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Space, Agency, and Conflict Management in the Late Medieval Baltic: Urban Colonies and Representatives of Hanse Towns at Scania

Louis Sicking

1 Introduction

The Scania (Skåne) peninsula in the southwest of present-day Sweden, which was under Danish authority in the Middle Ages, was one of the major trading centres of medieval northern Europe. Every year large schools of herring appeared off the Scanian coast. At the crossroads between east and west, between the Baltic and the North Sea, fishermen and traders came together, the latter to buy the herring caught. Thus, during each of these fishing seasons the peninsula changed into a bustling commercial area unparalleled in the region. Because the traders also brought merchandise from different towns to trade, the Scania market was much more than just a fish market, which further increased its appeal. Per region or city, these traders had their own, legally autonomous settlements at their disposal behind the Scania beach, the so-called *vittes*. Initially, these were seasonal trading colonies used for the duration of the fair, which began in August and ended in November. In the late Middle Ages the *vittes* grew into miniature towns that were small reflections of the traders' hometowns.

The significance of the *vittes* for the herring trade has been researched by Carsten Jahnke, who made use of both Hanseatic and Danish sources.¹ According to Jahnke, the Scania fair developed from a local market, where the

1 C. Jahnke, *Das Silber des Meeres. Fang und Vertrieb von Ostseehering zwischen Norwegen und Italien (12.-16. Jahrhundert)* (Cologne, Weimar, and Vienna: 2000) See also A. Lampen, *Fischerei und Fischhandel im Mittelalter. Wirtschafts- und sozialgeschichtliche Untersuchungen nach urkundlichen und archäologischen Quellen des 6. bis 14. Jahrhunderts im Gebiet des Deutschen Reiches* (Husum: 2000), 149–163. I am grateful to Carsten Jahnke for reviewing an earlier version of this article. The usual disclaimer applies. I thank the students of the BA seminar “Funduqs, Vittes, Factorijen, Koopliedengemeenschappen en de organisatie van internationale handel tot 1600,” which I taught at Leiden University in 2014–2015 for their assistance, especially Geeske Bisschop. I also thank Jelte Liemburg, Robert Nijstad, and Jurriaan Wink, who wrote papers on the topic under my supervision. Research for this article has been carried out within the context of the internationalisation programme “Maritime Conflict Management in Atlantic Europe, 1200–1600,” financed by the Netherlands Organisation for Scientific Research

supply of food was central, into an international magnet for Hanseatic merchants. These men knew that they were supported by their hometowns, which extended and consolidated their rights at Scania. The *vittes* and their *Vögte*, representatives of the hometowns in the *vittes*, played an important role in this development. Before Jahnke, the Swedish archaeologist Lars Ersgård attempted to reconstruct the evolution of the Scanian herring market through archaeological research. Among other things, he looked at the features and characteristics of the peninsula's two towns, Skanør in the north and Falsterbo in the south. Ersgård's work added a local topographical dimension to the study of the Scanian herring market. He also paid attention to Scania's changing coastline² [map 3.1].

The presence on a small peninsula³—which was partially uninhabitable because of saltmarshes and frequent flooding—of many fishermen and merchants who did business with each other and who came from different towns, sometimes located far apart from one another, could easily lead to tension and conflict. But people from the same town could also get into a fight. Traders in the *vitte* of Danzig, for example, had a quarrel in 1373 because they did not have enough individual room in the overcrowded *vitte*.⁴ Lack of space was indeed a major source of tension.⁵ How were such tensions and conflicts dealt with? How were disputes between merchants settled? What role did the hometowns play in these conflicts? How were they represented? To what extent could merchants count on support from their hometowns? What was the relationship between the spatial arrangement or topography of the *vittes* at Scania and the urban representatives of the *vittes*?

(nwo) and the universities of Cantabria at Santander, Laguna, La Rochelle, and Nova Lisbon. (<https://www.universiteitleiden.nl/en/research/research-projects/humanities/maritime-conflict-management-in-atlantic-europe>) Abbreviations HR: Hanserecesse; HUB: Hansisches Urkundenbuch; MUB: Mecklenburgisches Urkundenbuch; UBStL: Urkundenbuch der Stadt Lübeck.

2 L. Ersgård. "Vår marknad i Skåne": bebyggelse, handel och urbanisering i Skanør och Falsterbo under medeltiden (Stockholm: 1988); T. Hill and L. Ersgård, "Der Schonenmarkt—die grosse Messe im Norden" in: J. Bracker, V. Henn and R. Postel eds., *Die Hanse. Lebenswirklichkeit und Mythos* (Lübeck: 1999), 721–732; O. Rydbeck, *Den medeltida borgen i Skanør: historik undersökningar och fynd* (Stockholm: 1935).

3 Today it includes roughly an area of 50 km². H. Hanson, "Falsterbo peninsula (Sweden), Eurosion casestudy" http://copranet.projects.eucc-de/files/000160_EUROSION_Falsterbo_peninsula.pdf (retrieved 16 May 2015).

4 HR I, vol. 2, no. 61d, p. 459–460.

5 A first example presented itself around 1350 when the Danish king indicated to Lübeck and Stralsund that they had enlarged their respective *vittes* without his consent. HUB III no. 225, p. 103.

Because it is impossible within the scope of this article to answer all questions raised, the emphasis will only be on spatial planning, on urban representation and potential entanglement, and on conflicts related to space—or rather, lack of space—and on ways in which such conflicts were dealt with. Spatial organization was of particular importance because the peninsula was small and the number of fishermen and traders during the fishing season must have been considerable, even though Philippe de Mézière's estimate of 300,000 people may be an exaggeration.⁶

So-called *Vögte* (German) ($\approx$ consul) or *voogden* (Dutch) acted as urban representatives of the *vittes*. Their origin may be traced back to the *hansegraf*. Initially, this was a royal commissioner who had to protect and oversee trade and who also possessed legal powers. With the decline of royal power merchants themselves formed groups to do business outside their own jurisdiction. Operating at shorter or greater distances from their home base, and being exposed to all kinds of disputes, default, extortion, or robbery, merchants trading with the same destinations formed so-called *hansas* to help each other. To become a member of a *hansa* one had to pay an affiliation fee, also called *hansa*, which can be traced back to the 11th century in the case of Valenciennes. The collective responsibility abroad for debts of a fellow merchant or citizen was the reason for levying this *hansa* right.

Either the group merchants themselves or the local merchant guild collected this right of membership. Whereas *hansas* originally were private law organizations, in the course of the 13th century they were taken over by town governments, as is documented for instance for St. Omers, Rostock, and Lübeck. Revenues from *hansa* membership then flowed into the town's treasury.⁷ The *hansegraf* or *Vogt*, originally a representative of a group of merchants, now became an urban representative. These *Vögte* might also be compared to consuls of *funduqs* or merchant nations, or with governors of factories overseas.⁸

For the first two aspects examined in the present article—spatial planning and representation by *Vögte*—the focus will be on the Zuiderzee towns. Their

6 Lampen, *Fisherei*, 149. The number of boats used at the peninsula has been estimated at approximately 10,000. C. Jahnke, "The Medieval Herring Fishery in the Western Baltic," in: L. Sicking and D. Abreu-Ferreira eds., *Beyond the Catch: Fisheries of the North Atlantic, the North Sea and the Baltic, 900–1850* (Leiden and Boston: 2009), 157–186, 176.

7 W.P. Blockmans, *Metropolen aan de Noordzee. De geschiedenis van Nederland, 100–1560* (Amsterdam: 2010), 113–114. For Rostock's *Vogt* in Scania in 1287, MUB III, no. 1926, p. 277 and Lübeck's *Vogt* in Norø, UBStL II, p. 1041. I owe the latter two references to Carsten Jahnke.

8 See also L. Sicking, "The Medieval Origin of the Factory or the Institutional Foundations of Overseas Trade. Toward a Model for Global Comparison," *The Journal of World History* 31: 2 (2020), 295–326.

vittes, which represented about half of the total number of about 30 *vittes*, have received less attention than the *vittes* of other Hanseatic towns, like Lübeck and Danzig. As Volker Henn, Dieter Seifert, and Job Weststrate have shown, the Zuiderzee towns can be seen collectively as a group that was part of the Hanseatic network.⁹ This group is mentioned as such in contemporary sources and included towns around the Zuiderzee and beyond: for example, Zierikzee in Zeeland also belonged to the group. These Zuiderzee towns can be considered as a regional group of Hanseatic towns in the same way as, for instance, the Wendish or Prussian towns.¹⁰ For the third aspect to be discussed—management of conflicts related to space—the focus will be on border issues between *vittes*. Relations between Lübeck and Danzig at Scania could at times be especially tense as their *vittes* were contiguous and suffered from lack of space. The Zuiderzee towns do not seem to have been involved as much in such conflicts at Scania. Possible reasons for this will be discussed.

The research into the significance of the *vittes* and *Vögte* for the organization of long-distance trade is closely related to three current debates in historical research, namely on new institutional economics,¹¹ the relationship between international public and private law and conflict resolution,¹² and global history.¹³ Like the medieval *funduqs* and *fondacos* in the Mediterranean region, foreign nations and early modern factories overseas, the *vittes* were institutions

- 9 V. Henn, '... de all tyd wedderwartigen Suederseeischen stedere ...' "Zur Integration des niederrheinisch-ostniederländische Raumes in die Hanse," *Hansische Geschichtsblätter* 112 (1994), 39–56; D. Seifert, *Kompagnons und Konkurrenten. Holland und die Hanse im späten Mittelalter* (Cologne: 1997); J. Weststrate, "Abgrenzung durch aufnahme. Zur Eingliederung der Süderseeischen Städte in die Hanse, ca. 1360–1450," *Hansische Geschichtsblätter* 121 (2003), 13–40; J. Weststrate, *In het kielzog van moderne markten. Handel en scheepvaart op de Rijn, Waal en IJssel, ca. 1360–1560* (Hilversum: 2008), 34–36.
- 10 See and compare for example G. Graichen and R. Hammel-Kiesow, *Die Deutsche Hanse. Eine heimliche Supermacht* (Hamburg 2015), 257–260.
- 11 E.g. S. Selzer and U.C. Ewert, "Die Neue Institutionenökonomik als Herausforderung an die Hanseforschung," *Hansische Geschichtsblätter* 123 (2005), 7–29.
- 12 E.g. A. Cordes and S. Dauchy eds., *Eine Grenze in Bewegung: Private und öffentliche Konfliktlösung im Handels- und Seerecht* (Munich: 2013); P. Höhn, "Kaufmannische Konfliktaustragung im Hanseraum (ca. 1350–ca. 1450)," in: O. Auge ed., *Hansegeschichte als Regionalgeschichte* (Frankfurt am Main: 2014), 317–332; J. Wubs-Mrozewicz, "Die Zuiderzeestädte in der Hanse: Informationsaustausch, Konflikte und Konfliktlösung," *Hansische Geschichtsblätter* 134 (2016), 19–38. See also the thematic issue L. Sicking ed., *Maritime Conflict Management, Diplomacy and International Law, 1000–1800, Comparative Legal History* 5 no. 1 (2017).
- 13 E.g. R. Hammel-Kiesow, "Europäische Union, Globalisierung und Hanse. Überlegungen zur aktuellen Vereinnahmung eines historischen Phänomens," *Hansische Geschichtsblätter* 125 (2007), 1–44.

that offered merchants abroad all kinds of rights and facilities. Apart from physical and legal protection these institutions possessed inns, storage facilities, chapels, baths, and/or brothels. Attention to the *vittes* in comparison to *funduqs*, *fondacos*, and factories might reveal similarities and differences and thus provide insight into the successes and challenges of European traders who were active at major and minor distances from their home base.

2 Space and Borders: the Topography of the Vittes at Scania

The first *vittes* appeared at Skanør, on the northern side of the Scania peninsula. With the rise of competition in the 14th century between Skanør and Falsterbo, the town located on the south side, many Hanseatic towns were attracted to the latter. Thus Lübeck relocated its *vitte* to Falsterbo in 1328.¹⁴ The Prussian towns, including Danzig, followed in 1368–1370.¹⁵ The *vittes* of the most important Hanseatic towns were from then on located at Falsterbo. Those of the Zuiderzee towns were near Skanør. The main *vitte* at Skanør was that of Rostock, which had a *vitte* near both towns. The leading position of the Rostock *vitte* was reflected in its location. On the west side, it was adjacent to the Travnegade, the main road to the market in Skanør, which also was the connection between the Danish and Hanseatic merchants. The *vitte* of Kampen, north of that of Rostock, was one of the most important *vittes* of the Zuiderzee towns. The Kampen *vitte* will in this discussion of the local topography of the *vittes* at Scania serve as a starting point.¹⁶ It should be noted that the rights on the Scania peninsula of the towns of Zutphen, Nijmegen, Doesburg, and Harderwijk in the county of Guelders—which became a duchy in 1339—went back to the period before 1300.¹⁷

In 1307 the burghers of Kampen had already received permission from the Danish king Erik VI to occupy a place in Skanør between the castle and the Høøl, which is the bay of Fotevik,¹⁸ situated northeast of the peninsula [maps 3.1 and 3.2]. This designation was still relatively vague, which may indicate that there was still plenty of room available.

Vittes could be extended. In 1368, King Albert of Sweden granted permission to expand the Kampen *vitte* southbound with a piece of land that touched the

14 HUB 2, no. 479.

15 HUB 4, no. 271.

16 Jahnke, *Silber*, 81. Ersgård, *Vår marknad i Skåne*, 69.

17 *Diplomatarium Danicum* II 5 (1299–1305) (Copenhagen: 1943) no. 68–71, p. 169–173.

18 HUB 2, no. 115, p. 48. Jahnke, *Silber*, 75.

vitte of Zutphen on the west, where the garbage collectors of the Scania peninsula previously used to stay. These garbage collectors had to remove waste from the *vittes* and from the places where herring was processed. They probably continued their work somewhere else. The extension of the Kampen *vitte* was due to the good services and friendship of the Kampen *Vogt*, Willem Morren.¹⁹

Delineation of the *vittes* was increasingly accurate. In 1316, for instance, the width and length of the *vitte* of Zutphen were precisely measured. The Danish king kept a record of the plots of the various *vittes*, in which even the *Buden* or huts per *vitte* were registered, which Jahnke interpreted as a kind of “*vittes* cadastre.”²⁰

How were the *vittes* delineated? On the south side of the Kampen *vitte* were a moat and a defensive wall that ran eastwards to the aforementioned Høøl. It is obvious that these existing markers served as a starting point for limiting the *vitte*. Furthermore, in 1307 the area granted to the Kampen *vitte* was also marked with stakes.²¹ At the cemetery next to the church of the Rostock *vitte* was a stake to mark the boundaries with the *vittes* of Kampen and Staveren and also with an area that belonged to the Danish king.²²

The survey and demarcation of *vittes* took place under supervision. When a new *vitte* had to be measured, traders from other *vittes* were often present. They checked whether the measurements were taken correctly, and wanted to make sure that the designated area was not bigger than allowed. For example, the *vittes* of Zutphen and Harderwijk were measured in 1316 in the presence of neighbouring traders from Lund and Trelleborg.²³ This shows that the

19 ‘dat stre[c]t westwerd an die Zuytphensche vitte, daer die grumkerles plaghen te sitten voer desse[r] tyt’ HR 1, vol. 1 no. 465, p. 417; H.A. Poelman, *Bronnen tot de geschiedenis van den Oostzeehandel* (Den Haag: 1917) 1, no. 330, p. 76; Jahnke, *Silber*, 79, 431. The extension of the *vitte* of Kampen and the granting of privileges to Zierikzee, Amsterdam, and Brill in 1368 can also be considered as compensation for the military support at sea which these towns had delivered as part of the so-called Cologne Confederation in the strife against Waldemar IV of Denmark. Seifert, *Kompagnons*, 53–57. Weststrate, *In het kielzog*, 34.

20 “unum locum qui fyt dicitur in nundinis nostris Skanør in latitudine et longitudine prout per dominum Johannem Kanne dilectum fidelem nostrum presentibus ciuibus nostris Lundensis et Traeleburgh mesuratum est,” *Diplomatarium Danicum* II vol. 7, no. 390, p. 288; Jahnke, *Silber*, 75.

21 HUB 2, no. 115, p. 48.

22 “Tha wysdae the hanum eeth kors hoos Rostoks kyrkegordh ok een paeael, af oldyn-ges haftae stondat ok skyldae Kampaere fydd ok Stowaerskae fydd ok konyngens jordh, hwilken paeael som Kampaerae fogyth lood uupgrawae i Gruutmund Dyaekens thyth, ...” HUB 5, no. 945. p. 495.

23 “... in nundinis nostris Skanor in latitudine et longitudine, prout per dominum Johannem Kanne dilectum fidelem nostrum presentibus civibus nostris Lunden et Traeleburgh mensuratus est.” HUB 2, no. 289 and 290, p. 120.

boundaries were strictly defined. Trifling with these delineated boundaries seemed out of the question.

Several *vittes* granted in the course of time to Zuiderzee towns were situated on the same field as the *vitte* of Kampen. This was true for the *vitte* of Zierikzee,²⁴ but also for those of Brill and Amsterdam [map 3.2]. The *vitte* granted to Zierikzee in 1368 was established in the same fields “where those of Zealand from old times every year used to stay.”²⁵ As will be argued later, this *vitte* was possibly the oldest *vitte* for the subjects of the count of Holland and Zeeland. The Amsterdam *vitte* stretched in a northwesterly direction, thus further away from the main street.²⁶ How the different *vittes* of the Zuiderzee towns were situated vis-à-vis each other is not entirely clear, but they were further removed from the main street than the Kampen *vitte*.

Over time a lack of space arose, as is evident from the position of the *vitte* of Elburg, which was divided between two different fields. Half of the *vitte* stood in front of the castle of Skanør, “where the Flemish used to stay”; the other half was next to the *vitte* of Den Bosch. The field of Elburg at the fortress must have been small since it is referred to in 1444 as *die luttike vitte*.²⁷

While the peninsula was becoming busier and more crowded every season and the *vittes* were more sharply defined, regulations followed about who was allowed to stay, where to stay, and where not to go or stay. A regulation from Kampen in 1365, for example, shows that both the inhabitants of Kampen and those who came on a ship from Kampen to Skanør-Falsterbo were not allowed to be in any other *vitte* than the Kampen one.²⁸ John III of Bavaria, bishop-elect of Liège and lord of Voorne, stipulated something similar in 1406: those who came to Skanør-Falsterbo from Brill and the county of Voorne were only

24 HUB 4, no. 276, p. 113–114.

25 “dar de van Selande van oldinghes alle jar up gheleghen hebben.” HUB 4, no. 276, p. 113–114. The archipelago and county of Zeeland in the Netherlands is meant here, not the Danish island.

26 “... ene vittes up unsem velde tō Schonøre ... desse vittes, de dar licht van dem osten in westen und van dem suden int norden als se in erer schede begrepen is, ... dar de van Campen ere vittes, de se up demsulven velde hebben, aldervryest und allervullenkomlikest mede besitten. ...” P.H.J. van der Laan, *Oorkondenboek van Amsterdam tot 1400* (Amsterdam: 1975), no. 257, p. 176.

27 “dar de Vlamingen pleghen tō liggende.” Poelman, *Bronnen* 1 2, no. 1752, p. 518. Streekarchivariaat Noordwest-Veluwe (Elburg-Ermelo-Harderwijk-Nunspeet-Oldebroek), Archief stadsbestuur Elburg, inv no. 254.

28 “Item ghebede wi, dat nyman van onsen borgheren oft de in onser borger scip vaert in nemans vittes sitten sal anders dan op de onse, bii eene pene van 40 ponden.” HUB 4, no. 132, p. 157.

allowed to live in the *vitte* of Brill and had to obey their *Vogt*.²⁹ This indicates a trend towards territorialization. It is true that one was subject to the jurisdiction of one's hometown, which was reflected in the *Vogt*'s responsibility for the inhabitants of a particular town (and for those who came in vessels from that town), but more generally people were increasingly restricted in Scania. This was undoubtedly related to the limited space available. The aim was to control one's own community, in order to facilitate the peaceful coexistence of different urban groups as well as possible, and to avoid conflicts.

This is also suggested by the incorporation of traders from towns that did not have a *vitte* of their own. Neither Deventer nor, initially, Zwolle (until 1461?) had their own *vitte*, but their citizens were allowed to use the *vitte* of Kampen. Citizens of Enkhuizen and Wieringen could use the Amsterdam *vitte*.³⁰ The *vitte* of Zierikzee was not only intended for its own residents; other inhabitants of Schouwen, the island on which Zierikzee is located, could use the same *vitte*.³¹ This division according to region probably was most suitable for existing partnerships between towns and/or between merchants and skippers from these towns and surrounding regions.

A review of the scattered and limited data on the location of the Zuiderzee *vittes* suggests that they all were close together, some of them even contiguous. The *vittes* of the towns of Holland and Zeeland, which were established later than those of the towns east of the Zuiderzee (table 3.1), were located on or near the site of the Kampen *vitte*. Besides this regional concentration of the *vittes* of Holland and Zeeland towns west and north of the Kampen *vitte*, it is striking that within these *vittes* regionalization also was a reality, as traders from towns without their own *vitte* could use that of a neighbouring town.

3 *Vögte: Governance of the Vittes and Urban Representation at Scania*

How was the administration of the *vittes* organized and how were mutual relations between *vittes* and their inhabitants regulated? The central figure in a *vitte* was the *Vogt*. He acted on behalf of the hometown's government and had

29 Poelman, *Bronnen* 1, no. 815, p. 204–205.

30 Jahnke, *Das Silber des Meeres*, 80, 88; Van der Laan, *Oorkondenboek*, no. 257 and 258, 175–180.

31 As becomes clear from the appointment by William VI, count of Holland, in 1414 of a new *Vogt* for the Zierikzee *vitte*: “allen onsen poirteren, meesteres, cooplude en scipmans van Zerixe ende voirt alle die gene, die in onse lande van Scouwen geseten zijn ende in der voirseiden vitte behoren of die daarin wesen willen. ...” HUB 5, no. 1138, p. 591.

both internal and external responsibilities. Within the *vitte* he was responsible for administration and justice, which he had to carry out according to the customs in the hometown. The jurisdiction of a *Vogt* generally covered issues between inhabitants of his *vitte*.³² The authority of the *Vogt* as judge or mediator is in line with that of consuls of nations of foreign merchants. It was delegated to the *Vogt* or consul by the hometown, and in the case of the *vittes* at Scania also by the host, i.e. the Danish king, who granted a proper (consular) jurisdiction.³³ The *Vogt* also had external responsibilities, mainly as representative of his town in his contacts with other *vittes*, the Danish authorities, or other parties. All in all, he was responsible for what we nowadays call domestic, economic, and foreign affairs. The assertion that *Vögte* were comparable to consuls is supported by the fact that *Vögte* meeting at Scania in September 1381 were referred to as “nuncii consulares et advocati civitatum maritimarum congregati in Scania.”³⁴

Jahnke has pointed out that the position of *Vogt* served as a stepping stone in the careers of several administrators. The *vitte* served as it were as a training ground to gain management experience, although sometimes one first worked as a town's administrator and then was appointed *Vogt* in a *vitte*.³⁵ The role of the *Vogt* shows strong similarities with that of the consul in *funduqs* and *fondacos* in the medieval Mediterranean, who represented his home town or city state, and that of the representatives of foreign nations like those in late medieval Bruges.³⁶

So, the *Vogt* seems to have been primarily an urban officer. Usually town governments appointed their *Vögte* themselves. However, a closer look at the Zuiderzee towns shows that the count of Holland and Zealand sometimes interfered with the appointment of *Vögte* in the *vittes* of towns that were under his authority. This intervention varied. Thus, *Vögte* of the Zealand

32 Jahnke, *Silber*, 207–212.

33 Compare O. Gelderblom, *Cities of Commerce: The Institutional Foundations of International Trade in the Low Countries, 1250–1650* (Princeton and Oxford: 2013), 103–104.

34 For a detailed description of the competences of the *Vogt* D. Schäfer, *Das Buch des Lübeckischen Vogts auf Schonen* (Lübeck: 1887) CXXXVIII, CXLVII. See for the example of Den Bosch in 1366 Poelman, *Bronnen* 1, no. 287, p. 63.

35 Jahnke, *Silber*, 211.

36 O.R. Constable, *Housing the Stranger in the Mediterranean World: Lodging, Trade and Travel in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages* (Cambridge: 2003), 136; N. Jaspert and J. Kolditz, “Christlich-Muslimische Aussenbeziehungen im Mittelmeerraum. Zur räumlichen und religiösen Dimension mittelalterlicher Diplomatie,” *Zeitschrift für Historische Forschung* 41, no. 1 (2014), 1–88, 46–49. See for the Low Countries for instance Gelderblom, *Cities of Commerce*, 103–104.

town of Zierikzee were appointed by the count at least as of 1355. He also appointed the *Vogt* for the *vitte* of Brill and Voorne, at least for the years 1394, 1406, and 1408, for which data are available.³⁷ For the Frisian town of Staveren only one such appointment by the count is known, in 1397.³⁸ For the Amsterdam *vitte* some names of *Vögte* are known, but it is not clear by whom they were appointed. The fact that in 1392 the count gave Amsterdam the freedom to appoint its own *Vogt* could be an indication of the count's previous interference.³⁹

What do the appointments of *Vögte* by the count of Holland and Zealand look like? We are best informed about appointments for the *vitte* of Zierikzee. On 30 January 1359, Albrecht of Bavaria, who acted as *ruwaard* or regent for Count William v between 1358 and 1389, gave *Vogtei*/governorship of the *vitte* of Zierikzee to Jan de Hond Janszoon. He was told to perform his duties exactly as the *Vögte* Aernd Willem Ockensoen and Hughen Pieter Yensoen had done before him.⁴⁰ The appointment of Pieter Dyrexsoen on 14 June 1406 gives a little more information on the count's instructions. The new *Vogt* had to act as "een voecht schuldich is te doen." He was authorized to do "all justice and affairs" ("alle recht ende saken"). He also had to supervise all those who were supposed to be in the *vitte* and those who wished to stay in it, indicating that the *Vogt* also had some responsibility for other people in the *vitte* besides those from Zierikzee.⁴¹

The count's involvement in the Zierikzee *vitte* got a personal dimension in the person of Claes van Ruven. This *Vogt* was also the count's chamberlain. Apparently these offices were difficult to combine because in June 1414 the count appointed a temporary substitute for the *Vogtei* of the Zierikzee *vitte* in the person of Huge Thyemanssoen,⁴² with the consent of Claes van Ruven. This turned out not to be a good idea: less than a year later, in March 1415, the Zierikzee *Vogtei* at Scania had almost vanished because of mismanagement. The sources do not mention how the *vitte*'s administration could have deteriorated so quickly but the count, William VI, took no half measures. He invited the town of Zierikzee to name a new, suitable *Vogt*. The town could choose anyone it deemed fit and did not have to ask the count for advice! However, Claes van Ruven's rights to the office had to be respected as long as he would

37 HUB 5, no. 165. The lists of *Vögte* presented by Jahnke, *Silber*, 400–414 have been used.

38 HUB 4, no. 978. HUB 5, no. 269, p. 142.

39 HUB 5, no. 4, p. 4.

40 HUB 5, no. 435, p. 203.

41 HUB 5, no. 724, p. 374. Poelman, *Bronnen* I no. 813, p. 204.

42 HUB 5, no. 1138. Poelman, *Bronnen* I no. 907, p. 228.

live.⁴³ In short, Claes could still reclaim his post, but it is clear that a new direction was taken.

Zierikzee played a pioneering role in the administration and representation of subjects of the count of Holland and Zeeland on the land and waters of Scania. This is evident from Count William v's confirmation, 6 July 1355, of the appointment of a *Vogt* by Zierikzee, one Hughe Pieterszoon. The count ordered him to assume responsibility as well for "die voechdij van allen onse luden van Holland, Zeeland ende van Vriesland" on the Skanør-Falsterbo peninsula. Furthermore, he was ordered "te rechte houde ende te beware ende bescherme van onrechte" as well as possible.⁴⁴ In other words, the *Vogt* of Zierikzee, initially appointed by the town, did now receive administrative and legal responsibility for all the count's subjects at Scania! This confirmation by the count in 1355 may have been the beginning of his interference in the appointment of *Vögte* at Skanør-Falsterbo. The document is in any case the first written testimony thereof.

The appointment of a *Vogt* was not necessarily connected to a *vitte*. More than once *Vögte* appear in the sources without any reference to a *vitte*. Dordrecht, for example, had appointed the skipper Willem Elwouterszoon, mentioned in 1368 and 1378, as *Vogt* to represent its people in Scania without having its own *vitte*.⁴⁵ Such an appointment sometimes preceded official recognition of the *vitte* by the local ruler, the king of Denmark. As we just saw, in 1355 Zierikzee already had its own *Vogt* in Scania, while the earliest mention of a Zierikzee *vitte* does not happen until 1368.⁴⁶ The 1355 document describes Hughe Pieterszoon's role as "*Vogt* in Scania on land and in the water."⁴⁷ The fact that the count gave the *Vogt* of Zierikzee responsibility for all his subjects indicates that the other towns of Zeeland and Holland did not yet have *Vögte* of their own.

43 'also lange als hi leven sal' HUB 6, no. 14, p. 8.

44 HUB 3, no. 332, p. 145. Poelman, *Bronnen* I no. 224, p. 48.

45 Skipper Willem Elwouterszoon is mentioned as being responsible for the levy of the *Pfundgeld* in a letter dated 5 August 1371 from the town of Dordrecht to Lübeck. W. Mantels, *Der im Jahre 1372 zu Köln beschlossene zweite hanseatische Pfundzoll* (Lübeck: 1862), 7, 24; W. Frijhoff e.a., *De geschiedenis van Dordrecht tot 1572* (Hilversum: 1996), 202. In the *Hansisches Urkundenbuch* Eliwoldsoen is described as "vogd [auf Schonen] Wihl. Eliwoldsson." HUB 4, no. 394, p. 166; The government of the town of Dordrecht referred to Elwoudsoon as "noster advocatus Wilhelmus filius Elliwoldi." HR 1, 3 no. 309, p. 293. *Advocatus* corresponds with *Vogt* in the context of Scania. Jahnke, *Silber*, 400 and 407.

46 Poelman, *Bronnen* I no. 224, p. 48; HUB 3, no. 332, p. 145. Jahnke, *Silber*, 401, 413.

47 HUB 3, no. 332, p. 145.

How exceptional was the count of Holland and Zeeland's involvement in the appointment of *Vögte* in Scania? A comparison with other than Holland and Zeeland Zuiderzee towns might offer some insight. The counts/dukes of Guelders, the dukes of Brabant, and the bishops of Utrecht as secular rulers of the Sticht (Utrecht) and the Oversticht (Overijssel) do not seem to have cared about the appointments of *Vögte*. Only Duke Wenzel and Duchess Johanna of Brabant produced a document, in 1362, in which they granted Den Bosch the right to appoint a *Vogt* who could judge the people of Den Bosch present at Skanør-Falsterbo. The duke and duchess did, however, demand payment of part of the money to be received from fines.⁴⁸ The following year, the Danish king acknowledged the privileges of Den Bosch in Skanør-Falsterbo.⁴⁹ In 1366, the duke and duchess of Brabant granted Den Bosch the right to buy a *vitte* from the Danish king and to appoint a representative from Den Bosch every year.⁵⁰ This shows the evolution of the position of the *Vogt* as a representative of a group of people to a representative of a group of people in a certain, well-defined territory, that is a *vitte*. The reference in 1406, already mentioned, to the responsibility of the Zierikzee *Vogt* for both those who belonged to the *vitte*—people from Zierikzee—and others who wanted to be in the Zierikzee *vitte*, but apparently did not yet belong to it, also points in this direction.

Table 3.1 records the Zuiderzee towns with a *vitte* in Scania (and/or Dragør), in chronological order according to first mention of the pertinent *vitte* in the sources.⁵¹ Remarkably, the towns of Guelders—Doesburg, Harderwijk, Nijmegen, and Zutphen—and the Oversticht town of Kampen on average possessed a *vitte* half a century earlier in Scania than the towns of Holland and Zeeland and Brabantine Den Bosch. As for princely interference in the appointment of *Vögte*, nothing emerges in the oldest *vittes* of the Zuiderzee towns, the Hanseatic city of Staveren being the first exception from a chronological perspective. Here the lord does indeed interfere in the appointment of the *Vogt* of the *vitte*.⁵² And that happens to be the count of Holland. Moreover, the only known appointment of a *Vogt* for the *vitte* of Staveren took place in 1397, while the town's right to build a *vitte* had already been acquired in 1326.⁵³ The *Vögte*

48 Poelman, *Bronnen* I no. 250, p. 54. J. Hoekx and V. Paquay, *Inventaris van het archief van de stad 's-Hertogenbosch 1262–1810* (Den Bosch: 2004), 746, no. 5699; *Diplomatarium Danicum* III 6, no. 191, p. 171–172; HUB 4, no. 53 p. 28; HUB 4, no. 978, p. 427.

49 Hoekx and Paquay, *Inventaris*, 747, no. 5700.

50 Ibidem, 748, no. 5701.

51 Jahnke, *Silber*, 400–414. HR, HUB, Poelman, *Bronnen*.

52 HUB 4, no. 978, p. 427; HUB 5, no 269, p. 142–143.

53 HUB 2, no. 451, p. 192.

TABLE 3.1 First mention of *vittes* of Zuiderzee town at Scania (and Dragør), 1302–1461

Zuiderzee town	Year	Prince
Doesburg	1302	Count of Guelders
Harderwijk	1302	Count of Guelders
Nijmegen	1302	Count of Guelders
Zutphen	1302	Count of Guelders
	1346 Dragør	
Kampen	1307	Bishop of Utrecht
	1342 Dragør	
Staveren	1326	Count of Holland and Zealand
Amsterdam	1360	Count of Holland and Zealand
Den Bosch	1363	Duke of Brabant
Zierikzee	1368	Count of Holland and Zealand
Brill	1368	Lord of Voorne; Count of Holland and Zealand
Elburg	1368	Duke of Guelders
Dordrecht	1371?	Count of Holland and Zealand
Deventer	1396 Dragør	Bishop of Utrecht
Maastricht	1437	Duke of Burgundy / Prince-bishop of Liège
Zwolle	1461	Duke of Guelders

SOURCES: JAHNKE, *DAS SILBER DES MEERES*, 400–401. J. HOEKX AND V. PAQUAY, *INVENTARIS*, 746–748, NO. 5699–5701.

of the oldest *vittes* of Zuiderzee towns were indeed appointed without the involvement of their own lord. From the second half of the 14th century onwards the lord himself did interfere in the appointment of *Vögte*. The example of Den Bosch not only fits into this development, but also shows that the intervention of the count of Holland was not unique.

Rather than a break in time, a regional distinction among the Zuiderzee towns seems to have existed. This is supported by a stipulation, issued on 24 March 1396 in Deventer, that inhabitants of that town sailing to Copenhagen or to Dragør, located on the nearby island of Amager, had to be accompanied by an *olderman*, whom they themselves were allowed to select and appoint—which is in line with the above mentioned *hansegraf*. The powers of this *olderman* were practically identical to those of a *Vogt* (of a *vitte*): he should rule in matters that might arise between citizens of Deventer and matters submitted

to his judgement.⁵⁴ Although this does not involve a *Vogt* at Scania, this state of affairs is consistent with the existing practice of the Hanseatic towns on the east side of the Zuiderzee, which appointed their own *Vögte* without the intervention of a lord.

By the end of the 14th century the Zuiderzee towns under the authority of the count of Holland and Zealand joined the existing practice of the towns east of the Zuiderzee: They were henceforth allowed to appoint their own *Vögte*: Amsterdam did so in 1392, Staveren in 1401, and Zierikzee followed in 1415.⁵⁵ On 6 April 1392, Albrecht of Bavaria granted Amsterdam the eternal right to annually appoint a *Vogt* on the land of Scania for its *vitte*, on the land that it now has or may receive in the future from the king of Denmark. The Amsterdam *Vogt* was responsible for “all affairs and law of our town.”⁵⁶ As already mentioned, apparently Amsterdam up until this moment did not yet have the right to appoint *Vögte*, though this cannot be determined with certainty in the absence of further data.

Staveren followed on 6 December 1401, when the count ordered the town to appoint four “good men” (“goede knapen”) to guard the town’s goods and interests at Scania in the name of the count and the town. H.A. Poelman, who prepared the publication of the sources related to the Baltic trade, speaks of Staveren obtaining the power to have its own management at Scania.⁵⁷ The governorship (*Vogtei*) was part of the assets and rights that the four “good men” had to administer. They had to be accountable and to that end run the administration. The focus was on the income of all kinds of rights.⁵⁸ To efficiently guarantee the receipt thereof, the four men could get assistance from “our captains and from our court of law.”⁵⁹ These captains were responsible for the defence

54 HUB 5, no. 226, p. 119–121. Poelman, *Bronnen* 1, no. 611, p.154.

55 HUB 6, no. 14, p. 8; Poelman, *Bronnen* 1, no. 913, p. 229; HUB 5, no. 4, p. 4. G.F. (baron) van Thoe Scharzenberg en Hohenlandsberg ed., *Groot placaat- en charterboek van Vriesland* 1, (Leeuwarden: 1768), 329.

56 ‘alle saken ende recht van onser stede’. HUB 5, no. 4, p. 4.

57 Poelman, *Bronnen* 1, no. 733, p. 185.

58 ‘goide rekeninge ende bewisinge doen’. The management of excise duties, the weighing and measuring of goods, “boodambocht” (connected with the administration); het “stocgelt” (this was either money paid by a prisoner to a “stockmeester” or a tax levied for constructing a building), “dat schrijfambocht” (clerk), “die scole,” die “dobbelscole” (game hall?), “ende die baken verhuieren” (illuminating the border of the *vitte* with torches). Charter of 10 May 1402, *Diplomatarium Danicum* no. 14020510002. G.F. (baron) van Schwartzberg en Hohenlandsberg, *Groot placaat- en charterboek van Vriesland* 1, 329 and 332.

59 ‘onser Capiteynen ende bi onser gerechte’. *Groot placaat- en charterboek van Vriesland* 1, 329, 332.

of Staveren. The town administration had to obey these officers appointed by the count.⁶⁰ The provisions concerning the Staveren *vitte* are much more detailed than those for Amsterdam. Most likely the *vitte* of Staveren was not only older but also larger and more developed than that of Amsterdam. The involvement of the count in the *vitte* of Staveren cannot be seen separately from the problems encountered by the successive counts of Holland in their failed efforts to establish their power in Frisia. Contrary to the rest of Frisia, Staveren, because of its economic interests, repeatedly recognized the authority of the count of Holland from 1292 onwards. Staveren, which the count held under control uninterruptedly from 1398 to 1411, functioned as a bridgehead of the count in Frisia. Although the majority of the people of Staveren were in favour of the count, a permanent military presence was necessary as the town was almost constantly threatened by hostile Frisians from the surrounding countryside.⁶¹ The count was keen to keep the town in his grip, and, by extension, must have had an interest in supporting the development of its foreign trade.

It is interesting in this respect to note that the *Vogt* whom the count appointed in 1397 for the *vitte* of Staveren, Steven Janszoen, previously, in 1389, had been the *Vogt* of Brill.⁶² By appointing someone from outside Staveren with experience as governor the count wanted to increase his hold on the Staveren *vitte*. Steven Janszoen, upon his appointment, received the right to any revenues associated with his office “and which other *Vögte* in other *vittes* enjoy.” The count of Holland thus sought to adjust to what went on in other *vittes*.⁶³ This also applied to the rights which the Danish (or Swedish) king awarded. For example, the rights that King Albert of Sweden in 1368 awarded to the *vitte* of Amsterdam were explicitly derived from those of the Kampen *vitte*.⁶⁴ In fact, they were similar. This contributed to uniformity or consistency, which in turn strengthened norms, facilitated doing business with one another, and helped resolve conflicts.⁶⁵

60 A. Janse, *Grenzen aan de macht. De Friese oorlog van de graven van Holland omstreeks 1400* (The Hague: 1993), 286–287.

61 J.A. Mol, “Graaf Willem IV, de Hollands-Friese oorlog van 1344/1345 en de Friese kloosters,” in: Ph.H. Breuker and A. Janse eds., *Negen eeuwen Friesland-Holland. Geschiedenis van een haat-liefdeverhouding* (Zutphen: 1997), 94–108, 95; Janse, *Grenzen*, 45–46, 60, 283–284.

62 HUB 4, no. 978, p. 427; HUB 5, no. 269, p. 142–143.

63 ‘ende andere voechden in anderen vitten hebben’. HUB 5, no. 269, p. 143.

64 Van der Laan, *Oorkondenboek*, no. 257, p. 176.

65 Compare the reference of the different Italian city states to each other's treaties with the Byzantine emperor and with several North African rulers. These treaties are characterized by a more or less fixed form and content. L. Sicking, *De piraat en de admiraal* (Leiden and Boston: 2014), 17 with further references.

We have seen that the appointment of a *Vogt* in Scania who represented merchants and sailors from towns under the authority of the count of Holland was not exclusively an urban affair, whereas this does seem to have been the case for the eastern Zuiderzee towns, Staveren excepted. The count's intervention was not unique; the duke of Brabant interfered with the *Vogt* of the *vitte* of Den Bosch. It is interesting to note that eventually the count of Holland did hand over the responsibility for the appointment of *Vögte* to the towns again. He thus joined the existing practice of the Hanseatic towns on the east side of the Zuiderzee and elsewhere. The count conformed to what was common practice in Scania and in this way contributed to uniformity of administration and legislation in Scania. Earlier, he already did this by making the powers of *Vögte* he appointed consistent with what was common in the *vittes* of Hanseatic towns. The end of the count of Holland's interference in *Vögte* appointments, around 1400, seems to correspond with the decline of Scania's importance to Holland and Zealand.⁶⁶

4 Conflict Management at Scania

In the last part of this contribution we will look at the management of conflicts arising at Scania. For the period 1250–1550 a total of 52 conflicts have been distinguished in the main source publications of the Hanse, the first conflict emerging in 1351.⁶⁷ Without analysing all these conflicts here systematically, some developments will be highlighted, with particular attention to the role of the *Vögte*.

On most occasions the *Vogt* became involved, either as judge or as mediator, particularly when there were conflicts between inhabitants of a *vitte*, or between inhabitants of a *vitte* and other foreign merchants. One such case in which the *Vogt* acted as a mediator took place in 1505. It was a conflict between Lübeck *vitte* residents on the one hand and inhabitants of the Danzig *vitte* on the other. The Lübeck *Vogt* acted as a mediator between both parties. In the end, it was decided that the Lübeck *vitte* people involved had to be punished because they had attacked those of the Danzig *vitte* in a violent manner.⁶⁸ As

66 Jahnke, *Silber*, 107–119; Jahnke, “Herring fishery,” 177–178.

67 Both the HR and HUB source publication series have been used. No data concerning conflicts were found between 1250 and 1351. Data have been selected by searching the following key words in various different spellings: *vitte*, *voogd*, *streit*, *geschil*, *Schonen*, and a rest group consisting of “Lübeck,” “Prussian,” and “Danish fishers.” This resulted in 52 conflicts.

68 HR III, vol. 5, no 43.

we already saw, the authority of the *Vogt* as judge or mediator is in line with that of consuls of nations of foreign traders.

The largest group of conflicts at Scania, namely 20 out of 52 (or nearly 39 per cent), concerned issues over boundaries between *vittes*. The discussion that follows will be limited to this topic and allows us to make a connection with the first two parts of the present article from the perspective of conflict management. If a dispute over the boundaries of a *vitte* arose, the *Vogt* of that *vitte* was the first person to speak to. These conflicts stemmed from lack of space. In most cases, it was the placement of structures on the territory of a neighbouring *vitte* that caused a conflict. The placement or relocation of border signs could also lead to conflicts. Furthermore, the threat from the sea led to problems in the low-lying *vittes*. Thus, in 1518, Danzig complained that its *vitte* was getting smaller and smaller because of the influence of the sea.⁶⁹ It appears that the town attempted to compensate for loss of land by taking part of the Lübeck *vitte*.

Border conflicts between *vittes* occurred in Falsterbo, where, as was mentioned, the *vittes* of the most important Hanseatic towns were established in the course of the 14th century. Lübeck was most often involved in border conflicts (14), followed by Danzig (12). Both towns fought in most of the conflicts. First of all, this can be explained by the location of the Lübeck *vitte*, which was wedged between the Danzig *vitte* in the west, Rostock in the south, Stralsund and Stettin in the east, and Copenhagen in the north [map 3.2]. Expansion of the Lübeck *vitte* became impossible and direct access to the sea probably became difficult as well. In addition, these conflicts can be seen in the context of the intense competition in which both towns were involved. Together, they grew into the most important exporters of Scania herring. By way of example: in 1494 Lübeck was responsible for 32.5 per cent of the herring export from Scania; Danzig accounted for 22.3 per cent.⁷⁰ The towns also had opposing interests in trade with western Europe.⁷¹

A first conflict over the boundary between the *vittes* of the two towns occurred in the autumn of 1389, on the basis of which the role of the *Vögte* can be illustrated. Lübeck *Vogt* Johann Herborg asked his Danzig colleague Arnold van Hervorde to remove the cross that marked the boundary between the two *vittes* because otherwise there would be disagreement on both sides. Both

69 HR III, vol. 7, no. 108, sections 365–366, p. 184.

70 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), 66–67.

71 E. Hoffmann, "Lübeck in Hoch- und Spätmittelalter: Die große Zeit Lübecks," in: A. Graßmann, *Lübeckische geschichte* (Lübeck: 1988), 79–341, 142, 262; M. van Tielhof, *De Hollandse graanhandel, 1470–1570. Koren op de Amsterdamse molen* (The Hague: 1995), 196.

towns sent their oldest men to the location to take a look at the situation, but no solution was found. In the end, the residents of the Lübeck *vitte* took command: they removed the cross and put it back into the ground 26 feet away, so that 26 feet of the Danzig *vitte* was taken. Arnold van Hervorde was not amused and asked the Danzig town council for help. Danzig then approached Lübeck by letter, stating that the *Vogt* of Lübeck had moved the cross and that new buildings had been erected on the border.⁷² Lübeck was prepared to restore the old situation, but that also caused problems. Johann Herborg reported that the border sign should be put back in its original place, provided both *Vögte* could agree on its location.⁷³ This conflict was the beginning of a long series of disputes between Lübeck and Danzig.

The example from 1389 shows that when the *Vögte* did not manage to find a solution, they tried to solve it with the help of their respective hometown councils. In 1517, the council of Lübeck called upon Danzig to return a piece of land to the Lübeck *vitte* that inhabitants of the Danzig *vitte* apparently had occupied.⁷⁴ This was the usual procedure: first, the *Vogt* had to provide a solution and he was accountable to the council. If he was unable to resolve a dispute, he had the option to involve the town council, which could, for example, submit a request to the other party to find a solution.

In addition, there were border conflicts between one or more Hanseatic towns and the Danish king. In 1475, for instance, King Christian I complained that Lübeck had added a piece of Danish soil to its *vitte*.⁷⁵ These conflicts occurred especially in the second half of the 15th century, when relations between the Hanseatic League and Denmark deteriorated because the king granted fewer privileges in an attempt to limit the power of the Hanseatic towns.⁷⁶

The Zuiderzee towns do not seem to have become involved in border conflicts. The fact that the importance of the herring trade at Scania for these towns declined in the course of the 15th century, may explain this. The rise of the Holland and Zealand herring fishery in the North Sea was partly responsible for this development. It is assumed that the presence of the Zuiderzee towns on the herring market at Scania came to an end in the third quarter of the 15th century.⁷⁷

It remains unclear how most of the conflicts in and around the *vittes* at Scania were solved. They may have been managed rather than solved. A few

⁷² HR I, vol. 3, no. 434, p. 448.

⁷³ HR I, vol. 3, no. 435, p. 448.

⁷⁴ HR III, vol. 7, no. 39, section 243, p. 53.

⁷⁵ 'Denschen erden'. HR III, vol. 1, no. 56, sections 5–7, p. 40.

⁷⁶ Jahnke, *Das Silber*, 101–102.

⁷⁷ Jahnke, *Das Silber*, 106.

cases do offer some of the possibilities for resolution of conflicts relating to the boundaries of *vittes*. For example, buildings erected outside the boundaries of a *vitte* sometimes had to be removed. Occasionally, a meeting of Hanseatic towns—the so-called Hanse diet—tried to prevent future problems. Thus it was determined in 1423 that towns were free to build in any way they wanted, provided that they stayed within the boundaries of their own *vitte* and that the applicable building regulations were met.⁷⁸ In addition to the Hanse, the Danish king played a role in the resolution of conflicts over borders. For example, in 1462 he asked the towns to provide written proof of the size of their *vittes* to which they thought they were entitled. On several occasions, as in 1519 and 1528, the king appointed third parties, mostly Danes, who had to re-establish the boundary between the *vittes* of Lübeck and Danzig after disagreement had arisen.⁷⁹

5 Conclusion

The economic importance of the Scania peninsula—derived from its main product, herring, which was caught in the surrounding waters—resulted in the presence of large numbers of fishermen and merchants during the Scania fairs. The foreign, that is non-Danish, merchants from Hanseatic towns organized themselves as groups, each with a *Vogt* as their representative. These groups were subsequently organized territorially in *vittes*, granted by the Danish king. They developed from small seasonal settlements into permanent urban colonies. While the main Hanseatic towns, like Lübeck, moved their *vittes* from Skanør to Falsterbo in the 14th century, those of the Zuiderzee towns remained in Skanør, where a few new ones were set up as well. Although the Zuiderzee *vittes* represented half of the total number of *vittes* at Scania, they and their *Vögte* have hardly been studied. The development of these Zuiderzee *vittes* has been reconstructed. The territorial or topographical development of these *vittes* was characterized by regional concentration: they lay closely together and sometimes even next to each other. The new *vittes* of Zierikzee and Amsterdam were bordering the *vitte* of Kampen. Merchants from towns without their own *vitte* were housed in one of a neighbouring town: those of Deventer and Zwolle in the Kampen *vitte*, those of Enkhuizen and Wieringen in the *vitte* of Amsterdam, and those of Schouwen in the Zierikzee *vitte*. The reference to

⁷⁸ HR I, vol. 8, no. 1154, p. 741.

⁷⁹ HR III, vol. 7, no. 228, p. 430; HR III, vol. 9, no. 659, section 16, p. 852.

an area for Zealanders, which has been found only once in the sources and which referred to a former situation, could indicate that this area was initially open to all Zealanders (and possibly also to Hollanders), but lacking further information nothing can be concluded about this with certainty.⁸⁰ In any case, the limited space in Scania was progressively subdivided. The boundaries of *vittes* were precisely measured and defined.

There was a clear trend towards territorialization. It is true that the people from a particular town belonged to the jurisdiction of that town, the hometown, which was reflected in the *Vogt's* responsibility for all these people (and also for those who came in vessels from the town in question), but in addition they were increasingly spatially limited in the Skanør-Falsterbo peninsula. This was undoubtedly related to the limited space available, to the aim to control one's own community, and, in a broader sense, to the aim to facilitate the co-existence of different urban groups, to prevent conflicts, and to facilitate doing business as much as possible. In this way the *vittes*, those close to their hometowns as well as those further removed—particularly those of the Zuiderzee that were farther away from Scania than many other Hanseatic towns—can be seen as urban colonies overseas that were similar in several respects to the *funduqs* and *fondacos* on the Mediterranean and the early-modern European trading posts on the coasts of Africa, Asia, and America.

That great interests were involved in the boundaries of *vittes* is evident from the relatively high number of conflicts (39 per cent) over property boundaries at Scania between 1350 and 1550. Most of these conflicts occurred between 1460 and 1540. In this period competition among Hanseatic towns was on the rise, which was expressed most clearly by the rivalry at Scania between Lübeck and Danzig. The rising power of the Danish king, who tried to curtail or limit Hanseatic privileges, was reflected at Scania by his efforts to strictly maintain the borders of the *vittes*. The more permanent character of the *vittes* in the 15th century may have been another reason for the increasing number of conflicts related to the boundaries between *vittes*. The construction of permanent buildings, on or beyond the actual boundaries, by a neighbouring *vitte* entailed the risk of losing a part of an already small plot of land.

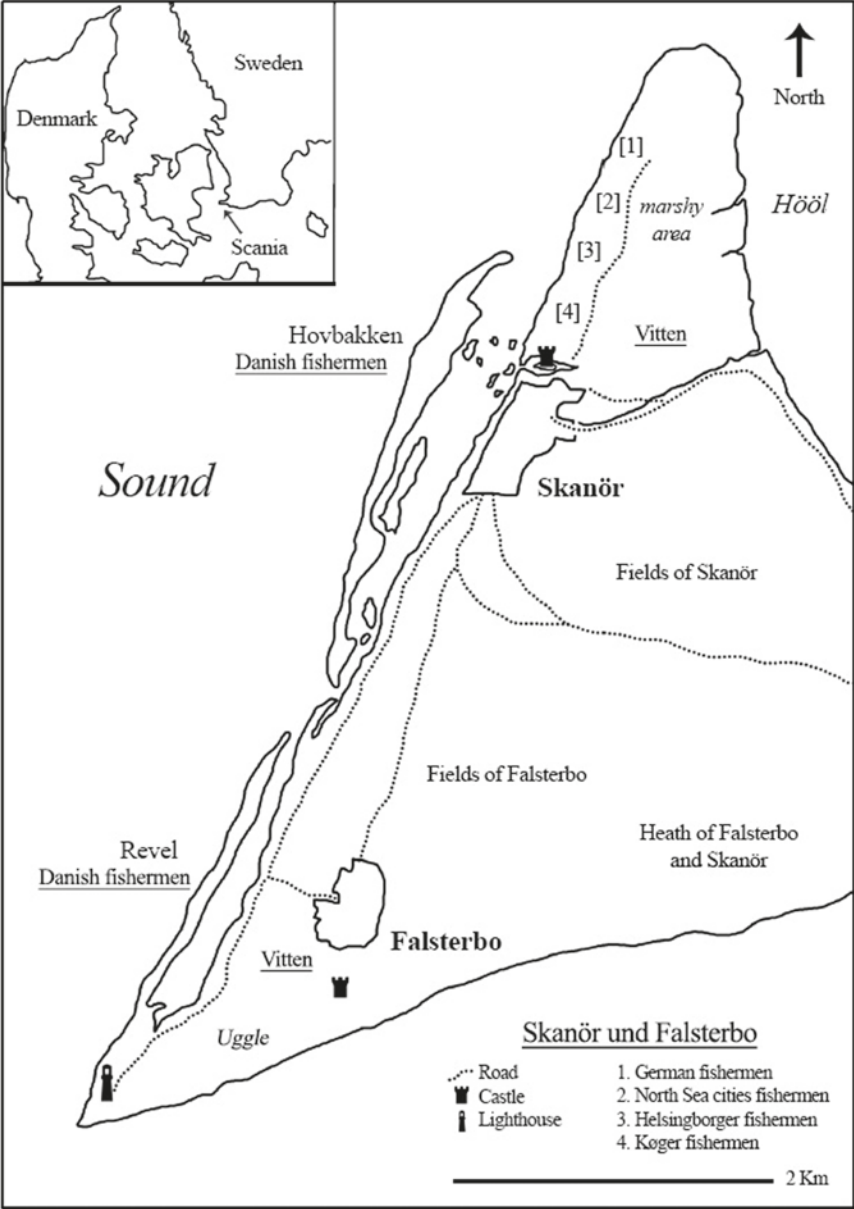
The Hanseatic towns named *Vögte* to represent their merchant communities at Scania. The *Vogt* was also responsible for the *vitte*, which became the spatial embodiment of the merchant community and its hometown. The tasks of the *Vogt*, entailing both internal and external responsibilities, were similar

80 In HR and HUB. The reference to a location on the Scania peninsula where the Flemish used to stay also indicates that there was a common area for the Flemish independently of their town of origin.

to those of consuls. Internally, they were responsible for managing the *vitte*, including maintaining law and order. In principle, the laws and rules of the hometown applied. Externally, the *Vogt* represented the inhabitants and the *vitte* towards other urban communities at Scania and towards the Danish king and his authorities. The *Vögte* played an important role in the management of conflicts, both within their *vitte* and in conflicts with external parties. In disputes pertaining to the boundaries of the *vittes* the *Vögte* first tried to solve problems among each other. When they did not find a solution, they either contacted their respective town councils or, if that did not have the desired effect, they turned to the Danish king.

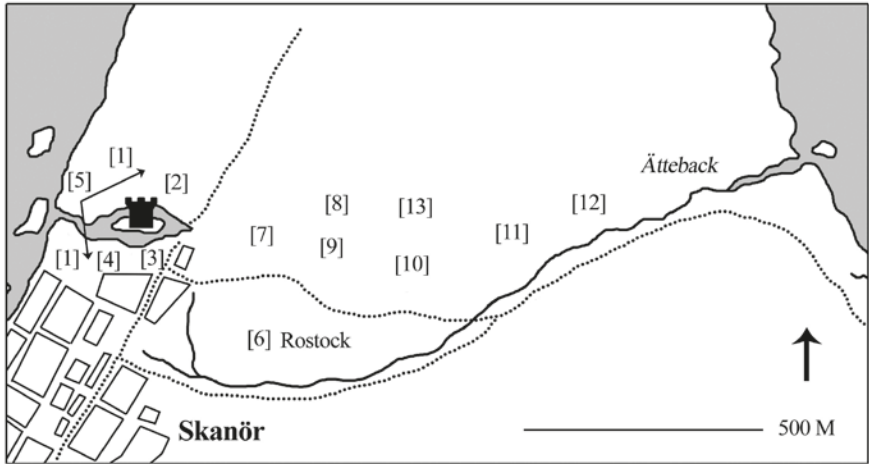
The *Vögte* and *vittes* of the towns in Holland and Zealand faced interference from the count of Holland and Zealand, as he made the *Vogt* of Zierikzee responsible for all his subjects at Scania. The count then appointed *Vögte* for his individual towns and ultimately accepted that the towns appoint their own *Vogt*, with or without his approval. This interference was exceptional, as the German Hanseatic towns and those east of the Zuiderzee appointed their own *Vögte*. The example of Staveren represents a particular combination of practices both west and east of the Zuiderzee, which had everything to do with Staveren as bridgehead or 'frontier town' in Frisia, where the count of Holland's influence was limited and unstable. Staveren belonged to the Zuiderzee towns which, like the other east-Netherlandish Hanseatic towns, got a *vitte* relatively early, in 1326. The count's involvement with the Staveren *Vogt* in Scania should be seen in the context of the control that the count tried to exercise in Frisia at the time of the appointment.

The attitude of the count of Holland suggests that he was willing to adapt to what was common at Scania. First, the *Vögte* he appointed received the same rights as their counterparts from the (other) Hanseatic towns. Second, the count then retransferred the appointment of *Vögte* to the town governments. Did the count come to the realization that the interests of merchants and skip-pers could better be left to an urban representative? Most probably the interest of the count declined when the merchants from Holland and Zealand lost interest in the Scania herring trade, which coincided with the rise of the North Sea herring fishery of these counties. In any case, it became clear that the count initially had extraterritorial ambitions, took corresponding measures, and felt responsible for the safety and well-being of his trading and seafaring subjects in foreign countries. Therefore, he took measures that applied to an area that was at a great distance from his county. Eventually, however, he allowed his towns to adapt to what was common practice among Hanseatic merchants and towns. In the end, the *Vögte* at Scania were, first and foremost, representatives or agents of merchant communities and their hometowns. They were indeed the Baltic, or rather Hanseatic, equivalent of the Mediterranean consuls.

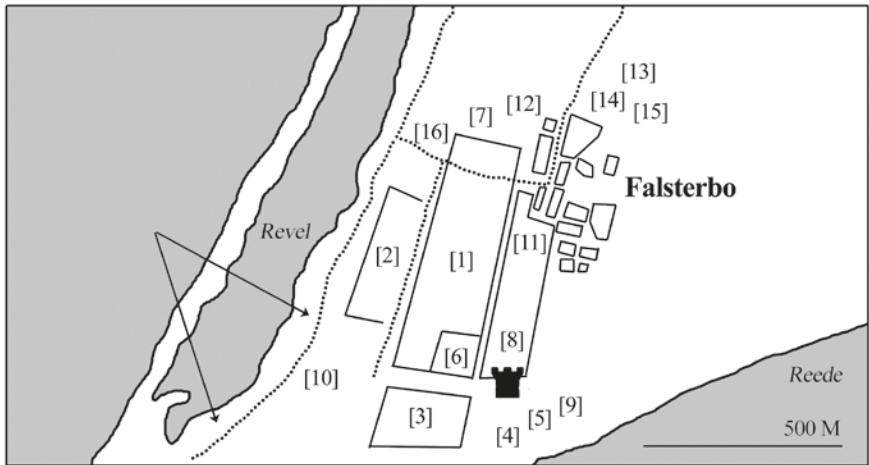


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MAP 3.1 Scania



Skanör: 1. Elburg (?) 2. Lund 3. Halmstad 4. Trelleborg 5. 's-Hertogenbosch 6. Church of Rostock 7. Zutphen 8. Zierikzee (?) 9. Kampen 10. Stavoren 11. Bremen 12. Wismar 13. Brielle, Amsterdam
Unknown locations: Doesburg, Harderwijk, Dordrecht, Nijmegen, Maastricht and Zwolle



Falsterbo: 1. Lübeck 2. Prussian cities (including Danzig, Elbing and Königsberg) 3. Rostock 4. Halmstad 5. Greifswald 6. Kiel (?) 7. Copenhagen 8. Stralsund 9. Anklam 10. Danish church 11. Stettin 12. Kolberg 13. Svendborg 14. Åhus 15. Kalundborg 16. Ängelholm

MAP 3.2 Scania detailed

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