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WORKING PAPERS DATINI-ESTER ADVANCED SEMINAR

THE MARKERT AND IST AGENTS – Prato, 2-7 maggio 2014

Market conditions of wholesale and retail trade in Lübeck at the end of the 15th and the beginning of the 16th century – The ‘Krämer’ Hinrik Dunkelgud and his account book (1479-1517)

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Abstract

The Hanseatic exchange of goods between Eastern and Western Europe did not only depend on wholesale and long-distance merchants. Moreover, retailers took part in this international trade, too. An excellent example for this fact is the ‘Krämer’ Hinrik Dunkelgud, a trader operating from Lübeck. His account book describes parts of his trade in the years from 1474 till 1508 to Tallinn, Gdansk, Stockholm, Bergen and Bruges. Moreover, he was engaged in retail and ran three stalls on the market square in Lübeck from 1480 till 1512.

The term ‘Krämer’ describes a special kind of retailer and shopkeeper who often was limited in his trade to the urban area and sold imported goods of different kind in small quantities. His trade offers a good possibility to examine the market conditions in Lübeck because Hinrik Dunkelgud received the citizenship first in 1479. As a newcomer on the market in Lübeck he had to establish his different kinds of trade as a merchant and as a ‘Krämer’ (i. e. a retailer). Based on this example, we can take a look at the market conditions in Lübeck. ‘Market’ in this paper contains all kind of places and circumstances in Lübeck where the commercial exchange between merchants, local retailers, ‘guests’ and consumers was controlled by the urban legislation as well as by regulations and restrictions of guilds. ‘Market conditions’ shall mean all those conditions which arose from commercial exchange on the ‘market’ in Lübeck. This contribution analyses the access opportunities and possibilities of the newcomer Hinrik Dunkelgud as an example of market conditions and structures from a ‘Krämer’s’ and merchant’s point of view in Lübeck around 1500.

At least since the year 1474 Hinrik Dunkelgud came as a guest to the market in Lübeck. At first, he was only involved in wholesale trade with some long-standing trading partners as well as a few customers in or near Lübeck. In this time there were already some relations with the ‘Krämer’ Hans Meyer and his daughter Kunneke. Dunkelgud used the relationship with his peers and his contacts in Lübeck to expand his family ties. After he had won the citizenry he profited from the relationship with his father-in-law Hans Meyer because he got the access to the ‘Krämerkompanie’ very quickly. Besides Dunkelgud’s retail trade he also kept long-standing trading partners up to the year 1508. We do not know exactly how long he was involved in retail trade in Lübeck but it seems that Dunkelgud finished his career after he had transferred his stalls to his son-in-law in the year 1512. In his at least 38 years in business the ‘Krämer’ Hinrik Dunkelgud used, like other wholesale merchants, his money, relationships with his old and new trading partners and his family ties to be successful in retail as well as in wholesale trade in Lübeck.

Keywords:

retail trade - wholesale trade - Hanseatic League - Lübeck - account book

The historiography of the Hanseatic League often seems to consist only of the wholesale merchants like the famous Hildebrand Veckinchusen. Certainly, the exchange of goods between Eastern and Western Europe depended on these merchants. However, this is not the complete picture because retailers took part in this international trade, too. An excellent example for this fact is the ‘Krämer’ Hinrik Dunkelgud, a trader operating from Lübeck. His account book, also known as ‘Memorial’, describes parts of his trade in the years from 1474 till 1508 to Tallinn, Gdansk, Stockholm, Bergen and Bruges. Moreover, he was engaged in retail and run three stalls on the market square in Lübeck from 1480 till 1512.

The term ‘Krämer’ describes a special kind of retailer and shopkeeper who often was limited in his trade to the urban area and sold imported goods of different kind in small quantities. Hinrik Dunkelgud was also and probably even more involved in the local trade with end-consumers.¹ His trade offers a good possibility to examine the market conditions in Lübeck because Hinrik Dunkelgud received the citizenship first in 1479. As a newcomer on the market in Lübeck he had to establish his different kinds of trade as a merchant and ‘Krämer’. In this paper a ‘Krämer’ means a person who is called *kremer* in the sources or is listed as a member of the retailers’ guild, the ‘Krämerkompanie’ of Lübeck.² Hinrik Dunkelgud can be assigned to both statements. By the use of his account book we can run micro-history and trace his way from a newcomer to a wealthy man in Lübeck.

The ‘Memorial’ is one of at least five account books which Hinrik Dunkelgud used between 1479 and 1517.³ But only the ‘Memorial’ has been preserved. It contains accounts of various kinds and different versions of Dunkelgud’s last will. The accounts of his trade and the information about the expenses for his household in Lübeck take up about hundred pages

¹ E. KÖHLER, *Einzelhandel im Mittelalter. Beiträge zur betriebs- und sozialwirtschaftlichen Struktur der mittelalterlichen Krämerei*, Stuttgart/Berlin 1938 (Vierteljahrschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte, Beihefte, 36), p. 22.

² J. HENNINGS, *Die Mitglieder der Lübecker Krämerkompanie von 1382 bis zum 23. April 1673* in “Zeitschrift für Niedersächsische Familienkunde”, 20, 1938, pp. 79-91, 188-198.

³ This handwritten source is kept in the STADTBIBLIOTHEK LÜBECK, MS Lub. 2° 732 (Memorialbuch des Lübecker Krämers Hinrich Dunkelgud), in the following called as ‘Memorial’.

of the source which is not entirely published up to now. The only paper partially dealing with the economic aspects of this book was already published in the 19th century by Wilhelm Mantels.⁴ The present contribution is a part of my doctoral thesis about the ‘Krämer’ and merchant Hinrik Dunkelgud and his way of live at the turn from the 15th to the 16th century in Lübeck, which will examine the ‘Memorial’ in the context of other sources, presenting also its full text. The work is still in progress.

There are only a few works about the medieval retail trade of ‘Krämer’. The most extensive treatise on the retail trade in medieval Central Europe is Erich Köhler’s “Einzelhandel im Mittelalter”.⁵ For the North of Germany, there are some studies with the focus on single towns like Hamburg, Kiel, Lüneburg and Hildesheim.⁶ In the context of Lübeck, Johannes Warncke dealt with the ‘Krämer’ in two publications dating from the first

⁴ W. MANTELS, *Aus dem Memorial oder Geheim-Buche des Lübecker Krämers Hinrich Dunkelgud*, Lübeck 1866 [newly published in idem, *Beiträge zur Lübisches-Hansischen Geschichte. Ausgewählte historische Arbeiten*, Jena 1881, pp. 341-369].

⁵ KÖHLER, *Einzelhandel*. For Italy there are studies of the local merchants of Prato in the 14th and the beginning of the 15th century, R. K. MARSHALL, *The Local Merchants of Prato. Small Entrepreneurs in the Late Medieval Economy*, Baltimore/London 1999, and another work by Evelyn Welch, who describes shopping and the consumer cultures for the time from 1400 to 1600, E. WELCH, *Shopping in the Renaissance. Consumer cultures in Italy 1400-1600*, New Haven/London 2005. Peter Stabel works about the retail in the Low Countries: P. STABEL, *Women at the Market. Gender and Retail in the Towns of Late Medieval Flanders in Secretum Scriptorum. Liber alumnorum Walter Prevenier*, M. BOONE, W. BLOCKMANS, T. DE HEMPTINNE eds., Leuven-Apeldoorn 1999, pp. 259-276; P. STABEL, *Markets and Retail in the Cities of the Late Medieval Low Countries. Economic Networks and Socio-cultural Display in Fiere e mercati nella integrazione delle economie europee secc. XIII-XVIII: Atti della “Trentaduesima Settimana di Studi” 8-12 maggio 2000 sotto l’Alto Patronato del Parlamento Europea con il patrocinio del prof. Renato Prodi, Presidente della Commissione Europea*, ed. S. Cavaciocchi, Firenze, 2001, pp. 797-817. Furthermore, a volume of essays on different countries and cities with some contributions concerning the late Middle Ages. *Buyers & Sellers: Retail circuits and practices in medieval and early modern Europe*, B. BLONDÉ, P. STABEL, M. BOONE eds., Marc u.a., Turnhout 2006 (Studies in European Urban History, 9). Regarding the territory of present-day Poland, there is a short study by Andrej Klonder about the retail in some small towns in this area from the 16th to the 18th centuries. A. KLONDER, *Krämer und Kramwaren in Kleinstädten Polens vom 16. bis zum 18. Jahrhundert* in “Vana Tallinn” , 16, 2005, pp. 228-40. Furthermore, Grzegorz Myśliwski presented a first overview of the retail trade in Wrocław (in German Breslau) from the first half of the 13th to the 15th centuries at the 46th Datini congress ‘Il commercio al minuto. Domanda e offerta tra economia formale e informale secc. XI-XVIII: Retail trade. Supply and demand in the formal and informal economy from the 13th to the 18th centuries’, which was held from 4 May until 7 May 2014 in Prato, Italy and included a broad spectrum of subjects relating to the main theme retail and retailers.

⁶ U. THEUERKAUF, *Die Wirtschafts- und Sozialstruktur einer mittelständischen Berufsgruppe. Dargestellt am Beispiel der Kramer im spätmittelalterlichen Hamburg*, Diss. phil. Hamburg 1972; M. UNTERHORST, *Geschichte und Bedeutung der Kieler Kramerkompanie*, Diss. phil. Kiel 1913; H.-S. PARK, *Krämer- und Hökergerossenschaften im Mittelalter. Handelsbedingungen und Lebensformen in Lüneburg, Goslar und Hildesheim*, Bielefeld 2005 (Göttinger Forschungen zur Landesgeschichte, 8).

half of the 20th century.⁷ Recently, there are two papers which examine the members of the ‘Krämerkompanie’ and their trade.⁸

Regarding the wholesale merchants of Lübeck, there are numerous publications which cannot be all mentioned here. Some new studies deal with a special group of merchants, for example the ‘Bergenfahrer’ (i. e. a kind of community whose members traveled frequently from Lübeck to the emporium Bergen in Norway)⁹ or concentrate on a special period.¹⁰ Others focus on the relationships between merchants and on their networks.¹¹

Hinrik Dunkelgud took part in different kinds of trade. In this contribution I will use him as an example for a ‘Krämer’ who was able to combine successfully retail, wholesale and long-distance trade. Based on this example, we can take a look at the market conditions in Lübeck.

“Market in the Middle Ages means both a legal institution and a phenomenon of economic life as well as the concrete square where the market takes place.”¹² The aim of this paper is not to examine the different market squares and places in Lübeck where the commercial exchange took place, for example the central market square and other markets like the cattle or horse market, the harbors, the basements of merchants’ houses or the shops

⁷ J. WARNCKE, *Die Krämerkompanie zu Lübeck* in “Lübeckische Blätter” 66, 1924, pp. 1019–1021 and J. WARNCKE, *Das Haus der ehemaligen Krämer-Kompanie in Lübeck* in “Nordelbingen” 16, 1940, pp. 198–253.

⁸ S. STOCKHUSEN, *Die Einwanderer Hermen und Thewes Trechouw. Zwei Mitglieder der Lübecker Krämerkompanie am Ende des 15. Jahrhunderts* in „Es geht um die Menschen“. *Beiträge zur Wirtschafts- und Sozialgeschichte des Mittelalters für Gerhard Fouquet zum 60. Geburtstag*, H. von SEGGERN, G. ZEILINGER eds., Frankfurt am Main etc. 2012, pp. 189-203; S. STOCKHUSEN, *Die Fernhandelsgeschäfte der Mitglieder der Lübecker Krämerkompanie am Beispiel der Lübecker Pfundzollbücher aus den Jahren 1492 bis 1496 in Hansegeschichte als Regionalgeschichte. Beiträge einer internationalen und interdisziplinären Winterschule in Greifswald vom 20. bis 24. Februar 2012*, ed. O. AUGÉ, Frankfurt a. M. u.a. 2013 (Kieler Werkstücke, Reihe A: Beiträge zur schleswig-holsteinischen und skandinavischen Geschichte, 37), pp. 349-371.

⁹ M. BURKHARDT, *Der hansische Bergenhandel im Spätmittelalter. Handel, Kaufleute, Netzwerke*, Köln/Weimar/Wien 2009 (Quellen und Darstellungen zur hansischen Geschichte, N.F., 60). *Das Hansische Kontor zu Bergen und die Lübecker Bergenfahrer – International Workshop Lübeck 2003*, ed. A. GRASSMANN, Lübeck 2005 (Veröffentlichungen zur Geschichte der Hansestadt Lübeck, Reihe B, 41).

¹⁰ C. JAHNKE, *The city of Lübeck and the internationality of early Hanseatic trade* in *The Hanse in medieval and early modern Europe*, ed. J. WUBS-MROZEWICZ, Leiden u.a. 2013, pp. 37-58.

¹¹ H. von SEGGERN, *Die führenden Kaufleute in Lübeck gegen Ende des 15. Jahrhunderts* in *Netzwerke im europäischen Handel des Mittelalters*, G. FOUQUET, H.-J. GILOMEN eds., Ostfildern 2010 (Vorträge und Forschungen, 72), pp. 283-316.

¹² “Markt bedeutet im Mittelalter sowohl eine rechtliche Institution und eine Erscheinung des Wirtschaftslebens als auch konkret den Platz, auf dem der Markt stattfindet.” E. ENNEN, art. “Markt und Stadt” in “Handwörterbuch zur deutschen Rechtsgeschichte”, vol. 3, Berlin 1984, col. 330-337, here col. 330.

and stalls of the retailers.¹³ ‘Market’ in this paper contains all kind of places and circumstances in Lübeck where the commercial exchange between merchants, retailers and consumers was influenced and controlled by the urban legislation as well as by regulations and restrictions of guilds. The merchants had to observe the market rights and there were also a lot of bylaws concerning directly the retail trade. For the 14th and 15th centuries these restrictions are conserved in four ‘Kaufmannsordnungen’ (i. e. regulations for merchants).¹⁴ Furthermore, the ‘Krämer’ were organized in the already mentioned commercial guild called ‘Krämerkompanie’. For many years Hinrik Dunkelgud was one of the chairmen of this guild. As one of the urban craft guilds, the ‘Krämerkompanie’ had its own regulations, which were confirmed by the city council. There were regulations of the 14th and 15th centuries, which were still used in Hinrik Dunkelgud’s time.¹⁵ This guild competed with the members of the other urban craft guilds which sold similar goods. Further competitors were the wholesale merchants, who imported goods in higher quantities, and also the ‘guests’, that means the foreign tradesmen. For the 15th century there were some conflicts between ‘Krämer’, merchants and guests documented by the sources.¹⁶ ‘Market conditions’ shall mean all those conditions and circumstances which arose from commercial exchange on the ‘market’ in Lübeck.

This contribution will analyse the access opportunities and possibilities of the newcomer Hinrik Dunkelgud as an example of market conditions and structures from a ‘Krämer’s’ and merchant’s point of view in Lübeck around 1500. At the same time Dunkelgud’s commercial transactions will be compared with the urban bylaws and it’s compliance in trade.

¹³ See also E. HOFFMANN, *Lübeck im Hoch- und Spätmittelalter: Die große Zeit Lübecks in Lübeckische Geschichte*, ed. A. GRASSMANN, fourth, improved and enlarged edition Lübeck 2008, pp. 81-339, here pp. 323-328.

¹⁴ The oldest regulation from around 1350 is printed in *Urkundenbuch der Stadt Lübeck*, ed. Verein für Lübeckische Geschichte und Altertumskunde. Lübeck 1843-1905 (Lübeckisches Urkundenbuch, Abteilung 1), vol. 2, no. 1001. Here after referred as LUB. Jenks notes a second regulation, which was passed in the year 1472. S. JENKS, *Zum hansischen Gästerecht* in “Hansische Geschichtsblätter”, 114, 1996, pp. 3-60, here p. 48. It is printed in *Hansisches Urkundenbuch*, ed. Verein für Hansische Geschichte, vol. 10, Leipzig 1907, no. 76, p. 49. Hereafter referred as HUB. Some passages of this order are probably from a decree of the Hanseatic League from 1470. *Hanserecesse*, ed. Verein für Hansische Geschichte, vol. 2,6, Leipzig 1890, no. 356. Here after referred as HR. The third from the year 1484 is preserved fragmentary and is printed in L. von WINTERFELD, *Versuch über die Entstehung des Marktes und den Ursprung der Ratsverfassung in Lübeck* in “Zeitschrift des Vereins für Lübeckische Geschichte und Altertumskunde”, 25, 1929, pp. 365-488, here p. 475, note 411. The fourth regulation from the year 1485 is published in E. BAASCH, *Die Lübecker Schonenfahrer*, Halle an der Saale 1922 (Hansische Geschichtsquellen, N.F., 4), here annex no. 2, pp. 342-344.

¹⁵ *Die älteren Lübeckischen Zunftrollen*, ed. C. F. WEHRMANN, Lübeck 1864, pp. 270-276, 281-290 and LUB, vol. 3, no 187, 770; vol. 11 no 572.

¹⁶ For example WEHRMANN, *Die älteren Lübeckischen Zunftrollen*, pp. 285-290.

At first, we take a look at Hinrik Dunkelgud's different kinds of trade, which goods he sold and in which quantities and qualities, as well, in which way he traded with his partners and sold to the end-consumers. In the second and third step we will analyse the accessibility to wholesale and retail trade. Also included are the conflicts between the different merchants on the market in Lübeck. In some examples, we will also examine whether Dunkelgud and the other merchants were following the urban bylaws.

Hinrik Dunkelgud's different kinds of trade

Philippe Dollinger already wrote that the historians should differentiate between the various groups of merchants. There are differences in wealth, in the kinds of trade and the social positions.¹⁷ Franz Irsigler distinguishes three kinds of trade, especially based on the distance of trading rooms, the trading volumes, the different ranges of goods and the sale to other merchants, to regional wholesales traders or directly to the end-consumers: Firstly, there are long-distance merchants, who bought and sold goods in higher quantities and different qualities from bulk to luxury goods. Secondly, there are merchants like long-distance and wholesale traders, different kinds of grocers and artisans who sold their goods themselves on fairs and markets as well as merchants and 'Krämer', hucksters and peddlers, who all were engaged in the regional trade with a limited range of goods, selling directly to the end-consumers. Thirdly, Irsigler takes all groups of retailers like the 'Krämer' or the artisans who did not travel and sold their goods directly to the end-consumers in their home towns or in the urban surroundings. The retailers, especially the 'Krämer' sold commodities in small quantities at low prices, called 'Pfennigwerte' (i.e. a value of a few pennies).¹⁸ Dollinger's attributes and Irsigler's three levels indicate a characteristics of the different groups of merchants, retailers and other traders. But there were fluent transitions between these groups.¹⁹ In this paper I will take the distance of trading rooms, the trading volumes, the qualities of goods and the sale to the end-consumer as an indicator of the kind of trading operations.

For the second half of the 15th century, there were the following groups of merchants on the markets in Lübeck: There were wholesale traders who had the citizenship in Lübeck and

¹⁷ Dollinger refers explicitly to the merchants of the Hanseatic League ('Hansekaufmann'), but that applies the merchants, retailers and other traders in Lübeck, too. P. DOLLINGER, *Die Hanse*, fifth, expanded edition Stuttgart 1998 (Kröners Taschenausgabe, 371), p. 209.

¹⁸ F. IRSIGLER, *Kaufmannstypen im Mittelalter in Stadt im Wandel. Kunst und Kultur des Bürgertums in Norddeutschland 1150-1650*, vol. III, ed. C. MECKSEPER, Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt 1985, pp. 385-397, here pp. 388, 390, 391-394.

¹⁹ IRSIGLER, *Kaufmannstypen*, p. 388.

got their goods from trading partners over the Baltic Sea.²⁰ Many were members of the communities of merchants called ‘Fahrerkompanien’, which traveled frequently from Lübeck to the trading places Bergen, London, Stockholm, Schonen, Riga and Novgorod²¹ to import goods in Lübeck. Moreover, there were the merchants like Matthias Mulich, who got his goods from Southern Germany and distributed them via Lübeck in the North and East.²² In the guild regulations and in connection with the inter-guild conflicts before the city council you find different kinds of artisans and retailers like the ‘Krämer’, too.²³ The last group were the foreign wholesale tradesmen, who came for example from Nuremberg, Venice, Cologne, Erfurt and Schmalkalden and belonged to the group of ‘guests’ in Lübeck.²⁴

For the first time we hear of Hinrik Dunkelgud’s trade activities in the year 1474.²⁵ At that time he was probably already a ‘guest’ and lived at least temporarily as a tenant in Lübeck.²⁶ For the time between 1474 and 1478, there are 23 entries in his ‘Memorial’. These entries were taken from Hinrik’s other books or notes. He copied them in his ‘Memorial’ in the year 1479.²⁷ Based on just one of Dunkelgud’s at least six account books, we can describe only a part of his trade up to the year 1508. However, in the light of these entries, we see that Hinrik Dunkelgud participated at the beginning of the 1480’s in the exchange of high qualitative cloths from England and Bruges,²⁸ regarding for example one *brun engelske laken*

²⁰ BAASCH, *Lübecker Schonenfahrer*, p. 343 no. 10. See also *Die Lübecker Pfundzollbücher 1492-1496*, ed. H.-J. VOGTHERR, Köln/Weimar/Wien 1996 (Quellen und Darstellungen zur hansischen Geschichte, N.F., 41, 1-4) and SEGGERN, *Die führenden Kaufleute*, pp. 283-316.

²¹ HOFFMANN, *Lübeck*, p. 188.

²² G. MEYER, art “*Mulich, Matthias: geb. Nürnberg, gest. 2. 12. 1528 Lübeck; Kaufmann*” in *Neue Lübecker Lebensläufe*, ed. A. BRUNS, Neumünster 2009, pp. 457-461, here p. 457. See also F. RÖRIG, *Das Einkaufsbüchlein der Nürnberg-Lübecker Mulich’s auf der Frankfurter Fastenmesse des Jahres 1495*, Breslau 1931 (Veröffentlichungen der Schleswig-Holsteinischen Universitäts-gesellschaft, 36 = Schriften der Baltischen Kommission zu Kiel, 20) [newly published in idem, *Die Wirtschaftskräfte im Mittelalter. Abhandlungen zur Stadt- und Hansegeschichte* ed. P. KAEGEBEIN, second edition, Köln 1971, pp. 288-350].

²³ WEHRMANN, *Die älteren Lübeckischen Zunftrollen* and W. EBEL, *Lübecker Ratsurteile*, 4 volumes, Göttingen 1955-1967.

²⁴ W. EBEL, *Lübecker Ratsurteile, vol. 4: Ergänzungen und Nachträge 1297-1550*, Göttingen u.a. 1967, p. 72, no. 92. See also HOFFMANN, *Lübeck*, pp. 211-213.

²⁵ Memorial, fol. 4r, 5r-v, 6v.

²⁶ In 1474 Hinrik Dunkelgud had already trade connections to his future father-in-law. At the latest since the year 1479 he lived for rent because in this year he called Clawes van Calven his host. Memorial, fol. 4r, 8v.

²⁷ Memorial, fol. 3v-6v, 15r, 46v.

²⁸ Memorial, fol. 4r-v, 6r. S. ABRAHAM-THISSE *Der Tuchhandel der Hanse am Ende des Mittelalters (14.-15. Jahrhundert)* in *Vergleichende Ansätze in der hansischen Geschichtsforschung* ed. R. HAMMEL-KIESOW, Trier 2002 (Hansische Studien, 13), pp. 183-207. R. HOLBACH, *Zur Handelsbedeutung von Wolltuchen aus dem Hanseraum in Der hansische Sonderweg? Beiträge zur Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte der Hanse*, S. JENKS, M. NORTH eds., Köln/Weimar/Wien 1993 (Quellen und Darstellungen zur hansischen Geschichte, N.F., 39), pp. 135-190. For the trade with english cloths see especially S. JENKS, *England, die Hanse und Preußen. Handel und Diplomatie*

(i.e. one English sheet).²⁹ Furthermore, he combined wholesale trade with cheaper goods. In the year 1477 he sold and sent twelve dozen bonnets to Hans Mouwer junior. In the year 1474 he sold two bonnets to a person in Travemünde near Lübeck, that means directly to an end-consumer.³⁰ In the years from 1474 to 1508 Hinrik Dunkelgud sold cloths from England, Flanders, Holland (Leiden) as well as from German towns like Hagen, Stendal and Erfurt. Furthermore, he sold bonnets, furs, iron, wax, salt, hop, caraway and sugar.³¹

After 1479 Hinrik Dunkelgud became a citizen of Lübeck and joined the 'Krämerkompanie'.³² In the year 1480 he got his first stall from his father-in-law Hans Meyer. In the same year and in the year 1489 he bought two more stalls on the market square and united them to one house.³³ Heung-Sik Park writes that the sources often do not permit to make a distinction between 'Krämer' who were engaged directly in retail and merchants who were only the owners of stalls or shops.³⁴ But in the case of Hinrik Dunkelgud, he was called *kremer* in the sources, was owner of three stalls and a member of the 'Krämerkompanie'. So he was a 'Krämer'.

Considering that we only know one of probably six account books and that cash deals were often not listed in merchants' bookkeeping,³⁵ it is not possible to make definite statements on Dunkelgud's trade in his stalls itself. However, after becoming member of the 'Krämerkompanie', he was allowed to sell imported goods in small quantities in cubits or pounds by *pennyngwerden*.³⁶ The regulations of the 'Krämerkompanie' mention a few goods

1377–1474, vol. 1: *Handel*, Köln/Wien 1992 (Quellen und Darstellungen zur hansischen Geschichte, N.F., 38).

²⁹ Memorial, fol. 4r.

³⁰ Memorial, fol. 5r

³¹ Memorial, fol. 2v, 3v-6v, 8r, 9r, 15r. For the goods in the trade in the Baltic Sea area see also F. IRSIGLER, *Der hansische Handel im Spätmittelalter in Die Hanse. Lebenswirklichkeit und Mythos. Eine Ausstellung des Museums für Hamburgische Geschichte in Verbindung mit der Vereins- und Westbank*, vol. 1, ed. J. BRACKER, Hamburg 1989, pp. 518-532, here pp. 520-525. DOLLINGER, *Hanse*, pp. 278-340.

³² Memorial, fol. 1r. ARCHIV DER HANSESTADT LÜBECK (AHL), Kaufmännische Archive: Krämerkompanie no. 1: Älterleute Denkel-(Memorial)buch 1372-1585. This file is briefly cited below as Denkelbuch. Denkelbuch, Dunkelgud's admission, fol. 61v; HENNINGS, *Mitglieder*, p. 85.

³³ Memorial, fol. 25v. AHL, SCHRÖDER, Grundstücke in Lübeck bis 1600. Aus den Inscriptionen der Oberen Stadtbücher nach den jetzigen Hausnummern geordnet. Abteilung Marien-Quartier, HS 900c, p. 345.

³⁴ PARK, *Krämer- und Hökergerossenschaften*, p.12.

³⁵ In this statement Hammel-Kiesow refers only on the bookkeeping of Hanseatic wholesalers. R. HAMMEL-KIESOW, *Schriftlichkeit und Handelsgesellschaften niederdeutsch-hansischer und oberdeutscher Kaufleute im späten 13. und im 14. Jahrhundert in Von Nowgorod bis London. Studien zu Handel, Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft im mittelalterlichen Europa. Festschrift für Stuart Jenks zum 60. Geburtstag*, M.-L. HECKMANN, J. RÖHRKASTEN eds., Göttingen 2008 (Nova Mediaevalia. Quellen und Studien zum europäischen Mittelalter, 4), pp. 213-241, here p. 230.

³⁶ These conditions were noted in the oldest regulations of the 'Krämerkompanie' in Lübeck from the year 1353. WEHRMANN, *Die ältesten Lübeckischen Zunftrollen*, p. 274.

which were sold by merchants, guests and foreign ‘Krämer’. The same goods but only in smaller quantities were sold by the ‘Krämer’ of Lübeck, too. These goods can be divided in three groups. The first group consisted of spices like almonds, raisins, figs and caraways. A second were cloths and cloth like *scheter* (i.e. a kind of linen), *syndale* (i.e. a kind of taffeta), *sardoke* (i.e. a combination of wool and linen), bonnets and trousers. The third group were metal goods from Southern Germany, especially from Nuremberg like sheets of gold and silver, knives and daggers.³⁷ It is very likely that Dunkelgud sold such goods in his stall.

In the years 1482 and 1483 Hinrik Dunkelgud initiated two trading companies with his former apprentices Peter Kegeben and Hans Borne. These trading companies play a special part in the ‘Memorial’. In the first year only Hinrik Dunkelgud and Peter Kegeben were trading partners and Kegeben traveled with goods of *eventüre* on both sides (i.e. they had a trading company sharing gains and losses) to Stockholm.³⁸ Hans Borne began his trade with a travel to Tallinn in the year 1483.³⁹ In 1484 Dunkelgud, Kegeben and Borne had a trading company together and Peter Kegeben traveled to Tallinn, too.⁴⁰ Peter Kegeben and Hans Borne finished their partnership with Hinrik Dunkelgud in 1486.⁴¹ From 1491 to 1504 Hinrik Dunkelgud and Peter Kegeben were again trading partners. They exchanged goods between Lübeck and Gdansk, where Kegeben lived at that time.⁴² In connection with Dunkelgud’s trade with Kegeben and Borne, we can only see which products he got from his partners and which he sent to them. That concerned wholesale trade in quantities like ton, quintal or several dozen but we do not know who were the end-consumers. Hinrik Dunkelgud took part in the typical exchange of goods over the Baltic Sea.⁴³ He sent hats of different kinds, leather pouches, apples, walnuts and salt to the East. Furthermore, he sent Southern goods like figs, almonds, raisins, sugar, alum and oil from Lisbon, which came via Bruges or Southern Germany to the East, too.⁴⁴ At least he exported cheap bulk goods of metal from Nuremberg like scissors, buttons, brass buttons and small bells.⁴⁵ Dunkelgud got often rye, flax and millet, lambskin and calfskin from Hans Borne and Peter Kegeben.⁴⁶ His wholesale trade to

³⁷ IBID, pp. 270-275. KÖHLER, *Einzelhandel*, p. 23.

³⁸ Memorial, fol. 14r, 210v.

³⁹ Memorial, fol. 210v, 209v.

⁴⁰ Memorial, fol. 208v.

⁴¹ Memorial, fol. 211v.

⁴² Memorial, fol. 201v, 194r.

⁴³ IRSIGLER, *Der Hansische Handel*, p. 520.

⁴⁴ DOLLINGER, *Hanse*, pp. 292, 300, 301.

⁴⁵ Memorial, fol. 209v; 208v; 207v, 210v; 207v, 209v; 200v; 201v, 206v; 200v, 201v; 201v, 208v; 206v; 201v; 206v; 204v, 207v; 205v; 207v; 205v.

⁴⁶ Memorial, fol. 196r, 197r, 198r, 199r, 200r; 203v, 208r; 195r, 196r, 197r, 198r; 208r.

the East included similar goods which ‘Krämer’ sold in their stalls in Lübeck. So Dunkelgud was also able to deliver to his own shops.

All the time from 1474 to 1508 Hinrik Dunkelgud’s account book shows that he was involved in wholesale trade as well as retail trade. The differentiation between merchants and ‘Krämer’ is difficult and not always possible⁴⁷ because the ‘Krämer’ sold similar goods and were engaged in long-distance trade, as well.⁴⁸ For Lübeck there is a customs register called ‘Pfundzollbuch’ for the years 1492 to 1496.⁴⁹ It includes a few of Dunkelgud’s deals with Peter Kegeben and other merchants who are not mentioned in his ‘Memorial’. In this customs register 40 members of the ‘Krämerkompanie’ in Lübeck were recorded who were engaged in long-distance trade across the Baltic Sea. In comparison with the other members, Dunkelgud is in the 16th place with the freight value of 340 ‘Mark lübisch’ based on the goods which he sent and got in those years over the Baltic Sea.⁵⁰ In connection with that custom register, Walter Stark examined the exchange of goods in the years 1492 and 1493 between Lübeck and Prussia, especially Gdansk, in the second half of the 15th century.⁵¹ He called merchants like Hinrik Dunkelgud and his son-in-law Claus Lange (708 Mark lübisch) with freight values less than 1.000 ‘Mark lübisch’ as medium size merchants or retailers.⁵² In contrast, bigger wholesales merchants reached four or five times as large sums in these two years.⁵³

Access to the wholesale trade in Lübeck

For nearly 30 years the ‘Krämer’ Hinrik Dunkelgud was able to combine successfully retail, wholesale and long-distance trade. How did he reach and manage that? Erich Köhler writes that the sale of goods in small quantities at ‘Pfennigwerte’ (i.e. at low prices) was a priority of

⁴⁷ IRSIGLER, *Kaufmannstypen*, p. 393 and A. CORDES, art. “Kaufmann, Kaufleute” in *Handwörterbuch zur deutschen Rechtsgeschichte*, vol. 2, second, fully revised and expanded edition, Berlin 2012, col. 1683-1690, here col. 1684.

⁴⁸ For example the brothers Heinrich and Peter Lerer in the second half of the 15th century, who traveled from Munich to Venice. But it is not clear whether they bought goods only for themselves or for the whole guild of the ‘Krämer’ in Munich. See also *Das Lererbuch. Ein Münchner Kaufmannsbuch des 15. Jahrhunderts*, ed. I. SCHWAB, München 2005, pp. 13-16. See also KÖHLER, *Einzelhandel*, pp. 87-90.

⁴⁹ See also *Die Lübecker Pfundzollbücher* and F. BRUNS, *Die Lübeckischen Pfundzollbücher von 1492-1496. Teil 1* in “Hansische Geschichtsblätter”, 11, 1904/05, pp. 107-131; *Teil 2* in “*ibid*”, 13, 1907, pp. 457-499; *Teil 3* in “*ibid*”, 14, 1908, pp. 357-407.

⁵⁰ STOCKHUSEN, *Fernhandelsgeschäfte*, p. 368.

⁵¹ W. STARK, *Lübeck und Danzig in der zweiten Hälfte des 15. Jahrhunderts. Untersuchungen zum Verhältnis der wendischen und preußischen Hansestädte in der Zeit des Niedergangs der Hanse*, Weimar 1973 (Abhandlungen zur Handels- und Sozialgeschichte, 11).

⁵² STOCKHUSEN, *Fernhandelsgeschäfte*, p. 367. STARK, *Lübeck*, p. 259.

⁵³ *Ibid*, pp. 219-259.

the ‘Krämer’ whereas the wholesale trade was open for everyone.⁵⁴ This statement will also be surveyed in this essay with the help of Dunkelgud’s ‘Memorial’.

In this paper the accessibility to wholesale and long-distance trade should be examined together because the conditions were the same. In many cases the merchants combined both kinds of trade. They imported or exported high quantities of goods and sold them in similar quantities to other wholesale merchants or retailers.⁵⁵ Wholesale and long-distance trade in Lübeck was very often connected with trade over the Baltic Sea and also with the Hanseatic trade.⁵⁶ The merchants being successful in long-distance and wholesale trade in the 15th century over the Baltic Sea had the same basic features. Often the fathers or other relatives were merchants, too. During the childhood the boys went to school. Often they went to a secular school at the age of six and learnt to read, write and calculate, in the secular schools in Lübeck they got the first basic skills in trade, too.⁵⁷ At the age of twelve they often started their traineeship⁵⁸ with their fathers, business partners, relatives or in a few cases with other foreign traders outside the circle of their families and friends.⁵⁹ After the end of traineeship the young merchants worked as ‘Gesellen’ (i.e. a kind of assistants) with their former masters or often abroad in order to learn other languages and to get new business contacts.⁶⁰ After that

⁵⁴ “Der Vertrieb der Krämerwaren im Kleinhandel war ein Vorrecht, während der Großhandel jedem freistand”. The retailer’s priority resulted from the membership within an urban guild. KÖHLER, *Einzelhandel*, p. 21. See also H. KELLENBENZ, art. “Krämer” in *Handwörterbuch zur deutschen Rechtsgeschichte*, vol. 2, Berlin 1978, col. 1171-1176, here col. 1172.

⁵⁵ See for a few examples of Hanseatic merchants DOLLINGER, *Hanse*, pp. 222-236.

⁵⁶ The merchants of the Hanseatic League (called ‘Hansekaufleute’) were allowed to use “collective privileges” in the Hanseatic settlements abroad, the four largest were in London, Novgorod, Bruges and Bergen and were called ‘Kontore’. J. Wubs-MROZEWICZ, *The Hanse in Medieval and Early Modern Europa: An Introduction in The Hanse in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, idem, S. JENKS eds., Leiden/Boston 2013 (The Northern World. North Europe and the Baltic c. 400-1700 A.D. People, Economies and Cultures, 60), pp. 1-35, here pp. 6, 11.

⁵⁷ T. AFFLERBACH, *Der berufliche Alltag eines spätmittelalterlichen Hansekaufmanns. Betrachtungen zur Abwicklung von Handelsgeschäften*, Berlin u.a. 1993 (Kieler Werkstücke, Reihe A: Beiträge zur Schleswig- Holsteinischen und skandinavischen Geschichte, 7), pp. 69-70. H.-P. BRUCHHÄUSER, *Die Berufsbildung deutscher Kaufleute im Mittelalter und in der frühen Neuzeit*, Köln/Weimar/Wien 1992 (Quellen und Dokumente zur Geschichte der Berufsbildung in Deutschland, Reihe C, 4), p. LVI.

⁵⁸ AFFLERBACH, *Alltag*, pp. 69-71.

⁵⁹ The merchant Johann Sloesgin in Köln educated his daughter and sons in his family-run business after school. AFFLERBACH, *Alltag*, p. 71 and W. HERBORN, *Bürgerliches Selbstverständnis im spätmittelalterlichen Köln. Bemerkungen zu zwei Hausbüchern aus der ersten Hälfte des 15. Jahrhunderts* in *Die Stadt in der europäischen Geschichte. Festschrift Edith Ennen*, W. BESCH, K. FEHN, D. HÖROLDT u.a. eds., Bonn 1972, pp. 490-520, here p. 508. See two other examples for the traineeship and the establishing of first business contacts of the merchants Bernd Pal and Hans Selhorst at the end of 15th century. C. JAHNKE, *Geld, Geschäfte, Informationen. Der Aufbau hansischer Handelsgesellschaften und ihre Verdienstmöglichkeiten*, Lübeck 2007 (Handel, Geld und Politik vom frühen Mittelalter bis heute. Publikationen der Vortragsreihe zur Ausstellung: Pfeffer & Tuch für Mark Dukaten. Waren und Geld des Hansekaufmanns im Spiegel des großen Lübecker Münzschatzes im Burgkloster zu Lübeck), pp. 4-11.

⁶⁰ AFFLERBACH, *Alltag*, p. 71. See also DOLLINGER, *Hanse*, p. 236.

time⁶¹ and with the beginning of the self-employment the young merchants often married a woman of another merchant's family because they tried to expand their family ties. At the beginning of trading on their own expense they profited in many cases from the help or the money of their old or new family or from the support from their former masters.⁶² Based on this education, the merchants could obtain the following combination of features for a successful trade: They needed a "network of peers" ideally in the whole Baltic Sea area. This network included family ties and contacts with other trading partners in different towns. Most important in the Hanseatic trade between different merchants was the "mutual trust" giving them the opportunity of establishing new trading companies. So it was very important that the merchants had a good reputation, called 'gelouwe' in sources, and kept it.⁶³ All these were only individual features. There was no kind of written access restriction to become a long-distance or wholesale merchant in Lübeck.

But the town regulations differentiated between merchants who were citizens in Lübeck and foreign merchants who stayed in Lübeck for trade and were called 'guests'. The latter had own rights and duties in a lot of towns in the Middle Ages. Often the foreign merchants were limited in their trade by the urban bylaws concerning the market or the guilds.⁶⁴ In Lübeck a guest had to live with a host. Due to the fact that there were not so many hostels, the guest often lived with a citizen, sometimes a member of the city council. Hosts were also persons who accommodated guests on special conditions in their houses or cellars. The city law prohibited actually a longer stay than three months. After this time guests had to win the citizenship or to leave the town.⁶⁵ Some regulations from the year 1472 prohibited the merchants outside the Hanseatic League (*buten der Henze*) to stay longer than three months in

⁶¹ The period of training is rarely preserved. For the early 15th century we hear in one case of an apprenticeship of five years. AFFLERBACH, *Alltag*, p. 71.

⁶² IBID, p. 73. A. CORDES, *Wie verdiente der Kaufmann sein Geld? Hansische Handelsgesellschaften im Spätmittelalter*, Lübeck 2000 (Handel, Geld und Politik vom frühen Mittelalter bis heute. Publikationen der Vortragsreihe zur Ausstellung: Pfeffer & Tuch für Mark Dukaten. Waren und Geld des Hansekaufmanns im Spiegel des großen Lübecker Münzschatzes im Burgkloster zu Lübeck), p 10.

⁶³ WUBS-MROZEWICZ, *Introduction*, p. 10. See also S. SELZER, U. EWERT, *Netzwerke im europäischen Handel des Mittelalters. Konzepte – Anwendungen – Fragestellungen in Netzwerke im europäischen Handel des Mittelalters* G. FOUQUET, H.-J. GILOMEN eds., Ostfildern 2010 (Vorträge und Forschungen, 72), pp. 21-47, here pp. 36-41 S. SELZER, U. C. EWERT, *Verhandeln und Verkaufen, Vernetzen und Vertrauen. Über die Netzwerkstruktur des hansischen Handels* in "Hansische Geschichtsblätter", 119, 2001, pp. 135-162, here pp. 144-154.

⁶⁴ K. HÄRTER, art. "Fremde, Fremdenrecht" in *Handwörterbuch zur deutschen Rechtsgeschichte*, vol. 1, second, fully revised and expanded edition, Berlin 2012, col. 1791-1798, here col. 1791-1793.

⁶⁵ J. HARTWIG, *Der Lübecker Schoss bis zur Reformationszeit*, Leipzig 1903, (Staats- und socialwissenschaftliche Forschungen, 21, 6), p. 30. See also W. EBEL, *Lübisches Recht*, Lübeck 1971, vol. 1, p. 272. See also § 187 "van der borgherschap" in *Norddeutsche Stadtrechte*, vol. 2: *Das Mittelniederdeutsche Stadtrecht von Lübeck nach seinen Ältesten Formen*, ed. G. KORLÉN, Lund 1951, p. 138. Diss. phil. Hamburg 1972

one Hanseatic town. Especially in the time from November 10th to February 22nd they were prohibited to stay in Lübeck and to get through the winter with their goods.⁶⁶ But the guests register shows that many persons stayed a few years without having the citizenship. Another regulation laid down that after three months guests had to pay taxes like a citizen.⁶⁷ All this shows that the normative rules have not been respected in Lübeck.⁶⁸ Furthermore, the guests were divided into those who had the citizenship of other Hanseatic towns and in those who came from outside the Hanseatic League. These merchants were called ‘Butenhansen’. The *coplude de in de Henzestede to hús behören* were privileged compared to the ‘Butenhansen’.⁶⁹ However, the cities tried to protect their own citizens who were merchants and preferred them instead of other Hanseatic merchants.⁷⁰ During the 14th and 15th centuries some cities in Southern Germany, especially Nuremberg won privileges for their merchants and their trade in Lübeck, too.⁷¹ In Lübeck there were two members of the city council called ‘Wetteherren’ who controlled and managed the trade. They collected all the urban bylaws of trade like the ‘Kaufmannsordnungen’ and the guild regulations in special books called ‘Wettebücher’. They decided law cases independently and collected the penalty fees for violations of the town regulations, too.⁷² The work of these men was facilitated because the regulations forbade the guests and even the citizens to sell their goods outside the city walls. The sale was limited to the host, to the house or cellar rented from the citizen and to the market square.⁷³

From the year 1474 to the beginning of the year 1479 Hinrik Dunkelgud was also a guest in Lübeck, and late in the year 1479 he lived with his host Clawes van Calven. We do not

⁶⁶ HUB, vol. 10, no. 76, p. 51, § 10. See also the ‘Rezess’ from 6 January 1472 in HR, vol. 2,6, no. 356, p. 328, § 22.

⁶⁷ HARTWIG, *Lübecker Schoss*, p. 30.

⁶⁸ In general, regarding the discrepancy between written law and reality of life in the Middle Ages, see also G. JARITZ, *Norm und Praxis im Alltag und Sachkultur des Spätmittelalters: “Widerspruch” und “Entsprechung”* in *Norm und Praxis im Alltag des Mittelalters und der Frühen Neuzeit*. Internationales Round-Table-Gespräch. Krems an der Donau, 7. Oktober 1996 (Forschungen des Institus für Realienkunde des Mittelalters und der Frühen Neuzeit. Diskussionen und Materialien, 2), Wien 1997, pp. 7-19.

⁶⁹ HUB, vol. 10, no. 76, p. 49. HOFFMANN, *Lübeck*, p. 232.

⁷⁰ S. JENKS, *Zum hansischen Gästerecht* in “Hansische Geschichtsblätter”, 114, 1996, pp. 3-60, here pp. 45-52.

⁷¹ HOFFMANN, *Lübeck*, p. 211. See also C. NORDMANN, *Nürnberger Großhändler im spätmittelalterlichen Lübeck*, Nürnberg 1933 (Nürnberger Beiträge zu den Wirtschafts- und Sozialwissenschaften, 37/38), pp. 109-127.

⁷² G. FINK, *Die Wette und die Entwicklung der Polizei in Lübeck* in “Zeitschrift des Vereins für Lübeckische Geschichte und Altertumskunde”, 27, 1934, pp. 209-237, here pp. 210, 213, 215, 218-224. See also C. W. PAULI, *Über die ursprüngliche Bedeutung der ehemaligen Wette* in “Zeitschrift des Vereins für Lübeckische Geschichte und Altertumskunde”, 1, 1860, pp. 197-218.

⁷³ HUB, vol. 10, no. 76, p. 52, here § 18. See also the ‘Rezess’ from 6 January 1472, in HR, vol. 2,6, no. 356 § 24, p. 328. Also WINTERFELD *Gründung*, p. 403.

know where he was born and where he had come from. Due to the fact that his family lived near Lübeck, it is likely that Dunkelgud came from the surrounding area.⁷⁴ If this was true, he would have been a 'Butenhansen' in Lübeck. As so often, we also do not know anything about his childhood and apprenticeship. However, in the year 1474 Dunkelgud was already a successful wholesale merchant and had trading partners as well as customers as his 'Memorial' shows. In the year 1474 two of these customers were his future father-in-law Hans Meyer and his future wife Kunneke. In the years before 1479 his trading partners were already Hans Mouwer junior and Hans Sledorn, for example.⁷⁵ It is very likely that Dunkelgud had got some education before this time because he was able to write, to calculate, to keep his accounts, and he also had enough money for wholesale trade. Finally, he already enjoyed the trust of his peers and had formed some social contacts in Lübeck. So it was possible for him to act as a foreign wholesale merchant on the market in Lübeck. But as a guest he was limited in some points.

There are only a few entries in Dunkelgud's 'Memorial' from the years before 1479, and they show only a small part of Dunkelgud's trade.⁷⁶ Most of these 21 entries demonstrate only Dunkelgud's sale of Western goods (cloths from Flanders, Holland and England, spices, weapons) and Eastern goods (wax, metal, hops).⁷⁷ In five cases we can also see the goods which were sent by Dunkelgud's trading partners to him.⁷⁸ Two cases are interesting. On August 24th in 1478 Hinrik Dunkelgud noted the receipt of seven *tymmer werkes* (i.e. 280 pieces of fur) for 4 Mark 6 Schilling from his trading partner Frederik Schroder. *Ummetrent* (i.e. approximately) on 24th August in 1478 he noted the sale of those goods to the citizen Tymeke Suselman.⁷⁹ So Dunkelgud got goods in bulk from his trading partner and sold them in the same quantity to a Lübeck citizen. In the second case in the year 1478 there was a sale of one pound wax to the citizen Marqwart Mus.⁸⁰ Here we can see that Dunkelgud were sold small quantity in retail directly to end-consumers in Lübeck. So it is likely that Dunkelgud got his goods only by wholesales from his other trading partners and did not need to buy similar

⁷⁴ MANTELS, *Memorial*, p. 349.

⁷⁵ In 1474 Dunkelgud's two customers were his future father-in-law Hans Meyer and his future wife Kunneke. In the years before 1479 his trading partners were very likely already Hans Mouwer junior and Hans Sledorn, for example. Memorial, fol. 3v-4r, 5r.

⁷⁶ Dunkelgud began his Memorial in the year 1479 and copied some entries from his older books in the new one because the buyer had not paid yet.

⁷⁷ Memorial, fol. 6r, 3v; 4r; 4r-v, 8r; 4r, 5r; 6r; 6r, 15r; 3v; 6v, 8r.

⁷⁸ Memorial, fol. 3v-4v. In another case in that year it is not yet clear whether the buyer Hans Davit is a merchant or only an end-consumer. Memorial, fol. 6r.

⁷⁹ Memorial, fol. 3v, 6v. One *tymmer* was 40 pieces non-treated furs. H. JESKE, *Der Fachwortschatz des Hansekaufmanns Hildebrand Veckinchusen*, Bielefeld 2005 (Westfälische Beiträge zur niederdeutschen Philologie, 11), p. 71.

⁸⁰ Memorial, fol. 4r, 6r.

goods directly in Lübeck. That was an advantage because guests were prohibited to trade with other guests, and if guests bought goods in Lübeck, they were not allowed to sell them there.⁸¹ Because of his own imports over the Baltic Sea Dunkelgud was able to avoid these two regulations. He did not buy his goods directly in Lübeck, so he was allowed to sell them there.

But who were his customers? In only five cases documented in his account book Dunkelgud sent goods to trading partners.⁸² The other 16 cases show that he often sold directly to buyers in or near Lübeck. In two cases Dunkelgud got one horse and two pigs as payment. Probably, he got these animals in or near Lübeck.⁸³ In six cases Dunkelgud not only noted the customer's name, but also a place near Lübeck, for example Travemünde or Neustadt, or we know the person in question as a citizen in Lübeck like his future father-in-law Hans Meyer or Tymeke Suselman.⁸⁴ In the remaining eight cases we only know the customer's name.⁸⁵ We can see that Dunkelgud sold his goods likely to citizens or inhabitants in or near Lübeck corresponding to the decrees of the city council.

It is also known that Dunkelgud participated as a guest in wholesale and in retail trade. For the protection of the own retailers and artisans, retail trade was limited by the city council for the guests as well as for the citizens in Lübeck. Besides regulations for the selling times and points of sale, wholesale traders were especially ordered to sell goods only in wholesale.⁸⁶ That means that they were prohibited to sell goods in small quantities like in pounds or cubits directly to the end-consumers because this should remain a privilege of the retailers and artisans.⁸⁷ In one other case in 1474 we can see that Hinrik Dunkelgud met the town regulations when he sold his future father-in-law Hans Meyer 125 pounds caraway.⁸⁸ One pound (called 'Pfund' or 'Markpfund') was around 484,7 gram in Lübeck.⁸⁹ The 'Krämer' Hans Meyer was allowed to retail this caraway in which quantity he would like in one of his two stalls at the market.⁹⁰ Guests like Hinrik Dunkelgud had to sell most of the

⁸¹ *Nen gast mach mit gaste copslagen*. Hanseatic merchants were excluded from this regulation. They had to offer their goods to the citizen or inhabitants in Lübeck for eight days and after that they were allowed to sell them to other guests. HUB, vol. 10. no. 76, p. 49. *Welk gast hir goet koft, de ne scal dat sulve goet hir nicht weder vorkopen*. WEHRMANN, *Die ältesten Lübeckischen Zunftrollen*, p. 271.

⁸² Memorial, fol. 3v-5r.

⁸³ Memorial, fol. 8r, 15r.

⁸⁴ Memorial, fol. 4r, 5r, 6r-v, 15r, 46v.

⁸⁵ Memorial, fol. 5v-6v.

⁸⁶ WEHRMANN, *Die ältesten Lübeckischen Zunftrollen*, pp. 270-275.

⁸⁷ KÖHLER, *Einzelhandel*, p. 21.

⁸⁸ Memorial, fol. 4r.

⁸⁹ T. WOLF, *Tragfähigkeiten, Ladungen und Maße im Schiffsverkehr der Hanse vornehmlich im Spiegel Revaler Quellen*, Köln/Wien 1989 (Quellen und Darstellungen zur Hansischen Geschichte, N.F., 31), p. 39.

⁹⁰ The 'Krämer' had two stalls on the market square: MANTELS, *Memorial*, pp. 349, 350, 360, 361. He was also a member and one of the chairmen of the 'Lübecker Krämerkompanie'. In its member list he

spices in the quantity of two 'Liespfund'.⁹¹ One 'Liespfund' was around 6,785 kilogram.⁹² A merchant and citizen of Lübeck was allowed to sell most of the spices in the quantity of one 'Liespfund'.⁹³ It is very unlikely that an end-consumer was interested in 13 kilogram spices.

In only a few cases the town regulations differentiated the guests also in local and foreign 'Krämer' (*vromede kremere* or *kremer, de gheste sin*).⁹⁴ The foreign 'Krämer' had to sell, for example, two sorts of caraway (*peperkome* and *gardkome*) and almonds, rice, figs and anise only in the quantity of one 'Markpfund' or more and *alle andere[n] krude* (i.e. the other spices) only in a quantity of four *loden* or more. One 'Lot' was around 14 to 15 gram.⁹⁵ That means they were privileged in comparison with the other guests and the Lübeck merchants. Another example illustrates this considerably. Rice had to be sold by the guests and the Lübeck merchants in a quantity of 25 pounds and by the foreign 'Krämer' in a quantity of one pound and more.⁹⁶ But it is not clear who were called *vromede kremer*. Like the other guests they were allowed to offer their goods only three days in a row per year in front of the churches and at the market. After this time they had to leave the town with their leftover goods. The regulations for these foreign 'Krämer' noted as their goods only spices like almonds, rice, figs, two sorts of caraway and anise and some kinds of other spices (*alle andere krude*).⁹⁷ Probably these foreign 'Krämer' belonged to guilds of other towns and therefore they were allowed to sell smaller quantities as the wholesale merchants.

But back to Hinrik Dunkelgud. In his trade with cloths there are three cases of violations of the town regulations because Dunkelgud retailed the cloths in cubits and sold them to citizens or inhabitants in or near Lübeck, Hans Meyer, Marqward Müs and Hans Davite.⁹⁸ In these cases Hinrik Dunkelgud even violated several regulations. Firstly, the guild regulation of the 'Krämer' from the year 1353 prohibited the guests to cut and sell only three kinds of

is called Hans Meyger (1449). HENNINGS, *Mitglieder*, p. 190. AHL, *Denkelbuch*, fol. 1v, 31v, 34v-36r, 40r, 42r, 49v-51r, 52v, 54v, 55v.

⁹¹ WEHRMANN, *Die ältesten Lübeckischen Zunftrollen*, p. 270.

⁹² WOLF, *Tragfähigkeiten*, p. 40

⁹³ WEHRMANN, *Die ältesten Lübeckischen Zunftrollen*, pp. 270, 272.

⁹⁴ *IBID.*, pp. 270, 274, 276.

⁹⁵ WEHRMANN, *Die ältesten Lübeckischen Zunftrollen*, p. 274. In Köln holds a 'Lot' 14,377 gram in the early 15th century. Values between the 17th and 18th century varied also between 14 to 15 gram. The relation was one pound to 32 'Lot'. H. WITTHÖFT, *Umriss einer historischen Metrologie zum Nutzen der wirtschafts- und sozialgeschichtlichen Forschung. Maß und Gewicht in Stadt und Land Lüneburg, im Hanseraum und im Kurfürstentum/Königreich Hannover vom 13. bis zum 19. Jahrhundert*, vol. 1-2, Göttingen 1979, vol. 1, pp. 72, 514. When we take the same relation for one pound in Lübeck with around 484,7 gram (see this paper p. 14) one 'Lot' in Lübeck was also around 15,147 gram. For Lüneburg Witthöft calculates for one 'Lot' 15,187 gram. WITTHÖFT, *Umriss*, vol. 1, p. 486.

⁹⁶ WEHRMAN, *Die ältesten Lübeckischen Zunftrollen*, pp. 271, 273-274.

⁹⁷ For the foreign 'Krämer' see WEHRMANN, *Die ältesten Lübeckischen Zunftrollen*, pp. 270, 271, 274.

⁹⁸ Memorial, fol. 4r, 6r.

cloths called *yresche lakene*, *sardoke* and *syden wand* in cubits. The citizens were also prohibited to cut *yresche lakene* and *sardoke*.⁹⁹ Secondly, the regulations of the guild of the *wantsnyder* from the year 1410 limited the guests to sale of at most two cloths.¹⁰⁰ Thirdly, by one town regulation for the citizens (merchants) in Lübeck and the guests from the year 1472 the guests were even prohibited to sell single cloths at all. The cloths should be sold by intact or half *terlingen* or *packen*, in the same unit they were brought into town.¹⁰¹ The packing unit *terlingen* was smaller than *packen*, but the exact number of cloths per unit varied.¹⁰² A ‘Terling’ held around 30 cloths.¹⁰³ These three different regulations show a more strict approach of the urban retailers and artisans toward the foreign wholesale merchants from the beginning to the end of the 15th century. Nevertheless, Hinrik Dunkelgud offended against them several times. We do not know, however, whether he was caught and had to pay the penalties.

Access to the retail trade in Lübeck

As a guest Hinrik Dunkelgud could establish and expand his family ties in Lübeck. In 1479 he won the citizenship in Lübeck, married a daughter of the ‘Krämer’ Hans Meyer and joined the ‘Krämerkompanie’.¹⁰⁴ As a citizen in Lübeck Dunkelgud had a better position as a foreign wholesale merchant like in the years before because now he was allowed to sell also to guests and sometimes in smaller quantities. The merchants who wanted to sell goods in small quantities like in pounds *by pennyngwerden* needed the membership of the ‘Krämerkompanie’¹⁰⁵ because like in other towns the ‘Krämerkompanie’ belonged to the artisans’ guilds. In Lübeck the artisans’ guilds called ‘Ämter’ were controlled by the city council.¹⁰⁶ In the Late Middle Age there was a ‘Zunftzwang’ in many towns. That means an artisan or ‘Krämer’ had to join this special urban guild if he wanted to pursue his profession.

⁹⁹ WEHRMANN, *Die ältesten Lübeckischen Zunftrollen*, pp. 271, 273.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 490.

¹⁰¹ HUB, vol. 10, no. 76, p. 50, § 2. See also the ‘Rezess’ from 6 January 1472 in HR, vol. 2,6, no. 356, § 24, p. 328.

¹⁰² WOLF, *Tragfähigkeiten*, p. 57.

¹⁰³ *Mittelniederdeutsches Handwörterbuch* A. LÜBBEN, K. SCHILLER eds., [reprint of the 1878 edition] Vaduz 2009, vol. 4, p. 536. In the first half of the 15th century the merchant Hildebrand Veckinchusen counted once 34 cloths in one ‘Terling’. JESKE, *Fachwortschatz*, p. 71.

¹⁰⁴ Memorial, fol. 1r, 47r. HENNINGS, *Mitglieder*, p. 85.

¹⁰⁵ These conditions are mentioned in the oldest regulation of the ‘Krämerkompanie’ in Lübeck of the year 1353 with one addition from the year 1380. WEHRMANN, *Die ältesten Lübeckischen Zunftrollen*, p. 274.

¹⁰⁶ W. EBEL, *Lübisches Recht*, vol. 1, Lübeck 1971, p. 230. E. ISENMANN, *Die Deutsche Stadt im Mittelalter 1150 – 1550: Stadtgestalt, Recht, Verfassung, Stadregiment, Kirche, Gesellschaft, Wirtschaft*, Wien u.a. 2012, 697. See also for the guild in Goslar. PARK, *Krämer- und Hökergerossenschaften*, p. 102.

A guild member could only be a self-employment master. Since the late 14th century the city council as well as the guilds themselves limited the number of the guild members. This had different reasons.¹⁰⁷ It should be secured that the masters themselves and their staff had enough work or that the competition was kept low, for example. This phenomenon is called ‘Schließung der Zünfte’.¹⁰⁸

The access to the ‘Krämerkompanie’ depended on the citizenship in Lübeck and some other conditions which were noted in the guild regulations¹⁰⁹ With the help of his ‘Memorial’, we can see that Dunkelgud paid the fee of 2 ‘Mark’ 4 ‘Pfennige’ to become a citizen in 1479.¹¹⁰ The regulations of the ‘Krämerkompanie’ postulated a fee to become a member, the property of one ‘Harnisch’ (i.e. a kind of armor) for regarding the duty of defending the city and a financial resource of 20 ‘Mark’.¹¹¹ The fee of 6 ‘Mark’ was paid by Dunkelgud in the same year.¹¹² We do not know whether Dunkelgud had a ‘Harnisch’. At the beginning of the year 1479 Hinrik Dunkelgud had at least a pike one part of this armor.¹¹³ But it seems that the property of one ‘Harnisch’ was not so important because there was the possibility to demonstrate the chairmen the ‘Harnisch’ also at a later time.¹¹⁴ Schulz supposes that especially the condition of the high finance resource could be a problem for an average artisan.¹¹⁵ There is very few information about Dunkelgud’s financial situation till the year 1479. Due to the fact that Dunkelgud could pay both fees for the citizenry and the membership, celebrated a big expensive marriage in the same year 1479¹¹⁶ and made the first payment of 120 ‘Mark’ for his second stall straight away in the year 1480, it is likely that he

¹⁰⁷ ISENMANN, *Stadt*, pp. 815, 818.

¹⁰⁸ HOFFMANN, *Lübeck*, p. 320.

¹⁰⁹ These conditions are mentioned in the regulations of the Krämerkompanie in Lübeck of the year 1353 and further additions of the year 1380. WEHRMANN, *Die ältesten Lübeckischen Zunftrollen*, pp. 274-275. See also K. SCHULZ, *Gewerbepolitik in den hansischen Städten Lübeck, Hamburg und Köln im späten Mittelalter: Ein Vergleich* in “Zeitschrift für Archäologie des Mittelalters”, 34, 2006, pp. 85-100, here p. 87.

¹¹⁰ Memorial, fol. 1r. SCHULZ, *Gewerbepolitik*, pp. 87, 90-91.

¹¹¹ WEHRMANN, *Die ältesten Lübeckischen Zunftrollen*, pp. 274-275, 283. SCHULZ, *Gewerbepolitik*, pp. 91, 93.

¹¹² Memorial, fol. 1r.

¹¹³ Memorial, fol. 8v. ISENMANN, *Stadt*, p. 817.

¹¹⁴ WEHRMANN, *Die ältesten Lübeckischen Zunftrollen*, p. 283.

¹¹⁵ SCHULZ, *Gewerbepolitik*, p. 89.

¹¹⁶ Hinrik Dunkelgud listed the costs of the wedding and also the surcharge in his Memorial, fol. 1r, 13v-14r; 47r. Some town bylaws (called ‘Luxusordnungen’) limited the largeness of celebrations like marriages based on the tax payments. So Dunkelgud celebrated a too large wedding. U. SIMON, *Stand, Vermögen, Standesvermögen. Das gesellige Trinken vom Mittelalter bis zum Ende der Luxusordnungen in Lust und Last des Trinkens in Lübeck. Beiträge zu dem Phänomen vom Mittelalter bis zum 19. Jahrhundert, Begleitpublikation zur Ausstellung vom 4. August bis zum 6. Oktober 1996 im St. Annen-Museum zu Lübeck*, G. GERKENS, A. GRASSMANN eds., Lübeck 1996, pp. 49-65, here pp. 49-51. See also the ‘Luxusordnung’ from the year 1478 in C. F. WEHRMANN, *Eine Luxusordnung* in “Zeitschrift des Vereins für Lübeckische Geschichte und Altertumskunde”, 2, 1867, pp. 508-528.

had some finance resources. Schulz supposes that the evidence of these financial resources could be disregarded if the candidate planned a marriage with a widow or a daughter of a 'Krämer'¹¹⁷ because the guilds preferred candidates who took the shops of a deceased master or the daughter as well as the shop from the father. Thus, the guild had not to support the widow¹¹⁸ and there was still the same number of masters. The guild regulations of the year 1380 postulated as personal qualifications that the candidates had to ask twice at the 'Morgensprache' (i.e. a regular meeting of each individual urban artisan guild) to be admitted to the guild. Furthermore, the candidates had to demonstrate that they were *bederve lude [...]* *unde des crames werdich*.¹¹⁹ In this way the demand of the guilds for respectable and worthy members was related to the 'Handwerkerehre' or 'Zunftehre'. That meant the honor of all the members of the urban (artisan) guilds.¹²⁰ It is very likely that the words *bederve* and *werdich* included also a martial, German birth and an impeccable reputation in late 15th century Lübeck.¹²¹ The candidate for an apprenticeship or for the guild's membership had to show some written proof called 'Echtheitsbrief' or 'Legitimation' for these personal qualifications. This paper proof was especially important for foreign artisans. Since the 15th century, around 100 of these documents have been preserved in Lübeck. Sometimes there are also entries in the town register.¹²² In the case of Hinrik Dunkelgud there is no 'Echtheitsbrief' preserved and there is also no entry in the town registers from the second half of the year 1478 up to the 1490s. Especially the personal qualifications were an important criteria which the guilds could interpret differently if they did not want to accept one candidate. In the year 1485 there was a council decision between one candidate for the membership and the chairmen of the 'Krämerkompanie'. The chairmen refused him the access to the guild because they had heard *dat he eynen doden vorrichteden man uth deme watere scholde gewisschet unde upgetogen hebben*. Marquardt Specht came to the city council and showed a letter which should prove his innocence in this fatality. The city council accepted and decided the admittance to the guild.¹²³ Furthermore, there was another case in the year 1517. The chairmen of the guild

¹¹⁷ SCHULZ, *Gewerbepolitik*, p. 89.

¹¹⁸ HOFFMANN, *Lübeck*, pp. 320-321.

¹¹⁹ WARNCKE, *Krämerkompanie*, p. 6. WEHRMANN, *Die ältesten Lübeckischen Zunftrollen*, p. 275. For the 'Krämerkompanie' there is, besides this first regulation, only a second from the late 16th century which contains other points. *Ibid.*, pp. 276-281.

¹²⁰ STOCKHUSEN, *Einwanderer*, p. 191. See also F. FRENSDORFF, *Das Zunftrecht insbesondere Norddeutschlands und die Handwerkerehre* in "Hansische Geschichtsblätter", 34, 1907, pp. 1-90.

¹²¹ SCHULZ, *Gewerbepolitik*, p. 88.

¹²² STOCKHUSEN, *Einwanderer*, pp. 189, 193. There is also an analyzing of the 'Echtheitsbriefe' for two members of the 'Krämerkompanie'.

¹²³ C. W. PAULI, *Lübeckische Zustände, vol. 3: Recht und Kultur*, Leipzig 1878, pp. 27, 142-143, no. 61.

found the member, Hynrick Dobbyn, not worthy of the membership because his wife was a dishonest woman. The city council decided in favor of the chairmen and prohibited Hynrick Dobbyn the work as 'Krämer' in Lübeck.¹²⁴ Therefore, the chairmen had the possibility to refuse the access as well as to withdraw the membership. In the case of Hinrik Dunkelgud it is very likely that he did not need some kind of written proof of his personal qualification. He knew his father-in-law Hans Meyer, one chairman of the 'Krämerkompanie' and he even supplied him as well as other persons in or near Lübeck with goods from his successful wholesale trade since the year 1474.

Schulz notes the professional qualifications as one further condition of the admission to the guild.¹²⁵ But there is no direct demand or notice in the regulations of the 'Krämerkompanie'. There is no information about the apprenticeship of the 'Krämer' in Lübeck, too.¹²⁶ For the end of the 13th century we know about an apprenticeship of twelve years in Goslar.¹²⁷ In general, in Southern Germany in the 15th and 16th century the apprenticeship often took between two and three years.¹²⁸ In the case of Hinrik Dunkelgud it is likely that his qualifications acquired by his wholesale trade were enough. It was no isolated case that a young wholesale merchant decided to marry a daughter of a 'Krämer' and to change to retail trade.¹²⁹ Maybe, it was also helpful for Dunkelgud that his father-in-law had already promised him the first stall for marrying his daughter.¹³⁰ This seems to have been

¹²⁴ *Lübecker Ratsurteile*, vol. 2, ed. W. EBEL, Göttingen u.a. 1956, no. 604.

¹²⁵ SCHULZ, *Gewerbepolitik*, p. 87.

¹²⁶ For Lübeck sources of the year 1669 speak about an apprenticeship of eight years. After that the 'Gesellen' had to work at least four years with their master before they could win the membership of the guild. WARNCKE, *Krämerkompanie*, p. 4.

¹²⁷ PARK, *Krämer- und Hökergerossenschaften*, p. 131.

¹²⁸ K. SCHULZ, *Handwerksgesellen und Lohnarbeiter. Untersuchungen zur oberrheinischen und oberdeutschen Stadtgeschichte des 14. bis 17. Jahrhunderts*, Sigmaringen 1985, p. 248.

¹²⁹ E. MASCHKE, *Die Unterschichten der mittelalterlichen Städte Deutschlands in Gesellschaftliche Unterschichten in den südwestdeutschen Städten*, IDEM, J. SYDOW eds., Stuttgart 1967 (Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für geschichtliche Landeskunde in Baden-Württemberg, 41), pp. 1-74, here p. 25. In the first half of the 15th century, for example, the merchant Jacob Lubbe made his apprenticeship in Gdansk with the long-distance merchant Hintze Sanauw. Later, Lubbe worked there as a 'Geselle' and traded so far as Antwerp before he married the 'Krämerin' Barbara in the year 1465. He joined the guild and took off their three houses in Gdansk. *Die Aufzeichnungen des Dominikaners Martin Gruneweg (1562-ca. 1618) über seine Familie in Danzig, seine Handelsreisen in Osteuropa und sein Klosterleben in Polen*, 4 vol., ed. A. BUES, Wiesbaden 2008 (Quellen und Studien / Deutsches Historisches Institut Warschau, 19,1), vol. 1, pp. 194, 202, 203. See also J. MOŽDŽEN, *Jacob Lubbes Familienaufzeichnungen. Als Zeugnis der Lebensselbstdarstellung eines Krämers im Danzig um die Wende des 15. Jahrhunderts* in "Biuletyn Polskiej Misji Historycznej", 8, 2013, pp. 187-233, here pp. 195-197.

¹³⁰ So it is very likely that there were agreements before the marriage in the year 1479. One important entry in the 'Niederstadtbuch' from 28 March 1480 regularized the property of Hans Meyer's both stalls on the market square. Hinrik Dunkelgud got one and Hans Meyer's son the second stall. It is interesting that Hans Meyer noted that he came to the city council with *ene vorrameden scrift unde*

a good start because already in 1482 Hinrik Dunkelgud had been holding an office within the guild and later he was even one of the guild's chairmen from 1484 to 1486 and again from 1488 to 1493.¹³¹

Since the second half of the 15th century the guild's chairmen were involved in different inter-guild conflicts as well as conflicts with guests, especially merchants from Nuremberg and foreign 'Krämer'. These conflicts were about the access to retail on the market and the restrictions in sale. In Lübeck the guilds regulated exactly in what quantities its members were allowed to sell their goods. There were conflicts between the 'Krämerkompanie' and some artisans' guilds whose members sold their products themselves.¹³² The merchants were limited by the regulations of the *swertfeger* (i.e. sword-cutters) from the year 1473 in which the sale of one or a halve dozen of swords per buyer was determined.¹³³ The merchants and the 'Krämer' were included in these regulations because in the year 1489 there was a council decision after a conflict between the guilds which concerned the 'Krämer', too.¹³⁴ In 1477 Hinrik Dunkelgud sold only once a sword and sent it with other goods to his trading partner Hans Mouwer.¹³⁵ Very often there were disputes with the *hotvilter* (i.e. the hatters). In the years 1465, 1478 and 1499 the council prohibited the 'Krämer' the retail of felt hats which were made also by the hatters in Lübeck. The 'Krämer' were allowed to sell them in one or a halve dozen. Furthermore, the 'Krämer' were allowed to retail the imported Flemish hats or *stickede hode* (i.e. a special sort of hats).¹³⁶ However, the 'Weddeherren' recorded at least eight violations by the 'Krämer', who sold felt hats per piece in the years 1483, 1484 and 1486.¹³⁷ Hinrik Dunkelgud's bookkeeping shows ten exports of different kinds of hats (*flemesche hode, punthode*) to the East.¹³⁸ In general, hats were one of the common goods which the 'Krämer' exported in wholesale over the Baltic Sea.¹³⁹ So it is not surprising that they also wanted to retail them directly on the market in Lübeck.

Since the beginning of the 14th century the 'Krämerkompanie' tried to limit also the guests in retail. In the 1470s the 'Krämer' complained repeatedly on trade of the merchants

cedelen. These already written documents could indicate agreements in advance of the marriage. MANTELS, *Memorial*, p. 360. Mantels makes a false source citation here. This entry is preserved in AHL, Kanzlei: Niederstadtbuch Urschrift 1478 Crp. Chr.-1481, fol. 151v-152r. Memorial, fol. 25v. SCHRÖDER, Marien-Quartier, HS 900c, p. 345.

¹³¹ AHL, Denkelbuch, fol. 68v, 69v, 70v, 72v, 76r, 80r, 81r, 82r, 84r, 86r, 87v.

¹³² WARNCKE, *Krämerkompanie*, p.1020.

¹³³ WEHRMANN, *Die ältesten Lübeckischen Zunftrollen*, p. 456.

¹³⁴ IBID., p. 290.

¹³⁵ Memorial, fol. 5r.

¹³⁶ WEHRMANN, *Die ältesten Lübeckischen Zunftrollen*, pp. 286-287.

¹³⁷ AHL, ASA Interna: Wette Jahrbücher, HS Nr. 5 1483, HS Nr. 6 1484, HS Nr. 8 1486.

¹³⁸ Memorial, fol. 2v, 11r, 12v, 202r, 204v, 206v, 207v, 208v, 209v.

¹³⁹ STOCKHUSEN, *Fernhandelsgeschäfte*, p. 260.

from Nuremberg in Lübeck. These caused also negotiations between the two city councils. In 1463 the Lübeck city council limited the trade of the merchants from Nuremberg for the last time. The council order limited it again only in the sale of goods which were produced by the artisans in Nuremberg called 'Nürnberger Tand'.¹⁴⁰ But in the year 1468 the 'Krämer' accused them to sell spices and other goods, again.¹⁴¹ In the 1490s when Dunkelgud began his career as 'Krämer', the chairmen complained about foreign 'Gesellen' and Lübeck citizens because in two cases the 'Gesellen' rented a house or a cellar and sold their goods there. The city council prohibited this trade and limited the guests to the sale on the market square for three days per year like it had been written in the urban bylaws.¹⁴² These few examples show the ongoing conflicts with other retailers and guests about the access to the market. Nevertheless, Hinrik Dunkelgud continued also in retailing and followed the tradition and gave the 'Krämer' Clawes Lange his daughter Anneke as wife. His son-in-law got Dunkelgud's three stalls in the year 1512.¹⁴³

¹⁴⁰ LUB, vol. 10 n. 7, 119, 132, 161, 308, 292. NORDMANN, *Nürnberger*, pp. 5-6, 144. H. AMMANN, *Die wirtschaftliche Stellung der Reichsstadt Nürnberg im Spätmittelalter*, Nürnberg 1970 (Nürnberger Forschungen, 13), pp. 139-140. See also for goods from Nuremberg NORDMANN, *Nürnberger*, pp. 109-127.

¹⁴¹ LUB, vol. 11, n. 397.

¹⁴² EBEL, *Lübecker Ratsurteile*, vol. 1, no. 305; vol. 4, no. 235. Nordmann believes that these foreign 'Gesellen' were the employees of Nuremberg wholesale merchants. NORDMANN, *Nürnberger*, p. 144.

¹⁴³ SCHRÖDER, Marien-Quartier, HS 900c, p. 345.

Conclusion and further perspectives

At least since the year 1474 Hinrik Dunkelgud came as a guest to the market in Lübeck. First he was only involved in wholesale trade with some long-standing trading partners as well as a few customers in or near Lübeck. Often Hinrik Dunkelgud followed the urban bylaws. There were a few cases in which he sold goods in retail to end-consumers. In this time there were already some relations with the 'Krämer' Hans Meyer and his daughter Kunneke. Dunkelgud used the relationship with his peers and his contacts in Lübeck to expand his family ties. After he had won the citizenry he profited from the relationship with Hans Meyer because he got the access to the 'Krämerkompanie' very quickly. The combination of the wholesale and the retail trade as a citizen and the membership of the guild opened Hinrik Dunkelgud the possibility to sale the most goods in all different quantities directly to the end-consumers in his stalls or to other wholesale merchants. In the 1490s, there were repeated conflicts and council orders over the access to the market between the merchants, retailers and artisans, which also concerned the 'Krämerkompanie' in Lübeck. These few cases show again that the urban bylaws were not identical to the practice in trade.

Besides Dunkelgud's retail he also kept long-standing trading partners up to the year 1508. Furthermore, he also expanded his net of peers and established two new trading companies with his former apprentices Peter Kegeben and Hans Borne up to the year 1504. We do not know exactly how long he was involved in retail trade in Lübeck but it seems that Dunkelgud finished his career with the surrender of his stalls to his son-in-law in the year 1512. In his at least 38 years in business the 'Krämer' Hinrik Dunkelgud used, like other wholesale merchants, his money, relationships with his old and new trading partners and his family ties to be successful in retail as well as in wholesale trade in Lübeck.

This contribution could only be a first step. More studies are needed which should shed further light on the question of the combination of long-distance and wholesale trade with retail trade. A second step could take a comparative look at other towns in Central Europe and their retailers' and merchants' guilds. What kind of bylaws concerning the different forms of trade can we find in other towns? What were the reasons for these bylaws? Which motives and problems had merchants combining the different forms of trade? In a following third step, the comparison should reach a transnational level. In this way, maybe, it could also be possible to show a more complete picture of the trade routes and flows of goods.

