

Bremen's trade with the North Atlantic, c. 1400–1700

ADOLF E. HOFMEISTER

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There is little evidence of Bremen merchants in Norway before the royal charters issued from 1279 onwards, even though Bremen had been the seat of the missionary archbishop for the Nordic countries since the ninth century. Trade in Bergen in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries was dominated by the Hanseatic cities of the Baltic Sea coast led by merchants from Lübeck. Despite opposition from Hanseatic merchants sailing to Bergen, merchants from Hamburg and Bremen developed new trading posts to barter cod on Iceland and Shetland in the fifteenth century. Traders from Hamburg and Bremen on Iceland competed for licences issued by the Danish king. The 1558 debt register of a merchant from Bremen in Kumbaravogur provides considerable insight into this trade. The Danish king restricted sailings to Iceland to Danish merchants from 1601. On Shetland the Scottish foud allotted landing places to foreign skippers and traders. Merchants from Bremen became respected members of the island communities and in the seventeenth century they changed to trading in herring. Several tariff rate rises led to the end of Bremen sailings to Shetland by the beginning of the eighteenth century. Bremen merchants in Norway succeeded in breaking the Lübeck dominance in Bergen in the sixteenth century. By 1600, other Norwegian harbours in the North Atlantic, notably Stavanger, were also destinations for ships from Bremen.

Adolf E. Hofmeister, Am Gohbach 10a, 27283 VERDEN, GERMANY. E-mail: ae.hofmeister@t-online.de

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Bremen's interaction with the Nordic countries can be traced back to the ninth century and was limited at first to ecclesiastical matters. The unification of the diocese of Bremen with the missionary bishopric of Hamburg in 864 made Bremen an important player in the mission to Denmark and Sweden, subsequently to Norway and to Iceland. Bremen became the ecclesiastical metropolis of the North and the site of the consecration of several Nordic bishops until the pope, at suggestion of the Danish king, established a separate archbishopric in Lund (1104), which took control of the Scandinavian dioceses. Bremen was an attractive destination for eleventh-century Nordic visitors – the canon and historian, Adam von Bremen compared the city to Rome.¹ But did this lead to trade? There is no palpable evidence. Possibly, the Icelandic tale of the Bremen merchant who bought Vinland timber in Norway at the beginning of the eleventh century can be read along these lines (Fig. 1).²

The kings of Norway from 1279 onwards granted Bremen certain privileges for trade in Bergen and the

herring toll in Bohuslän. However, the city's support for the Norwegian king when Lübeck and the Hanseatic cities of the southern coast of the Baltic Sea imposed a trade embargo on Norway in 1284/85 led to a falling-out between Bremen and the other cities.³ For the next two hundred years, Bremen hardly played a part in the trade of the Bergen Kontor, which was dominated by the city of Lübeck: Bremen accounted only for about 5 % of the trilateral trade of fish and cloth between Bergen, Boston in England and Lübeck in the fourteenth century, but we cannot measure direct trade between Bergen and Bremen due to the lack of sources. There is some evidence of Bremen merchants in Bergen from the fifteenth century, but in comparison to traders from Lübeck, the Netherlands and even from Wismar, their share was still small.⁴

Bremen merchants on Iceland

Iceland had been a Norwegian territory since 1262, and after the union of the crowns of Denmark and

Norway in 1380, it was under the control of the Danish king. Foreign trade was confined to the Norwegian staple place of Bergen, a regulation which suited the Hanseatic merchants at the Kontor in Bergen well. However, it was not possible to prevent English and then also German merchants from sailing directly to Iceland. Around 1420, Germans sailed to the island to barter cod, and from 1429 onwards, we have evidence of merchants from Lübeck, Danzig (Gdansk) and Hamburg in Iceland. The first evidence for a Bremen *Islandfahrer* (Iceland-bound sailor) dates from 1469.⁵ After the Danish sheriff had been killed in Iceland by an Englishman in 1467, the king promoted German merchants on Iceland. Most of them were from Hamburg, a group which hardly figured in Bergen. They received support from their Council in 1475/76 and founded their own fraternity in 1500.⁶ Merchants from Bremen were not as organized, but had presented joint petitions to the Council of Bremen since 1509.⁷ Merchants sailing to Bergen, most of them from Lübeck, raised complaints about the *Islandfahrers* coming from Hamburg, Gdansk and Bremen at the meetings of the Hanse in the 1480s, but their protests did not have any effect. Nor did the Danish king's command in 1513 that the merchants were to bring Icelandic fish to England make an impact, as is shown in a memorandum of 1514 written by merchants sailing to Bergen against the *Islandfahrers* from Hamburg, Bremen and Amsterdam.⁸ English merchants withdrew from Iceland after some had been attacked and killed in 1532 by traders from Hamburg and Bremen who had been supported by the Danish governor.⁹ Over the next decades there were several conflicts between merchants from Hamburg and Bremen regarding anchorages in Iceland, which were licensed by the king from 1562. In 1586, the Bremen Council (*Bremer Rat*) complained about the loss of several harbours to merchants from Hamburg. It asserted that eight landing places belonged to Bremen in 1583, namely *Oereback* (Eyrarbakki), *Grundewik* (Grindavík), *Bremer Holm* (Reykjavík), *Stappe* (Arnarstapi), *Kummerwage* (Kumbaravogur), *Ostfjord* (Djúpivogur), *Bodenstede* (Búðir) and *Neswage* (Nesvogur). In 1583, the Danish governor even took the dispute over *Ostfjord* to the Icelandic Althing.¹⁰

Sources from Hamburg tell us more about the shipping, the crews and the trading times than those from Bremen do, so I shall not go into detail here. However, a treaty from 1549 is particularly noteworthy. It was an agreement by a skipper from Bremen and nine merchants who sailed with him to *Ostfjord*. In 1572, the company, in which the merchants held shares of the



Fig. 1. In 1292, King Eric I of Norway grants citizens of Bremen a privilege of reduced tax on herring fishing in Bergen (StAB 1-Z 1292 Juli 15; BUB 1, no. 480).

ship, was still composed of almost the same individuals.¹¹ Once in Iceland, the merchants traded in their booths on the coast on their own accounts.¹²

A debt register of 1558 of a merchant from Bremen provides a considerable insight into trade on Iceland. For a long time, it was considered as evidence for Bremen's trade in Norway, but advice from the Norwegian historian, Arnved Nedkvitne and a detailed analysis allowed the site to be located.¹³ The places of residence of the clients listed in the debt register are situated on the western coast of Iceland to the north of Reykjavík. They cluster in Helgafellssveit (near Stykkishólmur), on the Snaefellsnes peninsula and in Hnappadalur (Fig. 2). The trading site was in Kumbaravogur, which is referred to as 'Kummerwage' in the documents from Bremen.¹⁴ The harbour is situated more or less in the centre of the distribution of the home farms of the debtors, and the fifty farms of the clients which are mentioned in the source lie within a radius of 70 km around the anchorage. The landing place has recently been archaeologically surveyed with discovery of the earthworks of the merchants' booths.¹⁵ One such booth was owned by the compiler of the debt register,



Fig. 2. Clients' places of residence on the western coast of Iceland in Claus Monnickhusen's 1558 debt register. x = locations mentioned in the debt register, o = locations for orientation (from Hofmeister 2001, 31).

the Bremen merchant, Claus Monnickhusen, who together with his father had bought the right to trade from the merchant, Klaus Ficken in 1557 and continued commerce in Iceland in 1558. He returned to Bremen, but trade continued from his shop mostly in fish, as is demonstrated in the continuation of his debt register which covers the time period until 1577/78. However, the licence for the harbour *Kummerwage* was owned not by the merchant, but by the skipper Johan Munsterman from Bremen, who sailed to Iceland with goods and merchants of the trading company, while the shareholder, Monnickhusen stayed in Bremen. When Munsterman's ship and crew sank on his return journey from Iceland in 1578, Monnickhusen

also went bankrupt and had to abandon his trade in Icelandic fish.¹⁶ To the regret of Munsterman's heirs and stockholders, the Danish king then granted the licence for *Kummerwage* in 1580 to Joachim Kolling from *Hooksiel* (Oldenburg), who had been supported by the count of Oldenburg. His company's trade registers from 1585/86 are also preserved.¹⁷

The debt register of 1558 contains the names of over 110 clients in Iceland, among them eight Germans, namely merchants and crew members. The more than one hundred Icelanders, whose places of residence are mostly recorded, evidently came to Kumberavogur to obtain goods, some of them more than once, and had their debt registered in terms of an amount of fish. The

sum was calculated in *wete* and *fordung*. One *wete* was equivalent to forty fish or eight *fordung*; one *fordung* hence came to five fish (or 10 pounds in weight). The fish was dried cod or stockfish. The clients had to pay their debt, mostly in the year following the return of the vessel, which anchored in Iceland from about April to August. The records of 1558 for old and new outstanding accounts add up to a total trade of 150 *wete* or 12,000 pounds of fish. In the end, a total of 130½ *wete* remained unsettled, and the debt claim was transferred to the successor of the trade in *Kummerwage*, someone operating a trading company there.

The most common Icelandic trading goods were fish; there is only scattered evidence of fish oil and wadmál (the Icelandic coarse cloth, *vaðmál*). In contrast, the merchants from Bremen brought a great variety of goods to Iceland. The most common were canvas, cloth (*want*) and meal, less frequently *osemunt* (Swedish iron), linen, beer, wax, floor boards and other fitted boards. Manufactured items were mostly products made of cloth and leather, of metal and wood, mostly belts, hats, shoes, kettles, horseshoes, knives or swords. In exchange for one *wete* or eight *fordung* you could get five cubits of canvas, one tun of meal or beer. One belt, four horseshoes or a pair of knives cost one *fordung*, a pair of lady's shoes half a *fordung*, one sword three *fordung*, that is 30 pounds of fish. In Bremen, 100 pounds of fish would be sold for 4 gulden.¹⁸

Monnickhusen was not the only merchant in Kumbaravogur. Klaus Wittesand and Klaus Lude from Bremen can be identified from the debt register as traders, and also Hinrik Munsterman and the skipper, Johan Munsterman probably traded themselves. Klaus Lude was also granted the licence for the harbour Grindavík in south-west Iceland in 1571. Partners of the unfortunate Johan Munsterman later acquired the licence for Flatey in the Breiðafjörður. Apart from Kumbaravogur, we can account for ten other landing sites for sailors and merchants from Bremen. In total, written evidence points to more than forty harbours on Iceland which were used by Germans, most of them by merchants from Hamburg.¹⁹

The Bremen trade on Iceland came to an end in 1601 when King Christian IV restricted the sailings to Iceland in favour of Danish subjects.²⁰

Bremen merchants on Shetland

During the 1416 meeting of the Hanse in Lübeck the merchants with interest in the Bergen Kontor achieved a prohibition against direct sailings to Orkney, Shetland

and the Faroe Islands, all of which were under the control of Denmark and Norway at that time.²¹ Iceland was not mentioned at that instance. It remains unclear whether Bremen merchants took part in the sailings to these islands. Neither is there evidence of later trade by Bremen merchants on Orkney or the Faroes. Shetland, however, became one of the preferred destinations of Bremen merchants and sailors. The earliest traces of these voyages to Shetland or, as they were referred to in Bremen, the *Hitlandfahrt*, date from much later decades. In 1469 Norway granted Shetland to Scotland, of which they have been part of ever since.²² In the same year, the aforementioned Bremen skipper travelling to Iceland was shipwrecked near Shetland.²³ It remains unclear whether this was a coincidence or whether he had planned to land on the islands. The next evidence stems from 1498. Merchants sailing to Bergen complained about two ships from Bremen which had sailed to *Hitland* (Shetland) in 1494 and particularly about the merchant Hinrick Kummertho from Bremen, who journeyed to *Hitland* every year to collect *Rotscher* (split dried fish) in spite of the ban imposed at the Hanseatic Diet (*Hansetag*) in Bremen in 1494.²⁴

Trade with Shetland was an important element of the economy of Bremen in the first half of the sixteenth century. This is apparent from the excise tax register of 1539/40, the first one nearly completely available for a whole year. The excise (of merchants or of goods) in Bremen was mostly levied when goods were re-exported, so it does not reveal the volume of imports.²⁵ In 1539 fish was registered according to its origin. The records differentiate between Shetland and Icelandic fish, and from April 1539 to March 1540 about 40,000 pounds or pieces of fish allegedly from *Hitland* were registered. At the same time, Icelandic fish amounted to 79,000, so almost double, and a further 139,000 pounds or pieces of fish (fish, *Rundfisch* – pairs of headless, gutted cod tied at the tail) whose origin was not clarified, but most likely came largely from Bergen.²⁶ This means that fish from Shetland probably accounted for at least 16 % of the imports of dried fish, while Icelandic fish constituted about 31 % of the imports.

Other evidence comes from the merchant Cord Folkers, who in 1543 drafted a last will in case of not returning from his journey to *Hitland*.²⁷ In 1551, the sailor, Brüning Rulves, who left us a logbook, sailed in three days from the mouth of the river Weser to *Brusund* (Bressay Sound) in *Hitland*, together with the skipper, Hinrich von Minden.²⁸ The documents relating to the court case concerning the killing of Cord Hemeling, a skipper whose death in 1557



Fig. 3. Licence by Ola Sinclair, foud of Shetland, to Johan Kordes from 1560, to use the port and sound of Balta (StAB 2-R.11.kk; Shetland Documents 1195–1579, no. 121).

resulted from a scuffle on Whalsey allow us a vivid insight into the life of Bremen merchants on the Shetland Islands.²⁹ Hemeling lived with the crew on board the vessel anchored in Whalsey Sound. A lighter used to take them ashore every day to run errands or for amusement. Onshore there was a booth to sell goods, which was also used by the skipper and his crew to dine and drink with the merchants. One evening the skipper scolded and struck several crew members who returned to the ship late, which led to a fight between Hemeling and at least five crew members. The crew hit back and the skipper died several days later as a result of a blow. On learning about his brother's death, Gerd Hermeling, whose ship anchored in another harbour, rushed to Whalsey Sound and appealed to the island's foud, Olaf Sinclair, who ordered the prosecution of the ship carpenter who had allegedly struck the decisive blow. The latter had fled inland on to the heath, but committed himself to the courts to evade starvation and was convicted, and had to pay a fine in Bremen.

Ten years later, Gerd Hemeling was unlucky to meet the Earl of Bothwell, the husband of Mary Queen of Scots, on his flight from the Scottish lords. At Sumburgh Head at the southern tip of Mainland Bothwell seized Hemeling's vessel, the *Pelikan*, threw the fish and the goods over board and fled to Norway, where he was taken into Danish confinement. All of Hemeling's efforts to retrieve his ship failed (Fig. 3).³⁰ Foud Olav Sinclair also had to judge a dispute between Bremen skippers and merchants regarding the harbour

licence of Baltasound on Unst in 1563. Skipper Johan Runge and trader Johan Kordes claimed this landing place, but the foud decided that the northern islands of Unst, Yell and Fetlar were sufficiently served by the Bremen skippers, Dirick Foege in Uyeasound on Unst, Segebade Detken in Burravoe on Yell and Johan Michaelis in Cullivoe on Yell, and offered the petitioners eight harbours on mainland Shetland and its neighbouring islands to choose from, but his offer was declined.³¹ Apart from the twelve harbours mentioned in the foud's letter, there were certainly more landing places.³²

Three years later, Segebade Detken, Dirick Foege and Johannes Michaelis, as well as Herman Schröder in Whalsey Sound and Hilmer Meiger in Scalloway were raided by pirates from Scotland and Orkney. They lost meal, beer, linen cloth, guns, tankards, brass pots and other merchandise.³³

Skipper Segebade Detken appears several more times as *Hitlandfahrer*. His tombstone lies next to the ruin of the church of Lunda Wick on Unst and indicates that he died in 1573 and had traded on Shetland for fifty-two years, that is since 1522.³⁴ The family Detken, later Deetjen, from Bremen can be traced on Shetland for six generations. Herman Detken, Segebade's great-great-grandson sailed to Unst on his ship, *König Salomon*. He was accompanied by his younger brothers, Gerd and Segebade, who were crew members and merchants.³⁵ In 1661 nobles, landowners, preachers and church elders from Unst issued a flattering reference to Herman and Gerd Detken: 'During the forty-two years of their trading on the island, they have behaved as good Christians should do, they attended the church services, they gave to the poor, they made contributions to repair the church building and they have been honest in trading with individuals from all ranks.'³⁶ A member from the next generation, Segebade Detken, sailed to the islands until 1699.³⁷ The archives in Bremen, Edinburgh and Lerwick host the names of numerous other Bremen travellers to *Hitland* from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Although the Detken family is certainly an exception, travelling to the Shetlands for almost two hundred years, there are other families like the Hackmans, Lankenaus and Bardewischs who provided *Hitlandfahrers* for several decades in the seventeenth century (Fig. 4).³⁸

The licensing system on Iceland and the Faroes, and the prohibition of trade for the Hanseatic merchants from 1601 onwards caused many Hamburg traders to turn to Shetland, and by the mid-seventeenth century

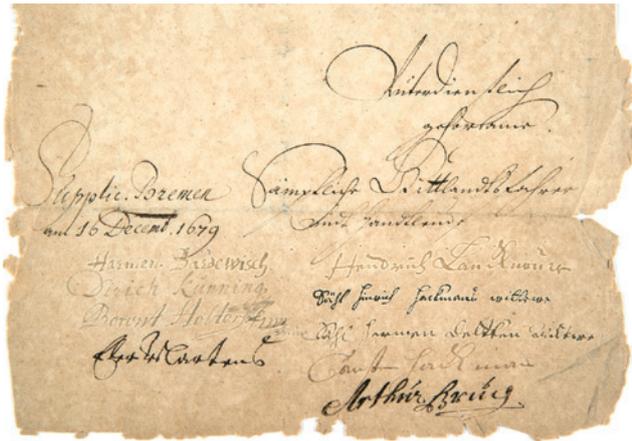


Fig. 4. Signatures of Bremen Hitlandfahrers on a complaint to the Bremen Council about tariff rate increases by the Scottish government in 1679 (StAB 2-R.11.kk).



Fig. 5. Entries on excise tax payments for Icelandic and Shetland fish from 1. November 1539, in the Bremen excise tax register of 1539/40 (StAB 2-R.2.b.o.2.b.2, fol. 72).

they outnumbered the Bremen merchants on the islands.³⁹ By then there were up to eight ships annually from Bremen, which could carry 24–25 *last* on average, travelling to the Shetlands.⁴⁰ Trade conditions changed in the course of the seventeenth century. Herring increasingly superseded cod. Merchants had to change from stockfish to salted herring and had to corn (pickle) the herring. Tariff rates were increased several times. In 1612, Bremen *Hitlandfahrers* complained about the ‘Lasttun’, a 5 % duty on imported and exported goods, and an almost equivalent fee to be paid to the customs clerk. From 1661 King Charles II leased the duty to excise tax collectors, who soon charged one *Reichstaler* of each imported tun of salt, beer and mead. The salt tax predominantly put pressure on the herring trade. In 1677 and in 1679, the levies soared further. For a ship of 24 *last*, the tax burden had risen from about 30 to 300 *Reichstaler*.⁴¹ Trade with Shetland became increasingly less profitable. From 1704 to 1708, only one or two ships from Bremen sailed to the islands annually,

and due to the War of the Spanish Succession they held Swedish ships’ passports.⁴² Soon after, no more Bremen ships made the voyage to Shetland. It is no coincidence that the end of the Bremen *Hitlandfahrt* thus coincides with the Union of the English and Scottish parliaments in 1707 and the implementation of the English tax system.⁴³ Direct trade with the Shetlands and the local clearing system was replaced by a money and exchange business with British partners.⁴⁴

Bremen merchants in Norway

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the Bremen fish trade with Norway was even more important than the business with the islands of the North Atlantic. This is not the place to look at the Bergen Kontor in detail, but it should be mentioned that Bremen succeeded in breaking the Lübeck dominance in Bergen in the sixteenth century.⁴⁵ In 1550 the Bremen merchants sailing to Bergen established regulations prescribing the appointment of four masters of freight to distribute the freight space of the ships, defining the relationship between skipper and crew and establishing a fund for the poor.⁴⁶ Around 1600, the Bremen fleet of *Bergenfahrers* consisted of 37 vessels and 2,400 *last*, thus exceeding the fleets of Lübeck, Rostock, Stralsund or Hamburg and amounting to about a quarter of Hanseatic ships in Bergen.⁴⁷ In 1615, forty-eight Bremen assistant merchants, who settled their accounts with the principals in Bremen, lived in the courts (*gaarden*) of the Kontor.⁴⁸ In the course of the eighteenth century, the German merchants left the Kontor. Even the Bremen merchants argued for free trade in 1750 and in 1775, the Hanseatic cities of Lübeck, Bremen and Hamburg sold the office buildings in Bergen.⁴⁹

The journey to Norwegian settlements north of Bergen had been prohibited for Hanseatic merchants in the Middle Ages. The fishing products from northern Norway were to be traded in Bergen which was in the interests of the Hanseatic *Bergenfahrers*. Just as they, unsuccessfully, tried to forbid direct trade with the islands of the North Atlantic, they wanted to prevent merchants from sailing to Norwegian places outside Bergen. Unfortunately, there is hardly any evidence of journeys by Bremen merchants to such settlements on the Norwegian coast.⁵⁰ However, the complaints of the Bremen *Bergenfahrers* reveal their significance. In 1601, they obtained a strict order of the Bremen Council barring the shipping of Bremen merchants from Stavanger and north of Stavanger.

The only exception was the timber trade, which was said to have been unregulated all the time.⁵¹ In 1623, they demanded the punishment of Michel Wulff, a Bremen merchant who had traded with fish oil, suet, butter and other goods in and around Stavanger.⁵² Yet even Bremen aldermen were not restrained by these calls in the seventeenth century, as is revealed by a certificate for the insurers of the ship *Roland* issued by the Council in 1633: the aldermen Nicolaus von Rheden and Heinrich von Aschen had loaded the ship from Calais to Stavanger in 1632, where it was to collect masts, pitch, tar and other goods on their account.⁵³ It became an insurance case when the ship was captured by Flemish pirates, who sold it in England.

The Bremen fish-trade

Bremen sailors and merchants travelled to the Nordic countries in order to trade corn and meal, beer, cloth and items made from leather, metal or wood, mostly in return for fish. In Norway goods like fish oil, suet and butter were also purchased. Small amounts of butter also came from Shetland.⁵⁴ Essentially, however, the trade was an exchange of commodities from the Continent for fish from the North Atlantic, in which the trade partners were kept dependent on each other by credit. The 1532 tonnage register, although only surviving in fragments, reveals that fish accounted for 16 % of trade in Bremen.⁵⁵ Fish was necessary to supply the town population with food – in times of need (1666), the city even placed an embargo on export⁵⁶ – and for trade with the Weser catchment area up to Westphalia and Hesse (Fig. 5).

To judge from the excise tax, the fish trade in Bremen enormously increased over the sixteenth century. In 1539/40 about 258 *last* of dried fish and 164 *last* of herring were bartered.⁵⁷ In 1617 the numbers had risen to about 1800 *last* of dried fish and 1750 *last* of herring, although their origin is not recorded.⁵⁸ In the course of the seventeenth century the trade in dried fish was subject to fluctuations, but eventually shrank to 317 *last* (1699). The herring trade conversely amounted to 2050 *last* in 1699.⁵⁹ However, only a small number of herring were delivered by Bremen sailors; most of them were carried by Dutch, later also by British ships. Bremen made a point of reserving the right to market the fish inland for her own merchants.⁶⁰

At the beginning of the eighteenth century the period of commercial settlements on Shetland and of the Bergen Kontor was over.

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Endnotes

- ¹ Hägermann and Weidinger 2012, 43ff., 109ff.; Schmidt 1989, 33–59.
- ² It is the tale of Thorfinn Karlsefni, who brought a special kind of wood from *Vinland* to Norway and sold it to a citizen of Bremen for a high price. Cf. Kohl 1869, 461ff. – German translation of The Tale of the Greenlanders, in *Grönländer und Färinger Geschichten*, 49–70, here 69; cf. Hermannsson 1936, 44ff. The record in the *Flateyjarbók* dates from the end of the fourteenth century (Hermannsson 1936, 32).
- ³ Hill 2004, 194ff., 342ff.; Nedkvitne 2014, 87ff. – On the sources cf. also Helle 1980. For Bohuslän cf. Jahnke 2000, 285ff.
- ⁴ Hill 2004, 197ff.; Burkhardt 2009, 94ff.; Nedkvitne 2014, 65, 163, 167, 220–225, 603ff.
- ⁵ Baasch 1889; Bei der Wieden 1994, 12; Hänselmann 1890, 170, 172: 'Marten Steen, schipher to Bremen'. Hofmeister 2001, 20ff.
- ⁶ Baasch 1889, 6ff., 38; Koch 1995, 16ff.
- ⁷ Hofmeister 2001, 21.
- ⁸ *Ibid.*; Bruns 1900, 211ff.; cf. Wubs-Mrozewicz 2008, 183ff. See also Hammel-Kiesow this volume.
- ⁹ Baasch 1889, 21ff.
- ¹⁰ Entholt and Beutin 1937, 53ff.; Hofmeister 2000a, 36ff.; Hofmeister 2001, 22.
- ¹¹ Prange 1963, 40ff. – For the contracts see Staatsarchiv Bremen (StAB), 2-R.11.ff.
- ¹² In 1558 Claves Monnickhusen sold his booth (*myne boden*) in Kumbaravogur (Hofmeister 2001, 45, no. 113).
- ¹³ Hofmeister 2001, 23ff.; Hofmeister 2000b, where the location of the trading place is still missing.
- ¹⁴ Hofmeister 2001, 32ff.
- ¹⁵ Gardiner and Mehler 2007, 415ff.; Mehler and Gardiner 2013, 3ff.
- ¹⁶ Hofmeister 2001, 26ff.
- ¹⁷ Kohl 1905, 34–53.
- ¹⁸ Hofmeister 2001, 33ff.
- ¹⁹ Baasch 1889, 106ff.; Bei der Wieden 1994, 19; Hofmeister 2000a, 40 (incomplete); Gardiner and Mehler 2007, 391ff. (Figs 4, 5, 6, 9); Mehler 2009, 103.
- ²⁰ Entholt and Beutin 1937, 56f.; Hofmeister 2001, 23, 35.
- ²¹ Friedland 1973, 68.
- ²² *Shetland Documents 1195–1579*, no. 25ff.
- ²³ Hänselmann 1890, 168–172 (cf. n. 5).
- ²⁴ *HR*, sec. 3, vol. 4, no. 68 (1498); cf. *HR*, sec. 3, vol. 3, no. 353 art. 87, and *ibid.* no. 357 (1494). *Rotscher* is explained by Bruns 1900, LXXViff., cf. Nedkvitne 2014, 202: a grade of stockfish.

- ²⁵ Hofmeister 2014, 343ff.
- ²⁶ Schmidtmayer 1937, 73ff.; *cf. idem*: Register zum Akzisebuch 1539 (Manuscript 1935), StAB, 2-ad R.2.A.o.2.b.14. – The figures are brought down to a round figure and are reproduced with reservations. A check of the numbers for fish from *Hitland* produced higher figures (about 56,000). Moreover, it can be questioned whether the figures really relate to pounds, as Schmidtmayer suggests, or to pieces (for the excise tax, fish was counted in hundreds). Clarification of all figures for the fish and herring was not possible for this paper.
- ²⁷ StAB, 1-Y 1543 April 17.
- ²⁸ Focke 1916, 99.
- ²⁹ *Shetland Documents 1195–1579*, no. 110; *cf.* Brill 1983.
- ³⁰ *Shetland Documents 1195–1579*, no. 164.
- ³¹ *Ibid.* no. 140; Entholt and Beutin 1937, 58ff.
- ³² Campbell et al. 2010.
- ³³ *Shetland Documents 1195–1579*, no. 158, 165.
- ³⁴ MacDonald 1934, 27–36; Entholt and Beutin 1937, 17. See also Smith, this volume.
- ³⁵ Deetjen and Deetjen 1908; StAB, 2-R.11.kk. (1557–1697).
- ³⁶ StAB, 2-W.9.b.10. (1661 Aug. 31). See Smith, this volume.
- ³⁷ Tonnengeld-Rechnungsbuch 1670–1700 (AHK, IV-A IV 3,3).
- ³⁸ StAB, 2-R.11.kk. and additional sources; according to Edinburgh sources: Bruce 1937; see *Shetland Documents 1195–1579* and *Shetland Documents 1580–1611*. – So far, the names Lanckenau 1617–1686, Hackman (1557) 1664–1691, Bardewisch 1676–1707 have been found to exist on the Shetlands.
- ³⁹ Friedland 1973, 73.
- ⁴⁰ There were several types of ships, which were labelled as *Boote*, *Büsen*, *Galioten*, *Rahsegel*, *Schmacken* or *Schuten*, carrying between 15 to 50 *last*. The largest ship of 50 *last* (100 tons) was in the service of Segebade Detken around 1688–1699, see StAB, 2-R.11.d.1. (c. 1688); Tonnengeld-Rechnungsbuch 1670–1700 (*cf.* note 37).
- ⁴¹ StAB, 2-R.11.kk. (1612–1619, 1671, 1679); 2-W.9.b.10. (1661); Entholt and Beutin 1937, 60ff.
- ⁴² Tiedemann 1970, 41, 167ff.
- ⁴³ Roesler 2008, 21 ff., 98, 119ff.
- ⁴⁴ Entholt and Beutin 1937, 18; Friedland 1973, 76f.
- ⁴⁵ Schreiner 1963; Nedkvitne 2014, 269ff., 360.
- ⁴⁶ Entholt and Beutin 1937, 29ff.
- ⁴⁷ Röhlk 1935, 78ff.
- ⁴⁸ Entholt and Beutin 1937, 32ff.
- ⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 14, 47ff.; *cf.* Nedkvitne 2014, 333: 'The last Kontor merchant sold his house in Bergen as late as 1766.'
- ⁵⁰ With the exception of trade in Trondheim according to a charge of the Kontor in 1533 (*cf.* Wubs-Mrozewicz 2008, 186).
- ⁵¹ Entholt and Beutin 1937, 31ff.
- ⁵² Föge 1958, sources p. 75.
- ⁵³ Prange 1963, 51.
- ⁵⁴ In 1539/40 in Bremen, the tax was imposed on 3 1/8 tuns of exported *Hitland* butter, *cf.* Schmidtmayer 1937, 76. In 1617, it applied to 1.5 tons, *cf.* StAB, Nachlass Walter Putze ('Auswertung Akzisebuch 1617').
- ⁵⁵ Hofmeister 1993, 65ff.
- ⁵⁶ Föge 1958, sources pp. 63ff.
- ⁵⁷ Schmidtmayer 1937, Register zum Akzisebuch 1539 (*cf.* note 24). However, the figures for half of the October are missing. One *last* here equals 1,000 pieces of fish or 12 tons.
- ⁵⁸ Hofmeister 2014, 350.
- ⁵⁹ von Witzendorff 1955, 155, 166ff. (fish including haddock, *Rundfisch*, *Rotscher*; herring including kipper [*Bückling*]).
- ⁶⁰ Entholt and Beutin 1939, 10ff.

References

Unpublished documentary sources

(see also list of abbreviations)

- Archiv der Handelskammer (AHK), Bremen
- IV-A IV Rechnungsbücher des Collegium Seniorum Staatsarchiv Bremen (StAB)
- | | |
|---------|---|
| 1 | Urkunden |
| 2-R.2. | Ratsarchiv, Verschiedene Staatseinkünfte und Steuern |
| 2-R.11. | Ratsarchiv, Schifffahrt zur See |
| 2-W.9. | Ratsarchiv, Verhältnisse Bremens zu auswärtigen Ländern |

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