the coast, a problem which had existed for some time – the question remains how effective this royal support in reality was.¹⁴ The town of Store Heddinge in the Stevns district just to the south of Køge remained very small. Essentially, it was an enlarged village, mainly deriving its income from agriculture. Most likely, the merchants from Køge supplied Store Heddinge and surrounding villages with goods not to be had otherwise.¹⁵ As the map of Jost Korning's trade connections below indicates, even though Køge did not have a privileged zone of trade, it seems that a natural zone around the town existed from where peasants were drawn into town. In the long run however, the economic pull of Copenhagen had a damaging effect on the economy of Køge.

Especially the inventory of Jost Korning is very interesting, as it lists not only his private possessions, but also his stock of goods. Those, he

¹³ Søren B. Christensen: *Købstadssystemet og oplandets bygder ca. 1450-1800*, in *Bygder* (2006), pp. 77-104.

¹⁴ *Danmarks gamle købstadsløvgivning*, vol. 3, Køge no. 19, p. 211.

¹⁵ Søren Bitsch Christensen: *Det naturlige midtpunkt? Købstedernes økonomiske centralitet 1450-1800*, in *Den klassiske købstad* (2005), Søren Bitsch Christensen (ed.), pp. 47-136.

acquired through his extensive network, which included trade partners not only in Elsinore and Copenhagen but also in Hamburg, Lübeck and Holland. Thus, apart from haberdashery, he was able to supply his customers with a broad variety of spices, such as aniseed, ginger, caraway seeds, coriander, bay leaf, muscat, cloves, pepper, saffron and sugar as well as tobacco. He also sold cloth from Germany, England and Arras.¹⁶ However, as the inventory lists only tell us who owed money to the merchant, but unfortunately not for what, we are unable to verify the extent of the sale of these goods into the countryside.

But trade and even money lending was not the prerogative of town merchants. As mentioned above, peasants of the late medieval period engaged in trade themselves, either acting as middlemen of town merchants or independently selling goods in the countryside ("landprang"), or buying agricultural products only in order to sell them on ("forprang") despite laws forbidding such practises.¹⁷ This practise continued throughout the early modern period, and especially in areas far from the larger towns, where people had difficulties to find all the commodities they needed at their local market town.¹⁸ But even close to Copenhagen, peasants traded among themselves or lent out money. As Bjørn Poulsen has shown, quite large sums were involved in the money lending business.¹⁹ Debtor/creditor lists from the district of Smørum outside of Copenhagen clearly indicate signs of economic and social differentiation among the peasantry, some remaining poor and others prospering and being able to loan out money.²⁰ While money lending activities – to a large extent based on trust and close relations – seem to have been restricted to a limited geographical area, trade relations in the countryside went beyond parish and even district borders.

¹⁶ *Skifter fra Køge*, pp. 215-217, 222-223.

¹⁷ For instance: *Danmarks gamle købstadsløvgivning* vol. 3, pp. 211, 442-446, 459-462; vol. 4, pp. 76-78.

¹⁸ Johannes Mølgaard: *Bønder og handel i Salling 1680-1780*, in *Bol og by 1997* 2, pp. 48-74.

¹⁹ Bjørn Poulsen: *Alle nyne rent*, in *DHT* 90, s. 246-275

²⁰ *Bondeskifter fra Smørum og Lille Herred 1644-48*.

This can clearly be illustrated through the network of the parish clerk Anders Jensen Kier from the parish of Førslev in the district of Øster Flakkebjerg. According to Börje Hanssen's now classic study "*Österlen*", which however mostly covers the situation in the 18th century, when the economic activities of peasants to a larger extent had been curtailed, it was more likely for the local priest, or in this case parish clerk to have a more extensive network of social and economic relations than a peasant such as Peder Hansen.²¹ The small size and regionally limited network of Peder Hansen as seen above is somewhat misleading, as this only includes his debt and credit relationships, and unlikely his complete network. The network of peasants, who were highly active in commercial activities, could in the 16th century become far more extensive and include a multitude of connections. However, this required a high degree of trust. According to Börje Hanssen's study, economic transactions with outsiders were generally concluded immediately, mainly because the peasants did not trust people from outside their own parish except maybe a single trusted merchant inside the nearest town, and did not want to have unresolved business with them.²² Even though we know that many Danish peasants at least in the 17th century kept their own account books, none of these have survived from the Sound region, and thus we cannot reconstruct day to day business and economic contacts. Therefore, Anders Jensen Kier's records are exceptional, because they give us an insight into how widespread a rural network could be.

Even though his records cover the period 1667-1693, most of the details about Kier's network and trade stem from the years 1670-1680. Apart from dealing with members of his own family, his records show contact with at least 150 people, most of these in or around his own parish of Førslev, which is similar to the pattern Börje Hanssen found in south-eastern Scania. He dealt with high and low, buying grain, pork, horses, cattle, pigs and turkeys and lending out money to peasants and smallholders. He even made some profit from beekeeping. However, Anders Jensen Kier was more active than the peasants encountered by

²¹ Börje Hanssen: *Österlen*, pp. 142-152.

²² Börje Hanssen: *Österlen*, 139-142.

Hanssen. Most of his profits came from "forprang", buying cattle and horses from peasants and selling them with profit either to the local manor or to merchants in Copenhagen, Korsør, Næstved, Skælskør, Roskilde and even Flensburg in the duchy of Schleswig.

In the towns Anders Jensen Kier used the money he earned not only to buy such commodities as fine clothes for himself and his wife, shoes, spices, metal ware and fish, but also to invest heavily in silverware.²³ As Anders Jensen Kier did not limit his business to take place in one town, but in five, he is first and foremost a clear example of how futile it was to force peasants of a certain district only to do business in the closest town, but also an example of the limited effect of forbidding "forprang". His trade clearly indicates that people in the countryside traded where they could make the most profit and acquire the needed commodities. By keeping low profiles such "kræmmere" and "prangere" in some regions were even able to accumulate enough wealth to move into town and start their own merchant business.²⁴

The following surveys will go into more detail about just how far outside of the towns certain commodities such as beer, foreign cloth, wine and spices spread in order to see, if it is possible to derive whether a special pattern can be found in the coastal regions compared to inland.

3. Beer

At first glance, one might wonder about the prominent position, which hops and beer take up in the merchant's accounts from the late medieval and early modern period, hops being the second most important import in the Sound region (and Denmark, for that matter), right after salt. First of all, one has to remember that food during the Middle Ages contained a lot more salt than what is usual today, in order to extend its durability. This necessitated drinking a lot, and as coffee,

²³ *Førlevdegnens optegnelser: optegnelsesbog for degnen Anders Jensen Kier 1667-1693*, pp. 18-19, 47-58.

²⁴ Johannes Møllgaard: *Bønder og handel i Salling 1680-1780*, in *Bol og by 1997* II, pp. 48-74, especially pp. 65-68.

tea and soda did not exist yet, and milk only being available during the summer and unboiled water mostly being unsanitary, beer was the most important thirst quencher during the medieval period.²⁵ However, most of the beer brewed then was much weaker than the pint one would find at the local pub today.

In Denmark, four different kinds of top-fermented beer were brewed, as medieval Europeans preferred the special taste and sweetness of these beers compared to today's favourite, lager. The finest was a strong beer with lots of hops, called "herreøl" (literally, a "beer for kings"). "Herreøl" was highly regarded, and the only beer which came close to German beer in quality as well as in price. It was consumed on special occasions such as weddings and religious festivals. The beer for everyday consumption, "svendeøl" was weaker, less spicy and more reasonably prized. "Skibsøl" and "kavent" were weaker still.

Before 1200, Danish beer was brewed with sweet gale instead of hops and was as a result quite bitter. In the 13th century however, Danes came into contact with German beer, which was based on hops.²⁶ It was sweeter and had the advantage of longer durability than beer brewed with sweet gale. Drinkers took some time to acquire a taste for hopped beer, but eventually it became the most common form of beer. So the use of hops itself marked a significant change in consumption. Hops were in fact grown in Denmark during the late medieval period in order to produce beer in the German fashion, and many abbeys and monasteries had their own hop gardens. Initiatives were taken to increase production, but never enough to satisfy demand. Even when brewed with hops, Danish beer was regarded as being rather mediocre compared to German beer. As a result, import of German beer was extensive and by the end of the middle ages as big as ever.

Most of the hops that were imported came from the extensive hop

²⁵ Erik Kjørsgaard: *Mad og øl i Danmarks middelalder* (1978), p. 99; Wolfgang Frontzek: *Das städtische Braugewerbe und seine Bauten vom Mittelalter bis zur frühen Neuzeit* (2005), p. 11.

²⁶ Bjørn Poulsen: *The Widening of Import Trade and Consumption around 1200 A.D.: a Danish Perspective*, in *Cogs, Cargoes and Commerce: Maritime Bulk Trade in Northern Europe 1150-1400* (2002), p. 31-52.

gardens, which could be found in Mecklenburg just to the south of the Baltic. The poundage records of Lübeck clearly show the extent of the import of hops. In 1492 alone, Denmark imported over 125 tons of hops just from Lübeck. In fact, hops were the commodity recorded in the records with the greatest geographical spread within Denmark, as they went not only to the Scanian fairs, but also to the towns of Copenhagen, Malmø, Køge and Næstved as well as to the island of Lolland.²⁷ At Gottorp on the border between the duchies of Schleswig and Holstein, the custom records registered an import of 70 tons in 1500 and 170 tons in 1547. Prussian hops from Danzig could be found in Denmark from around 1500.²⁸ The German beer primarily came from the Hanseatic cities, Lübeck, Hamburg, Rostock and Wismar being the largest exporters, as their access to sea transport lowered costs significantly.²⁹ Also, beer from Kiel in Holstein, Bernau in Brandenburg, Wittenberg and Einbeck in Saxony as well as from Danzig found its way to Denmark. Especially "emst" beer from Einbeck was highly regarded, and favoured by King Hans and his son Christian II around 1500, while Christopher of Bavaria 50 years earlier preferred beer from Rostock.³⁰ During his captivity in Sønderborg 1532-1549, Christian II drank around 10 litres of the highly regarded "Kakebille" beer from Eckernförde a day and occasionally enjoyed beer from Hamburg, Danzig or Einbeck.³¹

²⁷ *Die Lübecker Pfundzollbücher 1492-1496*, no. 6776, 6813, 6821, 6858, 6868, 6877, 13525.

²⁸ KLM VII, sp. 58-62 (humlehandel).

²⁹ Richard M. Ungcr: *Beer in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance* (2004), p. 59; Christine von Blanckenburg: *Die Hanse und ihr Bier. Brauwesen und Bierhandel im hansischen Verkehrsgebiet* (2001), p. 263; Wolfgang Frontzek: *Das städtische Braugewerbe und seine Bauten vom Mittelalter bis zur frühen Neuzeit* (2005), pp. 16-20.

³⁰ Most of the background information is taken from Erik Kjersgaard's *Mad og øl i Danmarks middelalder* (1978), which remains the most extensive work on Danish medieval food and drink. Pages 84-99 deal with beer. See also: *Die Lübecker Pfundzollbücher 1492-1496*, Hans-Jürgen Vogtherr (ed.) (1996), no. 12760 and 12762, which show exports of "emst" beer to Copenhagen. The merchant Hans Louwe also supplied Copenhagen with wine and malvasier, which could indicate that some of his cargo found its way to Copenhagen Castle.

³¹ *Et kristeligt, kongeligt, fyrsteligt fangenskab. Regnskaber fra Sønderborg Slot fra Christian 2.s tid*, Inge Adriansen, Inge and Birgit Christensen (ed.) (2004), pp. 36 & 48-53.

But consumption was not dominated by the imported or commercially produced Danish beer. In the towns as well as in the country, most people brewed their own beer, and there were no regulations limiting this.³² Only if you wanted to sell foreign beer or wine, you had to have a special permission from the town magistrate. This sale was therefore mostly limited to merchants, who combined their import business with selling foreign beer. Initially, drinking German beer was a phenomenon limited to the fairs of Scania and the mercantile towns,³³ and the question is, whether this cultural trait actually transcended into the country side of the Sound region and became part of the consumption of the common peasant?

The limited source material can give us some indications. For instance, even though Ditlev Enbeck on numerous occasions sells beer, he only sells the famous spicy "Mumme", which originated from Brunswick, to his customers in Scania on six different occasions. However, this can be explained by the fact that the export of "mumme" only reached its golden age around 1600 and production remained relatively limited.³⁴

The sales of "mumme" are limited to the short period in the 1520's, when Enbeck was the partner of Raymer Sandow in Lübeck, who was able to supply this type of beer because of his extensive trade network. Thus, in 1524 Enbeck sold 2 barrels of "mumme", which he had acquired from Lübeck, to Peter Guldsmid, each barrel costing 13 marks.³⁵ In 1525 Enbeck bought 6 barrels of "mumme" from Raymer Sandow for 10 marks a barrel.³⁶ In 1527 he received 7 barrels of "mumme", which he sold separately to customers in Malmø and in Lund, only 15 km northeast of Malmø. While the barrels he sold to Anders Jyde and Herman in Malmø

³² The earliest peasant inventories from the 17th century often list brewing vats in the possession of peasants. In 1644-1648, 9 out of 42 peasants owned these in the inventories from Smørum and Lille herred districts. *Bondeskifter fra Smørum og Lille herred 1644-1648*, pp. 41, 59, 65, 69, 73, 90, 104, 119 & 128.

³³ Christine von Blanckenburg: *Die Hanse und ihr Bier. Brauwesen und Bierhandel im hansischen Verkehrsgebiet*. (2001), p. 242.

³⁴ Christine von Blanckenburg: *Die Hanse und ihr Bier. Brauwesen und Bierhandel im hansischen Verkehrsgebiet*. (2001), p. 224; Wolfgang Frontzek: *Das städtische Braugewerbe und seine Bauten vom Mittelalter bis zur frühen Neuzeit*, (2005), pp. 16-17.

³⁵ *Ditlev Enbecks regnskabsbog*, p. 172. 1 mark à 16 shilling à 3 hvid.

³⁶ *Ditlev Enbecks regnskabsbog*, p. 174.

cost 12 marks a barrel, in Lund, Rasmus Owerscher and Marie Rewes had to pay 14 and 13½ mark a barrel, respectively.³⁷ This clearly indicates how much prices rose as soon as any land transport was involved.

Of other German beer, Enbeck in 1526 received one last of "iserhels",³⁸ which seems to have been in high demand, as he sold 8 barrels off in quick succession. All of these were sold in Malmö, prices varying between 4 and 5 marks a barrel.³⁹ In comparison, in 1531 a barrel of Danish beer cost only 2½ mark.⁴⁰ "Pryssing" from Danzig is only mentioned once, when Enbeck receives a shipment from Jachop Ghrawtop.⁴¹

Beer without any specification of origin is mentioned on several occasions in Enbeck's account book, and the commodity was clearly a major business factor. Prices indicate that most of the beer was cheap Danish beer with prices between 1 mark, 6 shilling and 3½ marks.⁴² Only once it is clearly indicated that Enbeck bought Danish beer outside of Malmö, when he in 1532 acquired 2 barrels of beer in Lund for 2 marks, 12 shilling a barrel.⁴³

Even though beer was an important commodity for Enbeck, it was far from being his main source of income. For two other burghers of Malmö though, beer meant serious business. Morten Brygger was, as his last name and also the content of his account book indicates, first and foremost brewer. His account book, which covers the years 1537-1544, clearly shows that Malmö was the primary market for his products, but he also sold beer to Copenhagen.⁴⁴

His sales were not limited to his own production, however. In 1542, he sold beer from Rostock on three occasions, when was sold in Malmö and Lund for 7 marks a barrel.⁴⁵ "German" beer, which by the 16th century

³⁷ *Ditlev Enbecks regnskabsbog*, pp. 202-203.

³⁸ A light beer reminiscent of Hamburg beer, but brewed in Lübeck. See KLN 20, column 709.

³⁹ *Ditlev Enbecks regnskabsbog*, p. 189.

⁴⁰ *Ditlev Enbecks regnskabsbog*, p. 244.

⁴¹ *Ditlev Enbecks regnskabsbog*, p. 145.

⁴² *Ditlev Enbecks regnskabsbog*, pp. 144, 162, 201, 248, 263.

⁴³ *Ditlev Enbecks regnskabsbog*, p. 252.

⁴⁴ *Morten Bryggers regnskab, Malmö skifter 2*, p. 30.

⁴⁵ *Morten Bryggers regnskab, Malmö skifter 2*, p. 9.

primarily meant beer from Wismar, Rostock or Stralsund, he also sold on several occasions throughout the period.⁴⁶ Three of his customers were from Malmø, and one was from Lund, who paid 3 marks for one barrel.⁴⁷ This low price could indicate that Morten Brygger owed the buyer money from a previous deal, as another buyer, Knud Henriksen (Sparre), a Scanian nobleman paid 10 marks for one barrel.⁴⁸ This high price could however also stem from transport costs overland, as Knud Henriksen resided at his manor of Klogstrup 15 km outside of Malmø. In comparison, a good horse would cost between 15 and 20 mark.

Rasmus Skrifer, who was mayor of Malmø, received one barrel of German beer from Morten Brygger, when he held his wedding in Bara, just outside of Malmø.⁴⁹ These two examples underline the exclusiveness of the German beer – even when it appeared in rural areas, it was connected to a nobleman or an important burgher.

Only one barrel was sold into the rural areas, the buyer being Jens Bentsen, who lived in Høköpinge between Malmø and Skanør-Falsterbo.⁵⁰ No foreign beer reached the far off villages of Scania, and only twice did Morten Brygger sell Danish beer to the rural areas of Scania, once to Lomma, which is close to Malmø, and once to Gudmunstorp which is 40 km northeast of Malmø. While the price for Danish beer was between 1 and 2 mark in Malmø, a barrel in Lomma cost 4½ marks a barrel.⁵¹ With such steep prices, it is no wonder that the commodity Morten Brygger sold most of in the small villages throughout Scania was hops. Most people simply preferred to brew their own beer and the foreign beer remained an ideal, few could afford and rarely tasted.

Bent Brygger was another brewer active in Malmø. In the 1550's he sold 579 barrels of beer to various burghers, mostly one or two barrels at the same time. Only once did he sell 5 barrels to the same customer.

⁴⁶ Erik Kjersgaard: *Mad og øl i Danmarks middelalder*, København, 1978, p. 95; KLN 9, column 703-710.

⁴⁷ *Morten Bryggers regnskab, Malmø skifter 2*, p. 9, 32, 36; 29.

⁴⁸ *Morten Bryggers regnskab, Malmø skifter 2*, p. 15.

⁴⁹ *Morten Bryggers regnskab, Malmø skifter 2*, p. 6.

⁵⁰ *Morten Bryggers regnskab, Malmø skifter 2*, p. 29.

⁵¹ *Morten Bryggers regnskab, Malmø skifter 2*, pp. 26, 33.

While the average price for a barrel at the beginning of the account book is around 3 marks, the price gradually falls, and in the end, a barrel is usually sold for only 2 marks.⁵² The price level indicates that Bent Brygger only sold his own Danish beer, and his circle of customers was limited to the town of Malmö itself.

Keluf Jens Nielsens was the wife of the cobbler Jens Nielsen, who by the 1550's had either died or was too ill to work. Accordingly, in order to earn money, she turned to selling beer, hops and various other commodities. In addition to Danish beer, she sold three different kinds of German beer – Rostock, Danzig and “German”, which most likely was the popular beer from Wismar. Unlike what we have seen earlier, this was not only sold in Malmö or Lund, but to a certain extent also in the rural areas close to Malmö.⁵³ However, while Ditlev Enbeck, Morten Brygger and Bent Brygger sold their beer by the barrel, Keluf sold most of her beer in “potter” (0.96 l). She sold 3 “potter” of Rostock beer to Tidemand in Gässie for 2 shilling and the more common “German” beer to a number of customers in the Oxie district.⁵⁴ In Hovgården she sold 6 “potter” together with 12 “potter” Danish beer and a one pound candle for 2 hvid and 4 bushels of hops, while Jens Gundersen in Hyllie acquired a pound of butter and 4 “potter” of German beer.⁵⁵ Per Smed in Klagstrup bought 12 “potter” to still his thirst as well as ½ bushels of hops to brew more himself. Ispen Skreder of Oxie must also have acquired a taste for German beer, as he bought for 6 shilling.⁵⁶ Beer from Danzig and “German” beer found its way to Mikkel in Toarp, who bought this and other commodities such as salt and hops from Keluf on several occasions.⁵⁷ Finally, Laurits Jenssøn of Törringe bought 6 “potter” for 4 shilling.⁵⁸ But not only German beer found its way into the countryside. Regularly, Keluf also sold Danish beer, which sold as well or even better than the imported,

⁵² *Bent Bryggers regnskab, Malmö skifter 2*, pp. 69-87.

⁵³ Ingmar Billberg: *Malmö och dess omland, in Från stad till land* (2001), pp. 151-52.

⁵⁴ *Keluf Jens Nielsens regnskab, Malmö skifter 2*, p. 101.

⁵⁵ *Keluf Jens Nielsens regnskab, Malmö skifter 2*, p. 90, 102.

⁵⁶ *Keluf Jens Nielsens regnskab, Malmö skifter 2*, p. 93, 100.

⁵⁷ *Keluf Jens Nielsens regnskab, Malmö skifter 2*, pp. 93, 95, 98, 100, 101, 105, 110, 111, 113.

⁵⁸ *Keluf Jens Nielsens regnskab, Malmö skifter 2*, p. 96.

to the peasants outside Malmø. For example, Rasmus of Fossie bought a total of 27 "potter" from Keluf, while in Hököpinge and Pile, she could sell 18 and 10 "potter" to Eske and Lauris Truitt respectively.⁵⁹

But even though it seems as if German beer, at least in small amounts, gradually became a commodity less rarely encountered in the vicinity of Malmø, sales were still on a small scale compared to inside the town. Beer from Danzig, which Keluf only was able to sell in the rural areas once, found a buyer in Malmø five times and "German" beer seven times.⁶⁰ Among these is also Keluf largest sale of beer – a whole barrel, which Per Klemittsøn bought for 3½ marks for a festive occasion.⁶¹

Even though there was a market for Danish beer in town as well, the dominance of and preference for German beer is clearly illustrated through 44 inventories from Malmø from the period 1546-1559. Of these, 13 mention beer, but only three include Danish beer. Several factors come into play, when it comes to explaining these numbers. First of all, one has to consider that German beer, which was more strongly hopped, could be stored for several months without turning sour. Danish beer on the other hand only remained drinkable for about three weeks and kept brewers constantly occupied. Kjærsgaard mentions that on Næsbyhoved Castle near Odense, new Danish beer was brewed every second or third week, while the bishop of Roskilde's brewer replenished the stock constantly.⁶²

Secondly, most of those who had a larger stock of German beer must be considered to trade with it. In the cases of Morten Brygger and Hans Rottermund, who owned beer from Barth worth 30 mark and 21 barrels of beer from Rostock, respectively, the beer was clearly intended for sale.⁶³ In connection with Christiern Iversen's funeral, we clearly see how Danish as well as German beer is bought by the managers of his estate on a day to day basis.⁶⁴ Remarkably, Karine Mats Gubbis, who was so wealthy that her estate was able to loan the town of Malmø 850 mark, at

⁵⁹ *Keluf Jens Nielsens regnskab, Malmø skifter 2*, pp. 95, 99, 103, 108.

⁶⁰ *Keluf Jens Nielsens regnskab, Malmø skifter 2*, pp. 95, 99, 103, 105, 107, 109, 115, 116.

⁶¹ *Keluf Jens Nielsens regnskab, Malmø skifter 2*, p.95.

⁶² Erik Kjærsgaard: *Mad og øl i Danmarks middelalder*, p. 89.

⁶³ *Malmø skifter 1*, p. 52 & 143

⁶⁴ *Malmø skifter 1*, pp. 166-171.

her death owned five barrels of Danish beer, worth 6½ mark in total, but no German beer.⁶⁵ As the names in the inventories indicate, German beer was enjoyed both by Danes and those of German descent and can give an impression of the cultural penetration effect the "Hanseatic" lifestyle had among the Danish host community, clearly helped along by the close contact that existed between the two communities, especially in the towns, culturally and socially.⁶⁶

In conclusion, by the 16th century German beer largely seems to still have been limited to the urban population and the better off within the Sound region, and was only occasionally bought in the rural areas, mostly for special occasions such as weddings and funerals. Danish beer found its way into the countryside as well, but not on a large scale either. As people were accustomed to brewing at home, buying hops seems to have been a feasible alternative, but an analysis of the source material indicates that even though hops were more common than beer in the countryside, sales seem to have been limited to the same geographical area as beer. Transportation difficulties and prices, not cultural inclinations nor taste must have been the limiting factor, as German beer generally was praised by everybody.

The question is also, whether the source material is representative or not. Even though Malmø by 1550 was the major mercantile gateway to Scania, one can not discount the importance of the Scania fairs as a, albeit weakened, distribution centre for foreign commodities. Furthermore, there remains the possibility of peasant trade with beer or especially hops in the countryside.⁶⁷ However, the quantity of such a trade is very hard to verify, but the number of complaints by the urban merchants about this practise seem to indicate that it was significant.⁶⁸

⁶⁵ *Malmø skifter 1*, p. 79. Even though the inventory does not specifically mention, whether it is Danish or German beer, the price level indicates Danish beer.

⁶⁶ The Danes include Morten Patinemager, Truels Truelsen, Peder Full, Jop Kellemed, Bent Brygger, Morten Brygger and Christiørn Iversen, while Meinort Harcke, Hans Rottermund and Herman Frees seem to be German.

⁶⁷ Erik Kjersgaard: *Mad og øl i Danmarks middelalder*, p. 87.

⁶⁸ See for instance *Kancelliets brevbøger*, 5th of February 1562, 22nd of September 1570 & 7th of November 1578.

In comparison, the situation in Medieval Germany could give some clues on how things worked in the Sound area. In Germany, most of the beer was sold in the towns as well. Sources indicate that Wismar, a major brewing town, only sold about 10% of its production in the surrounding countryside, while Hamburg, which enjoyed the advantage of being able to ship beer inland via the Elbe, only sold about 20% of its beer inland. Villages that were more than a day's journey away from town did not enjoy urban beer.⁶⁹ Hopped beer thus seems to be an indicator of the spread of urban culture.

4. Cloth

Until the 12th century most Danes, including the nobility and the highest ranks of the clergy, were clad in sheepskin or rather coarse linen, even though foreign cloth had been imported since prehistoric times.⁷⁰ Thus, when Duke Knud Lavard of Schleswig around 1130 attended prince Magnus' wedding in Ribe clad in Saxon, i.e. German, cloth of high quality, he was able to outshine the rest of the party and caused an outrage.⁷¹ 20 years later, King Sven Grathe, who had spent some time at the German court in his youth, tried to introduce German attire at court.⁷² Around 1200, Arnold of Lübeck noted that the Danes wore linen and scarlet and purple cloth.⁷³ A generation later, Flemish cloth was to be included in the ransom, which King Valdemar II in 1225 had to pay Henry of Schwerin for his release from captivity.⁷⁴ While these examples illustrate the early impact on cultural habits when it comes to clothing among royalty and the nobility, by the late 13th century foreign cloth had made enough of an inroad in

⁶⁹ Christine von Blanckenburg: *Die Hanse und ihr Bier. Brauwesen und Bierhandel im hansischen Verkehrsgebiet*. (2001), pp. 268-271 and 298-301.

⁷⁰ Otto von Bamberg III, 30; *Saxo Grammaticus* XIII, 5.4; Lise Bender Jørgensen: *North European Textiles until AD 1000*, (1992); Bjørn Poulsen: *Widening of Import Trade and Consumption in Cogs, Cargoes, and Commerce*, Lars Berggren, Nils Hybel, Annette Laden (ed.), (2002), pp. 31-44.

⁷¹ *Saxo Grammaticus* XIII, 5.4.

⁷² *Diplomatarium Danicum* I:2, no. 83; *Saxo Grammaticus* XIV, 9.1.

⁷³ *Arnold af Lübeck*, III, chapter 5.

⁷⁴ *Diplomatarium Danicum* I:6, no. 42.

Denmark for King Erik Glipping to issue a decree, which tried to restrict the use of imported cloth. Apparently without much success, as his son in 1304 fixed maximum prices for a number of mostly Flemish cloth types, which seem to have been commonly sold by that time.⁷⁵ Cloth from the towns of the Northern Netherlands was also exported to Denmark at the time.⁷⁶ The rise of the cloth trade can also easily be documented through the increasing number of regulations regarding this in various Danish town charters from the 14th and 15th century.⁷⁷

For most of the Middle Ages, foreign cloth remained the privilege of the higher circles of society, mainly because of the high price. Generally, common people had to be content with homespun and linen. Sources indicate that from the 14th century some Danish peasants owned foreign cloth, but it was only after 1500 that consumption rose to new heights.⁷⁸ Archaeological finds clearly show that around 1500, cloth from the Low Countries can be documented throughout Medieval Denmark.⁷⁹ The written sources support this evidence as they indicate such a presence from 1460/1470.⁸⁰ This coincides with the disruption of the Flemish cloth trade to the Baltic from the 1450's onward and the Treaty of Utrecht of 1474, in which the Hanseatic League formally reaffirmed all Dutch trading rights in the Baltic, while denying these to the English. In the 1490's the Dutch managed to gain predominance in the Baltic trades. Dutch cloth, especially from Leiden, was popular in the Baltic, a situation which lasted until the 1520s, when the English competition grew more and more relentless.⁸¹

⁷⁵ *Diplomatarium Danicum*, II:5, no. 310.

⁷⁶ *Diplomatarium Danicum* II:7, no. 410; II:9 no. 309; II:12, no. 89.

⁷⁷ *Danmarks gamle købstadslovgivning* (Flensburg c. 1300, § 36, Copenhagen 1422 § 13), Vol. 1, p. 119 & Vol. 3, p. 58.

⁷⁸ Bjørn Poulsen: *The Widening of Import Trade and Consumption around 1200: a Danish Perspective*, in *Cogs, Cargoes and Commerce: Maritime Bulk Trade in Northern Europe 1150-1400* (2002), pp. 31-52; Hammel-Kiesow, Rolf: *Lübeck and the Baltic Trade in Bulk Goods for the North Sea Region 1150-1400*. In *Cogs, Cargoes and Commerce. Maritime Bulk Trade in Northern Europe, 1150-1400*. Toronto, 2002., pp. 73-80.

⁷⁹ Jette Orduna: *Middelalderlige klædeplomber – blyplomber importeret til Danmark indtil 1600*. Thesis, 1995.

⁸⁰ Bjørn Poulsen: *Trade and Consumption among Late Medieval and Early Modern Danish Peasants*, in *Scandinavian Economic History Review*, vol. 52, 1, 2004, p. 63.

⁸¹ *The Cambridge History of Western Textiles* I, David Jenkins (ed.) (2003), pp. 290-91.

How widespread the use of foreign cloth among all social classes was, is illustrated by a statute issued in 1481 that prohibited peasant trade with cloth, iron, hops and salt at the Scanian market. The statute was reissued several times, but never respected.⁸² In 1491 King Hans issued an order, which forbade peasants to buy more expensive cloth than "mædelbusk, dewentyrst, alst or nærst", i.e. cloth from Middelburg in Zealand, Deventer, Aalst in Flanders and Naarden.⁸³ This ban clearly indicates that peasants previously had bought cloth of the highest quality and price level. If the ban was respected is another matter; while on the one hand trying to limit peasant consumption of foreign cloth, king Hans himself on the other hand did on at least one occasion offer foreign cloth as payment for the delivery of oxen to peasants.⁸⁴ The reason for this development is most likely the increased standard of living among the lower layers of society and the improved economic situation of the Danish peasant. This meant that some peasants acquired a surplus large enough to enable them to buy new clothes and silverware, elevating them in terms of social status above the rank and file of the peasantry. Between 1500 and 1515, noblemen, burghers and peasants alike used cloth as a matter of payment when dealing with the nobleman Niels Clemmensen; on several occasions peasants even paid fines for various offences with foreign cloth from especially Leiden and Naarden.⁸⁵ By the early 17th century, many Danish peasants owned silverware, which we know from the quite large number of such artefacts hidden during the occupation of Jutland by imperial troops 1627-29 and during the wars with Sweden 1643-45 and 1657-60. In many cases their previous owners were unable to reclaim their possessions and thus these only resurfaced coincidentally during the 19th and 20th century. Remarkably these treasures often include silver spoons which already then were over 100 years old which illustrates

⁸² *Danmarks gamle købstadslovgivning*, vol. 4, pp. 360-365.

⁸³ *Repertorium Danicum* II, no. 6936. In France, people of lower social rank were restricted from buying expensive clothes from the late 13th century. See: *The Cambridge History of Western Textiles* I, David Jenkins (ed.), (2003), p. 371.

⁸⁴ *Missiver fra Christian I og Hans*, vol. 1, no. 151, 3rd of October 1492.

⁸⁵ *Niels Clemmensens Gjældbøger 1500-1515*, in *Samlinger til Jydsk Historie og Topografi*, II:1, 1886-88.

the increase in wealth taking place among the peasantry from the early 16th century.⁸⁶

Even though most of the cloth was produced in Flanders and the Netherlands, and import via Ribe must have been considerable, the main exporters, at least in the 13th and 14th century, were from the German towns on the Baltic, as charters given to Lübeck, Wismar and Rostock indicate.⁸⁷ The poundage records from Lübeck 1492-1496 clearly show the predominance of Dutch and Flemish cloth in the exports to Denmark around 1500, with cloth from Deventer playing the leading role. This could be seen in relation to King Hans' ban on the sale of expensive cloth to peasants, whereas cloth from Deventer among others was seen as suitable for people of lower social rank and status. The numbers could indicate that much of the Hanseatic cloth exported to Denmark ended up in the hands of well-to-do peasants. However, the amount is not to be overestimated. Over five years, a total of 590 ships sailed to Denmark from Lübeck with cargo, but only 13 of these cargoes included cloth from Deventer with 3 "terlink" and 89 "laken", 1 "laken" being 16 ells in length. Furthermore 12 cargoes with unspecified cloth were destined for a final destination in Denmark, most of them the Scanian fairs.⁸⁸

However, we cannot from this derive the total import of cloth into the Sound region, as we must remember that after 1400 direct Dutch trade to the Baltic increased in volume, cloth being one of the major Dutch export commodities, dominating the market around 1500. Even though many Dutch ships simply passed the Sound without stopping, Dutch trade was also to a certain degree channelled into the major Danish towns as well as small local markets. This development was actively encouraged by the royal administration, as the Danish kings from the beginning of the 15th century tried to limit the influence of the German Hanse on Danish

⁸⁶ Fritze Lindahl: *Skattefund. Sølvt fra Christian IV's tid*. (1988).

⁸⁷ *Diplomatarium Danicum* II:9, no. 5; II:9, no. 294; II:10, no. 39.

⁸⁸ *Die Lübecker Pfundzollbücher 1492-1496*, Hans-Jürgen Vogtherr (ed.), (1996), no. 6778, 7462, 7466, 8185, 8259, 8449, 8629, 8642, 8704, 8705, 8730, 8993, 8998, 9468, 9469, 10183, 10189, 10418, 10714, 10720, 11241, 11245, 11247, 11457, 11458, 11460, 11489, 11946, 12109, 12159, 12382, 12756, 13010, 13428, 13516, 13842. See also: *Dansk søfartsbistorie* Vol. 1 p. 198.

commerce and accordingly issued special privileges to English and Dutch merchants, especially Amsterdam.⁸⁹

Nevertheless, the continued importance of the Hanseatic merchants as middlemen in the cloth trade is illustrated by Ditlev Enbeck's trade with cloth. In 1528 he bought 2½ ells of "saie", which originated from Arras or Hondschote in Flanders, from Peter Snyder of Lübeck for 8 marks, 5 shilling. In 1532 he received 3 ells of "Kemelin" from Cambrai from Hans Bracht of Lübeck, which he sold to alderman Herman Vejer of Malmø for 30 shilling.⁹⁰ Altogether, much of the finest and most expensive cloth Ditlev Enbeck sold, was to aldermen of the town. In 1525 he sold 14 pieces of cloth from Leiden (4 red, 5 brown, 5 black; in total 280 ells) to Peter Andersen Schriver for 572 marks, Ditlev Enbeck's largest transaction in total.⁹¹

Emilie Andersen, editor of Ditlev Enbeck's merchant account, argues that Peter Andersen Skriver was married to Ditlev Enbeck's sister Elsebe. She herself was one of Ditlev's best customers, buying linen, pepper, saffron, wax and expensive linen from Münster in Westphalia.⁹² This popular commodity, which fetched up to 38 marks for 100 ells, was certainly imported from Lübeck.⁹³ Most likely Elsebe was engaged in trade herself, and much of the cloth bought by Peter Andersen Schriver was presumably sold on as well, as smaller pieces of cloth from Leiden could be sold with massive profit. However, we do not know their customers and thus it remains unclear whether they traded with peasants from the surrounding countryside or not. We are presented with the same problem with Matthes Johannsen, who also was one of Ditlev's best customers. Among other things he bought 1 piece of rather expensive cloth from Hoorn in Holland for 26 mark, 6 pieces from Deventer (96 ells in total) for 90 mark, 1¼ piece of black cloth (25 ells) from Leiden for 50 mark

⁸⁹ *Danmarks udenrigspolitiske historie vol. 1: 700-1648*, pp. 182-184; *Repertorium Danicum* II, no. 6667; *Diplomatarium Norvegicum*, vol. 6, nr. 690; *Rigsarkivet: Tyske kancelli: Udenrigske afdeling no. 301: Spanske Nederlande: Handel og Søfart 1316-*, pk. 77-10.

⁹⁰ *Ditlev Enbecks regnskabsbog*, p. 212 and 248.

⁹¹ *Ditlev Enbecks regnskabsbog*, p. 172 and 182.

⁹² *Ditlev Enbecks regnskabsbog*, pp. 25, 166, 168, 177, 180, 219, 227.

⁹³ *Ditlev Enbecks regnskabsbog*, p. 158 and 161.

and 6 ells of unspecified cloth for 13 mark, 8 shilling.⁹⁴ Another of Ditlev's customers who most likely engaged in trade, was Mette Tidemans. However, she only bought cloth on one occasion, when she acquired 1 piece of cloth from "Westerlinde", i.e. the Rhineland, for 12 marks.⁹⁵

Furthermore, Ditlev Enbeck supplied cloth to tailors such as Andrewes Schreder, who bought green cloth from Leiden, and Willem Schotte, who bought cheaper cloth from Lübeck and Mölln, but also sold cloth to burghers from Malmö and even to one from Copenhagen.⁹⁶ Cloth from Haag, Deventer, Leiden, Naarden, Göttingen and Görlitz found their way to the homes of common burghers. Especially cloth from Naarden, which was cheaper than the one from Leiden, Hoorn or Haag, seems to have enjoyed certain popularity along with expensive linen from Münster.⁹⁷ However, we are at loss, when it comes the countryside, whereto no sales of cloth are recorded by Ditlev Enbeck. It seems as if his trade with cloth was limited to Malmö itself.

Morten Brygger, who traded with an even wider range of people throughout Scania than Ditlev Enbeck, did sell a fair amount of cloth outside of Malmö. In 1543 he sold 10 ells of cloth from Leiden to Morten of Kastberga for 23 1/3 marks and the year before he sold 4 ells of green cloth from Göttingen for 3 marks, 10 shilling to Svend Nielsen of Bjärlöv.⁹⁸ Svend Per in Hököpinge bought 5 ells of cloth from Göttingen for 12½ mark, while Troels Mortensen, also from Hököpinge, bought 4 ells for 10 mark.⁹⁹ Lasse Monsen of Åkarp bought cloth for 5 mark, while Svend Mortensen of Odarslöv, who himself most likely acted as a middleman who traded with the rural population to a certain extent, on two occasions bought cloth from Göttingen for a total of 48 mark.¹⁰⁰ In the district of Gärds, 50 km northeast of Malmö, Morten Brygger sold expensive cloth

⁹⁴ *Ditlev Enbecks regnskabsbog*, pp. 183, 166, 181 and 208.

⁹⁵ *Ditlev Enbecks regnskabsbog*, p. 165.

⁹⁶ *Ditlev Enbecks regnskabsbog*, pp. 197, 165, 152, 236.

⁹⁷ *Ditlev Enbecks regnskabsbog*, pp. 169, 148, 237, 242, 248, 250, 166, 208, 213, 235, 240, 153, 154, 161, 178, 214, 220 and 221.

⁹⁸ *Malmö Skifter* 2, pp. 15 and 29.

⁹⁹ *Malmö Skifter* 2, p. 3.

¹⁰⁰ *Malmö Skifter* 2, p. 5 and 10.

from Leiden to Erik Tuesen of Knopparp, who bought $4\frac{1}{2}$ ells of black cloth for 12 marks.¹⁰¹ Jens, a priest in Lund bought cloth from Leiden for 24 mark and Kield, also of Lund, bought 5 ells of English cloth for $13\frac{1}{3}$ marks.¹⁰² In Malmø itself Morten only sold one ell of cloth from Göttingen to Rasmus Skrivers, 6 ells of grey cloth to Niels Vingallen for 2 mark, 4 shilling and 8 ells of grey cloth to Hans Fønbo Vognmand for 3 marks.¹⁰³

Unlike Ditlev Enbeck, who seems not to have traded with members of the nobility, Morten Brygger traded with peasants, burghers and nobleman alike. However, Morten Brygger's best customers were undoubtedly the nobleman Jørgen (Markvardsen) Tidemand of Haglösa and his sister Maid Kirstine (Markvardsdatter) Tidemand. In the spring of 1542 they bought 11 ells of blue English cloth for 11 daler (33 marks), 1 piece of saie for 17 marks, 7 ells of black English cloth for $59\frac{1}{2}$ mark, 10 ells of coarse English cloth for 80 mark and 22 ells of green cloth from Göttingen for 22 marks. Maid Kirstine also bought a single ell of cloth from Armentieres for 6 marks, 5 ells of blue English cloth for 40 marks and some other cloth for $8\frac{2}{3}$ marks for a grand total of 274 marks, 2 shilling.¹⁰⁴ Most likely these impressive purchases were made in connection with Maid Kirstine's wedding to Laurids Knob of Gyllebo.¹⁰⁵ The nobility clearly used expensive clothes to show their social status.

Keluf Jens Nielsens only sold small amounts of cloth on two occasions, both times to customers inside Malmø. At her death she only owned $1\frac{1}{2}$ ells of cloth from Cambrai, worth $1\frac{1}{2}$ mark.¹⁰⁶ More interesting are the inventories from Malmø, where you get a clear picture of the range of cloth and clothing available inside the town. Almost everyone had at least one piece of clothing made from foreign cloth, and often these were

¹⁰¹ *Malmø Skifter* 2, p. 29.

¹⁰² *Malmø Skifter* 2, pp. 8 and 24.

¹⁰³ *Malmø Skifter* 2, pp. 17, 21 and 26.

¹⁰⁴ *Malmø Skifter* 2, p. 17.

¹⁰⁵ *Dansk Adels årbog* 1899, pp. 241-242. Laurids Knob lost his first wife during Whitsun 1541 (5th of June) and died himself in 1545. We do not know the precise date of his wedding to Kirstine Tidemand, but if Laurids Knob observed a year of mourning, the wedding most likely took place during the second half of 1542.

¹⁰⁶ *Malmø skifter* 2, pp. 95-96; *Malmø skifter* 1, p. 185.

some of the most expensive items they possessed. While Jens Bager, who died in 1557, was not one of the more wealthy burghers in town, he nevertheless owned one black coat from Leiden, and a new black coat from England, while his wife owned one black tunic from England and another from Cambrai.¹⁰⁷ Hans Brunsvig's most expensive possession at his death in March 1557 was his black cloak made from English cloth, which was estimated at 15 marks.¹⁰⁸

By 1557, Tønnes Hattemager was heavily in debt, yet his wife owned two tunics made from English cloth for 17 marks and a cloak for 8 marks.¹⁰⁹ At her death in April 1559, Marine Christiernsdatter owned one black, one red and one brown cloak made from English cloth for 48 marks.¹¹⁰ Overall, English cloth seems to have enjoyed a broad popularity, even though it was rather pricy. The same trend can be spotted at the royal household, which bought primarily English cloth of high quality after 1530, replacing Flemish and Dutch cloth as the most popular kind.¹¹¹ The reason for this was the success of Antwerp in capturing the market in both English cloth and south German silver and the subsequent fall in real prices for these commodities.¹¹² But whereas clothing made from English cloth by 1550 dominates the inventories, most of the uncut cloth found in the sources is either from Dutch or various German sources.

In the inventories of burghers from Elsinore between 1571 and 1621, 35 examples of clothes made from English cloth can be found, but only 4 from Holland and 4 from Germany. But a package of cloth owned by the merchant Thomas Jakobsen Skotte contained English as well as German cloth, whereas Anne Didrik Pipers, who also engaged in trade, had cloth from Lille and Kampen as well as silk from Milan for sale.¹¹³

The problem with the inventories from Malmø is the same as with Ditlev Enbeck – even though some trading connections with the

¹⁰⁷ *Malmø skifter 1*, pp. 97-98.

¹⁰⁸ *Malmø skifter 1*, p. 145

¹⁰⁹ *Malmø skifter 1*, p. 128

¹¹⁰ *Malmø skifter 1*, p. 193.

¹¹¹ *Kancelliregistranter 1535-1550*, pp. 294, 335, 374; *Kancelliets brevbøger 1551-55*, p. 67.

¹¹² *The Cambridge History of Western Textiles I*, David Jenkins (ed.) (2003), pp. 292-295.

¹¹³ Jørgen Olrik: *Borgerlige hjem i Helsingør for 300 år siden* (1903), pp. 87-98 & 129-134.

surrounding countryside come to light, these do not involve foreign cloth. However, we know that a broad variety of foreign cloth was readily available and for sale in Malmø. One only has to take a look at the inventory of Karine Davids Albrechtensens Klædebodmands, who offered for sale cloth from Arras, Lille, Cambrai, Bruges, Leiden, Hasselt, Geldern, Deventer, Amsterdam, Hagen in Westphalia, Osnabrück, Görlitz, Göttingen, Nuremberg and Scotland. The price range varied considerably, as cloth from Amsterdam at just over 3 marks per ell was by far the most expensive, while cloth from Görlitz could be acquired for just 8 shilling an ell.¹¹⁴ Some of this multitude of cloth could have found its way into the rural areas, as Morten Brygger's account book indicates.

We must remember that merchant accounts can only provide one aspect of the trade with cloth in the rural areas. Our best indicator about the extent of trade with foreign cloth as well as other commodities in the countryside and the use thereof really is the continuous flow of royal decrees forbidding such practises.¹¹⁵ As Bjørn Poulsen has shown, many peasants from throughout the wider Sound region who themselves engaged in trade with the Hanseatic cities in Northern Germany with their small boats ("skuder") brought home Flemish and Dutch cloth, which they sold to other peasants. As cloth often functioned as money in the rural areas, foreign cloth was not only for clothing – it was an investment comparable to silverware, which also can be found among the possessions of peasants around this time. As silver still was scarce until the massive influx of American silver after 1500, cloth must have seen as a good alternative. There are several examples of peasants paying their dues or fines with cloth or linen.¹¹⁶

¹¹⁴ *Malmø skifter 1*, p. 180.

¹¹⁵ *Danmarks gamle købstadslovgivning*, vol. 3: Town privileges for Zealand no.1 (1472), Elsinore no. 15 (1516), Stege no. 12, 14 & 16 (1450, 1481 and 1507), Copenhagen no. 1, 2, 3 (1459, 1516 & 1521), Køge no. 19 (1496); vol. 4: Town privileges for Scania no. 5, 6, 7 & 11 (1481, 1499, 1502, 1521), Malmø no. 22 & 35 (1477 & 1516), Ystad no. 2 (1516); *Danmarks rigsløvgivning 1513-1523*: Danish town law (6. 1. 1522), § 46, 47, 48 & 55.

¹¹⁶ Bjørn Poulsen: *Trade and Consumption Among late Medieval and Early Modern Danish Peasants*, in *Scandinavian Economic History Review*, vol. 52, 1, 2004, pp. 61-65; *Repertorium diplomaticum regni Danici medicevalis*, 2nd series, no. 2379; *Næstved Skovklosters regnskaber*, pp. 127 (1475), 148 (1476), 170 (1477), 213 (1479), 237 (1480).

Alone on the coast of Scania by 1522 there existed illegal harbours at Kullen and Råå near Helsingborg as well as at Glumslev, Barsebæk, Lyddeå, Lummeå, Limhavn, Hellestadsbo and Porsehaven – and those were the ones that the royal chancellery knew about specifically and tried to shut down, well aware that there were more. Even though threatened with massive fines of 40 mark, confiscation of all goods and capital punishment, peasants and foreign merchants still continued their trade – showing not only the impotence of the government to stop the trade, but also indicating that massive profits could be made.¹¹⁷ As late as 1633, the local court of the district of Sokkelund just outside Copenhagen had to remind the local peasants that trade from the beaches of Vedbæk, Skodsmose or Strandmølle would be punished severely, clearly indicating that the medieval practise still lingered on.¹¹⁸

An interesting glimpse at how wealthy such a trading peasant could be and what kind of material culture he invested in, is provided by the list of peasant possessions stolen from her family according to the statement of Karine Jeppes. It shows us the considerable wealth a successful peasant around 1500 could accumulate, not only in cloth, but also in silverware, gold and money. Among other things 4 tunics (2 from Bruges, one of them blue, 1 from Deventer and 1 blue from England), 4 cloaks (2 blue from Bruges, 1 from England and 1 brown from Hagen in Westphalia) and 6 ells of red cloth from Hagen were stolen in addition to 5 horses, 8 oxen, 40 pieces of silverware, 2 golden rings, 41 mark in money and 6 barrels of beer from Bremen – in total, Karine Jeppes' loss claims amounted to 2665 marks.¹¹⁹ Karine Jeppes' husband, who was taken prisoner by the men of Anders Tidemand, as he returned from trading in Germany, must have been an exceptionally wealthy peasant. It took some poise to engage in a feud with the leading nobleman on the island of Lolland – and could have disastrous results as seen here.

¹¹⁷ *Danmarks gamle købstadlovgivning* vol. 3, p. 462; vol. 4, p. 365-371; *Den danske rigsløvgivning 1513-1523*: Town law of January 6th, 1522 § 55.

¹¹⁸ *Sokkelund herreds tingbøger 1632-34*, Karen Marie Olsen (ed.), 1633: no. 15.

¹¹⁹ *Repertorium diplomaticum regni Danici mediævalis*, 2nd series, no. 10537 & 10538 (c. 1505).

It seems that tastes among the peasantry changed during the late 16th and early 17th century, moving from expensive cloth to silverware. The oldest surviving collection of inventories from peasant households dates from the period 1644-1648 and cover the Smørum and Lille districts just outside Copenhagen. Here silver could be found in 9 out of the 42 households, but foreign cloth had become scarce. Only the wealthiest of the farmers – with a fortune of 3000 daler, the equal of 120 oxen or horses – owned one piece of silk and a tablecloth of fine linen. His own clothes were worn and almost worthless, but his wife owned clothes for 76 ½ daler, indicating that they were made out of expensive and probably foreign cloth. However, he owned several pieces of silver for 132 ½ daler. Maybe by 1644 the increased availability of silver made it more attractive as an investment than cloth or there simply was more prestige in a well-clad wife *and* silverware – or maybe this peasant simply was above such vanities as buying expensive clothes for himself. In his article about the trading peasants of Salling in Jutland, Johannes Møllgaard has shown that by the late 17th century, wealthy peasants did not actually display their wealth through their lifestyle – in part because they wanted to avoid being heavily taxed, but also because they wanted to avoid drawing too much attention to their business, as it verged on the edge of legality.¹²⁰

5. Wine and Spices

While beer and cloth could be encountered on a regular basis in the towns, and to a certain degree even in the countryside, wine and spices remained rare commodities during the late medieval and early modern period. Wine was possibly brought to Denmark by Roman merchants during the Iron Age, but imports must have remained minimal.¹²¹ With the coming of Christianity in the 10th century, wine must have become

¹²⁰ Johannes Møllgaard: *Bønder og handel i Salling 1680-1780*, in *Bol og by* 1997, vol. 2, pp. 66-68.

¹²¹ Erik Kjersgaard: *Mad og øl i Danmarks middelalder* (1978), p. 102; KLN 20, columns 123-24.

more common, as it played a central role in the ceremonies of the mass. Imports rose from around 1200 with the expansion of Hanseatic trade. Most of the wine was from the Rhineland – “rhinskin”, and this remained the most popular sort throughout the medieval period. The most famous wines were “Malvasier” and “Rummeni”, which originated from Greece, and around 1500 “Alicante” and “Muskateller” from Spain. But wine remained a rare and expensive commodity, which could only be afforded by the wealthiest members of society. During his captivity, Christian II was supplied with up to 1200 litres of Rhenish a year in addition to some malvasier.¹²² While beer was bought in lasts of 12 barrels at a time, wine was bought in single caskets, which cost 7-8 times as much as the same amount of the best beer.¹²³

In 1517 Ditlev Enbeck sold 7 caskets of wine to Copenhagen and 33 “potter” to the priests in Dalby. He received one casket from Ghert Lefferdink of Lübeck in 1521, sold wine for 12 marks to the mayor of Malmø Jeppe Neghelsen in 1528 and bought one casket from Ghert van Santen of Lübeck for 27 marks.¹²⁴ Morten Brygger did not sell wine at all and neither did Keluf Jens Nielsens. Among the inventories from Malmø, only Hans Rottermund’s lists wine among the commodities he traded with. In 1548 he sold wine for 25½ mark to Lady Cicille of Tommerup and in 1549 62 “potter” to Bastian Hulszebrock for 10 mark, 16 hvid.¹²⁵

This seems at first to indicate that wine was sold scarcely; however, the merchant accounts only reveal part of the picture. Since 1415 the magistrates in the Scanian towns had the right to set the price rate for wine and beer, while in 1487 King Hans issued town privileges to the burghers of Malmø in which he gave the magistrate the right to a town cellar, from which wine and beer was to be sold in pitchers. This was not the only place wine could be bought; others burghers were also allowed to sell wine, as long as they obtained the permission from the magistrate

¹²² *Et kristeligt, kongeligt, fyrsteligt fangenskab*, pp. 36, 48-53.

¹²³ Erik Kjersgaard: *Mad og øl i Danmarks middelalder*, p. 102-109; *KI/NM* vol. XX, columns 123-128.

¹²⁴ *Ditlev Enbecks regnskabsbog*, pp. 8, 12, 27, 87, 96 and 98.

¹²⁵ *Malmø skifter 1*, pp. 51 and 56.

and paid a yearly duty.¹²⁶ Similar regulations also existed in Copenhagen and Elsinore.¹²⁷ By 1503, Rhenish, Bastert, Romeni, Poitou, Gubin and Franken wine was sold in Malmö.¹²⁸ A steady supply of these came from Hanseatic merchants, who by 1509 were complaining about the then new regulation that foreign merchants who brought wine to Malmö and could not sell it there, had to sell it to local merchants.¹²⁹ This must have brought down prices significantly, as the local merchants quite possibly held back from buying wine at the price demanded by the Hanseats, only to force them to sell it cheaper later. This regulation must have meant a steady supply of wine not only in Malmö throughout Scania, as the merchants from Malmö resold a lot of the cheaply obtained wine to merchants from the other towns.

When it comes to spices, Scandinavians from the 13th century onwards displayed a preference for heavily spiced food. Apart from salt, pepper was the most important spice, as it was able to drown out the all-dominating taste of salt used for conserving food.¹³⁰ Unlike today, where everyone can afford salt and pepper, during the Middle Ages everyone could buy salt, but only a few could afford pepper. In the late 15th century pepper was as good as money, and quite often acted as such.¹³¹ The king of spices however was saffron; in 1500, the Queen of Denmark Christine paid 1½ mark for one pound of pepper, but 9 mark for a pound of saffron.¹³² In comparison, an oxen cost 4 marks. These prices can be explained by the long and arduous transports from the Mediterranean, from India and from the Moluccas. Spices were literally worth their weight in gold.

Even after 1500, exotic spices retained their exclusivity and rarity, mostly remaining the privilege of the nobility and the court.¹³³ Only two

¹²⁶ *Danmarks middelalderlige købstadslovgivning* vol. 4, Malmö no. 25 (16th of February 1487); Fællesprivilegium no. 3 (17th of June 1415).

¹²⁷ *Årsberetning fra det kongelige Gehejmearkiv* III, p. 66 (Elsinore); *Københavns diplomatarium*, vol. 1, no. 127, 147, 151, 351, 357; vol. 2 no. 556.

¹²⁸ *Danmarks middelalderlige købstadslovgivning* vol. 4, Malmö no. 32 (13th of July 1503).

¹²⁹ *Hanserezesse* III:5, no. 420 § 48.

¹³⁰ *Nahrung und Tischkultur im Hanseraum* (1996), p.11.

¹³¹ *Skovklosters regnskaber*, pp. 39, 60, 85, 104, 123, 143, 164, 186, 206, 230, 254, 278.

¹³² *Dronning Christines Hofholdningsregnskaber*, p. 21.

¹³³ KLN 9, columns 467-473.

cargoes out of approx. 200, which sailed to Denmark from Lübeck during the period 1492-1496 contained spices.¹³⁴ The only spices Ditlev Enbeck sold were 8½ pound of pepper for 2 mark a pound, 3 pound of incense for 30 shilling a pound and 1 pound of saffron for 17 mark, all of which he sold to his sister Elsebe.¹³⁵ Morten Brygger did not sell any spices at all, while saffron for 1 shilling was bought for Keluf Jens Nielsen's own funeral. In the inventories from Malmø however, we find a broad variety of spices for sale. Erland Skotte had ¼ pound of pepper and some caraway seeds, Peder Full ½ pound of almonds, ¼ ounce of saffron, 1 ounce of pepper and 1 ounce of caraway seeds, and Michel Hansen 3 small bags of pepper. Finally, Christiern Ramszø had 1½ pounds of bay leaves and 4 ounces of caraway seeds.¹³⁶ None of these spices seem however to have been sold outside of Malmø.

Compared to the level of consumption found among common folk, at court spices were used in astonishing amounts. During the reign of Christopher III, in 1447, 4 pound of saffron were bought for 36 shilling to be consumed at the nobleman Christian Ranzow's wedding and were then used within 8 days. Around 1520, the court within one year used 100 pound of pepper, 100 pounds of ginger, 50 pounds of cloves, 25 pounds of saffron and 10 pounds of nutmeg, all of which was bought in Antwerp.¹³⁷ Even in captivity, Christian II was treated with large amounts of ginger, pepper, nutmeg, saffron and sugar each year.¹³⁸

A hundred years later, the peasants who traded with Jost Korning in Køge, hypothetically were able to buy a broad variety of spices, which by then had fallen in price. However, it is impossible to verify that they actually did. None of the peasant inventories from the district of Smørum indicate so, but in the 1680's the parish clerk Anders Jensen Kier quite regularly bought spices in Næstved, 15 km away.

¹³⁴ *Die Lübecker Pfundzollbücher 1492-1496*, Hans-Jürgen Vogtherr (ed.) (1996), no. 8689 & 13521.

¹³⁵ *Ditlev Enbecks regnskabsbog*, p. 57.

¹³⁶ *Malmø skifter 1*, pp. 38, 127, 165 and 202.

¹³⁷ *Danmarks middelalderlige regnskaber I:1*, pp. 20 and 243.

¹³⁸ *Et kongeligt, fyrsteligt, kristeligt fangenskab*, pp. 34-35, 48-53.

In his article from 2000, "Krydderier og klæde. Statusforbrug i senmiddelalderens Danmark", Bjørn Poulsen gives a view of late medieval Danish status consumption. Here he expresses reservations about the availability of imported luxury goods far from the centres of commerce, as exotic luxury goods such as saffron and pepper very rarely found their way into households outside the aristocracy. However, when it comes to cloth, he notes social changes as Danish peasants from the mid-fifteenth century began to buy expensive woollen cloth from the Dutch towns of Leiden, Middelburg, The Hague, Harderwijk and Deventer. The reason for this, Poulsen argues, is that the peasantry used this cloth as a means to express their newfound wealth and strength as a group within the medieval order of society.¹³⁹ The source material taken into consideration here supports his thesis to a wide extent. However, one has to be careful about generalizing about the newfound wealth of peasants expressed through expensive foreign cloth, as the late medieval Danish peasantry was a diversified group economically and most still struggled to make ends meet.

6. Conclusion

The Sound area was during the late medieval and early modern period a lively trade region, where merchants from the German Hanseatic cities, the Low Countries and the British Isles not only sailed through but also engaged in trade with merchants and peasants alike. Quite extensive social and economic networks developed, not only between individual merchants, but also between town and country. However, the true level of economic interaction between town and surrounding countryside is very hard to verify, but clearly the geographical distance between town and village played a key role in determining the amount and intensity of trade. Even harder it is to determine the extent of trade within the countryside, as very little source material exists. However, some peasants

¹³⁹ Bjørn Poulsen: «Krydderier og klæde. Statusforbrug i senmiddelalderens Danmark», in *Danmark og Europa i senmiddelalderen*, Per Ingesman and Bjørn Poulsen (eds) (2000), pp. 64-94.

engaged in more far reaching trade and commercial exchange, which the many examples of royal decrees regulating and forbidding rural trade and peasant shipping indicate. These often specifically mention cloth and beer, suggesting that a larger part of the rural population than can be deduced from the few merchant accounts analysed here came into contact with foreign material culture and consumed it themselves.

Even though a large variety of foreign cloth, beer, wine and spices was for sale in the towns of the Sound region and some found their way into the possession of peasants as signs of wealth and status, it still seems necessary to be cautious about how common they were. Even though the general economic condition of the peasantry improved during the late medieval period, the peasantry was a diversified group of individuals, of which some prospered and others remained poor. For the poorer peasants it must have been more important to get by and survive than to spend a meagre surplus on expensive foreign goods.

Overall, Hanseatic commodities had a certain measure of success when it comes to being spread in the Sound area during the later medieval period. But it does not seem as if the penetration was evenly distributed throughout the region. By far the biggest successes were achieved inside the towns, where a notable German population influx seems to have advanced the spread of Hanseatic material culture considerably. Examples of material culture spreading to the hinterland of Malmø, Copenhagen, Køge, Elsinore etc. such as beer and cloth cannot be seen as distinct signs of the development of unique coastal cultures in terms of consumption patterns, but seem rather to indicate the spread of urban culture into the hinterland, which was a common sight throughout Northern and Western Europe.¹⁴⁰

¹⁴⁰ Alex Cowan: "Nodes, networks and hinterlands" in *Cultural exchange in Early-Modern Europe 1400-1700*, vol. II, pp. 28-41.

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notes

LUDOVICA DE COURTEN *The Chinese Enigma in Politics
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