

Shoes and shoemakers in late medieval Bergen and Stockholm*

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The purpose of this article is to analyse the differences between shoemakers in late medieval Bergen and Stockholm on one hand, and the differences between the archaeological finds of shoes in the two towns on the other hand. The relations between those differences and the possible reasons for disparities will be discussed.

To judge from the written sources, the ethnic background, the political situation and the inner organization of the shoemakers were quite different in Bergen and in Stockholm. In Bergen there was a strong influence of the Hanseatic League, Lübeck in particular, on the shoemakers, and this might have had implications for the shoe production. In Stockholm, there was more room for varied influences. The questions to be discussed in the following are thus firstly if there are discrepancies between the Stockholm and Bergen shoemakers and if so the background for such discrepancies. Secondly, if differences between the shoes found in the two towns might be explained as a result of differences between the way the shoemakers were organized in the two towns. This will be seen in a European context, as well as in the context of the influence of Lübeck on the shoemakers in Bergen.

Sources

The sources on shoes and shoemakers in Bergen and Stockholm are varied. The central written sources on Bergen concern the German shoemakers. They are mentioned in letters and documents in *Diplomatarium Norvegicum*, in *Norges gamle Love 2. Række*, in *Hanserezesse* and in the unpublished *Urkunden Norwegica* in the archive of Lübeck (returned in the 1990s to the archive). The Swedish written sources include craft guild regulations (*skråordningar*), documents in *Diplomatarium Suecanum* and entries in *Stockholms stads tänkeböcker* and *Stockholms stads skottebok*. A literary source on

* I would like to thank Arne Larsen, Kerstin Söderlund, Petter Molaug, Signe Horn Fuglesang and Per G. Norseng for their comments on the article.

German shoemakers is a piece of Hans Sachs (1494–1576), a writer and shoemaker, *Schwanck: Der schuster mit dem lederzancken*. Background information on shoes is provided by written sources like price lists in *Norges gamle Love III*.

The archaeological sources used here are partly published (excavations from the sites Gullskoen in Bergen and Helgeandsholmen in Stockholm), while finds from the sites Tritonia and Riddarholmen in Stockholm are only available in the form of excavation reports. The Tritonia and Riddarholmen finds have not been used for general analyses of shoes in medieval Stockholm.

In the analysis of the shoe finds, several different factors have to be taken into account. First of all, representativity poses a problem. Shoes are well preserved only when they are in entirely dry layers or in anaerobic layers under the ground water level.¹ In Bergen, shoes were found in several medieval layers, while in Stockholm the incidence is more fragmentary and covers only some periods. The number of finds, their chronological distribution and accuracy of dating vary in the Norwegian, Swedish and German excavations. Moreover, the ways of classification and the terminology differ in some aspects. Finally, the scope of the article limits the number of variables that can be used in the analysis. Therefore, variables like for instance social class, sex or age of the wearers cannot be discussed here. Instead two variables that may show chronological changes and regional differences are brought into focus: types of the shoe uppers and toe shapes. Since the analysis is limited in a number of respects, the results have to be treated more as an indication of possible developments than absolute statements.

The shoemakers

ETHNIC BACKGROUND AND EXCLUSIVENESS

The most conspicuous difference between the shoemakers in Bergen and Stockholm is their ethnic background and the exclusiveness of the groups based on it.²

¹ Groenman-van Waateringe 1980:114.

² The larger works on shoemakers in Bergen have mostly discussed their conflicts with the German Kontor in Bergen, see for instance Bendixen (1912) *De tyske haandverkere paa norsk grund i middelalderen*, Grieg (1936) *Det norske håndverks historie. Middelalderen* or Edvardsen (1975) *De tyske skomakerne i Bergen fram til omkr 1450*. In Stockholm, shoemakers have been mostly discussed along with other craftsmen: a recent publication is Lindström's *Skrå, stad och stat* (1991). Articles on the subject are listed in the bibliography below.

In Bergen German shoemakers controlled the craft and strictly excluded foreigners. Judging from the sources, they started to come to Bergen together with the German merchants from the second part of the 13th century.³ Their dominance increased after the Great Plague of 1349, and the German merchants controlled most of the foreign trade. Being members of the Hanseatic League, they could effectively handle the export of Norwegian stockfish and import of grain, beer, wine, hop and other products. Secured by several royal privileges, they kept their power position and exerted influence on the economic, political and to some extent cultural life of Norway throughout the Middle Ages. A decisive characteristic of both the Hanseatic merchants and the German craftsmen was that they were bachelors and were not allowed to marry in Bergen. They stayed for a limited period of time and then returned to their home towns. Many of them came directly or indirectly from Lübeck. During their stay in Bergen, they lived in two colonies, rather isolated from the local society and they deliberately avoided integration.⁴ They were defined and defined themselves as Germans. Like the merchants, all new shoemakers coming to Bergen underwent brutal initiation rituals, which were presumably intended to increase group cohesion.⁵

While the merchants lived at Bryggen, the shoemakers stayed and worked in the Vågsbotn *gård* (tenement).⁶ It was the private property (*patrimonium*)⁷ of the King, rented formally since 1330. It was also from that time on that the German – and only the German – shoemakers obtained monopoly to make shoes, provided that the production took place in Vågsbotn.⁸ It

³ There might have been itinerant German shoemakers who came to Bergen before that period, as Arne J. Larsen has pointed out (personal remark).

⁴ The colonies were Bryggen and Vågsbotn. The first time German craftsmen are mentioned is in connection with a tithe conflict in 1309, see DN I nr 122. On Germans in medieval Bergen, see e.g. Helle 1981, German craftsmen Bendixen 1912, Lindström 1991:76–78.

⁵ *Bergens Fundas* pp. 57–58, Helle 1982:754.

⁶ See the article of Sigurðsson (1993) on the Vågsbotn *gård* and the German shoemakers there, Bendixen 1912:48ff.

⁷ As opposed to *bona regalia*. According to Sigurðsson 1993:24–25 the division started from the middle of the 13th century in Norway.

⁸ 'Ok so heben wy vullenkommen vorbadenn, dat nein schomaker schal wonnen in der bye nergen (Bergen), men i vonsen gordhenn Wogesbotnen, sunder olt bôtters' NGL 2R I nr. 134 B. The reason was probably on the one hand to concentrate them in one place, on the other because of the stench and pollution tanning caused: they were to be kept out of the town centre. From 1372, an exception was the court of the bishop, where also shoes could be produced. Besides, the repeated statements that work outside Vågsbotn was to be punished, indicates that it took place. In DN XIII nr. 581, there is a reference to a shoemaker on Bergenhus Slot. See Larsen 1992:87–88, Sigurðsson 1993:30.

is interesting that they received a 'public' privilege closely connected to private royal property. The privilege was repeated in 1372 and several times later.⁹ The background of the monopoly will be discussed below.

The establishment of the Hanseatic Kontor in the 1360s probably stimulated the immigration of German craftsmen to Bergen and strengthened their position. Towards the end of the Middle Ages, they were the most numerous group of craftsmen. In 1451 there were 62 Germans working in the Skomakerstretet (Shoemakers' street).¹⁰ Although other groups of foreigners appeared in town, contacts were limited and cooperation prohibited by the German rules. The inner rules of the shoemakers' craft guild in Bergen stated very clearly that it was by no means allowed to take non-German apprentices. Also socializing with 'out-groups' like the burghers of the town, or leaving the craft and settling down somewhere else was to be punished severely.¹¹ These prohibitions were repeated several times.¹² 'Unfaithful' shoemakers could have their fingers or arms broken. There were also cases where their property was destroyed.¹³ Complaints by the German shoemakers that their monopoly was not observed bear witness of some Norwegian shoe production in town, but it must have been marginal.¹⁴ By and large, the shoemakers in Bergen were an ethnically rather homogenous and closed group, and thus the shoe production was virtually German.

In Stockholm, on the other hand, there was no similar homogenous ethnic dominance within the shoemakers' craft. Even though there was a parallel influx of German craftsmen and merchants from the very beginning of the establishment of Stockholm in the middle of the 13th century,¹⁵ the immigration took a different

⁹ NGL III nr. 102, 117, NGL 2R II nr. 26, Helle 1982:754. Sigurðsson 1993:31 suggests that the privileges had to be renewed by each new King.

¹⁰ NGL 2R II 647, Helle 1982:750

¹¹ NGL 2R I nr. 376, p. 657 ff.

¹² NGL 2R II nr. 427, p. 706ff: '§5 Item so scholen de schomakere schroder noch ander ampte to Bergen nenen nyekomen vntffangen vnde in dat euenture setten sunder myt des kopmans wetende ok den schomakeren nymant schal arbeyden he behore in de henze vnde dar to nymande to vorwysende buten des kopmans wetende dergelyken.' (p.709), cf HR II 7 nr. 336, DN XVI nr. 254.

¹³ NGL 2R I nr. 247, 255, 256; Helle 1982:754.

¹⁴ Stigum 1959.

¹⁵ There is an ongoing discussion on the estimated time of establishment of the town, as sources do not provide precise evidence. Generally, the letter of Birger Jarl, Swedish ruler in the middle of the 13th c., dated 1252 and signed in Stockholm, is seen as the first proof of the existence of the town, see e.g. Dahlbäck 2002.

shape than in Bergen. Foreigners were obliged to take local citizenship, but at the same time they were given the rights to involve in the political life in the Swedish towns. The 14th century urban law stated that half of the town councils were to consist of Germans.¹⁶ They consequently became an integrated part of the local society. This was strengthened by the fact that families were founded, and even though Germans kept coming and leaving town, there was no institutionalised rotation as in Bergen. The Germans in Stockholm developed stronger ties to the town, and at times their ethnic identity became fluid.¹⁷ Moreover, they were not the only foreigners who came to the Swedish towns: in the late Middle Ages contacts with Gdańsk (Danzig), the Low Countries and England became more and more vivid, and there had already been a steady Finnish immigration. The contacts were many and took place on many levels.

In addition, in terms of settlement in the town, no similar division in ethnic colonies as in Bergen was found in Stockholm. The population of Stockholm lived in groups according to profession, not according to ethnicity. The merchants mostly inhabited the southern part of today's Gamla Stan, namely *Södra kvarteret*, while the shoemakers lived in the centre and the west (*Inre* and *Västre kvarteret*).¹⁸ No regulations of the shoemakers' craft made it exclusively German or Swedish, so there were premises for cooperation. The names in the Stockholm *Tänkeböcker* show that both ethnic groups appear side by side.¹⁹ Thus, the shoemakers' craft guild in Stockholm was both multi-ethnic and inclusive.

THE OUTER ORGANISATION: THE POLITICAL POSITION

Another factor that was decisive for the difference between shoemakers of the two towns was their political situation. While in Stockholm they were under the control of the town council, in Bergen both the King and the German Kontor wanted to have a hold over them. The result was a tug of opposing interests.

This is not the place to discuss in full the development of the power play and conflicts in Bergen, but the main chronological lines must be drawn. The agree-

¹⁶ MEst.

¹⁷ See Wubs-Mrozewicz 2004.

¹⁸ Dahlbäck 1983, 1987:51 and 92.

¹⁹ See STb 2 p. 771. The vocation was most often added to the name, e.g. *Per skomakare*. However, after some time it could become a family name, and thus the information was not always adequate, see Lindberg 1964:41.

ment of 1330 placed the German shoemakers under Norwegian law and gave them a unique monopoly. The background of this monopoly was complex. In recent research it has been pointed out that it was not the qualitative superiority of the shoes the Germans made, but their way of organizing as a group that put them in a position to negotiate such terms.²⁰ As Sigurðsson stresses, privileges were given only to organized groups, not to individuals,²¹ and the Norwegian shoemakers were not organized at that time. An organized group of shoemakers could produce sufficient shoes for the households of the King and the bishop in Bergen, as well as cover the needs of the town population. Since large amounts of shoes were needed (see below), the prospect of a long-term stable production was attractive. At the same time, the shoemakers were obliged to provide military assistance if needed, so again their way of organization and dependence through the privileges could prove to be useful. Moreover, for the Norwegian authorities the benefit of such a controlled monopoly was the possibility to outbalance the independence and growing dominance of the German merchants in town.²² The repeated royal privileges were to ensure that the shoemakers recognized the Norwegian sovereignty.²³ However, the establishment of the German Kontor in the second half of the 14th century strengthened the power of the merchants, and since at that time the Norwegian authorities showed less interest for the craftsmen, the shoemakers became subordinate to the Kontor. In 1379, it was decided that the shoemakers were to be under the jurisdiction of the Kontor, thus no longer under Norwegian law, and provisions were made to prevent the shoemakers from engaging in trade with Hanseatic products like for instance beer. In the beginning of the 15th century, they became more independent,²⁴ and until c. 1470 both the King and the Kontor made offers and demands. Conflicts between the shoemakers and the Kontor were numerous, among other things because the shoemakers did engage in trade in competi-

²⁰ Larsen 1992:86, Sigurðsson 1993:30.

²¹ Sigurðsson 1993:30.

²² Edvardsen 1975:41–43.

²³ According to Lindström 1991:87, the privileges were given in 1370, 1372, 1381, 1450, 1486 and 1507. See NGL III nr. 99, NGL III nr. 102, NGL III nr. 117, NGL 2RI nr. 134B, HUB II 495, NGL 2R II nr.26, NGL 2R III nr.33, NGL 2R III nr.190.

²⁴ The background of the change was the uprising of the craftsmen in Lübeck, who demanded more rights and eventually were better represented in the council, see Graßmann (ed.) 1997, Sigurðsson 1993:33.

tion with the merchants.²⁵ Attempts were made to solve the conflict through the council in Lübeck, and the shoemakers sent representatives there.²⁶ Eventually, Lübeck made a clear stance that the shoemakers had to comply with the demands of the merchants. In 1507, King Hans dissolved the shoemakers' craft guilds in both Denmark and Norway, but two years later, the Bergen guild was back in power. Finally, in the 1550s the King demanded that the shoemakers should choose between staying in Bergen and accepting Norwegian citizenship, or leaving town. At that time there were 72 shoemakers in Bergen.²⁷

On the whole, the shoemakers in Bergen were politically in-between the royal power in Norway and the Hanseatic League, represented by the Hanseatic Kontor in the town. Two factors decided upon their situation: the general jurisdiction and the citizenship. As long as they remained citizens of their German hometowns and intended to return to these later, the council of Lübeck kept its influence over the shoemakers in Bergen.

In Stockholm, the Hanse did not have a comparable political control, neither over the merchants nor the shoemakers. As mentioned above, the German immigrants to Stockholm were obliged to take local citizenship and accept the local jurisdiction. Shoemakers had to be local burghers in order to make and sell shoes.²⁸ Moreover, control over the craft guilds was organized in a different way than in Bergen: throughout the Middle Ages they were subordinate to the town council. It was the council that ratified the regulations and amendments affecting them.²⁹ Taxes were also paid to the town council.³⁰ The shoemakers' craft, although one of the largest in Stockholm, was still smaller than the one in Bergen – even if the difference in the size of population is taken into account. According to Lindberg tax lists show that there were between 21 and 25 tax paying shoemakers in Stockholm in the years 1461–1519.³¹

²⁵ See NGL 2R II nr.402 and 'tillæg'. '§9. Item holden de ampte openbaren byrtapp, up der straten der selscopp gemeyne unde besunderen in den boden myt Nordervaren, Normanzen unde haveluden, mer den in vortiden wontlik is gewesen (...)' (p.634).

²⁶ See Norwagica 78 and 80 (Archive of Lübeck).

²⁷ For a more detailed discussion, see Bendixen 1912, Helle 1982:756–761, Sigurdsson 1993:31–35, Lindström 1993, Edvardsen 1975, Grieg 1936.

²⁸ Those who worked as shoemakers without taking the citizenship got fines, see STb 2 p. 93. Compare Klemming 1856:16 'Item inghin magh hafwa ypith windöga för än han hafwer burskap wnnith'.

²⁹ The ratification took place in 1474, the amendments in 1477, 1489, 1499, 1502, see Klemming 1856 and Lindström 1991:86.

³⁰ See the *Skottebok* from the 1460s.

Unlike in Bergen, conflicts between the shoemakers and the institution controlling them were few and far between in Stockholm.³² This was certainly due to the fact that there were not two powers competing for control. The outer organization of the craft guild made it an integral and dependent part of the local society, whereas in Bergen dependence was negotiated at the level of both the state and the Kontor. Consequently, Lübeck could exert a political influence on the shoemakers in Bergen, but had no such possibility in Stockholm.

THE INNER ORGANISATION: THE SHOEMAKER'S CRAFT GUILDS AND THE QUESTION OF MASTER CRAFTSMEN

The shoemakers in Bergen and Stockholm were organised into craft guilds, following in most respects the European model. The only significant difference between them was the matter of master craftsmen. Again, only the main lines can be drawn here.³³

From the 12th century, the European craftsmen had tended to organise themselves into professional groups, the craft guilds. It was a way to make the work more efficient and cost-effective, provide the structures for training of apprentices and at the same time protect the interests of the craftsmen. For instance, only members of the shoemakers' craft guild in Stockholm were allowed to sell shoes: merchants were prohibited from doing so.³⁴ The dating of the establishment of shoemakers' craft guilds in Bergen and Stockholm is difficult to pinpoint, and the matter has been discussed extensively. According to Helle, the text of the 1330 deal between the shoemakers and the king in Bergen suggests that they by that time already were organised into a craft guild.³⁵ Sigurðsson suggests that the craft guild might go back to 1280, when the shoemakers settled in Vågsbotn.³⁶ Lindström stresses that it happened no later than in the end of the 14th century.³⁷ In 1412, the German shoemakers got their own rules, the *skråordning*, which regulated the affairs both within and outside the craft guild.³⁸

³¹ Lindberg 1964:44, see also Dahlbäck 1983:42.

³² Lindström 1991:162.

³³ A detailed presentation can be found in Edvardsen 1975:85–99. On the organization of shoemakers in Lübeck, see Jaschkowitz 1999:164–195.

³⁴ STb I p. 467.

³⁵ Helle 1982:752.

³⁶ Sigurðsson 1993:30.

³⁷ Lindström 1991:75.

³⁸ NGL 2R I nr. 376, Lindström 1991:76.

In Stockholm, the earliest surviving written evidence of the existence of a shoemakers' craft guild is rather late, namely from 1474, when its regulations were ratified by the town council.³⁹ But both the regulations and the craft itself must have been older. The shoemakers' street is mentioned in a letter of 1337. The large amounts of shoes found in the archaeological layers of the 14th century bear witness to shoe production at that time,⁴⁰ but this does of course not mean that there must have been a craft guild. Several scholars have pointed out that the craft guilds in Sweden were built upon foreign, possibly German, examples.⁴¹

The craft guilds in Europe were built up hierarchically. The smallest unit was the workshop, consisting of a master, his journeymen and apprentices. The candidates for shoemakers had to be born within wedlock and come from an honourable family, and after three to four years of apprenticeship they could become journeymen (*geseller*) and start to receive wages.⁴² The final stage was the position of a master: to attain this, not only skills or sufficient wealth were needed,⁴³ but in the late Middle Ages also family connections played a role. The position started to be passed from father to son or nephew. One or more of the masters became the aldermen of the craft and representatives of the shoemakers.⁴⁴

In Stockholm this model was followed at all stages.⁴⁵ In Bergen, however, there were no masters. The craft guild consisted merely of apprentices and journeymen, and was called *svennelaug*. The craft guild was led by six or seven chosen *forstandere*, who took this duty in rotation for six months.⁴⁶ This fact has been stated several times by various scholars, but there has been no real discussion on the reasons and implications of it. One reason could have been the requirement that the Germans coming to Bergen were to be unmarried, and in Germany the masters were usually married. As a result, only journeymen were sent to Norway. On the

³⁹ Klemming 1856, Jäfvart 1938:97, Lindberg 1964:66.

⁴⁰ Zerpe and Fredriksson 1981:217, cf Lindström 1991:73.

⁴¹ Lindström 1991:73. See also Jäfvart 1938:118 on the German influence.

⁴² Hoffmann 1997:316, compare the regulations for the Stockholm guild, Klemming 1856:15.

⁴³ Granlund 1959:651 gives the example of tanners, who had to have three marks of silver in order to become masters.

⁴⁴ Lindström 1991:80–83. A vivid picture of a shoemaker household and the work of the master are presented in the piece of Hans Sachs.

⁴⁵ There were masters, journeymen and apprentices. A master was allowed to have up to three journeymen and the one apprentice in addition, see Klemming 1856:21.

⁴⁶ NGL 2 R I nr. 376, Helle 1982:753, Sigurdsson 1993:31.

other hand, apparently no efforts were made to change the rules for craftsmen and enable masters to come to Norway or let the journeymen in Norway become masters. It might have been a means to keep control over the German shoemakers in Bergen: in this way they had to return to Germany to pass the final master's test and were less prone to stay abroad. Consequently, the journeymen and apprentices in Bergen remained part of the shoemakers' craft guild in their town of origin and under its influence. The lack of masters could have had consequences for the shoe production: in a traditional workshop, work was divided between the apprentices, the journeymen and the master. Usually, the master cut the hides, while the journeymen and apprentices did the sewing.⁴⁷ In Bergen, the journeymen had to take over more tasks, and this could have had an impact on the quality of work or its range. However, it has been argued that in Bergen some of the journeymen might have taken over not only the work, but also the role of masters within the workshop.⁴⁸

METHODS OF WORKING

The shoemakers' methods of working were very much the same throughout Europe. The first step was the tanning of the hides by one of the three methods: bark, mineral or smoke tanning. Some times they were also dyed.⁴⁹ Hides of horses, calves, cows, goats and sheep were used.⁵⁰ The next step was cutting the hides and, finally, sewing them together on lasts. Sometimes the shoes were decorated with embroidery, incisions or stamps.⁵¹ However, in many European cities tanners constituted separate guilds, and patten makers occurred as a separate craft. Earlier research on the shoemakers in Bergen claimed that the Germans gained a monopoly because they outdid the Norwegians in terms of quality and the knowledge of new techniques, especially tanning.⁵² But recent research has shown that tanning was used before the German shoemakers took over the market, and excavations have proved that early Norwegian shoes were of high quality.⁵³

⁴⁷ Järfvert 1937:43.

⁴⁸ Lindström 1991:76, Grieg 1936:122, Edvardsen 1975:86f.

⁴⁹ More on the three types in Swann 2001:15, and for the stages of bark tanning see Larsen 1992:86–87 and Järfvert 1938:116.

⁵⁰ See Hans Sachs on the types used, and the side effects of the smelly occupation.

⁵¹ For shoe decorations, see Larsen 1992.

⁵² Bendixen 1912:27, Schreiner 1963:51, Grieg 1936:258, cf Helle 1982:429.

⁵³ Larsen 1992:86, Sigurðsson 1993:30.

June Swann mentions the change in the methods of work as an example of German influence on the craft in Scandinavia. According to her the Germans brought a more effective division of labour so that the shoemakers did not do their tanning themselves.⁵⁴ If this was a German influence, it should have had occurred in the German-dominated Bergen. However, other scholars claim that in medieval Bergen the shoemakers always were tanners also.⁵⁵ On the other hand, in Stockholm there was some degree of division of labour: suede hides were tanned by tanners, and other types of hides by shoemakers.⁵⁶ In addition, a craft guild of patten makers appeared.⁵⁷ It thus seems that a specialization was gradually taking place in Sweden, following some of the European models. In Bergen no such changes occurred.

The shoes

Medieval shoes occur in written and archaeological sources. Iconographic evidence from altarpieces and sculptures in Norway and Sweden provide information on polychromy, not preserved on excavated shoes. However, an analysis of the polychromy, the shoe uppers types and toe shapes from the iconographic evidence would open problems of source criticism, especially chronology and representativity. A discussion on those problems is beyond the scope of this article. In the literature on medieval shoes in Bergen and Stockholm the focus is first of all on the archaeological finds and secondly on the written sources.⁵⁸

The written sources mentioning shoes in Norway and Sweden bear witness of the prices and various status of shoes, for example the Norwegian price regulations of 1282 show that a pair of shoes was equivalent to two days of pay for a crafts-

⁵⁴ Swann 2001:63.

⁵⁵ Larsen 1992:86, Stigum 1959:653, Schia 1977:320.

⁵⁶ Jäfvart 1937:30, compare Granlund 1959:651.

⁵⁷ For entries on patten makers, see e.g. STb 2 p. 770.

⁵⁸ Some discussion on literary sources and iconographic evidence can be found in Arne J. Larsen's *Footwear from the Gullskoen area of Bryggen* (1992). It is also the only exhaustive publication on shoes in Bergen. In Stockholm the shoe finds from Helgeandsholmen are published in Göran Dahlbäck (ed.) *Helgeandsholmen* (1982). Two publications of Ernfrid Jäfvart (1937 and 1938) present the history of shoe making and shoe fashion in general and in the Middle Ages in particular. The recent publication of June Swann (2001) *The history of footwear in Norway, Sweden and Finland* offers a broad synthesis where the part on medieval shoes is substantial.

man. On the average about 4 pairs of shoes were used in a year.⁵⁹ In the price lists from 1282, 1377 and 1384, the prices were different for men's and women's shoes, although archaeological finds do not show any actual difference in the types.⁶⁰ In Stockholm in 1523, a pair of men's shoes should cost 3 öre (9 örtugar), which was the counterpart of 2,5 day of work of a miner.⁶¹ The number of shoes per servant per year seems to be similar in Sweden and Norway: in 1450, Karl Knutsson Bonde decreed that there were to be four pairs,⁶² and the same number occurs in Norwegian sources.⁶³ Apparently, cost and prices were not noticeably different in the two countries. Accordingly, the value of shoes in Bergen and Stockholm was probably similar.

In this article archaeological evidence from Bergen and Stockholm is analysed in regard to changing fashions and possible regional differences. Since Lübeck exerted a far-reaching influence on the shoemakers in Bergen, the finds from Lübeck are included in the analysis to see whether there was a similar impact on the shoes. The influence would be on the local shoe production. It is generally assumed that the excavated shoes from the two towns were made locally. Import of shoes from abroad was uncommon.⁶⁴ As mentioned in the section on sources, the scope of the analysis is limited by several conditions: the survival of adequate shoe material from the relevant period, the relatively low number of excavations conducted in Bergen and Stockholm, the access to the material and the excavation reports as well as the low number of publications on the excavated shoes.⁶⁵ The comparative analysis below includes shoe finds from the Gullskoen excavation site in Bergen (finds from 1248–1476 taken into analysis here), published by Arne J. Larsen, and from the two sites in Stockholm that provide ample material, Helge-

⁵⁹NGL III nr.2, Edvardsen 1975:14–16, Helle 1982:428, Sigurðsson 1993:40.

⁶⁰Larsen 1992:66 and 73, Schia 1977:313.

⁶¹Zerpe and Fredriksson 1981:218, Hansson 1919:35.

⁶²Jäfvvert 1937:55.

⁶³Sigurðsson 1993:31.

⁶⁴Schia 1977:317. There were cases of import of shoes from the countryside to Stockholm, but a ban was put on it in a resolution of 1500, see Jäfvvert 1938:116.

⁶⁵For Bergen, only one major publication is available (Larsen 1992), but since it provides excellent and versatile presentation and analysis of the material and is representative for the material from Bryggen, it is a sufficient basis for this discussion. For Stockholm the Helgeandsholmen publication (1982) gives a part of the necessary data, the rest is taken from drawings from the excavation. Data from other excavations are only available in the form of archaeological reports.

andsholmen (end of the 13th – beginning of the 17th century, majority of the finds from the 14th century) and Tritonia (1350–1380). The finds from Riddarholmen in Stockholm (15th – beginning of the 16th century), Lund (13th and 14th century) as well as from Oslo and Trondheim give supplementary information. The finds from Tritonia and Riddarholmen have only been published in the form of archaeological reports, and my analyses are based on these and on drawings not included in the reports. The same goes for the analysis of toe shapes from Helgeandsholmen, as the publication does not contain enough data. The Scandinavian finds are analysed along with finds from two Lübeck excavations, Königstrasse 69 (13th - beginning of the 14th century) and Schlüsselbuden 16/Fischstrasse 1–3 (01) (15th–16th century). The relevant period is c. 1250–1500 in order to include shoes made in Bergen before the German monopoly was established, but the focus is from c.1330–1500, i.e. according to the existing Stockholm material available for analysis.

In order to broaden the picture, additional data from other excavations in Europe are given as an introduction. The comparative analysis is thus conducted on the following levels: the shoe finds from Bergen and Stockholm compared with the Lübeck finds, the Bergen and Stockholm finds in a Scandinavian context, and finally in a European context. Finds from London, the Netherlands and Schleswig will be included. The analysis will be based on the comparison of two indicators: the incidence of various types of shoe uppers and the shape of the toes. There is no room here to investigate the possible differences within each of the groups of types of shoes, for instance between the laced shoes in Bergen and in Lübeck or the qualitative differences between rounded toes in both places. As stated before, the conclusions can only serve as indications.

TYPES OF SHOE UPPERS

The classification below is based on the classification of Ernfrid Jäfvvert. Jäfvvert (1937 and 1938), a shoemaker and cultural historian, was the first scholar to create a classification for medieval shoe finds in Sweden. The criteria were the form of the closure and the height of the upper. He distinguished between low shoes (several types of thong shoes, lace shoes, strap shoes, socques⁶⁶ and pumps), boots (high strap boots, lace boots, button boots, buckle boots, side lace boots

⁶⁶ Term invented by Jäfvvert for a slipper boot cut down deep below the ankles, Jäfvvert 1937:38 and 58.

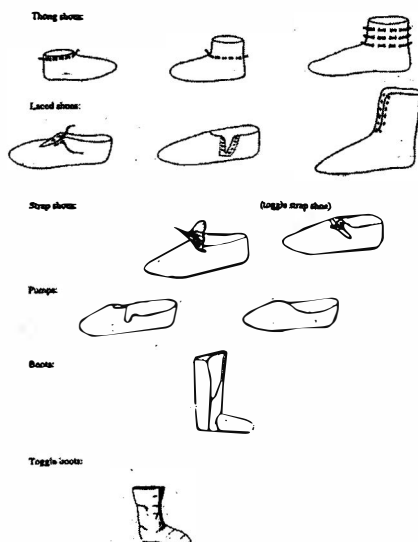


Fig. 1. Types of shoe uppers.

and boots with broad straps over the instep), top boots and pattens.⁶⁷ He also mentions hoses, though they had not been found in Sweden. The importance of Jäfvvert's work has been stressed several times, lately in the publication of June Swann (2001). Most of the Scandinavian archaeologists followed his system.⁶⁸ Below I shall use an adapted classification and English terminology,

⁶⁷ Jäfvvert 1937:33–42, Jäfvvert 1938.

⁶⁸ See the publications of Schia, Marstein, Larsen, Zerpe and Fredriksson. The classification by Zerpe and Fredriksson poses some difficulty, because it is not only based on height or form of closure, but also the shape of the toe is used as criterion (piked shoe, oxmule) and the type of sole (*pliggsko*), see Zerpe and Fredriksson 1982:220.

⁶⁹ The typology of the Lübeck finds is quite different from the Scandinavian one, so a 'translation' proved necessary. It was done on the basis of the drawings and descriptions of the shoes. As neither the Scandinavian terminology is uniform, a simplification has been made to minimize error: I do not differentiate between the various types of laced shoes, strap shoes or thong shoes.

also for the Lübeck finds.⁶⁹ Since the wooden and leather overshoes, i.e. pattens, are rare in the Norwegian and Swedish material, they are not included in the analysis.⁷⁰ The same applies to hoses: no hoses have been excavated in Bergen nor in Stockholm.⁷¹

The diversity of the shoe types in excavations bears witness of chronological changes in shoe fashion, and of regional variations. The Dutch archaeological material from the 14th century comprises low and high ankle shoes in almost equal distribution. Most of them are laced shoes, but strap shoes also occur. In the 15th century, most of the shoe finds are high ankle shoes, in many cases of the toggle type: (strap) shoes with knotted or rolled toggles passed through holes for fastening. Thicker soles seem also to have been more usual than before. The archaeological finds have been compared to the shoe types documented in contemporary painting and sculpture, and there seems to be a high degree of concordance.⁷² The archaeological material from the London excavations shows that the majority of the shoes from the early and mid 14th century were toggle shoes, followed by side-laced shoes. In the late 14th century thong shoes (shoes with a drawstring around the foot) almost disappeared, and the largest groups were latchet (long strap) shoes, with and without buckles, while the laced shoes still occurred frequently. This tendency continued throughout the last period of investigation, i.e. until the late 15th century.⁷³ The Schleswig excavation shows a great number of low shoes from the 13th and 14th century, most of them laced. Boots are also represented, as well as thong shoes and pumps and strap shoes.⁷⁴ In the Scandinavian comparative material the finds from Oslo are the richest group. The major types in

⁷⁰ In Bergen, only three pattens were found, while on Helgeandsholmen there were 38. Swann (2001:78–79) suggests that it means pattens were worn less in Scandinavia than in England. However, it is uncertain how many of those old wooden overshoes ended up in the ovens as fuel.

⁷¹ But there is written evidence that they existed: they are mentioned in the price lists of 1282, in *Erikskrönikan* p.55, Swann (2001:76) mentions also the depiction of a hose in the Codex Aboensis of century 1430–1450 of the law of Magnus Eriksson, and in a drawing of Kristoffer of Bavaria (Swedish king 1441–1448), now in the Cabinet des Estampes, Paris. The hose, a leather sort of stockings with soles, went out of fashion in the 14th century. They were often used together with pattens, see Jäfvvert 1938:32.

⁷² Groenman-van Waateringe and Velt 1975.

⁷³ Grew and de Neergaard 1988.

⁷⁴ Schnack 1992:66–123.

the period 1250–1350 are boots and strap shoes with toggles.⁷⁵ The Trondheim finds from the late Middle Ages are too few to make an analysis of the types.⁷⁶ In Sweden finds from the Uppsala of the 13th–16th century show that toggled strap shoes (*knäppslejfsko* in the Swedish nomenclature), were most common.⁷⁷ The finds from Lund are mostly from the 13th and 14th century, and by far the largest group are thong shoes, but strap and laced shoes also occur.⁷⁸ The Riddarholmen excavation in Stockholm had only one shoe that could be classified on the basis of closure, namely a strap shoe from the end of the 15th or the beginning of the 16th century.⁷⁹

According to Groenman-van Waateringe and Velt (1977), the archaeological and iconographic material from the Netherlands show that in the late Middle Ages there was largely the same development within shoe fashion in Europe, with minor regional differences.⁸⁰ In general terms a development from weak to more sturdy shoes can be noted.⁸¹ Larsen also concludes that there was more uniformity than diversity in Europe at that time.⁸²

Analysis

Throughout the period of investigation the dominant type of shoe in Bergen were strap shoes, the second largest group were laced shoes and in the earliest period thong shoes were of some significance.⁸³ No dramatic changes of proportions of the finds within the period are observed. The results in Stockholm are quite different: in the Stockholm excavations the major groups were thong shoes (Tritonia) and laced shoes (Helgeandsholmen). In Lübeck in the earlier period (Königstrasse 69) the main type were also thong shoes, and in the later (Schüsselbuden 16)

⁷⁵ In Oslo gate 6 in the period 1250–1300 boots constitute 54% and strap shoes 34%, in the period 1300–1350 boots constitute 61%, see Tørhaug 1998:104. The proportions are comparable to those on Mindets tomt, see Schia 1975.

⁷⁶ Marstein 1989.

⁷⁷ Broberg and Hasselmo 1981:103.

⁷⁸ Blomqvist 1938, compare Jäfvart 1959.

⁷⁹ Karlsson 1994.

⁸⁰ Groenman-van Waateringe and Velt 1975:116.

⁸¹ Groenman-van Waateringe 1980b:117.

⁸² Larsen 1992:63.

⁸³ Compare Swann 2001:55.

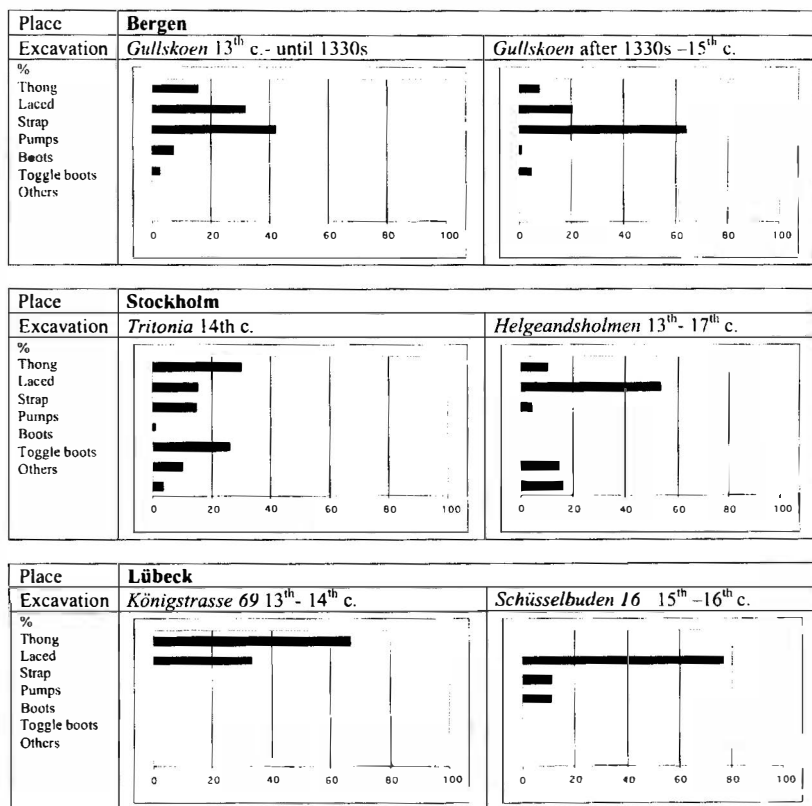


Fig. 2. Types of shoe uppers from the excavations in Bergen, Stockholm and Lübeck.

laced shoes, while there were relatively few strap shoes. There is thus a parallel between the largest groups in Stockholm and Lübeck in both phases, while the proportions were different in Bergen. There is hence a discrepancy between the Bergen and Lübeck finds in the period before the monopoly of the German shoemakers from 1330 onwards. Also later the proportions of the types of shoes differ in the two towns.

In the Scandinavian context, Bergen and Oslo can be compared when it comes to the frequency of strap shoes. However, in Oslo they are only the second largest group after boots. The Stockholm finds show parallels with the Uppsala finds in respect to the prevalence of shoes with toggles. The dominance of thong shoes in Lund can be compared with the situation in Tritonia: there is also a chronological concordance. The Riddarholmen material is too limited to draw any far-fetched conclusions, but it shows that strap shoes did occur in all the investigated Stockholm excavations.

Analyzing the finds from a European perspective, it appears that the Stockholm finds show parallels with the Dutch finds with the large occurrence of laced shoes in the 14th century, while in Bergen at the same time this shoe type was significantly less frequent than the strap shoes. However, in the 15th century the proportion of this group increased compared with the strap shoes. The London finds show some similarities with both Bergen and Stockholm. As in Bergen the largest group consists of strap shoes. Because of the difference of classification, it is difficult to say how many of the Bergen strap shoes were of the same type as the London toggle shoes. In the London boot group also toggle boots are included, a group that occurs in Stockholm, but not in Bergen. Thus there is a parallel with Stockholm. The shoes found in the German-Danish border region of Schleswig show similarities with the Helgeandsholmen finds with laced shoes as the most numerous. The earliest shoes from Bergen investigated here are more frequently laced shoes than in the following period, even though it still remains the second largest group.

Summing up, the proportions of the shoe types in the finds from Bergen are quite stable, and there are no distinct parallels to Lübeck shoe types. The Stockholm finds show changes, and more parallels can be drawn to the Lübeck and European material in general.

TOE SHAPES

Toe shapes in medieval shoes are another marker of changing fashions and regional differences. Goubitz mentions piked, pointed, rounded, narrow-rounded, round, broad-rounded, blunt, square, angular and horned toes in his material from the excavations from Dordrecht.⁸⁴ The piked shoes with very long pointed toes, also

⁸⁴ Goubitz 2001:73.

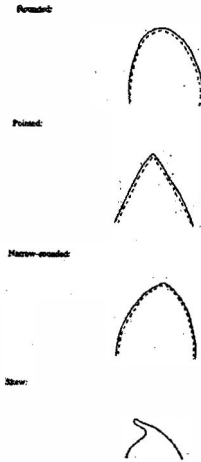


Fig.3. Toe shapes.

called *poulaines*, were shoes of the higher social classes. The points could be as long as 10 cm, and were often stuffed with hair or dry moss in order to keep their shape.⁸⁵ The fashion came probably from Poland in the end of the 14th century and had its heyday at the very end of the Middle Ages. The *poulaines* were a very popular iconographic motif, but they are far less often represented in archaeological finds. No *poulaines* have been found in Bergen,⁸⁶ and only one on Helgeandsholmen.⁸⁷ In the analysis below I distinguish between rounded, pointed, skew and narrow-rounded toes. The period analysed here is the period 1330–1500 as the comparative material on toe shapes is more limited than for shoe types.

At that time, there were some regional variations in Europe. For Dordrecht, Goubitz distinguished between pointed and skew toes as well as piked toes, and at the very

⁸⁵ Grew and de Neergaard 1988:29. In the Bally shoe museum in Switzerland there is a *poulaine* of 15 cm, pointing at 45° (dated 1450), see Swann 2001:68.

⁸⁶ Larsen 1992.

⁸⁷ Zerpe and Fredriksson 1982, Swann 2001:68.

end of the period rounded and blunt toes.⁸⁸ The archaeological and art historical investigation of Dutch shoes shows that though no *poulaines* were excavated, they do occur frequently in the 15th century iconography. In general, pointed shoes were frequent in the 14th century, while in the 15th century they became more rounded. A regional difference in the art historical material indicates that in the northern part of the country, rounded toes were more frequent, but it was also connected to social differences.⁸⁹ The London excavations show different tendencies: in the middle of the 14th century oval and broad round toes returned into fashion, but from the late 14th century pointed shoes took over again and remained popular until the end of the Middle Ages. The toe shapes range from short points, found on shoes that were probably used for work, to richly decorated long piked shoes.⁹⁰ The excavations in Schleswig cover a period mostly prior to the one investigated here, but in the 13th–14th century pointed shoes are dominant.⁹¹

In the Scandinavian comparative material, Oslo again provides the best information. The majority of the identifiable toe parts on whole soles from the period 1250–1350 are type VII, which here are called narrow-rounded.⁹² Unfortunately, the Lund publication does not provide systematic information on the shape of the soles and the toe parts. Neither could the Riddarholmen material be used for comparison, as the report does not contain all the drawings from the excavation.⁹³ In the material from the excavation in Trondheim there are few finds from the late Middle Ages, but two new aspects can be noted: the soles turned thicker, and in the very last period square toes occur.⁹⁴

⁸⁸ Goubitz 2001:82, Figure 1.

⁸⁹ Groenman-van Waateringe and 1975:104–116.

⁹⁰ Grew and de Neergaard 1988:21–46, compare Swann 2001:70.

⁹¹ Schnack 1992:39 (Figure 11, soles 8–10) and 42.

⁹² Tørhaug 1998:107–108, Schia 1975:118–126.

⁹³ The drawings made directly during the excavation did not cover all the material, and the photos from the conservation of the shoes were not available in the Riksantikvarieämbetet.

⁹⁴ Marstein 1989:60. Swann 2001:73 interprets the low numbers as a sign of the decline of the town, but in my opinion the scope of the excavation should be taken into account.

Analysis

As there is relatively little material from Lübeck with identified toe shapes and the publications do not provide any analysis of them, the result of my study of this material has not been included in the table and the following must be treated as tentative. In the Königstrasse 59 excavation in Lübeck, covering the period from the 13th and beginning of the 14th century, the vast majority of the identifiable toe shapes are pointed.⁹⁵ The results from the excavation in later layers (15th and 16th centuries) Schlüsselbuden 16/Fischstrasse 1–3 (01), are less distinct. Both a rounded and a pointed sole were found, next to a small *poulaine* and three shoes with nearly square toes. One of them is a so-called *Horns Schuh* or oxmule shoe, where the point is T-shaped.⁹⁶

The analysis of the toe shapes from the Helgeandsholmen excavation has been made on the basis of 107 drawings from the excavation, not from the *Helgeandsholmen* publication.⁹⁷

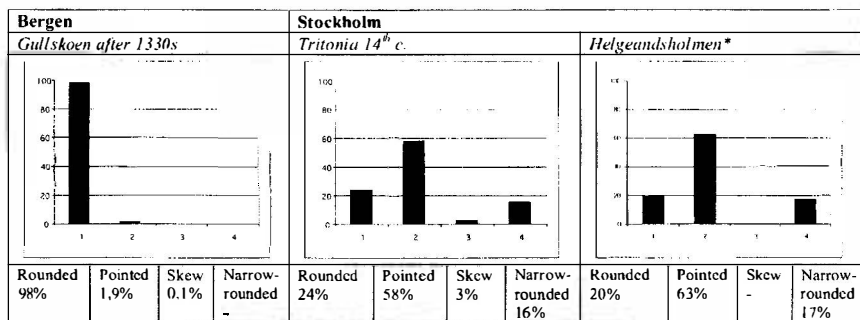


Fig. 4. Types of toe shapes in the excavations of Bergen and Stockholm.

* Here only total numbers could be analyzed, as the drawings did not include information on which finds were from the beginning or end of the 14th century. See the difference discussed in the analysis.

⁹⁵ Groenman-van Waateringe and Guiran 1978:166–171.

⁹⁶ Groenman-van Waateringe and Krauwer 1987:81–83.

⁹⁷ Riksantikvarieämbetet och statens historiska museer, Dokumentationsbyrån, Helgeandsholmenundersökningen Riksgatan, Fur 1377–2227 Ritningar av läderföremål i skala 1:1 (J II c:1). Not all finds have been drawn. The *Helgeandsholmen* publication does not contain an analysis of toe shapes.

The rounded toe is the definitely dominant type in the Bergen finds for the period 1332-1476, and according to Larsen it is the case for all periods and all shoe types.⁹⁸ In the Stockholm material, on the other hand, the pointed toe constitutes the majority both in the Tritonia and the Helgeandsholmen finds. The parallel between the two sites is distinct in the layers of the early 14th century. In the later part, the rounded toe became dominant in the Helgeandsholmen finds.⁹⁹ There is thus a distinct difference between the Bergen and the Stockholm finds at the beginning of the 14th century, but a much smaller one at the end of century. The Stockholm finds show parallels with finds from the early Lübeck excavations (Königstrasse 59) in the dominance of pointed toes, while the Bergen finds from the same period show the opposite tendency. The later Lübeck material indicates that both types occurred, and the same can be noted for the Bergen finds.

The archeological material on pointed shoes in Stockholm can only be analyzed for the 14th century, but a written source bears witness that in the later period differences occurred between German and Swedish fashion. Swan brings up a written source where a German writer mentions on the occasion of the siege of Älvsborg in 1502 that Swedes still wear pointed shoes, while the German have broad shoes.¹⁰⁰ Thus at various periods, there were parallels and dissimilarities for both the Bergen and Stockholm toe shapes in the Lübeck context.

In the Scandinavian context, the finds from Oslo are richest in the narrow-rounded category, one that also occurs in Stockholm. However, the visual documentation is lacking in part, and different use of their nomenclature may mislead the results.

Both the Bergen and the Stockholm finds fit by and large into the general European picture, which was quite diverse in the analyzed period. The Stockholm finds show parallels with the Dutch finds, as the pointed toe was dominant in both areas in the 14th century. In the 15th century the rounded toe seems to dominate both in the Dutch and in the Bergen finds, and probably became more common in the Stockholm material. The tendency to rounded toes from century the middle of the 14th century, as proved in the London finds, agrees with the change in the Helgeandsholmen finds and the Bergen finds at that time. However, in London, fashion changed again in the late 14th century to pointed toes, which remained

⁹⁸ Larsen 1992:40.

⁹⁹ Zerpe and Fredriksson 1982:221, Swann 2000:68.

¹⁰⁰ Swann 2001:71. No specific references to the source are given.

dominant throughout the 15th century, whereas in Bergen no similar change can be noted. The written source on Swedish toe shapes in 1502 indicates that the fashion probably changed again there from rounded to pointed toes. Thus in the European context, it seems that in Stockholm chronological variations took place as they did in the rest of Europe (even if they did not always concur), while in Bergen no significant changes in the toe fashion can be registered.

As was the case with the types of the uppers, the types of the shoe toes in Bergen change less over time than the ones in Stockholm. Again, no clear parallel between Bergen and Lübeck can be found, and the Stockholm material fits into the general European picture.

Shoes and shoemakers: changes of shoe fashion

Shoes and shoemakers are often treated as separate subjects in archaeological and historical writings, and analyses of the one usually provide only background information on the other.

In this article research questions on discrepancies and possible influences have been posed to both the subject of shoes and the subject of shoemakers, and the results of the analyses should be seen in relation to each other.

A priori, it would seem likely that the ethnic background as well as the inner and outer way of organization of the shoemakers in Bergen created a basis for a continuous influence of Lübeck upon the craft, and thus possibly the shoes. The steady rotation of shoemakers in Bergen should provide for steady shoe fashion impulses from Lübeck. On the other hand, due to the exclusive monopoly position of the German shoemakers, Norwegian impulses into shoe production in Bergen are very small. The shoes in the Bergen were made by Germans. In Stockholm, on the other hand, Germans worked alongside Swedes and usually settled permanently there, thus there was no similar rotation as in Bergen. There were thus fewer direct and recurrent impulses to Stockholm from Germany, and they were not as exclusive. Some of the European developments within shoemaking, like specialization, do seem to have appeared in Sweden, but not in Bergen in the late Middle Ages.

However, the analyses of the shoe finds disprove the hypotheses on Bergen. There are no distinct and continuous parallels between the Lübeck and Bergen finds, neither in the shoe uppers types nor in the toe shapes. The establishment of the German shoemakers' monopoly in Bergen did not entail vital changes in the fashion. On the whole, both the shoe types and toe shapes in the shoes on the

Bergen market did not undergo any vital changes in the period analyzed here. Through all periods, strap shoes and rounded toes dominated. The analyses result in more questions and hypotheses than answers. Why was there such discrepancy? Did it mean that the market was quite conservative, and the foreign shoemakers adapted to the local demand, even though they exercised a monopoly? This could indicate that the German shoemakers were customer-oriented, since the majority of the customers were Norwegians, and could bear witness of some of the mechanisms of success of Hanseatic trade and craft. Economic expansion, efficient network and ways of organization played a vital role, but also flexibility on the local market was important in order to gain the most advantageous position. But this is a hypothesis that should be tested on other areas of Hanseatic trade and craft. Also other factors could have made the Bergen shoe market conservative, for instance the political, economic and social situation. Possibly the fact that there were no masters in the shoemakers' craft guild in Bergen could have played a role, and so could the lack of varied European and local impulses.

The Stockholm shoe finds seem to correspond more with the presumptions made on the basis of the shoemakers analysis. The structure of the craft guild in Stockholm was more open for various impulses, and the finds show parallels with the finds from other excavations in Europe. First of all, there were fluctuations in fashion both in respect to shoe uppers and toe shapes, and the changes of fashion were similar to those in London, the Netherlands or Lübeck. Possible Lübeck influence thus fits into a more general European context.

Consequently, it seems that the Lübeck council and craft guild could exert influence on the shoemakers in Bergen, yet the influence is not observable on the shoe finds. In Stockholm, there was no direct influence from Lübeck on the shoemakers, and the potential influence on shoes must be seen as one of the many European impulses. However, it must be stressed again that an analysis of excavated shoes can only provide limited clues on the whole shoe production in the Middle Ages. When the number of available data, i.e. shoes from new excavations increases and an analysis with a larger scope than the one made here can be conducted, it will be possible to give a more detailed picture of shoe production and shoe fashion in Norway and Sweden in relation to the makers of the shoes.

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Sammendrag:

Sko og skomakere i Bergen og Stockholm i senmiddelalderen

Artikkelen diskuterer forskjellene mellom skomakerne i Bergen og Stockholm, og mellom skofunn fra de to byene. Spørsmål rundt forholdet mellom disse forskjellene, eventuell påvirkning og moteforandring, blir drøftet.

Mens skomakerne i Stockholm var en heterogen gruppe hvor både svenske, tyske og finske skomakere arbeidet sammen, var skomakerlauget i Bergen i senmiddelalderen en lukket og homogen gruppe. Den bestod av tyske håndverkere som kom til byen for en begrenset periode. Skoproduksjonen ble nesten helt dominert av tyskerne fra de fikk monopolstilling i 1330, og de indre reglene hemmet både profesjonell og sosial kontakt med nordmenn. Politisk sett befant skomakerne seg mellom kongen og det hanseatiske Kontoret, som ble etablert i 1360-åra, og dragkampen fortsatte i nesten to hundre år. Byrådet i Lübeck utøvde i visse perioder et betydelig press på skomakerne i Bergen gjennom Kontoret. I Stockholm, derimot, var skomakerne underordnet det lokale byrådet og det fantes ikke liknende spill mellom to makter. Det fantes også forskjeller i organisasjonsformen: mens lauget i Stockholm fulgte det generelle europeiske mønsteret, var skomakerne i Bergen organisert i et svennelaug, dvs. det fantes ingen skomakermestere. Det kunne gjøre dem mer avhengig av lauget i hjembyen, og kunne ha hatt følger for arbeidsmåten. Men den eneste markante forskjellen i arbeidsmetoder som er belagt i kildene er at i Stockholm ble en spesiell type garving utført av garvere, mens skomakerne i Bergen utførte all garving selv.

Den komparative skoanalysen ble foretatt på grunnlag av to utvalgte typologiske elementer, nemlig typer av overlær og tåformer. Siden Lübeck som makt-sentrum kunne påvirke skomakerne, blir funn fra denne nordtyske byen dratt inn i diskusjonen for å se om det fantes liknende påvirkning på selve skoene. Analysen

viser at det ikke finnes noen nære paralleller mellom materialet i Bergen og i Lübeck, og analogier mellom det stockholmske og lybske materialet kan ses i en europeisk sammenheng. Materialet fra Bergen viser ingen oppsiktsvekkende moteendringer i den analyserte perioden, så innføringen av det tyske monopolet blir ikke gjenspeilet i funnene. Det var flere motesvingninger i det stockholmske materialet, og de følger stort sett den europeiske utviklingen.

Dermed ser det ut til at til tross for stadige impulser fra Lübeck som kom gjennom den etniske bakgrunnen til skomakerne, deres sirkulasjon og påvirkningen gjennom laugstrukturen, kan ikke en liknende lybsk innflytelse finnes i skomaterialet. Årsakene til denne forskjellen kan diskuteres: det kan vitne om et konservativt 'skomarked' i Bergen og tyskernes tilpasning til situasjonen, den

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