The North Atlantic trade of Hamburg (*c.* 1400–1650)

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Hamburg was the main north German town trading with the western North Atlantic region in the period between 1450 and 1650. Other towns, such as Lübeck, Wismar and Rostock also called at Bergen, but the contact of German seafaring merchants with Iceland was dominated by men from Hamburg. Even after the closing of the island to all except Danish-Norwegian merchants by the Danish kings, the trade with Hamburg continued and partly bypassing the warehouse in Glückstadt. The main export commodities were grain and cloth, while back came fish and sulphur, besides some articles of minor significance. The Shetland trade also had some importance for the Hamburg merchants, importing fish and exporting grain and fishing material. In general, the North Atlantic trade was of minor importance in the total of the Hamburg trade which was dominated by transactions with western (Holland, England, France) and south-western (Portugal, Spain) Europe. The highest profits were made in that sphere.

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State of research

Everything relevant to the early commercial and cultural relations between Hamburg and Iceland seemed to have been said with the appearance of Ernst Baasch's treatise on *Die Islandfahrt der Deutschen, namentlich der Hamburger* (The Voyage of the Germans, especially the Hamburg Merchants to Iceland) of 1889. For a long while nothing was done in this sector. From 1900 onwards, Iceland came more and more into the focus of German (especially germanistic) research, because of the growing (and nationalistic charged) significance of the 'old Nordic' culture of the country. The preoccupation with many aspects became relevant and accepted for their germano-mythological efforts in Germany. That this preoccupation in the Nazi-era reached such a sad and scientifically unbearable peak need not be discussed in this connection. Only after 1945 did a new approach to the German-Icelandic history develop that also made new research in relation to Hamburg possible. However, this was not entirely true in relation to the other north-east Atlantic trade objectives of the Hamburg merchants in the late medieval and early modern period: in contrast to the trade with England, the commercial relations with Orkney, Shetland and the Faroes remained virtually unresearched. The North Atlantic has been hardly examined from an economic historical perspective, especially compared with the trade connections with the Low Countries, Portugal, Spain and (much less significant) the Mediterranean countries.

Sources

That is, of course, a result of the poor situation regarding written sources. The Hamburg heritage was devastated during the fire catastrophe of 1842 when about 80 per cent of the files in the archives of the Senate were destroyed. Other files of municipal offices were turned into ashes. Whereas you find unbroken traditions of written sources in other towns (partly destroyed by bombing during World War II), Hamburg constitutes a lamentable, special case. But the lost Hamburg sources can only be replaced in part by comparative sources. Circumstances are not always as favourable as those in Norway or Iceland, where more sources have been preserved. All research done in this field is confronted

with these problems. But it is astonishing what can be done with newly found sources.

Hamburg as a North Sea harbour

The development of Hamburg in the high Middle Ages has its roots in the function of the town as the North Sea harbour of Lübeck. The commerce of Lübeck served the exchange of goods between the Baltic and the north-west European regions which were separated by the barrier of the Cimbric peninsula (today Jutland and Southern Jutland in Denmark, Schleswig-Holstein and Hamburg in Germany). In the twelfth century the Lübeck-Hamburg axis replaced the Haithabu/Schleswig-Hollingstedt axis further north.

The partnership with Lübeck gave Hamburg the thrust that it needed to gain its position as the metropolis of the lower Elbe region, while older competitors (especially Stade, which had been of great significance in the high medieval period), were pushed aside. In the fifteenth century, in combination with the growth of significance of Hamburg, there was a desire to gain independence from the territorial government of the counts (since 1474 dukes) of Holstein. This wish caused several major conflicts in the time of the king of Denmark and duke of Holstein, Christian IV (1588–1648), the foundation of the rival town of Glückstadt down the river Elbe and the final acceptance of Hamburg as an imperial city in the peace treaty of Münster and Osnabrück which was not acknowledged by Denmark-Holstein until 1763.[1]

In the late medieval period the Hamburg trade had the following main objectives: the upper Elbe-region up to Magdeburg, the lower Elbe and its estuary, Dithmarschen, northern and eastern Frisia, the Low Countries ('Holland' and Belgium), France (especially the Bay of Bourgneuf and the estuary of the Gironde), England, Scotland, Norway and Iceland, western Sweden, Denmark and the German-Polish Baltic coastal region. From about 1530 these regions were widened to include the Iberian peninsula and the western Mediterranean region (southern France, Italy). Their significance grew – mainly under the influence of the growing role of European transatlantic trade.

Iceland trade

The trade with Iceland was a sector with strong competition due to the very substantial profits to be made.[2] As well as some Hanseatic towns, the English, Scots, Danes and Norwegians were also engaged in this trade. In 1425 the Danish king, Erik of Pomerania prohibited any trade with the island to foreigners. Hanseatic dealings with Iceland are first recorded in the resolutions of 1434/35. Merchants and skippers from Hamburg did not appear as traders with Iceland until 1475. Two ships (called *de Hispanigerd* and *de grote Marie*) made the voyage to Iceland at the expense of the town. King Christian I allowed the Hanseatic merchants, especially those of Hamburg (who were his subjects) direct trade contact, obviously to the disadvantage of the Bergen staple. During the Hamburg riot of 1483 the price increase for cereals (and as a consequence for bread) caused by exports to Iceland played an important role. A resolution at the end of the riot dictated the end of the trade with Iceland – without having the desired effect. In 1513 the Danish king Christian II again prohibited the Hanseatic trade with Iceland but his successor Frederik I showed a more lenient attitude. The decade 1530–40 was probably the climax of the Hanseatic trade with Iceland. In 1547 King Christian III leased the Iceland for ten years to the mayor and council of Copenhagen, but that had little influence on the Hamburg activities. Thus, the Icelandic voyage from Hamburg was expressly approved by the resolution of 1548. In the year 1560 Frederik II tried to exclude all foreigners from the trade with Iceland but two years later the Hamburg merchants secured privileges on several harbours on the island.

However, since Hamburg insisted on their (imperial) Elbe privileges to the detriment of the other Elbe cities in Holstein, Frederick II took advantage of his control of the access to Iceland as a reprisal. In 1579/80 the status of 1562 could be restored by contract, but by 1601 it was the intention of Christian IV to lay the Iceland trade entirely in the hands of his Danish subjects.

In the year 1602 Copenhagen, Malmö and Elsinore received a fourteen-year monopoly on trade with Iceland and in 1619 the Icelandic Company was founded. A bonded warehouse on the North Sea was established in Glückstadt in 1622/23. The direct trade between Hamburg and Iceland in the following years could only be managed by smuggling. All attempts by Hamburg to change the restriction failed due to the political manoeuvres of the town to became an imperial city which led to poor relations with the then legal ruler, the duke of Holstein (and king of Denmark). His successor, Frederik III, also insisted on the Glückstadt staple for Icelandic products, although this was by-passed by Danish as well as Hamburg merchants and skippers. The voyage from Hamburg

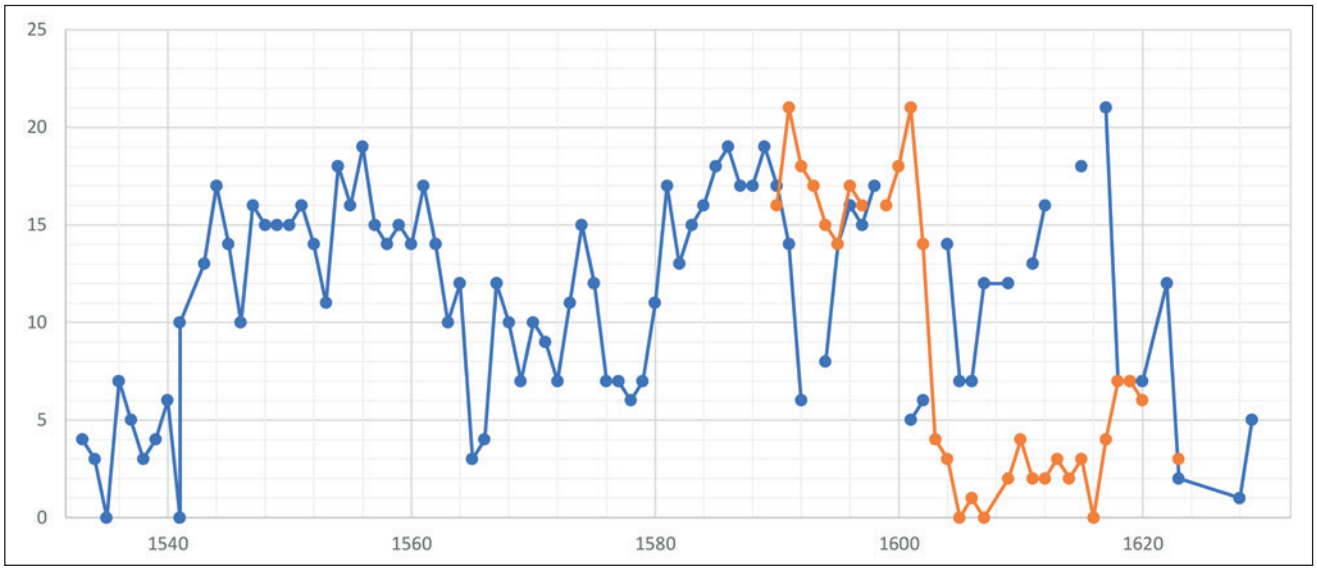

Fig. 1. Number of ships arriving in Hamburg from Iceland. Data from: Ehrenberg 1899, 19 (for the period from 1533, blue) and from Baasch 1889 (for the period from 1590, orange). The numbers of Baasch and Ehrenberg differ – probably due to the different kinds of sources they used.

Table 1. Average number of ships per year arriving in Hamburg from Iceland.

1530–1539	3.7
1540–1549	11.6
1550–1559	15.3
1560–1569	10.3
1579–1579	9.1
1580–1589	15.2
1590–1599	16.8
1600–1609	5.6
1610–1619	9.1
1620–1629	3.6

normally started between the 3rd March and the beginning of April, and ended with the return in July or August. The voyage outward or return needed round about four weeks. Other than in the merchant shipping to the Iberian peninsula, no sailing in convoy was needed because there was no regular danger of piracy in the North Atlantic.[3] The ships used for the voyages were hulks, cogs, caravels and so called *bollichs* with capacities of between 33 and 60 *last* (one *last* was *c.* 1500 kg). The average capacity was 60 *last*. The crew consisted of about thirty to forty-five men; they were often accompanied by merchants and their servants.[4]

The main harbour for the ships coming to Iceland from Hamburg was, in the German language, *Han(n)efjord* which translates as the Icelandic Hafnarfjörður; a German protestant church, first mentioned in 1534, was founded here. The clerics at the church in 1538–52 were 'her' Jochym, Hynryck Konge and Johannes Bramstede. The maintenance was partly funded by the financial contributions of the brotherhood of the Icelandfarers.[5]

The arrivals of ships from Iceland in Hamburg can be reconstructed from entries in the books of the brotherhood; official reports by the harbour authorities did not survive (Fig. 1). On average, in the single decades there were quite different levels of activity. The years between 1540 and 1570, as well as between 1580 and 1600, were of greater significance for the Iceland trade (Table 1).

Imports to Hamburg

What was imported from Iceland to Hamburg? First of all, it was fish.[6] It came in dried and salted form and was mainly cod and other kinds of the *Gadus* species. The Hamburg merchants just bought the production of local fishers. The transport was done in barrels (for the moist kind) and unpacked (for the dried kind). Between 1520 and 1561 the prices in Hamburg ranged between 11 and 14 pence per fish, and depended on quality. The imported quantities can only be found for certain years: in 1622 there were ten ships with 1,134,000 pounds of dried cod, in 1623 279,000 pounds of fish and 10,000 dried fishes, in 1628 216,000 pounds and six barrels of salted fish, and in 1629 522,000 pounds, seven barrels *soltefisch*, six barrels *mutefisch*, 500 pieces of dried fish (*klippfisch*). The term *mutefisch* has an uncertain meaning. Hamburg was not the only place of consumption of imported fish but also

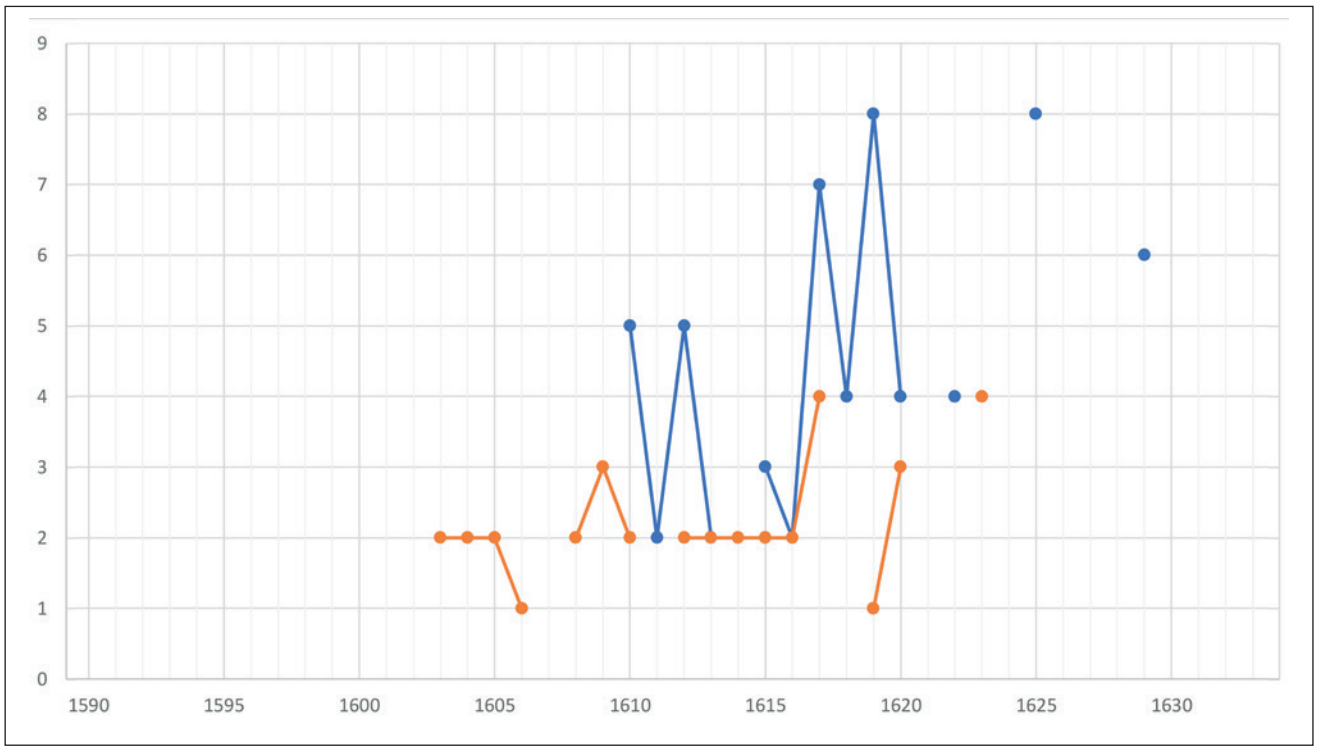

Fig. 2. The traffic going out from Hamburg to Shetland in the years between 1590 and 1635 based on customs records and brotherhood sources. Data variously from Baasch (1894, 312, shown in blue) and Ehrenberg (1899, 20, shown in orange).

served as a place of distribution for about 50 km radius of overland with the destinations including Uetersen, Krempe, Trittau, Harburg, Stade, Lüneburg, Uelzen, and about 300 km radius overseas trade to Bremen, Emden, Amsterdam and the English east coast. A special kind was the imported salmon, of which one *last* (about 1500 kg) was landed in Hamburg in 1614, two barrels and some single specimens in 1622 and eight barrels in 1629.

Of some significance was the import of sulphur, which could be mined in Iceland and was essential for the production of gunpowder. After 1532 sulphur is to be found as cargo. This import was extremely profitable for the merchants. They bought it in Iceland for four shilling a hundredweight (1537) and sold it in Hamburg at a price of three marks one shilling four and a half pence, which means a profit of 1600 per cent. Sulphur was transported in barrels weighing 360 pounds.[7]

One luxury import was falcons.[8] Falconry was a characteristically feudal type of hunting and the nobility developed a steady demand for the birds. In the course of their adoption of the feudal mode of living, falconry was also practised by the top layer of the citizens. Because of this, falcons commanded high prices. Several falcon hunters are named in the sources: 1556 – Jordan, 1582 – Wilken and Austin, 1587 – Wilm, 1589 – Jakob, 1590 – Hinrik and Tonnies.[9] Other imported commodities were down feathers,[10] first mentioned in 1475; wool and woollen textiles (in 1622 – wadmal to the value of 2150 marks, in 1629 – knitting wares as 'strumpe unde hansschen' (socks and gloves) to the value of 6190 marks);[11] lamb and sheep skins (in 1622 – 1310 sheep skins, one sack of lamb skins, 170 salted sheep skins and 800 lamb skins),[12] then mutton, ox meat, ox hides,[13] fox skins,[14] suet or tallow,[15] butter[16] and train oil.[17]

The fact that, once, a chessboard with chessmen found its way from Iceland to Hamburg is more relevant to Icelandic cultural history than to Hamburg economic history.[18]

Export to Iceland

The main export commodities were grains (especially rye) in pure form or processed (flour, biscuits) and also barley and malt, as well as beer. Mead, honey, gingerbread, peas, butter (mainly in the sixteenth century), canvas and woollen cloth, wood and iron kettles were also sent to Iceland.[19]

Shetland trade

In 1468 the crown of Scotland gained control of Shetland, but from 1603 they were in Anglo-Scottish

hands. Since the beginning of the fifteenth century they had been a destination of Hamburg merchants who had bought fish in dried and wet salted form and also, at times, meat in barrels and butter.[20] In the year 1535 a *Hansetag* – the assembly of the towns of the Hanse – decided that the voyage to *Hytland* should be continued as in the last ten to twelve years.[21] A list of the names of the Hamburg *Shetlandfarer* in the years 1547–1646 was compiled by Kurt Piper.[22] In the years between 1552 and 1566 there was a case in the Imperial Court regarding fish that should have been brought from Shetland to London but was landed at Hamburg.[23]

The traffic between Hamburg and Shetland in the years between 1590 and 1630 was quite regular. The numbers of ships coming in and going out of the port of Hamburg can be reconstructed from customs records and brotherhood sources (Figs 2 and 3).

Sometimes we have quite exact details on commodities. In 1629 276 barrels of salted herring, 2900 pieces of dried cod and 4100 pieces of salted and dried ling were imported; in 1633 the imports included 264 barrels of salted herring and 51 *last* (*c.* 80 tonnes) of ray.[24] From the seventeenth century (1644–46) we have more detailed information about the Shetland trade.[25] It was mostly undertaken by skippers who sailed only once a year. They started in March or April and came back in October or November. The ships were not very big, only 25 *lasts* capacity. Not every skipper from Hamburg involved in the North Atlantic trade sailed each year to Shetland. Only four skippers from the town regularly visited the islands; four others visited twice and twelve only once. Martin Reißmann stated that the Hamburg skippers bought in Shetland the summer yield of the local fishermen, as well as butter and tallow. They sold the inhabitants fishing hooks and lines, salt for preservation of fish, flour, beer and spirits. The example of the skipper Hans Sandemann shows the composition of commodities. In 1644 he exported two *last* of rye flour, 50 *kincken* (small barrels) of oats flour, six *last* salt, seven *last* Lübeck beer, twenty barrels with lines, fishing hooks and other fishing equipment, ¼ shippound (*c.* 34 kg) of iron, 200 pound of hemp and five barrels of tar. He brought back: 3500 ling, 700 cod, 1200 ray, 9000 pound *rotscher* (a kind of dried cod), thirty barrels of haddock, eight barrels of salted fish, twelve barrels of salted rays, two half barrels of tallow, three barrels of butter and one barrel of herring worth in all 3800 marks. The Shetland trade was not very profitable, but maintained the skippers and merchants concerned with it. In 1676–78 there

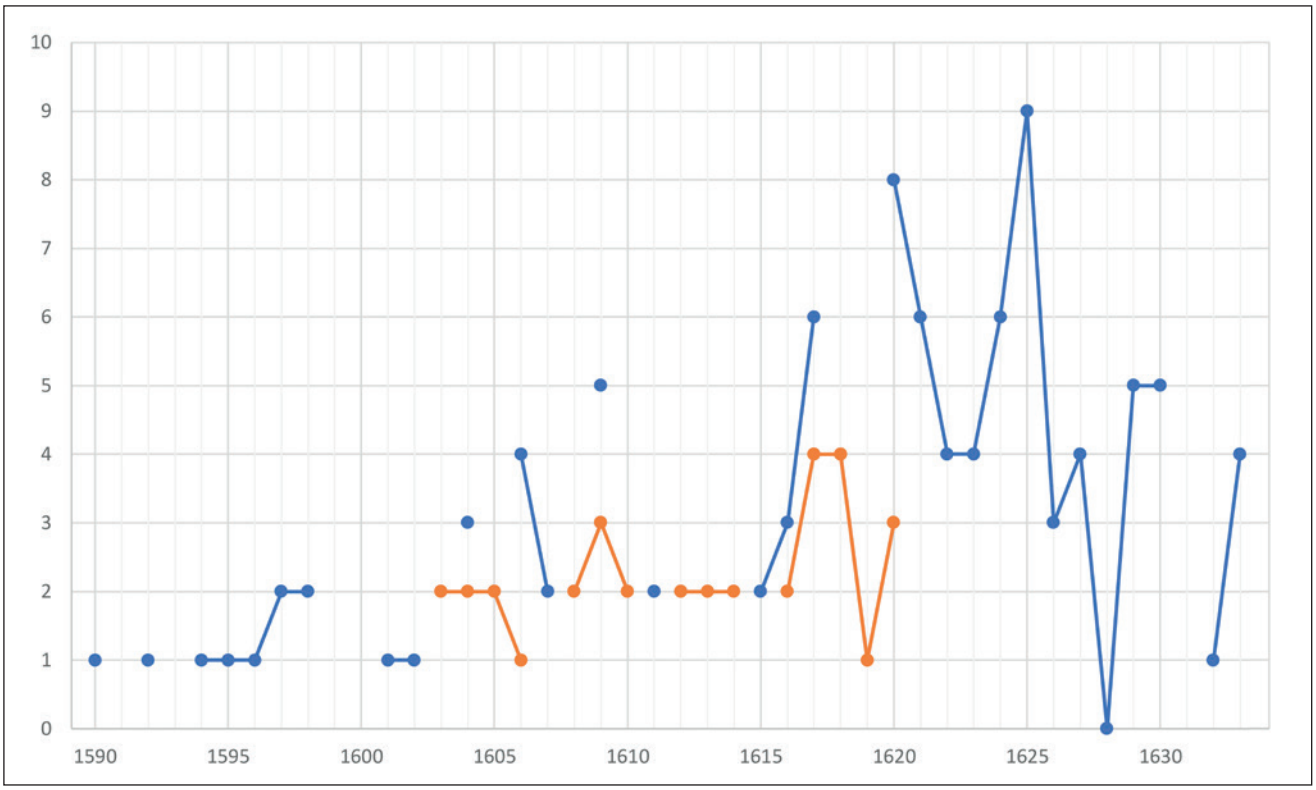

Fig. 3. The traffic coming into Hamburg from Shetland in the years between 1590 and 1635 based on customs records and brotherhood sources. Data variously from Baasch (1894, 312, shown in blue) and Ehrenberg (1899, 20, shown in orange).

were complaints in Hamburg about the mixture of Shetland and Flemish herring, which should be sold in Magdeburg.[26]

Orkney trade

We do not have any separate records in the Hamburg archives on the trade with Orkney.

Faroe trade

In 1535 a *Hansetag* decided that the voyages to the Faroe Islands should be continued as in the last ten to twelve years.[27] In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries fish was the main import from there. In 1555–57 and 1583 as well as 1585, two ships sailed from Hamburg to the islands.[28] In 1590 three, in 1591 two and in 1592 one ship arrived from there. But at the beginning of the seventeenth century (1602) the islands were closed to the Hanseatic merchants by Christian IV, king of Denmark. Following this there is lack of information on the trade in the Hamburg sources.[29]

Greenland trade

The skipper, Thies Reimers returned from Greenland to Hamburg on 22 October 1624 with eighty *last* of train oil. This is the only hint of trade with Greenland in the period between 1590 and 1650. Earlier, in 1542, the council of Hamburg had sent the skipper Gert Mestemaker with a caravel to Greenland. He found the island, but returned without any cargo because he did not meet any men there.[30]

Bergen trade

During the fifteenth to the seventeenth centuries the main harbour in Norway for the Hamburg merchants was Bergen. *Drontheim* and *Christiania* (Trondheim and Oslo) were only very seldom named. About nineteen ships went annually to the Norwegian harbours.[31] The 101 named merchants dealing with Norway belong only to the less prosperous overseas merchants of Hamburg. The main commodity of the Norwegian export trade was dried fish, followed by butter, meat, tallow, sheep-, buck- and lambskins, elk skins, fur, goat leather, nuts, tar and wood. Wheat, grit (a rough, broken grain, especially from oats), biscuit, bread, flour, salt, beer and spirits, fruits and vegetables, linen, rice, raisins, aniseed, spices and figs, also fishing hooks and lines were imported from Hamburg. The export of fish lay mainly in the hands of the Bergenfarer. The trade with 25- to 45-*last* capacity ships was not very profitable because of the low prices of the Norwegian articles.[32]

The North Atlantic trade as a proportion of the total Hamburg trade

The North Atlantic trade in the seventeenth century was only of minor importance in the total of the Hamburg seafaring trade.[33] For the year 1625 there are numbers which make it possible to quantify the contribution (Table 2).[34]

In the years from 1644 to 1646, 535 merchants sailed to Spain and Portugal, while 230 called at French and 144 at English harbours; only 101 sailed to Norway and only twenty-one to Shetland. Out of the 106 merchants with highest turnover (in 1645 over 20,000 marks turnover per year), ninety-two per cent traded with the Iberian peninsula, sixty-three per cent with France, forty-seven per cent with England and Italy, forty per cent with Russia, but only sixteen per cent with Norway and none with Shetland. At this time Iceland and the Faroes were already closed to non-Danish merchants.

Society of Icelandfarers and St. Anne Brotherhood

Although merchants and skippers from some towns in northern Germany (Bremen, Lüneburg, Lübeck, Wismar, Rostock, Stralsund) traded with Iceland, there was an Icelandfarer society only in Hamburg. Here, there were already other farer societies such as

Table 2. Norwegian and Icelandic trade through Hamburg as a proportion of the whole.

	per cent	
	of the ships	of the capacity
Norway	2.5	6.6
Iceland	0.3	0.7
In comparison:		
Low Countries	50.6	33.9
Northwest Germany	18.5	9.5
Schleswig/Holstein	8.6	3.5
Iberian peninsula	5.5	19.2

the Flandersfarer,[35] the Englandfarer[36] and the Scaniafarer.[37] The Bergenfarer were probably founded in the year 1535,[38] and even as far back as 1487 there was mention of 'de menen berghervarer' (meaning Bergenfarer) on occasion of the acquisition of a painting of St. Olaf by the Scaniafarer society.[39] These societies brought together, either totally or in part, the merchants trading in an area. Their aldermen used influence on the city council to push through their commercial interests. Of course, it was valuable to have members of the council in their own organization. The society was also a social corporation which ensured mutual advice and help, especially in foreign countries. Anyone who intended to trade with Iceland could become a member – and stay in the society, even if the trade connection never began. The networking of the farer societies in Hamburg is a fact; they did not work against each other, but functioned – like in the other north German towns – as a contact point for all wholesale and long-distance traders. Very close connections existed between England- and Icelandfarers. The societies very often had their own houses with rooms for assemblies and feasting, as well as single rooms for use as temporary dwellings or simple overnight stays.

The foundation of the Icelandfarer society cannot be dated. It seems likely that it emerged around 1485 – possibly in response to the restrictive regulations of the resolution of 1483, resulting from the Hamburg riot. It is first named on 4 April 1500, for at that date the St. Anne Brotherhood was founded.[40] Its representatives were four elected aldermen; the member responsible for the accounts (*rekensman*) watched income and expenses. Two other members called *Schaffer* organized the annual feasts.

It is not known whether the church (probably in fact a chapel) of the Hamburg Icelandfarer in Hafnarfjörður was founded by the society of Icelandfarers;[41] this is plausible. The services were held by clerics speaking Low German.[42] The chapel and consecrated churchyard served for burials, as is known in the case of Hinrik Kules, who died in 1582.[43]

The brotherhood represented the religious and social addition to the farer society: organized around an altar, which was served by a brotherhood-paid priest. The priest had to sing masses for the benefit of the souls of living and dead brothers. The brotherhood had a collective vault for those brothers who did not have their own family grave. Common feasts were held to strengthen the informal ties inside the brotherhood and with other participants. The brotherhood was also a social network which allowed them to come into contact with persons otherwise living in their own social circles and to fraternize with them. Members of the St. Anne Brotherhood were merchants, skippers, boatmen and simple servants.[44] Other members of the brotherhood were sometimes the wives and children of the brothers. Whereas the normal assemblies were tied to the divine services and held in the chapel, the festivities financed by the collected money of the brotherhood were held in the house of the Englandfarer, because the Icelandfarer never owned a house. In 1507 the council of the city allowed the brotherhood to have its own rent book to note the credits. The means of the brotherhood were also used to fund the subsistence of old and ill brothers and sisters. Some apartments for the poor in an inherited house in the Rosenstraße (Rose Street) were also used for this purpose.[45]

By 1513 the brotherhood acquired the right to use the St. Anne chapel in the parish church St. Peter in Hamburg and therefore left the monastery of St. John. The fourth *Kommende* (commendam or benefice) was held in St. Peter's church at the altar of St. Anne. Even when the religious purpose of the brotherhood ended with the Reformation in 1528, the social purpose remained until 1843, when it was dissolved.

After the Reformation citizens of Lübeck also appear as donors to the St. Anne Brotherhood,[46] surely not only a sign of the connection between the Icelandfarers of both town, but also as an indicator of their esteem for the social functions for old and sick members and their widows. Even Danes and Swedes gave to the brotherhood.[47] Whether the Icelanders in Hamburg[48] were also organized in the brotherhood is not clear – in the account-books they are named rarely.

Appendix: Transcript of the foundation document of the St. Anne Brotherhood of the Icelandfarer[49]
1500 April 4

Summary
Hermannus Meyger, doctor theologiae, vicarius, Ludolphus Lemmeke, prior, Gherardus Twelhoff, subprior, and the whole convent of the monastery St. John assign to Hennyngh Raven, Hinrick Vramen, Hans Help, Hans Hobingk, Hinrick van Wynßen, Hinrick Rumeherd, Kersten Lubben, Detleff Hovesschen, Bernd Engelken, Everd Smyd and all other members of the brotherhood of the saints Anne, Gerlaci et Olavi founded by the society of Icelandfarers an altar, an

area and a grave in their church and promise to sing each week on Monday and Tuesday a mass as well as to celebrate twice each year memorials for the dead. The founders give therefore 75 marks to the monastery. Detleff Bremer, mayor, and Bartelt vom Ryne, member of the council, testify.

In Godes namen amen. Witlick sy alle den jennen, de dusse schriffte zehn edder horen lezen, dat wy, Hermannus Meyger, in der hilligen schrifft doctor, vicarius, Ludolphus Lemmeke, prior, Gherardus Twelhoff, supprior, unnde alle anderen brodere prediker orden sunte Johans klosters bynnen Hambourg, mit den ersamen mennen Hennyngh Raven, Hinrick Vramen, Hans Help, Hans Hobingk, Hinrick van Wynßen, Hinrick Rumeherd, Kersten Lubben, Detleff Hovesschen, Bernd Engelken, Everd Smyd unde allen anderen kopluden unde guden gezellen der geselschup der Ißlandesfarer, so se uth milder herten weren bewagen, Gode almechtich unnde syner benedieden leven moder Marien tho lave unde to eren unnde sundergen der leven hillighen patronen sunte Annen, Garlaci unde Olavi, to troste der levendighen unde doden, to funderende unnde to stifftende ene broderschup, genomet sunte Annen der Ißlandesfarer, sint avereyngekamen in dusse wise. Int erste hebben wy ere milden andacht unde gude herten mit wolbedachten mode unnde rypem rade to synne genomen unnde en vorlovet, gegunneth unnde bestedighet, vorloven, gunnen unde bestedigen en jegenwerdige in krafft dusses breves eyn altar mit enem rume, belegen tusschen den veer pileren de utersten in unnser kergken int nortwesten mit ener fryhen grafft, dar in se mogen laten begraven alle de jenne, de ere grafft aldar begherenn unnde in ere broderschup horen. Welker altar unnd rum de olderlude der broderschup mit vulbord unnses priors tor ere Gades mogen tzyren, flyhen unnde schigken na erem willen. Averst muren, fenster unde sagk schal holden unnse kloster unde beteren, wanner dat iß von noden. Wy scholen unnde willen ok nene tzyrheid, grafft edder stene dar inne hebben edder legghen lathen in allen toklamenden tyden, id sy mit der broderschup willen unnde vulbord, uppe dat denne sollicher anghehaven broderschup halven de almechtige God mit synen utherkorne moge gelavet unde gebenediet, de levendigen unde doden getrostet werden, hebben wy nach bede, willen unnde begerte der erben[omeden] olderlude unde gemenen broder en gelavet unde togeseght, so wy jegenwardighen dhon, alle weken zwe missen, de ene des mandages in de ere alle Cristen zelen, de ander de dingstages in de ere der hilligen frouwen sunte Annen, to ewighen daaghen to holdende, jodoch hoghe feste unnde noth uthgenomen. Darto jewelkes jares twee begengknisse mit vigilien unde zelemissen, nomtliken de ene ummetrend mitfasten, wanner de schipher von hyr na Ißland gedengken to segelnde, unnde de andere des mandages vor sunte Andreas daghe, so verne up densulven dagh sunte Katherinen dagh nicht en qweme, anders up den dinghstagh dar na, alle Cristen zelen unde sundergen allen uth dusser brodersschup vorstorven, to hulpe unnde troste to holdende. Ock schal men in allen festen unde sondagen, by namen uth dusser brodersschup vorstorven vor deme sermone gedengken unnde God almechtich truweliken to biddende. Hirt o maken wy alle de jenne, de jegenwardich in dusser brodersschup syn unnde noch dar inkomende werden, mede delhafftich aller guden wergke, de God almechtich durch uns unde alle unse nakomelinge unnses closters dagh unnde nacht to ewighen tyden, leth gescheen. Alsedenne de erben[omeden] unnse guden frunde bavenschreven, de gude willen unde truwe toneginge bavenschreven hebben gezeen unde gemergket, sint se worden bewagen unnde to synne geworden, dat se up dat sulche Godes dinste in bestendlichem unde ewighen wesende bliven mogen, unnß unnde unnseme kloster umme Godes willen in redem gelde hebben gegeven unnde togekeret vyfundesoventich margk pennynghe, darto schollen unde willen uns de olderlude der broderschup alle jar geven voffteyn margk penninghe, de alle jar uppe de tyde der begengknisse bavenschreven to betalende, de wyle se den hovetstoll nicht uthgeven de kor. Doch sall by enen stan, de by unß unde by unßem closter to ewigen dagen to blivende unde der to unßeme besten unde profyte tom dinste des almechtighen Godes to gebrukende, des wy en boven Godes lon hochliken bedangken. Wert ok dat sulche missen unde andere vorscrevenne artikell, so vorberort, nicht wurden geholden, so schollen de brodersschup sulche renthe nicht uthgeven. Alle unde ißliche puncte unnde artikell, in dessem breve begrepen, belaven wy, Hermannus doctor, prior unnde supprior unnde gantze convent bavenschrevenn deger unnde alle wol to holdende in allen tokamennden tyden sunder alle argelist unde behelpinge der rechte unde hebben des to groter vorwaringe unses closters ingesegell mit frihem willenn witliken an dussen breff heten hangen. Unde wente uns Detleff Bremer, burgermester, unnde Bartelt vom Ryne, rathman to Hamburg, alle dusse dingk mede witlick synth, also hebben wy umme beyder parte bede willen unnser jewelick syn ingesegell tor witticheid an dussen breff, der twe synt, eyn by deme convente, der andere

by den olderluder[1] dusser brodersschup in vorwaringe, heten henghen. Gegeven nach Christi gebord, unnses hern, voffteynhundert am dage sunte Ambrosius.

Text on verso: Littera redditуum XV marcarum annualium ex parte fraternitatis sancte Anne Islandrinorum. Litera fraternitatis Islandipitarum.

Endnotes

[1] *Cf.* Lorenzen-Schmidt 2013; Lorenzen-Schmidt 2014.
[2] Baasch 1889, 1–57.
[3] *Ibid.*, 95–100.
[4] Ehrenberg 1899, 21–24.
[5] Baasch 1889, 110.
[6] *Ibid.*, 71–78.
[7] *Ibid.*, 78–81.
[8] *Ibid.*, 81–83.
[9] Ehrenberg 1899, 26.
[10] Baasch 1889, 83.
[11] *Ibid.*, 83–85.
[12] *Ibid.*, 84.
[13] *Ibid.*, 86.
[14] *Ibid.*, 87.
[15] *Ibid.*
[16] *Ibid.*
[17] *Ibid.*
[18] Piper 1999, 46.
[19] Baasch 1889.
[20] As a survey: Friedland 1995.
[21] Baasch 1889, 31.
[22] Piper n.d.
[23] StAHH Best. 211–212 Nr. G 21.
[24] Baasch 1894, 410–413.
[25] Reißmann 1975, 71–73.
[26] StAHH Best. 612-2/3 Nr. 39.
[27] Baasch 1889, 31.
[28] Ehrenberg 1899, 18, n. 2.
[29] Baasch 1894, 309.
[30] *Ibid.*
[31] Reißmann 1975, 65.
[32] *Ibid.*
[33] *Ibid.*, 76–81.
[34] Baasch 1894.
[35] Bolland 1951.
[36] Friedland 1960.
[37] Gabrielsson 2006.
[38] Reißmann 1975, 174–181; Gabrielsson 2006, 57.
[39] Gabrielsson 2006, 57.
[40] StAHH Best. 710-1 I Nr. W 50.
[41] Piper 1964.
[42] Koch and Piper 1990.
[43] Koch 1996a.
[44] Piper 1986.
[45] Piper 1971.
[46] Piper 1993.
[47] Piper 1989.
[48] Koch 1995; Koch 1996b.
[49] StAHH Best. 710-1 I Threse I W 50.

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(see also list of abbreviations)
StAHH Best. 211-2 Nr. G 21
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