



MAIJA OJALA



# Protection, Continuity and Gender

Craft trade culture in the Baltic Sea region

(14th-16th centuries)

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Tampere, 15 July 2014

On the 35<sup>th</sup> year of the greatest journey ever

Maija Ojala

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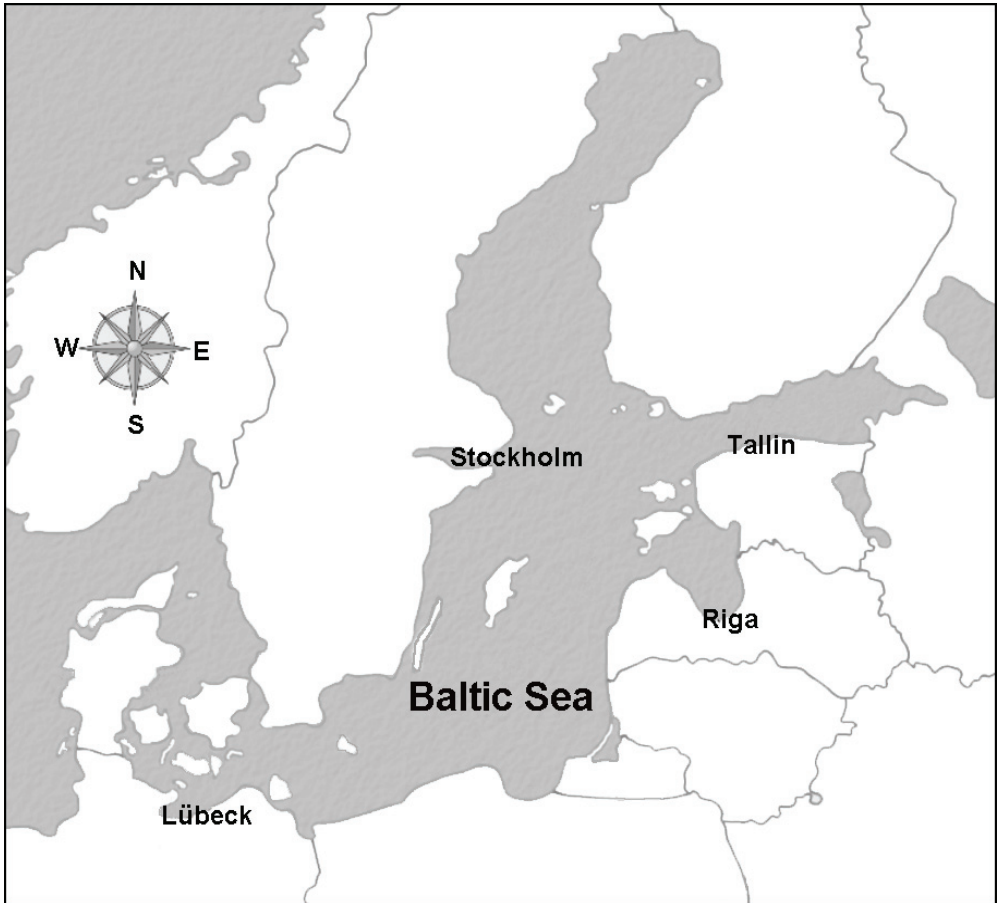
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## Abbreviations

AHL	Archiv der Hansestadt Lübeck / Lübeck city archive
ASA	Altes Senatsarchiv (in AHL)
ATA	Antikvarisk-topografiska arkivet, Stockholm
Beiträge	Beiträge zur Kunde Est-, Liv- und Kurlands (until 1915); Beiträge zur Kunde Estlands (from 1923)
coll.	collection (in citations of archival materials)
HGbl	Hansische Geschichtsblätter
KB	Kungliga Bibliotek / Swedish National Library
KB B	Kungliga Bibliotek, Handskriftensamling
KL	Kulturhistoriskt Lexikon för nordisk medeltid
inv.	inventory (in citations of archival materials)
LECUB	Liv-, Ehst- und Curländisches Urkundenbuch
LMA	Lexikon des Mittelalters
MES	Magnus Erikssons Stadslag / King Magnus Erikssons town law
MLG	Middle Low German/ Mittelniederdeutsch
LVVA	Latvijas Valsts Vēstures Arhīvs / Latvian State Historical Archives
PRF	Privilegier och resolutioner för Sveriges Städer
OED	Oxford English Dictionary
OS	Old Swedish
RA	Riksarkivet / Swedish National Archives
Råb	rådsbisittare in Appendix, Table 4.1
SKS	Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura / Finnish Literature Society
SSA	Stockholms stadarkiv / Stockholm City Archives
Ssa	Stockholms stads acta (in RA)
SSSK	Stockholms stads skottebok
SSTB	Stockholms stads tänkebok
SSÄB	Stockholms stads ämbetsbok
TLA	Tallinna Linnaarhiiv / Tallinn City Archives
UUB	Uppsala Universitetsbibliotek
ZVLGA	Zeitschrift des Vereins für Lübeckische Geschichte und Altertumskunde



Map 1.1 The Baltic Sea region

# 1 Introduction to Urban Craft Trade

This dissertation seeks to explain what craft trade culture was in the cities bordering the Baltic Sea during the Late Middle Ages and in the beginning of the Early Modern Period. Craft trade culture is examined from the point of view of economic and gender history in four urban communities (Tallinn, Riga, Lübeck, and Stockholm). The main purpose of this study is to deepen our understanding on the everyday life of craftsmen and -women and the world they lived in. It is important to examine craft trade culture and craft organizations in the Baltic Sea area from economic and gender history viewpoints due to several reasons. Firstly, a quarter of the inhabitants of the late medieval and early modern cities belonged commonly to craftsmen. Yet, in previous studies this middle class of urban inhabitants has not received wide attention. Secondly, there is a lack of an extensive comparative study on craft trade culture in the Baltic Sea region which takes into consideration economic and gender perspective. Thirdly, craft organizations penetrated all spheres of life in urban settlements: they dominated labour market, influenced town topography, organized military troops, took care of juridical and administrative tasks, organized professional training, and together with merchants governed the economic sector. In addition, crafts organized poor relief, free time, and some crafts even took care of religious and devotional activities.<sup>1</sup> Consequently, their influence on everyday life in urban settlements was crucial. This dissertation intends to fill a void in our historical knowledge by providing a comparative study with new perspectives on craft trade culture in the North. This study also challenges the previous notions of scholars by providing a different interpretation on craft trade culture. A broad collection of both normative and narrative sources is used in order to discover the essential elements of craft trade culture. Additionally, a variety of methods is used and combined: qualitative, quantitative, and linguistic methods have been applied. These are complemented by an elaborate case study and broad comparison of four urban communities. This combination of different kinds of source material and various methods provides a fruitful basis on the study of urban craft trade culture in the Baltic Sea region.

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1 Cf. Von Heusinger, *Die Zunft*, 14.

## 1.1 Research objective

In this study I shall examine urban craft trade culture in the Baltic Sea region during the Late Middle Ages and in the beginning of the Early Modern Period, circa 1350–1620. The most crucial question is what craft trade culture was. In other words, what were the essential elements of craft trade culture? Studying craft trade culture is important because it was an integral and vital part of urban life. Commonly, craftsfolk formed one fourth of the inhabitants of the cities and thus were the urban middle class. In order to be able to understand late medieval and early modern urban life as well as the city community, craftsfolk should be integrated into historical research. Yet, craft trade culture and craftsfolk in the Baltic Sea region have not received wide attention from scholars. On the other hand, this underlines the desiderata of this study. In previous research craft trade culture has often been seen as a rigid system that hindered the development of market and prevented the development of dynamic and flexible economy.<sup>2</sup> As Sabine von Heusinger has pointed out, this Weberian interpretation of craft trade culture and its organizations has strongly influenced guild and craft research since the end of the nineteenth century.<sup>3</sup> My hypothesis is that craft trade culture was a flexible system, which adapted to changing circumstances, left room for negotiation as well as different solutions, and strived for continuity.

The research objective is approached from three perspectives. Firstly, I shall examine what kind of organizations existed in late medieval and early modern urban towns. I shall study how these organizations have been defined, both in previous research and by the contemporaries. Before examining urban organizations, such as guild and crafts, a historian should define the organizations more precisely and accurately than it has been carried out in earlier research. This is important because inaccurate use of terminology by scholars can easily lead to misinterpretations. Commonly known terms, such as *guild*, are often taken for granted without paying enough attention to the purpose of the organization and its members.<sup>4</sup> My hypothesis is that women's agency and widows' opportunities to continue their trade varied according to the organization type. Therefore it is crucial to define and categorize the diverse urban organizations. I will argue that without a clear distinction between

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2 See for example Ogilvie, *A Bitter Living*, 329–331.

3 Von Heusinger, *Die Zunft*, 13–14.

4 For example, Franz Irsigler has heavily criticized the imprecise use of terminology and advised scholars to define various organizations with a help of attributive adjectives. See Irsigler, 'Zur Problematik der Gilde- und Zunftterminologie', 53–54, 68–70.

organizations it is difficult, if not impossible, to examine widows' opportunities apart from the characteristics of craft trade culture itself.

Secondly, I shall study the opportunities of artisan widows and the meaning of widowhood in the context of craft trade. Here the viewpoint changes from the organizations to the point of view of the craftsfolk and particularly of artisan widows. In other words, craft trade culture is examined through the perspective of an artisan widow: what opportunities widows had to continue their trade? What do they reveal about craft trade culture? By adopting different roles, as mothers and managers of household workshops, widows challenged the traditional gender roles. Thus the widow perspective is fruitful because it helps us to examine how gender relationships were constructed in craft trade culture and what role gender played in this culture.<sup>5</sup> The normative side is discussed by studying craft ordinances: what options and possibilities did craft ordinances give to widows to continue their trade? In previous research widows' rights articles have been seen as mere restrictions against women's work. I challenge previous research by arguing that widows' rights articles must be seen as opportunities, and hence widows' rights articles ensured legal protection for widows. In order to prove my point, the widows' rights articles in the craft ordinances and their geographical variations are discussed and compared profoundly.

Thirdly, craft trade culture is studied by taking a closer look at Lübeck. I shall examine, with the help of narrative source material, the everyday practice of craftsfolk. It is important to use both narrative and normative source material because if we only examine the norms set by craft ordinances we might overlook essential elements of craft trade culture and the phenomenon might appear different than it actually was.<sup>6</sup> In particular, I shall ask how widows' right articles were applied in practice. Did widows use the rights granted to them in the craft ordinances? What dispute situations can be observed? My aim is to detect and discuss the values within craft trade culture by analysing the narrative source material together with craft ordinances. In addition, I shall examine the work identity of craftswomen and craftsmen and what it meant to be them. Previous research has claimed that artisan workshops were a men's world and that craftswomen did not have such a strong group identity than, for example, the journeymen.<sup>7</sup> It is my hypothesis that gender

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5 Cf. Lanza, *From Wives to Widows*, 9, 84.

6 As Sabine von Heusinger has pointed out, this is important because, by studying only the normative craft ordinances, craft trade culture and craft organizations may look static, hence reinforce the traditional Weberian notion on craft trade culture. Von Heusinger, *Die Zunft*, 14.

7 Karras, *From Boys to Men*, 109, 121, 138–139; Pihl, *Arbete*, 134, 152; Von Heusinger, *Die Zunft*, 74–75.



hierarchies and the masculinity of artisanal world has been overemphasized. For example, Janine M. Lanza has argued that widows shared the same craft identity as men and held a significant role in craft trade culture in early modern Paris.<sup>8</sup> Using Lübeck as a case study I shall also examine the interaction between the city council, the crafts, and individual craft members. This is significant because it helps us to detect the dynamics within craft trade culture and how various actors negotiated on norms, rules, values, and their goals.

In this study I have chosen a long time span, 1350–1620, first and foremost because it enables the examination of changes and continuities in the long run and breaks the traditional separation of medieval and early modern times. Studies often concentrate either on late medieval or on early modern times although the fine line between these two historical eras has been disputed. Sometimes the Reformation has been counted as a watershed between medieval and early modern times. New religious teachings which often were influenced by economic developments emphasized work and gender hierarchy within working conditions. It seems that many of these teachings matched with the artisan household workshop, where womenfolk and journeymen worked under the control of a male master artisan. According to Protestant ideology, home was women's sphere and motherhood women's calling.<sup>9</sup> And indeed some scholars, like Lyndal Roper, have argued that urban guilds strongly prompted new religious ideology because it fitted so well with their own world view.<sup>10</sup> Furthermore, scholars have argued that during the Early Modern Period women lost their important position in craft trade when production mechanisms changed profoundly.<sup>11</sup> With this study I shall contribute to the discussion of change and continuity from the Middle Ages into the Early Modern Period. I shall examine if the widows' rights articles changed towards the seventeenth century in the Baltic Sea region and if so, in what way. It is my hypothesis that the temporal change suggested in previous research has been overemphasized.

The aim of this dissertation is to shed new light on four cities bordering the Baltic Sea and to investigate the craft trade culture that existed in these cities during the late medieval and early modern times. In order to investigate such a large phenomenon in a large geographical area and within a time period that covers nearly three hundred years, sufficient source material must be at disposal. In the

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8 Lanza, *From Wives to Widows*, 10.

9 Katajala-Peltomaa and Toivo, *Noitavaimo ja Neitsytäiti*, 37, 72; See also Roper, *Holy Household*, 31–33.

10 Roper, *Holy Household*, 27–28, 31, 38.

11 See for example Wiesner, *Women and Gender*, 124–128, 133–134; McIntosh, *Working Women*, 156, 181 and Bennett, *Ale, Beer and Brewsters*, passim.

following the source material is handled by and large. Thereafter the multi-faceted methods as well as the key concepts and theoretical framework used in this dissertation are introduced.

## 1.2 Sources

### 1.2.1 Craft ordinances

In this study I shall use craft ordinances as my main sources. Craft ordinances are perhaps the best way to approach handicraft production, craftsfolk, and widows' opportunities because ordinances set the framework of craft trade culture. Craft ordinances are normative source material, which must be taken into consideration in research. Thus, it is clear that the chosen source material impacts the results. However, craft ordinances did not arise and develop in a vacuum but were intended to be solutions to certain problems and tools used to regulate craft trade. Therefore ordinances reflect the mentalities, values, and concerns of the contemporaries. The regulations in the craft ordinances were also direct commentaries of current problems and conflicts. Crafts reacted to changing circumstances and attempted to solve possible conflicts by including additions to the ordinances and changing articles. In this way the normative craft ordinances are connected to everyday practices.

I have analysed altogether 178 craft ordinances from Lübeck, Riga, Tallinn, and Stockholm. These are all the known preserved ordinances from the time period of 1350–1620, which exist either as original, or in edition, or both. As the following table demonstrates, the majority of ordinances, totalling 84, stem from the sixteenth century. The second largest amount of ordinances, totalling 60, stem from the fifteenth century. We have 27 ordinances from the second half of the fourteenth century and 7 ordinances from the beginning of the seventeenth century. It must be pointed out that in general the number of extant ordinances explodes during the seventeenth century and it would have been difficult, if not impossible, to include them in this study.

Table 1.1 Number of extant craft ordinances used in this study and their temporal distribution

Years	Lübeck	Riga	Tallinn	Stockholm	Total/4 cities
1350–1399	16	9	2	0	27
1400–1499	31	7	17	5	60
1500–1599	37	19	16	12	84
1600–1620	1	4	0	2	7
Total/city	85	39	35	19	178

Sources: See Appendix Tables 1.2, 2.1, 3.1, 4.1, and Bibliography, Archival sources.

As Table 1.1 illustrates, the majority of the analysed craft ordinances are from Lübeck which was the biggest city on the shores of the Baltic Sea, and therefore it is not surprising that the number of preserved ordinances exceeds other cities. The numbers in the table do not correspond with the total number of organized crafts in each city since many ordinances have not survived. Similarly, the actual number of different crafts is smaller since, for example, from Tallinn we have four different ordinances from the butchers. Thus the figures are in that sense approximate. Yet they give an overall idea of the main source material and its temporal distribution. Craft ordinances and demarcation of different trades is discussed further in Chapter 2.1.2, where each city is handled in depth. The detailed information on preserved craft ordinances, source editions, and repository places of the originals as well as collection principles can be found in the Appendices 1–4 at the end of this study.

In late medieval cities the artisans, the craftsfolk were organized in such a way that usually those who practised one particular trade, such as shoemakers, formed one craft. Each craft had its own rules, which in research are often called ordinances, statutes, *Schragen*, or *Rollen*.<sup>12</sup> The contemporaries in late medieval and early modern times called these rules *schra/scraa* (MLG, Tallinn and Riga), *rolle* (Lübeck), and *skera* (Stockholm). Each craft ordinance included dozens of different articles. Craft ordinances regulated, above all, the training of apprentices and the actual work of the artisans. Thus the main purpose of craft ordinances was to control economic relations: craft trade, the quality of products, and to guarantee certain privileges to craft members. However, the ordinances also consisted of articles that were not directly work-related but ordained free time, religious participation, and social life of the members, in other words social relations. Crafts prepared the ordinances themselves but the city council hold the right to confirm the ordinance; in other

12 In this study the regulations of guild and devotional guilds are called statutes in order to distinguish them from craft ordinances. The Lübeck craft ordinances are often referred to as *Zunftrollen* or *Rollen*, because the parchments were rolled. In German literature the ordinances are called *Schragen* or *Statute*.

words, in order to be valid the ordinance had to be confirmed.<sup>13</sup> Because the city council ‘lent’ the ordinance to the craft and confirmed or amended it periodically, craft ordinances served as a way for the civic authorities to exercise control over craft production. However, crafts themselves enforced the ordinance by negotiating disputes in assemblies, determining the membership, and setting the standards.<sup>14</sup> In other words, crafts had broad executive power over their rules.

The majority of the disputes were discussed in craft assemblies.<sup>15</sup> Some crafts ordained that without permission from the aldermen a member was not allowed to take a dispute against a fellow member into the city court. For example, Stockholm tanners stipulated that if a brother or sister sued their brother or sister without the consent of aldermen, they were fined 18 öres.<sup>16</sup> A general notion is that ordinances were written by male members of the craft organizations, although it is rarely studied who did the actual writing: alderman, some other master, or professional scribe. Rudolf Wissell proposes that initially only a little was invested to the beauty of written ordinances and masters wrote the ordinances themselves in order to save costs. Later more effort was put in and some of the ordinances have been decorated beautifully by professional scribes.<sup>17</sup> Another relatively common conception among scholars is that women could not, in general, participate in the decision making within the crafts.<sup>18</sup>

The majority of the craft ordinances in the Baltic Sea region included similar articles. Some ordinances even referred directly to their models: Tallinn goldsmiths’ ordinance named Lübeck as their example.<sup>19</sup> The older ordinances were used as models and throughout Northern Europe craft ordinances from other cities were used as models.<sup>20</sup> The order of the articles could vary between different ordinances. The Tallinn smiths’ ordinance of 1459 serves as an illustrative example of a typical craft ordinance.<sup>21</sup>

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13 Fink, ‘Die Wette’, 219.

14 Cf. Karras, *From Boys to Men*, 113.

15 Wissell, *Alten Handwerks Recht II*, 177, 181, 191–194.

16 Klemming, *Skerå-Ordningar*, 267 (Skinnare/Tanners 1589). In Swedish currency 1 öre/ore was 1/8 of a mark. See Grönros et al., *Tiima, tiu, tynnyri*, 105.

17 Wissell, *Alten Handwerks Recht I*, 112, 122–124.

18 Wissell, *Alten Handwerks Recht II*, 194. Cf. also Schmidt, ‘Women and Guilds’, 75.

19 Tallinn Linnaarhiiv (TLA), coll. 190, inv. 2, no. 70, 5r (Goldsmede/Goldsmiths 1453).

20 Bonsdorff, *Kunstproduktion*, 23–25; Stieda and Mettig, *Schragen*, 100–101.

21 Werner Pursche has described the contents of the Stockholm carpenters ordinance in detail. See Pursche, *Timmermannsämбетet*, 20–32.

Table 1.2 Craft ordinance of Tallinn smiths from 1459

Articles	Contents	Simplified and shortened translation of the original Middle Low German (MLG) ordinance. <sup>I</sup>
Opening	Subordination to the city council, dating, name of the craft organization	In the name of God. In the year of our Lord 1459, the city council of Reval lent us this ordinance of the smiths' craft, that we are to hold to this ordinance and the articles that here are written.
1	Requirements for the craft membership and mastership, membership fee, military defence equipment, honourable birth and training	He who <sup>II</sup> wants to practise the trade independently has to pay 6 Riga marks and has his own <i>harnsch</i> <sup>III</sup> and he has to have served as a journeyman for one year in our craft. When he wants to become a member he should attend three main <i>steven</i> <sup>IV</sup> and in the last one present a master piece and show that he has the skills.
2	Requirements for a newcomer from other town	If someone has worked in another town and wants to settle down here, he should bring a certificate of honourable birth and former training.
3	Requirements for membership for a German journeyman	If it is so that a German journeyman comes to the city and wants to join our craft, he should work under one master for a year and when the time is up he is to make a master piece and if it is approved he is to attend the main <i>steven</i> and gain a membership.
4	Requirements for citizenship	He who also gains craft membership is to go with the aldermen and the <i>bisittere</i> <sup>V</sup> to the city council and gain citizenship or otherwise pay a penalty of one Riga mark.
5–6	Requirements for mastership / master vacancy	He who wants to become his own in our craft and show his master piece should produce three pieces of work to prove his skills and mark the pieces with his mark or pay a penalty of half a <i>ferding</i> <sup>VI</sup> . He who wants to work independently in our craft should pay a joint feast, <i>kost</i> , as is the tradition.
7–8	Articles regarding a <i>knecht</i> / hired male worker/ journeyman	One should not hire someone else's <i>knecht</i> <sup>VII</sup> 14 days before the right time. If a <i>knecht</i> is hired he should be paid enough. One should not lend money to the <i>knecht</i> .

I Translation has been made by the author.

II Here I have translated the MLG term *welk man* into 'he who' although it can also refer to an indefinite pronoun 'whoever', as I argue in Chapter 2.2.1.

III *Harnsch* or *Harnisch* that usually consisted of helmet, gorget and a breast plate/cuirass. See Lasch and Borchling, terms *harnsch*, *hôt*, *kräge* and *krëvet*.

IV *Steven* was an official assembly of the craft, usually combined with a feast and/or mass in church.

V *Bisittere* were members of the city council who acted as assistants of the craft's aldermen and supervisors of the craft.

VI In Livonian currency 1 *ferding* was  $\frac{1}{4}$  a mark. See Mänd, *Urban Carnival*, Appendix 6.

VII *Knecht* was a male servant, a hired male worker, or a journeyman.

9	Regulations regarding coal purchase	No one should buy coals outside the city by a penalty of ½ marks.
10–17	Regulations regarding social manners, communication, language, and behaviour <sup>viii</sup>	No one should insult the aldermen or a craftsbrother; no one should come to feasts in a bad mood or seek trouble. When the aldermen have given permission to leave the assembly everyone should leave the place, no one should spread rumours of other members, etc.
18	Inner jurisdiction	He who in our company handles his matters [disputes] without informing the <i>bisittere</i> , the council, and the <i>ampt</i> should pay a penalty of 1 Riga mark.
19	Behaviour of a <i>knecht</i>	If a <i>knecht</i> behaves badly against his master, no master shall hire him for a year's time, by a penalty of 1 mark.
20–24	Social manners and behaviour in feasts, drinkings, and official assemblies	Whoever breaks the rules in <i>drunke</i> <sup>ix</sup> shall pay on the spot; he who sits down in the aldermen's table should pay ½ Riga mark; he who misses the <i>steven</i> should pay one mark pound wax; he who treats a new round of beer without permission should pay 3 schillings.
25–26	Prohibition of arms	No one should carry arms in the company [meetings and feasts], or hurt a brother with weapons; no one should fight on the streets on their way home after the feasts; by a penalty of fines.
27	Behaviour and causing of damage	If someone causes damage, he should tell about it, fix the damage, and pay half <i>lispunt</i> <sup>x</sup> wax.
28	Mutual aid	If someone is in trouble or needs to see the city council, he should ask an alderman to go with him.
29	Funerals	If someone from the craft dies, brothers and sisters are to attend the vigil and go to the church in the morning and follow by the grave by a penalty of 4 schillings <sup>xi</sup> [vigil later overstruck].
30	Delivery of promised goods	He who promises more than he can make and deliver shall pay ½ Riga mark.
31	Hiring a <i>knecht</i>	He who keeps a <i>knecht</i> for years should pay a penalty of ½ Riga mark.

VIII Here I would like to thank Jennifer Bishop (University of Cambridge) for providing suitable vocabulary.

IX *Drunke* were the main feasts of the craft and the city community such as Christmas and Carnival. Cf. Mänd, *Urban Carnival*, for example, 42–44, 51.

X In Livonian weight 1 *lispunt* was 20 pounds, c. 8.32 kg. Mänd, *Urban Carnival*, Appendix 6.

XI In Livonian currency 1 mark was 36 shillings. Mänd, *Urban Carnival*, Appendix 6.

32	Resources, coal purchase	If the coals come to one man's door and he wants to buy them, he should be home; otherwise someone else can buy them.
33	Craft assembly, <i>drunke</i> , and social manners	When the company plans to hold a <i>drunke</i> , the aldermen should choose the guildbrothers acting as <i>schenke</i> <sup>xii</sup> and buy good beer for the <i>drunke</i> , and if someone complains about the beer he should pay a penalty of one Ferding.
34	Hiring a <i>knecht</i>	If someone hires a <i>knecht</i> for half a year with decent salary and it is done with the acceptance of both parties, it is done free of a penalty of fine.
35	Inner disputes and jurisdiction/ judicature /Rechtspflege	He who is a member of our craft should not sue another member before they have first discussed it in the <i>companie</i> , by a penalty of ½ marks.
36	Quality requirements	Those smiths who forge <i>hoff slagen</i> should use good quality Swedish iron ( <i>osenmunde</i> <sup>xiii</sup> ) and not the iron of poor quality, by one mark penalty.
37	Price control	One should not charge more than 8 schillings from horse shoeing and one schilling from a horse shoe, by one mark penalty.
38	Horse shoeing	If a smith or his <i>knecht</i> accepts a horse for shoeing, the smith should take the horse into his stable and keep it there as long as the horse is in order and well. If the horse is not well, it should be examined and the smith has to pay for the horse, as is done in other cities.
39	Feasts	If a brother sleeps in the house of the aldermen, he should pay a penalty of one mark pound wax.
40–41	Widows' rights	If there is a <i>vrouve</i> in our craft whose husband has died and who has no children who would be born into our craft, she can continue the trade for one year and a day, after which she should close the workshop. If she has children she can then continue the trade as long as she desires. If a widow remarries with a man outside our craft she shall give up her trade.
42	Journeyman's <i>drunke</i> / journeymen at the common <i>drunke</i>	If the smiths' <i>knechte</i> hold a drinking together they should not drink later [in the evening] than the masters, by a penalty of one mark.

XII Some usually younger brothers acted as servants and cupbearers in the *drunke*. Cf. Mänd, *Urban Carnival*, 62, 94.

XIII *Osmund* was the name for Swedish iron. Dollinger, *Die Hanse*, 312.

43	Penalties and cash register	All the fines written in this ordinance should be divided so that one half goes to the city council and the other to the craft except all the wax fines which go to the craft. Fines are collected into a cash chest, to which the aldermen have one key and the assistants another, and anyone who pays fines should register them by the assistants.
Confirmation	Confirmation of the city council	This here downwritten ordinance has the <i>herren</i> of the city council lent to us for five years. When the five years are over the craft should present the ordinance to the city council again by a penalty of one mark.

Source: TLA, coll. 190, inv. 2, no. 555, 1r–6r (Smede/ Smiths 1459).

Craft ordinances emerged when writing down the oral tradition became relevant, for example, when disputes about a trade arose, when different trades diverged, when the craft felt its privileges were threatened, or the city council wanted to tighten the control over corporations. Presumably many crafts had become organized (long) before their ordinances were written down.<sup>22</sup> Each craft entered articles to the ordinances that they themselves considered important, which the city council regarded necessary, and what was a common custom. In this way they reveal what practices were considered important. Additionally, many articles in the ordinances refer to the ‘old tradition’. Craft ordinances differed from guild statutes and these differences are discussed extensively in Chapter 2.

### Selection criteria and dating of ordinances

The usage and dating of the craft ordinances was not straightforward. The complexity of dates and later written additions highlights the problem on how to define a craft ordinance as a single calculable unit. Should an ordinance of one specific craft, which has multiple additions and confirmation dates, be counted as one craft ordinance or as different ordinances? For example, the Tallinn smiths’ ordinance, illustrated above, includes the following additions. These additions were written after the 1459 ordinance into the same booklet. Table 1.3 presents the additions and confirmations that were made into the Tallinn smiths’ ordinance most likely in 1459–1479, after the ‘original’ ordinance of 1459 and before the next addition of 1479. Table 1.4 presents the additions that were made to the smiths’ ordinance between 1479 and 1528.

<sup>22</sup> Wissell, *Alten Handwerks Recht I*, 109, 114; Lindström, *Skrå, stad och staat*, 78–80, 90–94; von Bonsdorff, *Kunstproduktion*, 22–23; Wehrmann, *Zunftrollen*, 18; Stidea and Mettig, *Schragen*, 88–93; Schulz, *Handwerk*, 49–50.



Table 1.3 Undated additions to the Tallinn smiths' ordinance

Articles	Contents	Simplified translation of the MLG ordinance
44	Requirements for mastership, honourable birth	He who in our craft will practise the trade independently should bring a certificate of honourable birth.
45	Widows' rights	If the husband of a <i>vrouwe</i> in our craft dies, she can continue the trade as long as she remains a widow. If she marries outside the craft she should give up her trade.
46	Benefits for the journeyman if he marries into the craft	If a German <i>knecht</i> marries a widow or a maiden from our craft, he can gain a membership in the first assembly ( <i>esschinge</i> ) and he should present himself at the main assembly, <i>steven</i> .
47	Requirements of a <i>knecht</i> / journeyman	He who is accepted as a <i>knecht</i> in our craft and learns the craft should act worthy of our craft.

Source: TLA, coll. 190, inv. 2, no. 555, 6v (Smede/ Smiths 1459–).

Table 1.4 Additions to the Tallinn smiths' ordinance in 1479–1528

Year/ Articles	Contents	Simplified translation of the MLG ordinance
1479/ 48	Confirmation of the city council, article regarding craft assembly	The craft and aldermen saw the city council before St Michael's day in 1479 and it was added that if someone does not attend <i>steven</i> , he should pay one schilling.
1485/ 49	Requirements for craft membership if someone marries a masters' daughter	If someone marries a master's daughter he is freed from the <i>kost</i> [organizing a feast] but should present his master piece, this applies also to a master's son.
1498/ 50–51	Confirmation of the city council, cash register, jurisdiction	[original parchment damaged]
1528/ 52	Confirmation of the city council, cash register	The city council lent the craft ordinance to the smiths' craft for the next three years. The fines should be divided in two, one half for the council and the other for the craft. The craft should pay the one half once a year to the council. When three years has passed the craft should present the ordinance to the city council.

Source: TLA, coll. 190, inv. 2, no. 555, 6v–7v (Smede/ Smiths 1459–1528).

The smiths' case is quite clear since most of the additions and confirmations have an explicit dating and they are all written into the same booklet in chronological order. However, sometimes there are various copies of the same ordinance which lack a clear dating. The Tallinn butchers serve as an illustrative example of the unsystematic practice of dating. Four ordinances have survived from this craft: the ordinance of 1394, the ordinance of the end of the fifteenth century (*Ende 15.Jh*), the ordinance of 1509, and the ordinance of 1528. The oldest ordinance of the Tallinn butchers is dated 1394, but it has additions until 1478 and one extra remark regarding altar donations dated 1491.<sup>23</sup> The second oldest butchers' ordinance was most likely written at the end of the fifteenth century but the core content of the ordinance is almost exactly the same as in the ordinance of 1394. However, the second ordinance has additions, which begin in 1626 and continue until the eighteenth century, and it is therefore counted as a separate ordinance.<sup>24</sup> It is possible that the two oldest ordinances were partly used simultaneously. The third ordinance of the Tallinn butchers is dated 1509 at the beginning of the ordinance, but it has the same remark from 1491 regarding altar donations as the second ordinance. There is no confirmation date or later additions at the end of the ordinance. Because this ordinance has a different date at the beginning, it is counted as a separate ordinance.<sup>25</sup> The fourth ordinance of the butchers is basically a copy of the 1509 ordinance written in Tallinn city's book of ordinances (*Schragen-codex*), but in the end there is a confirmation of the city council, which is dated 1528, so it is counted as a separate ordinance, apart from the 1509 ordinance.<sup>26</sup> It is unclear why the seventeenth century additions were made to the butchers' second ordinance and not to the ordinance of 1509, which would have been next in chronological order.

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23 TLA, coll. 190, inv.2, no. 118, 10v–11r (Knakenhower/Butchers 1394). In dating of the craft ordinances, especially in unclear cases, I have relied on the conversations with Tapio Salminen, who has specialized in medieval written culture and paleography. He is currently finishing his study 'The textualisation and written management of information in the civic administration of Reval in the 13th and 14th Centuries' (Forthcoming PhD diss., University of Tampere).

24 TLA, coll. 190, inv. 2, no. 119 (Knochenhauer/Butchers end of the 15th century). Additions from f. 6r onwards.

25 TLA, coll. 190, inv. 2, no. 121, 1r, remark from 1491 8r (Knakenhower/Butchers 1509).

26 TLA, coll. 230, inv. 1, Ac5, 63v (Knochenhauer/Butchers 1528).

Table 1.5 Four ordinances of the Tallinn butchers and their dating

Ordinance	Dating at beginning of the ordinance	Additions	Confirmation dating at the end of the ordinance	Original
Butchers, 1394	1394	1478 and 1491	–	Small wood and leather covered book
Butchers, end of the 15th century	–	1626 until the eighteenth century		Small leather covered book
Butchers, 1509	1509	1491	–	Small booklet
Butchers, 1528	–	–	1528	In <i>Schragen-Codex</i> [City council's book of ordinances]

Sources: TLA, coll. 190, inv.2, no. 118 (Knakenhower/ Butchers 1394); no. 119 (Knochenhauer/ Butchers end of the 15th century); no. 121 (Knakenhower/ Butchers 1509) and TLA, coll. 230, inv. 1, Ac5, (Knochenhauer/ Butchers 1528).

Consequently, in this study the ordinances are counted as different single ordinances if one of the following criteria is fulfilled: 1) if the ordinance is extant in separate, physically existing parchment or paper booklet; 2) if the ordinance has a different ‘publication’ date at the beginning or a confirmation date at the end than its predecessor; 3) if the copy of the ordinance, for example in a city book, has different dates than the other surviving ordinances of this particular craft. The complete lists of the ordinances used in this study can be found in the appendices.

In addition, the following principles have been applied when collecting source material. Several trades have been counted as craft trades even though their practitioners did not make any products or their trade resembled that of merchants. Such trades are, for example, boatmen, carriers, loaders, small shop keepers, hucksters, barbers, and food trades like butchers and gardeners. However, these trades were organized similarly as the crafts and like other craftsmen and -women the practitioners of these trades usually bought citizenship rights, thus the right to practise their trade. In the eyes of the city council these trades were, again parallel to other craft trades, subordinate to council.<sup>27</sup> Furthermore, the practitioners belonged,

<sup>27</sup> See for example Stieda and Mettig, *Schragen*, no. 21, 278–279 (Undeutsche Fuhrleute/Non-German wagoners 1605); Klemming, *Skerå-Ordningar*, 191–192 (Dragare/Carriers 1502–1635); Stieda, ‘Mündriche und Träger in Reval’ in *Beiträge VII*, 128–130 (Mündriche/Boatmen 1506); Wehrmann, *Zunftrollen*, no. 4, 164–165 (Barbere/Barber-surgeons 1480).

for the most part, to the middle stratum of urban population, like the rest of the craftsfolk. Yet, craftsfolk were by all means a heterogeneous group, reaching from poor stonemasons to prosperous goldsmiths.

The few craft ordinances written in Latin have been excluded because they represent an older layer of craft ordinances. My aim is to compare Middle Low German and old Swedish ordinances. These ordinances could be called Hanseatic craft ordinances, one the characteristics of which is the use of Middle Low German. Stockholm is an exception, since Stockholm craft ordinances were written in old Swedish. Craft ordinances without any date or council's confirmation have been left out, because it remains obscure whether these were merely drafts or if they were actually used. The confirmation of the council is one of the distinctive features of craft ordinances that separate them from guild statutes, as I shall show in Chapter 2.<sup>28</sup> The ordinances of journeymen's organizations are only discussed if necessary. In general, the ordinances of journeymen's organizations form their own separate category. These ordinances were specifically tailored to the needs of this group and the main function was to guarantee journeymen rights (and obligations). The majority of the ordinances of the journeymen's organizations emerge from the seventeenth century onwards and therefore also fall out of the scope of this study.

Craft ordinances offer a good starting point for a comparative study because, in principle, craft ordinances from Stockholm, Tallinn, Riga, and Lübeck are very similar. However, how and which of the ordinances have survived to see the twenty-first century is another story. Despite the complexity and confusion in the dating of craft ordinances they offer an excellent source material to examine craft trade culture. Moreover, they offer a way to study widows' opportunities because approximately one third of the ordinances include an article on widows' rights. Additionally, ordinances are a fruitful source to examine the changes and continuities in craft trade culture and in widows' rights because in some cases we have various ordinances from one particular craft which derive from different decades or even centuries. This enables the study of changes and continuities within one particular craft. The collection of 178 craft ordinances from four cities is not equally divided to fourteenth, fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries. However,

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28 Lübeck cloth dyers' archival file includes one undated ordinance, which has no confirmation of the council and seems to be unfinished. It is unclear if this was a draft for a new ordinance or some kind of a council's degree, as the beginning of this document suggest. Based on its contents this document could be classified as an ordinance. However, without a date and confirmation its status is illegible and therefore it has been left out. *Archiv der Hansestadt Lübeck* (AHL), ASA Interna, Handwerksämter, no. 1171 (Färber/Dyers).

we have enough preserved ordinances from each century to perform a temporal comparison.

### 1.2.2 Lübeck letters

Craft ordinances were normative regulations and alike all normative sources, they reveal us how things should have been. However, they remain silent about how things actually were. The use of normative documents as sources for historical research has been widely discussed among scholars and the utmost critique has been that this kind of source material cannot be used as evidence of the past. In order to entangle this ‘problem’ of normative sources I have examined 22 Lübeck letters that somehow dealt with widows’ rights.<sup>29</sup> These letters were addressed to the city council and the majority of them were petition letters.

Lübeck was chosen as a case study because of its representativeness: firstly, the petition letters stem from twelve different crafts. In addition, the crafts represent different trades such as food trades (free bakers, bakers, turners, and butchers), wood trades (carpenters and chest makers), textile and leather trades (curriers, linen weavers, and woollen cloth makers), metal trades (bell founders), and others (chandlers and barber-surgeons). It is important to note that only three of these crafts, the curriers, turners, and chest makers, included widows’ rights articles in their ordinances. Secondly, the writers represent various parties in disputes and hence we are able to examine the motives, values, and life situations of widows, aldermen, widowers, journeymen, husbands-to-be, and male masters. Nine of the letters were written by widows. Six letters were written by crafts’ aldermen, in two cases the letter was written by proxies, in one case the writer was a craft master, in one case the relationship between the writer and the widow is unknown, in two cases the writer is the new husband of the widow, and in the last case the writer is a male widower. Additionally, in a couple of cases we have letters from both parties concerning the same dispute. This versatile basis provides a good starting point for an analysis of craft trade culture, since it is not narrowed down by only investigating widows’ petitions. Thirdly, all letters are dated within circa 40 years which enables closer contextualization.

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<sup>29</sup> The transcriptions of the letters have been done by the author.

I have studied all the letters that fulfilled the following criteria: they stem from the time period of 1350–1620;<sup>30</sup> they stem from craftsfolk and were compiled in the craft trade archival collection (*Alte Senatsarchiv, Interna, Handwerksämter*); and they were compiled under the heading Widows' rights (*Rechte der Wittwen/ Rechte der Witwen und Waisen*) in the vast archival collection mentioned above.<sup>31</sup> In this research I shall analyse all those letters that somehow dealt with widows' rights. Even though the letters were organized in the archive under the heading Widows' rights, some letters did not handle this issue. For example, in some cases the proxies petitioned for their orphan sister and male masters applied for master vacancies. In addition, some of the letters were actually proofs of journeymen's honourable birth and sufficient education. In this study I have focused only on those letters that had an artisan widow as a party. It is possible that other archival collections might include some material concerning widows' opportunities to continue their craft trade. However, the collection of letters was conducted with the help of archivist Frau Angela Schlegel, with whom I searched the various archival collections in *Archiv der Hansestadt Lübeck* (AHL). Consequently, as a result of this search conducted with Frau Schlegel I dare to say that this collection of 22 letters best represents the various disputes related to artisan widows' rights. The following Table 1.6 presents all the Lübeck letters analysed in this dissertation.

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30 I did not find any letters concerning widows' rights that were dated prior to 1579.

31 The collection of letters was carried out by first searching through the database at the Lübeck city archive by the keyword/search word *Witwen* (widows). Then the result was narrowed down to include only those documents that were preserved in the archival collection ASA Interna Handwerksämter (Old Senate's Archive, Internal affairs, Craft organizations), indicating that these documents had both the keywords *Witwen* (widows) and *Handwerksämter* (craft organizations), i.e. these were suitable for my research. The third collection criterion was the dating of the documents: I have settled with the time span chosen for this study with the letters, the end point being 1620, which means that the letters dated 1621 onwards have been left out, but the letter from 1620 was still counted in. However, as one exception I shall discuss the turner widow Catharina Falken's case from year 1624, because it is connected to other discussed cases from the turners' craft. Since the majority of the letters dealing with craft widows' rights found in the Lübeck city archive originate after 1621, my study only gives a starting point to this topic.

Table 1.6 The Lübeck letters analysed in this study: authors, crafts, dating, and additional information

Author	Craft	Dating	Additional information
Widow Meike Hoiers	Dreyer/ Turners	22.10.1583	Widows' rights article in the craft ordinance: 1 year rule + with children
Widow Catherina Falken	Dreyer/ Turners	2.5.1624	Widows' rights article in the craft ordinance: 1 year rule + with children
Widow Margareta Wolder	Bremelmaker/ Curriers	23.7. 1586	Widows' rights article in the craft ordinance: no restrictions
Widow Catharina Catonis	Barber/ Barber-surgeons	8.8.1599	n/a
Widow Elisabeth Warnecke	Barber/ Barber-surgeons	1.5.1607	Widow wants to sell master rights
Widow Magdalena Bucks	Barber/ Barber-surgeons	13.5.1615	Widow wants to sell master rights
Widow Catharina Benning	Glockengiesser/ Bell founders	21.3.1615	n/a
Widow Margareta Bellens	Tischler / Joiners	20.1.1607	n/a
Widow Lillie Vögel	Wandmacher/ Woollen cloth makers	25.8.1608	n/a
Proxies Jochim Ludeman and Claus Kusel	Dreyer/ Turners	30.1.1579	Acting on behalf of the widow of Hinrich Koneckin
Proxies Dominicus Schnelle and Jacob Törkess	Freibäcker/ Free bakers	6.1.1611	n/a
Master Jacob Huken	Knochenhauer/ Butchers	28.3.1609	Complaints about widow Geselke Bildtfelt
Husband to be Peter Stadius	Barber/ Barber-surgeons	31.5.1580	n/a
Husband to be/ Journeyman Gybrecht	Dreyer/ Turners	No dating	Widows' rights article in the craft ordinance: 1 year rule + with children
Gerhardns Schroder (marital and professional status unknown)	Bremelmacher/ Curriers	15.7.1586	Appendix to widow Margareta Wolder's letter; Widows' rights article in the craft ordinance: no restrictions
Widower Bastian Wehrmann	Leineweber/ Linen weavers	12.4.1586	n/a
Aldermen	Bäcker/ Bakers	17.10.1620	Complaints on baker widow Christine Holtagel

Aldermen	Bremelmacher/ Curriers	23.7.1586	Rejoinder letter to widow Margareta Wolder's case; Widows' rights article in the craft ordinance: no restrictions
Aldermen	Kerzengiesser/ Chandlers	28.7.1609	A case of Jochim Kegenhagen's widow
Aldermen	Dreyer/ Turners	19.3.1560	Craft vs. the new husband of the widow of Claves Holstein; Widows' rights article in the craft ordinance: 1 year rule + with children
Aldermen	Leineweber/ Linen weavers	14.4.1586	Rejoinder letter to Bastian Vermann's case
Aldermen	Kistenmacher/ Chest makers	3.11.1568	Craft vs. widow Anneke Dreyers; Widows' rights article in the craft ordinances: 2 years limit, unless if old or ill

Sources: AHL, ASA Interna, Handwerksämter, no. 366, 456, 551, 997, 1104, 1105, 1648, 2212, 2288, 2652, 4254, 4306 and 4531.

I must point out that only about a half of these letters included the decision of the city council.<sup>32</sup> It would have been fruitful for a historian to know how the disputes ended or at least what the council's verdict was at the time. Bearing in mind that we can only speculate on the decisions, I have instead focused on the information that the letters reveal on the circumstances of craft trade. This is relevant because it narrates us of the conditions under which craftsfolk tried to make a living in late medieval and early modern cities. The information provided by the letters reveals

32 In order to find out the council's decision or the decision of *Wetteberren* on the 10 cases that have no *Decretum* written in the backside of the letter I carried out a four-stage search. First I went through the *Wettebuch* of the same year as the letter was from. Then I searched from the *Personenkatalog* of the AHL according to both the name of the late husband and, if possible, that of the widow. Thereafter I searched the *Niederstadtbücher* both according to the dates of the letters and the names written in the letters. Finally, I searched according to the names in the *Testamentenkatalog* in the AHL. The following problems occurred: in three cases the *Wettebücher* are missing, these were the years 1579, 1586, and 1583. In some cases (Meike Hoiers) only the widow's name was mentioned and her name could not be found in person or testament catalogues, which often mentioned only the head of the household = husband. In some cases (Dreyer 1579) only the names of the proxies can be found in the letter, but there was no reference to the name of the widow or her husband. Consequently, they could not be found in person or in testament catalogue in AHL. In case of the *Niederstadtbücher* it cannot be known how soon the council heard the case, therefore I searched for the next two months after the date written in the letter. However, in the original books (*urschriften*) the cases are not in fine chronological order, but some cases from February can appear in the compiled manuscript in June. In the framework of this study it is thus impossible to search the *Niederstadtbücher* page by page. Additionally, based on the study on *Niederstadtbücher* (Ahlborn) it seems that the city council's decisions on widows' rights (appellations about widows' rights) were not written down in the *Niederstadtbuch*. Subsequently, within the time limits of this study I have been unable to find the 'missing' decisions of the city council.



us the expectations of the craftsmen and -women. How they thought the matters should be handled. How they saw their trade was to be arranged.

By examining these 22 Lübeck letters we are able to catch a glimpse of the actual practices of everyday life. More importantly, by analysing these letters we are able to seek answers to questions such as: how were craft ordinances applied in real life? Did the widows take an advantage of those opportunities granted to them in the craft ordinances? What kind of disputes arose from widows' rights? Combining normative source material with narrative sources offers a profitable basis for historical research because it gives an insight into the contemporary ideas on how things should have been (regulations, law, and other normative sources) and how these regulations were applied and negotiated in practice (letters, court cases, and other narrative sources). According to my knowledge, these letters of Lübeck artisans have received less, if any, attention from scholars prior to this study although they offer a fruitful possibility to study craft trade culture and widows' opportunities *de facto*.

### 1.2.3 Records of the City Council

Various records of the city council developed as an output of administration of justice. These records were usually compiled into books. In Livonian cities, these town books are commonly called *Denckelbücher*, whereas in today's Nordic countries they are called *tänkeböcker*. The Lübeck equivalent was called *Niederstadtbuch*, based on its storage place in the cellar of the town hall.<sup>33</sup> I shall use these town books as sources supplementing craft ordinances and Lübeck letters. They are called by their vernacular name in order to avoid confusions. Hence, these vernacular names are well established in research tradition. Various kinds of legal acts were written down on these books: execution of wills, property transactions, marriage contracts, trade actions and bargains, liabilities, city councils' degrees, and, in case of Stockholm, also criminal cases.<sup>34</sup> In Lübeck, the entry in the *Niederstadtbuch* was based on free will of the citizens.<sup>35</sup>

The Stockholm *tänkeböcker* are edited and they form almost a continuous series from 1474 onwards.<sup>36</sup> The Lübeck *Niederstadtbücher* have survived from the thirteenth

33 *Lübeckische Geschichte*, ed. Graßmann, 226; AHL, Findbuch zum Bestand Kanzlei, Niederstadtbuch.

34 Korpiola, 'Maallisen oikeuslaitoksen tuottamat lähteet', 210–211; Lamberg, *Dannemänner*, 23–24; Tapio Salminen, 'Unknown hands, trusted men', 106.

35 AHL, Findbuch zum Bestand Kanzlei, Niederstadtbuch.

36 *Stockholms stads tänkebok 1524–1529*, Larsson (Ed.); *Stockholms stads tänkeböcker 1474–1592*, Stockholms stads tänkeböcker från äldre tid II:1–5, Ny följd 1–8, Hidebrand et al. (Eds.); *Stockholms stads tänkeböcker från år 1592*, 1–12, Almquist et al. (Eds.). The original books are preserved in Stockholm City Archives. See bibliography for more details. From now on the reference will be shortened as SSTB followed by the years in concern and the page number. For example: SSTB 1514–1520, 294.

century onwards but only few have been edited.<sup>37</sup> The *Denckelbücher* of Riga<sup>38</sup> and Tallinn<sup>39</sup> have not been edited and are extant only from certain years. In this study I have examined these town books in order to discover what kind of disputes the widows' rights articles may have caused.

The so-called Lübeck *Wettebücher* are also relevant to the study. These are the records of the town officials called *Wetteherren* or simply the *Wette*. These officials of the city council were the supervising officials in issues dealing with craft trade, craft organizations, and trade and commerce in general. The *Wetteherren*, sometimes together with other members of the city council, heard the civil action cases related to trade and commerce. In addition, the *Wetteherren* took care of many police duties: they acted as market place and food police, health police, and trade police. The *Wetteherren* kept a record of offences against trade order, slanders, and street fights. In the role of trade police the supervision of craft trade, crafts themselves, and craft ordinances fell under the jurisdiction of the *Wette*. In principle, the decisions of the *Wetteherren* were definitive and one could not appeal to a higher court, to the city council.<sup>40</sup> Yet, in practice artisans sometimes appealed to the city council. These *Wettebücher* are preserved in Lübeck city archive in the manuscript collection (*Handschriften*).<sup>41</sup> They are preserved almost as a continuous series from 1491 until 1624, yet unfortunately some of the years under examination in this study, 1579, 1883, 1586, and 1608 are among those which are missing.<sup>42</sup>

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37 Claus Ahlborn has edited some of the *Niederstadtbücher*. For introduction and summary of the legal acts, see Ahlborn, *Das Lübecker Niederstadtbuch*. For editions see Bibliography, Printed Sources, Ahlborn. The original books and their medieval and early modern fair copies are preserved in Lübeck city archives. The fair copies of the original *Niederstadtbücher* are made only up to year 1624.

38 Latvijas Valsts Vēstures Arhīvs (LVVA), coll. 8, inv. 1, no. 7 (Das älteste Stadtbuch 1385–1482) and no. 21 (Denckelbuch 1530–1651). See also Böhfuhr, *Die Rigische Rathslinie*; Napiersky, *Die libri redituum der Stadt Riga*.

39 In Tallinn, various city books are TLA, A.d.5 (Liber de diversis articulis 1373–1455); TLA, A.a.7 (Denckelbuch der Stadt Reval 1415–1523); TLA, A.a.23 (Denckelbuch 1542–45); TLA A.a.23b (Bruchstücke aus dem Ratsdenkelbuche 1541–1554); TLA, A.a.29 (Der Stadt Denckelbuch 1571–1575); TLA, A.a.30 (Der Stadt Denckelbuch 1576–1581); TLA, A.a.32 (Der Stadt Denckelbuch 1595–1596); TLA, A.a.33 (Der Stadt Denckelbuch 1597–1598). More *Denckelbücher* are preserved from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

40 *Beständeübersicht*, ed. Graßmann, 109–110; *Lübeckische Geschichte*, ed. Graßmann, 237; Fink, 'Die Wette', 215.

41 From now on the notebooks of the *Wette* are referred to with their German term *Wettebuch*, in order to distinguish them from other notebooks. Moreover, they form a special archival collection and entity and are therefore called by their 'own' name.

42 The *Wettebücher* are preserved in AHL, Lübeck city archives, from year 1321 (Wiesen- und Gartenbücher), from 1483–1676 (Wettejhrbücher, incomplete) and Wetteprotocolle 1587–1851. See also *Beständeübersicht*, ed. Graßmann, 109–110 and AHL, Findbuch zum Bestand 8.1 Handschriften, 1.1.1 Wette. The reference to the *Wettebücher* will be AHL, Handschriften, the number of the manuscript, folio, and the name of the book. For example, AHL, Handschriften, no. 122, 3r (Wettebuch 1620).

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In summary, the combination of both normative sources, such as craft ordinances, and narrative sources, such as Lübeck petition letters, offers a good basis to study widows' opportunities in principle and in practice. Moreover, craft ordinances build the context in which the petition letters are analysed. Furthermore, the letters enable a deeper study of contemporary values and mentalities than the craft ordinances. A broader approach to sources could bring forward a more nuanced picture of the everyday life of craftsfolk. However, I am convinced that a different kind of combination of sources would not radically change the accomplished conclusions. Additionally, the combination of various methods offers a way to examine the values of the contemporaries and to investigate what kind of a craft trade culture existed in late medieval and early modern cities bordering the Baltic Sea. With this combination of different source material and various methods I can trace the characteristic and important elements of the phenomenon that I call craft trade culture.

### 1.3 Methodology

In this study I shall use various methods to examine the essential elements of craft trade culture and the opportunities of artisan widows. Throughout the study quantitative, qualitative, and linguistic methods are used together with comparison, a case study, and tripartite classification. In Chapter 2 the three types of urban organizations are defined and distinguished. As a tool I shall use my own innovation called *tripartite classification* of urban organizations. This tripartite classification is both a **result** of an extensive comparison between 178 craft ordinances and several guild and devotional guild statutes and a **method**, with the help of which craft trade is examined. Quantitative method is used in order to discover, for example, how many craft ordinances included widows' rights articles and the share of various possibilities granted to widows in craft ordinances. These widows' rights articles and the options they included are examined with the qualitative method. The frequency of these options is calculated and the options are analysed in detail. In addition, I shall compare which options came up in which towns and analyse the similarities and differences between the four cities. The widows' rights are also compared on another level namely with European mainland and Britain, with the help of literature. Also a third kind of comparison is made by comparing if the widows' rights articles changed within the same craft on a certain period of time. In order to be able to

execute a) a quantitative analysis on the frequency of widows' rights articles in craft ordinances, b) a qualitative analysis on different options granted for widows, c) comparison between Baltic cities, and d) temporal comparison of widows' rights articles within certain crafts I have examined all the known preserved Middle Low German and Old Swedish craft ordinances from the four cities within the time period of 1350–1620. The long time span is also necessary for the investigation of craft trade culture, because it allows us to examine a large amount of craft ordinances that set a framework for craft trade and also creates the context for the elaborate case study, conducted in this dissertation.

Table 1.7 Methods of study

Method	Applied and used to
Quantitative analysis	Preserved craft ordinances Widows' rights articles (how many ordinances included widows' rights articles? Share of different options in widows' rights articles?)
Qualitative analysis	Contents of the craft ordinances Contents of the widows' rights articles Contents of the Lübeck petition letters
Comparison	Separate urban organizations; crafts, guilds, and devotional guilds Geographical comparison of widows' rights articles within the four cities/ Baltic Sea region Geographical comparison of widows' rights in other parts of Europe Temporal comparison of widows' rights
Case study	Analysis of Lübeck petition letters
Linguistic analysis	Applied to all source material

### Lübeck as a case study

Lübeck was chosen as a case study because its representativeness: the 22 petition letters introduced in Chapter 1.2.2 'Lübeck letters' stem from several different crafts that represent various economic sectors. Furthermore, the authors of the letters represent people of different sex, marital, social, and economic status as well as the collective craft. The letters are analysed profoundly and, with a lack of a better expression, this method has been called a 'close reading' of the sources. In the analysis of the Lübeck letters the methods of letter studies and the study of rhetoric are applied. The study of letters has a long tradition in the field of history and it is

impossible to present it within the framework of this study.<sup>43</sup> In this study I shall concentrate on the relations between the craft ordinances and the reality these letters convey, paying little less attention to theoretical aspects of the study of letters.

I shall focus on a time period of circa 1560–1620 with the case study of Lübeck. Therefore the results of this analysis cannot be applied directly to the fourteenth century without any cautions. However, a smaller time frame enables a more detailed analysis and more careful contextualization of the letters. Additionally, many older craft ordinances were still valid at the time of the letters so these letters can be used as sources in order to enlighten the disputes and practices concerning widows' rights. Furthermore, I have not found any older letters relevant to this research in Lübeck city archive. The case study of Lübeck and the narrative sources are not discussed separately in one chapter but together with the normative sources in each chapter. This way it is my aim to enlighten the values and mentalities of the contemporaries and to highlight the essential elements of craft trade culture.

### Craft trade culture

I refer, when using the concept of *craft trade*, to handicraft production (*käsityötuotanto*, *Handwerk*) and handicraft as profession and source of livelihood (*käsityöammatit*, *Handwerk als Gewerbe*). Until now research has lacked an English hypernym that would encompass the various sides of craft trade: the practical side, such as work and organization structures; the normative side, such as craft regulations; and the mental side, such as the values of contemporaries. In German literature the term *Zunftwesen* comes close. In Swedish research tradition *skräväsendet* and its derivatives (*skräorganiserade hantverket/ näringar*) have been used as general terms.<sup>44</sup> Therefore, in order to gain a better understanding of the world and life of the craftsmen and -women I developed the term craft trade culture.

Dag Lindström has summarized some of the essential features that scholars have regarded as the heart of *hantverkarkultur*, craft culture: the conceptions of honour, group membership, exclusivity, and specific ceremonies have been characterized as fundamental elements of this culture. Additionally, strong hierarchical structures were characteristic to the *hantverkarkultur*.<sup>45</sup> The previous characterizations

43 See for example Koskinen, *Hyvien miesten vallakunta*, 41–45, 72–91.

44 See for example Lindström, 'Genusarbetsdelning i det tidigmoderna skräväsendet', *passim* and Ling, 'Genusarbetsdelning i tidigmoderna städer', 157.

45 Lindström, 'Genusarbetsdelning i det tidigmoderna skräväsendet', 181–182: 'Föreställningar om ära, grupp tillhörighet, och exklusivitet, liksom kännedom om yrkesspecifika ceremonier, brukar framhållas som utmärkande drag i hantverkarkulturen.' Quotation 181. See also Wissell, *Allen Handwerks Recht I*, Chapter 7.

emphasize the immaterial side of craft culture and form the foundation onto which I build my definition. However, it is my hypothesis that, for example, entrepreneurship, continuity, and gaining of profit were also features of this culture. Therefore it would be insufficient to call this culture simply craft culture or craftsmanship culture in English. In addition, I want to stress the entrepreneurship and entrepreneurial culture. Consequently, instead of craft culture I have attached the word 'trade' to the definition, which signifies entrepreneurship, profession, and business.

The concept of *craft trade culture* is understood broadly meaning the system how handicraft production was organized; how the various artisans within the same profession were organized into crafts (*Zunft*); how craft ordinances regulated various aspects of production and the everyday life of the artisans. In addition, I consider craft trade culture to include a set of norms, values, and practices that guided individual craft members. The definition of craft trade culture is deliberately loose because one of the main tasks of this study is to discover what the essential elements that defined craft trade culture in late medieval and early modern towns bordering the Baltic Sea were. The concept of craft trade culture was created in order to conceptualize the phenomenon I study: the organization of crafts and production, practices of craft trade, possibilities of widows and gender relationships within craft trade, and the values of the craftsfolk. Thus the aim of this study is to examine what kinds of rules, norms, conventions, traditions, practices, and values craft trade culture included.

In recent research on handicraft production and work in early modern towns scholars have pointed out the difference between organized and unorganized handicraft production. Organized production comprises the handicraft production within the organized crafts. Unorganized production usually refers to all other handicraft production, i.e. production made outside the organized crafts. For example, the textile production wives made at home has been regarded as unorganized production.<sup>46</sup> Unorganized handicraft production has also been seen as uncontrolled production because it was not controlled by the craft rules and hence the city council. It varied from town to town which trades were organized in crafts and which were not.<sup>47</sup> The main focus of this study lies within the organized forms of handicraft production. However, the separation between organized and unorganized production was not always clear cut. Accordingly, it can be difficult to categorize

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46 Vainio-Korhonen, *Käsien tehty*, passim; Ling, 'Genusarbetsdelning i tidigmoderna städer', 169.

47 For example, in Strasbourg the *Fubrleute*, wagoners were unorganized but in Tallinn they formed a craft. Similarly, in Strasbourg the *Paternostermakers*, amber rosary makers were unorganized whereas in Lübeck their craft existed. Often dishonourable professions like the gravediggers and hangmen were not allowed to organize into a craft. See von Heusinger, *Die Zunft*, 83–84.

the various forms of production simply either to organized or unorganized ones especially if unorganized production is understood as equivalent to uncontrolled production. For example, in Lübeck it was possible for artisans to practise their trade outside the organized craft with a special licence granted by the city council. Yet this separation between organized and unorganized handicraft production must be taken into account. Not least, because several scholars have argued that women participated in handicraft production mainly outside the crafts.<sup>48</sup>

### Craftsfolk, artisans, knechte, and journeymen

Throughout this study the term *craftsfolk* will be used when referring to indefinite group of artisans, craftsmen and -women of different age, marital, and social status. Often a more familiar term *craftsmen* has been used to refer to this indefinite professional group. However, this can bring false connotations that this group consisted of only males. Yet this group usually consisted of adult men and women, widows and widowers, husband and wives, unmarried journeymen, apprentices, and maids as well as daughters and sons. Therefore I have chosen a more gender neutral term that encompasses people of different marital and social status as well as age who were somehow connected to craft handicraft production and/or were part of artisan households. The suffix ‘folk’ did not bear gendered meaning to contemporaries either and was used as a common noun referring to various groups of people.<sup>49</sup> The word *artisan* is used as a synonym for a master craftsman, a master’s wife, a master’s widow, or a master widower. The plural form *artisans* is used when referring to an adult group of master craftsmen and -women.

In this study I will also operate with a Middle Low German (MLG) term *knecht* (pl. *knechte*). This term is widely used in original sources and has different meanings. Often the term *knecht* refers to a skilled male wage worker who had finished his apprenticeship but had not yet established his own workshop. In English these males are called *journeyman/journeymen*, the German equivalent is *Geselle/Gesellen* and in Swedish they were called *sven/svenne*. In some cases the *knecht* can also refer to a servant/farmhand/*renki*, the male counterpart to a maid (servant) or to a hired hand in general.<sup>50</sup>

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48 Vainio-Korhonen, *Käsin tehty*, 83–84, 185–186; Ling, ‘Genusarbetsdelning i tidigmoderna städer’, 169; Ogilvie, *A Bitter living*, 142, 153, 216.

49 Pihl, *Arbete*, 136.

50 According to Sabine von Heusinger, the term *knecht* refers to a journeyman. Cf. Von Heusinger, *Die Zunft*, 62.

## Contingency

According to Maria Ågren, contingency means that an amount of facts are present and connect with each other in a specific historical situation which provides an explanation to matters.<sup>51</sup> The concept of contingency can be simplified to the following model of explanation: the phenomenon X changed (or remained the same) from time to time and from place to place. In this study the concept of contingency is used together with comparative and case study methods in order to explain what craft trade culture was and why certain aspects of this culture changed or remained the same through the centuries.

## Gender

The present-day research separates biological sex and culturally constructed gender. In English this distinction is visible through different terms, two different words, whereas in Finnish the word *sukupuoli* can refer both to biological sex and gender. Therefore, the English version has been adopted to signify, for example, academic field of study, gender studies. The starting point of gender studies is that gender is understood as a cultural and social construction, which encompasses more than just the physical differences between biological sexes. Biological differences (such as female ability to give birth and breastfeed) form the base but cultural and social norms and practices that define female and male work, duties, rights, and obligations are more important. An essential element of this social gender is that its definitions vary and change according to time and space. What is feminine and what is masculine can be defined differently in various geographical areas, cultures, social contexts, and religious confessions as well as in various times. Masculinities and femininities also vary according to other categories and attributes such as profession, social status, age, personal character, and marital status, and so forth.<sup>52</sup> Work and particularly work conditions were one of the factors that created, enforced, or diminished gender roles.<sup>53</sup>

Gender history is interested in both sexes and concentrates on examining the relationships between men and women. Gender history investigates how gender

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51 Ågren, 'Genus och arbete', 11: 'ett antal faktor *möts och bakar i varandra* i en given historisk situation som ger förklaringen'.

52 Katajala-Peltomaa and Toivo, *Noitavaimo ja neitsytäiti*, 24–25; Scott, 'Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis', 1053–1075; Östman, 'Joan Scott ja feministinen historiankirjoitus', 275–294; Farmer, *Surviving Poverty*, 2, 47, 106.

53 Pihl, *Arbete*, 11, 101, 105, 173.



was produced, negotiated, and expressed in various historical times and contexts. Many scholars see gender ‘as a hierarchical relationship of power’.<sup>54</sup> Because gender structures vary and women’s experiences differ depending on categories such as age, class, and marital status, ‘woman’ as a historical category would be rather insufficient.<sup>55</sup> Since the 1980s this field of historical research has exploded. Although the theoretical framework used in gender history offered a fresh viewpoint to many studies, its success created some problems: everything was studied from the gender point of view, which overlooked other viewpoints. Gender was seen as the most important category and the most crucial factor.<sup>56</sup> Indeed, scholars have recently argued that, as a category of difference, gender should not be examined ‘alone’ but we should incorporate other categories of difference into our analysis of gender constructions.<sup>57</sup> In this study gender is understood as a one category among others (age, marital status, social status, craft membership, profession) which affected the social hierarchy and people’s lives and identity. It is used as a tool, like the other categories, to analyse work and social relationships of the craftsfolk.<sup>58</sup> Although widow perspective is emphasized in this study, one of the aims of the research is to discover what kind of masculinities and femininities (co)existed in late medieval and early modern urban artisan society.

## 1.4 Earlier scholarship

This study adheres to social history, gender history, urban history, and economic history. Thus it can be regarded as a part of Hansa research as well as guild and craft research. As the study is connected to various large fields of research it is impossible to handle previous scholarship in depth. In the following I shall first introduce the earlier scholarship regarding guild studies, urban histories, and Hansa research and thereafter discuss the research that has handled women’s work in late medieval and early modern times.

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54 Toivo, *Witchcraft and Gender*, 145–146, quotation 146; Scott, ‘Gender’, 1096.

55 Wiesner-Hanks, *Gender in History*, 2–5.

56 Scott has criticized that many scholars used the term *gender* as a trendy synonym for *women* without theorizing the concept. Scott, ‘Gender’, 1056.

57 Farmer, *Surviving Poverty*, 70; Katajala-Peltomaa, *Gender, Miracles and Daily Life*, 11.

58 Cf. Katajala-Peltomaa, *Gender, Miracles and Daily Life*, 12; Pihl, *Arbete*, 13.

### 1.4.1 Urban histories, Hansa research, and guild studies

Generally speaking, the viewpoints of gender history have not been discussed within the urban histories of the Baltic Sea, in Hansa research, or in traditional German guild studies.<sup>59</sup> In this study craft organizations and craft trade are analysed from the viewpoints of economic and gender history. Hence, with this study I shall introduce a new approach to urban histories, Hansa research, and German guild studies – an approach that takes into account the craftsfolk and gender perspective.

The majority of German guild studies have focused on the origin and development of the guild and craft organizations whereas other perspectives have received little attention.<sup>60</sup> These studies form a good basis for the study of urban organizations. However, a fresh perspective, such as gender or the history of everyday life, is needed. Recently, Sabine von Heusinger has criticized that even though the study of handicraft production has come up again since the 1990s the contributions to gender history have focused solely on early modern times or later centuries.<sup>61</sup> It must be highlighted that a great deal of German guild and craft studies, especially those with gender perspective, have focused on central and southern Germany.<sup>62</sup>

A considerable amount of studies concerning the history of Hansa has been published. However, the previous – and recent – Hansa research has mainly focused on political and economic aspects: to the institution itself, the trade networks and traded goods, and political conflicts.<sup>63</sup> Furthermore, legal history has been a large field of the Hansa research although the opportunities of craft widows have not

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59 Here the term ‘guild studies’ is used as a general term for various studies concerning guilds, crafts, and confraternities.

60 For summaries of this long tradition see for example von Heusinger, *Die Zunft*, 18–27 and Anz, *Gilden*, 19–36.

61 Von Heusinger, *Die Zunft*, 24–27.

62 Sabine von Heusinger has focused on the cities of Strasbourg, Nuremberg, Zürich, and Frankfurt, see von Heusinger, *Die Zunft*, passim. Margaret Wensky and recently Muriel Gonzalés Athenas have focused on Cologne, see Wensky, *Die Stellung der Frau*, passim. Christine Werkstetter has focused on Augsburg, *Frauen im Augsburger Zunftbandwerk*, passim. In addition, see for example the works of Knut Schulz, Otto Gerhard Oexle, Franz Irsigler, Rudolf Holbach, and Reinhold Reith.

63 Recent publication from 2013, *The Hanse in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, Wubs-Mrozewicz and Jenks (Eds.), follows the traditional lines of the *Hanseforschung*. See also from 1995 Friedland, *Mensch und Seefahrt zur Hansezeit*, the numerous works of Rolf Hammel-Kiesow, and the older classic Dollinger, *La Hanse/Die Hanse*, first published in 1964 and thereafter several times revised and reprinted, most recently in 2012. Furthermore, in the journal *Hansische Geschichtsblätter* there have been only a couple of articles related to urban craft trade in the period 1983–2007. See Becker and Bulach and Müller ‘Innovation und Professionalisierung im Lederhandwerk’; Bulach, ‘Ausgrenzung, Eingrenzung, Assimilation? Slawen und Deutsche im mittelalterlichen Handwerk’ and Holbach, ‘Hansische Versandlogistik: Das Böttchehandwerk’.

been adequately discussed.<sup>64</sup> These shortages can be partly explained with the preserved source material: the numerous *Hanserezeesse*, *städtische Urkundenbücher*, political treaties, and diplomatic documents have been edited and in some cases digitalized.<sup>65</sup> In addition, the merchants as the ruling class of the Hansa towns have left multiple traces, such as private letter collections, for us historians to study.<sup>66</sup> The research to date has tended to focus on the city elite of merchants rather than to the middling class of artisans.<sup>67</sup> Hence the craftsfolk have not received broad attention from scholars in urban histories or within Hansa research. Yet, the cities could not have functioned without the large crowd of craftsfolk satisfying the needs of the inhabitants of any Hansa town. Moreover, the craftsfolk formed usually one fourth of the cities' inhabitants. Therefore, in order to obtain a better understanding of urban life in past times this group of people should also be investigated. Thus the aim of this study is to foreground the forgotten craftsfolk into the centre of research. As scholars have shown, also the people in the grass root level of the society, the masses, such as peasants and middling class citizens, 'had a real effect on the history of their time'.<sup>68</sup> Consequently, my research provides a new way to observe urban history in the Hanseatic area.

Some of the few studies that have concentrated on artisans in the cities bordering the Baltic Sea are still useful but partly outdated. For example, Folke Lindberg's basic study about craft trades in medieval Stockholm handles the crafts broadly from economic point of view. However, the studies focusing on craft trade in Stockholm were conducted mostly in the first half of the twentieth century.<sup>69</sup> According to my knowledge, only Dag Lindström and Sofia Ling have recently studied craft trade in

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64 For legal history see for example the works of Wilhel Ebel, *Lübische Recht*; Friedrich Ebel, *Forschungen zur Geschichte des lübischen Rechts*; Ebel, F. and Schelling 'Die Bedeutung deutschen Stadtrechts'.

65 For more information about Hanseatic sources see Dolling, *Die Hanse*, 273–278, 488–493.

66 One delightful exception is the study by Jan von Bonsdorff on art production and the distribution of art works in Hanseatic area during the late Middle Ages. Bonsdorff discusses craft organizations and the demarcation of various craft trades. However, women's work is handled very briefly and the main emphasis is on the networks and art history. Bonsdorff, *Kunstproduktion*, passim.

67 See for example Dünnebeil, *Die Lübecker Zirkel-Gesellschaft* and Gustafsson, *Svenska städer i medeltidens Europa*.

68 Toivo, *Witchcraft and Gender*, quotation 4. Mary Hartmann has convincingly challenged the traditional view concerning the modernization process in Northwestern Europe arguing that these developments were the cause of women's relatively late marrying age and nuclear family pattern and not vice versa. Hartmann, *The Household*, passim.

69 Lindberg, *Hantverk och skråväsen*; Hedberg, *Stockholms bokbindare*; Löfgren, *Stockholms kanngjutareskrå*. More recent research from 1979 is the monumental study of Werner Pursche about the carpenters in Stockholm. Although his work includes a detailed description of the medieval carpenters' craft his main focus lies on seventeenth century. Pursche, *Timmermansämbetet*.

early modern Swedish towns.<sup>70</sup> Similarly, the elementary studies of Johannes Warncke or Arthur Witt about Lübeck crafts stem from the early twentieth century.<sup>71</sup> As far as artisan widows living in urban settlements in the Baltic Sea region are concerned, most studies have treated them marginally or concentrated on later centuries.<sup>72</sup> Only Yoriko Ichikawa and Birgit Noodt have discussed artisan women and widows in medieval Lübeck, both presenting women's work possibilities as rather limited ones and womenfolk subordinate to male authority.<sup>73</sup> In Denmark, craft trade culture has received attention, and some scholars have also discussed gender thematics in their studies.<sup>74</sup> Yet, Dag Lindström has recently pointed out that there are still only relatively few studies that discuss gender and work in the context of craft trade in the Northern cities.<sup>75</sup> In this dissertation I shall examine craft trade culture from the perspective of gender and economy, hence work is a central element of the study. Moreover, this study provides for the first time an extensive comparison of artisan widows' rights and opportunities in the Baltic Sea area.<sup>76</sup> Thus, it fills the gap in historical knowledge for its part.

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70 Dag Lindström focuses on the relationship between the crafts and civic authorities, city council, and state. Lindström, *Skrå, stad och stat*; Ling, 'Genusarbetsdelning i tidigmoderna städer'. In her article Eva Österberg has studied women's economic status in late medieval Swedish realm. See Österberg, 'Bonde eller bagerska', passim.

71 Warncke, *Handwerk und Zünften in Lübeck* and 'Die Paternostermacher in Lübeck' passim. See also Witt, 'Die Verlehnten in Lübeck (die Träger)', passim.

72 For example, in the elemental study of Johansen and von zur Mühlen of late medieval and early modern Tallinn the crafts are discussed widely but widows have not received any attention. Johansen and von zur Mühlen, *Deutsch und Undeutsch*; Lindström has studied artisan widows in Swedish towns 1750–1800. See Lindström, 'Privilegierade eller kringkurna?', passim.

73 Ichikawa, 'Die Stellung der Frauen in den Handwerksämtern', passim and Noodt, 'Die *naringe* Lübecker Frauen', passim.

74 For example, Grethe Jacobsen discusses briefly the possibilities of artisan widows in her study about women, gender, and urban law-making. Jacobsen, *Kvinder, køn og købstadslovgivning*. Lars Bisgaard has studied the religious function of guilds, see Bisgaard *De glemte alter*. The article compilation Bisgaard and Søndergaard (Eds), *Gilder, lov og broderskaber I middelalderens Danmark* discusses guilds, crafts, and devotional guilds from various perspectives.

75 Lindström, 'Genusarbetsdelning i det tidigmoderna skråväsendet', 179.

76 Peter-Per Krebs has compared widows' rights in the German-speaking area. However, his short pioneer study focuses more on describing the opportunities of widows than analysing them profoundly. Yet his study has served as an example and inspiration for my research. Krebs, *Die Stellung der Handwerkerswitve in der Zunft vom Spätmittelalter bis zum 18. Jahrhundert*.

When it comes to individual cities, Lübeck has received wide attention from scholars,<sup>77</sup> and, additionally, archaeologists have intensely examined this leading city of Hansa.<sup>78</sup> Yet, only a few scholars have widened the ‘traditional’ view of the Hansa and urban history focusing on everyday life and craft trade in late medieval and early modern times.<sup>79</sup> Same applies to gender history studies focusing to northern German towns: after Yoriko Ichikawa and Klaus Arnold opened the discussion in the 1990s there has been mainly silence in this field of study. Both Arnold and Ichikawa argued that women’s roles in crafts and guilds have been overstated.<sup>80</sup> My research takes this discussion to the next level by examining women’s roles and widows’ opportunities in Lübeck. Moreover, I propose a different interpretation on the role of women within crafts and craft trade culture.

Previous scholarship studying the former Livonian area has instead focused on various aspects of everyday life. Topics discussed by scholars have ranged from crimes and social control to urban festivities.<sup>81</sup> In addition, the development of vernacular written culture as well as many aspects of religious participation has received attention.<sup>82</sup> Although Anu Mänd has studied artisan guilds in many contexts and Inna Põltsam has briefly discussed women’s field of activities, craft trade

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77 The monumental *Lübeckische Geschichte*, ed. by Antjekathrin Graßmann, is a fundamental urban history. Several prominent scholars have contributed to this study which covers the history of Lübeck from its beginning until the 1990s. Despite large coverage of various themes this compilation lacks gender perspective and women are discussed only briefly. In this dissertation the reference will be exceptionally to the name of the book and not to individual authors. Ongoing journal focusing on the Hansa and Baltic Sea area is *Hansische Geschichtsblätter (HGBl)*. Within this study it is impossible to introduce the enormous amount of literature related to Hansa and Lübeck.

78 See for example the *Lübecker Kolloquium zur Stadtarchäologie im Hanseraum*, Bände I–IV ; the series *Häuser und Höfe in Lübeck: Historische archäologische und baugeschichtliche Beiträge zur Geschichte der Hansestadt im Spätmittelalter und in der frühen Neuzeit* and Fehring, ‘Archaeological Evidence from Lübeck’.

79 Veltmann, *Knochenbauer in Lübeck*. In the bibliography Veltmann lists numerous Lübeck studies. Zander, *Zum Näben wenig Lust, sonst ein gutes Kind: Mädchenerziehung und Frauenbildung in Lübeck*. In her book Zander focuses on eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The compilation *Die Hanse, Lebenswirklichkeit und Mythos* handles everyday life and craft trade. However, the book is based on an exhibition held in Hamburg in 1989 and is partly somewhat outdated.

80 Ichikawa, ‘Die Stellung der Frauen’, 91–92, 94, 117; Arnold, ‘Frauen in den mittelalterlichen Hansestädten’, 19.

81 See for example Kivimäe and Kreem (Eds.) *Quotidianum Estonicum, Aspects of Daily Life in Medieval Estonia*; Raimo Pullat et al. (Eds.) *Vana Tallinn XVI (XX), Modus vivendi II*; Mänd, *Urban Carnival: Festive Culture in the Hanseatic Cities of the Eastern Baltic, 1350–1550*.

82 Mänd, ‘Saints’ Cults in Medieval Livonia’; Mänd *Kirikute hõbevara, altaririistad keekaegsel liivimaal*; Mänd, ‘The patron Saint of Medieval Tallinn’; Tiina Kala, ‘Languages in a Medieval North European City: An example from medieval Tallinn’. See also for example Kõiv and Reimo *Books and Libraries in the Baltic Sea Region from 16<sup>th</sup> to the 18<sup>th</sup> Century*.

culture, women's work, and widows' opportunities have not been handled in any monograph.<sup>83</sup> Therefore, my study is a fine surplus to research handling everyday life in Riga and Tallinn. Moreover, in comparison to Lübeck and Stockholm, I shall venture further than the previous comparative studies that have often compared only Livonian towns and cities with each other.

The urban histories of Stockholm deliver us the basic facts concerning late medieval and early modern Stockholm. Some have focused on demographic research, discussing women's work briefly.<sup>84</sup> Others have written more general urban histories or focused on the civic authorities and politics.<sup>85</sup> A very useful contribution to urban histories is Marko Lamberg's extensive prosopographical study about Northern urban communities during the Late Middle Ages. Although his main focus lies on the members of the city council and the council as a socioeconomic group, he also discusses the interaction of various social groups and the diverse urban organizations. Moreover, family, household, marriage, and succession are handled as well.<sup>86</sup> In addition, several studies discussing the norms and social control in Northern Europe have been conducted in the past decades.<sup>87</sup> As previously stated, only Dag Lindström has recently focused on artisan widows' opportunities in the cities, although the focus has been on the Early Modern Period.<sup>88</sup>

Before introducing the tendencies within the study of women's work it must be pointed out that gender history focusing on Swedish realm has received wide attention in general. Especially legal history and marital history have received much attention. For example, Maria Ågren, Amy Louise Ericson, and Mia Korpiola

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83 Mänd, 'St Canute's Guild and its Aldermen'; Mänd, 'Geselligkeit und soziale Karriere in den Revaler Gilden und der Schwarzhäupterbruderschaft' and Pölsam, 'Die Frau in der mittelalterlichen livländischen Stadt'. In her study on festive culture Mänd discusses the participation of women in various annual festivals organized by guilds, but the main focus is on the festivities and merchants' associations. See Mänd, *Urban Carnival*. On the individual life cycles of craftsmen see Kala and Kreem and Mänd (Eds.) *Kiimme keskaegest tallinlast*. An older but still very useful piece of research is Friedenthal's study on Tallinn goldsmiths. Friedenthal, *Die Goldschmiede Revals*.

84 Lager-Kromnow, *Att vara Stockholmare på 1560-talet*. See also Sjöden, 'Stadsbor i Sturetidens Stockholm: En studie i tänkeböckernas värld'.

85 Dahlbäck, *I medeltidens Stockholm*. Ericsson et al. (Eds.), *Stockholm – historien om den stolta staden*; Ahnlund, *Stockholms historia före Gustav Vasa*; Ericson, *Borgare och byråkrater: Omvandling av Stockholms satsförvaltning 1599–1637*; Lamberg, *Dannemännen in Stadens råd*.

86 Lamberg, *Dannemännen i stadens råd*.

87 See for example Österberg and Lindström, *Crime and Social Control in Medieval and Early Modern Swedish Towns*; Taussi-Sjöberg, *Rätten och kvinnorna: Från släktmakt till statsmakt i Sverige på 1500- och 1600-talen*.

88 Lindström, 'Privilegierade eller Kringskurna? Hantwerkeränkor i Linköping och Norrköping 1750–1800'; Lindström, 'Genusarbetdelning i det tidigmoderna skräväsendet' and Lindström, *Skrå, stad och stat*.

have discussed marriage, marital law, and the transfer of property in their works.<sup>89</sup> However, the majority of these studies have concentrated on rural areas, on nobility and focused on later centuries.<sup>90</sup> A very welcome recent contribution to the Nordic gender history is the article compilation *Levebröd*, which discusses the gendered distribution of work in early modern Sweden both in rural and urban environment.<sup>91</sup> Yet, the compilation focuses on historiography and lacks source analysis.<sup>92</sup>

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Based on this short review on prior historiography concerning late medieval and early modern cities in the Baltic Sea region it is clear that craftsfolk and craft trade has not been widely handled in urban or Hansa histories. Yet, craftsfolk formed one fourth of the inhabitants of these cities. Moreover, craft organizations penetrated all aspects of everyday life dominating labour market, education, and the production of goods, and participated in keeping the peace and maintaining the order. Craft organizations and craftsfolk were an integral part of the city, without it the cities would have been paralysed. This study provides, for the first time, an extensive comparative study on craft trade within this area. Furthermore, previous studies have applied gender history perspective neither to craftsfolk and craft trade nor to urban environment at this period of time in the Baltic Sea area. In other words, with this study I shall provide a fresh standpoint to both urban and Hansa history.

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89 See for example Korpiola, *Between Betrothal and Bedding: Marriage formation in Sweden 1200–1600*; Korpiola (Ed.) *Regional Variations in Matrimonial Law and Custom in Europe*; Ågren and Erickson (Eds.) *The marital Economy in Scandinavia and Britain 1400–1900*.

90 Recent study discusses the economic implications of marriage among the Swedish nobility. Andersson Raeder, *Hellre hustru än änka: Äktenskapets ekonomiska betydelse för frälsekvinnor i senmedeltidens Sverige*. Anu Lahtinen has studied the female agency among the high nobility during the late medieval times, see Lahtinen, *Sopetuvat, neuvottelevat, kapinalliset: Naiset toimijoina Flemingin sukupiirissä 1470–1620* (Conciliatory, Negotiating, Insubordinate Women: Female Agency in the Fleming Family, 1470–1620). Raisa Maria Toivo has studied witchcraft and gender in rural early modern Swedish and Finnish society, see Toivo, *Witchcraft and Gender in Early Modern Society*.

91 Jacobsson and Ågren, *Levebröd: Vad vet vi om tidigmodern könsarbetsdelning?*

92 The compilation is a publication of the Uppsala based project *Gender and Work in Sweden in the period 1550 to 1800*. I am looking forward to the forthcoming publications of this project. See <http://gaw.hist.uu.se/>.

## 1.4.2 Women's work and the question of the 'Golden Age'

Three tendencies can be found within previous research dealing with women's work in urban environment. In previous research scholars have partly used same categorizations but there is no established convention on by what name these various tendencies should be called.

### Subordination theory

Some scholars, mainly pioneers in women's and gender history, have considered women as subordinated victims of patriarchal society with little room for their independent agency. According to this view, women were systematically subordinated and the social and institutional structures as well as the Reformation reinforced this social order.<sup>93</sup> In this study this interpretation of the past will be called *subordination theory*.<sup>94</sup> This view has also been called deterioration theory, patriarchalist view, and even feminist view.

### Opportunity theory

Others, especially some Dutch and Finnish scholars, have emphasized the active role of women in society, highlighting the channels available for women to gain authority and power.<sup>95</sup> These scholars aim to point out individual differences, different life situations, and various goals and experiences among the women that are in the centre of their study. History is seen as 'made of individuals who did the best they could under the circumstances they had'.<sup>96</sup> The supporters of this view do not agree with the thesis that women would have been subjected to systematic subordination. The

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93 See for example Roper, *Holy Household*, 27–55; Wiesner, *Working Women in Renaissance Germany*, chapter 5; Bennett, *Ale, Beer and Brewsters*, passim; Ogilvie, *A Bitter Living*, passim; Taussi-Sjöberg, *Rätten och kvinnorna*, passim.

94 Cf. Toivo, *Witchcraft and Gender*, 81–83.

95 van den Heuvel and van Neederveen Meerkerk, 'Introduction: Partners in business? Spousal cooperation in trades in early modern England and the Dutch Republic', passim; van den Heuvel, 'Partners in marriage and business? Guilds and the family economy in the Dutch Republic', passim. Due to the similarity of the article titles the reference to van Heuvel's article will be 'Guilds and family economy'. See also Schmidt, 'Women and Guilds: Corporations and Female Labour Market Participation in Early Modern Holland', passim; Toivo, *Witchcraft and Gender*, passim; Miettinen, *Ihanteista irrallaan*, passim.

96 Toivo, *Witchcraft and Gender*, 88.



*opportunity theory* is closely linked with the concept of contingency as the scholars have stressed the changing circumstances in society and people's lives.

### Middle ground theory

The third interpretation falls somewhat in between the *subordination theory* and to what I call *opportunity theory*. According to this view, women were not oppressed but, in the end, were limited by (strict) sexual order that reduced their opportunities.<sup>97</sup> As Eleanor Hubbard puts it, 'when economic concerns conflicted with rigid notion of gender, women were quick to exploit the resulting moments of opportunity – but that they had little recourse when material anxieties reinforced a strict sexual order.'<sup>98</sup> Although Hubbard emphasizes how women took a chance, she considers craft and guild regulations rather restrictive towards women's independent work.<sup>99</sup>

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The three-fold categorization presented here is only a rough one, which neglects nuances. Hence, it would be impossible to try to categorize every individual scholar. However, as the following paragraphs will show, three tendencies are important for this study: the articles in the craft ordinances and the opportunities of widows to continue their work have been interpreted differently according to the three views. In the context of my research this means that primarily the supporters of *subordination theory* have interpreted widows' rights articles in the craft ordinances as sole restrictions against women's work.<sup>100</sup>

The representatives of the *opportunity* and *middle ground theory* have alternatively seen the situation rather more brightly, emphasizing women's active agency and focusing on the opportunities of craftswomen. Dutch scholars, like Adriane Schmidt, van den Heuvel, and van Nederveen Meerkerk, have pointed out that

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97 Hubbard, *City Women*, passim; McIntosh, *Working Women in English Society*, passim; Lindström, 'Privilegierte eller kringskurna?' passim; Fairchild, *Women in Early Modern Europe*, especially Chapters 1, 7, and 8.

98 Hubbard, *City Women*, 5.

99 Hubbard, *City Women*, 198. Hubbard follows the footsteps of Bennett and McIntosh saying that 'women were excluded from the crafts by the sixteenth century', Hubbard, *City Women*, 189–190.

100 For example, Roper, *Holy Household*, 48–55; Ogilvie, *A Bitter Living*, 212, 260–263; Ogilvie, 'Women and Labour Markets', 48; Wiesner, *Working Women in Renaissance Germany*, 157–163. See also Bennett, *Ale, Beer and Brewsters*, 38–39, 44, 58.

the re-evaluation of women's work, participation to guilds, and family economy is needed.<sup>101</sup> Similarly, Sophia Ling and Dag Lindström have noted that often the questions on gendered division of work have been taken for granted. For example, taking care of the household and children was not as time-consuming as has been thought, hence in Early Modern Period many women worked outside the households to earn their living.<sup>102</sup> Both Lindström and van den Heuvel have highlighted the contingency: the opportunities or restrictions of artisan women varied largely geographically and from craft to craft.<sup>103</sup> With this study I shall challenge the *subordination theory* by proposing a different reading of the craft ordinances and widows' rights articles. Recently, in her study on artisan widows in early modern Paris, Janine M. Lanza proposes that widows held a significant role in the craft trade culture and used various strategies to continue their business successfully.<sup>104</sup> And indeed, it is my hypothesis that craft ordinances offered various possibilities for widows to carry on with their trade. Moreover, I shall argue that crafts did not aim to restrict women's work and several widows took their chance in the world of handicraft production; in a world that has been seen as men's world.

Intimately related to the status of women is the question whether the Late Middle Ages can be characterized as a 'Golden Age' for women compared to later centuries, especially considering their work opportunities and respect of their work. When publishing her groundbreaking study *Working Life of Women in the Seventeenth Century* in 1919, Alice Clark probably did not foresee that, after nearly a century, her interpretation would still intrigue historians to debate whether industrialism and capitalism meant a better or a worse situation for women.<sup>105</sup> Clark's contemporary, German researcher Karl Bücher argued that a surplus of women in German towns during the Middle Ages granted women beneficial work opportunities among craft

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101 Schmidt, 'Women and Guilds', 170–189; van den Heuvel and van Neederveen Meerkerk, 'Introduction: Partners in business?', 209–216; van den Heuvel, 'Guilds and the family economy', 218. See also Deculaer and Panhuysen, 'Dressed to work: a gendered comparison of the tailoring trades in the Northern and Southern Netherlands', 133–156.

102 Ling, 'Genusarbetsdelning i tidigmoderna städer', 171–173; see also the other articles in Jacobson and Ågren, *Levebröd*.

103 Lindström, 'Genusarbetsdelning i det tidigmoderna skräväsendet', 186; van den Heuvel, 'Guilds and the family economy', passim.

104 Lanza, *From Wives to Widows*, passim.

105 Clark, *Working Life of Women in the Seventeenth Century*. Clark saw that growing capitalism was the cause why so many wives stayed home and became dependent of their husbands. As Maria Ågren has pointed out, Clark's interpretation took a stand on her day's British discussion on ideal household, which claimed that the place of a married woman was at home. Ågren, 'Inledning. Genus och arbete under tidigmodern tid', 13–16. Cf. also Toivo, *Witchcraft and Gender*, 113.

trade.<sup>106</sup> However, like Clark, Bücher saw that craft organizations started to restrict women's work opportunities and eventually during the eighteenth century women only seldom worked in craft trades.<sup>107</sup> This discussion was reopened as Joan Kelly challenged the traditional periodization of history in her famous article by asking whether women had a Renaissance.<sup>108</sup>

Some of the pioneers in women's and gender history, mainly the supporters of *subordination theory*, have considered the Late Middle Ages as a time when women in the artisan household workshops had access to skilled work that gave them prestige. They have argued that women, indeed, lost their respected position in working life during the Early Modern Period when a major change from household workshops to manufactories and later to industrialized society took place.<sup>109</sup> However, whereas Clark blamed capitalism for this development, Sheilagh Ogilvie sees the lack of capitalism as a hinder: she argues that it was the preserving of inflexible craft and guild production system and the absence of free market and capitalism that made it impossible for women to support themselves.<sup>110</sup> Commonly this view has been called *decline thesis* among scholars. The *decline thesis* of gender history follows the same pattern as older economic history, which has considered the sixteenth century as a 'Golden Age' and the seventeenth century as a gloomy era of stagnation.<sup>111</sup>

Furthermore, Judith M. Bennett has convincingly challenged the notion that such a 'Golden Age' ever existed by arguing that domestic trade, in which women were largely engaged during the Late Middle Ages, offered low prestige and low profits leaving women vulnerable to changes in commercial organizations and technology.<sup>112</sup>

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106 Bücher, *Die Frauenfrage im Mittelalter*, passim. Bücher has remained less quoted in Anglo-Saxon research. Moreover, his list of trades among which women were active as masters has been later questioned by scholars. See discussion in Chapter 3.1.4.

107 Bücher, *Die Frauenfrage im Mittelalter*, passim. See also Lindström, 'Genusarbetdelning i det tidigmoderna skräväsendet', 186–187.

108 Kelly, 'Did Women Have a Renaissance?', passim. In her article Kelly pointed out that various historical events, developments, and processes had a different impact and meaning for men and women. In other words, women's experiences differed from that of men's. Kelly was part of the new wave of (women's) history, which aimed to make women visible as makers of history. Cf. Katajala-Peltomaa and Toivo, *Noitavaimo ja neitsyläiti*, 41–47, and also Toivo, *Witchcraft and Gender* 174–181.

109 For example Ogilvie, *A Bitter Living*, 329–331, 346–352; Howell, *Women, Production and Patriarchy*, 174–183; Wiesner, *Working Women in Renaissance Germany*, 182–185; Wiesner-Hanks, *Women and Gender*, 105, 124–128; Ichikawa, 'Die Stellung der Frauen'; passim.

110 Ogilvie, *A Bitter Living*, 329–331, 346–352; Ogilvie has argued that during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries it became harder for women to support themselves without a man's help in Württemberg. See, also, Ågren, 'Genus och arbete', 22; Clark, *Working Life*, passim.

111 Cipolla has criticized this notion, see Cipolla, *Before the Industrial Revolution*, 248.

112 Bennett argues that as the nature of brewing changed from domestic part-time trade to large-scale production, which required capital but offered increased profits, women disappeared from this

This study provides a new standpoint to this discussion. It is my hypothesis that craft trade culture was a more flexible system than has been previously stated. A system that offered various solutions to the changing economic situations and questions on how to secure the continuity of production and livelihood of the craft members in contingent situations.

Indeed, in the 2000s, studies have challenged the idea of women losing all their work opportunities during the profound economic and technological change. The supporters of the *opportunity theory*, for example the Dutch scholars and Janine M. Lanza, have pointed out that besides the men these changes also brought new opportunities for women. These scholars have stressed how the situation altered from town to town and craft to craft, thus these interpretations rely heavily on the concept of contingency.<sup>113</sup> By conducting a wide comparison of craft ordinances and widows' rights in four different cities I shall also contribute to this discussion that utilizes the concept of contingency.

Finally, the scholars who are adherent to *middle ground theory* have, on the one hand, emphasized women's new opportunities but, on the other, considered craft and guild organizations as restrictive factors for women's work.<sup>114</sup> My aim is not to act as a referee in this never-ending dispute. However, since the preserved craft ordinances indeed offer a good tool to study changes and continuities in widows' rights articles this debate on the 'Golden Age' cannot be ignored. In this study I shall examine whether the widows' rights articles changed during the time period of 1350–1620, and, if some change occurred, what it meant for widows' work opportunities. It is possible that the suggested change in the late sixteenth century towards restricting widows' opportunities has been overstated.

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trade which they had previously dominated. Bennett, *Ale, Beer and Brewsters*, passim, for example, pages 38–39, 50–59. See also the discussion in McIntosh, *Working Women in English Society*, 170–181. For a snappy summary of Bennett's book see Hubbard, *City Women*, 232.

113 Lanza, *From Wives to Widows*, for example pages 11, 84–86, 129, 145–149; Van den Heuvel, 'Guilds and the family economy', 222–223. Deculaer and Panhuysen, 'Dressed to work', 155. Van den Heuvel uses the term *guild* in a sense that is equivalent to the term *craft* in this study. In her article the terminology is not discussed.

114 See for example Hubbard, *City Women*, 198–199, 232–233 and Vainio-Korhonen, *Käsin tehty*, 38–40, 69–77. Cf. Jacobsen who discusses the judicial changes before the Reformation and underlines the contingency between women of different marital status. Jacobsen, *Kvinder*, passim, here 356–360.

## 1.5 Four cities under comparison

Lübeck, Riga, Tallinn, and Stockholm were chosen for this study due to several reasons. Firstly, each of these cities was a commercial centre of their surrounding area which provides a good starting point for comparison. Often the capitals of medieval Livonian area, Riga and Tallinn, are discussed and compared as a pair in research. In order to gain a broader picture of craft trade culture and the opportunities of artisan widows in the Baltic Sea area it was necessary to include other cities in the study. Having cities from south, east and north of the *Mare Balticum* a large comparison can be carried out and special characteristics of the Baltic Sea area observed. This was the second criterion for the selection of cities. Additionally, Lübeck, Riga, and Tallinn were members of the Hanseatic League and therefore their selection was ‘natural’ because it is precisely the Hansa organization that has been seen as a connective factor in this area.<sup>115</sup> Misleadingly, Stockholm is often counted as a Hansa town as well, although it never became an official member of the League. Nevertheless, it had close economic and political connections to northern German towns and vivid interaction with Hansa merchants.<sup>116</sup> With the large comparison made in this study it is possible to test this perception about the Hansa as a unifying factor.

Third reason for the selection was that these cities had quite a similar social structure. Of course each city had their own differences but by and large the craftsfolk formed the middle stratum of inhabitants in these cities and counted as one fourth of the population. Thus, a uniform social structure, discussed below, provides a good ground for comparison. A fourth criterion was the source material. Similar kind of source material from approximately same centuries has been found from all these cities, although not in equal numbers. In order to make a quantitative analysis a sufficient number of data, i.e. similar sources has to be available. In addition, the accessibility of the sources had to be taken into account. On the other hand, a larger number of cities would be impossible to handle in one monograph.

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115 Some scholars like Hammel-Kiesow have criticized this assumption on Hansa area being homogenous.

116 The role of Hansa merchants was important especially in sharing information. This has been considered vital for the development of medieval Swedish cities. In previous research, especially in the Swedish tradition, Lübeck has been seen as a role model for other cities in the Baltic Sea region. However, Gustafsson has challenged this view and argued that the influence of Lübeck has been overemphasized and taken for granted. See Gustafsson, *Svenska städer*, passim. My study shall bring a supplement to this discussion by comparing Stockholm with Lübeck and other Hansa towns.

## Citizenship and population

In late medieval and early modern towns the status of a person was closely connected to their occupation, thus the ability to practise a trade was often connected to citizen rights. In the cities bordering the Baltic Sea the person, by purchasing citizen rights, at the same time purchased a right to practise some trade, such as craft trade or merchant trade.<sup>117</sup> The requirements for citizenship varied according to time and geography but usually the applicant had to live in the city permanently, pay a certain amount of money to the city, and swear an oath. Sometimes armour or real estate within the city walls was required.<sup>118</sup> Sometimes the regulations were eluded: the evidence from Lübeck shows that some became craft members but acquired citizenship only later and without the usual requirements.<sup>119</sup> The gap between the citizens and the inhabitants in the social hierarchy could have been large even though the poorest citizens were close to the wealthiest of the inhabitants. In rough categorization, the inhabitants without citizen rights usually formed the lowest social class within the Northern cities, although some of the poorest craftsmen who had citizen rights could fall into this group.<sup>120</sup> Social mobility occurred: for example, a common precondition for a journeyman for acquiring craft mastership was citizen rights.<sup>121</sup> The citizen rights, acquired by the male head of the household, also applied to the nuclear family, the wife and children, and when widowed, a woman kept her citizen rights, essential for craft trade.<sup>122</sup> In many towns citizenship was connected to marital status.<sup>123</sup>

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117 Lindström, *Skrå, stad och staat*, 15–16; Greiffenhagen, *Das Revaler Bürgerleidbuch*, X–XI; *Lübeckische Geschichte*, ed. Graßmann, 230. In Tallinn, this practice existed according to written evidence from 1409 onwards. Craftsfolk took the oath for citizenship in their crafts. Greiffenhagen, *Das Revaler Bürgerleidbuch*, XI. When craft rights (*Zunftrecht*), i.e. full craft membership were bound to citizenship, the same time craft rights were bound to a certain living standard. Von Heusinger, *Die Zunft*, 58.

118 For example, in Tallinn the only requirements for citizenship were an oath and a payment, and also non-Germans, Estonians, Swedes, and Finns could acquire a citizenship. The payment varied being four marks in 1409 and only one mark in 1482. After paying and swearing an oath the new citizens were written down in the so-called *Bürgerleidbuch*. See Greiffenhagen, *Das revaler Bürgerleidbuch*, VII–XIII. In Lübeck, the payment depended on the status and wealth of the applicant. Additionally, an oath had to be sworn and new citizens were written in the *Bürgerbuch*. See *Lübeckische Geschichte*, ed. Graßmann, 230–233. For Stockholm see Lindström, *Skrå, stad och stat*, 15–16, 48; Schück, *Stockholm vid 1400-talets slut*, 24.

119 Stockhusen, 'Die Einwanderer', 195.

120 von Brandt, 'Die gesellschaftliche Struktur', 222, 224; Schück, *Stockholm vid 1400-talets slut*, 24–27.

121 After the approval of master piece the new master and the crafts' aldermen were supposed to go to the city hall and acquire the citizenship. Lindström, *Skrå, stad och staat*, 101. See also Table 1.2.

122 Lindström, *Skrå, stad och staat*, 16.

123 For example, in 1520 in Stockholm it was ordained that from that time onwards no one was able to become 'borgere eller winne burskap' unless he had a wife and was a resident of the city. SSTB 1514–1520, 294.

The estimated population of Lübeck during the Late Middle Ages was around 20,000, making it one of the largest towns in the German-speaking area.<sup>124</sup> The size, success, and prosperity of Lübeck were based on its leading role in the Hanseatic League and its large trade networks. Craftsfolk were the largest group among the people with citizen rights.<sup>125</sup> Lübeck provides a textbook example of the social structure of the cities in the Baltic Sea region, especially of those commercial centres like Tallinn, Riga, and Stockholm.<sup>126</sup> Important difference between the cities in the Baltic Sea area and the cities in central and southern Germany was the fact that wealth was divided more evenly in the north than the south. In the cities bordering the Baltic Sea the percentage share of the richest elite was 12–22% of the inhabitants compared to 8.5% in Augsburg, for example. The middling class in the northern cities made up 30–42% of the inhabitants compared to that of 5% in Augsburg. Moreover, the percentage share of the lowest class of the inhabitants was 40–56% in north compared to the 86.5 % in Augsburg.<sup>127</sup> Although one must be cautious towards all demographic data of the Late Middle Ages the point here is that the economic success of the cities bordering the Baltic Sea benefitted a larger amount of the city's inhabitants than in southern Germany, where the wealth accumulated in the pockets of a few extremely rich merchants.<sup>128</sup> Furthermore, this motivated different social classes to strive for economic welfare of their city. Of course the gap between the rich and the poor was still enormous but, as this research will show, it was the common interest of both the city council and the crafts to keep the wheels of commerce running. It must be pointed out that craftsfolk were by all means a heterogeneous group: some crafts were very small whereas some had over a hundred masters and the prosperity of each craft also varied. Additionally, the personal wealth of craft members varied, although crafts aimed to ensure equal privileges to resources to its members.

The success and prosperity of Tallinn was based on its role as a transmitter in the flourishing trade between the East and the West. Riga was a flourishing Bishop city located beneficially at the crossing of water trade routes. Together these two Baltic

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124 Von Brandt, 'Die gesellschaftliche Struktur des spätmittelalterlichen Lübeck', 222; Veltmann, *Knochenhauer*, 60. Hauschild estimates the number of inhabitants in year 1500 to have been 25,000, see *Lübeckische Geschichte*, ed. Graßmann, 358.

125 Klaus Veltman has made synthesis on the figures and percentages proposed by Ahasver von Brandt and Rolf Hammel-Kiesow. See Veltmann, *Knochenhauer*, 60.

126 Friedland, *Mensch und Seefahrt*, 215; von Brandt, 'Die gesellschaftliche Struktur', 215.

127 The figures presented here stem from Friedland, *Mensch und Seefahrt*, 216. In Tallinn, the lowest social class was a bit larger and formed 65% of the city's inhabitants. Mänd, *Urban Carnival*, 28.

128 According to Veltmann, this was one of the reasons why social disorder and riots were rarer in north German cities compared to southern ones. Veltmann, *Knochenhauer*, 59–60, 100.

cities held the monopoly of Hanseatic trade to the East, especially to Novgorod.<sup>129</sup> The estimated population of Tallinn was around 5,000 at the end of the fourteenth century, rising up to seven or eight thousand by the 1560s.<sup>130</sup> In the first half of the fifteenth century, the population of Riga was c. 8,000, reaching even 12,000 by the middle of the sixteenth century.<sup>131</sup> In both cities the highest social class consisted entirely of German merchants. Wealthier craftsmen formed the middle class and the majority these inhabitants were of German origin. The local ethnic groups, the non-German (*Undeutsch*), including the poorest craftsmen and -women, formed the lowest social class.<sup>132</sup>

In the Late Middle Ages, Stockholm was the most important city in the Swedish realm. As the famous cleric Olaus Magnus described in his massive work *History of the Nordic People*, in 1555 Stockholm was ‘the foremost city of Sweden, located so well in between the sea and inland water that it is called the key to whole Sweden’.<sup>133</sup> The export trade was vivid to Lübeck and Danzig, among others. During the Late Middle Ages until the end of the sixteenth century the estimated population of Stockholm was between 5,000 and 6,500.<sup>134</sup> At the beginning of the seventeenth century, the city faced a rapid population growth, reaching 13,000 –15,000 in 1629.<sup>135</sup> Like in the other three cities above, the upper social class consisted of rich merchants and craftsmen formed the middle social class. Circa one third of the citizens were craftsmen and -women.<sup>136</sup> A difference between Stockholm and the other three cities is the presence of the state, namely that of the Crown in Stockholm. The Crown’s castle employed many craftsmen and some craftswomen. Thus the Crown and its representatives played a role in the city’s policy making and formed a second party that had interests towards craft organizations.<sup>137</sup> Until 1471 half of the members of

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129 This was partly due to their excellent location, as they were situated at the mouth of eastern trade routes, and partly to the regulations that forbade foreign merchants to trade directly with each other. As a result, Tallinn and Riga merchants were an indispensable link in this trade system, which guaranteed large profits to them. Johansen and von zur Mühlen, *Deutsch und Undeutsch*, 70–75; Aalto, *Sotakaupunki*, 104; Zetterberg, *Viron historia*, 133–135.

130 Anu Mänd has summarized the calculations of various scholars concerning the Tallinn population. Mänd, *Urban Carnival*, 26–28.

131 Benninghoven, *Rigas Entstehung*, 99; Mänd, *Urban Carnival*, 25.

132 Mänd, *Urban Carnival*, 28; Johansen and von zur Mühlen, *Deutsch und Undeutsch*, 117–118, 124–125.

133 Olaus Magnus, *Historia om de nordiska folken* (1555), nionde boken, kap. 36, översättningen från latin ur Michaelgillets översättningen 1912, SE/SSA/Biblioteket/119:16:186/. Read from <http://www.stockholmskallan.se/Soksida/Post/?nid=28192> (read 30 October 2012).

134 Sven Lilja has made a reliable synthesis about the demography and population growth of Stockholm. Lilja, ‘Stockholms befolkningsutveckling’, passim, but here especially 308–310.

135 Lilja, ‘Stockholms befolkningsutveckling’, 315.

136 Lager-Kromnow, *Att vara stockholmare*, 66–69.

137 Lager-Kromnow, *Att vara stockholmare*, 50–54; Lindström, *Skrå, stad och stat*, for example 41–42, 86,



the city council were to be German.<sup>138</sup> During the Late Middle Ages Sweden was part of the Kalmar Union and Danish realm until King Gustav Vasa reclaimed the Swedish throne in 1523.<sup>139</sup>

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213; Lamberg, *Dannemännen*, 38; Lindberg, *Hantverk och skråväsen*, 45, 101, 106–109.

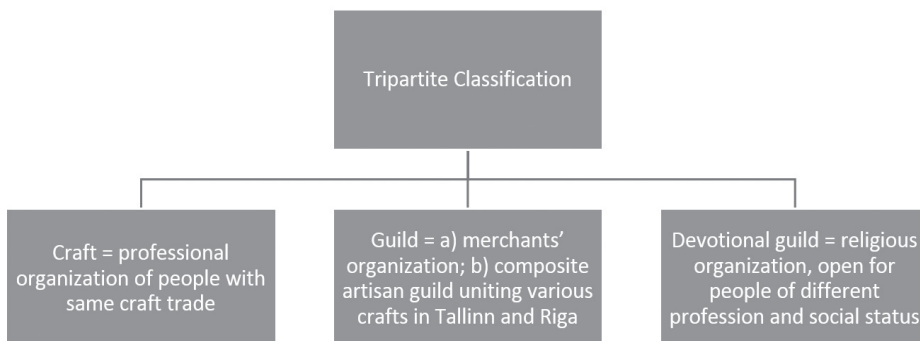
138 Lamberg, *Dannemännen*, 51, 63, 68.

139 Dahlbäck, *I medletidens Stockholm*, 28–29.

## 2 Tripartite Classification – new approach to urban associations

There is a multitude of terms used for urban organizations found in research. I argue that the ambiguity of terminology has resulted in misleading interpretations on the functions and purposes of various urban organizations as well as the role of women in these organizations. In his article, published in 1985, Franz Irsigler asserted that scholars should clearly define the terminology they use in order to avoid the transposition of various urban organizations. In addition, he pointed out translation problems related to the terminology both in sources as in research.<sup>1</sup> I fully agree with Irsigler and argue that, in order to be able to understand the various purposes of late medieval and early modern urban organizations and solve the paradoxes to which the inaccurate use of terminology has lead, it is necessary to introduce a more exact classification. Therefore, I have classified urban organizations into guilds, crafts, and devotional guilds. Furthermore, crafts and guilds were not homogeneous organizations. Hence, in order to be able to analyse widows' work, their possibilities to continue craft trade, and craft trade culture, an exact categorization of urban organizations has to be made. For that purpose I shall use my tripartite classification.

Figure 2.1 Tripartite classification



1 Irsigler, 'Zur Problematik', 53–54, 68, 70.

It must be pointed out that whereas German research has put a lot of effort in defining various guild-like organizations and their development, previous guild and craft studies have by and large lacked gender perspective. The Anglo-Saxon research tradition, on the other hand, has widely discussed gender perspective in the context of guilds and craft trade production, but previous studies often lack clear definitions and separations of the various urban organizations. As this study demonstrates, both of these points of view are essential in order to achieve a better understanding of the past craft trade culture and everyday life in urban settlements.

In Chapter 2.1 I shall examine what kind of terminology applied in original sources has been employed in research and discuss why the three terms, guild, craft, and devotional guild, were chosen in this study. In Chapter 2.2 I shall point out the differences and similarities between crafts, guilds, and devotional guilds and analyse them. Chapters 2.1.1 and 2.1.2 especially focus on the organized trades in each of the four cities and present an extensive source criticism which is completed in the Appendices. The analyses in Chapter 2 provide a framework for further discussion and analysis conducted in the later chapters.

## 2.1 Problem of terminology

The problem of terminology derives both from previous (and ongoing) research as well as from the source material itself. Often in research organizations are examined within a theoretical framework and definitions are set by scholars. On the other hand, Irsigler argues that the main problems stem from the fact that the technical terms used in the studies (*Forschungsbegriffe*) derive from source terminology (*Quellentermine*): source terminology that contemporaries considered wider or narrower than we do and which could have had completely different meaning five hundred years ago than today; and these *Quellentermine* are used as synonyms in research, even though their original meaning differed. Consequently, Irsigler asserts that technical terms used in research should not be as close as possible to the original source terminology but instead should be defined with appositions and defining adjectives in order to avoid confusion.<sup>2</sup>

In addition to Irsigler's arguments, which I agree on, it is also important to study by what name organizations, above all craft organizations, called themselves. This conception of oneself, *Selbstverständnis*, of craft organizations, has not received much

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2 Irsigler, 'Zur Problematik', 53–54.

attention among scholars.<sup>3</sup> As Susan Reynolds and I argue, scholars have often taken for granted the terms *guild* and *craft* (*Zunft*) without examining how the contemporaries used them.<sup>4</sup> This causes confusion for a reader who understands the term *guild* as a general term referring to various merchants, craftsmen, and religious organizations. Craft ordinances, together with guild statutes offer a way to examine what terminology an organization used to define itself.

In previous research the terms *guild* and *craft* have also been used as synonyms. Ariadne Schmidt uses the term *guild* in her article on female market participation in early modern Holland.<sup>5</sup> However, later on she writes that guilds existed in almost every sector of economy, so the term *guild* must be understood as a general term referring to a late medieval and early modern urban organization.<sup>6</sup> Here we face a translation problem: in Anglo-Saxon tradition the term *guild* is widely used in various contexts whereas in German research tradition the term *Gilde* commonly refers to merchants' organizations and *Zunft* to craftsmen's organizations.<sup>7</sup> In Swedish original sources the term *gille* can refer to a devotional guild, merchants' guild, or even craftsmen's organization.<sup>8</sup>

Previous German scholarship has striven to clarify the origins and long development of crafts and guilds and define these organizations.<sup>9</sup> Some of these definitions have been relayed to theories of economic and social sciences. The definitions of various organizations have varied according to theories: *organization theory*

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3 Thomas Behrmann has shown how nowadays the self-evident term *Hansa merchant* (*Hansekaufmann*) was not commonly used for the Middle Low German merchants during the heyday of Hansa trade union, but the term *Hansa* was reserved only for special occasions that had a great political and financial influence. However, the term has become obvious and dominant in historical research to such extent that it remains unquestionable. Behrmann, 'Über hansische Terminologie', *passim*.

4 Reynolds, *Kingdoms and Communities*, 72. For example, Christoph Anz, who has compared the guilds in Denmark, Sweden, and Norway, points out that *guild* is both a technical term in research as well as a term used in original sources. Yet he does not form a clear distinction between various guilds but writes solely about guilds emphasizing the religious functions of these organizations. The main focus in Christoph Anz's study is the formation of guilds and the structure and membership of the organizations. Additionally, he surveys the religious contents of the guilds and their relationship to clergy. Anz, *Gilden im mittelalterlichen Scandinavien*.

5 Schmidt, 'Women and Guilds', 170–189.

6 Schmidt, 'Women and Guilds', 172.

7 Schmidt-Wiegand, 'Zunft und Gilde', 31–32, 52; Irsigler, 'Zur Problematik', 60, 70; Von Heusinger, *Die Zunft*, 48. Susan Reynolds has also discussed the problem of terminology. See Reynolds, *Kingdoms and Communities*, 67–72.

8 Lamberg, *Dannemänner*, 167.

9 The main tendencies of prior research are extensively discussed, for example, in Von Heusinger, *Die Zunft*, 18–26; Irsigler, 'Zur Problematik', 60–64 and in Anz, *Gilden*, 19–36, 57–67. For a shorter summary see Isenmann, *Die Deutsche Stadt*, 795–798, 803–808. See also Wissell, *Des alten Handwerks Recht* I, 11–45. See also Chapter 2.1.1 'Ampt – the professional craft' in this study.

has emphasized the structures of the institutions whereas in *transaction costs theory* the economic functions of the organizations are highlighted while the definitions based on the notions of sociologist Pierre Bourdieu have emphasized the social practices as well as social and cultural capital that the organizations created.<sup>10</sup> Building on previous German research Sabine von Heusinger has defined various craft and guild organizations as follows: these organizations were based on voluntary oath (*Schwureinung*); they had executive power over their rules; the rules included sanctions that were defined jointly; they agreed freely on their own rules and elected the aldermen. In addition, communal and fraternal aspects became apparent in the common drinkings and festivities; mutual aid, altar and mass donations as well as commemorative actions were parts of craft and guild life. Moreover, these organizations contributed to keeping the peace within the city walls by prohibiting fights and carrying of arms.<sup>11</sup> This general definition also applies very well to the crafts, guilds, and confraternities in the Baltic Sea region. However, a more detailed examination is needed in order to define each of these organizations.

### 2.1.1 Ampt – the professional craft

My starting point shall be the presupposition that crafts in the Baltic Sea region were voluntary organizations. They were established in order to gain shared goals. These shared goals were usually economic ones concerning craft trade production, but, additionally, social aspects, such as mutual aid, companionship, and feasts, and legal aspects, such as reciprocal legal protection, were considered important. Furthermore, the organization was usually based on craftsmen's own initiative although civic authorities, above all the city council, were not passive bystanders and contributed (or hindered) the organization process based on their own premises and

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10 In addition, guild-like organizations have been studied in the framework of *game theory*, *decision theory*, and *path dependence theory*. Holbach, 'Medieval guilds in the light of economic and socio-scientific theories', paper given at international conference Craftsmen and Guilds in the Medieval and Early Modern periods, Luxembourg (Université du Luxembourg) 12 September 2013.

11 Von Heusinger, *Die Zunft*, 50–51.

interest.<sup>12</sup> The amount the city authorities affected the establishment of the crafts seems to have varied from town to town. In principle, one professional craft united all the craftsmen and -women who practised the same trade. However, some crafts united two or more trades.<sup>13</sup>

Franz Irsigler proposes that the features of the craft were cartel purpose, purposes based on care giving, control of production and market, own judicature, military and political tasks as well as perhaps something more.<sup>14</sup> Recently, Sabine von Heusinger has defined that craft *Zunft* is a major concept (*Oberbegriff*) which includes four fields (*Teilbereiche*): professional organization, confraternity, political organization, and military unit (*gewerbliche Zunft, Bruderschaft, politische Zunft, militärische Einung*).<sup>15</sup> The advantage of this definition is that it takes into account the various functions of craft- and guild-like organizations. Another benefit is that by dividing a large concept like *Zunft* into smaller pieces it becomes easier to handle in a study and thus helps us to understand the larger phenomenon. Furthermore, as the study of von Heusinger demonstrates, this four-field division can be applied to many Western European towns, like Strasbourg, Zürich, Nuremberg, and Frankfurt. This study will test how well this definition of von Heusinger applies to the Baltic Sea.

Compared to Western European towns, one of the major differences in the Baltic Sea region is that craftsmen were not members of the city council nor did their organizations have representatives in it.<sup>16</sup> During the period under investigation only in Lübeck craftsfolk had 13 representatives in the city council for a short

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12 Otto Gerhard Oexle has presented an interpretation according to which various guilds, crafts, and confraternities were organized and developed from the old Gallo-Frankish guilds during the High Middle Ages. All three organizations were voluntary ones under oath (*Schwureinungen*) which shared reciprocal legal protection and common feasts. Generally speaking, nowadays scholarship agrees with Oexle commencing from the fact that crafts were voluntary organizations under oath. The development of *Schwureinungen* and guilds and the continuity and change from Antiquity to the Middle Ages is widely discussed in Oexle, 'Conjuratio und Gilde'. See also LMA, IV, columns 1452–1453 'Gilde' (Oexle) and Isenmann, *Die Deutsche Stadt*, 795, 808. Otto von Gierke first pointed out that crafts were not an isolated phenomenon but part of a larger organization process of the society in High Middle Ages and thus should be examined together with the establishment of universities and merchants' guilds. Previous scholarship has discussed and criticized the various older theories about the establishment and organization process of the crafts, like the *Hofrecht Theorie* and *Ämtertheorie* or *Marktkontrolltheorie* as well as the idea of the craft as *freie Einung*. See for example Irsigler, 'zur Problematik', 60–64; Isenmann, *Die Deutsche Stadt*, 803–805; Von Heusinger, *Die Zunft*, 18–20. See also Anz, *Gilden*, 21–28, 36, 61–65.

13 See Appendices and Tables in the Appendices for further details.

14 Irsigler, 'Zur Problematik', 65–66.

15 Von Heusinger, *Die Zunft*, 30. Franz Irsigler has also argued that scholars should differentiate the professional *Zunft* from the political *Zunft*. Irsigler, 'Zur Problematik', 68–69.

16 Lamberg, *Dannemänner*, 54; Mänd, *Urban Carnival*, 29–32; Lindberg, *Hantverk och skråväsen*, 61–64.

time in 1408–1416.<sup>17</sup> In Stockholm, only one member of the city council had indeed practised goldsmith's trade, although several members had a last name that referred to a craftsman's profession.<sup>18</sup> Unlike in Strasbourg, where political crafts had a wide representation in the city council through various *Trinkstuben*,<sup>19</sup> craftsfolk held only a minor role in the city politics in Lübeck, Riga, Tallinn, and Stockholm. This had an effect on craft trade culture because the city council controlled the economic and political decision making.

The most commonly used term with which the crafts referred themselves in the Baltic Sea region was the Middle Low German *ampt* or the Old Swedish *embete*. Other terms like *kumpanye*, *seelschoup*, *bruderschuop*, and *gilde* were used variably. The source material showed a large geographical variation: in Lübeck, craft ordinances held to the term *ampt*, whereas in other cities, especially in Stockholm, the sources often also use the term *kumpanye*. The Tallinn smiths' ordinance of 1459, introduced in Chapter 1, serves as an illustrative example: the ordinance uses the term *ampt* when referring clearly to the craft organization; the term *kumpanye* can refer to the company of the craft brothers, guild house, or common drinkings; and *ghildebruder* to a fellow member.

Table 2.1 Terms *ampt*, *kumpanye*, and *gilde* used in Tallinn smiths' ordinance of 1459

Folio/ articles	Term	MLG transcription	English simplified translation
1r/ 1	<i>ampt</i>	Item welk man sines sulues warden wil in unseme ampte [...]	He who wants to practise the craft trade of smiths [independently]
3r/ 17	<i>kumpanye</i>	Item we dar kiuert in der kumpanie de sal beteren eyne mark Rigish	He who misbehaves in the guildhouse/ drinkings/ get-togethers has to pay a fine of 1 Riga mark
3r/18	<i>gilde</i>	Item welk man de dar spreket up sine ghildebruder date em gheit an syne ere komet [...]	If someone speaks against his guild-brother and damages his honour

Source: TLA; coll. 190, inv. 2, no 555 (Smede/ Smiths 1459–1528).

17 The city council included 34 merchants, 3 brewers, 13 craftsmen, and 10 whose occupation is unknown. *Lübeckische Geschichte*, ed. Graßmann, 262.

18 Lamberg, *Dannemänneren*, 55.

19 In Strasbourg, the members of the city council were elected among the members of certain *Trinkstuben* and the *Trinkstuben* were constitutive elements of political crafts. Merchants, noblemen, and clerics could be members of *Trinkstuben* as well. Von Heusinger, *Die Zunft*, 55, 97 and Chapter 2.4.

In modern German language craftsfolk's organizations are usually called *Zunft/Zünfte*. During the Middle Ages and Early Modern Period a significant geographical variation predominated. In short, in central and southern Germany craft organizations were called *Zunft*, *Zech*, *Einung*, and *Gaffel* to name a few whereas *Ampt* and *Gilde* were used in the north. The source material used in this study supports this prevailing conception. Furthermore, the term *Zunft* was unknown in northern Germany before the Reformation.<sup>20</sup> What then is the correct way to translate the northern term *ampt* into English? Often craft organizations are called simply guilds or, more precisely, trade guilds or craft guilds.<sup>21</sup> The Oxford English Dictionary (OED) Online defines trade guilds as 'associations of persons exercising the same craft, formed for the purpose of protecting and promoting their common interests'.<sup>22</sup> For the noun *craft* OED definitions are:<sup>23</sup>

A branch of skilled work; An art, trade, or profession requiring special skill and knowledge; esp. a manual art, a handicraft n. and adj.; sometimes applied to any business, calling, or profession by which a livelihood is earned.

A trade or profession as embodied in its practitioners collectively; the members of a trade or handicraft as a body; an association of these; a trade's union, guild, or 'company'.

In my opinion, the MLG term *ampt* in the original sources clearly refers to skilled work carried out by a person who has learned this profession. Consequently, the term *craft* describes this organization better than the variant *craft guild* or *trade guild* because the term *craft* implies the notion of craftsmanship and handicraft production. Furthermore, as there were other organizations in late medieval urban world that most commonly referred to themselves as guilds, using the term *craft guild* or *trade guild* in research as technical terms could cause confusion. Finally, the term *guild*

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20 Schmidt-Wiegand, 'Zunft und Gilde', 34–37; Von Heusinger, *Die Zunft*, 48; Wehrmann, *Zunftrollen*, 24–25.

21 For example, Ogilvie uses *guild*, Hanawalt uses both *craft* and *guild*, and McIntosh the combination *craft guild*. Ogilvie, *A Bitter Living*, passim; Hanawalt, *Wealth of Wives*, 109, 175 and McIntosh, *Working Women*, 121.

22 OED Online, search word *guild*: 'Trade guilds, which in England come into prominence in the 14th c., were associations of persons exercising the same craft, formed for the purpose of protecting and promoting their common interests. In some towns the representatives of these bodies superseded the older organizations as municipal authority. Trade guilds are historically represented in London by the Livery Companies, but these are not ordinarily known as guilds, and retain little of their original functions. The trade guilds of medieval Europe closely resemble the ancient Roman *collegia*, to which they may perhaps have been historically connected.' (read 21 August 2013).

23 OED Online, search word *craft* (read 21 August 2013).



was unsystematically used in the original sources, whereas the term *ampt* was used explicitly in the articles that regulated membership requirements referring to the craft and the actual work.

Sometimes it is problematic to form a sharp distinction between a devotional guild and a professional craft because in some cases these two types were integrated.<sup>24</sup> Evidence from Stockholm reveals a close cooperation between the goldsmiths' craft and the St Eligius devotional guild: the goldsmiths' aldermen were to lead the *sancte loy Companij* and the craft ordinance from the beginning of the sixteenth century pictured a saintly figure, probably St Eligius, in its inner cover.<sup>25</sup> It is not transparent whether the *sancte loy Companij* was a separate devotional guild or closely related to the craft itself as a sub-organization.<sup>26</sup> In Lübeck, by requiring the membership of small shop keepers' craft the person at the same time paid for the membership of St. Anne's devotional guild. Two members of the craft were to lead the devotional guild.<sup>27</sup> In Cologne, this kind of sub-division of the crafts was common.<sup>28</sup> In addition, the Stockholm carpenters' ordinance is twofold: the first part resembles a fairly general devotional guild statute but the latter part is clearly a craft ordinance with work and trade related articles. It is possible, as older research has argued, that the first part of the ordinance has been the statutes of Stockholm St Andreas devotional guild,<sup>29</sup> or that the craft in the early stage was subdivided into two.<sup>30</sup>

Ruth Schmidt-Wiegand has pointed out that a so-called double term (*Paarformel*), such as *brodershop und gilde*, was relatively common in the ordinances and statutes. She continues that these kinds of double forms signalize the continuity and long tradition of guild-like organizations: one of the main features of the guilds has been the social-religious function (*gesellig-religiöse Funktion*) since the emersion of the guilds in the ninth century. This function is demonstrated with the term brotherhood. Hence, these double forms present the two sides of these organizations, namely guild/craft

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24 In the Netherlands, religious craft confraternities and craft guilds were sometimes affiliated. Thijs, 'Religion and social structure', 158.

25 Klemming, *Skrå-ordningar*, 144 (Guldsmeder/Goldsmiths 1501): '[...] een eller twa aff brödromen til oldermen huilke som schulu samma sancte loy Companij fore standa [...]' According to Lindberg, 'Från svenska städer finner man inga motsvarigheter till de utomlands så vanliga dubbelorganisationerna med åtminston i stort sett samma medlemmar men med skilda förtroendeman och skilda kassar', Lindberg, *Hantverk och skråväsen*, 74.

26 Cf. Militzer, 'Genossenschaftliche und bruderschaftliche Organisationsformen', 146–147.

27 Stockhusen, 'Die Einwanderer Hermen und Thewes Trechow', 199.

28 Militzer, 'Genossenschaftliche und bruderschaftliche Organisationsformen', 146–147.

29 Klemming, *Småstycken*, 17–30 (Timmermän/Carpenters 1454); Lindberg, *Hantverk och skråväsen*, 73.

30 Werner Pursche has discussed the various possibilities. See Pursche, *Timmermansämbetet*, 18–20.

as the professional one and brotherhood as the devotional and religious one.<sup>31</sup> In Riga, the fishers founded a laudable brotherhood and a guild (*een löffliche broderschop und ene gilde*) in the honour of the Holy Cross.<sup>32</sup> Their statute has features of both craft and devotional guild.<sup>33</sup> It can be debated whether the fishers founded both a devotional guild and a professional craft or if the terms *broderschop* and *gilde* were used as synonyms, meaning that they founded a devotional guild. It is also possible that the inner structure of the craft was divided in two: the guild side concentrated on professional matters and the brotherhood side on religious ones.<sup>34</sup> It is my interpretation that the organization of Riga fishermen was a devotional guild, because the statutes focus on religious participation and have practically no article related to the actual work of fishermen.<sup>35</sup>

Irsigler has claimed that scholars should differentiate between the brotherhoods that were open to all people regardless of occupation and brotherhoods that were meant for the people of same occupation, which often existed as a sub-organization of a professional craft or guild.<sup>36</sup> The craft ordinance of Riga linen weavers of 1458 includes several articles that relate to devotional practices.<sup>37</sup> It is probable that the linen weavers first established a devotional organization that united practitioners of the same trade, that of linen weaving. It seems that the organization of linen weavers changed since in their ordinance of 1544 the professional side of the craft is clearly emphasized.<sup>38</sup> It is evident that the Reformation must have had an effect to the changes, even though in previous research this has not been observed.<sup>39</sup> These examples demonstrate that craft organizations were versatile constructions and could not be forced into one mould. This, in turn, suggests that craft trade culture was flexible and adaptable to different circumstances and needs. Furthermore, the differentiation of the organizations is highly relevant because the membership status of womenfolk dependent greatly on the organization type, as we will see.

The late medieval and early modern towns were hierarchical communities. Categories like profession, ethnicity, marital status, and age, among others, determined a person's place within the community. Membership of a certain organization

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31 Schmidt-Wiegand, 'Zunft und Gilde', 43.

32 Stieda and Mettig, *Schragen*, 275.

33 For more details, see Appendix 2: Riga Craft Ordinances and Editions.

34 For this kind of subdivision, see also Isenmann, *Die deutsche Stadt*, 806–809; Wissell, *Des alten Handwerks Recht* I, 98 and Schmidt-Wiegand, 'Zunft und Gilde', 43.

35 See Appendix 2 for further details.

36 Irsigler, 'Zur problematik', 64, 68.

37 Stieda and Mettig, *Schragen*, no. 69, 395–399 (Leineweber/Linen weavers 1458).

38 Stieda and Mettig, *Schragen*, no. 70, 400–403 (Leineweber/Linen weavers 1544).

39 Stieda and Mettig, *Schragen*, 134–135.

usually brought a certain status to its members. Various organizations were also keen to show and uphold the prestige of the organization. Very often the rules, guild statutes, and craft ordinances placed much effort on regulating membership requirements. The fact that the crafts chose to use a special term *ampt* for them can be mirrored against this background. These organizations needed to define their place in social hierarchy within the urban community and distinguish themselves among various guilds. The term *kumpanye* that was sometimes used mirrors the important social bond and the sense of solidarity among craft members. Yet, the term *ampt* is a clear reference to the skilled work of an artisan and therefore the English variant *craft* was chosen over other possibilities.

### 2.1.2 Organized trades in four cities

In late medieval and early modern world both vertical and horizontal bonds were important. It was essential to belong to a group and to know one's place in its social hierarchy. A group membership was one of the categories that defined a person's legal and social status.<sup>40</sup> Artisans, master craftsmen, and -women formed a middle stratum in late medieval and early modern urban society. A significant horizontal bond was the craft organization that usually united the practitioners of the same trade, such as shoemakers or coopers. Each of these craft organizations usually had their own rules, craft ordinances that set a framework for craft production. With their ordinances, crafts organized education to the trade, controlled the quality of the products as well as the quantity of various products and thus provided consumer protection. The crafts in the Baltic Sea region were subordinate to the city council, but they had a broad executive power over their rules.<sup>41</sup> In this chapter the organized trades in the four cities will be discussed briefly. More detailed information on preserved source material, editions, and collection principles can be found in the Appendixes.

#### Lübeck

In Lübeck, craft trades began to organize in the second half of the thirteenth century and by the 1350s several independent crafts existed. During the Late Middle Ages the number of Lübeck crafts expanded, counting approximately 50–70 crafts, as the

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40 Lindström, *Skrå, stad och staat*, 13, 19; Pihl, *Arbete*, 23.

41 Cf. Von Heusinger, *Die Zunft*, 50–51, 116.

trades specialized, diverged, united, and faded away.<sup>42</sup> At the end of the sixteenth century, the *Wettebuch* lists 86 different craft trades and in 1620 there were 95 different ones.<sup>43</sup> At the end of the fourteenth century, the largest craft in Lübeck were butchers, which had 116 masters as members. They were followed by shoemakers, smiths, and tailors, each of which had 100 members. Coopers and tanners had 80 members each and next in order of magnitude were bakers, with approximately 70 members.<sup>44</sup> Hence, craftsfolk were, by all means, a heterogeneous group. Some crafts were very small whereas some had over a hundred members. However, largest crafts were not necessarily the wealthiest ones. Along with the size, the prosperity of the crafts varied as well: goldsmiths, bakers, and butchers were usually among the wealthiest crafts in Lübeck.<sup>45</sup> In this study the small shop keepers, the *Krämer*, are counted as one of the craft trades, although during the Early Modern Period their trade resembled more that of the merchants than that of the craftsmen.<sup>46</sup>

Lübeck craft ordinances are often called craft rolls, (*Zunft*)*Rollen*, because the original parchments were rolled. I have examined altogether 85 Lübeck craft ordinances for this study and the majority of them are edited. Temporal distribution of Lübeck craft ordinances is the following: 16 ordinances are extant from the fourteenth century, 31 from the fifteenth century, 37 from the sixteenth century, and one from the seventeenth century. The temporal distribution of Lübeck crafts is presented in the following table as well. The Lübeck source corpus consists of 72 different crafts, yet in some cases a

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42 *Lübeckische Geschichte*, ed. Graßmann, 321; Wehrmann, *Zunftrollen*, edited ordinances and pages 10–15.

43 AHL, Handschrift no. 101 (*Wettebuch* 1589); no. 122 (*Wettebuch* 1620).

44 Veltmann, *Knochenbauer*, 60. In 1376, there were 70 baker masters active in the trade whereas previously, perhaps a bit earlier in the 14th century the number of bakers was 64. Unfortunately it is not mentioned in Veltmann's study whether the numbers include both male and female members, or as I suspect, they only refer to male members. It also remains unclear if these numbers only refer to masters but as Veltmann lists 163 butcher masters active in trade between 1370–1404 we can assume that the number in magnitude order refers to the number of masters in each craft.

45 Veltmann, *Knochenbauer*, 66.

46 Previous research has not problematized the position of the small shop keepers, *Krämer*, but has categorized them either as small-scale merchants, as craft, or somewhat in between. The latter seems to be the truth. However, in this study small shop keepers are categorized as a craft, because the majority of small shop keepers in the four cities were part of craftsfolk economically and legally. See for example *Lübeckische Geschichte*, ed. Graßmann, 313–315. In her forthcoming dissertation on Lübeck *Krämer* Sabrina Stockhusen categorizes *Krämer* rather as small-scale merchants than craftsfolk. According to her, great social and economic differences appeared within the *Krämer*. It also seems that the *Krämers* first organized themselves as a craft but towards the end of the Middle Ages and in the turn of the Early Modern Period their 'nature' resembled more merchants than that of craftsfolk. See Stockhusen, 'Die Einwanderer Hermen und Thewes Trechouw', 199–200.

clear distinction of different crafts has been and remains obscure. This large amount of preserved source material, which is divided almost equally to fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, gives a fruitful basis to study craft trade culture. Moreover, it forms a firm framework and context within which the 22 Lübeck petition letters can be analysed.

Table 2.2 Temporal distribution of Lübeck craft ordinances used in this study

Years	Number of extant craft ordinances
1350–1399	16
1400–1499	31
1500–1599	37
1600–1620	1
Total number of ordinances	85

Sources: See Appendix 1: Lübeck craft ordinances and editions, especially Appendix Table 1.2.

### Demarcation of trades in Lübeck sources

The integration and separation of neighbouring trades can be hard and often requires pioneer work, as was the case in this study. The demarcation of trades is difficult on two levels: it was difficult for the contemporaries, because the various fields of trades overlapped, and it is difficult for a scholar working today because of the evolved language and diverse collection principles of various archives. Yet, the separation or integration of trades is of utmost importance because, as we will find out, it often led to conflicts in late medieval and early modern towns.<sup>47</sup>

The cloth terminology in Lübeck craft ordinances confuses a today's scholar. Sometimes the Middle Low German terms *laken* (linen cloth) and *wand* (woollen cloth) are used rather unsystematically. For example, in the heading of the cloth makers' ordinance of 1551 the craft is called *Wandberedere* but in the body text the word *lakenberedere* or solely *beredere* is used. The *Wettebücher* at the turn of the seventeenth century listed three crafts: woollen cloth makers (*wantmaker*), woollen cloth tailors (*wantsnyder*), and woollen cloth-dressers (*wantscherer*).<sup>48</sup> Based on this and preserved craft ordinances, it seems that in the second half of the sixteenth century and in the beginning of the seventeenth century in Lübeck existed the crafts of linen weavers (*leineweber*), linen cloth-dressers (*lakenberedere*), woollen cloth-dressers (*wandbereder*),

47 Cf. Von Heusinger, *Die Zunft*, 116–121; Von Bonsdorff, *Kunstproduktion*, 27–37.

48 AHL, Hanschriften, no. 101 (Wettebuch 1589); no. 122 (Wettebuch 1620).

linen cloth makers (*lakenmaker*), and woollen cloth makers (*wandmaker*), although the ordinance of woollen cloth makers is not preserved.<sup>49</sup> In the leather ware production, such as tanning, various trades were differentiated due to their production methods.<sup>50</sup>

Concerning wood and construction work, the AHL archival catalogue offers *Hauszimmerleute* (Housecarpenters), *Kistenmacher* (chest makers) *Maurer und Decker* (masons and tilers), and *Tischler* (joiners). The original preserved craft ordinances, instead, have terms *tymmerlude* (*Zimmerleute*, carpenters) and *kistenmaker*. Based on the dating of the preserved craft ordinances I have created the following chronology. The first preserved ordinance is the 1428 ordinance of *Zimmerleute* (carpenters).<sup>51</sup> Then we have an undated sixteenth-century ordinance of *Decker*.<sup>52</sup> After these we have the 1516 ordinance of the united crafts of *Zimmerleute, Maurer und Decker*.<sup>53</sup> Then, in 1527, the craft had separated again and we have the 1527 ordinance of *Maurer und Decker*<sup>54</sup> and later the 1545 ordinance of *Zimmerleute*.<sup>55</sup> Additionally, we have a more recent ordinance of *Maurer* from 1571.<sup>56</sup> From this chronology and used terminology I conclude that prior to 1516 two separate crafts existed, that of carpenters (*Zimmerleute*) and of tilers. It is possible that masons were together with tilers or that they had their own separate craft, but, if that is the case, their ordinance has not survived. Between 1516 and 1527 the three trades, carpenters, masons, and tilers, were united into a composite craft, which then separated around 1527 into masons and tilers in one craft and carpenters in another.<sup>57</sup> Following this, both craft organizations revised their ordinances, masons and tilers in 1527 and carpenters in 1545. Furthermore, the archival title *Hauszimmerleute*, which has no reference in

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49 See Appendix 1.2.

50 *Rotlöcher* and *Lohgerber* used vegetable technique in tanning process (*pflanzlicher Gerbprozess*) and the tanners worked with calf and bovine leather, *Weißgerber* used mineral basis (*mineralische Grundlage*) and *Sämischgerber* used animal fat (*tierische Grundlage*) in the tanning process. The two latter worked mainly with sheep fell, goat fell, and wild game fell. Becker and Bulach and Müller, ‘*Skora, corium, ledder*’, 96–97. According to Wehrmann, the *Rotlöcher* in Lübeck worked with sheep fell. Wehrmann, *Zunftrollen*, 388. In this study the *Rotlöcher, Lohgerber/Lorer* and *Weißgerber* are translated as tanners. *Sämischgerber* are translated as chamois leather tanners.

51 Wehrmann, *Zunftrollen*, no. 60, 457–461 (*Tymmerlude/Zimmerleute/Carpenters 1428*). Original ordinance is missing.

52 Wehrmann, *Zunftrollen*, no. 11, 195–197 (*Decker/Decker 15Jh.*). Original ordinance is missing.

53 AHL, Ämter und Innungen, Hauszimmerleute no. 1 (Rolle 1516).

54 Wehrmann, *Zunftrollen*, no. 38, 332–339 (*Maurer und Decker/Masons and Tilers 1527*).

55 Wehrmann, *Zunftrollen*, no. 60, 462–470 (*Tymmerlude/Zimmerleute/Carpenters 1428, 1545*).

56 AHL, Ämter und Innungen, Maurer und Decker (Rolle 1571).

57 This union of the three crafts cannot be regarded as a composite artisan guild because they were subordinate to the city council and the contents of their ordinance differed to that of (Livonian) composite artisan guilds. See Chapters 2.1.3 and 2.2.

the original sources, has been created in order to help the present-day researcher distinguish the house carpenters from the ship carpenters (*Schiffzimmerleute*).

The second half of the fifteenth century has been characterized as the last heyday of the Lübeck art production. Jan von Bonsdorff has shown that between 1515 and 1520 the number of Lübeck craftsmen working mainly in the art trades, like painters, sculptors, and carvers, dropped dramatically. The superfluity of market and the withering export as a result of the competition from the Netherlands, the rise of the native art production in Tallinn and Stockholm, which previously had depended heavily on the Lübeck art production together with the Reformation resulted in the declining demand.<sup>58</sup> It is possible that the three trades, carpenters, masons, and tilers, united into one composite craft as a survival strategy to overcome these economic hardships. Yet, the benefits for individual crafts seem to have been scanty since the union lasted only 11 years. However, this multifaceted integration and separation indicates how crafts reacted to the economic downfall of certain fields of trade.

Other complex naming is that of joiners, *Tischler*. First we have the undated ordinance of *Kistenmacher* (chest makers), which originates most likely from the fifteenth century.<sup>59</sup> Chronologically this ordinance is followed by the 1508 ordinance of the *Kistenmacher*, which is edited by Wehrmann.<sup>60</sup> The third preserved ordinance is the revised ordinance of *Tischler* (joiners) from 1618, which is found in the archives.<sup>61</sup> According to Wehrmann, the *kistenmacher* and *snittker*<sup>62</sup> (carvers) united in 1620 and formed *Tischler*, the joiners' craft.<sup>63</sup> Jan von Bonsdorff has studied wood and art trades in the Baltic Sea region arguing that the trades of painters, carvers, carpenters, joiners, chest makers, and even turners often overlapped, which caused many disputes. Moreover, as von Bonsdorff has shown, in the wood and art trades it was common that a person practised two trades, even though this was officially forbidden.<sup>64</sup>

The separation of trades was not always clear to the contemporaries, as the various headings of craft ordinances demonstrate. In addition, various fields of trades overlapped. Moreover, it is not a coincidence that precisely in textile, wood, and construction trades we find so many closely related craft trades. Food, clothing, and

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58 Von Bonsdorff, *Kunstproduktion*, 45; *Lübeckische Geschichte*, ed. Graßmann, 369–372.

59 AHL, ASA Interna, Handwerksämter, no. 4254 (Tischler/Rolle und Interna der Kistenmacher, Rolle 15Jh.).

60 Wehrmann, *Zunftrollen*, no. 26, 252–259 (Kistenmaker/Chest makers 1508).

61 AHL, ASA Interna, Handwerksämter, no. 4254 (Tischler/Joiners 1618).

62 *Snittker*, the carvers, manufactured rich decorated furniture. See Kuruse, 'Glossar der Berufbezeichnungen', in AHL Findbuch Handschriften, 22–24.

63 Wehrmann, *Zunftrollen*, 294 footnote 112.

64 Von Bonsdorff, *Kunstproduktion*, 28–36.

housing were the three sectors where most of the family income was spent during the Late Middle Ages and Early Modern Period. These were the most elementary needs of people and hence the sectors on which the demand was concentrated. These were also the three sectors that employed most of the townspeople during that age.<sup>65</sup> Appendix Table 7.1 illustrates how craftsmen, who in principle were practitioners of ‘one’ wood or art craft trade, could be practising several fields of trade *de facto*. Thus, at least in wood and art trades many medieval craftsmen were multi-talents, if we use a modern term. Furthermore, it seems that the structure of urban craft trade could have been a very complex one. And, indeed, as this study will show, the attempts to separate closely related trades turns out to be one of the essential issues in the craft trade culture in this area.<sup>66</sup>

## Riga

The organization process of professional and devotional guilds began in Riga around the middle of the thirteenth century. The models for the first guilds were apparently taken from Denmark.<sup>67</sup> According to Wilhelm Stieda and Constantin Mettig, the organization process started when the devotional *Heilig-Kreuz-Gilde* was established in 1252. This guild had people of different estates as members, such as merchants, craftsmen, clergymen, noblemen as well as both men and women, and the main function of this devotional guild or fraternity was religious pastoral care (*Seelenheil*). Around a hundred years later, during the second half of the fourteenth century, craftsmen separated from the devotional guild and established a composite artisan guild, the Small Guild in 1352. Two years later, in 1354, the merchants organized themselves into the Great Guild. The Great Guild adopted the statutes of *Heilig-Kreuz-Guild* and also the Small Guild used the old statutes as its basis. The crafts began to organize according to professional and economic interests in the second half of the fourteenth century. Additionally, Stieda and Mettig consider that the emergence of crafts was based on free integration (*freie Vereinigung*).<sup>68</sup>

Friedrich Benninghoven and Heinz von zur Mühlen see the origin of the organization process of various guilds in the corporations of long distant merchants: with the episcopal privileges, the German merchants established various *Stuben* (*Stuben von*

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65 Cipolla, *Before the Industrial Revolution*, 34–37, 76–77; Rowlands, ‘The Conditions of Life’, 56.

66 See Chapter 5.2.1 for further discussion.

67 Stieda and Mettig, *Schragen*, 89.

68 The organization process of the Riga devotional guild, composite guilds, merchant guilds, and crafts is widely discussed in Stieda and Mettig, *Schragen*, 85–93.



*Soest, Münster* etc.) almost immediately after Riga was founded in the first decade of the thirteenth century. The Stuben of Soest became later the composite artisan guild the Small Guild.<sup>69</sup> Unfortunately the crafts are missing from von Benninghoven's and von zur Mühlen's schema. Hence, their interpretation disseminates us only one part of the urban organizations. It remains for the future studies to test which one of the previous interpretations of the origins of guilds in Riga holds true. For us, the most important fact is that crafts began to organize in the second half of the fourteenth century as the preserved craft ordinances clearly prove and that the crafts were united into one composite artisan guild, that of the Small Guild.

Craft trade production in Riga reached its heyday in the sixteenth century. According to various records of the city council, c. 90–140 different trades and professions existed in Riga during the fourteenth until the early sixteenth centuries.<sup>70</sup> However, all these trades were not organized into crafts. Based on my research, altogether 38 medieval craft ordinances have survived from Riga. The temporal distribution of Riga craft ordinances is the following: 9 ordinances from the fourteenth century, where the oldest one dates to 1360, 7 ordinances from the fifteenth century, 19 ordinances from the sixteenth century, and 4 ordinances from the beginning of the seventeenth century.

Table 2.3 Temporal distribution of Riga craft ordinances used in this study

Years	Number of extant craft ordinances
1350–1399	9
1400–1499	7
1500–1599	19
1600–1620	4
Total number of extant ordinances	39

Source: See Appendix 2: Riga craft ordinances and editions, especially Appendix Table 2.1.

The 39 surviving craft ordinances from Riga include ordinances from 24 different crafts. Stieda and Mettig estimate that at the end of the sixteenth century in Riga there would have been 21 'real' craft trades that had become organized.<sup>71</sup> However, they have not counted the various carriers or small shop keepers as 'real' craft trades, like I have in this study. Nevertheless, we can start from the notion that approximately 21–25 crafts were

69 Benninghoven, *Rigas Entstehung*, 93–97, especially the figure on page 96; von zur Mühlen, 'Zur Frühgeschichte', 18–20.

70 Stieda and Mettig, *Schragen*, 66, 88–89, 93, and chapter 5.

71 For example, Stieda and Mettig, *Schragen*, 115–116.

organized in Riga in the late sixteenth century. Two ordinances from different decades/centuries have survived from the crafts of bakers, coopers, linen weavers, masons, and shoemakers. Three ordinances from different decades/centuries have survived from the following crafts: the crafts of goldsmiths, furriers, smiths, and tailors. The complete list of Riga ordinances analysed in this study is included in Appendix 2.

During the sixteenth century, the Riga crafts started to close in. This development followed the general European pattern in which urban crafts and guilds tightened the requirements for mastership, reduced the number of master vacancies, and tried to chase away the so-called *Bönhasen*, artisans who practised their trade outside the organized crafts.<sup>72</sup> In general, the sixteenth century, especially the second half was a tumultuous time in Livonian area. The long years of wars in 1558–1629 reshaped the political map of the area as the old power structures of Teutonic Order and Bishops crumbled, and, after several military campaigns, Sweden eventually gained power over the area.<sup>73</sup> It is clear that urban craft production and craft trade culture was affected by this political unrest.

## Tallinn

The oldest organizations in Tallinn were the composite artisan guilds: the St Canute's Guild was mentioned in 1326 and St Olaf's Guild in 1341. However, at the beginning the main purpose of these composite artisan guilds was to provide a social forum, a network, and mutual aid to their members as well as a forum for devotional religious practices. Later on the guilds took a more active political role in order to make the voice of the craftsfolk heard in the city's policy making. This shift occurred in the fifteenth century.<sup>74</sup> Professional crafts began to organize in the second half of the fourteenth century, approximately at the same time as in Riga.<sup>75</sup> Susan Reynolds has emphasized how various organizations often changed as time went on and accordingly could change their name as their main functions altered.<sup>76</sup> Tallinn and Riga are good examples of cities where various urban organizations emerged, divided, and united.

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72 Stieda and Mettig, *Schragen*, 129; Von Heusinger, *Die Zunft*, 164; *Lübeckische Geschichte*, ed. Graßmann, 321.

73 Niitemaa and Hovi, *Baltian historia*, chapter IV.

74 Margus, *Katalog*, XII, XVII, XXIV.

75 Margus, *Katalog*, XII, XIX. The developments in Tallinn will be further discussed in Chapter 2.1.3 Composite artisan guilds and merchants' guilds, and the problem of dating in Chapter 1.2.1 'Craft ordinances'.

76 Reynolds, *Kingdoms and Communities*, 69–71.

Altogether 35 medieval craft ordinances survive from Tallinn. When classified according to the publication date at the beginning of the ordinance, the temporal distribution of Tallinn ordinances is as follows: 2 craft ordinances survive from the fourteenth century, 17 from the following fifteenth century, and 16 from the sixteenth century. In the case of Tallinn the dating of ordinances was sometimes difficult, as the example of Tallinn butchers in Chapter 1.2.1 demonstrated. The complete list of Tallinn craft ordinances and their editions can be found in Appendix 3.

Table 2.4 Temporal distribution of Tallinn craft ordinances used in this study

Years	Number of preserved craft ordinances
1350–1399	2
1400–1499	17
1500–1599	16
1600–1620	0
Total number of extant ordinances	35

Sources: See Appendix 3: Tallinn craft ordinances and editions, especially Appendix Table 3.1.

Two craft ordinances are extant from carpenters, boatmen, sculptors, and furriers. Three ordinances have been preserved from shoemakers, smiths, and coopers. In addition, four craft ordinances are extant from the butchers. The Tallinn source corpus consists of 20 different crafts of which four were composite crafts uniting two or three trades. In 1513, the painters, glazers, and carvers were united into one craft which gained its name from their trades (*Maler, Glazewerter und Snytker*).<sup>77</sup> In 1536, the craft ordinance was headlined by joiners, painters, and glazers (*Dischler, Maler und Gläser*).<sup>78</sup> However, it was probably the same craft since, in practice, the carvers and joiners, *snytker* and *dischler*, did similar work, as discussed above in the case of Lübeck.<sup>79</sup> The art production in Tallinn increased rapidly at the beginning of the sixteenth century and the number of painters, carvers, glazers, and stone sculptors rose from 2–5 in the fifteenth century to 7–12 at the beginning of the sixteenth century.<sup>80</sup> Therefore, it is no wonder that art trades formed a second craft ordinance so soon after the first ordinance. It was also quite typical in the Baltic Sea region that art trades, such as painters and glazers, were united into one craft since

77 TLA, coll. 230, inv. 1, no. Ac5, 5r–11v (Maler, Glazewerter, Snytker/Painters, glazers, and carvers 1513).

78 TLA, coll.230, inv. 1, no. Ac6I, 103r–108v (Tischler, Maler und Gläser/Joiners, painters, and glazers 1536–1637).

79 Cf. Von Bonsdorff, *Kunstproduktion*, 29–32.

80 Von Bonsdorff, *Kunstproduktion*, 43–45.

the masters of these two trades often worked together, or an artisan could master in both trades. There is evidence from Stockholm that several master artisans were called changeably both painters and glazers.<sup>81</sup>

Other composite crafts were the saddle makers' craft, which included also the bridle makers (*thomsleger*), girdlers (*gordelmaker*), and craftsmen who made leather goods with metal mounts and ornaments (*pistelmaker*);<sup>82</sup> and the *Schlosser*, locksmiths, which actually included various smiths, coarse smiths (*groffsmede*), and smiths who made smaller items (*kleinsmede*), coppersmiths (*koppersleger*), and copper founders (*grapengeter*), even sword makers (*swertfeger*).<sup>83</sup> In the smiths' case the chronology is easy because the three ordinances follow each other. The first ordinance of smiths was valid from 1415–1440<sup>84</sup>, the second ordinance from 1459–1531<sup>85</sup>, and the third ordinance of the composite craft of various smiths was valid most likely from 1531–1750s.<sup>86</sup> However, it is not exactly clear when the various smiths joined forces since the third ordinance begins with the smiths' ordinance of 1459 but at the end it lists the different fields of trades named above. Hence, it seems that the smaller fields of smiths' trade were taken into the smiths' craft in the early sixteenth century when the third ordinance was written.

During the sixteenth century, the crafts, together with the St Canute's artisan guild as their most active representative, fell into grave disagreement with the merchants' Great Guild and the city council. As the Hansa bureau in Novgorod was shut, the local trade with the Russians expanded rapidly. Many craftspeople, especially small shop keepers, hucksters, and even boatmen engaged in this new flourishing business and especially in salt trade. Merchants felt that craftsfolk stepped out of their traditional field of activities and together with the city council tried to restrict the commerce of craftsfolk. The questions of ethnicity were also intertwined in this as the Germans tried to protect their privileged standing within the city. This serious dispute on trading rights (*Handelsrechte*) escalated in a riot at the city hall on 28 August 1545 between craftsfolk and merchants and led to the pact of 1547 called *Transaktion*. This pact favoured merchants and excluded craftsfolk from commerce and beer trade. Despite numerous complaints from both composite artisan guilds this pact hindered the economic independence of the crafts and strengthened the position of the Great

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81 Von Bonsdorff, *Kunstproduktion*, 33–34.

82 TLA, coll. 190, inv. 1, no. 549 (Sattler et co./Saddle makers et co. 1459–1521). In this study the craft is called saddle makers et co.

83 TLA, coll. 190, inv. 2, no. 149 (Schlosser und smede/Locksmiths and smiths 1528–1747). In this study the craft is called locksmiths and smiths.

84 TLA, coll. 190, inv. 2, no. 554, 3v (Smede/Smiths 1415–1440).

85 TLA, coll. 190, inv. 2, no. 555, 7v (Smede/Smiths 1459–1531).

86 TLA, coll. 190, inv. 2, no. 149 (Schlosser und smede/Locksmiths and smiths 1528–1747).

Guild and its members. The Livonian War (1558–1583) and the political reorganization of the former Teutonic Order state signified difficult times for Tallinn and a loss of its medieval prosperity during the second half of the sixteenth century.<sup>87</sup>

## Stockholm

According to tax lists, around 50 different craft trades existed in late medieval and early modern Stockholm.<sup>88</sup> However, the number of organized crafts was somewhat smaller. In total, 19 craft ordinances are extant from Stockholm.<sup>89</sup> The temporal distribution of Stockholm source corpus is as follows: 5 ordinances are extant from the fifteenth century, 12 ordinances stem from the sixteenth century, and 2 ordinances from the seventeenth century. Some Stockholm craft ordinances were rewritten in 1616 but they are the same ones as the previously written ordinances, and thus I have interpreted these as copies of the original ones and they have not been counted as separate ordinances. Unlike the other three cities, in the case of Stockholm we have only one ordinance per craft, except two ordinances are preserved from the glazers' and shoemakers' crafts. Hence the source corpus consists of 17 different crafts. The harbour regulations (*hamnskrå*) are not counted as a craft ordinance, because they include regulations against bad behaviour in the harbour area and some general regulations concerning various trades that were active in the harbour.<sup>90</sup>

Table 2.5 Temporal division of Stockholm craft ordinances used in this study

Years	Numbers of preserved ordinances
1350–1399	0
1400–1499	5*
1500–1599	12
1600–1620	2
Total number of extant ordinances	19

Sources: See Appendix 4: Stockholm craft ordinances and editions, especially Appendix Table 4.1.

\* There are no known craft ordinances from the first half of the fifteenth century and the oldest ordinance, carpenters, stem from 1454.

87 Margus, *Katalog*, XXVII–XXXII.

88 Lindberg, *Hantverk och skråväsen*, 43.

89 Lamberg mentions 15 crafts and around 20 devotional guilds. Lamberg, *Dannemännen*, 170.

90 Klemming, *Skrå-ordningar*, 289–309 (Hamnskrå/Harbour regulations 1450).

All the Stockholm ordinances are dated in 1450–1616 and no ordinance from the fourteenth century or early fifteenth century has survived. The oldest ordinance, from the carpenters' craft, is from year 1454.<sup>91</sup> This differs from the other three cities where the temporal range of craft ordinances is much wider. This has raised questions on the late organization process of the Stockholm craft trade. However, as Dag Lindström has demonstrated, it is more likely that the crafts were organized in Stockholm long before the publication date of written ordinances would let us assume.<sup>92</sup> For example, the tailors were granted privileges already in 1356.<sup>93</sup> Additionally, many of the Stockholm ordinances refer to their old tradition.<sup>94</sup> Furthermore, the records of the city council, the *tänkeböcker* have references to crafts before the 1470s.<sup>95</sup> Based on this, it is my assumption that the emergence and organization process of the crafts in Stockholm occurred approximately at the same time as in the other three cities under scrutiny and therefore a slightly different temporal distribution of Stockholm sources can be overcome.

Stockholm craft ordinances often included regulations against bad behaviour in craft assemblies and festivities. Also in Lübeck many of the craft ordinances included articles related to bad behaviour. This differed slightly from the craft ordinances of Livonian cities: only some Tallinn and Riga craft ordinances had such kinds of articles. Instead, the regulations against bad behaviour were written in the statutes of the two artisan guilds, St Canute's Guild and St Olaf's Guild. According to my knowledge, there was no composite artisan guild uniting various crafts and organizing yearly festivities in Stockholm. Marko Lamberg has shown in his study about urban communities in Northern cities that in Stockholm the merchants' (devotional) guilds or the city council usually organized the annual festivities.<sup>96</sup> Hence, it is natural that regulations against bad behaviour were written in the actual craft ordinances.

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91 The ordinance of girdler journeymen stems from 1437. Klemming, *Skrå-ordningar*, 3. According to Klemming, the older parts of the shoemakers' ordinance stem from before 1450, although the ordinance was not confirmed by the city council until 1474. Klemming, *Skrå-ordningar*, 30, 43. See also Lindström, *Skrå, stad och stat*, 72–73.

92 The organization process, the development of craft organizations, and statements of previous research related to the emergence of craft organizations in Stockholm and Sweden is summarized in Lindström, *Skrå, stad och stat*, 72–75. See also Lindberg, *Hantverk och skråväsen*, 39–44.

93 Lindström, *Skrå, stad och stat*, 72–75, 86.

94 Butchers' ordinance from 1477 states that they had been united as a craft for long but without a written rule: '[...]wij kötmaangare embethet ok kompanij här i stochohm os aff aldhher haffua haldit ok rettat epter godha gamla sidhvenio vthan skriffter ok skraa til thenna dagh [...]' Klemming, *Skrå-ordningar*, 47 (Köttmånglare/Butchers 1477). Also the pot founders referred to old traditions, see Klemming, *Skrå-ordningar*, 236 (Gryt- och kanngjutare/Tenngjutare/Pot founders 1545). See also Lindström, *Skrå, stad och stat* 72–75.

95 Cf. Lindström, *Skrå, stad och stat*, 242–244.

96 Lamberg, *Dannemännen*, 181, 186–189.

The characterization and table above paints, however, too simplified a picture of the Stockholm craft trade organization system compared to the other three cities. Like in the other cities discussed above, additions and modifications were made to Stockholm craft ordinances as well, which makes it difficult for a modern scholar to calculate the exact number of ordinances. The problem is whether to count the additions and royal (revised) privileges as one or several separate ordinances. The case is especially difficult if the originals are not preserved or the royal privileges do not include any new or modified articles. The following table presents the 19 Stockholm craft ordinances used in this study (bolded) and also lists the various royal confirmations that were granted to various crafts during the time under investigation. The aim of the table is to illustrate that craft trade culture was not static but modifications and revisions were also made in Stockholm. Moreover, the table depicts that the Crown showed a lot of interest in controlling craft trades. The detailed list of Stockholm craft ordinances used in this study, with their dates, repository place, and edition can be found in Appendix 4.

Table 2.6 The Stockholm craft ordinances used in this study and the various additions and/or royal privileges that were granted to the craft trades

Craft	Ordinance (skr�a)/ Royal privileges/additions	Years
<b>Skomakare/ Shoemakers</b>	<b>Ordinance</b>	<b>before 1474</b>
	Council's confirmation	1474
	Additions	1477, 1489, 1499, 1502
	<b>Revised ordinance</b>	1596
	Royal privileges/ confirmation	1616
	Decisions	1489
	Letter to King John III	1578
	Ordinance	1616
	Ordinance	1621
<b>K�ttm�nglarne/ Slaktare / Butchers</b>	<b>Ordinance</b>	<b>1477</b>
	Royal permit to buy livestock	1530
	Royal permit to buy livestock	1546
<b>Smede/ Smiths</b>	<b>Ordinance</b>	<b>1479</b>
	Ordinance	1669
	Ordinance	Copy from 17th century
<b>Murare/ Masons</b>	<b>Ordinance</b>	<b>1487</b>
	Additions	1601

2 Tripartite Classification – new approach to urban associations

	Royal privileges/ confirmation	1602
	Varia?	1600
<b>Skräddare/ Tailors</b>	<b>Ordinance</b>	<b>1501</b>
	Additions	1508, 1517,1545, 1575
	Royal Decree (stadga)	1356
	Royal confirmation	1453
	Royal privileges	1536
	Royal privileges	1571
	Confirmation of royal privileges	1594
<b>Guldsmeder/ Goldsmiths</b>	<b>Ordinance</b>	<b>1501</b>
	Decree of Council of the Realm for goldsmiths	1473
	Decree of Council of the Realm for goldsmiths	1474
	Decree of Council of the Realm for goldsmiths	1485
	Letter about altar foundation	1485
	Letter of indulgence	1487
	Letter from the Council of the Realm	1489
	Royal decision for goldsmiths	1529
	Royal letter about marketplaces	1585
	Royal decision for goldsmiths	1594
	Confirmation of privileges	1677
	Letter to the city council from Tallinn city council	1475
	Letter to Tallinn city council from Stockholm city council	1527
	Ordinance	1616
	Ordinance	1622
<b>Dragare/ Vindragare/ Carriers</b>	<b>Ordinance</b>	<b>1502-1635</b>
	Charges of carriers	1541
<b>Bagare/ Bakers</b>	<b>Ordinance</b>	<b>1506-1511</b>
<b>Tunnbindarna/ Coopers</b>	<b>Ordinance</b>	<b>In the beginning of the 16th century, afskrift 1579</b>
<b>Tenngjutare/ Pot founders</b>	<b>Ordinance</b>	<b>1545</b>
	<b>Ordinance</b>	<b>1622</b>
<b>Barberare/ Barber-surgeons</b>	<b>Ordinance</b>	<b>1571</b>



<b>Snickare/Carvers</b>	<b>Ordinance</b>	<b>1575</b>
	Royal confirmation	1578
<b>Skinnare/ Tanners</b>	<b>Ordinance</b>	<b>1589</b>
<b>Kopparslagare/ Coppersmiths</b>	<b>Ordinance</b>	<b>1602</b>
	Ordinance	1622
<b>Timmermän/ Carpenters</b>	<b>Ordinance</b>	<b>1454</b> , printed example from year <b>1604</b>
<b>Glasmästare/ Gazers</b>	<b>Ordinance</b>	<b>1585</b>
	<b>Ordinance</b>	<b>1608</b>
	Protocol	1604-1643
	Embetsbok	
<b>Sämskmakare/ Chamois leather tanners</b>	<b>Ordinance</b>	<b>1575</b>
Hamnskrå	Harbour regulations	1450

Sources: Klemming, *Skrå-ordingar*, passim; Klemming, *Småstycken*, passim; Riksarkivet (RA), *Stockholms stads acta* vol 24, 25, 27; Kungliga Bibliotek Stockholm, *Handskriftensamling*, B 590,594, 597, 599, 601, 607, 608; Nordiska Museets Arkiv, no. 15,988e; Lindström, *Skrå, stad och staat*, 86, 242–244 (Appendix 1); Lindberg, *Hantverk och skråväsen*, passim. See also Appendix Table 4.1.

The so-called *Zunftzwang* (*skråtvånget*), compulsory craft membership, has been seen as one of the main characteristics of medieval craft trade culture. Recently, Sabine von Heusinger has argued that in many cities the obligation to belong to an organized craft in order to be able to practise craft trade came into effect at the earliest during the Early Modern Period.<sup>97</sup> The records of the Stockholm city council reveal that every now and then, yet repeatedly, craftsfolk were fined for practising the profession without a craft membership and the council had to repeat that craftsfolk were obliged to become members of the craft of their field. For example, if someone practised coppers' trade without craft membership, he was to pay 40 marks, which was a considerably large amount of money.<sup>98</sup> In reality, the penalties were usually lowered: if a mason who was not a member of a craft practised his profession, he

97 Von Heusinger, *Die Zunft*, 58.

98 SSTB 1474–1483, 155. This same clause was repeated already in the following year with the addition that all coopers were to mark their produced goods by an extra penalty of fine. SSTB 1474–1483, 168. See also Lindberg, *Hantverk och skråväsen*, 75. Lindberg estimates that 20 marks in the middle of the fifteenth century corresponded to 5 oxen. Lindberg, *Hantverk och skråväsen*, 88.

was to pay three marks.<sup>99</sup> Crafts certainly tried to hinder the unorganized production and protect their privileges as the main producers. In this regard their aims with the city council were consistent.

One major difference between Stockholm and the other three cities is the presence of the Crown in Stockholm. A substantial number of craftsfolk in Stockholm worked for the Crown in the Stockholm castle. Besides acting as a major employer, the Crown was also a significant source of public demand especially from the 1520s onwards after King Gustav Vasa took the reign. The reinforcements of the defence and military forces increased public demand in various trade sectors, especially in building and construction work as well as in leather and textile trades.<sup>100</sup> Hence, the political situation, military campaigns, and the economic policy of the Crown directly affected craft trade. Particularly during the second half of the sixteenth century and in the beginning of the seventeenth century, the industry and economic policy (*Gewerbepolitik, elinkeinopolitiikka*) of the state was to favour domestic production and craft trade, restrict import, and tighten the control of craft trades. The Crown tried to execute these aims by concentrating craft trade production into cities (prohibition of large scale craft trade production in the countryside), mandating that all handicraft trades were to organize into crafts, fixing the number of masters as well as confirming and revising the previous privileges of various crafts.<sup>101</sup> These measures did not all succeed. For example, rural craft trade production flourished and the Crown itself even granted special licences to rural artisans to practise their trade.<sup>102</sup>

The protectionist industry and economic policy of the Crown, however, also strengthened the efforts of the protection of crafts. Furthermore, there were aims to restrict labour market, both foreign and domestic. For example, the penalties for illegal craft trade production, i.e. for unorganized production, were raised through royal decisions.<sup>103</sup> Some crafts restricted the migration of foreign labour force: the barber-surgeons stipulated that if a foreigner wanted to come to town and practise the trade he should take two patients from the spital and if they died he was to answer to the city council; but if they lived he could stay and heal old fractures and

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99 SSTB 1483–1493, 158. Lindberg provides further cases where the penalty was lowered. See Lindberg, *Hantverk och skråväsen*, 75.

100 Lindberg, *Hantverk och skråväsen*, 16, 44; Lager-Kromnow, *Att vara stockholmare*, 50–60; Cipolla, *Before the Industrial Revolution*, 45–55.

101 Lindström, *Skrå, stad och staat*, 168–173, 176–178, 185–189; Lindberg, *Hantverk och skråväsen*, 103, 107–109, 113–115, 119–124.

102 Lindström, *Skrå, stad och staat*, 171; Lindberg, *Hantverk och skråväsen*, 113–115.

103 Lindberg, *Hantverk och skråväsen*, 119; Lindström, *Skrå, stad och staat*, 176–178, 195–197, 202–206.

wounds but not any fresh ones.<sup>104</sup> Consequently, we encounter protectionism at two levels which both supported each other: the industrial and economic policy of the Crown and the inner protectionism of the crafts themselves.

During 1621–22, craft trade (*skeråvesen*) underwent a gradual reform in Stockholm. It was part of a larger reorganization of state and its administration during the first decades of the seventeenth century; a process under which Stockholm became the ‘real capital city of the realm’ and the seat of central administration, government, the Court of Appeal as well as royal navy and artillery. A so-called general ordinance of craft trade (*generalämbetsskerået*) was made and, in addition, the majority of crafts received a new ordinance, which was largely drafted by the State Chancellor A. Oxenstierna (*Rikskansler*) and assessor of Svea Court of Appeal L. Skytte, together with the city council, crafts’ aldermen, and their assistants. The aims of this reform were to tighten the control of the state over craft trade and utilize the resources at state’s disposal as well as possible, among others.<sup>105</sup> Although the reformed ordinances were not completely new, combining old customs and articles from previous ordinances with new ones, this reform still marks a turning point in the history of craft trade in Sweden and Stockholm. Therefore, it has also been selected as an end point of this study.

### 2.1.3 Merchant guilds and composite artisan guilds

*Kulturbistorisk lexikon för nordisk medeltid* separates various types of guilds: clerical guild (brotherhood), merchants’ guild, and craftsfolk’s guild.<sup>106</sup> Sabine von Heusinger has argued that a retrospective distinction between a trade guild and a craft guild (*Handelszunft und Handverkezunft*) is irrational if not impossible, because trade guilds included members from poor scrap dealers to rich merchants, thus the artisans often sold products themselves in the marketplace.<sup>107</sup> Here, so it seems, we have a clear difference between the southern Rhine river area and the northern Hansa region. In Lübeck, Riga, and Tallinn merchant guilds accepted only persons with considerable wealth and high social status as their members.<sup>108</sup> In Lübeck, even skippers and

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104 Klemming, *Skerå-ordningar*, 247 (Bardskärare/Barber-surgeons 1571); Lindberg, *Hantverk och skeråvesen*, 122–123.

105 Lindström, *Skerå, stad och stat*, Chapter 7, especially 222–228; Lilja, ‘Stockholm befolkningsutveckling’, 317–318.

106 *Kulturbistorisk Lexikon för Nordisk Medeltid* 5, hereafter shortened as KL, column 302.

107 Von Heusinger, *Die Zunft*, 115.

108 *Lübeckische Geschichte*, ed. Graßmann, 312–315; Dünnebeil, *Die Lübeckischer Zirkel-Gesellschaft*, 138–146; Mänd, *Urban Carnival*, 29–31.

small shop keepers (*Schiffer und Krämer*) with higher social status than scrap dealers were counted as the middle stand, just over craftsmen in the social hierarchy of the city.<sup>109</sup> Similarly, in this study the small shop keepers are counted as craftsmen, in spite of their merchant-like activities. However, it is true that many artisans engaged themselves with commercial activities and in that sense the distinction between trade guilds and craft organizations is difficult. Nevertheless, the majority of the crafts handled in this study actually produced sold goods themselves unlike long-distance and large-scale merchants.<sup>110</sup> Furthermore, as the analysis in the forthcoming Chapter 2.2 will demonstrate, craft ordinances differed from guild statutes. Moreover, the membership structure and main functions of these organizations also differed, even though they also showed some similarities.

In Stockholm, Tallinn, Riga, and Lübeck, rich merchants governed the city both in political and economic sense. In all the four cities craftsmen lacked official political power and were not members of the city council. In Tallinn and Riga, the highest social class consisted solely of merchants who were of German origin, and the merchants' guilds in both cities were called *Grosse Gilde*, the Great Guild. The unmarried male merchants belonged to the Brotherhood of the Blackheads.<sup>111</sup> Whereas in Livonian cities the merchants' organizations were explicitly called guilds, in Lübeck the most powerful merchants' organizations were the *Zirkel-Gesellschaft*, *Kaufleute Kompanie*, and the *Greverades Kompanie*.<sup>112</sup> Marko Lamberg has discussed the guild memberships of Stockholm merchants and shown that councillors belonged to one or more devotional guilds. Thus, it seems that some of the devotional guilds were clearly dominated by merchants.<sup>113</sup> In Stockholm before 1471, half of the members of the city council were of German origin. Thus, the members of the council were well-off citizens.<sup>114</sup>

In the Livonian cities of Tallinn and Riga, various crafts were united into two composite guilds in order to gain more political power. Susan Reynolds has proposed that even in cities where crafts were excluded from official political power the craft

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109 *Lübeckische Geschichte*, ed. Graßmann, 315–317.

110 Exceptions are some professions like boatmen, carriers, loaders, and hucksters who did not necessarily produce any goods. These trades are, nevertheless, counted as craft trades in this study, because they were organized similarly as crafts and belonged to either the middle or the lowest social class.

111 Mänd, *Urban Carnival*, 29–32.

112 *Lübeckische Geschichte*, ed. Graßmann, 312–314, 322, 356–358, 361. See also Dünnebeil, *Lübecker Zirkel-Gesellschaft*, 8, 138–146.

113 Lamberg, *Dannemänner*, 170–173. The membership of Stockholm devotional guilds are further discussed in the next chapter.

114 Lamberg, *Dannemänner*, 51, 70–71; Sjöden, 'Stadsbor i sturetidens Stockholm' 43–95, 61–62, 71, 80–83.

organization could offer ‘a convenient forum for political activity and protest’ because people were already organized along craft lines.<sup>115</sup> The composite artisan guilds in Livonian cities can be seen against this background. In Riga, this composite artisan guild was called the Small Guild (*Kleine Gilde*) as opposed to the Great Guild of merchants.<sup>116</sup> Not all crafts or trades were accepted to the Small Guild. Outsiders were, for example, carriers, salt carriers, and loaders.<sup>117</sup>

In Tallinn, there were two composite artisan guilds: St Canute’s Guild and St Olaf’s Guild. These two guilds existed already in the first half of the fourteenth century, making them the oldest guilds in Tallinn. The Tallinn St Canute’s Guild united the wealthier crafts, such as goldsmiths, tailors, bakers, shoemakers, and smiths. After 1508, the membership of the Tallinn St Canute’s artisan guild was exclusively for Germans as the guild decided that non-Germans (Estonians, Swedes, Finns, etc.) could not apply for membership.<sup>118</sup> Crafts of lesser prestige, such as butchers, coopers, furriers, hemp weavers, painters, saddle makers, stone masons (*Steinhauer*), and carpenters belonged to the St Olaf’s Guild. The statutes of this guild have not been preserved, and the guild united with the St Canute’s Guild at the end of the seventeenth century.<sup>119</sup> Between the two Tallinn composite guilds, the St Canute’s Guild was the more powerful one leaving the St Olaf’s Guild on a side role, as Alexander Margus puts it.<sup>120</sup> As Marko Lamberg has argued, the membership of certain organizations brought prestige and social distinction to its members. Thus, the membership can be seen as a marker of social boundaries.<sup>121</sup> It is clear that by their membership policy the composite artisan guilds in Riga and Tallinn created and reinforced social hierarchies within the city community.

During the second half of the fourteenth century and in the fifteenth century, numerous crafts became organized in Livonian cities; thus merchants’ and craftsmen’s organizations separated and the so-called city community structure (*Stadtgemeinde*) took shape.<sup>122</sup> In principle, the city council was supposed to ask the opinion of the city community before making crucial political decisions such as military campaigns.<sup>123</sup> Based on the notes of the alderman of the merchants’ Great Guild, the procedure

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115 Reynolds, *Kingdoms and Communities*, 207.

116 Mänd, *Urban Carnival*, 29–32; Stieda and Mettig, *Schragen*, 99.

117 Stieda and Mettig, *Schragen*, 142.

118 Margus, *Katalog*, LXXXI (Der alte Schragen der St Kanutigilde).

119 Margus, *Katalog*, XIV, XVIII–XIX.

120 Margus, *Katalog*, XXVI.

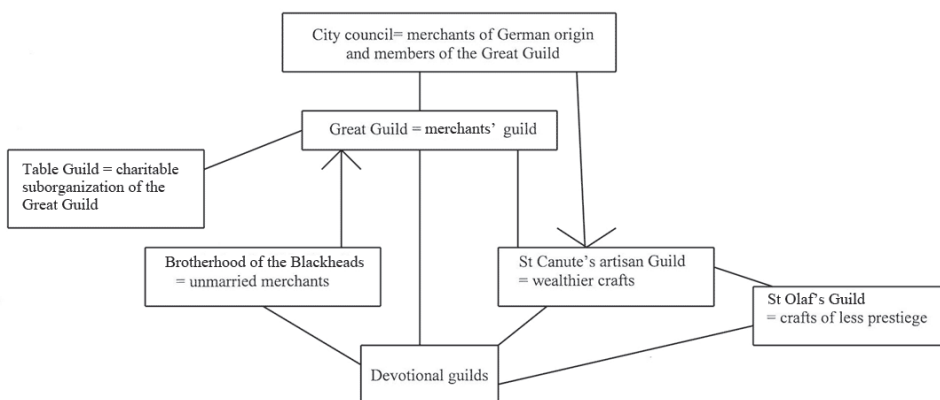
121 Lamberg, *Dannemänner*, 181, 186–187.

122 For the early history of Livonian guilds see, for example, von zur Mühlen, ‘Zur Frühgeschichte’, here 32–35; Mänd, *Urban Carnival*, 38; Margus, *Katalog*, XII, XVI–XX.

123 Margus, *Katalog*, XII, XVI–XX; Stieda and Mettig, *Schragen*, 99.

went so that first the mayor called the aldermen of the Great Guild into the city hall and presented them the matters to which the council wanted the opinion of the citizens. Thereafter, the aldermen of the Great Guild summoned the aldermen of the two composite artisan guilds into a meeting where they discussed and formed their opinion.<sup>124</sup> In the middle of the sixteenth century, when the economic circumstances, trade regulations, and trade practices changed as the Hansa lost its firm grip, the relationships between the Tallinn Great Guild and the composite artisan guilds were, however, strained.<sup>125</sup> The following rather simplified Figure 2.2 illustrates the political and social hierarchy of the Tallinn city community.

Figure 2.2 Tallinn city community



In Lübeck, the smiths, tailors, bakers, and shoemakers became united as the four greatest crafts (*vier großen Ämter*) in order to gain some power in the city's policy making. In 1533, altogether 72 Lübeck crafts were suborganized into the four greatest crafts. At the end of the sixteenth century, the union of the four greatest crafts took actively part in the political unrest in Lübeck.<sup>126</sup> Such political unions of various crafts are not known from Stockholm.

Hence, it can be concluded that in the Baltic Sea region the term craft (*Zunft*) does not include a political function in itself. Instead, the political function can be attached to the three composite artisan guilds of the Livonian cities and to the union of the

124 Margus, *Katalog*, XXVI.

125 Margus, *Katalog*, XXVI. See also the discussion in Chapter 2.1.2.

126 *Lübeckische Geschichte*, ed. Graßman, 358, 451–453.

four greatest crafts in Lübeck. In other words, the official participation to the city's policy making was channelled through the composite artisan guilds or the union of the four crafts. Dag Lindström has studied the relationship between crafts, city council, and state administration in Swedish realm underlining the cooperation of the parties.<sup>127</sup> However, further research should be carried out in order to investigate how much political power and influence, official or unofficial, the composite artisan guilds and the union of the four greatest crafts had in late medieval and early modern towns.

Although crafts and craftsfolk were, in principle, excluded from everyday political decision making, this does not imply that crafts would have been outsiders or discriminated in the city community – quite the contrary. City council and the merchants shared an interest towards craft trade production, because it was also a vital part of their prosperity and essential for the city. The merchants' domination of the city council was not always considered as negative. In fact, as Lamberg has argued, the councillors often had to invest their own resources and money to cover up the deficit in the city's budget. Thus, in order to be able to manage a councillor's post, a certain level of wealth was necessary.<sup>128</sup> As this study will show, crafts were active in fighting their cases in front of the city council, as were the individual craft members. Moreover, the various social classes were physically close to each other and had social interaction on the narrow streets of the cities.<sup>129</sup>

#### 2.1.4 Devotional organizations

Besides professional crafts and those guilds discussed above, in late medieval Stockholm, Tallinn, Riga, and Lübeck existed devotional lay organizations, which in research tradition have been called guilds, confraternities, brotherhoods, religious guilds, or devotional guilds.<sup>130</sup> Indeed, Heinrich Dormeier, who has studied the religious confraternities of Lübeck, crystallizes the essence of the religious communities as follows: in annual meetings the memory of past members was cherished, the members enjoyed convivial dinners, and donated their share to poor

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127 See Lindström, *Skå, stad och staat*, for example pages 96, 114–117.

128 Lamberg, *Dannemännen*, 48–49, 70–73, 181–184, 219.

129 Lamberg, *Dannemännen*, 180.

130 The terminology found in original sources is even richer. See Escher-Apsner, 'Mittelalterliche Bruderschaften: Eine Einleitung', 11–13; Militzer, 'Genossenschaftliche un bruderschaftliche Organisationsformen', 143; Reynolds, *Kingdoms and Communities*, 67–70; Dahlbäck, *I medeltidens Stockholm*, 169; Ahnlund, *Stockholms historia*, 499–501; Mänd, *Urban Carnival*, 40. See also Kuhles, *Die Reformation in Livland*, 19.

relief, and after death they themselves benefitted from the communal remembrance of their fellow brothers and sisters.<sup>131</sup>

How then should we name these religious and devotional organizations? In the original sources the most common terms are Middle Low German *gilde*, Old Swedish *gille* and Middle Low German *bruoderschuop*, Old Swedish *bröderskap*, the latter varying in orthography.<sup>132</sup> However, calling the religious lay organizations simply guilds would be rather confusing since, as discussed above, the generic term *guild* can refer to various types of organizations. Particularly in German research tradition the term *guild* has been asserted to refer mainly to merchants' guilds,<sup>133</sup> the main purposes of which in the Late Middle Ages and onwards was economic.

Quite often in both original sources and in literature religious lay organizations are called *confraternities* or *brotherhoods*. Steven Epstein argues that a guild was also a confraternity.<sup>134</sup> According to the reference book *Kulturbistorisk lexikon för nordisk medeltid*, the devotional brotherhoods were often called guilds and their differentiation from other kinds of guilds is often difficult.<sup>135</sup> The two terms, confraternity and brotherhood, imply the devotional purpose of these organizations. On the other hand, the term confraternity has strong connotations to the clerical religious organizations and can lead to the notion that the members were clergy and not lay people. The same also applies to the term brotherhood, although this term is somewhat less strict than that of confraternity. Nevertheless, I consider brotherhood unsuitable for these kinds of organizations since the noun *brother* excludes the other half of the members, namely women. This goes as well for the fraternity, *frater* being the Latin equivalent of the English *brother*. The fact that women could be full members of these organizations is one of the most distinctive features within them. Hence, calling them brotherhoods would not do justice to the nature of the organization and its members. Thus, this leaves us with two options, namely the terms *religious guild* and *devotional guild*, which could be used when referring to a devotional lay organization in a late medieval city.

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131 Dormeier, 'Religiöse Bruderschaften', 21–22. See also Escher-Apsner, 'Mittelalterliche Bruderschaften: Eine Einleitung', 15–16; Kala, 'The Church Calendar', 106–108 and Reynolds, *Kingdoms and Communities*, 67–68.

132 For statutes of devotional guilds see for example Stieda and Mettig, *Schragen*, 374–378 (Die Gilde des Heiligen Kreuzes); Klemming, *Smästyczen*, 127–135 (St Görans Gille), 143–149 (Jungfru Mariae Gille), 152–161 (Helga Lekama-gillet). Corpus Christi devotional guilds were quite common in the Baltic region. The statutes of Tallinn's Corpus Christi Guild are edited in LECUB, Abt. 1 Band 1, DXCII, 762–769; Corpus Christi guild in Sweden see Anz, *Gilden*, chapter 2.

133 Schmidt-Wiegandt, 'Zunft und Gilde', 31–32, 52; Irsigler, 'Zur Problematik', 70.

134 Epstein, *An Economical and Social History*, 111.

135 *KL* 2, columns 303–306.



Let me turn first to the very usable term *religious guild* which Ben McRee has used in his article.<sup>136</sup> It is quite suitable since it clearly demonstrates the main function of these organizations, which is explicitly mentioned in their ordinances, too. Eamon Duffy uses the term *religious guild* (or devout fraternity) in his extensive study on medieval religion and the Reformation. He also takes into account the fact that the division between a guild and a craft was not distinct as he writes that ‘many guilds in towns were craft organizations, with important social and economic functions over and above any religious activities’.<sup>137</sup> Indeed, as discussed already briefly in Chapter 2.1.1, some organizations in the four cities also fall into this category, meaning that in these cases the craft and the devotional guild were, if not totally as one, very closely combined. Furthermore, Appendix 2 shows that some organizations have been regarded in previous research as crafts although they were clearly devotional organizations and not professional crafts. Consequently, as Duffy continues, ‘the overwhelming majority of guilds were essentially religious in character, designed to regulate not trade or manufacture but the devotional lives of their members.’<sup>138</sup>

Even though Duffy’s study concentrates on England, his definition is also transportable to the religious and devotional organizations in the Baltic Sea region. In spite of the usefulness of the term *religious guild*, it can still cause confusion. Late medieval Christianity experienced a large scale revival of religiosity and the rise of mysticism. This led to a success of already existing religious organizations and the founding of new ones. Additionally, various religious movements spread. Many of these movements were later condemned as heretical by the Church and the Pope. Religious revival also brought on critique against Catholic Church and gave birth to several reform movements.<sup>139</sup> Within this framework, the term *religious guild* can be mixed with religious movements across Europe. Consequently, this leaves us with the term *devotional guild*.

The term *devotional guild* has many advantages: firstly, the main purpose of the organization, devotion towards Christ, Virgin Mary, or a particular saint, is visible through the apposition ‘devotional’. The devout actions are emphasized in the ordinances of these organizations as Chapter 2.2 and Appendix 2 will demonstrate. Secondly, the term *guild* is gender neutral and does not exclude female members. Thirdly, the term *gilde/gille* is most commonly used in the original sources. Therefore,

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136 McRee, ‘Religious Guilds’, passim.

137 Duffy, *The Stripping of Altars*, 142.

138 Duffy, *The Stripping of Altars*, 142. He also points out that these guilds were not only an urban phenomenon but also existed in rural areas.

139 Pölsam, ‘Einfluss der Reformation’, 71–75; Postel, ‘Die Hansestädte und die Reformation’, 133.

I find that the term *devotional guild* is the best available in order to describe religious lay organizations in late medieval cities across the Baltic Sea.

Before discussing the similarities and differences of the three organization types we must attend how in Stockholm the city community was shaped through the membership of devotional guilds. Around 20 devotional guilds existed in late medieval Stockholm. The merchants were especially members of five devotional guilds: St Gertrud's Guild, St Nicholas' Guild, *Vårfrugille* (of merchants), St Barbara's Guild, and Corpus Christi Guild. In contrast to previous research, which has emphasized the importance of Corpus Christi Guild, Marko Lamberg has proposed that the two first named, St Gertrud's Guild and St Nicholas' Guild, were the most prominent organizations in the city. The craftsfolk, on the other hand, were mainly members of the St Catharina's Guild, Saint Canute's Guild, St Michael's Guild, and *Vårfrugille* (of craftsfolk).<sup>140</sup> As stated above, Marko Lamberg has argued that guild membership created and reinforced social hierarchies. This inclusion or exclusion became particularly visible in annual festivities organized by various guilds.<sup>141</sup> Similarly to other three cities, the membership to a certain guild was helpful if not precondition for the councillor's post: in the case of Stockholm especially the membership of St Gertrud's Guild was beneficial in requiring the seat in the city council.<sup>142</sup>

## 2.2 Similarities and differences of crafts, guilds, and devotional guilds

If categorized roughly, in late medieval and early modern cities of the Baltic Sea region three types of urban organizations, namely crafts, guilds, and devotional guilds existed. Because the lines between these three organizations are not watertight, we must speak of a rough categorization. In his study of Northern urban communities Marko Lamberg has emphasized the social meanings of urban organizations. They created horizontal bonds that supplemented family relationships. Furthermore, the organizations created boundaries between the social groups, like those of the craftsfolk and merchants, or with clergy and lay people.<sup>143</sup> It must be pointed out that citizens were often members of various organizations at the same time. The members of the city council, for example, were often members of the merchants' guild or, as in Tallinn and Riga, it was the precondition for the council's membership. Simultaneously, merchants

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140 Lamberg, *Dannemännen*, 170–173.

141 Lamberg, *Dannemännen*, 181, 186–187.

142 Lamberg, *Dannemännen*, 177.

143 Lamberg, *Dannemännen*, 167–168.

and council members were often members of one (or more) devotional guild.<sup>144</sup> It is not known how often the craftsmen and -women were members of devotional guilds. With the exception of Stockholm's Corpus Christi Guild, the membership lists of devotional guilds in Tallinn, Riga, and Lübeck have rarely survived. It is probable, though, that like in Stockholm, craftsfolk in the other cities were members of diverse devotional guilds too. Moreover, devotional guilds were tightly connected to specific crafts or operated as a sort of suborganization of the craft.

As Susan Reynolds has pointed out, scholars often tend to assume that craft organizations had convivial and charitable functions or that a guild or fraternity of craftsmen had public functions of economic control. Furthermore, she claims that the economic functions of guilds and fraternities have been overemphasized, as the first and foremost reason to be a guildsman was the common drinkings.<sup>145</sup> And indeed, as I propose, the social activities were the main functions of merchant guilds, composite artisan guilds as well as devotional guilds.

In previous research the various organizations have been differentiated either according to their members or functions, that is statutes – or not at all.<sup>146</sup> In his article Ben McRee argues that traditionally different guild organizations have been distinguished following their functions (i.e. statutes). As an alternative method, he offers a division based on social composition of the membership.<sup>147</sup> These methods are fine, but if we only investigate one of them the interpretation remains deficient. Hence, as I argue, both of these methods should and could be used when distinguishing various organizations in medieval cities. Together the membership structure and rules shape the actual organization. By investigating these both sides it is possible to accomplish a more comprehensive notion of what kind of organizations crafts, guilds, and devotional guilds were and what were their differences and similarities. Hence, in order to categorize the various organization types, we need to gain a deeper understanding of the various organizations. Of course the primary goal behind these categorizations is to better understand the urban community and the everyday life of the citizens.

In the following table I have listed the significant similarities and differences of the three urban organizations. The table is based on my own investigation of the

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144 Dormeier, 'Religiöse Bruderschaften', passim; Reitemeier, 'Bedeutung und Attraktivität der Pfarrkirchen', 74. For Tallinn see, Mänd, *Urban Carnival*, 29–33. For Stockholm see, Lamberg, *Dannemänner*, 167–173.

145 Reynolds, *Kingdoms and Communities*, 72–73.

146 McRee, 'Religious Guilds', 70; Schmidt, 'Women and Guilds', 173–177; Lamberg, *Dannemänner*, 168; Anz, *Gilden*, passim.

147 McRee, 'Religious Guilds', 70.

craft ordinances, of the statutes of St Canute's composite artisan guild, and the statutes of devotional guilds. Besides the St Canute's composite artisan guild, the merchants' guilds are discussed in some points.

Table 2.7 Similarities and differences of urban organizations in the Baltic Sea region

	Composite artisan guild (and merchants' guilds)	Craft	Devotional guild
Women explicitly mentioned as full members in statutes			X
Different estates as members			X
Practise of profession		X	
Subordinate to city council		X	
Military function mentioned in the statutes		X	
Festivities mentioned in statutes	X	X	X
Memory of deceased mentioned	X	X	X
Patron saint cult mentioned	(X)	(X)	X

Sources: Appendix Tables 1.2; 2.1; 3.1 and 4.1.

As the table shows, there were two clear distinctive features in devotional guilds: firstly, women were explicitly mentioned as full members of these organizations in the rules, and secondly, different estates, i.e. people of different social status from nobility to the poor and clerics could be members. Whether women were mentioned at all fluctuated heavily. Some craft ordinances mentioned widows, some mentioned master's wives in funeral articles. The statutes of composite artisan guilds mentioned womenfolk in articles related to yearly ball. In the statutes of devotional guilds women were usually mentioned. Next, the table illustrates the three features that distinguished craft organizations most clearly from guilds and devotional guilds. Craft ordinances regulated the work of craftsfolk. In other words, the ordinances focused on the everyday practise of the trade – on work. In addition, the crafts were subordinate to the city council. Furthermore, some of the craft ordinances regulated that members were to participate in the defence of the city, for example, by having armour.

Common features for all the three organizations were that various festivities were regulated in the rules, and commemorative activities, such as participation to funerals, were controlled. Patron saint cult and related activities were sometimes mentioned in guild statutes and craft ordinances; hence the markings on the table are in brackets. On the other hand, patron saint cult and devotional actions were always

mentioned in the rules of devotional guilds. In the following chapters the similarities and differences of each organization type are discussed in detail.

## 2.2.1 Distinguished features based on membership

### Women as full members

The first distinctive factor between the three types of organizations is women's full membership. Was women's membership mentioned in the guild statutes of artisan composite guilds, in craft ordinances, or statutes of devotional guilds? The question of female membership in these organizations has been one of the everlasting disputes in research tradition. In rough definition three different interpretations can be distinguished: some scholars consider that women were able to be guild/craft members whereas others claim the opposite arguing that women were declined of guild/craft membership. The third interpretation emphasized contingency and variation in time and place. For example, in London, single women, widows, and wives could be full members of the brewers' guild (craft?); in some London crafts womenfolk was allowed to join as a relative of a craft member, whereas many of the city's guilds had no female members at all.<sup>148</sup>

Some scholars, like Yoriko Ichikawa and Klaus Arnold, have argued that women could have been craft and guild members only through their husbands. They have defined female membership as passive.<sup>149</sup> Others, especially the pioneers of women's history, such as Sulamith Shahar, Edith Ennen, Martha C. Howell, and Merry Wiesner-Hanks, have given women a more active status in guilds and crafts, yet stressing the temporal change from the medieval *Golden Age* to the exclusion of women in the pre-industrial times.<sup>150</sup> Recently, Sabine von Heusinger has shown that women were often full members of medieval crafts in Strasbourg, Zürich, Frankfurt, and

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148 Bennett, *Ale, Beer and Brewsters*, chapter 3; Hanawalt, *The Wealth of Wives*, 181; McIntosh, *Working Women*, 38.

149 Ichikawa, 'Die Stellung der Frauen', 99–100, 117; Arnold, 'Frauen', 19. See also Pöltsam, 'Frauen in mittelalterlichen livländischen Städten', 47. It must be noted that Ichikawa, Arnold, and Pöltsam have not differentiated guilds and crafts.

150 Sulamith Shahar, *The Fourth estate*, 190; Barbara Kroemer, 'Über Rechtsstellung', 136; Howell, 'Citizenship and Gender', 37, 47; Wiesner, *Working Women*, 151. Recent summary of English historiography related to women and work, with comments to the 'Golden Age' question, can be found in McIntosh, *Working Women*, 28–37.

Nuremberg, although this changed towards the Early Modern Period.<sup>151</sup> However, the majority of these scholars have not clearly defined the terminology they use. This has a great effect on their interpretations, as I will demonstrate.

As the table shows, only in the statutes of devotional guilds women are explicitly mentioned as full members of the organization.<sup>152</sup> For example, the beginning of the Tallinn Corpus Christi devotional guild statutes stated that ‘this ordinance is written to the brothers and sisters’, and the first article states that no one shall become a brother or a sister unless he or she holds to statutes. Furthermore, an addition mentions how a wife of Gert Jünge, her sister Elsebe, and their maid became members.<sup>153</sup> Both in craft ordinances as well as in guild statutes, in general, the membership status of women is unclear. For example, the statutes of Tallinn’s St Canute’s artisan guild stated that the widow of a guild brother was entitled to guild’s help. In addition, womenfolk were invited to the yearly ball, but it seems that, in general, the articles in the statutes were directed to male members.<sup>154</sup> The Lübeck chest makers allowed a widow to continue her trade for two years after her husband had died but otherwise womenfolk are not explicitly mentioned in their craft ordinance.<sup>155</sup> The Lübeck small shop keeper Thewes Trechow paid in 1497 the craft membership fee and the same time the membership for the St. Anne’s devotional guild for her wife Geske.<sup>156</sup> The linen weavers of Riga mentioned women who worked independently in their ordinance of 1458: ‘de suster, der dar arbeydet up sik sulvest’.<sup>157</sup> In the later ordinance of Riga linen weavers from 1544 women are not mentioned as independent traders/masters and only male weavers are listed at the end of the ordinance. Hence, this suggests that female membership had changed. However, the later ordinance of 1544 stated that widows were allowed to continue their trade unless they remarried.<sup>158</sup>

It is essential, when analysing or generalizing female membership, to categorize the type of organizations in concern. Adriane Schmidt presents a very useful categorization in her article ‘Women and Guilds’. She classifies guilds into five different

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151 Von Heusinger, *Die Zunft*, 80.

152 For Sweden, see Klemming, *Småstycken*, 155 (Stockholm Helka Lekama-Gillet), 103 (St Görans Gille Kopparberget), 112 (St Eriks Gille Uppsala), 149 (St Karins Gille i Björke, Gotland); Stieda and Mettig, *Schragen*, no. 55, 374–378 (Gilde des heiligen Kreuzes und der Dreifaltigkeit 1252).

153 LECUB, Abt. 1, Band 1, no. DXCII, columns 762 and 768 (Skra der Brüder der heil. Leichnamsgilde in Reval, vom Ende des dreizehnten Jahrhunderts), addition 1428.

154 Margus, Katalog, LXXVI, LXXXIII (Schragen der St. Kanutigilde/ Statutes of the St Canute’s Guild).

155 Wehrmann, *Zunftrollen*, no. 26, 252–259 (Kistenmacher/Chest makers 1508).

156 Stockhusen, ‘Die Einwanderer’, 199.

157 Stieda and Mettig, *Schragen*, no. 69, 396 (Leineweber/Linen weavers 1458).

158 Stieda and Mettig, *Schragen*, no. 70, 402 (Leineweber/Linen weavers 1544).

categories based on women's membership status. These categories are 'all-female guilds, mixed gender guilds, guilds that accepted female relatives (usually widows) of masters as members, guilds in which women were involved as waged workers and guilds that excluded women under all circumstances'.<sup>159</sup> The advantage of Schmidt's classification is that it highlights the very problem on defining female membership in this type of urban organizations. Hence, she stresses the fact that the membership status of women varied within the city walls from craft to craft. It is obvious that generalizations on women's status in crafts and their passive or active membership do not correspond with the complex system of organizations in late medieval and early modern urban environment.<sup>160</sup>

In spite of the innovativeness of Schmidt's classification, it still has some disadvantages. Her temporary focus is mainly on the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, when the available source material is already quite different than that of previous centuries where the focus of this study lies. For example, membership lists of medieval crafts, artisan composite guilds, or devotional guilds in the Baltic Sea region are rarities.<sup>161</sup> Accordingly, the guilds in Gouda, on which her study is based, were organized later than the crafts in Lübeck, Riga, Tallinn, and even Stockholm.<sup>162</sup> Thus, her model is not directly transportable to late medieval cities of the Northern Baltic area. Secondly, the status of women is not so clearly mentioned in the medieval craft ordinances of Lübeck, Riga, Tallinn, and Stockholm as seems to be the case in Early Modern Low Countries. Hence, the categorization of the urban organizations in these four cities following Schmidt's classification is, with the extant source material, hard if not impossible. However, the value in Schmidt's categorization lies in the innovation that, in order to investigate women's and widows' work, it is crucial to define the different organization types in cities.

At the heart of the problem on female membership lie linguistic questions. Christopher Pihl has recently pointed out that gender differences were created through language. How people were named, described, and categorized affected their work identity and the way men's and women's work was understood. For example, whether an artisan was called a tailor or a seamstress, or whether a group of people were called by their profession (coppersmiths) or by their sex (womenfolk).

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159 Schmidt, 'Women and Guilds', 173–177.

160 Enlightening example of various forms of female craft membership in the Early Modern Period is provided by Harald Deculaer and Bibi Panhuysen in an article, in which they analyse the different forms of cooperation and subordination of seamstresses' and tailors' crafts. Deculaer and Panhuysen 'Dressed to work', here 146–147.

161 According to Schmidt, several guild membership lists from Early Modern Low Countries are preserved. See Schmidt, 'Women and Guilds', 178–180.

162 Schmidt, 'Women and Guilds', 172.

According to Pihl, men were identified based on their trade, profession, and skills whereas women were identified according to their sex. Yet, when it was necessary or there was a will, more accurate and nuanced language was used in describing women's work.<sup>163</sup>

Since the fourteenth century it was quite common to mark a wife's social status by adding a genitive suffix to her professional title. In the Middle Low German this suffix was *-(e)sche/-s* and in Old Swedish it was *-ska/-s*, for example MLG *blockdreiersche* (chunk turner) and OS *skomakerska* (shoemaker) or *skinnare*s (tanner).<sup>164</sup> In spite of this clever female suffix, many of the craft widows who wrote petition letters to the Lübeck city council at the turn of the seventeenth century used the term *wittwe* (widow) after their name in signature whereas only one signified her professional status by using the female suffix *-sche* (*blockdreiersche*). It is possible that this was part of the literary convention and how the addressee should be spoken to. However, it also suggests that these women underlined their marital status instead of their work/professional one. The protestant ideology emphasized women's role as mothers and housewives and motherhood was seen as a woman's calling. Furthermore, the ideal widow was pious, decent, honourable, and even withdrawn although she was to work hard for her children.<sup>165</sup> Therefore, it is no wonder that female petitioners underlined their role as grieving widows or mothers and not as active, successful businesswomen.

The female suffix is also rare in craft ordinances although it can be found in a few Lübeck ones. The ordinance of Russian small shop keepers of Riga (*Russische Krämer*) regulated the entrance fee for a male small shop keeper (*kremer*) and a female small shop keeper (*kremerische*), for *broder* and *suster*.<sup>166</sup> The fisher ordinance mentioned female fish sellers (*ryfskellerske*)<sup>167</sup> and the small shop keepers' ordinance mentioned female chandlers (*lichtmakerschen*).<sup>168</sup> The linen cloth/canvas retailers mentioned in their ordinances men and women, *manne und frouwen*, separately but in the Lübeck *Urkundebuch* a female suffix *leywantkopersche* was used in order to signify female linen

163 Pihl, *Arbete*, 13, 137–142, 152.

164 AHL, ASA Interna, Handwerksämter, no. 1105 (Dreyer/Turners, Letter 22.12.1583); Stockholms stads skottebok 1516–1525, 12 (1516). From now on shortened as SSSB. See also Salminen, 'Uusmaalisten Tallinnanperinnöt', 225.

165 Kruse, *Witwen*, 54–57, 243–244; Katajala-Peltomaa and Toivo, *Noitavaimo ja neitsytäiti*, 72; Eilola, "'Cucoi päällä curjanakin; canna alla armaisenakin": Patriarkaalisuus, puolisoiden välinen suhde ja auktoriteetin muodostuminen', 101–102. From now on Eilola's article will be referred as 'Patriarkaalisuus'.

166 Stieda and Mettig, *Schragen*, no. 52, 369 (Russische Krämer/Russian small shop keepers 1522).

167 Wehrmann, *Zunftrollen*, 484 (Fischer/Fisher 1399–1562); Hartwig, 'Die Frauenfrage', 50.

168 Wehrmann, *Zunftrollen*, 275 (Kremer/Small shop keepers 1353); Hartwig, 'Die Frauenfrage', 50.



cloth/canvas retailers.<sup>169</sup> The Lübeck *Wettebücher* at the end of the sixteenth century and in the beginning of the seventeenth century listed among the craft trades apple huckster women/woman, *Appelbockerschen*.<sup>170</sup> The female suffix was not used in the names of other craft trades in the *Wettebuch*. Perhaps all apple hucksters, or only that one, were women. It is highly probable that apple hucksters were not organized into a craft because apples were sold only for a short time yearly. Moreover, no ordinance has survived and this trade is not listed in the archive collections that also include such crafts whose ordinances are missing.<sup>171</sup> It remains obscure whether apple hucksters belonged to the hucksters' craft, but at least the supervising civic authority, the *Wette*, regarded them as a separate group. Nevertheless, the cases here show that the female suffix was not systematically used in craft ordinances in order to signify female craft trade practitioners.

Tax books from Stockholm reveal the manifold categorization of womenfolk: sometimes women were listed only by their first name; sometimes their profession was given like Birgitta cooker (*Birgitta kokerske*); and sometimes they had the bourgeois title *hustru* in front of their names signifying their economic and social status. The *hustru* title referred to both wives and widows.<sup>172</sup> Sometimes a professional title was combined with a bourgeois one, like wife/widow Marit broadcloth cutter or Marit the wife/widow of a broadcloth cutter (*hustru Marit offersekakares*). Sometimes the name of the (late) husband was given like Margit, the wife/widow of Per Sonesson (*Hustru Margit Per Sonesons*).<sup>173</sup> These findings could support Pihl's interpretation that men's identity was more strongly combined with their trade and profession than women's. However, as the sample of sources is small, 9 Lübeck letters from widows and one example, year 1516, from a tax book, the result is only suggestive. A systematic study on tax records could improve our knowledge on this matter, yet as a source category tax records have their own drawbacks.<sup>174</sup>

Craft ordinances in Tallinn, Riga, and Lübeck were written in Middle Low German language, which used the masculine form of the word as a basic form, like modern German language also does (*Neubochdeutsch*, nhd.). This gives the language a certain

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169 Wehrmann, *Zunftrollen*, 312 (Louwentkoper/Linen cloth retailers 1503); Hartwig, 'Die Frauenfrage', 51.

170 AHL, Handschriften, no. 101, Index (Wettebuch 1598); 114, Index (Wettebuch 1611) and 122, Index (Wettebuch 1620).

171 The apple hucksters (*Appelbocker*) are not listed in AHL collections of ASA Interna, Handwerksämter, or in the Private Archive, Ämter und Innungen.

172 According to Lamberg, *hustru* referred to a married bourgeois woman. Yet, he points out that the use of *hustru* title and other titles were not straightforward. Lamberg, *Dannemänner*, 29–31.

173 SSSB 1516–1525, (1516).

174 Source criticism towards tax books, see for example Lamberg, *Dannemänner*, 58–59.

masculine nature, which can lead to subconscious exclusion of women. Sabine von Heusinger has argued that in the Middle High German language men and women were signified and differentiated through different words and that womenfolk should not be automatically subsumed under the masculine word form.<sup>175</sup> I do agree with her and indeed, many paragraphs in the ordinances begin with a phrase referring to a male person: ‘welck man in unse(rem) ampt sinens sulves werden will’, **he** who wants to practise the trade independently in our craft.<sup>176</sup> However, in some cases the indefinite pronoun *someone*, Middle Low German *yemant*, was used in craft ordinances instead of *welke man*: ‘Wortmer to das ymant vnse werk wynnen wil [...]’, so if **someone** wants to gain our craft [membership].<sup>177</sup> Additionally, sometimes the Middle Low German pronoun *we* (nhd. *wer*, Engl. *who*) was used as well: ‘Item we sinens sulves warden will [...]’, **who** wants to be independent [in our craft].<sup>178</sup> Thus, it must be pointed out that women’s membership might have remained unnoticed because the basic masculine word form or indefinite pronouns have been interpreted to refer exclusively to men, without paying attention to the Middle Low German language and how the German language works.

Respectively, Stockholm craft ordinances often used a phrase ‘hulken i wart embethe sijn eghin man wil wardha’, **who** wants to be independent in our craft.<sup>179</sup> Stockholm craft ordinances also often used the pronoun *han*, in English *he*, which clearly refers to a male craftsman. Stockholm butchers used the term *embethesmän* in a paragraph that regulated the number of masters at eight.<sup>180</sup> Here the term *embethe* refers to craft trade, in other words to handicraft profession, meaning qualified masters as a separate group, which distinguishes them from other male persons, journeymen, and apprentices. Although the prefix *embethe-/ämbete-* could relate to both men and women, in this case it seems to have a masculine coding because it is not combined with gender neutral term *folk*. In the sixteenth century, all variations, craftsman/-men (*ämbetsmän*), craftswomenfolk (*ämbetskvinnofolk*), and craftsfolk (*ämbetsfolk*) were used in Swedish account books.<sup>181</sup> Stockholm craft ordinances usually utilize the term *broder*, brothers. This could implicate that crafts wanted to

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175 Von Heusinger, *Die Zunft*, 73.

176 TLA, coll 190, inv 2, no. 555, 1r (Smede/Smiths 1459).

177 TLA, coll 190, inv 2, no. 23, 1v (Shomaker/Shoe makers 1416).

178 TLA, coll 190, inv. 2, no. 549, 1v (Sattler and co 1459).

179 Klemming, *Skrå-ordningar*, 48 (Köttmånglare/Butchers 1477); 64 (Smede/Smiths 1479); 80 (Murmästare/Masons 1487); 102 (Skräddare/Tailors 1501).

180 Klemming, *Skrå-ordningar*, 48 (Köttmånglare/Butchers 1477): ‘Item skulom wij wara altz embethzmän i waro embethe otta ok ej flere vthan radhit wil flere tilstädhia’.

181 Pihl, *Arbete*, 138–139.

create a masculine group identity.<sup>182</sup> However, it also signed a social bond between craft members. The membership included the obligation to help other craft members, as the members were regarded to be part of the same family.

At the surface, if focusing on terminology, the Stockholm crafts seem to have been a rather masculine world. Yet, like the ordinances from other three cities, some of the Stockholm crafts regulated *sisters'* activities and/or had clear references to female members of the craft. For example, the masons mentioned sisters explicitly in the beginning of their ordinance.<sup>183</sup> Stockholm tanners' ordinance includes 71 articles. In 20 articles the reference is to a brother (*broder*). In 18 articles the reference is to an indefinite person, *someone* (*hwilken/någån/ingen*). In 16 cases the reference is to both brothers and sisters (*broder eller syster*), including sons and daughters. In addition, 6 articles referred to the whole craft (*embete*), 4 articles to aldermen, 5 articles to journeymen, 2 articles to masters, and a couple of articles to apprentices.<sup>184</sup> The articles that referred to both sexes, brothers and sisters, included the following topics: rules against bad behaviour (in festivities)<sup>185</sup>, summoning to appear in court, debts to craft, funerals, taxation, work, paying the membership fee on somebody's behalf, and inheritance of the trade, meaning how children inherited the master rights. Hence, the articles that had a reference to both sexes included various aspects of craft life and not just festivities.

In their study about gender-inclusivity of town ordinances, Ellen Kittell and Kurt Queller have shown that artisan women were such an ordinary part of the social landscape of medieval Douai that they were unmarked in the town ordinances. In other words, the masculine form in the town ordinances encompassed also the female persons.<sup>186</sup> They also observed an interesting change in the ways townspeople were addressed in the ordinances dictated by civic authorities. In the thirteenth century, when the town ordinances were issued by the town aldermen, men and women were mentioned separately according to their profession like *taners* (male tanner) and *taneresse* (female tanner). This manner had underlined the individual traders giving roughly equal status to the adult members of the household. In the fifteenth century, as the town was tighter under Burgundian control, the masculine word form became

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182 Cf. Karras, *From Boys to Men*, Chapter 4 Masters and Men: Independence and Urban Craft Workers.

183 Klemming, *Skrå-ordningar*, 77 (Murare/Masons): 'GVdh vari medh allom brödhrom oc Söstrom j alla Embetez kompani ok Sells capp Serdelis medz varom brödrom oc söstrom j vart Mwramestarna Embetez ok Comppani [...]'.  
 184 Klemming, *Skrå-ordningar*, 263–278 (Skinnare/Tanners 1589).

185 These articles referred to both sexes, although it is somewhat unclear whether the articles dealt only with unofficial common drinkings or more official celebrations. See further the discussion in Chapter 3.2.3.

186 Kittell and Queller, "Whether man or woman": Gender Inclusivity in the Town Ordinances of Medieval Douai', 69. From now on the reference will be Kittell and Queller, 'Gender Inclusivity'.

the generic norm in town ordinances. This manner, on the other hand, foregrounded the household with the male worker as its head instead of individual adults. Thus, the household was now understood as a ‘fundamental unit of social control’.<sup>187</sup> In the craft trade culture in the Baltic Sea region the household was seen as the basic unit, and as this study will show, the household could be run by a craftsman or a craftswoman. Therefore, the use of masculine form as a default in the craft ordinances does not automatically exclude all women, but it can be seen encompassing the household as in the case of Douai.

Because women were mentioned a) in the statutes of the artisan composite guilds only in the articles related to festivities and b) in the craft ordinances sometimes explicitly again in the articles related to festivities or funerals, scholars have argued that women’s participation in craft and guild life touched only the festive and religious side and not that of work.<sup>188</sup> However, as the examples have shown, in craft ordinances the articles that explicitly mentioned womenfolk could refer to many different aspects of craft life and not only to social and religious aspects.

Based on craft ordinances, guild statutes, and the statutes of devotional guilds, the contingency on three levels must be highlighted. Firstly, it depended heavily on the type of an organization whether women were mentioned and whether it was regarded necessary to mention women. The statutes of the artisan composite guilds were directed to regulate guild festivities, thus the majority of articles in the statutes are related to festivities. Consequently, also the articles that explicitly mentioned women were related to festivities. The statutes of devotional guilds regulated devotional and religious practices, and hence women as full members of these organizations were to attend the requiems, commemorative feasts, and other devotional practices. Craft ordinances regulated both work and festivities, hence articles related to women could relate to both of these spheres of life. Secondly, some crafts saw it necessary to explicitly mention women as members. Thirdly, it clearly varied from city to city how often women were explicitly mentioned in the craft ordinances.

### Wives and widows – marital status as a defining element

In close connection with the female membership is the question of independent female masters and widows as independent masters. In other words, were women

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187 Kittell and Queller, ‘Gender Inclusivity’, 81–85, quotation 84.

188 Arnold, ‘Frauen’, 19; Ichikawa, ‘Die Stellung der Frauen’, 99–100; Pölsam, ‘Die Frau in mittelalterlichen livländischen Städten’, 47.

allowed to practise craft trade as independent masters? Furthermore, we ought to ask how the marital status affected their opportunities to practise craft trade. In 1908, Julius Hartwig, basing on craft ordinances, listed 27 crafts in which women could practise their trade as masters in Lübeck.<sup>189</sup> Peter-Per Krebs sees that in German-speaking areas women were able to practise craft trade as independent masters whereas others, like Ichikawa and Roper, claim that this was nearly impossible for women.<sup>190</sup> According to Birgit Noodt, women could practise their craft trade in the fourteenth-century Lübeck independently but not as recognized masters.<sup>191</sup> In his study on the position of widows in crafts Krebs differentiates widows' possibilities on the grounds whether they themselves were masters or not. He also highlights the geographical differences and variations between different craft trades.<sup>192</sup>

Although in general I agree with Krebs, his work has some problems. For example, it remains unclear how he differentiates the widow masters from other 'regular' widows on the basis of craft ordinances. Furthermore, it remains somewhat obscure whether Krebs intertwines one year rule to widows who did not have master rights. If so, this question is in a key position. The majority of the craft ordinances from the Baltic Sea region which include widow articles are unclear on whether the articles in the craft ordinances apply to a master's widow or to a widow. The Tallinn composite craft of painters, glazers, and joiners clearly expressed that the widows' rights were applied to a master's widow.<sup>193</sup> The Tallinn tailors granted widows' rights to *ampts frouwe*.<sup>194</sup> The term *ampts frouwe* could refer to the widow of the craft's alderman, however, it seems somewhat peculiar that the widows' right article would be applied to one widow alone. The next article speaks of *ampts kinder*, which in my view refers to the children of every craft's master and

189 Hartwig, 'Die Frauenfrage', 50–51. See further the discussion in Chapter 3.1.4 'Women's trades?'

190 Krebs, *Die Stellung der Handwerkerswitwe*, 8; Ichikawa, 'Die Stellung der Frauen', 111–117; Roper, *Holy Household*, 48–49.

191 Noodt, 'Die naringe Lübecker Frauen', 38.

192 Krebs, *Die Stellung der Handwerkerswitwe*, 6–25; Ichikawa, 'Die Stellung der Frauen', 111–117; Roper, *Holy Household*, 40.

193 TLA, coll 230, inv 1, no. Ac5 Schragencodex, 10r (Maler, Glazewerter und Snitker/Painters, glazers, and carvers 1513): 'Item ist eyn mester storüe vnnd syne frowe blive leüendich szo sal se dat ampt alike wol broken vnnd don des amptes rechticheit also yste de mester leüde.' The later ordinance includes the same article: TLA, coll 230, inv 1, no. Ac6I Schragenbuch, 106r (Dischler-Maler-Gläzer/Joiners, painters, glazers 1536–1637).

194 TLA, coll 190, inv 2, no. 511, 5v (Schroter 1413–1659)/TLA, coll 230, inv 1, no. Ac5 Schragencodex, 74r/ TLA, coll 230, inv 1, no. Ac 6 I Schragenbuch, 11r: 'Item welk Ampt Froüwe Wedewe id de kinder hefft de mach na des mannes dode dat ampt brüken ein [later replaced in Schragen Codex with 'dreen'] Jahrlanck, vnd de nene kinder hebben de möget brüken jahr vnd dach uppert olde [...].'

not only to the children of the alderman. Thus, following the same logic the term *ampt frouwe* would refer to masters' widows. However, the follow up article in the same ordinance uses term *eine frouwe* and not *amptes frouwe!* As the article forbids the *frouwe* (wife/mistress) to pay any extra for her journeyman,<sup>195</sup> I assume that the term *frouwe* refers to a mistress of the household, to a master's wife or a widow who could be responsible for the employees.

Some crafts have a clear reference to independently working women. The marital status of a woman was not the only factor defining the guild – or craft – membership but, as Adriane Schmidt has pointed out, the membership depended also on the economic sector.<sup>196</sup> For example, the Riga linen weavers regulated in 1458 that a sister who works by herself was to donate two shillings and one *markpunt* wax to the craft on the Corpus Christi day. Every master and journeyman was to donate one *markpunt* wax and two schillings quarterly.<sup>197</sup> Thus, throughout the ordinance both brothers and sisters are explicitly mentioned. After a century the sisters have disappeared from the ordinance and in the opening of the 1544 ordinance there is a reference to male members: 'We, masters and journeymen within the linen weavers' craft in Riga'.<sup>198</sup> This illustrates the contingency. It could vary within one singular craft from time to time whether women were mentioned and how they were mentioned in the ordinances. Although sisters were not explicitly mentioned in general in the latter ordinance, the widows were allowed to carry on with their trade as long as they did not remarry.<sup>199</sup> Therefore, it would be somewhat misleading to interpret that the absence of women in the written ordinance would mean that women were excluded from the craft (membership).

The ordinance of Stockholm masons is an enlightening example of the ambiguous membership status of women and how the marital status may have affected the membership status. The Stockholm (master) masons' ordinance of 1487 starts with God's blessing to all brothers and sisters within the craft (*embetes kompani ok Sellscapp*) and all the brothers and sisters in masons' craft and how the company was to love and praise God.<sup>200</sup> Furthermore, the ordinance stated that when a mason entered the craft his wife became a craft's sister with the same entrance fee, except that she was to pay an extra *öre* to the craft to cover her funeral expenses. It seems that a master's

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195 TLA, coll 190, inv 2, no. 511, 6r (Schroter 1413–1659)/TLA, coll 230, inv 1, no. Ac5 Schragencodex, 74v.

196 Schmidt, 'Women and Guilds', 173.

197 Stieda and Mettig, *Schragen*, no 69, 395–396 (Leineweber/Linen weavers 1458).

198 Stieda and Mettig, *Schragen*, no. 70, 400–403 (Leineweber/Linen weavers 1544).

199 Stieda and Mettig, *Schragen*, no. 70, 402 (Leineweber/Linen weavers 1544).

200 Klemming, *Skrå-ordingar*, 77 (Murare/Masons 1487).

wife was a member of the craft through her husband. Whether the wives were only passive members is obscure but at least in the household workshop they were to be diligent: according to the ordinance, wifefolk were freed of taxes in this trade but a disobedient wife that ‘sits at home for no reason’ was to pay her share of the taxes.<sup>201</sup> When it comes to widows, the Stockholm masons viewed that they were able to train apprentices. Furthermore, a mason’s widow was to marry one year after her husband had died and she would transfer the master rights to the new husband.<sup>202</sup> This example shows how a woman’s membership could vary according to her marital status. As a mason’s wife, she enjoyed the membership mainly through her husband; however, the funeral regulations were the same for men and women. As a widow, she was regarded a full member, although as scholars have argued, widows were usually excluded from the decision making in the crafts.<sup>203</sup> The Danish crafts mentioned *brothers* and *sisters* as members. According to Grethe Jacobsen, only masters’ wives were regarded as sisters, full members of the craft. Thus, daughters and maids could only become sisters through a marriage to a craft brother.<sup>204</sup>

These examples show that, in addition to gender, the marital status affected the membership status in crafts. As Ruth Mazo Karras argues, for men the marital status was similarly important, or even more crucial. The journeymen were regarded as adult men only after they had acquired the head-of-the-household status through marriage. Thus, for men their artisan identity was connected to and dependent on their marital status.<sup>205</sup> Indeed, an artisan identity of women, especially of wives, was created through marriage and work alongside their husband in the household workshop. Furthermore, widows’ social and legal status differed from that of wives; hence, the artisan identity of widows could be different than that of wives. However, other factors than marital status, like personality and work skill, could have also affected the artisanal identity.

### Different estates as members

The second distinctive feature in Table 2.2 is whether different estates, that is nobles, clerics, and lay people of various social classes, could be members of the professional crafts, composite artisan guilds, merchants’ guilds, or devotional guilds. Different

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201 Klemming, *Skrå-ordingar*, 84, 86 (Murare/Masons 1487).

202 Klemming, *Skrå-ordingar*, 85, 87 (Murare/Masons 1487).

203 Wiesner-Hanks, *Women and Gender*, 124–125; Roper, *Holy Household*, 40.

204 Jacobsen, ‘Gesetz und Realität’, 57.

205 Karras, *From Boys to Men*, 129–130.

estates could be members only in devotional guilds. Therefore, this distinctive feature separates devotional guilds from professional crafts and composite artisan guilds. Based either on the ordinance of the organization or the preserved membership lists we know that laymen and clerics, craftsfolk, burghers (citizens), and even nobles were or could have been full members of devotional guilds.<sup>206</sup> For example, the Lübeck *Beatae Mariae Annunciatonis* devotional guild had bishops, priests, members of the city council, and women as members.<sup>207</sup> In Tallinn, the Corpus Christi Guild had wagoners (*fabrlente*), brewer journeymen, and women as members.<sup>208</sup> The Stockholm Corpus Christi Guild serves as the most illustrative example of this kind of social composition of the members. According to the guild ordinance, the founders of the organization were all clerics. However, the membership became also possible for laymen and -women alike.<sup>209</sup> It is worth to note that unlike the majority of guild statutes, craft ordinances, and ordinances of devotional guilds, the ordinance of Stockholm Corpus Christi Guild was written in Latin. This is probably due to the clerical origin of the organization and because it was founded so early. On the basis of the extant membership list we also know that prominent council members, mayors, and even King Christopher the Third were members of this devotional guild.<sup>210</sup> Of course this guild is exceptional with such high esteemed members, but it mirrors the crucial difference in the social composition of the members in devotional guilds compared to the other two organizations.

The merchants' guilds and composite artisan guilds in the Baltic Sea region usually accepted only people of same trade and social class as members. In Lübeck, the membership of the two most prominent organizations of the city, the *Zirkel-Gesellschaft* and the *Kaufleute-Kompanie*, was reserved for the richest and the most powerful people in the city.<sup>211</sup> The statutes of the Great Guild in Riga clearly

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206 Cf. Militzer, 'Genossenschaftliche und bruderschaftliche Organisationsformen', 153.

207 Dormeier, 'Religiöse Bruderschaften', 26–29. The membership list of the *Beatae Mariae Annunciatonis* devotional guild is edited in Dormeier, 'Religiöse Bruderschaften', 40–44, showing bishops, vicars, priests, members of the city council, mayors, and 63 female members. According to other, nowadays lost sources, the devotional guild had 65 female members. Dormeier, 'Religiöse Bruderschaften', 27.

208 Johanssen and v.z. Mühlen, *Deutsch und Undeutsch*, 336.

209 The ordinance of the Stockholm Corpus Christi Guild is edited in Klemming, *Småstycken*, 152–160. According to paragraph 11, the laymen, of whatever status or sex, who wanted to join the fraternity, were to pay six marks. Klemming, *Småstycken*, 155.

210 Lamberg has argued that several councilors joined this devotional guild only at their deathbed. Lamberg, *Dannemänner*, 178. The membership structure of the Stockholm Corpus Christi Guild and its ordinance is widely discussed in Cristoph Anz, *Gilden*, 132–134, 149–154. The membership list is edited in Collijn, *Handlingar rörande Helga Lekamensgille* 1–8. See Anz, *Gilden*, 150–153.

211 Dünnebeil, *Zirkel-Gesellschaft*, 8, 114–131; *Lübeckische Geschichte*, ed. Grassmann, 313.



restricted the membership to merchants.<sup>212</sup> The composite artisan guilds in Livonian cities, Tallinn St Canute's Guild and St Olaf's Guild, and Riga Small Guild, were only for artisans.<sup>213</sup> Besides one's profession, the ethnicity could be a cause for inclusion or exclusion. Non-Germans were excluded from the St Canute's Guild in 1508 but they could be members of the St Olaf's Guild.<sup>214</sup> The crafts, on the other hand, were organizations above all for people practising the same artisan trade. Moreover, professional crafts, composite artisan guilds, and merchants' guilds were first and foremost lay organizations and no clerical members are known.<sup>215</sup>

Even though people of different profession and social status could be members of devotional guilds, it does not necessarily mean that within the organization all its members would have been considered as equal. In his study on social interaction in Malmö St Canute's (devotional) Guild Marko Lamberg has reached a conclusion that in practice within the guild existed smaller groupings according to members' social status among the urban community.<sup>216</sup> Moreover, as discussed previously in the case of Stockholm, some of the devotional guilds were primarily for merchants and some primarily for craftsfolk. Nevertheless, as a conclusion, these two factors, women as full members and different estates as members, which are based on the organizations' membership structure, are the features which distinguish devotional guilds from professional crafts, and from composite artisan guilds and merchants' guilds.

## 2.2.2 Distinguished features based on functions

After the distinctive features related to membership, Table 2.7 (p. 91) presents two typical features that derive from the functions, i.e. rules of the three organizations, crafts, composite artisan guilds and merchants' guilds, and devotional guilds. Three characteristic features, practising of profession, subordination to the city council, and military function, are of utmost importance because they distinguish craft organizations from guilds and devotional organizations.

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212 Stieda and Mettig, *Schragen*, no. 35, 313–314 (Die Grosse Gilde/The Great Guild 1354–1610); Mänd, *Urban Carnival*, 38.

213 Johanssen and von Zur Mühlen, *Deutsch und Undeutsch*, 65–66; Mänd, *Urban Carnival*, 29–31;

214 Margus, *Katalog*, XXIII–XXIV; Mänd, *Urban Carnival*, 39.

215 Johanssen and von Zur Mühlen, *Deutsch und Undeutsch*, 65–66, 75–78 Mänd, *Urban Carnival*, 29–31.

216 Lamberg, 'Social interaction genom Knutsgillet', 105. Malmö is situated in nowadays Southern Sweden but belonged to Danish realm until 1658.

## Profession, work, and trade

Unlike in the statutes of composite artisan guilds and merchants' guilds or in the rules of devotional guilds, the majority of articles in craft ordinances are related to the actual work of the artisans. Craft ordinances regulated the requirements for membership, master proofs, the number of master vacancies, the number of journeymen and apprentices each master was allowed to have, quality requirements for produced goods, widows' rights, and the working hours and holidays.<sup>217</sup> Hence, the craft ordinance regulated the most important part of the craftsfolk's mundane life – work. Respectively, the statutes of composite artisan guilds concentrated on regulating guild assemblies and festivities. For example, the statutes of Tallinn St Canute's composite artisan guild include articles related to mutual aid in case of illness and loss of property, bad behaviour in the festivities and craft assemblies, manslaughter and fights in the drinkings, prohibition of carrying arms in the guild house and assemblies as well as articles related to funerals.<sup>218</sup> In the ordinances of devotional guilds the main weight was put on religious and commemorative activities and actions instead. In devotional guilds that were established prior to the Reformation the parentage of the members could be more important than their profession, especially if the leading (political) guilds of the city were closed, as Dormeier argues.<sup>219</sup> In the crafts it was the same profession of the members that was instead crucial. The main emphasis of the craft ordinances is clearly in craft trade, although several craft ordinances in Lübeck and Stockholm include articles related to festivities. From Stockholm and Lübeck there is no evidence of composite artisan guilds, which would have arranged yearly festivities like the ones in Livonian cities. Therefore, it is logical that the regulations on crafts' festivities were mentioned in the actual craft ordinances.

## Subordination

Subordination of the crafts to the city council is also a clear distinctive feature. This is generally mentioned right at the beginning of the ordinance, where the

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217 See for example the Tallinn smiths' ordinance presented in Chapter 1.2.1 'Craft ordinances'.

218 Margus, *Katalog*, LXX–LXXXIV (Schrage der St Kanutigilde).

219 Dormeier, 'Religiöse Bruderschaften', 31.

council 'lends' the ordinance to the craft.<sup>220</sup> Furthermore, crafts usually had one or two members of the city council as *bisittere* (assistants) present in the official craft assemblies called *steven* and *morgensprachen*. The *bisittere* could be present also in feasts called *drunke*, yet sometimes disputes and official matters could be handled in the *drunke* as well.<sup>221</sup> Thus, it was a means to control craft production. The regulation of trade and industry was one of the elementary tasks of any town and city. As Reynolds has put it, 'markets had to be regulated, tolls fixed and collected, weights and measures inspected, and prices controlled'.<sup>222</sup> As a part of city's economic life and production, it is natural that the crafts fell under this economic control. The organization process of the crafts and the control over craft trade production was a matter of the city, to which the Hansa League did not interfere.<sup>223</sup>

Yet, it must be pointed out that the ordinances were not dictated by the council but crafts had plenty of room to influence the contents of their ordinance: to set standards, determine membership requirements. Additionally, crafts mediated disputes in their assemblies. In other words, crafts themselves enforced the ordinance.<sup>224</sup> Furthermore, as Lindström argues, the confirmation of the craft ordinance by the city council was also an official recognition of the craft and its position within the city community.<sup>225</sup> In some towns, like Stockholm, the municipal authorities incorporated crafts partly to the town administration by granting them positions of trust; positions that usually were related to the economic interests and control of the civic authorities. The Stockholm carriers were forbidden to carry beer without reporting it first to harbour officials.<sup>226</sup> Nevertheless, the role of the city council as supervisory authority was again plainly expressed at the end of the ordinances when the city council confirmed the ordinance to be valid for the next coming three to five years. The below pictured Tallinn tailors' ordinance serves as a textbook example of the confirmations of the city council that were written in the

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220 TLA, coll. 190, inv. 2, no 555, 1r (Smede/Smiths 1459): 'In godes namen amen. In den jaren na Cristi unses herren gebort dusent veerhundert und neghen und fiffich des fridages na deme sundage also men in der hilgen kerken singet Cantate, **do vorleneden uns unse heren de borgermeister und Radtmanne to Reuvell** eyne schraa und rechtigheit dar wi uns in deme ampte der smede na richten und regeren scolen by pena und broke dar upp gesat als hir na gescreuen steyt.' Bolding by Maija Ojala.

221 Lindström, *Skrå, stad och stat*, 94–98; Stieda and Mettig, *Schragen*, 95.

222 Reynolds, *Kingdoms and Communities*, 200.

223 Dollinger, *Die Hanse*, 183.

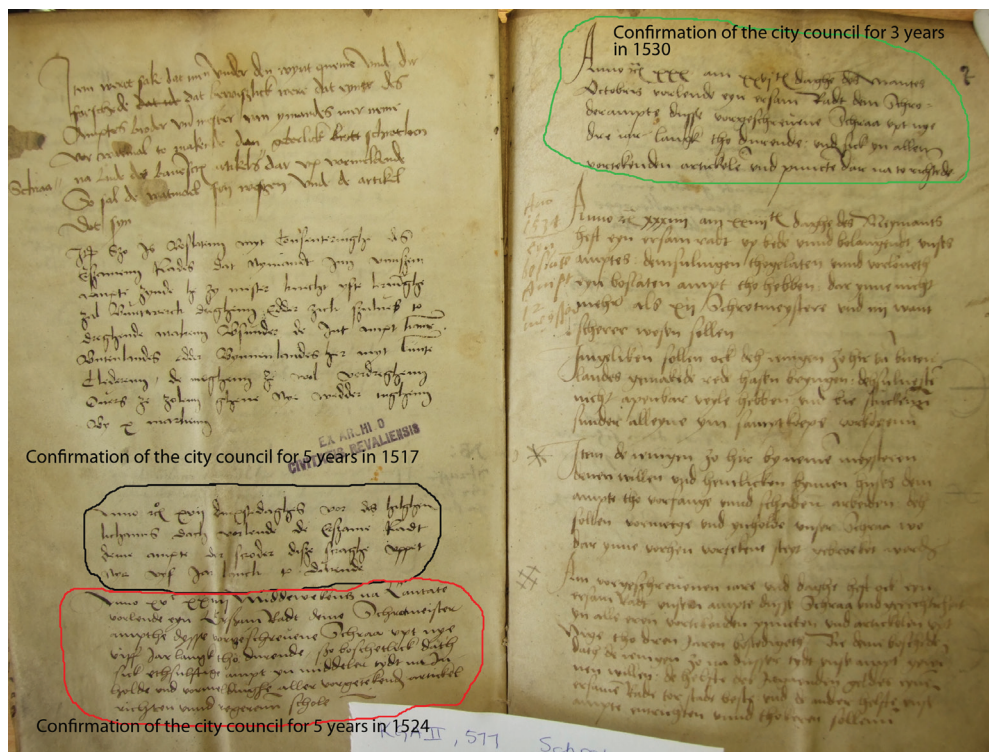
224 Karras, *From Boys to Men*, 113.

225 Lindström, *Skrå, stad och stat*, 96.

226 Lindström, *Skrå, stad och staat*, 115–117. For London, see Reynolds, *Kingdoms and Communities*, 194–195.

craft ordinances.<sup>227</sup> Hence the confirmation of the craft ordinance reinforced the social hierarchy between the city council and the crafts.<sup>228</sup>

Picture 2.1 Confirmations of the city council in the Tallinn tailors ordinance



Confirmation of the city council for 5 years in 1517

Confirmation of the city council for 3 years in 1530

Confirmation of the city council for 5 years in 1524

Source: TLA coll 190, inv. 2, no. 511, 6v–7r (Shroter/ Tailors 1413–17th century).

Sometimes crafts themselves took the initiative to gain a new revised ordinance. In Lübeck, the linen weavers wrote a letter to the city council and asked for a (*revidiert*) craft ordinance in 1575.<sup>229</sup> Also in Stockholm, crafts were active in order to have their ordinances written down and confirmed.<sup>230</sup> The cooperation with the city council did not always run smoothly. The dispute between Lübeck carrier widow Margareta and the carriers' craft, discussed further in Chapter 5.2.3, culminated in a dispute on the limited number of masters. The city council wanted to reduce the number

227 An illustrative example of the council's confirmations is the ordinance of Tallinn tailors, which begins with a date from the year 1413 and has confirmations and additions until the seventeenth century. TLA coll 190, inv. 2, no. 511, 6r–7v, 8r, 9v and 10v (Schroter/Tailors 1413–1650).

228 Lindström, *Skrå, stad och stat*, 93.

229 AHL, ASA Interna, Handwerksämter, no. 2647 (Leineweber/Linen weavers, Letter 12.7.1575).

230 Lindström, *Skrå, stad och stat*, 87.

of masters radically but the craft disagreed.<sup>231</sup> These examples above illustrate the supervising role of the city council and the higher authority that the council had over the crafts.

I disagree with the previous *Ämter-/Markerechttbeorie* in German research tradition according to which crafts would have been established from the initiative of the city council. Instead, as stated previously in Chapter 2.1.1, my starting point is the presumption that crafts were originally voluntary organizations established from the initiative of craftsmen in order to achieve shared economic, social, and legal objectives. However, as the examples here show, the city council played an active role in the organization process by confirming craft ordinances and thus granting the craft a certain official position within the community. Hence, at the same time this served the objectives of the city council as it was a means to control craft trade production. Furthermore, the collaboration with the city council was essential for the crafts since in the Baltic Sea area craftsmen were excluded from the city council. Dag Lindström points out that the *bisittere* of the city council, who were present at craft assemblies, were not only a necessary evil but often truly welcomed by the craft members.<sup>232</sup> It is my view that the *bisittere* were an important link between the city council and the crafts. Discussions with the council's *bisittere* were a channel for unofficial political participation for the craftsfolk that were excluded from the official policy making at the highest city level.

In the context of workable city community the idea of craft ordinances was to offer an intermediate forum between the civic authorities and the citizens. In this forum trade and community policies (*gewerbepolitische und gesellschaftliche Massnahmen*) were discussed, developed, and promulgated.<sup>233</sup> This interpretation, presented by Gesa Ingendahl, considers crafts as active players in urban community. Others, like Ogilvie, have presented crafts as static and rigid.<sup>234</sup> My view is in line with Ingendahl's interpretation. I consider craft organizations as active and dynamic players in urban societies – players that reacted to changes in their surroundings by altering craft ordinances and/or making additions and adjustments to the ordinances. In my view the influence relation between the city council and the crafts was not solely top-down but more in the term of a dialogue.

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231 AHL, ASA Interna, Handwerksämter, no. 997 (Bremelmacher/Bunftutter/Curriers, Letter 23.7.1583)

232 Lindström, *Skrå, stad och stat*, 96.

233 Ingendahl, *Witwen*, 151.

234 Ogilvie, *A Bitter Living*, 260–268, 330–331; Cipolla, *Before the Industrial Revolution*, 251, 257, 261; Leena Hakala, *Murros vai Jatkuvuus?*, passim.

Finally, it must be pointed out that the subordination to the city council depended on the city and varied from town to town. For example, in Bergen, Norway, craft ordinances were confirmed by the king or the *Hansekontor*. Even in Stockholm, where the royal authority had a foothold, representatives, and a castle, the king confirmed a few craft ordinances prior to 1620.<sup>235</sup> However, in Tallinn, Riga, and Lübeck, crafts were clearly subordinate to the city council, and thus in Stockholm the majority of ordinances were also confirmed by the city council.

## Military and defence

The last distinctive feature that has been derived from the functions is related to military troops and defence of the city. Sabine von Heusinger argues that one subfield of the main concept *Zunft*, craft, was the military unit. In Strasbourg, crafts formed specific military units that participated in campaigns and defended the city. The Strasbourg craft ordinances listed supplies, crossbows, and armour that the individual members were to possess. Women were to participate by providing supplies commensurate to their property or equipping a substitute male person.<sup>236</sup> The statutes of Livonian merchants' guilds and St Canute's composite artisan guild have no articles related to military supplies.<sup>237</sup> Instead, many of the craft ordinances in the Baltic Sea region included an article related to military supply. Most commonly a *barnisch*, armour was a precondition for a membership or mastership.<sup>238</sup> It has not been mentioned in the ordinances how womenfolk were to fulfil the requirements for military supplies. The list of Tallinn's armed forces in 1481, i.e. the list of those who were obliged to defend the city, included only males.<sup>239</sup> Hartwig argues that womenfolk could stand in guard in Lübeck.<sup>240</sup> The military and defensive function of the crafts in the Baltic Sea region has not received wide attention from scholars and it remains a task for future studies to examine this matter more closely.

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235 Lindström, *Skrå, stad och stat*, 85–89.

236 Von Heusinger, *Die Zunft*, 103–112.

237 Stieda and Mettig, *Schragen*, no. 35, 312–324 (Grosse Gilde (Riga)/Great Guild 1354–1610); von Nottbeck, *Die alten Schragen*, 39–52 (Grosse Gilde (Tallinn)/Great Guild 1395–1528); Margus, *Katalog*, LXX–LXXXIV (Schragen der St Kanutigilde/St Canute's Guild).

238 For example, Wehrmann, *Zunftrollen*, no. 25, 255 (Kistenmacher/Chest makers 1508). See also Lindström, *Skrå, stad och stat*, 117.

239 von zur Mühlen, 'Drei Revaler Einwohnerlisten', 699, 704–716.

240 Hartwig, 'Die Frauenfrage', 52.

### 2.2.3 Similarities based on functions

Let me now turn our attention to the similarities that can be found in craft ordinances, in the statutes of merchants' and/or composite artisan guilds, and in the statutes of devotional guilds. We find three features that were common to all organization types, crafts, guilds, and devotional guilds. These common features are 1) festivities that were mentioned in the statutes, 2) commemorative activities that were mentioned in the statutes, and also, to some extent, the 3) devotion to a patron saint cult. All these three common features were related to social and religious activities. Social activities that could involve religious practices were an integral part of craft and guild life in late medieval and early modern urban societies. Social activities had various purposes, such as strengthening collective identity, meeting fellow members, sharing information, and enjoying life. In the context of entrepreneurship and entrepreneur culture various social activities were important forums for creating contacts and networks, hence social capital.

#### Festivities

Articles related to festivities can be found in the ordinances of all three types of organizations. These often regulated, in general, all kinds of get-togethers but could also be directed to official assemblies (*steven*), official drinkings (*drunke*), and lengthy yearly festivals like Carnival or Christmas, usually called main *drunke* (*bovet drunke*). Often the official assemblies were combined with informal common drinkings, and the long festival seasons like Christmas included various different activities, assemblies, feasts, balls, and church services.<sup>241</sup> Some craft ordinances mention common dinners or feasts (*drunke*) in contact with administrative affairs. For example, Stockholm tailors were to have their craft assembly (*steven*) on Michaelmas and on First of May after the feast dinner.<sup>242</sup> The tailors in Riga chose their aldermen in common drinkings, which was also a common custom elsewhere.<sup>243</sup> The Tallinn goldsmiths' alderman Hans Ryssenberg wrote in his notebook on various matters when the craft was together (*was toböpe*).<sup>244</sup>

241 Mänd, *Urban Carnival*, Chapters 3.1 and 3.2, for example, pages 56–57.

242 Klemming, *Skrå-ordningar*, 107 (Skräddare/Tailors 1501). See also Klemming, *Skrå-ordningar*, 47–48 (Köttmånglare/Butchers 1477).

243 Stieda and Mettig, *Schragen*, no. 93, 484 (Schneider/Tailors 1492).

244 TLA, coll. 190, inv. 2, no. 82 (Denkebuch das Amts-Älterman Hans Ryssenberg/Notebook of Hans Ryssenberg 1518-1522).

In Lübeck, the statutes of merchants' guilds, like the *Zirkel-Gesellschaft* and *Kaufleute-kompanie*, focused on social and brotherhoodly functions and duties.<sup>245</sup> In Livonian cities, the regulations against bad behaviour in official assemblies and various festivities were written in the statutes of the composite artisans' guilds but also some of the craft ordinances include articles related to bad behaviour. For example, according to the statutes of St Canute's composite artisan guild, fights and insults were forbidden, as well as sleeping on the benches of the guild hall and breaking into the guild's beer cellar.<sup>246</sup> The statutes and account books of Livonian merchants' guilds, Brotherhood of the Blackheads<sup>247</sup>, and Tallinn St Canute's artisan guild regulated also the duties of the participants in the main yearly festivities and those who were allowed to be the guests of the guild in the festivities.<sup>248</sup> In Stockholm, where no such composite artisan guild existed, regulations against bad behaviour were usually included in craft ordinances. For example, the smiths' ordinance regulated that if someone pulled a brother's hair and two witnesses saw it, the violator was to pay a penalty of half *pundt* wax.<sup>249</sup> Generally, all kinds of violent behaviour, fights, and brawls were forbidden, as well as verbal insults. Additionally, bearing weapons, knives, and axes etc. to the guild hall was strictly forbidden.

Apparently the assemblies and celebrations could easily turn into rough parties since so many crafts and guilds put a lot of effort into forbidding all kinds of bad behaviour. The shoemakers of Stockholm had about 15 articles against bad behaviour in their ordinance, which in total included 66 articles.<sup>250</sup> Sabine von Heusinger subsumes the articles that regulated social manners, forbade bad behaviour, carrying of arms, and visiting the brothels as part of keeping the social order (*Sozialdisziplinierung*).<sup>251</sup> I agree with von Heusinger. Furthermore, I think that the regulations related to social manners and bad behaviour can be interpreted in the context of guild and craft honour. Each organization was keen to uphold its reputation and prestige within the city community. Therefore, bad behaviour by any member could harm the reputation of the craft or guild. In addition, the numerous

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245 Dünnebeil, *Die Lübecker Zirkel-Gesellschaft*, 48–57; *Lübeckische Geschichte*, ed. Graßmann, 313. In Lübeck, the *Schiffergesellschaft* can be categorized as a devotional guild, although it was some kind of a mixed form of 'normal' guild and religious guild: it had both men and women as members but only from closed class of skippers. The functions of the organization resembled the ones of devotional guilds. See *Lübeckische Geschichte*, ed. Graßmann, 313–315.

246 Margus, *Katalog*, LXIII, LXIV–LXV (Schragen der St Kanuti Gilde/St Canute's Guild).

247 The members of the Blackheads were unmarried male merchants.

248 For example, womenfolk participated in specific activities during the festivities. Mänd, *Urban Carnival*, Chapters 3.3 and 3.4.

249 Klemming, *Skrå-Ordningar*, 69 (Smede/Smiths 1479).

250 Klemming, *Skrå-Ordningar*, 11–34 (Skomakare/Shoemakers before 1474).

251 Von Heusinger, *Die zunft*, 135–136.



articles related to festivities, assemblies, and social meetings demonstrate how the social functions of these three different organizations were extremely significant for the contemporaries.

## Commemoration

Memory, commemoration, or other kinds of memorial actions to honour deceased members were also usually mentioned in various guild statutes, craft ordinances, and in the statutes of devotional guilds. Especially in the statutes of devotional guilds the main emphasis was on commemoration and devotion towards a patron saint.<sup>252</sup> The statute of the Virgin Mary devotional guild in Sweden regulated common feasts: if someone raised a commemorative tankard without aldermen's permission there was a penalty, if someone's children made a mess in the guildhall there was a penalty. Also the guild was the keeper of the lights in the Virgin Mary Day's masses.<sup>253</sup> However, the statutes of devotional guilds often lack information on the course of events in feasts.<sup>254</sup>

In craft ordinances the obligation to participate in the funerals of deceased members is common in all four cities. In German research tradition this is often called *Totenmemoria*.<sup>255</sup> Riga furriers stipulated that after the *drunke* every member was to offer a requiem to deceased members.<sup>256</sup> Furthermore, Riga furriers' ordinance illustrates how social and administrative matters went hand in hand with the commemoration of past members and religious practices. In the evening, after the feast and craft assembly, members were to participate in the vigil and on the following day remember the living and deceased members of the craft by donating a requiem.<sup>257</sup> Shared dinners were typical activities within medieval crafts, guilds, and devotional guilds. Hence, a collective feast, collective veneration of a patron saint, and commemoration of past members (*Totenmemoria*) can be seen as elements in

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252 For statutes of devotional guilds see for example in Stieda and Mettig, *Schragen*, no. 55, 374–378 (Die Gilde des Heiligen Kreuzes und Dreifaltigkeit in Riga 1252); Klemming, *Smästucken*, 127–135 (St Görans Gille), 143–149 (Jungfru Mariae Gille), 152–161 (Helga Lekama-gillet). The statutes of Tallinn's Corpus Christi Guild are edited in LECUB, Abt. 1 Band 1, DXCII, 762–769. For Corpus Christi Guild in Sweden see Anz, *Gilden*, Chapter 2.

253 Klemming, *Smästucken*, 143–148. The statute is undated.

254 Mänd, *Urban Carnival*, 40.

255 For collective remembrance and religious participation in guilds and crafts in German-speaking areas see for example Oexle, 'Memoria in der Gesellschaft', passim; Oexle, *Memoria als Kultur*, passim; Dormeier, 'Religiöse Bruderschaften', passim.

256 Stieda and Mettig, *Schragen*, no. 56, 380 (Kürschner/Furriers 1397).

257 Stieda and Mettig, *Schragen*, no. 56, 380 (Kürschner/Furriers 1397)

creating and strengthening collective identity.<sup>258</sup> Thus, it must be pointed out that present day division between religious and secular does not apply to late medieval society, but religious elements were an integral part of everyday life.<sup>259</sup> Recently, Klaus Militzer has proposed that in Cologne the religious, devotional, and commemorative activities were channelled mainly through devotional guilds whereas the crafts focused on trade and profession.<sup>260</sup> And indeed, as I argue, the religious function of the crafts has been somewhat overemphasized; a thematic I shall discuss next.

## Patron Saint Cult

As a third similar feature I have listed a reference to a patron saint cult in craft ordinances, in the statutes of composite artisan guilds, and devotional guilds. In the cases of composite artisan guilds, merchants' guilds, and crafts the marking on the Table 2.7 (p. 91) is in brackets since it varied from organization to organization depending on whether the rules had an article related to a patron saint cult or not. An allusion to a patron saint cult could be found from the guild's name, as many guilds were named after their patron saint. For example, the Tallinn composite artisan guilds were called St Canute's Guild and St Olaf's Guild. Both saints were widely commemorated in the Baltic Sea area, although it has remained under dispute, which of the two Saint Canutes was commemorated as a patron saint in the Tallinn artisan guild. In the case of devotional guilds the patron saint cult is explicitly mentioned and is often visible in the name of the guild as well. The statute of Riga loaders (*Ligger*) begins with a prayer and in the opening it is stated that this guild was established in the honour of God and John the Baptist.<sup>261</sup> Total 16 of the known 22 medieval devotional guilds of Stockholm were named after a saint, two of them after Virgin Mary.<sup>262</sup>

One perception in previous research has been that religious participation, such as veneration of patron saints, was one of the main functions of the crafts.<sup>263</sup> This is a natural assumption since the saints held an immense role in religious participation throughout the Middle Ages. However, there seems to be a contradiction: on

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258 Isenmann, *Die deutsche Stadt*, 796; Thijs, 'Religion and social structure', 162–163; Lindström, *Skrå, stad och staat*, 81.

259 Kala, 'The Church Calendar', 104.

260 Militzer, 'Genossenschaftliche und bruderschaftliche Organisationsformen', 148–149.

261 Stieda and Mettig, *Schragen*, no. 74, 407 (*Ligger/Loaders* 1463).

262 Ahnlund, *Stockholms historia*, 499–501.

263 See for example Von Heusinger, *Die Zunft*, 127–132 und Anz, *Gilden*, passim. See also Wissell, *Des alten Handwerkes Recht* I, 38–43; Lindberg, *Hantverk och skråväsen*, 71–74.

the one hand, craft ordinances from the Baltic Sea region provide some detailed descriptions on the commemoration of a patron saint including arrangements that were made with the local parish church. On the other hand, the quantitative analysis revealed that out of the 112 craft ordinances that existed prior to the Reformation in Stockholm, Tallinn, Riga, and Lübeck only eleven had a reference to a patron saint cult. Hence, the detailed descriptions on veneration of patron saints appear in a very small proportion of the preserved medieval craft ordinances in the Baltic Sea area. If the patron saint cult and religious participation was one of the main features of craft life and an essential element of craft trade culture, one would surely expect to find more articles in the ordinances related to this subject. The key to the solution is to compare various organizations and to examine what kind of a forum they provided for religious performances and participation.<sup>264</sup>

References related to patron saint cult in the craft ordinances concerned three topics. Craft members were to attend masses, make donations to a common (altar) fund devoted to their patron saint, and enjoy a common feast dinner. For example, according to the Tallinn shoemakers' ordinance, the brother saints Crispin and Crispian were chosen as the craft's patron saints. In addition to the payments to the St Nicholas' church, craft ordinance obligated craft members to attend vespers, vigil, requiem, and mass on the day of St Crispin and Crispian, otherwise they were to pay one mark pound<sup>265</sup> wax penalty. The members were to wear their best clothing and make a small offering during these celebrations or again pay a penalty of a fine. Furthermore, the shoemakers' workshops were to be closed on this day and the workers, *knechte*, maids, and apprentices (*knechte offte maget edder Junge*) were to have a free day, by a penalty of one mark.<sup>266</sup>

In Riga, the blacksmiths used some of their fines for the candles on the altar of St Loy (*St Eligius*).<sup>267</sup> The ordinance of Riga barbers regulated that every craft member should pay one tenth of his or her income to the common fund of their patron saints Cosmas and Damian. In addition, masters were to pay one shilling and journeymen (*knechte*) one penny into the fund every holy Sunday in honour of God.<sup>268</sup>

264 See also Ojala, 'Religious Participation in Craft Ordinances', passim.

265 One mark pound equals 416 grams. See Mänd, *Urban Carnival*, Appendix 6.

266 TLA, coll. 190, inv. 2, no 24, 10r–10v (Schuster/Shoemakers 1481). Tiina Kala argues that the shoemakers had an altar devoted to their patron saints in the St Nicholas' church; see Kala, 'Church Calendar', 108.

267 Stieda and Mettig, *Schragen*, no. 90, 463 (Schmide/Smiths 1426–1530).

268 Stieda and Mettig, *Schragen*, no 11, 248–249 (Barbiere/Barber-surgeons 1494): 'Tho dem ersten Gade tho lave unnd ene sonderlige ehre eren hilligen patronen Cosmo unnd Domiano, [...] den se uth ereme fryen willen van all deme gelde, dat sie mit arstedie verdenen, den teinden penningk vorwilkoret hebben tho gevende [...].'

The Lübeck barber-surgeons used to have a feast dinner on the day of saints Cosmas and Damian. If a member was unable to attend they were to pay half of the participation fee, unless it was ‘a case of an emergency’.<sup>269</sup> The Lübeck small shop keepers’ craft ordinance stated that every brother and sister was to come to the *cumpanie* on St Anna’s day and eat and drink for their money’s worth or otherwise pay one pound of wax as a penalty.<sup>270</sup> It can be debated how clearly religious practices are expressed in the last two examples from Lübeck. The ordinances do not provide any particular information on what happened during feast dinners, except that eating and drinking was included.

Based on the craft ordinances from the Baltic area it seems that in the articles related to feast dinners the social side of craft life was emphasized. In articles where feast dinners on patron saints’ days are mentioned there are no references to any donations, to wax, artefacts, or masses, nor is the altar mentioned. On the other hand, as discussed above, a shared feast dinner can be regarded as one form of memorial action, which has long traditions in Christendom.<sup>271</sup> It is also possible that the nature of the feast had changed with time. In the early phases of the organization process of various guilds and crafts the commemoration of saints was prevalent.<sup>272</sup>

Tallinn offers a fruitful way to compare various organizations as a forum for religious participation. The Tallinn crafts were united into two composite artisan guilds and at least six confraternities were active in the city.<sup>273</sup> The St Canute’s composite artisan guild had an altar in the city’s both parish churches. The altar in St Olaf’s Church is first mentioned in 1449 and was consecrated to St Canute. The guild’s second altar in St Nicholas’ church is sometimes referred to as St Canute’s altar and sometimes as the altar of Virgin Mary.<sup>274</sup> Having two altars, one in both parish churches indicates that the guild might have wanted to express its wealth. This

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269 Wehrmann, *Zunftrollen*, no. 4, 165 (Barbere/Barber-surgeons 1480). The barbers’ crafts in Riga and Lübeck had the same patron saints.

270 Wehrmann, *Zunftrollen*, no. 28, 283 (Kremer/Small shop keepers 1501): ‘Item mer up desuluen tijd is belevet vnde bewijllet, so dicke vnde vaken alse sunte Annen koste synt, so schal eijn ijwelk broder vnde suster kamen in de kumpenije, ethen vnde drinken vmme ere gelt, bi broke i punt wasses.’

271 Oexle, ‘Memoria in der Gesellschaft’ 302–303, 315.

272 Religious participation was strongly present in the early phase of guild development, and some of them were more or less ecclesiastical organizations. See Margus, *Katalog*, XI; Johanssen and von zur Mühlen, *Deutsch und Undeutsch*, 65, 75–78; Stieda and Mettig, *Schragen*, 91–92; von zur Mühlen ‘Zur frühgeschichte der Revaler Gilden’, 34; Schulz, *Handwerke*, 44.

273 Mänd, *Urban Carnival*, 40; Johanssen and von zur Mühlen, *Deutsch und Undeutsch*, 67. Here I focus on St Canute’s Guild because quite little is known from St Olaf’s Guild, which eventually united with St Canute’s Guild.

274 Mänd, ‘St Canute’s Guild and its Aldermen’ 149; Johanssen and von zur Mühlen, *Deutsch und Undeutsch*, 66.

way craftsfolk from both parishes could visit the guild's altars. Most of the professional crafts in Tallinn could not afford to establish and maintain their own altars so they had to settle with the guilds' altars.<sup>275</sup> Having altars in both parish churches could strengthen the idea of the St Canute's Guild as a uniting guild for all the craftsfolk in the city and the more prestigious one from the two artisan guilds.

The Tallinn artisan guilds, particularly the St Canute's Guild, had a leading role among the craftsfolk in organizing annual feasts, which were of great importance in the Baltic Sea area.<sup>276</sup> Christmas and Carnival were the main feasts, which consisted of several features like masses, administrative assemblies, processions, communal dinners, and ball dances. In the statutes of the St Canute's Guild the main emphasis is on regulating festivities, social manners, mutual aid, and prohibiting bad behaviour.<sup>277</sup> Another significant feast was the Corpus Christi, which consisted of solemn procession through the city and 'was followed by more secular celebrations in the halls of guilds and confraternities'. The marching order in this religious procession manifested social hierarchy.<sup>278</sup> These festivities underline the role of the St Canute's Guild for urban community. Specifically the procession was a suitable way to express group identity. The Tallinn shoemakers' ordinance regulated that every other year the shoemakers were to walk after the smiths and every other year vice versa, and they were followed by the bakers every year after which came the tailors before the journeymen.<sup>279</sup> Unfortunately other crafts were not mentioned. It can be concluded that the Tallinn composite artisan guilds offered a forum for religious participation in two ways: by maintaining altars in parish churches they provided a place to express (personal) devotion and piety especially for those crafts that did not have their own altars in parish churches. By organizing annual feasts and processions they provided a forum for collective participation.

As we know, in addition to the artisans' guilds and crafts, there were a vast number of devotional guilds in late medieval cities of the Northern Baltic area. At least six confraternities existed in Riga and Tallinn, in Stockholm 22, and in Lübeck as many as seventy.<sup>280</sup> In annual gatherings members commemorated their deceased members by enjoying a common meal. Members took part in charity work and later on, after

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275 Mänd, *Kirikute hõbevara*, 50.

276 Mänd, *Urban Carnival*, 51–53. The artisan guilds were upstaged by the merchants' guilds in festivities.

277 Margus, *Katalog*, LXX–LXXXIV (Schrager der St Kanutigilde/St Canute's Guild).

278 Mänd, *Urban Carnival*, 163–169, quotation 168.

279 TLA, coll 190, inv 2, no. 24, 5r (Schuster/Shoemakers 1481).

280 Mänd, *Urban Carnival*, 40; Johanssen and v. z. Mühlen, *Deutsch und Undeutsch*, 67; Stieda and Mettig, *Schrager*, 87–88; Anz, *Gilden*, chapter 2; Margus, *Katalog*, XIV, XXI. Ahnlund, *Stockholms historia*, 499–501; Dormeier, 'Religiöse Bruderschaften', 21.

their death, benefitted from collective remembrance.<sup>281</sup> The following examples illustrate the functions of devotional guilds according to their statutes. The statute of the Tallinn Corpus Christi Guild begins with the statement that the guild was established for the consolation and salvation of body and soul of the members.<sup>282</sup> The statute is badly damaged but it concentrated on common feasts and mentioned commemorative tankards as well as attending mass together after a common feast. In Riga, the brothers and sisters of the Holy Cross and Trinity Guild were committed to keeping the light in front of the Corpus Christi (altar) in St Jacob's church for the salvation of the souls of the departed and living members. Otherwise, the ordinance concentrated on regulating common feasts.<sup>283</sup> Accordingly, the devotional guilds offered a forum for collective veneration of saints and collective remembrance. The devotional guilds organized joint dinners, where the participants, different-aged men and women, who had different professions, different social and marital status got together in the guild hall. Thus, the devotional guilds proffered yet another forum for religious participation, which varied from the ones of guilds and crafts.

In summary, the analysis in this chapter has shown that all three organization types, crafts, guilds, and devotional guilds offered some kind of a forum for religious participation. However, it is clear that the main task and function of the crafts was to organize craft trade production rather than religious participation. Consequently, based on the ordinances and statutes of various organizations and on quantitative analysis, composite artisan guilds and especially devotional guilds offered a worthier forum for expressing piety than professional craft organizations. It also proves how crucial the categorization of various organizations is when studying various phenomena, such as religious participation – or the opportunities of artisan widows – in late medieval urban environment. In the context of craft trade culture various social activities, festivities, and religious practices were important social events for creating networks, sharing information, and meeting fellow craft members. Furthermore, they demonstrate that life of the craftsfolk was not only governed by work but included free time and good moments with *brodere und suster*.

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281 Dormeier, 'Religiöse Bruderschaften', 21–22; Kala, 'The Church Calendar', 106–108. Statutes of devotional guilds see for example in Stieda and Mettig, *Schragen*, 374–378 (Die Gilde des Heiligen Kreuzes); Klemming, *Småstycken*, 127–135 (St Görans Gille), 143–149 (Jungfru Mariae Gille), 152–161 (Helga Lekama-gillet); Tallinn's Corpus Christi Guild statutes LECUB, Abt. 1 Band 1, DXCII, 762–769.

282 LECUB, Abt. 1 Band 1, DXCII, 762 (Reval Heilige Leichnams-Gilde, end of the 13<sup>th</sup> century).

283 Stieda and Mettig, *Schragen*, 378 (Gilde des heiligen Kreuzes und der Dreifaltigkeit 1252).

## 2.3 Conclusions

As this chapter has demonstrated, it is crucial to define, classify, and separate the various urban organizations that existed in late medieval and early modern towns. For example, women's membership and participation varied according to the organization type. In classifying the organizations both the membership structure and the rules of the organization must be examined. Furthermore, great caution and accuracy should be demonstrated in terms of terminology. The comparison of the three organization types, professional crafts, composite artisan guilds and merchants' guilds as well as devotional guilds revealed the main differences that separated crafts from the other two organization types. These differences were the military function, the subordination of the crafts to the city council, and the way craft ordinances focused on regulating the actual work of the artisans. On the other hand, the comparison also revealed similarities between the three organizations. Festivities, commemoration of past members, and even activities related to a patron saint cult can be found in the rules of all three organization types.

The comparison of the membership structure of the three organization types revealed that different estates could only be members of devotional guilds. More problematic was the question on women's full membership. In the chosen source material women's full membership was explicitly mentioned only in the statutes of devotional guilds. It seems that in the Livonian composite artisan guilds women were members only through their husbands, however, the guild statutes do not take a clear stand on widows' membership. In craft ordinances the membership status of women is often unclear. The fact that women are not explicitly mentioned in the articles in most craft ordinances and guild statutes from the Northern Baltic region has led to the interpretation of their passive membership whereas male (master) artisans have been regarded as the only full members. However, the lack of explicit references to women does not prove that women could not have been full members, particularly in professional crafts. In Middle Low German ordinances the masculine word form could refer to a larger group of people of both sexes. It is also possible that women's membership, partial membership, or exclusion from membership was a clear matter for contemporaries or it was discussed orally.

Based on the craft ordinances from Stockholm, Tallinn, Riga, and Lübeck I argue that women's full membership varied from craft to craft, town to town, and from time to time. Furthermore, we must reject the perception to consider female membership as either-or dichotomy. Instead, female craft membership must be

seen as a flexible construction that involved different levels. For example, officially women could not participate in craft's decision making. In this political or authoritative sense it is clear that women were not full members of the craft. However, how is the full membership defined? Or, to be more precise, does the membership need to be **full** membership or can we accept different forms of membership, which can still be interpreted as membership? For example, womenfolk were expected to participate in the funerals of craft members and in this respect they were regarded as full members. Furthermore, as I shall show later in this study, widows who continued their trade were regarded as masters so we cannot define their membership as a solely passive one.

The ambiguous female membership within the crafts indicates the flexibility of craft trade culture and variation from craft to craft. On the other hand it would have been clearer if women's membership would have been expressed plainly in craft ordinances. Furthermore, it signifies that household workshop as a production unit seems to have been more important to the craft than individual household members. However, this contradicts the fact that crafts put a lot of effort in regulating the qualification and skills of the artisans by asserting requirements for the mastership, such as proper training and a master piece. As we shall find out, this was one of the controversies that characterize craft trade culture in the late medieval and early modern cities bordering the Baltic Sea region.

Finally, the chapter presented a careful and extensive introduction on how trades were organized in each city. As the analysis showed, the demarcation of different trades was difficult for the contemporaries and it can be difficult for a scholar working today as well. In order to penetrate through the various titles of craft ordinances, archival titles, and how the trades were called in late medieval times, a careful linguistic analysis and chronological organization of source material was conducted. The 178 craft ordinances classified, organized, dated, and listed in this chapter and in the appendices form the context in which the possibilities of widows, conflict situations as well as goals and values of craft trade culture will be examined in the following chapters. Furthermore, the aim of this time-consuming and pioneer listing is to help other scholars who intend to investigate craft trades in these four cities. The fact that there are so many preserved ordinances from the same craft, many council decrees as well as alterations and additions in craft ordinances reveal us several things. On the one hand, it is a sign of efficient bookkeeping in the city's administration. On the other, it tells us about the busy intercourse between the city council and the crafts. Furthermore, it portrays how crafts reacted to the changing economic circumstances by altering their ordinances. As Sabine von Heusinger has



criticized in previous research, crafts have been often seen as static corporations that clung to their old rules and resisted change.<sup>284</sup> Instead, she has proposed a different reading that considers crafts dynamic players in the city community. The diversity of the preserved source material, especially from Lübeck, supports the argument about dynamic crafts.

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284 Von Heusinger, *Die Zunft*, for example, 14, 58, 164–168.

### 3 Taking a Chance – artisan widows and craft trade

Evidence from across Europe portrays that many widows in late medieval and early modern urban settlements kept working after their husband had passed away and even had long-lasting careers in craft trades and commerce.<sup>1</sup> Yet, several scholars, particularly the supporters of the subordination theory, have underlined how hard it was for (artisan) widows to earn a living. Additionally, widows have been mainly seen as transmitters of household workshops to the next generation.<sup>2</sup> Others have pointed out the contingency: widows' possibilities could vary largely within a community.<sup>3</sup> This chapter examines how widows' opportunities to continue craft trade were regulated in craft ordinances around the Baltic Sea. No large-scale analysis or comparison of craft widows' rights in the Baltic Sea region has been made before. Furthermore, I shall discuss how widowhood was in many aspects a controversial state. In other words, I shall examine the moral, legal, economic, and social questions that widowhood raised and how these questions were discussed in the urban craft milieu.

In this chapter I shall study how widows' rights have been interpreted in previous research. As I will show, the regulations in the craft ordinances gave widows various opportunities to carry on with their trade. Therefore, the regulations were not mere restrictions against female labour, as is often suggested in the literature, but must be seen as opportunities. Thus, my arguments of widows' rights as possibilities are set against opposite interpretations to reinforce my viewpoint. Special attention is given to the question whether widows' rights differed in the Baltic Sea area compared to European mainland and Britain. Thus, the findings are discussed in a wider European context.

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- 1 For Sweden, see Lindström, 'Privilegierande eller kringskurna?', 240–241. For the Netherlands, see Schmidt, 'Women and Guilds', 177. For medieval London, see, for example, Hanawalt, *The Wealth of Wives*, 170, 174–177; Hubbard, *City Women*; McIntosh, *Working Women*, for example pages 165–166, and Bennett, *Ale, Beer and Brewsters*. For German speaking areas, see, for example, Wiesner, *Working Women in Renaissance Germany*, page 151; Ogilvie, *A Bitter Living* and Kruse, *Witwen*.
  - 2 Wiesner, *Working Women in Renaissance Germany*, 158–159; Ichikawa, 'Die Stellung der Frauen', 106; Ogilvie, *A Bitter Living*, 258–265. Even Krebs notes that craft membership did not guarantee livelihood, Krebs, *Die Stellung der Handwerkerwitwe*, 112.
  - 3 Katajala-Peltomaa and Toivo, *Noitavaimo ja neitsytäiti*, 120; van den Heuvel and van Neederveen Meerkerk, 'Introduction: Partners in business?' passim; van den Heuvel, 'Guilds and the family economy', passim.

In this chapter I shall challenge the temporal change presented in previous research. Did the widows' rights articles change towards the end of the sixteenth century and how did the possible changes affect widows' possibilities to continue their trade? My hypothesis is that the change suggested in previous research has been somewhat overemphasized. Finally, the chapter also discusses whether the so-called women's trades existed in the Baltic Sea area.

### 3.1 Widows' rights in craft ordinances

Altogether 178 craft ordinances are preserved from Lübeck, Riga, Tallinn, and Stockholm from a time period that stretches from the middle of the fourteenth century until 1620. In the following tables 3.1–3.4 the number of the ordinances which included widows' rights articles is presented city by city. The first column on the left shows the time frame. The second column shows the number of craft ordinances, which are extant from this time period. The third column presents the number of craft ordinances that included a widows' rights article and the last column shows the percentual share of ordinances with widows' rights articles from the total number of preserved ordinances in each period of time.

Table 3.1 The number and temporal distribution of widows' rights articles in the Lübeck craft ordinances

Years	Number of extant craft ordinances*	Number of ordinances with widows' rights	Percentage of ordinances with widows' rights**
1350–1399	16	1	6 %
1400–1449	18	3	17 %
1450–1499	12	7	58 %
1500–1549	24	9	38 %
1550–1599	14	3	21 %
1600–1620	1	0	0 %
Total	85	23	27 %

Sources: Lübeck craft ordinances 1350–1620, see Appendix Table 1.2.

\* Because of the complex dating of the ordinances only the first issuing date of the craft ordinance is counted here, not the confirmation dates, i.e. how long the craft ordinance was valid. Therefore the table is only suggestive.

\*\* Percentual shares are rounded, so that decimals 0.1–0.4 were rounded down, respectively the decimals 0.5–0.9 were rounded up.

As we can see from Table 3.1, in Lübeck 27% of all the preserved craft ordinances included a widows' rights article. In Lübeck, we have two ordinances from the chest makers, woollen cloth-dressers, and sheep fell tanners which each included widows' rights articles. Consequently, 19 different crafts regulated widows' rights. The majority of widows' rights in Lübeck ordinances stem from the first half of the sixteenth century. This is understandable, since the majority of craft ordinances also stem from that time period. If we look at the percentual shares, the large number in 1450–1499 demands attention. Half of the craft ordinances that stem from this period included a widows' rights article in their ordinances. Furthermore, there is no dramatic increase in the widows' rights articles in the two last periods of time.

Table 3.2 illustrates how in Riga altogether 44% of the total 39 preserved craft ordinances included a widows' rights article. In Riga, we have two craft ordinances from the goldsmiths, masons, shoemakers, and carvers, which all included a widows' rights article. Hence, it was 13 different crafts that regulated widows' rights and not 17 (cf. the Table above). The majority of widows' rights articles stem from the sixteenth century. Only two ordinances of the nine fourteenth century ordinances included a widows' rights article. Hence, like in Lübeck, the number of widows' rights articles does not correlate the number of preserved craft ordinances. However, a clear tendency can be observed in the sixteenth century.

Table 3.2 The number and temporal distribution of widows' rights articles in the Riga craft ordinances

Years	Number of extant craft ordinances*	Number of ordinances with widows' rights	Percentage of ordinances with widows' rights**
1350–1399	9	2	22 %
1400–1449	2	0	0 %
1450–1499	5	1	20 %
1500–1549	11	7	63 %
1550–1599	8	5	62 %
1600–1620	4	2	50 %
Total	39	17	44 %

Sources: Riga craft ordinances 1350–1620. See Appendix Table 2.1.

\* Because of the complex dating of the ordinances only the first issuing date of the craft ordinance is counted here, not the confirmation dates, i.e. how long the craft ordinance was valid. Therefore the table is only suggestive.

\*\*Percentual shares are rounded, so that decimals 0.1–0.4 were rounded down, respectively the decimals 0.5–0.9 were rounded up.

In the case of Tallinn, 43% of the preserved craft ordinances included widows' rights articles. However, the numbers and particularly the percentual shares are somewhat misrepresented because in those 15 craft ordinances that included widows' rights articles we have two ordinances from the shoemakers, goldsmiths, coopers, butchers, and the united craft of painters, glazers, and joiners. Hence, in Tallinn, 10 different crafts regulated widows' rights. In Tallinn, the majority of widows' rights articles stem from the time period of 1450–1549. This, by and large, correlates with the total number of preserved ordinances. It is interesting that from the early fifteenth century we have only one ordinance, which included a widows' rights article.

Table 3.3 The number and temporal distribution of widows' rights articles in Tallinn craft ordinances

Years	Number of preserved craft ordinances*	Number of ordinances with widows' rights	Percentage of ordinances with widows' rights**
1350–1399	2	1	50 %
1400–1449	9	1	11 %
1450–1499	9	5	56 %
1500–1549	13	7	54 %
1550–1599	2	1	50 %
1600–1620	0	0	0 %
Total	35	15	43 %

Sources: Tallinn craft ordinances 1350–1620, see Appendix Table 3.1.

\* Because of the complex dating of the ordinances only the first issuing date of the craft ordinance is counted here, not the confirmation dates, i.e. how long the craft ordinance was valid. Therefore the table is only suggestive.

\*\* Percentual shares are rounded, so that decimals 0.1–0.4 were rounded down, respectively the decimals 0.5–0.9 were rounded up.

In Stockholm, altogether 47% of the craft ordinances regulated widows' rights. The percentual shares in each time period are somewhat misleading since the sample of 19 craft ordinances is so small. The majority of Stockholm craft ordinances stem from the sixteenth century; however, widows' rights were regulated also in the older ordinances. Even though the percentual shares show great variation, there is no clear increase in widows' rights articles to be observed at any time period. On the contrary, it is perhaps surprising that only one out of those craft ordinances that stem from the end of the sixteenth century included a widows' rights article.

Table 3.4 The number and temporal distribution of widows' rights articles in Stockholm craft ordinances

Years	Numbers of preserved ordinances*	Number of ordinances with widows' rights	Percentage of ordinances with widows' rights**
1350–1399	0	0	0 %
1400–1449	1	0	0 %
1450–1499	4	2	50 %
1500–1549	6	3	50 %
1550–1599	6	2	33 %
1600–1620	2	2	100 %
Total	19	9	47 %

Sources: Stockholm craft ordinances in Klemming, *Skrå-ordinangar* and *Nordiska museet* no. 15,988.e (*Glasmästare* 1608). See Appendix Table 4.1.

\* Because of the complex dating of the ordinances only the first issuing date of the craft ordinance is counted here, not the confirmation dates, i.e. how long the craft ordinance was valid. Therefore the table is only suggestive.

\*\* Percentual shares are rounded, so that decimals 0.1–0.4 were rounded down, respectively the decimals 0.5–0.9 were rounded up.

It is evident, according to quantitative analysis, that crafts regarded it important to define the position of a widow in their organization. In late medieval and early modern Denmark, in essence, all crafts included widows' rights in their ordinances.<sup>4</sup> In past times when wars, pestilences, and crop failures were common and the reason and cure for many diseases was unknown, widowhood and remarriages were common.<sup>5</sup> This partly explains the quantity of articles related to widows' rights. Furthermore, it portrays how crafts felt that after the death of a business partner it was imperative for the production in the household workshop to continue. Whatever the new arrangements would be – remarriage, widow carrying on by herself, with children, or with the help of a journeyman, or giving up the trade – it was not in the interest of the craft that this change would happen abruptly. The ideal form of production was a household workshop run by a married couple. When this balance was disturbed, the objective of the craft was to ensure the continuation of the production until another form of enterprise was created or the ideal situation restored with remarriage.

4 Jacobsen, 'Gesetz und Realität', 59.

5 Lager-Kromnow, *Att vara stockholmare*, 85; Lamberg, *Dannemänner*, 101–102; Hanawalt, *The Wealth of Widows*, 96; Fairchild, *Women in Early Modern Europe*, 105; Wiedemann, *Schriften für Witwen*, 23.

In late medieval towns various kinds of legal systems co-existed: the official city court led by the council and, complementary to it, unofficial arbitration procedure and customary law.<sup>6</sup> It seems very likely that if disputes on widows' rights occurred they were settled in the crafts' official assemblies where smaller disputes between craft members were usually solved,<sup>7</sup> or in private. The status of widows within the craft was often defined unclearly, as also was that of women in general. In controversial situations it was beneficial for a widow that her rights were clearly written down in the craft ordinance. We have evidence of disputes over widows' rights from early modern southern Germany where the widows defended themselves by referring to the absence of widows' rights in the craft ordinances: they claimed that if the rules were not written for them, they did not apply to them.<sup>8</sup> Consequently, the widows' rights articles in craft ordinances should be regarded as possibilities for widows.

Yet, the majority of the 178 craft ordinances under scrutiny did not regulate widows' rights. It has been disputed whether this meant that widows were allowed to continue their trade without any restrictions or whether the widows were banned from the continuation of their business. Grethe Jacobsen has argued that precisely the missing judicial regulations concerning widows' rights to continue their trade demonstrate flexibility of the organized crafts and their efforts to fulfil the economic and social needs. On the other hand, she continues, that because of the lack of judicial regulations widows were only allowed to continue on 'ad hoc' status without none of them building precedent case that other widows could use to claim their rights.<sup>9</sup> Thus, it suggests that the craft trade culture in the Baltic Sea region was also shaped through controversies. The above-mentioned question can also be connected to the question of female membership. If we interpret the fact that womenfolk were not often explicitly mentioned in the craft ordinances to signify that women could not practise craft trade independently (as masters), it would be logical to assume that if the widows' rights articles were not mentioned in the ordinance the widows were not able to continue their trade. On the other hand, as the evidence from across Europe shows, some craftswomen practised their trade independently and widows often did continue their trade.<sup>10</sup> Indeed, in Lübeck, at least in 9 different trades,

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6 Taussi Sjöberg, *Rätten och Kvinnorna*, 38–42; Lindström, 'Oärliga mästare och kivande makar', 530, 550. For Tallinn law practice see von Nottbeck, *Alle Criminalchronik Revals*; Somelar, '*Van den keiserlichen Lübischen Rechtes wegen*, Circumstances of Criminality', passim. From now on the reference will be 'Circumstances of Criminality'.

7 TLA, coll. 190, inv. 1, no. 76 (Tallinn Goldsmede Protocollbuch).

8 See Ingendahl, *Witwen*, 159.

9 Jacobsen, 'Gesetzt und Realität', 60.

10 For example, Von Heusinger, *Die Zunft*, 72–75, 287, 324; Lindström, 'Privilegierende eller kringskurna?', 228–235.

which had no widows' rights articles in their ordinance, widows had continued their trade.<sup>11</sup> Consequently, to interpret the lack of a widows' rights article solely as a restriction for widows to continue their trade would be misleading. According to another interpretation, widows were allowed to continue their trade if they were not mentioned in the craft ordinances.<sup>12</sup> This interpretation underlines temporal change: when the widows' rights emerged in the craft ordinances from the mid fifteenth century onwards they were means to restrict widows' work possibilities.<sup>13</sup>

And, indeed, contingency must be underlined. Apparently it varied from town to town, from trade to trade whether widows were able to continue their trade. The demographic and economic circumstances, like the availability of workforce, demand and supply of certain products, and individual wealth affected widows' possibilities. Furthermore, it could vary within the same craft in different periods of time if widows could carry on with their business. In previous research this temporal change has often been emphasized. Many scholars have argued that the demographic change, industrialization, accumulation of capital to fewer hands, professionalization of crafts, and strengthened patriarchy led to restrictions against female labour and in many cases to the exclusion of women from crafts.<sup>14</sup> In contrast to the developments during the Early Modern Period, the Late Middle Ages have been seen as a 'Golden Age' for female work.<sup>15</sup> Therefore, this point of view, according to which women lost the beneficial work possibilities, has also been called *decline thesis*.<sup>16</sup> Yet, my hypothesis is that this temporal change has been overemphasized.

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11 See Table 1.6 which presents the Lübeck letters analysed in this study.

12 Ingendahl, *Witwen*, 152.

13 Wiesner, *Working Women in Renaissance Germany*, 157–159, See also Fairchild, *Women*, 151.

14 McIntosh, *Working Women*, 30, 40–41; Wiesner-Hanks, *Gender in History* 66–67; Wiesner, *Working Women in Renaissance Germany*, 156–159, 174; Simon-Muscheid, 'Frauenarbeit und Männererehr', 30–33; Bennett, *Ale, beer and brewers*, passim. Ogilvie highlights the nature of craft organizations as closed social networks, which favoured male members and tried to discriminate women's economic options. See Ogilvie, *A Bitter Living*, 258–263. See also discussion in Lindström, 'Genusarbetsdelning i tidigmoderna skräväsendet', 187–188.

15 Clarck, *Working Life*, passim; Howell, *Women, Production and Patriarchy*, passim. For recent discussion and summary of previous research, see Ogilvie, *A Bitter Living*, Introduction; Fairchild, *Women*, 2–3.

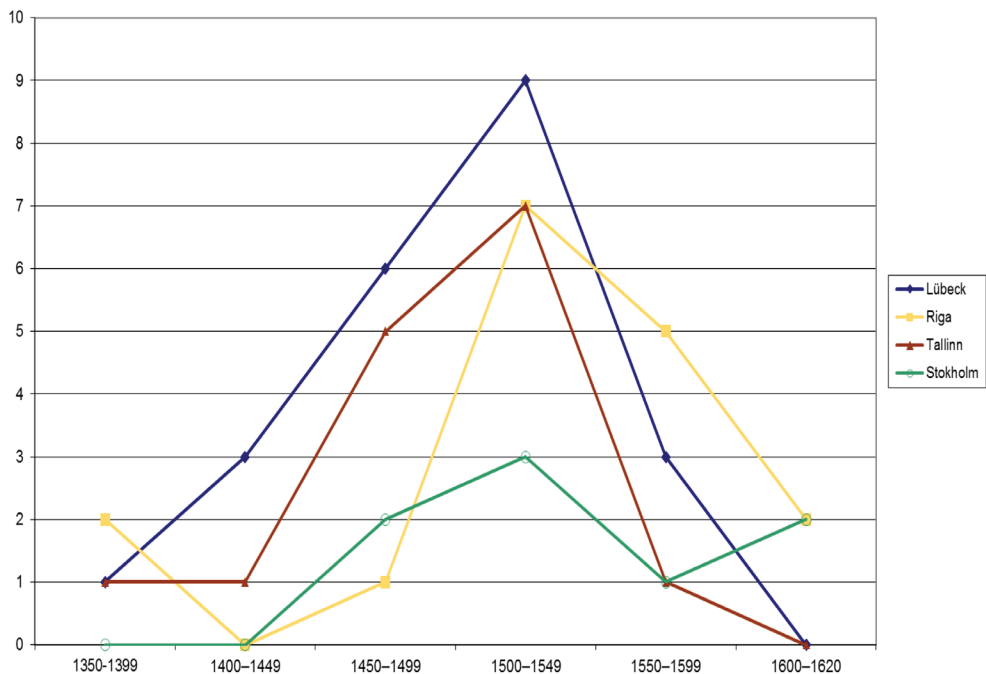
16 For example, Judith Bennett and Marjorie Keniston McIntosh, who have studied women's work in English ale and beer trade have argued that female brewers vanished from the trade they had dominated during the Middle Ages until the 1600s. Bennett sees the change as a slow process mainly caused by commercialization of the trade. McIntosh emphasizes more abrupt change sometime in 1480–1530 which was caused by demographic, economic, and social change. Plague and other deceases strongly affected the availability of workforce. Social mobility brought on negative side effects: increased amount of poor newcomers sometimes led to disorder. Places where beer was sold changed from private houses to taverns and inns where in restless times womenfolk was unable to keep order. Finally, the concern of the local leaders on order, good behaviour, sexual abuse, and control resulted that women were not seen as suitable runners of disorderly taverns. See Bennett, *Ale, Beer and Brewers*, Chapter 3, for example, pages 58–59 and McIntosh, *Working Women*, for example, pages 178–181.



### 3.1.1 Change or continuity? Quantitative analysis

A long time period chosen for this study enables the examination of possible changes and continuities. The majority of the widows' rights articles emerged in the craft ordinances in the Baltic Sea region in the time period of 1450–1550. The following Figure 3.1 summarizes the numbers of ordinances with widows' rights in each of the four cities, presented in Tables 3.1–3.4. As the figure shows, most of the widows' rights articles can be found in the ordinances that stem from the first half of the sixteenth century. The following Figures 3.1 only show the number of ordinances handled in this study, whereas in reality the number of available sources increases in the seventeenth century. Thus, it is possible that the number of widows' rights articles increased as well in the seventeenth century. In that sense these figures are only suggestive.

Figure 3.1 The Number of ordinances with widows' rights articles in the Baltic Sea region



Sources: See Tables 3.6–3.9.

Some scholars, like Lyndar Roper, have argued that the adoption of protestant ideology that strengthened patriarchalism and subordination of women led to the exclusion of women from crafts. Roper saw that urban crafts were a fruitful breeding ground for Protestantism because craft milieu with household as its centre resembled the ideas of Protestant teachings with master artisan as the head of the household and other members subordinate to him.<sup>17</sup> In this schemata widows' rights articles in craft ordinances were means to restrict women's work. If we agree with Roper and consider widows' rights articles restrictions against female labour, which emerged in the craft ordinances when Protestantism resonated and found support in the urban craft milieu, then temporal distribution of ordinances including widows' rights articles could be explained from this religious and gender perspective. The Reformation set its foothold in the Baltic Sea area during the first half of the sixteenth century and all the four cities converted into Protestantism. Indeed, it has been argued that in Livonian cities the urban elite, merchants' guilds and composite artisan guilds, were eager supporters of the Reformation.<sup>18</sup>

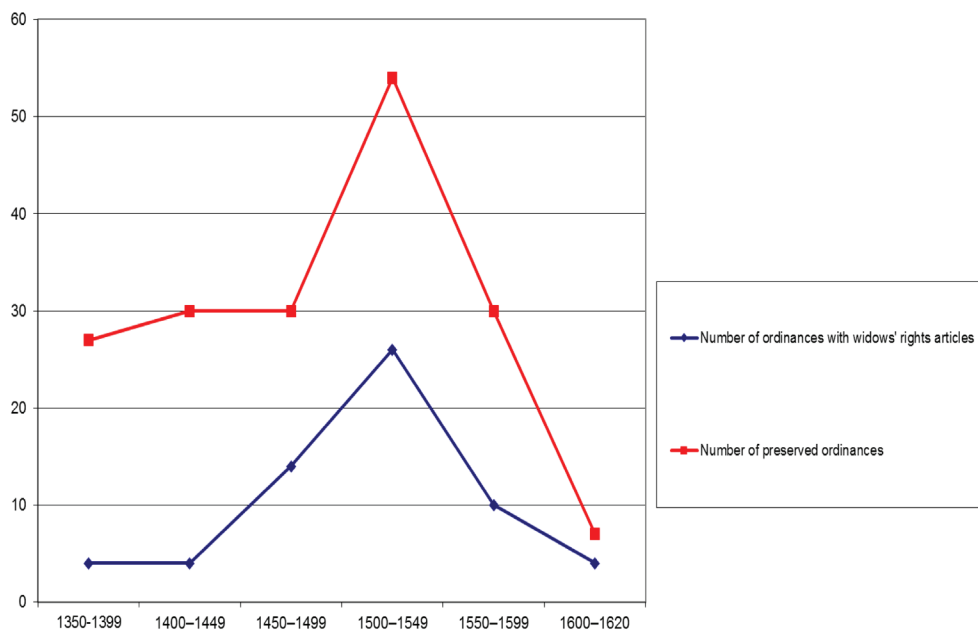
However, since I do not agree with Roper and others who are the followers of the so-called *decline thesis*, we must seek other explanations. When we place the temporal distribution of all the preserved 178 craft ordinances from Lübeck, Riga, Tallinn, and Stockholm into a same figure and compare it to the temporal distribution of the craft ordinances which included widows' rights the picture is clear. The curve that displays the number of ordinances that included widows' rights articles correlates with the curve that shows the number of preserved craft ordinances.

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17 Roper, *Holy Household*, 3, 27–31, 38–41, 48–50. See also Simon-Muscheid, 'Frauenarbeit und Männerehre', 18.

18 Wittram, 'Die Reformation in Livland' 39–46; Mänd, *Urban Carnival*, 271–272; Pölsam, 'Einfluss der lutherischen Reformation', 81; Kuhles, *Die Reformation in Livland*, 104, 247–250. The general history of the Reformation in Tallinn and Livonian area has been written by Leonid Arbusow in his monumental study *Die Einführung der Reformation in Liv-, Est- und Kurland*. More recent general studies have been carried out, for example, by Joachim Kuhles, *Die Reformation in Livland* and by Matthias Asche et al. (Eds.) *Die baltischen Lande im Zeitalter der Reformation und Konfessionalisierung*. See also Postel, 'die Hansestädte und die Reformation'.

Figure 3.2 The number of extant craft ordinances and the number of those ordinances including a widows' rights article



Sources: Appendix Tables 1.2, 2.1, 3.1, and 4.1.

In other words, the majority of the ordinances which included a widows' rights article stem from the same time period as most of the extant craft ordinances. The more craft ordinances we have, the more widows' rights articles we find. This can be linked to the textualization and legalization process of the late medieval society. Town administration grew and so did the number of various legal and administrative documents.<sup>19</sup> In the case of the crafts it became necessary to write down oral tradition. As Dag Lindström has pointed out, crafts needed an official confirmation for their rules from the city council. In that way their position within the city community was acknowledged.<sup>20</sup> Furthermore, craft trade production in the cities became more specialized during the beginning of the sixteenth century. New crafts emerged and older ordinances were revised. Hence, the number of written ordinances grew. Furthermore, the time span during which the majority of widows'

19 Cf. Salminen, 'Unknown Hands, Trusted Men', 99, 103; See also Cameron, 'The Power of Word', 64–67.

20 Lindström, *Skrå, stad och stat*, 96.

rights emerged in the ordinances covers more than a century, which excludes rapid change in widows' position suggested by McIntosh.<sup>21</sup>

The decline thesis has also been challenged by Dutch scholars and Janine M. Lanza, who have pointed out that the re-evaluation of women's work, participation to guilds, and family economy is needed.<sup>22</sup> Evidence from the early modern Netherlands, London, and Paris clearly shows that changes in economy, commercialization, and specialization did not automatically signify decreased opportunities for women in trades. On the contrary, in some towns and some trades this even created new opportunities for women. For example, Eleanor Hubbard has shown for London that women took advantage of the opportunities open to them and quickly benefitted, for example, from the new fashion trends that employed textile workers, such as mantua-makers and seamstresses. Yet, she notes how many crafts eventually excluded women.<sup>23</sup> Kirsi Vainio-Korhonen has shown in her extensive study on craft trade production in the eighteenth and nineteenth-century city of Turku in southern Finland how women engaged themselves successfully in various forms of textile production. However, these were often unorganized and less valued forms of production.<sup>24</sup>

Much depended on the current economic situation and its fluctuation. The situation also varied from trade to trade. For example, in the Netherlands, in those cases where the trade was dominated by a strong craft based on tight family networks it was usually only the widows who had an opportunity to run their own business and wives did supplementary work. As an example of this pattern, van Heuvel presents the butchers in Leiden. On the other end of the scale in the Netherlands was fish trade, also organized in crafts but smaller ones with looser organization and more specialized branches. In the fish trade women's work was not supplementary as both spouses did the same work, for example, as salespersons, and were full members of the guild (craft) organization. In between the meat and fish trade was vegetable trade. It was a mixture of these two patterns: in vegetable trade the grade and type of spousal cooperation varied. The organization of the trade was also

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21 McIntosh argues that changes in the English ale and beer trade occurred more rapidly than Bennett has interpreted. According to McIntosh, transitional periods of approximately 50 years were in many places crucial. McIntosh, *Working Women*, chapter 6 Drink Work, 140–181.

22 See for example Schmidt, 'Women in Guilds' as well as van den Heuvel and van Neederveen Meerkerk, 'Introduction: Partners in business?' 209–216; Van den Heuvel, 'Guilds and the family economy', 218, 222–223; Lanza, *From Wives to Widows*, for example pages 11, 84–86.

23 Hubbard, *City Women*, 198–199, 232–233.

24 Vainio-Korhonen, *Käsien tehty*, 38–40, 69–77. Katharina Simon-Muscheid has also pointed out how many women who were excluded from organized crafts found new work possibilities among unorganized craftsmanship. Simon-Muscheid, 'Frauenarbeit und Männerehre', 32. See also the discussion in Chapter 5.2.2.

significant, how the production chain ran.<sup>25</sup> Christopher Pihl has argued that it was not the work itself that created gendered division of labour but the circumstances, grade of specialization, and the organization of the trade that affected the most.<sup>26</sup> Subsequently, governing factors were organization of the trade, organization of the craft, and economic expansions and recessions.

One must bear in mind that in the second half of the sixteenth century northern Netherlands became the leading economic factor in Europe. In all economic sectors, in long distance overseas trade, trade in home waters, import and export, in manufacturing and agriculture as well as in technology, science, and arts northern Netherlands outruled any other parts of Europe.<sup>27</sup> In this context of economic boost and prosperity in all sectors of life it is no wonder that plenty of women could utilize this situation. However, the economic upswing does not solely explain the position of women within craft trades. Recently, Muriel González Athenas has shown for Cologne, which was struggling with economic decline at the turn of the Early Modern Period, that many women practised their trade independently as masters and that in general women participated in craft trade production in large front both in organized and unorganized trades. Hence, González Athenas has challenged the decline thesis holding true in Cologne.<sup>28</sup> For Denmark, Grethe Jacobsen has argued that the changes in the craft ordinances after Reformation were beneficial for widows. However, she is sceptical whether widows' possibilities in practice would have been better than during the previous century.<sup>29</sup>

Like the previous tables and figures in this chapter have shown, widows' rights articles can be found in craft ordinances throughout the time period from 1350 until 1620. Although the number of ordinances which included widows' rights articles increased in the second half of the fifteenth century and in the first half of the sixteenth century, it is the continuity that stands out. The increase of the ordinances including widows' rights articles can be explained by generic increase of preserved craft ordinances, which is linked to the textualization and legalization process of the late medieval society and to the development of town administration. What about the contents of the widows' rights articles? Did they change during the centuries?

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25 Van den Heuvel, 'Guilds and the family economy', 222–230. Van den Heuvel uses the term *guild* in a sense that is equivalent to the term *craft* in this study. In her article the terminology is not discussed.

26 Pihl, *Arbete*, 98, 101–105.

27 Cipolla, *Before the Industrial Revolution*, 263–276; Rowlands, 'The Conditions of Life', 49–50.

28 González Athenas, 'Legal Regulation', 153–155, 157, 165; González Athenas, 'Kölner Zünfte und Märkte im Wandel', 141, 145.

29 Jacobsen, *Kvinder*, 185–186.

### 3.1.2 Change or continuity? Qualitative analysis

A long time period under scrutiny makes it possible to examine potential changes within a certain craft. In several cases we have two or more craft ordinances that included a widows' rights article, from the same craft but from different decades or centuries. For example, we have two different craft ordinances of Riga goldsmiths, masons, and shoemakers which all had a widows' rights article in their ordinances. In the masons' ordinance widows' rights remained the same in the ordinances of 1390 and 1546: a widow was allowed to carry on without restrictions.<sup>30</sup> In the shoemakers' case one year limit in the ordinance from the end of fourteenth century changed to a two year time limit in 1615, hence, according to the latter ordinance, a widow was allowed to carry on for two years after which she should either remarry or give up her trade.<sup>31</sup> The goldsmiths' ordinance of 1542 regulated widows' rights with one year rule but in the ordinance of 1582 a widow was allowed to continue without restrictions if she remained a widow.<sup>32</sup> Hence, the possibilities for widows either remained the same or changed to the widows' advantage. Of course it can be argued whether the clause that prevented a widow from remarrying if she wanted to continue her trade was beneficial or restrictive for widows. Other aspects like age, personal wealth, and health as well as available workforce must have affected whether this widows' rights article was considered a benefit. However, in my opinion it left room for negotiation and decision making for a widow and in that sense it can be regarded beneficial. Consequently, in Riga no clear change towards restricting widows' work from 1350 to 1620 can be observed in the craft ordinances.

The same pattern can be observed in Tallinn. We have two ordinances from shoemakers, goldsmiths, coopers, butchers, smiths<sup>33</sup>, and from the composite craft of painters, glazers, and joiners under examination. In the shoemakers' ordinance of 1481–1530 and of 1536–1665 the widows' rights article remained the same: a widow had one year to continue her trade after which she was supposed to remarry or give

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30 Stieda and Mettig, *Schragen*, no. 80, 423 (Maurer/Masons 1390) and no. 82, 429 (Maurer/Masons 1546); no. 87, 452 (Schlosser-, Sporer, Büchsenmacher und Uhrmacher-Meister/Locksmiths, other smiths, and watchmakers 1593); no. 100, 513 (Schnitzer/Carvers 1536); no. 101, 521 (Schnitzer/Carvers 1541) and no. 121, 651 (Semischgerber/Chamois leather tanners 1579).

31 Stieda and Mettig, *Schragen*, no. 103, 531 (Schuhmacher/Shoemakers at end of the 14<sup>th</sup> century) and no. 106, 541 (Schuster/Shoemakers 1615).

32 Stieda and Mettig, *Schragen*, no. 32, 303–304 (Goldschmiede/Goldsmiths 1542) and no. 34, 311 (Goldschmiede/Goldsmiths 1582).

33 It is somewhat questionable if it is possible to say that we have two ordinances from smiths because the latter ordinance included locksmiths and various other smiths. See Chapter 2.1.2 and Appendix 3.

up her trade.<sup>34</sup> With the Tallinn goldsmiths' ordinances, one year rule also remained the same in their ordinances of 1453 and 1537.<sup>35</sup> According to Tallinn coopers, a widow could carry on for three years after which she should remarry. In the coopers' ordinance the three year rule also remained unchanged in both of the ordinances: that of 1515 and 1556.<sup>36</sup> The butchers stuck to their 'with children' article that can be found in their oldest ordinance of 1394 and in the ordinance of 1509.<sup>37</sup> This meant that a widow was allowed to carry on with her trade with her children. Altogether 4 different ordinances have been preserved from the Tallinn butchers. The newest of the ordinances, that of 1528 has no widows' rights article,<sup>38</sup> and it remains open whether widows could carry on without restrictions or whether the butchers stuck longer with their 'with children' article. In the ordinances of various smiths in the years of 1459–1528 and 1549–1754 the combination of one year rule and 'with children' article was later revoked with no restrictions, as long as the widow remained unmarried.<sup>39</sup> In painters', glazers', and joiners' craft the option of 'no restrictions' remained unchanged in their ordinances of 1513 and 1553–1637.<sup>40</sup> Consequently, in Tallinn craft ordinances widows' rights articles remained quite the same during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. If change occurred it was advantageous for widows.

Lübeck curriers' craft ordinance was first written in 1386 but has additions until 1640. This curriers' ordinance has been preserved in three copies in the Lübeck city archive. One copy includes additions until 1544 and was probably written around that time.<sup>41</sup> The second copy of the medieval ordinance has confirmations of the

34 TLA, coll. 190, inv. 2, no. 24, 7r (Schuster/Shoemakers 1481–1530); TLA, coll. 230, inv. 1, no. Ac61, 94v (Schuhmacher/Shoemakers 1536–1665).

35 TLA, coll. 190, inv. 1, no. 70, 1r (Goldsmede/Goldsmiths 1453); TLA, coll. 230, inv. 1, no. Ac5, 67v (Goldsmede/Goldsmiths 1537).

36 TLA, coll. 190, inv. 2, no. 473, 7r (Böttcher/Coopers 1515) and TLA, coll. 230, inv. 1, no. Ac5, 105v (Boddeker/Coopers 1556).

37 TLA, coll. 190, inv. 2, no. 119, 2v–3r (Knochenhauer/Butchers 1394) and no. 21, 4r (Knochenhauer/Butchers 1509).

38 TLA, coll. 230, inv. 1, no. Ac5, 61–63 (Fleischer/Butcher 1528).

39 TLA, coll. 190, inv. 2, no. 555, 5v, 6v (Smede/Smiths 1459–1528) and no. 149, 8v, 9v (Schlosser und smede/Locksmiths and smiths 1459/1528–1754).

40 TLA, coll. 230, inv. 1, no. Ac5 Schragencodex, 10r (Maler, Glazewerter und Snitker/Painters, Glazers and Carvers 1513) and no. Ac61 Schragenbuch, 106r (Dischler-Maler-Gläzer/Joiners-Painters-Glazers 1536–1637).

41 AHL, ASA Interna, Handwerksämter, no. no. 994 (Bremelmaker/Buntmaker/Buntfutter/Curriers). The handwriting of this copy indicates that it was written in the middle of the sixteenth century. This archive file includes various documents of the curriers' craft: two copies of the ordinance, one undated small note (fifteenth-century handwriting), one letter from 1547, one *Beliebigung* from 1559 and one undated appendix to the ordinance, most likely from the middle of the seventeenth century. Wehrmann has edited the curriers' ordinance but in his edition the ordinance has additions only until 1501. Wehrmann, *Zunftrollen*, no. 10, 190–194 (Buntmaker 1386). See also Appendix 1.

city council and additions until 1636, and it was most likely written in the first half of the seventeenth century.<sup>42</sup> Third copy is a parchment roll, which includes the old 1386 ordinance as well as additions of 1501, 1544, 1636, and 1640.<sup>43</sup> In all these curriers' craft ordinances the widows' rights article has remained the same. A widow was allowed to carry on with her trade without any restrictions, except in the case when she married outside the craft she was supposed to give up her profession. Lübeck fell dyers changed the one year rule in the ordinance of 1476 to the 'no restriction' option in their ordinance of 1500;<sup>44</sup> a change that definitely seemed to be advantageous for widows. Lübeck woollen cloth dyers, on the other hand, removed the widows' rights article that in the ordinance of 1500–1586 gave a widow a right to continue her trade so long that she had finished working with the already purchased materials.<sup>45</sup> Their ordinance of 1596 has no widows' rights article.<sup>46</sup> In Lübeck, in the chest makers' ordinance of 1508 the one year limit, which was mentioned in their earlier fifteenth century ordinance, was modified to benefit the widows: instead of one year, a widow was allowed to carry on for two years and could do so with the help of a *knecht* if she was old or ill.<sup>47</sup> Based on this it can be concluded that in Lübeck the widows' rights articles either remained the same or changed to become advantageous for widows.

Finally, in Stockholm, the glazers' ordinance of 1585 had no widows' rights article but the one year rule for widows was included into their ordinance of 1608.<sup>48</sup> The 1487 craft ordinance of Stockholm masons was confirmed in 1601, and principally no alterations were made into the ordinances. This meant that the widows' rights article that granted a widow one year time to continue her trade also remained the same.<sup>49</sup> In the Swedish realm, the *Generalämbets skræet*<sup>50</sup> brought changes to widows'

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42 AHL, ASA Interna, Handwerksämter, no. 994 (Bremelmaker/Buntmaker/Buntfutter/Curriers). The handwriting of this copy indicates that it was written in the first half of the seventeenth century.

43 AHL, Ämter und Innungen, Buntfutter no. 3 (Rolle 1386, 1501). The handwriting of this roll is not traditional first half of the seventeenth century handwriting but more like an early sixteenth century *bastarda*. The style of the roll is fine and elegant and the writing style resembles early prints, such as the revised Lübeck city law of 1586. See revised Lübeck city law 1586 <http://reader.digitale-sammlungen.de/resolve/display/bsb10987621.html> (read 26.2.2013).

44 AHL, ASA Interna, Handwerksämter, no. 1171 (Färber/Dyers, Russfärberrolle 1476) and Wehrmann, *Zunftrollen*, no. 50, 399 (Russfärber/Fell dyers 1500).

45 Wehrmann, *Zunftrollen*, no. 63, 485 (Wantfarver/Woollen cloth dyers 1500-1586).

46 AHL, ASA Interna, Handwerksämter, no. 1771 (Färber/Dyers 1596). See also Appendix 1.

47 AHL, ASA Interna, Handwerksämter, no. 4254 (Kistenmacher/Chest makers in the fifteenth century) and Wehrmann, *Zunftrollen*, no. 26, 256 (Kistenmacher/Chest makers 1508).

48 Nordiska Museet Arkiv, no. 15,988.e (Glasmästare/Glazers 1585 and 1608).

49 Klemming, *Skrå-ordningar*, 88, 75–91 (Murare/Masons 1487).

50 See Chapter 2.1.2 for more details.



rights in 1621–22: according to new regulations, in every craft widows were allowed to carry on with their trade for three years after their husband had died. However, it seems that this regulation was not followed faithfully.<sup>51</sup> Because the number of preserved craft ordinances from Stockholm is so small and we do not have two craft ordinances including widows' rights articles from the same craft, the study of changes and continuities within this time period is problematic. However, the few cases discussed here suggest that also in Stockholm no dramatic change in widows' rights can be observed.

Based on the qualitative and temporal analysis on the widows' rights articles it can be concluded that during the time period under investigation widows' rights articles in craft ordinances either remained same or changed for the benefit of artisan widows. Moreover, some of the craft ordinances that granted widows full rights to continue their trade date to the late sixteenth century;<sup>52</sup> to a time period when women's work possibilities were supposed to have diminished according to literature.<sup>53</sup> Furthermore, none of the craft ordinances in Stockholm, Tallinn, Riga, and Lübeck explicitly forbade widows to carry on with their profession. In my opinion this underlines that crafts aimed for continuity of production. This continuity was considered more important than the sex/gender of the master. Thus, it seems that gender was not a decisive category in regards of who actually continued the production. It was more important that someone qualified carried it out than whether this person was male or female.

Recently, Muriel González Athenas has argued that other categories like religious confession as well as marital and civil status played a more important role than gender in the craft trade culture of Cologne in the eighteenth century. She claims that 'civil status rather than gender was what determined whether female artisans were allowed to certain things and whether their requests would be heard'.<sup>54</sup> Furthermore, she has convincingly argued that in spite of the economic decline of the city women continued their work within craft trades and could be members of many of the city's craft guilds.<sup>55</sup> In the Middle Ages, Cologne was well known of its female guilds.

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51 Karlsson-Sjögren, *Kvinnors rätt*, 96.

52 In Riga, two crafts, see Stieda and Mettig, *Schragen*, no. 34, 311 (Goldmede/Goldsmiths 1582) and no. 121, 651 (Semischgerber/Chamois leather tanners 1579); In Stockholm, one craft, see Klemming, *Skrå-ordningar*, 244 (Babrere/Barber-surgeons 1571).

53 'The Riga locksmiths' and watchmakers' masters first granted widows full rights but later on during the seventeenth century the article was apparently recalled by a note in the parchment marginal. Stieda and Mettig, *Schragen*, no. 87, 452 (Schlosser, Sporer, Büchsenmacher und Uhrmacher-Meister/Locksmiths, other smiths, and watchmakers 1593).

54 González Athenas, 'Legal Regulation', 154.

55 González Athenas, 'Legal Regulation', *passim*.

Unfortunately the two articles of González Athenas that I have been able to get hold of do not concentrate particularly on widows or compare their possibilities within a larger time frame.

Evidence from the Netherlands and early modern France proves that changes in economy, commercialization, and specialization did not automatically mean decreased opportunities for women in craft trades. On the contrary, in some towns and some trades this even created new opportunities for women. Much depended on the current economic situation and its fluctuation. Also the situation varied from trade to trade: in some cases where the trade was dominated by a strong guild or craft, based on tight family network, it was usually only the widows who had opportunities to run their own business and wives did supplementary work.<sup>56</sup> On the other hand, a surplus of women in urban centres combined with a drop in textile prices, changed consumption patterns, and fashion trends lead in some towns to independent women crafts and even ‘erosion of the monopoly of male tailors’ in northern Netherlands.<sup>57</sup> For example, Eleanor Hubbard has shown for London that women took advantage of the opportunities open to them and quickly benefitted, for example, from the new fashion trends that employed textile workers, such as mantua-makers and seamstresses. Yet, she notes how many crafts eventually excluded women.<sup>58</sup> Kirsi Vainio-Korhonen has shown in her extensive study on craft trade production in the eighteenth and nineteenth-century city of Turku in southern Finland how women engaged themselves successfully in various forms of textile production. However, these were often unorganized and less valued forms of production.<sup>59</sup>

When craft ordinances were altered, revised, and repeatedly confirmed by the city council it was an opportunity for the crafts and the council to change the rules according to their needs and goals.<sup>60</sup> Ogilvie, among others, has argued that civic authorities together with the city council tried to restrict widows’ and women’s work by apposing new regulations to craft ordinances or altering, for example, inheritance rights.<sup>61</sup> Now, if the crafts together with the city council would have wanted to restrict widows’ work they surely would have tightened the widows’ rights articles in the craft ordinances on several occasions when craft ordinances were revised. However, this did not occur in the cities bordering the Baltic Sea. Therefore, it

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56 Lanza, *From Wives to Widows*, for example pages 11, 84–86; Van den Heuvel, ‘Guilds and the family economy’, 222–223.

57 Deculaer and Panhhuysen, ‘Dressed to work’, 155.

58 Hubbard, *City Women*, 198–199, 232–233.

59 Vainio-Korhonen, *Käsin tehty*, 38–40, 69–77.

60 Lindström, *Skrå, stad och staat*, 92.

61 Ogilvie, *A Bitter Living*, 258–268. For inheritance rights see Howell, *Marital exchange*.

is clear that this argument, proposed by previous research, does not hold for the Northern cities. On the contrary, there seems to be no systematic or large-scale change in the widows' rights articles in this area. Janine M. Lanza has reached a similar finding in her study about widows' possibilities to continue their trade in seventeenth and eighteenth century Paris. According to her, widows' rights were never revoked even though craft ordinances were regularly revised and confirmed by royal authority. In fact, when the royal bureaucracy threatened to diminish widows' rights to inherit the mastership that their husbands had exercised the crafts strongly opposed, claiming that after working a long time alongside the master widows should be rewarded their usual privileges.<sup>62</sup> However, more research is needed in order to be able to evaluate whether this indicates that Northern European cities merely differed from other European cities in this matter or whether re-evaluation is needed in other cities as well. Recent research, partly still unpublished, indicates a need for re-evaluation.<sup>63</sup>

The analysis in this chapter already briefly mentioned some of those possibilities that craft ordinances granted for widows. In the following chapter these various possibilities, their frequency, and geographical variations are discussed more meticulously. In Chapters 4 and 5 the analysis is deepened further.

### 3.1.3 Five possibilities

Previous studies have defined widows' opportunities after their husband's death. In her study on women's work in early modern Germany, Sheila Ogilvie lists the options for widows as following: remarriage, use of child labour, hiring market labour, working by herself, or part with the workshop.<sup>64</sup> Whereas Ogilvie's point of view is chiefly economic, a much broader perspective is given in Gesa Ingendahl's study. She has studied widows in different roles; the widows as town inhabitants, as burghers and artisans, as poor and heirs, and as debtors, among others. The possibilities for widows are observed from a wide social perspective. The choices were, according to Ingendahl, withdrawal to a convent or a monastery, give up the trade,

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62 Lanza, *From Wives to Widows*, 89–91. Later in her study Lanza states that during the eighteenth century the majority of the crafts excluded women. Lanza, *From Wives to Widows*, 127–128.

63 I base this opinion on the various papers given in the international conference on 'Craftsmen and Guild in the Medieval and Early Modern Europe' held in Luxembourg 12 to 14 September 2013 (Université du Luxembourg). The forthcoming conference publication will enlighten this matter and is a welcomed contribution to the guild and craft research. Cf. also González Athenas, 'Legal Regulation', *passim*.

64 Ogilvie, *A Bitter Living*, 259.

change the profession (either by own choice or enforced), enjoy retirement, and residence in the household of a son or other relative.<sup>65</sup> Additionally, the occupations, which were not organized in crafts, offered many widows good possibilities to earn their living.<sup>66</sup> As a consequence, the options offered in the craft ordinances were by all means not the only possibilities for a widow to arrange her life after her husband's death. External circumstances, like current economic situation, wars, and diseases as well as personal situation, age, property, and the existence of children as well as relatives must have affected widows' possibilities.

The craft ordinances in the Baltic Sea region regulated widows' possibilities to continue their trade in five different ways. Sometimes only one possibility was mentioned in the ordinances while another time two or more of these various options were combined. However, in principle widows could not choose between various options but were to act according to the specific possibility or option mentioned in their craft ordinance. In other words, the options mentioned in craft ordinances were not necessarily what widows felt were their best option but what the craft saw as a best solution. What then were these options?

In the following the options mentioned in the ordinances are introduced according to their frequency. The first and the most common option stated that a widow was allowed to carry on with the profession for one year after which she should usually either remarry or give up her trade. The second variation stated that a widow could carry on with her profession without any limitations, usually at least as long as she did not remarry. The third option was to carry on with her children. According to the fourth option, she could carry on by hiring a skilful *knecht*, which could mean either a journeyman or a hired male worker. The fifth possibility was to carry on until she had finished working with the purchased materials. The following Table 3.5 illustrates the various possibilities mentioned in craft ordinances and the number of cases in each of the four cities. An accurate table is hard to construct due to the combinations and additions to the widows' rights. Therefore, the table is merely suggestive but disseminates a general overview of the distribution of widows' options mentioned in the craft ordinances.

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65 Ingendahl, *Witwen*, 137–139; Fairchilds, *Women in Early Modern Europe*, 106–107.

66 Kruse, *Witwen*, 315–316; Fairchilds, *Women*, chapter 8. Fairchilds handles artists, musicians, actresses, writers, scholars, and scientists in this chapter.

Table 3.5 Widows' opportunities to continue craft trade and the number of cases in craft ordinances

City	One year rule, number of cases	No restrictions	With children	With a knecht	Complete work with purchased materials
Lübeck	11	4*	7	6	4
Riga	9	8**	0	0	0
Tallinn	10	5	6	1	0
Stockholm	8***	1	1	0	1
Total	38	18	14	7	5

Sources: See Tables 3.6–3.9.

\* The Lübeck goldsmiths' ordinance of 1492 is somewhat unclear whether a widow was allowed to carry on without restrictions if she remained a widow and therefore it is not counted as one calculable case in the column of 'No restrictions'.

\*\* In two cases a widow was allowed to continue without restrictions as long as she did not remarry.

\*\*\* In one case the one year limit was applied only if a widow had children.

The most common option mentioned in craft ordinances by far was the one year rule, which can be found in each city. The second most common option was that widows were allowed to continue their trade without any restrictions. Other three options were less common and their geographical distribution varied more. Due to the fact that in one ordinance these options could be combined, the total number of cases exceeds the total number of craft ordinances including widows' rights articles. For example, there are 23 craft ordinances from Lübeck which include articles on widows in the craft ordinances (Table 3.1) and in 11 of them the widow was granted one year time to continue her trade. In six cases a widow could carry on by hiring a *knecht*; in seven cases she could carry on with the children. In four cases she could carry on as long as she had finished the production with already purchased materials and in four she was allowed to carry on without any limitations. Hence, if we count all the various options that were mentioned in the Lübeck craft ordinances, we have 32 cases (one year rule 11 + with a *knecht* 6 + with children 7 + purchased materials 4 + no restrictions 4 = 32). But these 32 options were mentioned only in 23 craft ordinances.

In other words, some crafts combined two or more of these options. The way of combining, or not combining, the five options differed between the four cities. In Lübeck, the same ordinance usually gave widows two or three different possibilities to carry on. For example, the cup makers' ordinance stated that if a widow had a son she could carry on with her profession as long as she wanted, but if there was no son

then she had to comply with the one year limit.<sup>67</sup> Table 3.6 illustrates the options and their combinations given to widows according to Lübeck craft ordinances.

In Riga, there was usually only one option mentioned in the ordinances: either a widow had a one year limit, as in nine cases, or alternatively she could carry on with no restrictions, as in eight cases. The same situation was also predominant in Stockholm where seven ordinances mentioned the one year rule and only in one case a widow was allowed to carry on with her profession without any limitations. In Stockholm, only the chamois leather tanners combined various options: if a widow had children she was allowed to continue her trade for one year and complete the work with already purchased materials.<sup>68</sup> Otherwise craft ordinances from Riga and Stockholm do not comment on the other three possibilities and multiple options are not mentioned. The exception of the chamois leather tanners is also easy to explain: the ordinance is a direct copy of the chamois leather tanners in Danzig, which the Danzig brothers send to their fellow artisans in Stockholm.<sup>69</sup> The widows' rights in the Riga and Stockholm craft ordinances are presented in Tables 3.7 and 3.9.

In Tallinn, however, we have similarities with Lübeck. Four different crafts gave widows various different possibilities with different modifications to continue their trade in Tallinn. In addition, those crafts, which gave a widow only one possibility, often made some modifications or extra clauses to the widows' rights article. Once again the one year rule is dominant in 10 cases, but many ordinances emphasized the meaning of children so that in six cases a widow was able to carry on her profession with her children. The widows' rights in Tallinn craft ordinances are displayed in Table 3.8.

The close commercial and legal connections between Tallinn and Lübeck explain the similarities between these two cities. When established in 1248, Tallinn was granted the Lübeck city law. Lübeck craft ordinances also functioned as exemplars for Tallinn ones.<sup>70</sup> The great difference between Tallinn and Riga was, instead, unexpected. Often these two Livonian cities are seen as a pair with many similarities. The completely different pattern, in which various widows' options were combined in Tallinn in contrast to Rigan custom to give a widow just one option, makes it evident that only based on near geographical location similarities cannot be taken as face value. In Riga, Hamburg law was applied instead. Furthermore, a similar pattern

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67 Wehrmann, *Zunftrollen*, no. 6, 171 (Bekermaker/Cup makers 1591): 'Item eine wedewe do nenen son heft, und dat ampt gebruken will, sol sich wedder befryen binnen jhares na gelegenheit und guttachtent der weddehern.'

68 RA, Stockholms stads acta vol. 27, sämskmakare 2r (Sämskmakare/Chamois leather tanners 1575).

69 RA, Stockholms stads acta vol. 27, sämskmakare 1r (Sämskmakare/Chamois leather tanners 1575).

70 Somelar, 'Circumstances of Criminality', 80, 83.

Table 3.6 Detailed description of widows' rights in Lübeck craft ordinances

Source/ edition	Number/ pages	Craft	Years	One year rule	With knecht	With children	Finish purchased materials	No restrictions	Additions
Zunftrollen	4/ 165	Barbiere						X	
Zunftrollen	6/ 171	Beckermacher	1591	X, if no son	X, set by aldermen	X, if son			If no son one year rule applied and aldermen were to recruit a knecht After one year was to marry jm; if no suitable jm. can ask additional time from craft + council
ASA, I. H. 934		Buchbinder	1591	X					
Zunftrollen	10/ 192	Bunfütterer	1386- 1501					X	If marries outside the craft must give up
Zunftrollen	9/ 187	Büdelmaker	1459	X, unless children		X, unless remarries			If has children and remains as widow no time limit
Zunftrollen	12/ 201-202	Dreyer	1507	X, unless son		X			Until the son was adult
Zunftrollen	16/219	Goltsmede	1492					(X?)	Negotiation with aldermen about remarriage with knecht, regulations about workshop
Zunftrollen	21/ 237-238	Hoker	1507				X		Wettebuch 1598: was to hire a journeyman
ASA, I. H. 4254		Kistenmaker	15Jh.	X		X, if son			If no son one year rule applied
Zunftrollen	26/256	Kistenmaker	1508	X, 2 years	X if old/ sick				if old/sick was to hire a knecht, one year rule then revoked

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Zunftrollen	31/306	Lakenberedere	1546							Special regulation concerning wantscherer Lehen: widows could not transfer mastership rights
ASA, I. H. 4511		Lakenberedere	1551		X, if son underage	X				With son, if son is under age was to hire a knecht; if son will not continue, widow was to give up; selling the tools to journeyman
Zunftrollen	41/353	Paternoster makers	1470			X, if under 45 years old				Remarriage if younger than 45, during one year rule finish purchased material, while widow not allowed to hire apprentices
Zunftrollen	34/316	Lorer	1454				X			
Zunftrollen	45/368	Rademaker	1508			X, additional time				Reduction in payments if old, could ask aldermen additional time after one year
Zunftrollen	46/372	Gürtler	1414			X, unless son		X, if son		
Zunftrollen	49/392-393	Rotlöcher	1471						X	As long as stays widow, son was to hire knecht to help and a guardian for widowed mom
ASA, I. H. 1171		Russfärber	1476			X				New husband within the craft, if no remarriage must prove craft worthiness to the council, if remarries outside must give up
Zunftrollen	50/399	Russfärber	1500							Widow was to acts craft's worthy, if remarries outside graft was to give up



Zunftrollen	51/403	Sadelmaker	1502			X		If son knows craft, remarriage within craft
Zunftrollen	53/413	Schomaker	1441	X				
Zunftrollen	55/432	Senkler	1543		X, geselle			Allowed to continue with journeyman's help
Zunftrollen	63/485	Wantfarver	1500-1586				X	If remarries with craft's worthy person can continue, Färberrolle 1596: no widows' right article

Sources: Wehrmann, Zunftrollen, craft ordinances listed in the table and AHL, ASA Interna, Handwerksämter, no. 934, 4254, 4511 and 1171.

Columns: Column one is the name of source edition. Column two is the number of the ordinance in source edition. Column three is the name of the craft. Column four is the date of the ordinance. Columns 5–9 are the various options that were mentioned in the craft ordinances.

Notes: The mark X shows if this option was mentioned in the Lübeck craft ordinances. Column ten is the additions made to the widows' right article in the ordinance. Marking (X) shows that the case is unclear. Shortening jm stands for journeymen.

Table 3.7 Detailed description of widows' rights articles in Riga craft ordinances

Source/ Edition	Number / pages	Craft	Years	One year rule	With knecht	With children	Finish purchased materials	No restrictions	Additions
Schragen	11/ 250	Barbiere	1494	X					
Schragen	32/ 302–304	Goldschmiede	1542	X					Negotiation with aldermen, remarriage with journeymen
Schragen	34/ 311	Goldschmiede	1582					X, if remains as widow	If remarries, must be jm
Schragen	45/ 355	Hutmacher	1595	X					Trauerjahr
Schragen	70/ 402	Leineweber	1544					X until remarries	No restrictions until remarries
Schragen	98/ 501	Schneider	1500s	X					With help of journeymen
Schragen	39/ 342	Gürtler	1512	X					If remarries outside craft were to give up
Schragen	80/ 423	Maurer	1390					X	
Schragen	82/ 429	Maurer	1546					X	Participation to drunke
Schragen	83/ 434	Sattler	1619	X					One year rule unless other regarded
Schragen	87/ 452	Schlosser	1593					X	Later recalled
Schragen	91/ 476–478	Schmiede	1578	X					Beneficiations to jm
Schragen	100/ 513	Schnitzler	1536					X	
Schragen	101/ 521	Schnitzler	1541					X	
Schragen	103/ 531	Schuchmacher	Ende 1300s	X					

Schragen	106/ 541	Schuster	1615	X, 2 years						
Schragen	121/ 651	Semischgerber	1579						X	Widow's right to train apprentices and journeymen

Sources: Stieda & Mettig, Schragen.

Columns: Column one is the name of source edition. Column two is the number of the ordinance in source edition. Column three is the name of the craft. Column four is the date of the ordinance. Columns 5–9 are the various options that were mentioned in the craft ordinances.

Notes: The mark X shows if this option was mentioned in the Riga craft ordinances. Column ten is the additions made to the widows' right article in the ordinance. Marking (X) shows that the case is unclear. Ordinance no. 87 is the craft ordinance of the Schlosser-, Sporer-, Büchsenmacher und Uhrmacher-Meister. Shortening jm stands for journeymen.

Table 3.8 Detailed description of widows' rights in Tallinn craft ordinances

Source/ Edition	Number	Craft	Years	One year rule	With knecht	With children	Finish purchased materials	No restrictions	Additions
Coll 190, inv 2	24	Schuster	1481-1530	X					If remarries outside craft were to give up
Coll 230, inv 1	Ac6 1	Schumacher	1536-1665	X					If remarries outside craft were to give up
Coll 190, inv 2	70	Goldsmede	1453	X					Widow could carry on 'as men do'
Coll 230, inv 1	Ac5	Goldsmede	1537	X					
Coll 230, inv 1	Ac 5	Maler-Gläser- Schnitker	1513					X	Don des amptes rechtigheit, was to act craft's worthy
Coll 230, inv 1	Ac6 1	Dischler-Maler- Gläser	1536-1637					X	Don des amptes rechtigheit crafts worthy
Coll 190, inv 2	473	Böttcher	1515	X, 3 years					3 years if remains widow, if remarries should win the membership new, dat ampt nye wynnen
Coll 190, inv 2	474	Boddeker	1556	X, 3 years					
Coll 190, inv 2	511	Schroter	1413-1650	X, unless children		X, 3 years			
Coll 190, inv 2	555	Smede	1459-1528	X, if no children		X, no time limit		X, added later	No children= one year limit, if children as long as she wants, later changed to no restrictions, if remarries outside craft was to give up

Coll 190, inv 2	642	Hanfspinner	1462	X	X	X, son			One year rule if hires a knecht; if son learns the craft with mom no time limit
Coll 190, inv 2	119	Knochenhauer	1394			X			Edited in LECUB
Coll 190, inv 2	121	Knochenhauer	1509			X, unless remarries			If remarries new husband sul dat ampt wynnen
Coll 190, inv 2	664	Mündriche	1531					X, as long as remarries	If remarries must win the craft rights anew. Edited in Beiträge
Coll 190, inv 2	149	Schlosser	1459/ 1549–1750	X if no children		X, if born to craft		X, later added	Later added no restrictions if remains widows, if marries outside craft was to give up

Sources: Tallinn Linnaarhiiv / Tallinn city archives, coll 190 Archiv der St Kanutgilde (document numbers in the table), and coll 230 Der Revaler Magistrat, no. Ac 5 Schragen-Codex des 16. Jahrhunderts and no. Ac 61 Schragenbuch der Ämter und Handwerker in der Stadt Reval de Anno 1649. Columns: Column one is the name of source edition. Column two is the number of the ordinance in source edition. Column three is the name of the craft. Column four is the date of the ordinance. Columns 5–9 are the various options that were mentioned in the craft ordinances.

Notes: The mark X shows if this option was mentioned in the Tallinn craft ordinances. Column ten is the additions made to the widows' right article in the ordinance. Marking (X) shows that the case is unclear. Shortening jm stands for journeymen.

Table 3.9 Detailed descriptions of widows' rights articles in Stockholm craft ordinances

Source/edition	Number/ pages	Craft	Years	One year rule	With knecht	With children	Finish purchased materials	No restrictions	Additions
Skrå-ordningar	p. 11-34	skomakare	1474	X					Should remarry, 3 husbands mentioned
Skrå-ordningar	p. 75-91	murare	1487	X					If remarries outside craft give up, apprentices and jrn were to obey widow, 3 husbands
Skrå-ordningar	p. 181-207	dragare	1501	X					Must continue the knecht contracts, 'old custom' mentioned
Skrå-ordningar	p. 209-215	bagare	1506	X					Trial period, if manages no restrictions, if remarries must be to the craft
Skrå-ordningar	p. 229-234	gryt och kannigjutare	1545	X					Have to pay decent loan for knecht; if widow wants extra time must have permission from aldermen
Skrå-ordningar	p.244	bardskäre	1571					X	Selling of property, orphans
RA/ Stockholms stads acta	vol 27	sämskmakare	1575	X		X	X		If children one year rule applied
Skrå-ordningar	p. 283	kopparsmede	1602	X					One year mourning time, if remarries to the craft, benefices to new husband
Nordiska Museet	15,988.e	glasmästare	1608	X					If doesn't follow rules can be excluded from craft

Sources: Klemming, Skrå-ordningar; Riksarkivet (RA), Stockholms stads acta vol 27; Nordiska museet arkivet, no. 15,988e.

Columns: Column one is the name of source edition. Column two is the number of the ordinance in source edition. Column three is the name of the craft. Column four is the date of the ordinance. Columns 5-9 are the various options that were mentioned in the craft ordinances.

Notes: The mark X shows if this option was mentioned in the Lübeck craft ordinances. Column ten is the additions made to the widows' right article in the ordinance. Marking (X) shows that the case is unclear. Shortening jrn stands for journeymen.

for granting widows only one option in Stockholm and Riga is highly interesting. Whether it is a plain coincidence or whether these two cities had a closer contact than has been thought requires more studies on trade relations of these urban settlements. Nevertheless, the comparison of widows' rights articles in the four cities illustrates how widows' possibilities varied from town to town and craft to craft. The fact that in Tallinn and Lübeck the same craft ordinance often combined various options suggests that crafts counted upon changing circumstances and offered more room for manoeuvre. One must bear in mind that the options were what crafts thought would be the best for their craft.

The widows' rights articles in the craft ordinances have evoked a question whether they were a means to restrict female labour. Several supporters of the subordination theory have interpreted widows' rights articles as restrictions and thus a part of the social structure that subjected women to male authority and power.<sup>71</sup> For example, Ogilvie considers craft regulations only as restrictions to widows' work possibilities and according to her, together with discriminating communal institutions they made it impossible for a majority of widows in early modern Germany to continue their trade. In seeking the reasons why the community and its organizations (guilds and crafts) discriminated widows she highlights the theory of social network and how social network worked to generate social capital. Social network was based on 'closure'. This closure was actually shared information on who belonged to the network and who did not. The closure enabled this community to create social capital, particularly in the form of shared norms. Consequently, this again signified that the community punished those who acted against these shared norms and rewarded good deeds aiming to increase the well-being of its members. In the case of widows, as Ogilvie argues, guilds (in my context crafts) as this type of a social network abused the system of social network at the expense of women. 'Guilds, like communities, achieved "closure" as social networks by excluding females, and then manipulated the resulting social capital to restrict women's economic options, harming both them and the wider economy, to which they could otherwise have contributed more fully.'<sup>72</sup>

As Tables 3.6–3.9 illustrate, widows' rights in the craft ordinances were not always rigid but left room for negotiation and took note of the diverse individual circumstances, as shown in this chapter. Additions and modifications show that the ordinances were changed due to local circumstances and reacted to demographical and economic changes. Furthermore, in analysing widows' options many scholars

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71 See for example Roper, *Holy Household*, 27–55; Wiesner, *Women and Gender*, 124–128; Ichikawa, 'Die Stellung der Frauen', 117–118; Karlsson Sjögren, *Kvinnors rätt*, 94–98.

72 Ogilvie, *A Bitter Living*, 267.

have not clearly defined the organization the rules of which they interpret. As shown in Chapter 2, it is crucial to differentiate between composite artisan guilds, merchants' guilds, professional crafts, and devotional guilds when examining female membership, participation, and women's work. The statutes of composite artisan guilds and merchants' guilds did not mention female members, in devotional guilds women could be full members, and in craft ordinances female membership is often undefined. Thus, evidence across Europe portrays that female membership varied not only from town to town but also from craft to craft.

Particularly in Lübeck and Tallinn widows' rights articles left a widow with multiple choices. Here the individual point of view also enters into the picture. In her study, Ogilvie has underlined this individual point of view; how the individuals chose to use their time.<sup>73</sup> However, she does not take into account that even though remarriage may sound unbeneficial for widows, it may also be regarded a good opportunity, particularly in a culture in which married status was a precondition for full adulthood and membership in a society. Thus, economical partnership formed via marriage was the most practical and often the only way to organize labour in terms of economic survival. Furthermore, some widows perhaps needed a help in raising children, some wanted to fulfil the emotional and sexual needs and it is likely that some married for love.<sup>74</sup>

Additionally, some of the widows' rights articles in the craft ordinances used phrases such as MLG *offte se will* and OS *om hon så förmår*, i.e. if she will. These expressions prove that widows' own will was taken into account. Indeed, male masters faced the same restrictions concerning the number of apprentices, journeymen, as widows did. Therefore, they cannot be regarded as restrictions against female labour. Naturally it is true that household workshop led by a single adult required a lot of hard work, energy, determination and creativity.<sup>75</sup> Furthermore, this kind of workshops often had to rely on additional hired workforce in order to maintain its livelihood. However, it was *possible* to run a business alone, even though we do not have an accurate number of how many widows did it. Moreover, as the following Chapters 4 and 5 will show, it was expected that the widows would continue the family business. Thus, a widow in charge of a household workshop was as much a part of craft trade culture as the male masters in same positions.

Finally, it is important to note that it was actually the journeymen who faced the most requirements. Many craft ordinances stipulated that in order to acquire mastership a journeyman had to have a certain minimum amount of wealth and

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73 Ogilvie, *A Bitter Living*, 13.

74 Cf. Lanza, *From Wives to Widows*, 153–154, 169.

75 Cf. Lanza, *From Wives to Widows*, 17.



arrange a feast, *kest*, besides the usual honourable birth, citizenship, and adequate training. For example, Stockholm tanners regulated that he who wants to gain a mastership should have a minimum of 20 marks wealth and organize a *kest* including two kegs of beer, two hams, some meat, some lamb, 12 chicken, various loafs of bread, three lods of pepper, two lods of saffron, half a pound of butter, three pounds of raisins and almonds, one pound of salt, and two marks of money.<sup>76</sup> These economic, moral, and technical requirements, as Dag Lindström puts it, had several meanings: the moral and technical demands were connected to the status and the honour of the craft. If someone produced goods of low quality it harmed the whole craft. Furthermore, in terms of labour market, it was important that the trainees did not qualify too fast so that masters had workforce, apprentices and journeymen, at their disposal. Lindström connects economic requirements with collective assignments, such as payments for crafts' poverty fund, altar fund, or for armour. He considers the requirements for minimum wealth, in form of money, tools, workshop, or raw material, important from the viewpoint of the craft's obligation to help members in poverty. It was not at the interest of the craft to accept someone as a new master who soon would be in need of help from the other members. Lindström considers the master *kest* more a ritual than a hinder for mastership.<sup>77</sup> In addition, in some crafts, specifically those where the numbers of masters was fixed, the only way to mastership could be marriage with a master's daughter or a widow. Furthermore, as Karras has argued, in many crafts a journeyman had to be married in order to gain a mastership but paradoxically only a married man could get master vacancy.<sup>78</sup> Widows, however, when they inherited the master status from their husbands, usually did not have to pay anything or demonstrate their skills.<sup>79</sup> This was an economical privilege, which in fact might be regarded as unfairness for men who underwent a long training and needed to have sufficient amount of wealth in order to gain the mastership. If the crafts would have wanted to discriminate widows surely they would have demanded at least the usual payments for mastership. But this was not the case. According to Lanza, this practice 'demonstrates the importance masters and the guild placed on providing

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76 Klemming, *Skrå-ordningar*, 273, 275 (Skinnare/Tanners 1589). Lindberg argues that we should distrust such a high sum of minimum wealth. Lindberg, *Hantverk och skråväsen*, 88. Lübeck tanners had to pay 2 marks for armour, 2 kegs of beer, and 1 mark for meat and bread. Wehrmann, *Zunftrollen*, 314 (Lorer/Tanners 1454).

77 Lindström, *Skrå, stad och staat*, 194.

78 Karras, *From Boys to Men*, 144–146.

79 Lanza, *From Wives to Widows*, 90.

the livelihood for their wives.<sup>80</sup> Moreover, it suggests that the crafts esteemed the continuation of the production over sex of the master and regarded widows' as important links in transferring the mastership, a matter which will be discussed further in Chapter 4.

All in all, the examples presented in this chapter illustrate the simultaneous aims of the crafts for protection and continuity. By granting widows various possibilities crafts wanted to ensure the continuity of production. Moreover, interpretation of widows' rights articles solely as restrictions of female labour neglects the fact that journeymen also faced several requirements, which could also be interpreted as restrictions. The economic, moral, and technical requirements for journeymen were essential elements in the protectionist policy of the crafts. Crafts tried to balance in this difficult equation: how to ensure craft monopoly, privileges, and protectionism at best possible way, and, at the same time, to guarantee the continuity of production of high-quality goods.

### 3.1.4 Women's trades?

Åsa Karlsson Sjögren, among others, has argued that women in early modern Europe often rendered to low-skilled, less-paid, and less-controlled trades.<sup>81</sup> And, indeed, intertwined with the question of female craft membership, the question on specific female trades has intrigued scholars. As one might have guessed, we find opposite interpretations. At the beginning of the twentieth century, German scholar Julius Hartwig, following Karl Bücher's footsteps, claimed that women could work in various economic sectors and listed 27 crafts and numerous unorganized trades in which women worked independently in Lübeck.<sup>82</sup> Both Bücher and Hartwig based their arguments on the surplus of women in medieval cities. And, indeed in 1479, the papal ambassador *nuntius* Marinus de Fregeno wrote in his report on Lübeck

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80 Lanza, *From Wives to Widows*, 90. Lanza uses the term guild when she refers to the organizations of craftsfolk.

81 Karlsson Sjögren, *Kvinnors rätt*, 94–98.

82 Hartwig, 'Die Frauenfrage im mittelalterlichen Lübeck', 50–53. See also, Bücher, 'Die Frauenfrage im Mittelalter', *passim*, here esp. 79–82.

that 'here women reign over men'.<sup>83</sup> Yoriko Ichikawa and recently Birgit Nood have criticized that Hartwig and Bücher painted a picture that was too idyllic.<sup>84</sup> In spite of whether one believes *nuntius* de Fregano and Hartwig, or Ichikawa and Nood, several historians have argued that women were remarkably engaged in textile trades, as retail dealers, and in food and drink trades.<sup>85</sup>

Recently, Christopher Pihl, who has studied the gendered division of work in sixteenth century Sweden, argues that many craft trades within Crown's estates were gender coded: in general, metal and wood work were male professions. Additionally, leather work for most parts was carried out by men. Cleaning and washing were clearly female tasks. Food preparing like baking as well as some textile work like flax production were mainly carried out by women in the manors and castles.<sup>86</sup> As Pihl points out, there seemed to have been a distinct difference between the cities and the Crown's estates. In cities like Stockholm, both men and women could earn their living from bakery.<sup>87</sup> The widows' rights articles in the craft ordinances and the Lübeck petition letters offer a way to examine in which economic sectors widows were able to continue their trade.

Table 3.10 displays the economic sectors, in which widows' possibilities to carry on with their trade were included in the craft ordinances. As we can notice, widows' rights articles were related to various economic sectors: textile and clothing, metal work, wood and construction work as well as leather work are very well represented. On the other hand, food and retail trades are underrepresented, compared to the notions of previous research. It is worth to note that in retail trades widows' rights were only mentioned in the hucksters' crafts in Lübeck. Perhaps it was so self-evident among small shop keepers and in others, often relatively scanty income trades, that widows could and would continue the trade.

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83 Voigt, 'Der Kollektor Marinus de Fregano', 194: 'Post ducatum Magnopolensem ad occidentem octo miliaribus latinis a mari Sarmatico ad Dravam amnem sita est Lubek civitas satis ampla, ornatissima, ditissima et tota deliciis dedita. Hic mulieres regunt viros, et omnia genera mercantiarum ex tota Almanea, Flandria, Anglia, Russia, Swetia, Dacia et Norwegia eo confluunt. Populus garulus, omni clero et praesertim Romanae ecclesiae infensus, insuper crapulosus et lascivus ac grossi ingenii.' I would like to thank Frau Christiane Schuchard for pointing out the report of *nuntius* de Fregano.

84 Noodt, 'Die *naringe* Lübecker Frauen', 12–13; Ichikawa, 'Die Stellung der Frauen', 91–93, 117.

85 Noodt, 'Die *naringe* Lübecker Frauen', 25–30, 38–47; Vainio-Korhonen, *Käsän tehty*, for example, pages 36–37, 50, 69–78, 89–93; Ogilvie, *A Bitter Living*, 322; McIntosh, *Working Women*, chapters 6–8. See also discussion in Ling, 'Genusarbetsdelning i tidigmoderna städer', 161–162.

86 Pihl, *Arbete*, 57, 59–60, 62–63.

87 In general, several fields of food production seem to have been 'gender blended'. Pihl, *Arbete*, 63, 72.

Table 3.10 Economic sectors in which craft ordinances included a widows' rights article<sup>88</sup>

Economic Sector	Lübeck	Riga	Tallinn	Stockholm
Textile/ clothing	Woollen cloth-dressers	Hat makers	Tailors	
	String makers	Linen weavers	Hemp weavers	
	Wool dyers	Tailors		
Metal work	Goldsmiths	Goldsmiths	Goldsmiths	Coppersmiths
	Paternoster makers	Girdlers*	Various smiths incl.	Pot makers
	Girdlers	Locksmiths	Coppersmiths	
		Smiths	Pot makers and Sword makers	
Food trade			Butchers	Bakers
Retail trade	Hucksters			
Wood and construction work	Cup makers	Carvers	Coopers	Masons
	Turners	Masons	Joiners	
	Chest makers		Painters	
	Wheel makers		Glazers	
Leather work	Tanners	Saddle makers	Shoemakers	Shoemakers
	Sheep fell tanners	Chamois leather tanners	Purse makers	
	Fell dyers			
	Curriers			
	Saddle makers			
	Shoemakers			
Service/ other	Barber-surgeons	Barber-surgeons	Boatmen	Barber-surgeons
	Book binders			Carriers

Sources: See Tables 3.6–3.9

\* Girdlers manufactured metal mounts, clasps etc. for belts, buckles, straps, locks, horse tack, windows, and furniture. See Von Heusinger, *Die Zunft*, 8.2 Glossar zu Zünften und Gewerben, 350.

88 Here I must give my thanks to François Rivière, who gave me the idea of how to display the economic sectors and trades in a table.

Perhaps surprisingly the brewing industry is also missing. The craft ordinance of Lübeck brewers of 1363 explicitly referred to *frouwen*.<sup>89</sup> It is disputed whether this only refers to widows of brewer masters.<sup>90</sup> In Lübeck, one was allowed to practise brewing as a side activity and a surplus of the main profession and trade, and several people brewed beer without being members of a craft.<sup>91</sup> Consequently, the fact that brewing is missing can be explained by the choice of source material and by the nature of brewing in the four cities. In Stockholm, brewing for own use was allowed for everyone, in Livonian cities for every German citizen.<sup>92</sup> The rights for brewing were often disputed and the status of *Brauer-Kompanien* as pure craftsmen's organizations is questionable.<sup>93</sup> In addition, merchants' dominated the brewing business. In Lübeck, the social status of brewers was between the merchants and the craftsfolk.<sup>94</sup>

If we contemplate private demand and consumption in late medieval and early modern times we discover that the majority of the income was spent, in order of magnitude, in food, clothing, and housing. This 'holy trinity' holds true for all the social classes; however, difference is at the level and the amount of consumption as well as money spent.<sup>95</sup> When we compare the economic sectors that included widows' rights articles to the major fields of private demand, we discover that most of the trades that granted widows' rights articles fell under clothing and housing, because various metal trades can be counted either under clothing (girdlers and in some cases even goldsmiths if they produced jewellery for garments) or to housing

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89 Wehrmann, *Zunftrollen*, no. 8, 179 (Bruwer/Brauer 1363). In the later additions and revisions of 1388, 1416, and 1462 women are not explicitly mentioned. See Wehrmann, *Zunftrollen*, no. 8, 178–185 (Bruwer/Brauer 1363).

90 See discussion in Ichikawa, 'Die Stellung der Frauen', 112–114.

91 Ichikawa, 'Die Stellung der Frauen', 112–114.

92 Dahlbäck, *I Medeltidens Stockholm*, 165; Margus, *Katalog*, XXVII.

93 According to the Tallinn brewers' guild statutes of 1438, German merchants and craftsmen could be members, as long as they were married to a German woman. Yet, the alderman and the *bisittere* were to be elected among those members who were also members of the Great Guild, in other words among the merchants. See Margus, *Katalog*, XXVII.

94 In Lübeck, the skippers, cloth dealers (*Tuchhändler*), and brewers are often represented as somewhat between the large scale merchants and the 'ordinary' craftsfolk. See *Lübeckische Geschichte*, 171, 187, 315–317, 473–474.

95 For example, well-to-do middle class people spent 47% of their income on food, 19% on clothing, and 11% on housing in the sixteenth and seventeenth-century Italy. Together these three sectors included 77% of the total spent income. Cipolla, *Before the Industrial Revolution*, 29–30, 35–37. In comparison, in 2009, in Finland 27% of the households' income was used on household and energy, 12.9% on food and non-alcoholic beverages whereas only 5% was spent on clothing and footwear. Other large sectors on which the households consumed were recreation and culture (11.7%) and transport (10.2%). Source: Central Statistical Office of Finland, National Accounts, Household Expenditure, [http://tilastokeskus.fi/tup/suoluk/suoluk\\_tulot\\_en.html#expenditure](http://tilastokeskus.fi/tup/suoluk/suoluk_tulot_en.html#expenditure) (viewed 9 October 2013).

(locksmiths, for example). Furthermore, many leather trades can be regarded as part of clothing, for example, shoemakers and purse makers, not to mention various tanners and dyers. Previous studies have shown that the three sectors, food, textile, and construction, employed the majority of townspeople and craftsfolk in late medieval and early modern Europe.<sup>96</sup> Consequently, it is no wonder that in those trades which responded to the bulk of private demand the continuity of the production was crucial, hence the widows' rights articles were one strategy to ensure this continuity.

Based on craft ordinances it seems that the physical demands of work were no restrictions for continuity. For example, Ogilvie has reached similar conclusions, although underlining the fact that widows were less active in organized trades than in unorganized production.<sup>97</sup> Widows' rights articles can be found in many smiths' ordinances, as well as in the ordinances of masons and even carriers. It is also interesting that widows' rights articles can be found in many skilled and high prestige crafts, like in the goldsmiths' crafts in Lübeck, Riga, and Tallinn. Consequently, on the grounds of normative source material there seems to be no special women's trades in which the widows' possibilities to continue their trade would have been broader or different. Janine M. Lanza has reached a similar conclusion arguing that in early modern Paris basically all the crafts incorporated widows among the ranks of masters.<sup>98</sup>

Another question is whether widows *de facto* continued in skilled trades, like goldsmiths' crafts, or in physically demanding trades, like smiths', as independent masters after the death of their husband. For example, no female goldsmith masters are known from Tallinn.<sup>99</sup> In his monumental study on Stockholm carpenters Werner Pursche has been able to identify hundreds of carpenters – all men.<sup>100</sup> Similarly, among the Stockholm pot founders' biographies Albert Löfgren has only male masters.<sup>101</sup> On the other hand, among the Stockholm book binders there was at least one widow, Kadrin Bocha[bind]re<sup>102</sup> who continued the trade for seven years before she remarried with a book binder journeyman.<sup>103</sup>

However, as Kirsi Vainio-Korhonen, among others, has argued, women's work is often invisible in normative regulations. Furthermore, many women carried out all

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96 Cipolla, *Before the Industrial Revolution*, 76–77; Rowlands, 'The Conditions of Life', 56.

97 Ogilvie, *A Bitter Living*, 207–217.

98 Lanza, *From Wives to Widows*, 107.

99 Friedenthal has listed all the known Tallinn goldsmiths and their apprentices from the fourteenth century until the beginning of the nineteenth century. Friedenthal, *Goldschmiede Revels*, 58–170.

100 Pursche, *Timmermansämbetet*, Bihang, passim.

101 Löfgren, *Stockholms kanngjutareskrå*, 24–47 (period before 1622).

102 Ortography by Arvid Hegren.

103 Hedgren, *Stockholms bokbindare*, 12–13.

kinds of textile work at home, at the side of another profession or as supplementary work.<sup>104</sup> Flexibility seems to be characteristic to women's work.<sup>105</sup> In early modern Paris widows engaged themselves in various 'masculine' trades like woodwork and bakery, but all women except widows were excluded from some 'female' trades like embroidery.<sup>106</sup> Recently, Christopher Pihl has argued that it was not only craft trade sector that defined the masculinity or femininity of a certain work, but also the grade of specialization, size of the trade, and the organization form of the trade that created gendered division of labour.<sup>107</sup> Like Pihl, several other scholars have argued as well that the grade of specialization was significant for the gendered division of labour: men dominated the most specialized and professionalized forms of production, such as work in the skilled crafts, whereas women engaged themselves more on less specialized forms of production that was carried out in an unorganized form, such as textile work at home.<sup>108</sup> For Denmark, Grete Jacobsen has underlined the contingency and argued that specialized small crafts, in which the number of widows was also smaller they had wider possibilities to continue their trade. Respectively, within the larger crafts like shoemakers, where the number of widows could be substantial also the widows' rights were more restricted.<sup>109</sup>

Sofia Ling has criticized the notions of previous research. She has argued that if we begin from the assumption that only men's work was appreciated and high skilled, there is a risk that we underestimate women's work. In addition, Ling argues that women's work should not be examined only in the framework of crafts, because the organized craft trades did not dominate women's work in towns during the Early Modern Period.<sup>110</sup> I do agree with Ling that the gendered division of labour and the access to skilled work should not be taken for granted. However, I feel that even though many women and widows engaged themselves in unorganized trades, craft organizations offer a good way to study women's work and especially the work of widows. Furthermore, with the help of narrative source material, we can penetrate deeper and discover more information on widows' work and examine how craft ordinances were applied in practice.

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104 Vainio-Korhonen, *Käsin tehty*, 36–40, 81–84, 111–114; Cipolla, *Before the Industrial Revolution*, 72–73.

105 Heusinger, *Die Zunft*, 74; Ling, 'Genusarbetsdelning i tidigmoderna städer', 171–173.

106 Lanza, *From Wives to Widows*, 87–88.

107 Pihl, *Arbete*, 73–74, the scale and size of estate as a distinctive factor 79–81, specialization on brewing 82–87. Cf. Bennet, *Ale, Beer and Brewsters*, chapter 3.

108 Pihl, *Arbete*, 98–104–105; Vainio-Korhonen, *Käsin tehty*, 40–46; Ogilvie, *A Bitter Living*, 216; Cipolla, *Before the Industrial Revolution*, 72–74; Rowlands, 'The Conditions of Life', 57–58.

109 Jacobsen, *Kvinder*, 359.

110 Ling, 'Genusarbetsdelning i tidigmoderna städer', 170–173.

Table 3.11 Economic sectors in which widows' rights were mentioned in the Lübeck craft ordinances and the economic sectors of widows according to Lübeck petition letters

Economic Sector	Lübeck craft ordinances	Lübeck petition letters
Textile/ clothing	Woollen cloth-dressers	Woollen cloth makers
	String makers	Linen weavers
	Wool dyers	
Metal work	Goldsmiths	Bell founders
	Paternoster makers	
	Girdlers	
Food trade		Butchers
		Bakers
		Free Bakers
Retail trade	Hucksters	
Wood and construction work	Cup makers	Joiners
	Turners	Turners
	Chest makers	Chest makers
	Wheel makers	
Leather work	Tanners	
	Sheep fell tanners	
	Fell dyers	
	Curriers	Curriers
	Saddle makers	
	Shoemakers	
Service/ other	Barber-surgeons	Barber-surgeons
	Book binders	Chandlers

Sources: see Tables 3.6–3.9 and Table 1.5.

And, indeed, if we study the Lübeck petition letters we find that, besides those trades that included widows' rights articles in their ordinances, widows continued their business in other trades as well. The Table 3.11 above shows the Lübeck trades which included a widows' rights article in their ordinances and the trades in which widows were engaged according to the Lübeck petition letters. The petition letters reveal that widows also continued their work in many trades which did not include a widows' rights article in their ordinances. Such crafts were woollen cloth makers, linen weavers, bell founders, butchers, bakers, free bakers, joiners, and chandlers. Particularly food trades are now represented. Furthermore, these 'new trades' listed in the table mainly represent three economic sectors, food, clothing, and housing,



to which the highest private demand fell upon and which employed most of the townspeople. This reinforces my interpretation that specifically in these economic sectors which met private demand the continuity was cherished, often at the expense of strict gender hierarchy.

This listing of economic sectors, in which widows' rights were mentioned and in which we have the Lübeck petition letters related to widows' possibilities to continue their trade, suggest that there were no special women's trades among the organized crafts that could be labelled as particularly women's trades. Furthermore, in regards of the contents of the widows' rights articles (presented in Tables 3.6–3.9) there seems to be no clear pattern which trades granted which rights to widows. However, these findings are only suggestive and further research is needed in order to examine widows' and women's work possibilities in the early modern cities bordering the Baltic Sea. Particularly the combination of various narrative source material and legal documents such as wills, *Kämmereibücher*<sup>111</sup>, and protocol books of the various crafts could enlighten the question on women's trades. Additionally, sheer numbers of how many women engaged themselves in which economic sector and in which trade would certainly shed more light on the question of women's trades. However, such numbers are often extremely difficult if not impossible to draw from the preserved source material particularly from the medieval period.

In his recent study on the structures of Hanseatic trade and trade companies (*Handelsgesellschaften*) Carsten Jahnke has shown that in contrast to previous research the small-scale trade with small amount of items was also the lifeline for the large-scale Hansa merchants. This small-scale trade that the merchants practised individually, separately from their trade companies, was the source for liquid cash that the merchant needed for everyday life.<sup>112</sup> Jahnke's arguments can shed a new light into the craft trade culture of the Baltic Sea area as well. The common conception has been that the majority of goods produced by the artisans in the Northern cities were consumed by the locals. Since the merchants were forced to do sporadic business with singular/small amount of items, it might suggest that a larger part craft goods was actually exported. Consequently, this interpretation would underline the continuity: it was in the interest of the crafts and of the city's merchants, i.e. the city council, to keep the production running. One way to secure the continuity was to regulate widows' right to continue the business after their husband had died. This practice ensured that the workshop could survive at the times of personal and emotional crisis.

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111 Account books of town administration and the city council.

112 Jahnke, 'Geld, Geschäfte, Informationen', 13–14, 19.

## 3.2 Controversial widowhood

Household was the basic unit and organization form of the late medieval and early modern society. Life expectancy in the Late Middle Ages and in the Early Modern Period was shorter than nowadays. In addition, epidemics and wars increased the mortality rate among the people. Thus, the reaper was a common visitor in many households. Consequently, widowhood was no strange state among the contemporaries. Marital status was a significant category in regards to persons' social, legal, and economic status. Therefore, it is no wonder that the alteration of marital status also brought other changes. The status of a widow was ambiguous: she represented uncertainty and anxiety in a culture that was structured around the patriarchal order. Furthermore, she sometimes acted in a man's role, sometimes in a woman's, hence 'occupying a liminal space' in the line of binary gender roles, as Janine M. Lanza has argued.<sup>113</sup> Thus, it is evident that widowhood and the rights of widows raised a lot of discussion in late medieval and early modern societies. With their ordinances, the crafts tried to create order and hierarchies to the world, which otherwise would have seemed rather chaotic. Hence, besides economic relations the ordinances defined normative ideas about gender relations. This chapter surveys widowhood and how the crafts participated in the discussion and debate on widowhood, which was full of controversies.

### 3.2.1 Independent (master) traders vs. ideal household

In craft milieu the household was also the basic unit for craft production and both spouses worked in the family workshop to earn a living.<sup>114</sup> At the heart of the craft household was the married couple. After getting married the couple usually set up their own household. This practice has been seen as characteristic to Northwestern Europe and, according to Mary S. Hartman, this household system, combined with relatively late marital age, enabled the birth of industrialized society.<sup>115</sup> Significant vertical bonds existed within the household. Several scholars have argued that

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113 Lanza, *From Wives to Widows*, 4–5, 9. Grete Jacobsen has also underlined that widowhood raised a problem because of the lack of juridical category: 'Das Problem entstand im Grunde genommen durch das Fehlen einer rechtlichen Kategorie für solche Frauen, die nicht länger Ehefrauen waren, die aber auch nicht Meister oder Selbständige waren konnten, da sie nicht Männer waren.' Jacobsen, *Kvinder*, 354.

114 Fairchilds, *Women*, 149; Hanawalt, *The Wealth of Wives*, 70, 180; Kruse, *Witwen*, 319.

115 Hartmann, *The Household*, 3–4, 12, 31.

household created hierarchies. The household membership and position within the household generated and shaped the identity of an individual and his or hers life prerequisites.<sup>116</sup>

A common phenomenon in late medieval and early modern cities was that wives engaged themselves in various textile works, either as a side business or as their primary industry, regardless of the husband's field of trade. Moreover, wives often pursued their own trade different from that of their husband's.<sup>117</sup> Despite the fact whether a married couple pursued the same trade or not, the scholars are unanimous that the efforts of both spouses were needed to sustain a family.<sup>118</sup> The high percentage value of widows' rights articles in the ordinances correspond with the perception that nuclear family / household was the basic cornerstone of the late medieval urban society and that the alternative situation needed to be discussed and regulated.

After the death of the business partner the question was whether the community should try to get back to the 'normal' and 'ideal' state of the nuclear family and encourage the remaining person to remarry or should they accept the different form of enterprise, a craft workshop led by a single adult instead of a married couple. Family ideal was prompted particularly by the moralists and the clergy.<sup>119</sup> Both German and English literary tradition knows several authors that put effort on moral guidebooks describing the responsibilities of spouses in governing the household and the role of widows. Wife's primary duty was to govern the household and obey her husband whereas the husband was responsible for sustaining the household.<sup>120</sup>

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116 Pihl, *Arbete*, 27; Eilola, 'Patriarkaalisuus', 111–113; Rowlands, 'The Conditions of Life', 58; Karras, *From Boys To Men*, chapter 4. Cf. also Toivo, *Witberaft and Gender*, 143–144.

117 For Strasbourg, Zürich, and Nuremberg, see Von Heusinger, *Die Zunft*, 216–217 (Strasbourg), 287 (Zürich), 308 (Nuremberg). For London, see Hubbard, *City Women*, 191, 196–198. See also, for example, Houston, 'Colonies, Enterprises, and Wealth', 146.

118 See, for example, Lanza, *From Wives to Widows*, 84, 87, 122–123; Hubbard, *City Women*, 126; Karlsson Sjögren, *Kvinnors rätt*, 97. Cf. also Karras, *From Boys to Men* 144–146.

119 In her study on guidebooks for widows Inga Wiedman has studied texts from 178 authors between 1500–1699. The majority of writers (113) were evangelic priests, 6 were catholic priests, 14 were writers, 5 noblemen, 4 lawyers, 1 teacher, 1 cantor and one 'physician and astronomer', Wiedemann, 52–53. The majority of the authors who wrote guidebooks for widows handled in Britta-Juliane Kruse's study are clergymen.

120 Recent studies on the German moral guidebooks for widows (*Lehrschriften*) are, for example, Kruse, *Witwen*, 2–5, and Wiedemann, *Die Schriften für Witwen*. For English tradition, Hubbard offers a compact summary, Hubbard, *City Women*, 125–135. Hubbard argues that it was also at the community's best interest to try to maintain the nuclear family household even in severe conflict cases, such as adultery or domestic violence, because the responsibility for helping the problematic households, economically and otherwise, often fell upon the community itself. Hubbard, *City Women*, 137–138. See also Hanawalt, *The Wealth of Wives*, 105; Roper, *The Holy Household*, 17, 22, 31; Katajala-Peltomaa and Toivo, *Noitavaimo ja neitsytäiti*, 34–37.

On the one hand, moral writings portrayed a humble, retreating, and pious widow as an ideal. On the other, the contemporary texts and verses presented a lustful, vigorous, and powerful widow.<sup>121</sup> This fictive role was, of course, meant as a warning but there is no doubt that this figure was based on some truth.<sup>122</sup>

Previous scholarship has often emphasized how women were subordinate to men's power: as wives to their husbands and as widows to other male relatives who were their guardians. Some scholars like Lyndal Roper and Katharina Simon-Muscheid have stressed the impact of the protestant Reformation. The ideal household was at the heart of Protestant religious teachings. The ideological social hierarchy presented in the Table of Duties, *Die Haustafel*, placed women in domestic sphere and under male authority. Ideal role for a woman was that of an obedient wife. According to Roper, urban guilds and crafts became the breeding ground for Protestantism because its notions on household and work hierarchy responded to the ideas of male-dominated guilds.<sup>123</sup> Articles in the craft ordinances have been seen in this framework where the point of view is the one of the craft community, led by male masters. Consequently, the articles related to widows' status have been interpreted to strengthen the patriarchal system and restricting female labour.<sup>124</sup> Furthermore, the role of a widow has often been diminished to the role of a transmitter, thus widows basically managed the workshops only during the transition period between the generations.<sup>125</sup>

A very common widows' rights article in the craft ordinances around the Baltic Sea gave a widow the opportunity to continue her trade for one year after her husband had died. After this time limit she was supposed to remarry or give up her trade. The supporters of subordination (and middle ground) theory have interpreted these articles as means of the crafts to enforce widows again under male authority.<sup>126</sup> Thus, in this way crafts executed the (protestant/religious) ideology of the nuclear family. Yet, a wider perspective must be taken. As I have previously argued in an

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121 Wiedemann, *Schriften für Witwen*, 23, 28–29, 37–39; Kruse, *Witwen*, for example pages, 54–60, 243–244; Roper, *Holy Household*, 53.

122 Janine M. Lanza discusses about the memories of a certain journeyman who had had sexual relationships with the widows who employed him. Lanza, *From Wives to Widows*, 104–106.

123 Roper, *Holy Household*, 3, 27, 38–40; Simon-Muscheid, 'Frauenarbeit und Männerehre', 18–19. In addition, see Lidman, 'Hauraus vai Haureus?', 136–139; Eilola, 'Patriarkaalisuus', passim. See also discussion in Toivo, *Witchcraft and Gender* 152–154.

124 Roper, *Holy Household*, 40; Hartmann, *The Household*, 169; Wiesner, *Working Women in Renaissance Germany*, 32–34. Cf. also Hanawalt, *The Wealth of Wives*, 180–183.

125 This thematic is further discussed in Chapter 4.

126 Roper, *Holy Household*, 38–40, 52; Wiesner, *Women and Gender*, 124–128; Karlsson Sjögren, *Kvinnornas rätt*, 93–94. See also Lahtinen, *Sopivat, neuvottelevat, kapinalliset*, passim.

article, a remarriage should be interpreted as a win-win-win situation.<sup>127</sup> For a widow, remarriage could have increased economic security by providing new resources. A young, skilful journeyman could be a very attractive opportunity for a widow.<sup>128</sup> A new husband could bring love and companionship to life although remarriage could certainly also involve drawbacks, such as domestic violence, conflicts in inheritance issues, or loss of capital.

From the point of view of men, both widowers and journeymen, widows were often eligible marriage partners. A widow could provide the social and economic capital essential for a flourishing business, and besides her work contribution, she could offer an easy access to the craft.<sup>129</sup> In trades where the number of masters was limited, marriage with a master's widow could be the only way to a mastership.<sup>130</sup> Finally, from the community's point of view remarriage was favourable. The maintaining of the household-based production system, with the nuclear family at its core, was preferred for several reasons. For one thing, it corresponded to the societal ideal set by the moralists and the clergy.<sup>131</sup> Also, with a successful marital policy the craft would become a clan, or a network of closely related families who would protect each other's privileges. Keeping the widows and their assets within the same craft was a form of protectionism, because it would strengthen the craft's cartel and trade secrets would not leak out. Moreover, in times of tightened economic competition the number of masters would not increase if a master's widow married a journeyman who would become a master.<sup>132</sup>

This protectionism is in part visible in the additions made to widows' rights in the craft ordinances. In five cases, if the new husband was from a different craft, the widow had to give up her trade.<sup>133</sup> In four cases the ordinance clearly stipulated

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127 Ojala, 'Widows' Opportunities', 204–205.

128 In early modern London widows tended to marry young bachelors. Hubbard, *City Women*, 247–249.

129 Cf. Hanawalt, *The Wealth of Wives*, 96; Lamberg, *Dannemännen*, 96; Foyster, 'Marrying the Experienced Widow', passim. Widowers remarried more often and more quickly than their female counterparts. See, Fairchilds, *Women*, 105–106.

130 Lindström, *Skerå, stad och stat*, 195.

131 Fairchilds, *Women*, 109.

132 Hanawalt, *The Wealth of Wives*, 109; Wiesner, *Working Women in Renaissance Germany*, 161–162.

133 From Tallinn there are three cases: TLA, coll 191, inv 2, no. 24, 7r (Shuster/Shoemakers 1481–1530); no. 555, 5v–6r (Smede/Smiths 1459–1528); and no. 149, 8v (Schlosser/Locksmiths and smiths 1459–1528); from Riga, one case: Stieda and Mettig, *Schragen*, no. 39, 342 (Gürtler/Girdlers 1512); from Stockholm, one case: Klemming *Skerå-ordningar*, 87, (Murare/Masons 1487).

that the new husband was to be from the same craft.<sup>134</sup> The protectionism can be interpreted also as a form of mutual aid and old-age benefit, because crafts tried to protect widows from poverty.<sup>135</sup> In short, with remarriage proper social order would be restored.<sup>136</sup>

Raisa Maria Toivo has criticized that previous interpretations on patriarchalism and the Table of Duties have been too black and white, either—or configurations that leave no space for flexible gender roles.<sup>137</sup> In spite of moral and religious teachings on the proper household order many widows continued their craft trade. Therefore, it is evident that the picture of the ideal household was unfit even in the urban environment.<sup>138</sup> In fact, Toivo has argued that in practice the teachings of the Table of Duties and catechism on proper social and household order were not simple but rather ambiguous and gave room for various interpretations. Consequently, household order could be and was modified. Furthermore, modification usually occurred in practice without any major problems.<sup>139</sup> Janine M. Lanza has reached a similar conclusion in her study on artisan widows in early modern Paris. According to her, widows broke the structure of patriarchal binary gender oppositions and devised a ‘set of gender norm’ that served their goals and differed from the roles of a wife or a daughter.<sup>140</sup> The evidence of Lübeck displays how many artisan widows were able to continue their trade for several years after their husband had died. This suggests that also in the craft milieu – the milieu that was supposed to be a particular breeding ground for Protestantism and patriarchal ideology – the ideal household order could be modified and the widows were accepted as independent traders.

And, indeed, Lanza has stated that the problematic status of artisan widows also derived from the double role of the crafts: the aim of the crafts was to organize economic production and upkeep social order through their ordinances. In regards of the first part, economic production, widows as business women fitted well in the picture. This, according to Lanza, also explains the quantity of widows’ rights

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134 From Riga, one case: Stieda and Mettig, *Schragen*, no. 34, 311 (Goldsmede/Goldsmiths 1582); from Lübeck, one case: Wehrmann, *Zunftrollen*, no. 51, 403 (Sadelmaker/Saddle makers 1502); from Stockholm, two cases: Klemming, *Skrå-ordningar*, 212 (Bagare/Bakers 1506) and 17 (Skomakare/Shoemakers 1474).

135 Ingendahl, *Witwen*, 160; Sandra Bos has pointed out that widows were not always able to use remarriage as a survival strategy in Dutch cities, where the surplus of women diminished their marital prospects. See Bos, ‘A tradition of giving and receiving’, 186–187.

136 Cf. Fairchild, *Women*, 151.

137 Toivo, *Witchcraft and Gender*, 152–154.

138 Katajala–Peltomaa and Toivo, *Noitavaimo ja neitsytäiti*, 37; Österberg, ‘Bonde eller bagerska’, 292.

139 Toivo, *Witchcraft and Gender*, 159–161; See also Katajala–Peltomaa and Toivo, *Noitavaimo ja neitsytäiti*, 37.

140 Lanza, *From Wives to Widows*, 9. Cf. Österberg, ‘Bonde eller bagerska’, 292, 295.

articles in the ordinances. Yet, at the same time, the crafts preferred the (nuclear) household as the proper social order. Part of the social order was also the socialization of apprentices and journeymen and the creation of strong professional craft identity. A schemata that left widows hardly any place. Moreover, as Lanza argues, the latter explains why widows were seldom mentioned as trainers of apprentices or why they had no official power within the crafts.<sup>141</sup> At the heart of this dual role of the crafts and its relation to widows was precisely the question about widow's ability or possibility to train apprentices. A matter that shall be discussed in the following chapter. Lanza's view is innovative because the perspective is shifted from the widows to the craft trade culture. Furthermore, it reveals how the widow's role was not the only one full of controversies but also how the controversies were embedded in the craft trade culture. It was within this culture widows tried to balance between the expectations their family, craft, and society placed upon them; not to mention their own desires and wishes.

### 3.2.1 Managing the household workshop

Widows' ability to manage the household workshop and their competence to train apprentices and journeymen was an important question. The training of apprentices was more than teaching them right techniques and skills, it was a socialization process to the craft community and creation of strong professional identity. During the socialization process the apprentice learned not only his place in society but the meaning of the craft and craft's place in urban society. Furthermore, he learned the signification of being a craftsman, in other words traditional gender roles. This kind of an institutional reproduction was crucial in order to upkeep the structures of the organized craft trade production. As the apprentices were trained to be part of a certain social group they absorbed the values and identity of this group and would cherish them and finally pass their experiences to the next generation.<sup>142</sup> When a master died the problem arose: how to complete this noble and vital socialisation when there was no male master around to set an example? As skilled workers widows could teach the necessary skills to the apprentices especially with the help of a journeyman. In fact, scholars are quite unanimous that as far as the actual performance of the work was at interest, widows were seen equal to male

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141 Lanza, *From Wives to Widows*, 96. Cf. also Simon-Muscheid, 'Frauenarbeit und Männerehre', 15.

142 Lanza, *From Wives to Widows*, 97–99, 125. Ruth Mazo Karras has presented similar view in her study. Cf. Karras, *From Boys to Men*, 121.

members.<sup>143</sup> However, as she most likely had not gone through the formal training with all its rituals and ceremonies, a widow could not teach the young man what it meant to be a craftsman.<sup>144</sup>

Scholars adherent to subordination theory have argued that crafts tried to restrict widows' opportunities to continue their trade by prohibiting them of taking apprentices, which were cheap workforce.<sup>145</sup> Lyndal Roper has argued that contemporary writers saw widows as unqualified managers of the household workshops because once female sexuality was loosened from the patriarchal bond it could never provide true authority for the workshop.<sup>146</sup> In contrast to previous international research, Dag Lindström has shown in his recent study on craft widows in two eighteenth-century Swedish towns that more than half of the active, independent craft widows had one journeyman or more in their workshops.<sup>147</sup> Also in the Netherlands, the training of apprentices and hiring of journeymen was usually permitted.<sup>148</sup> Janine M. Lanza claims that in early modern Paris widows were not allowed to take new apprentices but could finish the training of those their husband had already hired.<sup>149</sup>

The majority of craft ordinances from Lübeck, Riga, Tallinn, and Stockholm have no article on widows' right to train apprentices and/or journeymen. Only few crafts made clear statements, which partly correspond to the situation in Paris. In her study Lanza discovered that the Parisian crafts usually offered two solutions. According to the first option, the widow could hand over the apprentice to another master within the same craft. This solution could mean a shortage in workforce but could also be a relief if she saw herself incapable of taking care of his training, thus the other master would owe her one service. The second option was that the widow could finish the apprentice's training because the crafts wanted to 'minimize the considerable distribution that must have prevailed in the shop after master's death', as Lanza puts it.<sup>150</sup> This strive towards continuation is visible in the ordinance of Riga hat makers and Tallinn hemp weavers. The hat makers of Riga forbade widows to take new apprentices but allowed them to keep the journeyman who had already

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143 Schmidt, 'Women and Guilds', 175; Lanza, *From Wives to Widows*, 96; Ogilvie, *A Bitter Living*, 232, 325–326.

144 Lanza, *From Wives to Widows*, 97–99.

145 Ogilvie, *A Bitter Living*, 261; Wiesner, *Working Women*, 157–158.

146 Roper, *Holy Household*, 53.

147 Lindström, 'Privilegiarde eller kringskurna?', 238.

148 Schmidt, 'Women and Guilds', 175.

149 Lanza, *From Wives to Widows*, 97.

150 Lanza, *From Wives to Widows*, 99



started to work in the workshop.<sup>151</sup> Tallinn hemp weavers viewed widows as capable as male masters to train young people to the profession.<sup>152</sup>

Some crafts were concerned about the fate of the workshops' personnel. The carriers in Stockholm ordained that a widow must keep the same workers until the next Michaelmas (29 September), which marked a new work year.<sup>153</sup> Evidence from late medieval London shows that apprentices and journeymen sued widows for neglecting their training and selling the late husband's property.<sup>154</sup> Only a few articles in the craft ordinances from the Baltic Sea area indicate the disobedience of journeymen or apprentices and none of the widows' negligence. It seems that in Riga some youngsters in the chamois leather tanners' craft had left a widow's workshop and due to this they were punished because the ordinance stipulated that young trainees were to stay with a widow if they wanted to continue in the same profession.<sup>155</sup> The masons in Stockholm regulated that apprentices were to be obedient to a widow if her husband died.<sup>156</sup> These articles suggests that it was not always easy for a widow to run a workshop full of male workers and some widows might have suffered from lack of authority.<sup>157</sup> The pot makers of Stockholm regulated that a widow was supposed to pay a decent salary for the *knecht*.<sup>158</sup> These examples show how the responsibility was reciprocal: workshop personnel were to be loyal for the mistress and same was expected from her side towards her employees. Furthermore, they do not question the competence of a widow to manage the household workshop but offer means how the management could run easier and better.

The social status of a journeyman could be somewhat problematic. As a journeyman a young man was paid for work and was thus considered a skilled labourer. Journeymen were usually unmarried and often lived in the master's household. In addition to their upkeep and salary, they sometimes also received clothing. Even though journeymen were considered adults in regards of their age, in household hierarchy they were considered subordinate to the master and mistress and in terms

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151 Stieda and Mettig, *Schragen*, no. 45, 533 (Hutmacher /Hatmakers 1595).

152 TLA, coll. 190, inv. 2, nro 642, 5v (Hanfspinner/Hemp weavers1462). The Tallinn hemp weavers manufactured yarn for sails.

153 Klemming, *Skrå-ordningar*, 203 (Dragare/Carriers 1502).

154 Hanawalt, *The Wealth of Wives*, 176; For widows as mistresses and female apprenticeship, see McIntosh, *Working Women*, 133–139.

155 Stieda and Mettig, *Schragen*, no. 121, 651 (Semischgerber/Chamois leather tanners 1579). Tailors ordained that other masters were not allowed to lure the best and hard-working *knechte* from a widow. Stieda and Mettig, *Schragen*, no. 98, 501 (Schneider/Tailors 1500s).

156 Klemming, *Skrå-ordningar*, 85 (Murare/Masons1487).

157 Cf. Lanza, *From Wives to Widows*, 141.

158 Klemming, *Skrå-ordningar*, 233 (Gryt- och kanngjutare/Pot founders 1545).

of the household headship they were not adults.<sup>159</sup> The head-of-the-household status was tightly connected to the status of a master. According to Ruth Mazo Karras, only master artisans as heads of the households were considered adult men, hence this status marked adult masculinity. As Karras has put it, the journeymen were 'more than boys but less than men'.<sup>160</sup> Interestingly the craft ordinances put a lot of effort to define the relationship between masters and journeymen but pay basically no attention to the relationship between a widow mistress and journeymen.<sup>161</sup> Lanza has argued that in many ways widows as managers of household workshop shared the identity of (male) mastership.<sup>162</sup> This would suggest that in relation to their employees and subordinates widows were expected to act like male masters did.

A series of city books, called *tänkeböcker*, are preserved from Stockholm, and in them various council legal acts were recorded. According to my analysis, no cases in the *tänkeböcker* exist where widows were sued for improper training. It is possible that if some disagreements arose they were not handled at the city level but in craft assemblies. Another possibility is that such problems did not come up. One could also claim that perhaps widows did not train apprentices and journeymen. Since death was a common visitor in the house, the latter explanation is doubtful. It was likely that at some point the responsibility for training was left for a widow, at least for some time. Because in general widows were not explicitly prohibited in the craft ordinances to train apprentices or journeymen, I interpret that widows were usually allowed to train young people to the profession in the Baltic Sea area. Accordingly, it seems that with regards to training other qualities than gender, such as age and work skills, may have been more significant. Furthermore, it seems that the crafts preferred continuation of production over distribution and therefore were willing to make flexible solutions in regards of the training of apprentices and even journeymen.

An important economic aspect of widowhood was also widow's ability to transfer master rights. Sheilagh Ogilvie has argued in her study that in early modern southwest Germany, as in many parts of the European continent, craft licenses were cancelled from widows if they remarried. Only in London the license would have been transmittable to the new husband.<sup>163</sup> This drain of craft license created a shortage in human capital (=workforce) in spousal labour, as Ogilvie puts it. In areas with surplus of women, such as Württemberg that Ogilvie has studied, the shortage of workforce led to the fact that widows had to rely on their offspring or hired

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159 Karras, *From Boys to Men*, 130–131.

160 Karras, *From Boys to Men*, 129–130, 134, quotation page 129.

161 Lanza, *From Wives to Widows*, 89.

162 Lanza, *From Wives to Widows*, 118.

163 Ogilvie, *A Bitter Living*, 259.

work. Most crafts forbade daughters' craft work. Consequently, if there was no son of suitable age, that is not too young to be able to help and not too old to have left home, then a widow was legally not able to use family labour. In this situation hired work was a solution. However, craft rules were strict and required proper training for hired male labour; meaning that they had received apprenticeship and journeyman qualifications. Here Ogilvie considers general craft rules as an obstacle, that is rules concerning the number of apprentices and journeymen one master was allowed to have, the time of hiring them (only twice a year or so). All this increased costs so that many masters tried to rely on family work. Ogilvie is also convinced that these regulations were not 'paper tigers'.<sup>164</sup>

In Stockholm, Tallinn, Riga, and Lübeck, widows usually transferred the master rights to their new husband if they remarried. Lanza has reached a similar conclusion for early modern Paris.<sup>165</sup> As Tables 3.6–3.9 illustrate, in this region only in 12 cases of the total 64 widows' rights articles the craft license was cancelled if the new husband was from another craft.<sup>166</sup> This rule was particularly visible in the Tallinn source corpus. It is possible that the loss of the craft license at remarriage was an unwritten custom. The temporal differences in source corpora can also partly explain this difference. Ogilvie's sources date mostly from the eighteenth century whereas I have used sources from the fifteenth until the seventeenth centuries. Differences can also be partly explained by geographical variations. Nevertheless, based on craft ordinances from Stockholm, Riga, and Lübeck the loss of craft license was not a general rule in this area during the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries. Conversely, it seems that widows were considered an important link in the system that aimed to secure the continuation of craft trade production. This continuation would have benefited all craft members: their products would have been bought by local inhabitants and merchants; this would have brought income to the craft members and kept the business going on various levels of the economic chain.

### 3.2.3 Participation in festivities and craft assemblies

In terms of craft membership, widowhood also raised questions. Should a widow have the same rights and obligations as a craft member as a male master did? For example, were widows allowed to attend craft assemblies? Krebs argued that the rights and obligations of independent widows working as masters did not differ

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164 Ogilvie, *A Bitter Living*, 259–260.

165 Lanza, *From Wives to Widows*, 87.

166 See Chapter 4.1.

from the ones of male masters.<sup>167</sup> Recently, Lanza has reached similar conclusions by arguing that annual payments, penalties for breaking the rules as well as funeral arrangements and poor relief involved all masters alike regardless of their sex.<sup>168</sup>

Since the emergence of various merchant and composite artisan guilds and professional craft organizations, the common dinners and festivities, the *drunke*, which were combined with the official assembly, have been an essential part of guild and craft life. The common view of the scholars is that during the late medieval and early modern times women did not attend official assemblies but could participate in some festivities. Additionally, widows were not allowed to participate in the decision making or the election of craft officials, thus they were excluded from official power like wives and journeymen.<sup>169</sup>

However, the situation was not so straightforward. In most cases it is not mentioned in the craft ordinances whether women in general were allowed to participate in the crafts' official assemblies and / or to more unofficial celebrations. In some cases we have clear evidence of wives' and widows' participation in festivities and assemblies. The craft ordinance of Riga masons of 1546 clearly states that if a widow wanted to stay in the craft she was to pay two shillings as a membership fee and if she wanted to participate in the *drunke* the payment would be three shillings. The male masters had to pay a higher sum, six shillings, and a journeyman one mark. Apparently journeymen were not so welcome to the *drunke*, or they drank more beer than others.<sup>170</sup> In Riga, in glazers' craft at least the masters' wives were present at the *ampteskoete* because the 1541 ordinance of Riga glazers decreed that when a journeyman had finished his training and was to hold a feast, the *ampteskoete*, it was to be held to/at masters and their wives, *frowen*.<sup>171</sup> The Stockholm carriers' ordinance of 1502 forbade any wife to represent her husband in craft assemblies.<sup>172</sup> Apparently they had been present in the common assembly since this action was forbidden. Furthermore, as Janine M. Lanza has pointed out, the participation to craft's decision making was often quite limited for masters as well. Especially in such crafts where

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167 Krebs, *Stellung der Handwerkerswitwe*, 12.

168 Lanza, *From Wives to Widows*, 116–117.

169 Lanza, *From Wives to Widows*, 106, 119–120; Ogilvie, *A Bitter Living*, 262; Schmidt, 'Women and Guilds', 175; McIntosh, *Working Women in English Society*, 38; Fairchild, *Women*, 150; Hanawalt, *The Wealth of Wives*, 175.

170 Stieda and Mettig, *Schragen*, no. 82, 429 (Maurer/ Masons 1546): 'item so einer frowen ere meyster afftervet will desulvige in diesser cumpanye bliven, so sall geven 2 sch. Unnd so se mede in den druncken drinken will, sall se geven 3 sch., [...].'

171 Stieda and Mettig, *Schragen*, no. 24, 285 (Glaser/ Glazers 1541): 'Item wen he dith gedan hefft [= finished training, made a master piece and acquired citizenship] und in dat ampt entfangen is, so sall he sine amptkoste doen bei de meistern und frowen, [...].'

172 Klemming, *Skrå-ordningar*, 199 (Dragare/ Carriers 1502).

the number of masters was large, the ruling group consisted only of few masters and the ordinary masters were actually excluded from collective decisions. In fact, if widows had kinship and family ties to the ruling group, they could possess unofficial power within the craft.<sup>173</sup>

Stockholm *tänkeböcker* are filled with cases where women and men have fought or insulted each other in guild houses. For example, one Hanis Stöör stabbed a woman deadly in a guild house and was imprisoned in January 1487.<sup>174</sup> In this case, however, it is not clear which kind of a guild house, *gilles stuffwne*, was concerned. Yet, in the *tänkeböcker* man vs. man slander cases outnumber the cases in which women were involved. In general, many craft ordinances in Stockholm, and also in other cities, regulated communication and language in their ordinances. The Stockholm bakers ordinance stated that no craft brother or sister should say bad words of other brothers or sisters in the *drycko* [drunke] or otherwise.<sup>175</sup> Thus, this gender neutral prohibition of any quarrel suggests that womenfolk had been present in the gatherings because they were explicitly mentioned in the article.

In his study on Northern city communities and urban organizations Marko Lamberg has pointed out how arrangement and participation to annual festivities were one of the means to manifest social boundaries between different social classes. As the Stockholm craftsmen were debarred from Popinjay shoot (*papegojskujtning*) in 1489, it was ‘a concrete outcome of the merchants’ strive for larger exclusivity’.<sup>176</sup> Popinjay shoot contests were enormously popular in late medieval Europe especially in Baltic Sea region.<sup>177</sup> Balthasar Russow, sixteenth century Tallinn priest and annalist described the festival in his Livonian chronicle as a festival to which the whole urban community took part.<sup>178</sup> Anu Mänd, who has studied the festive culture in Livonian cities, found out that in Tallinn and Riga both the merchants’ guilds and the composite artisan guilds organized their own Popinjay shootings and one of the means of this festival, similarly to all other festivals, was to underpin group solidarity and its values.<sup>179</sup>

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173 Lanza, *From Wives to Widows*, 119–120.

174 SSTB 1486–1492, 184 (5 January 1487).

175 Klemming, *Skrä-ordningar*, 214 (Bagare/Bakers 1506–11): ‘Hwilken Broder elle Syster gifwer någrom sinom Bruder elle Syster oqwändes ordh innan drycko eller Vthan, och ähre tw witne till warj samm aboth Stadzens rätt oförsummat.’ This kind of article concerning the behaviour in the *drunke* was also typical in guild statutes.

176 Lamberg, *Dannemännen*, 185–190, quotation 186.

177 Mänd, *Urban Carnival* 119–120. The Popinjay shoot festival lasted several days and included the actual shooting contest, a parade, and banqueting. See Mänd, *Urban Carnival*, Chapter 4.1, here especially 140–141.

178 Russow, *Liivinmaan kronikka*, 133–134. See also Mänd, *Urban Carnival*, 121–123.

179 Mänd, *Urban Carnival*, 124–133, 142.

When studying female participation in festivities it is important to define the type of the organization in concern. In previous research conclusions have been made without exact differentiation of composite artisan guilds, merchants' guilds, professional crafts, and devotional guilds. As shown in Chapter 2, women were regarded as full members of devotional guilds and they participated in devotional guilds' festivities. In Tallinn, women were not full members of the two composite artisan guilds, St Canute's and St Olof's Guilds, but participated, for example, in the ball during major annual festivities.<sup>180</sup> The Lübeck small shopkeepers' craft ordinance stated that every brother and sister was to come to the *cumpanie* on St Anna's day and eat and drink for their money's worth or otherwise pay one pound of wax as penalty.<sup>181</sup> The examples illustrated here steer towards the conclusion that it varied from town to town and craft to craft whether women, unmarried, wives or widows, were present in festivities and meetings. Therefore no general statement of widows' participation in craft festivities can be made. Additionally, there seems to be no major difference between the Baltic Sea region and Northwestern Europe. However, further research is needed to account the participation of craftsfolk in annual urban festivities, participation of womenfolk to craft festivities. Furthermore, it would be interesting to study the festivities more closely from the gender history perspective.

### 3.3 'I, a poor and sad widow' – appealing rhetoric

Late medieval and early modern contemporary writing often presented a humble, retreating and pious widow as a role model for all widows. The Lübeck petition letters offer one route to examine how widows saw their life situation and how this canon of pious widows was used in appealing the civic authorities. Indeed, the most common rhetoric phrase found in the Lübeck petition letters was the one in which the petitioner claimed to be a poor and sad widow (*ich arme und betrubte wittve*). This kind of reference was found explicitly in fifteen letters, and one letter implicitly used this *topos*, although not with these specific words. Some scholars argue that in many cases widows could not continue their trade due to their poverty. Sheilagh Ogilvie has argued that widows could not hire expensive journeymen necessary for the successful running of the workshop. Hence, widows' rights articles that granted

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180 Mänd, *Urban Carnival*, 94, 104, 232.

181 Wehrmann, *Zunftrollen*, no. 28, 283 (Kremer/Small shop keepers 1501): 'Item mer up desuluen tijd is belevet vnde bewijllet, so dicke vnde vaken alse sunte Annen koste synt, so schal eijn ijwelk broder vnde suster kamen in de kumppenije, ethen vnde drinken vmme ere gelt, bi broke I punt wasses.'

the possibility to carry on with the trade by hiring a *knecht* were a means to restrict women's work in organized trades.<sup>182</sup> This view will be challenged in Chapter 5.1. Others, like Roper and Wiesner-Hanks, have argued that civic authorities, crafts' aldermen with the city council, were afraid of powerful and rich widows and therefore tried to restrict their opportunities by regulating their options in craft ordinances.<sup>183</sup> Roper has emphasized that it was female sexuality, unguarded by any male, that made widows so dangerous but, at the same time, unable to exercise true authority over workshop personnel.<sup>184</sup> Since the phrase *ich arme und betrubte wittwe* was so widely used and repeated in the Lübeck letters I find it hard to believe that all the petitioners had truly been on the edge of survival. But why was this phrase so common in the letters?

Let us first examine the question by discussing Lübeck petition letters as part of the communication between artisans and the city council and as part of written culture before further qualitative analysis. Lübeck petition letters were official applications to the highest civic authority in towns, the city council. In order to be legible the petition letters followed a certain conventional form. In other words, proper salutations and devotional phrases were required. In her study about correspondence and culture of agency among noblemen in late sixteenth century Ulla Koskinen has argued that only by being aware of these conventions a person could be part of the written culture in a time when the majority of people were illiterate.<sup>185</sup> All this meant that the supplicants often had to consult advocates, procurators, or notaries, as was the case in early modern Cologne,<sup>186</sup> or to know these conventions themselves. The Lübeck petition letters suggest that literacy among the craftsfolk may have been more widespread than what has been the common perception. For example, in sixteenth century Holland the majority of male population in towns as in the countryside was able to read and write and the crafts in Low Countries as well as in England required their apprentices to have a basic skill in reading and mathematics.<sup>187</sup> Yet, concerning the Baltic Sea region this matter requires more studies. Furthermore, a comparison of the used vocabulary and rhetoric in different cities would provide more accurate knowledge about the tactics petitioners chose and the values among the craft trade

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182 Ogilvie, *A Bitter Living*, 260–262.

183 Roper, *Holy Household*, 53; Wiesner, *Working Women in Renaissance Germany*, 161–162.

184 Roper, *Holy Household*, 53–54.

185 Koskinen, *Hyvien miesten valtakunta*, 75, 95.

186 Gonzalés Athenas, 'Legal Regulation', 156.

187 De Moor and van Zanden, 'Girl power', 22–23.

culture in this area. However, this presumes that similar kind of source material would be found in other cities in addition to Lübeck petition letters.

According to many city and rural laws, a widow had to be represented in legal matters by a male relative, a proxy (*Vormund / målsman*).<sup>188</sup> Ogilvie has argued that communal institutions and judicial practices imposed constraints for widows that hampered their opportunities to continue their trade.<sup>189</sup> However, recent studies have shown that in practice widows, and wives for that matter, did act as legal persons and represented themselves in court in the Northern Europe.<sup>190</sup> Grethe Jacobsen has argued that in late medieval and early modern Denmark widows used proxies only as a ‘rubber stamp’ when these women pleaded their cases.<sup>191</sup> In her study on early modern Finnish countryside, Raisa Maria Toivo has shown that the household could choose a woman or a widow to represent it in court or other public situations, such as tax enrolment, if this was considered more beneficial for the household. For example, a wife or a widow could have more authority and power, hence higher social status within the local community, than an adult male, for example, a son-in-law who was married into the family. Therefore, it could have been more useful to the household to choose the widow as a representative. Consequently, as Toivo argues, women were seen as ‘competent and valid representatives of the household’ and that patriarchal household order adapted to various situations.<sup>192</sup> In the records of the Riga city council it is clearly expressed that in some cases widows represented themselves in front of the city council.<sup>193</sup>

In general, the letters of that time operated with a narrow vocabulary and often included conventional synonym pairs of words. Furthermore, it was highly common to complain about the circumstances with customary phrases like *the misery of the world* or *God only knows how things will go*.<sup>194</sup> Indeed, it is difficult to distinguish the real misery from exaggerations and customary phrases. According to Merry Wiesner-Hanks, widows often underlined their hardships, like their old age, infirmity, and poverty in their petition letters. Additionally, many referred to their numerous

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188 Zander, *Zum Nähen wenig Lust*, 31; Karlsson Sjögren, *Kvinnornas rätt*, 112; Toivo, *Witchcraft and Gender*, 24–27.

189 Ogilvie, *A Bitter Living*, 258.

190 Toivo, *Witchcraft and Gender*, for example pages 57–60; Hubbard, *City Women*, 137, 191.

191 According to Jacobsen, widows often chose to use a proxy because then they could refer to their feminine weakness and thus acted as persons without official authority. Jacobsen, *Kvinder*, 359.

192 Toivo, *Witchcraft and Gender*, 58–60, quotation 60.

193 LVVA, coll. 8, inv. 1, no. 15, 67r–67v and 70r (Dath Schragen und olde Renthebok). See also Toivo, *Witchcraft and Gender*, for example pages 57–60.

194 Koskinen, *Hyvien miesten valtakunta*, 102.



children.<sup>195</sup> As we will see in Chapter 4.2.2, references to parenthood were common in the Lübeck petition letters as well. Based on this, my notion is that the common complaints about the misery of the petitioners in Lübeck letters were customary phrases and expected elements within the letters.

It is often rather difficult to trace whether a letter was written by a petitioner him/herself or by trained scribes. Yet, there are several indicators that refer to a personal writer instead of a trained scribe. Traces of personal writers can be seen in ‘recorded direct and indirect quotes, everyday language and jargon’, as Muriel Gonzáles Athenas argues in her article on the agency of female artisans in early modern Cologne.<sup>196</sup> Bad handwriting, instability in orthography, vulgar and colourful expressions, and lack of formality expose that the letters were written by the supplicants themselves. In the compilation of Lübeck petition letters these elements are most clearly visible in the letter of turner widow Meike Hoiers presented in the following Table 3.12. For example, she uses more frequently the first personal pronoun *I* (*ick*) and its derivatives than several other petitioners, which gives the letter a personal tone and underlines how **she** feels that **she** has suffered injustice. Her sentences resemble spoken language, whereas other petitioners used more passive sentences, like ‘it is a common custom in our craft’.<sup>197</sup> This personal tone is also visible in the part of the letter where she gives detailed information on how she had paid her share of grain in time, and how she drinks less beer in the crafts’ gatherings than she is charged (see lines 1 verso 3–9 in the Table 3.12 below). In other petition letters the tone is more objective and neutral compared to Meike Hoiers’ letter. Additionally, she highlights her innocence and is clearly upset about the fact that she was asked to go to the guild house to present her work (see lines 1 recto 15–17 and 20–26). One could even say that her letter is somewhat sententious when she ‘in the name of God’ claims that she has the right to perform her artisan work (lines 1 verso 16–19, see also 1 verso lines 30–31). It is probable that she had written the letter herself. Gonzáles Athenas has argued that female artisans were familiar with the written culture in Cologne and knew how to appeal their cases.<sup>198</sup> The evidence from Lübeck suggests that, like their

195 Wiesner, *Working Women in Renaissance Germany*, 158.

196 Gonzalés Athenas, ‘Legal Regulation’, 156.

197 The turner widow Catharina Falken wrote: ‘[...] in unserenn dar drejer ampte gebreuchlich ist, dass die alterleute musen einer wittwen annstadt ihres abgestorbenen mans einen gesellen auf die werckstede verschaffen [...]’ AHL, ASA Interna, Handwerksämter, no. 1105 (Drechsler/Dreyer/Turners, Letter 2.5.1624). The proxies of anonym turner widow wrote: ‘[...] zu solchen falle in unseren ampte der dreier der massen hergebracht, das der hinterlassenenn Widtwenn ein bedenckzeit, [...]’ AHL, ASA Interna, Handwerksämter, no. 1105 (Drechsler/Dreyer/Turners, Letter 30.1.1579).

198 Gonzalés Athenas, ‘Legal Regulation’, *passim*.

colleagues in Cologne, artisan widows in the north mastered the written culture and knew its conventions. The following table presents the letter Meike Hoiers sent to the Lübeck city council in the left column. In the right column the conventional letter forms or their beginning are **bolded** and the conventional phrases are underlined. Additionally, the parts of the letter that suggest she had written the letter herself are pointed out in the right column, except the first personal pronoun which can be found throughout the letter.

The analysis of the Lübeck letters in the context of written culture suggests that referring to one's misery and poverty was, thus, part of the customary phrases commonly included in letters. Furthermore, it was not only widows who referred to poverty and economic hardship as men and crafts did it as well. For example, in the case of Bastian, linen weaver journeyman, both he himself as well as the craft referred to poverty.<sup>199</sup> Can more detailed qualitative analysis on the narrative part of the letters reveal us something about the economic conditions of widows? Before tackling this question it must be noted that letters provide only a small glimpse to a certain situation in a certain time. In order to be fully able to answer the question on the wealth of the supplicants a closer prosopographical and genealogical study should be conducted. Nevertheless, some of the letters provide us minor details on the wealth and property of the petitioners and clues on the hidden reasons behind the disputes. As our next two examples will show, some widows appealed to the city council asking a permission to sell their master rights, which might suggest that their economic situation was weak.

Two barber-surgeon widows appealed to the Lübeck city council at the beginning of the seventeenth century because they wanted to sell or transfer their master rights and referred to their extreme poverty. In our first case Elisabeth Warnecke wrote in May 1607 that after continuing her former husband's trade for some years, she at that time found herself in a situation where she could no longer carry on and wanted to sell her *ampt*, to trade it for her debts and 'other needs'.<sup>200</sup> Elisabeth had wished to be able to transfer the mastership to her children but experienced, according to

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199 AHL, ASA Interna, Handwerksämter, no. 2652 (Leineweber/ inen weavers, Letters 12 April 1586 and 14.4.1586).

200 AHL, ASA Interna, Handwerksämter, no. 511 (Barbiere/Barber-surgeons, Letter 1 May 1607): '[...] nach absterben meines letzten herzlichen Ehemann was ich mit meinem armen kleinen unertzogenen vaterlosen kindern etliche Jahr in meinen betrübten wiiben standt gesessen, und dad Barbierer ampt so guet ich gekommt und vermocht getrieben und gehalten, und auch gehoffet dabei zubleiben, und auff meine liebe kinder zu transferieren und zu vorerben: aber fallen mir in hoc tristissimo vituitatis statu die sachen so beschwerlich fau das es mir nicht muglich geregtes ampt lenger zu treiben, sondern zu ablegung meiner schulden und anderer notrufft dasselbige zuverkeuffen hochst genottrenget werde. [...].'

Table 3.12 The petition letter of turner widow Meike Hoiers 1583.

<p>1 <i>recto</i>  2 <b>Ermuete, Erbare unnd Wolwise J.</b>  3 <b>Erb. W. is Innig min gebedeth bij Godth dem almech-</b>  4 <b>3 tigenn ledertidt bevoren, Grothgunstige hern,</b> densul-  5 4 ven kan <u>lck arme hochbedrovede Wedewe</u>, klagende nicht  6 5 bergen, obwol tho Rechte heilsamlich vorordent, dath  7 6 einer den anderen, Under wath gesechtem schin ldth  8 7 ock geschenn muchte, an sinen wolherbrachten ehren nicht  9 8 vorungeilimpenn(?), sonder wol den anderenn tho bespreken  10 9 vermeint, dath mith ordentlichem Rechte uthfhorenn schall,  11 <b>10 se hebben sick deth glikwol mine ambthbrodere de</b>  12 11 kannendreiers understanden, Mij vor J. Erb. W. tho vor-  13 12 klagen, Als wen ick minen olden dener Hans Julen  14 13 achter landth na lepe, vormeinende, Mij als vordechtig  15 14 tho maken, welches se In ewicheit nicht beweisen sholen,  16 15 Und mij geschuet unrecht daran, dath ick unschuldig so  17 16 milde angegeven werde, Darmith avert J. Erb. W.  18 17 den waren grundth erfahren, Und mine unschult an den  19 18 dag kamen moge, so moth lck ldth entdecken, idth Is  20 19 unlevgbar war, dath hertzog Christoffer tho Mecklenborch  21 20 nun gnediger herr, Mij vnlangst mith minen Sohnes  22 21 vorschreven, na stove tho kamen, und etzlich Böme tho baren,  23 22 darumb lck <u>dath dagliche brodth</u> tovordenen mith minen  24 23 beiden Sohnes, darwan der eine 20 und der andere 13 Jar  25 24 alth Is, darhen gewaiset, de Böme gebareth, bij minen  26 25 Sohns gebleven, und wedder tho huß gekamen, miner ge-  27 26 borenden arbeith gewachtet, dath mij nu Nemandth eth-  28 27 was anders als wath tho den ehren gehöreth, mith  29 28 warheit na seggen kann, Bij socher untidigenn  30 29 rede lathe se ldth nicht bij bliven vorfolgen Mij  31 30 noch wor /vor se kommen. J Erb. W. beföhlen, darvor  32 31 lck dankbar, up vorgangenen Vastelavendt Mij einen  33 32 Knecht up der werkstede tho schaffenn, unangesehenn  34 33 lck mine tholage, als wen lck einen Mann hadde tho  35 34 ohren krochbere Jedertid willig ____ 2 ferding 8 schilling gegeben  36 35 hebben se Mij noch dartho, ahne jenige orsake viff</p>	<p><b>Salutations/ greetings</b>  <b>Captatio benevolentie/ catching the good will</b>  'I, a poor and very sad widow'</p> <p><b>Narratio/ narrative</b></p> <p>Author underlines her innocence</p> <p>Author is upset how she is ordered to present her work in the guild house  '<u>the daily bread</u>'</p>
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<p>1 verso                  1 mark affgeschatheth Is also achtehalve marck Lüß:                  2 de ick seither Vastelavendt daraver gudth ge-                  3 worden bin, ick hebbe ock minen andell roggenn                  4 tho rechter tidth, dar noch eczliche schuldig gebleven sin                  5 betalet, glickwol kann ick kenen danck vordenen,                  6 wen de Medeltidth Is, unnd ick Jo so woll also                  7 andere ungeachteth lck wenig dar van drincke, dath                  8 behr betale, fangen de olderlude einen unnodigen                  9 zangk mith mij an, geven Mij nicht ein guth worth                  10 dessen sick wol etzliche daraver erbarmen, unnd                  11 mithliden hebben, averst umb furchth willen Mij                  12 wast nicht anwedenn dorffen, so de olderlude sin                  13 <u>Mij unschuldige frouwe</u> tho jegen wor se konnen                  14 unde wolden Mij gerne <u>dath dagliche brodth, welchs</u>                  15 <u>se Mij nicht gunnen, wor dem munde affschniden</u>                  16 lck averst moch mine erliche Narung holten Wor ick                  17 kan, dar In Mij nemandth thovordruckenn unnd                  18 den Godth der Almechtige gebut de wedewen nicht                  19 tho bedrovenn, <b><u>derwegen bidde ick demo-</u></b>                  20 <b><u>dig umb Goths willen i Erb. W. als de hogste vor-</u></b>                  21 <b><u>mund armer wedewen,</u></b> Mij de gunstige handth leven wolden,                  22 den olderluden solchs vorthoholden, und ohren wed-                  23 derrechtlichen anhangern ock geburlich Intoseggen,                  24 Mij unvorworen (? ) tholathen, Mij de affgeashathede                  25 5 (mark) Lüß Wedder tho geven, hinfurth nicht mehr tho-                  26 drovenn, sondern glick andernn Ambtbrodern nu                  27 bij Amtsgerechtichheith schutten und hanthhaven                  28 und vor guth holden, Imfal ein oder mehr weren                  29 de Mij worumb thobesprecken vormeinen dan will                  30 lck tho rechte anthwerdenn, dath werth Godth be-                  31 loven, bij Godth will, <b>lck ldt vorbidden J. Erb. W.</b>                  32 <b>gunstige anthworth bittende, datum Lübeck</b>                  33 <b>den 22 octobris anno 83</b>                  34 <b>J. Erb. W.</b>                  35 <b>demodige</b></p> <p style="text-align: right;">Meike hoiers Block dreiershe</p>	<p>Detailed personal information</p> <p>'I, an innocent woman' 'they want to take away my daily bread'</p> <p>Claiming that she has the right to practise her trade and even God could not hinder it.</p> <p><b>Petitio/ request</b> 'Therefore I ask most humbly in the <u>name of God from you as the highest protectors of poor widows</u>'</p> <p><b>Conclusion/ closure</b></p>
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**Narratio** Mandt aff gyltens, Jo also liffsalig mænkend, de Jot sinen kaptalens davarin gindes ge, worden bin, Jot hoes od minen andell weggen Ho waffer tids, dar noch nylige pfuldig gelennin sin, ontalens, glick real kan Jot binen dant worden, Nun de Mænkendes Jo, Mand Jot Jo sennell also anders Ungraffens Jot wenig davarin drinke, dar daz ontals, fangen de Eldenlid sinen Unwedigen Jangt minn My du ginnen My nicht ein gylt woren, das sin sich real nylige davarin wdarinnen, Mand miltiden gellenn, amest Amst frucht willenn My kapt nicht anwenden docten, Ja de Eldenlid sin My Unpfuldige Gwinns Ho jaggen wor so komin, Und woldenn My ginn was dagliche wods, walye Jo My nicht ginnen, Vor dem munde aff gindenn, Jot amest noch minn nylige Haring joken wor Jot kan, dar In My Nemandes Jonordunnen, Mand dan L'Godes der Almyttige gwinns de Wdunnen mit

**Petitio** Hoordenenn, Erwegen daz Jot dunn dig Amst Gode willenn J. Gode. W. Alfals Gogte kor mind kunn Wdunnen, My de gunstige handt kunn wolden, den Eldenlidenn selig Vortheholden, Mand ofen wold, Inrechtigen Anfangenn od gewidlich Jotfjaggen, My Unworsen Halatzen, My de aff gyltens ge A wadter Ho ginnenn, Ginfurt nicht mehr Hode, dwinen, Dender glick andern Amstordenenn ni by Amst gredtignen Jindenn und ganz gann, und vor gylt holdenn, Infal min odur mehr woren, de My wornind Hefenordenenn kornenn, den wil

**Conclusio** Jot Ho Luste Anwenden, das woren L'Gode od kunn, of Gode will Jot Jot woldenn. J. Gode. W. gunstige Antwort ordend, Datum L'Gode den 22 Octobris Anno 83

J. Gode. W.  
Dumodige  
Matte Gornnd Block,  
Dumodige

Picture 3.1 The last page of the petition letter of Meike Hoiers from 1583.

Source: AHL, ASA Interna, Hanswerksämter, no. 1105 (Drechsler/Dreyer/Turners, Letter 22.10.1583).

her own words, life in her miserable widowhood so difficult that she was compelled to give up. Perhaps her children were too young to take over the workshop.<sup>201</sup> It is clear that by selling her workshop and master rights Elisabeth tried to overcome economic distress. A small detail in Elisabeth's letter is highly interesting: she noted that the previous council's decisions concerning other widows had been positive and she hoped that the same would apply to her as well.<sup>202</sup> It is unclear whether she referred only to similar cases like hers or widows' petitions in general. However, it seems that the council had made decisions which allowed widows to sell their master rights. And, indeed, Elisabeth succeeded in her request: the *Wetteherren* were to examine the situation and if she lived like she had told she was allowed to sell her master rights. Yet, the person to whom she was to sell them had to be approved by the city council.<sup>203</sup>

Quite a similar case was with a barber-surgeon widow Magdalena Bucks who appealed to the city council in May 1615. According to her letter, her second barber-surgeon husband had disappeared secretly without a fanfare nineteen years ago soon after matrimony taking with him as much as he could carry and leaving her in 'great misery and poverty'.<sup>204</sup> Her bitter feelings are apparent in this otherwise very objective and discreet letter by the fact that her first husband, Gerdt Zepperats, was mentioned by name but the second husband, who had no 'marital loyalty', remained anonymous. Magdalena continued that due to her old age she was not able to continue her trade any longer but wanted to sell her master rights and live the rest of her life with this revenue with Andreas and Jochim taking care of her. What is remarkable in Magdalena Buck's letter is both the fact that she had continued her trade for almost twenty years and that apparently she was well-accepted by the craft since in her letter references to any kind of discrimination by the craft are missing. As will be shown in Chapter 4.1, exceeding time limits could raise disagreements between the craft and the widow, some of the widows were able to continue their trade years after their husband's death. It seems that the relationship between the barbers' craft

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201 Elisabeth refers to her children as 'little children' but gives no exact ages.

202 AHL, ASA Interna, Handwerksämter, no. 511 (Barbiere/Barber-surgeons, Letter 1 May 1607): '[...] der guten zuvorsicht weill es andern Witwen wiederfahren E. E. hoch. und wollw: es mir auch gonnen und nachgeben. [...].'

203 AHL, ASA Interna, Handwerksämter, no. 511 (Barbiere/Barber-surgeons, Letter 1 May 1607): 'Elsabeth Warneken balbers wittven: Der Wettehern solln sich erkunden ob es gebe\_\_\_\_ und so es sich so lefuent soll es ihr auch gestaten werden. Jedoch an eine solche person qualificiert F er einen Erbare Radh drehlich ist und im Examinet bestehen kann'.

204 AHL, ASA Interna, Handwerksämter, no. 511 (Balbiere/Barber-surgeons, Letter 13 May 1617): '[...] ich mit an einen anderen Balbiere befreiet. Derselbe balt he naher, mit hindansetzung aller eheliges treu vor 19 jaren heimlich und stillschweigend darvon gezogen, alles was er uberkommen können, mit sich genommen, und mich in eusersten beruck und armuth sitzen lassen. [...].'

and widows was not always harmonious: in 1599, Catharina, Berend Catonis' widow, accused the barber-surgeons' craft for breaking into her house, smashing her things, digging around in her house, and even punching her right into her face.<sup>205</sup>

The sale of master rights seems to have been a common practice in the barber-surgeons' craft at the end of the Middle Ages and in the beginning of the Early Modern Period. According to Lübeck *Wettebuch*, based on an old custom a master's widow was allowed to sell her mastership if she no longer was able or did not want to practise her trade.<sup>206</sup> In the original regulation the question was precisely about a master's widow's privilege to sell her rights since the female personal pronoun she/hers (*sie/ihre*) was used in the text. This practice narrates about the flexibility of craft trade culture. Later it was added that one was not allowed to sell master rights to whomever they wanted but first a supplication to the city council was to be made in which the master candidate was named. After this the candidate was to be approved by the craft and the city council. Clearly the city council and the craft wanted to tighten their control over who could practise the barber-surgeon trade. This, on the other hand, tells us about the protectionism within craft trade culture. Moreover, it should be seen as part of a larger development during which the crafts became more closed organizations as they feared and worried about unorganized production (*Schwartzarbeit*).<sup>207</sup> Unfortunately the addition is undated but apparently it was conducted sometime between 1587 and 1615. As Chapter 5.2 will show, at the end of the sixteenth century the barber-surgeons went through a debate on what elements of healing belonged to their trade and what sort of healing could be practised under a special license from the council or without any license.

It is a tricky question whether this sale of master rights can be interpreted as beneficial for widows. On the one hand, the city council consented to widows' requests. On the other, it reveals limitations: not all widows were able to continue their trade. Without prosopographical research we cannot be sure whether widow Elisabeth Warnecke truly was (extremely) poor or whether Magdalena Bucks wanted to give up her trade because of her age. In the latter case this seems possible since

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205 AHL, ASA Interna, Handwerksämter, no. 511 (Balbiere/Barber-surgeons, Letter 8 August 1599). This case is further discussed in Chapter 5.2.2.

206 AHL, ASA Interna, Handwerksämter, no. 511 (Balbiere/Barber-surgeons, Letter 13 May 1615, Extracht aufs den Weddebock 1587): 'Anno 1587 den 24 Martii ist auff inkamende suplication der Balbierer heij binnen da hier gerichtet, das einen alten gebrauches nha wan sie ihr ampt nicht mehr gebrauchen können, oder wollten, dass sie dieselbigen einen anderen wiederumb vorkoffen und auffzutragen vorstattet werden muchte, binnen Rades geschlachten jnen durch die Weddehen diesen beschett zugeben?'

207 *Lübeckische Geschichte*, ed. Graßmann, 321.

Magdalena had already been married twice and continued her trade for a very long time. It is evident that resources at disposal, like tools, raw materials, and monetary assets, as well as her personal abilities and age shaped a widow's possibilities to continue the family business.<sup>208</sup> Furthermore, as Janine M. Lanza has pointed out, some widows chose another way of life, like living on lifetime annuities, rather than continuing the family craft trade.<sup>209</sup>

If the references to poverty were more of a rhetoric tool than a truthful description of living standards, how about the other end of the spectrum: were Lübeck artisan widows rich and powerful, something that wealthy men were to be afraid of? I have been able to trace one of the widows who appears in the petition letters from the catalogues in the Lübeck city archive. In 1620, bakers' aldermen complained about Hans Holtagel's widow Christine. Aldermen required an explanation why Christine had been allowed to continue her trade for eight years, even though the mastership had been officially transferred to her son four years prior to the case and the son had since moved to Königsberg. In addition, aldermen were angry about how Christine had referred to her misery.<sup>210</sup> Apparently aldermen felt that this reference was an exaggeration. Were the aldermen right?

According to the real estate books, mainly Lübeck's *Oberstadtbuch*, Christine's former husband Hans Holtagel had owned several houses in Lübeck and was quite active in the city's real estate market.<sup>211</sup> By the beginning of the seventeenth century the property of Hans Holtagel included a bakery house in *Glockengießerstrasse* 286–290,<sup>212</sup> house in *weiter Lohberg* 408 and 409,<sup>213</sup> and a house in *Tunkelkagen* 162.<sup>214</sup> Based on his property we can conclude that Holtagels were well-off bakers. Hans Holtagel had probably acted as a bakers' alderman as well.<sup>215</sup> During his lifetime Hans got his name several times to the *Niederstadtbuch* acting as a witness or will executor, which reveals us that he was a prominent member of the craftsfolk and the bakers' society.

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208 Cf. Lanza, *From Wives to Widows*, 131–134.

209 Lanza, *From Wives to Widows*, 137.

210 AHL, ASA Interna, Handwerksämter, no. 366 (Bäcker/Bakers, Letter 17 October 1620).

211 AHL, Handschriften 900a/1, 293, 378 (Schröder: Grundstücke in Lübeck bis 1600, a. Jakobi-Quartier). From now on this manuscript by Dr. Schröder is shortened as Schröder JAK, which follows the practice of the City Archive.

212 AHL, Handschriften 900a/1, 293 (Schröder JAK). The numbering 286–290 suggests that Hans owned several plots of land. Cf. *Lübeckische Geschichte*, ed. Graßmann, 68 (Hammel-Kiesow, Berufstopographie).

213 This was probably a residential building consisting of two blocks. AHL, Handschriften 900a/1, 378 (Schröder JAK). Weiter Lohrbeg was (and is) situated close to Glockengießerstrasse. See *Lübeckische Geschichte*, ed. Graßmann, 68 (Hammel-Kiesow, Berufstopographie).

214 AHL, Handschriften 900a/1, 175 (Schröder JAK).

215 AHL, Personenkatalog: 'Holtgel Hans, Bäcker Olderman'.



After his death (c. 1612)<sup>216</sup> his wife Christine and their children inherited at least one house (*Tunkelkagen* 162), which Christine sold in 1614.<sup>217</sup> The next information found in the real estate books is that in 1623 Christine and her children inherited a *backhaus* in *Glockengießerstrasse* no. 286–290, the same bakery which Hans had acquired in 1577.<sup>218</sup> It is unclear why the widow Christine together with her children was recorded as the heirs of the bakery over ten years later after her husband Hans had died.<sup>219</sup> According to the bakers' aldermen's letter, Christine had continued her trade after her husband had died.<sup>220</sup> It seems very unlikely that the administration would have dragged behind so many years. Whatever the circumstances and reasons for this procedure may have been the reference in real estate book shows that at some point of her career Christine was officially recorded as the owner of the bakery. It is also interesting that the transfer of the ownership of the bakery was recorded three years after the bakers' aldermen complained to the city council. Consequently, it seems that Christine continued her trade even longer than until the Easter of 1621, as was the time given for her by the city council.<sup>221</sup>

Additionally, the real estate books reveal that, besides the bakery, Christine Holtagel even acquired a brewery in 1625 through a city council's decision five years after the letter written by the crafts' aldermen.<sup>222</sup> The last information found in the real estate books is that children inherited the bakery in *Glockengießerstrasse* 286–290 as well as the brewery in 1630 after their mother Christine had died.<sup>223</sup> In the case of baker widow Christine Holtagel it is clear that we are dealing with a prosperous craftswoman who managed the property she inherited and even acquired a brewery on the side of her main activity as a baker. In her case the attribute *poor* is quite unfitting. It must be noted, though, that the letter was from the craft's aldermen and no letter from Christine has survived, so we do not exactly know what words she used. It is also possible that Christine was exceptional in her wealth, thus based on one example it is hard to make general conclusions on the assets of Lübeck widows.

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216 In the Personenkatalog of Lübeck city archives the date of Hans Holtagel's death is given roughly 'vor 1614/ before 1614'. However, in their letter of October 1620 the bakers' aldermen complain that the widow Christine had continued her trade already for eight years. Consequently, her husband Hans must have died c. 1612.

217 AHL, Handschriften 850d, 66 (Schröder/Schroeder, Lübeck in 17ten Jahrhundert). From now on shortened as Schröder 17Jh.

218 AHL, Handschriften 850d, 60 (Schröder 17Jh.); Hans bought the bakery from Hinrik Koepelman. AHL, Handschriften 9000a/1, 293 (Schröder JAK).

219 See footnote 803.

220 AHL, ASA Interna, Handwerksämter, no. 366 (Bäcker/Bakers, Letter 17 October 1620).

221 For more details about the case of Christine Holtagel, see Chapter 4.1.

222 AHL, Handschriften 850d, 172 (Schröder 17Jh.).

223 AHL, Handschriften 850d, 60 (Glockengießerstrasse), 172 (Brauhaus) (Schröder 17Jh.).

Furthermore, as Lanza has argued, wealth and monetary assets alone are insufficient when explaining why some widows were successful in their trade and some could not run a thriving workshop. Besides the resources at hand, also the size of the craft and power structures within the craft, widow's relations to the craft and vice versa, widows' relations to her employees, and in some cases the work itself were significant.<sup>224</sup>

The analysis on the 22 Lübeck letters reveals that widows commonly referred to their poverty. However, as closer background investigation on baker widow Christine Holtgel exhibited, this was by no means always the truth. Consequently, referring to poverty should be interpreted as a rhetoric tool that widows, and men for that matter, used to support their claims. At the same time not all petitioners were wealthy widows but some of them were indeed poor and old. Because the sample is so small, caution must be applied and these findings are not directly transferrable to other cities. Nevertheless, it suggests that petitioners represent various ends of the social and economic spectrum within the craftsfolk, although due to the costs (scribe, etc.) the very poorest are likely to be in the minority. In any case, the fact is that the writers of the Lübeck petition letters, regardless of their gender, knew how to formulate adequate official petition letters. Consequently, artisans were an integral part of the written culture in the late medieval and early modern cities.

Of the 22 petition letters to the Lübeck city council studied here 11 letters were from widows.<sup>225</sup> Only two of these widows used proxies, *Vormünder*, and the letters were signed by the proxies, not by a widow herself.<sup>226</sup> This is highly interesting since it has been emphasized how, according to Lübeck law, widows were subjects to their closest male relatives, who were to represent the widow and act as her guardian and proxy in legal matters.<sup>227</sup> Åsa Karlsson Sjögren points out a change that occurred in legal practices during the seventeenth century in Swedish towns: before the mid seventeenth century widows often pursued legal matters in court by themselves but in the latter half of the century they were represented by their male proxy.<sup>228</sup> Although the sample of sources is small, it shows that in Lübeck widows pursued legal matters themselves. Furthermore, it suggests that they chose to appeal to the city council themselves and did not use proxies. Certainly in some cases it is possible that there

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224 Lanza, *From Wives to Widows*, 129.

225 See Table 1.6 'The Lübeck letters analysed in this study' in Chapter 1.2.2 for more details.

226 AHL, ASA Interna, Handwerksämter, no. 1105 (Drechsler/Dreyer/Turner, Letter 31.1.1579) and no. 456 (Freibäcker/ Free bakers, Letter 6.1.1611). In one case the relationship of the writer to the widow is unknown AHL, ASA Interna, Handwerksämter, no. 997 (Bremelmacher/Buntmacher/Buntfutterer/Curriers, Letter 15.7.1586).

227 Zander, *Zum Nähen wenig Lust*, 31; *Lübeckische Geschichte*, ed. Graßmann, 330–331; Ennen, *Frauen im Mittelalter*, 149.

228 Karlsson Sjögren, *Kvinnornas rätt*, 109–110.

were no male relatives available who could act as proxies. Nevertheless, it is evident that widows thought that they were capable of running legal matters. Furthermore, urban society considered widows competent and valid leaders of artisan households in spite of the fact that nuclear family was often seen as preference. Whether this practice changed later during the seventeenth century also in Lübeck is left for future studies to discuss.

### 3.4 Conclusions

As the analysis in this chapter has shown, the role of the artisan widow was full of various expectations and her position within a society was by no means clear or unambiguous. The widows' rights articles must be seen within this context. They were part of the discussion and negotiation process that attempted to make sense of the contradictory role of widows. One could argue that because the ordinances were written by men they reflect only the positions that men thought would be appropriate for a widow. However, as we have found out, the widows' rights articles in the craft ordinances left room for negotiation and often included multiple options for an artisan widow.

Detailed analysis on different options regarding widows' possibilities to carry on with their profession explicitly shows that there existed many chances for widows. Craft ordinances also left room for negotiation and took into consideration diverse circumstances. Yet, it must be pointed out that craft ordinances set the framework for trade and the actual possibilities in real life depended much on other factors as well, for example, the widow's health and age. The economic situation of the widow, like her ability to get credit and manage property, was also important. The legal status of women rendered them less trustworthy than men in the credit market. Although in general in towns the inheritance laws were favourable towards widows, men often inherited more property.<sup>229</sup> These were the restrictions that real life imposed.

Consequently, generalizations on widows' rights to carry on their profession must be avoided. Because so much depended on the organization of the trade, on the craft itself, and economic fluctuation, the evaluation of articles related to widows' rights exclusively as 'good' or 'bad' is unfruitful.<sup>230</sup> Instead, when examining widows' possibilities to continue their trade we encounter a system that was influenced by

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229 McIntosh, *Working Women*, 10–11, 37–38, on credit ability, see Chapter 4; Bennett, *Ale, Beer and Brewsters*, 53–55; Wiesner, *Working Women in Renaissance Germany*, 158. Credit ability as social capital, see also Lindström, 'Öarliga mästare', 540.

230 Cf. van den Heuvel, 'Guilds and the family economy', *passim*.

external factors, such as current economic, political, and demographic situation, which varied from town to town and craft to craft, and as the additions in the craft ordinances illustrate, left room for negotiation.<sup>231</sup>

By analysing widows' rights in craft ordinances around the Baltic Sea I have proved that craft ordinances gave widows various options to continue their trade. As demonstrated in this chapter, the articles can be interpreted differently, either seeing them as limiting or empowering factors. However, interpretation of widows' rights in craft ordinances either as restrictions or possibilities is too black-and-white a reading, because these two are not an exclusionary pair. Ordinances stay silent on how the widows experienced these articles or how many took advantage of them.

The most common option mentioned in craft ordinances around the Baltic Sea area was the one year rule. In this regard the ordinances resemble a pattern used in Western Europe. The second most common option for a widow was to carry on without any restrictions. Here we have similarities particularly with practices found in the Netherlands and Britain. Although quite similar, some differences within the source corpus emerged when widows' possibilities were studied in detail. In Lübeck and Tallinn, craft ordinances combined two or more options whereas in Stockholm and Riga usually one option was granted in the craft ordinances. This indicates that in spite of tight cultural, economic, and legal connections as well as interaction the Baltic Sea region itself was not a homogenous area.

Some widows wanted to take an active role in their community with the aim of demonstrating their position within it. This active role did not correspond to the modest role of a humble, subordinate widow described in the contemporary literature and by many twentieth-century historians.<sup>232</sup> It is evident that in a situation where the value-basis, economic interests, practicality, and the patriarchal social order (including a specific gender order) did not tally with each other, disputes and conflicts arose. In the following chapters I shall examine how widows' rights articles were followed in practice: what kind of disputes arose from the widows' rights articles? How the parties argued their causes? Furthermore, I shall analyse what these disputes narrate on the essential elements within craft trade culture. What do the disputes reveal about the values of contemporaries and in which ways the question of gender mattered?

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231 Dutch scholars have emphasized the flexibility of the craft and guild system and underlined geographical variations. See for example Schmidt, 'Women and Guilds', passim, and *Craft Guilds in the Early Modern Low Countries*.

232 Cf. Toivo, *Witchcraft and Gender*, 90.



## 4 From Mother to Son – transition period of household workshop?

As stated in the previous chapter, community strongly encouraged widows to remarry. In this way the ideal (patriarchal) household structure would have been restored and a male master would have led the workshop. Indeed, Judith Bennett has argued that a widow's right to continue her trade for a limited period of time after her husband had died was only intended for securing the household business for the next generation.<sup>1</sup> Consequently, in this context the time during which widows ran the workshop before the business was transferred to a new male master, to a new husband or a son, has been seen as a transition period. However, recently Sabine von Heusinger has shown that as much as 30% of the sons of Strasbourg craft masters chose or had to take a different profession than their fathers.<sup>2</sup> Hence, it was not self-evident that a household workshop would run in the family. Janine M. Lanza has emphasized how this transition period brings forward the flexible gender role of widows. When a widow took over the family business her role was paternal. Yet, she was not a man, but on the other hand she differed from other women.<sup>3</sup> Combining the evidence from craft ordinances, Lübeck petition letters, and city laws I shall examine what was the meaning of this so-called transition period in Northern craft trade culture. It is my hypothesis that widows held a significant role in the chain of generations. Furthermore, widows had a central position in the strategies of the crafts which aimed for continuity and the protection of business.

### 4.1 Time limits and remarriage

As the statistical analysis conducted in Chapter 3.1.3 asserts, the majority of ordinances allowed a widow to carry on with her profession without any limitations for at least a year after her husband had died.<sup>4</sup> Table 4.1 demonstrates how notable

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1 Bennett, *Ale, Beer and Brewsters*, 57. Cf. also Simon-Muscheid, 'Frauenarbeit und Männerehre', 29.

2 Von Heusinger, *Die Zunft*, 228–230.

3 Lanza, *From Wives to Widows*, 150.

4 See Tables 3.6–3.9.

the percentage share of the one year rule was. Particularly in Stockholm, the one year rule clearly dominated the charts: eight ordinances from the total of nine that regulated widows' rights mentioned the one year rule. In Tallinn, the one year rule was mentioned in ten cases, often combined with other possibilities. In Riga, the one year rule was mentioned just more than in half of the ordinances which included a widows' rights article, and in Lübeck, almost half of the ordinances with widows' rights article included the one year rule. In total, 59% of the widows' rights articles were one year rule articles.

Table 4.1 The number and percentage of one year rule cases in the craft ordinances of the four cities

City	Number of ordinances with articles on widows' rights	One year rule, number of cases	Percentage of one year rule from all cases
Lübeck	23	11	48 %
Riga	17	9	53 %
Tallinn	15	10	67 %
Stockholm	9	8	89 %
Total	64	38	59 %

Sources: see Tables 3.6–3.9.

As the table demonstrates, the one year rule was dominant in the Baltic Sea region. This is supported by the findings of Grethe Jacobsen. In her study on women and law in late medieval and early modern Denmark she concludes that the one year rule was common among the Danish crafts.<sup>5</sup> Hence, this would suggest that the notion of previous research, according to which the role of a widow was the manager of the household workshop during the transition period, also suits Northern cities. For example, Katharina Simon-Muscheid and Lyndal Roper have argued that the main function of the one year rule in widows' rights articles was to protect the workshop until the widow remarried and thus transferred the mastership and citizenship rights to her new husband. Hence, with remarriage the proper social order and nuclear family would be restored.<sup>6</sup> When interpreted from the point of view of the crafts, as done in previous research, it seems that the transition period was one of the means to ensure continuity of production. If we accept the notion of household workshop as a masculine world and the idea that by imposing the one year limit and enforcing widows to remarry crafts applied patriarchal order and subordination of women, then widows' role as transmitters of master rights would seem appropriate.

5 Jacobsen, *Kvinder*, 184.

6 Simon-Muscheid, 'Frauenarbeit und Männerehre', 29; Roper, *Holy Household*, 52.

However, a broader perspective must be taken. In his study on artisan widows in early modern Swedish towns, Dag Lindström has reached the conclusion that these kinds of strategies of transition period, where the goal of a widow was to hand over the workshop to her new husband, her son, or stepson, were common particularly in those cases where widows continued their trade for a short time.<sup>7</sup> Now, in Lindström's argument the point of view has been changed from the perspective of the craft to that of the widow. Widows used their right to transfer the mastership as a means of their own and their family's survival strategy. It is thoroughly possible and even probable that widows regarded themselves as important connections in the chain of generations and for their own part wanted to secure the business for their offspring; a matter which will be discussed further in Chapter 4.2.

Moreover, the interpretation of remarriage only as a compulsive and negative matter would be an exaggeration. Janine M. Lanza has emphasized the emotional and social motivations for remarriage. The need for love, companionship, and intimacy as well as help needed in raising the children and managing the workshop were incentives for remarriage.<sup>8</sup> Johanna Andersson Raeder has argued in her study on economic impacts of marriage in late medieval Sweden how a number of noble widows preferred remarriage because it brought joint resources, security, more room to act, and indirect access to power through their husband who held important offices in the realm.<sup>9</sup> It must also be pointed out that the social pressure for men to remarry was strong, perhaps even stronger than for women. Like widows, also the widowers needed the work contribution of their significant other.<sup>10</sup> Whereas it was accepted that a widow took a male role in managing the family business, a man performing domestic work and stepping into the role of a mother and wife was a 'threat to masculinity' in general, as Lanza argues.<sup>11</sup>

Successful marital strategy could result in social advancement. In his extensive prosopographical study about town councillors in Scandinavia Marko Lamberg has shown that a beneficial marriage with a wealthy widow or daughter could even open

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7 Lindström, 'Privilegierade eller kringskurna?', 242.

8 Lanza, *From Wives to Widows*, 177–181.

9 Andersson Raeder, *Helbre bustru än änka*, 86–87.

10 Cf. Simon-Muscheid, 'Frauenarbeit und Männerehre', 27 and Foyster, 'Marrying the experienced widow', *passim*.

11 Lanza, *From Wives to Widows*, 160. Eva Österberg has argued that a man who performed feminine work like milking or baking was acting unmanly. See Österberg, 'Bonde eller bagerska', 295. Contrary, Christopher Pihl has argued that within large Crown estates men often performed feminine coded work, although women only did the work related to cleaning and washing. Pihl, *Arbete*, 72–73.



up a way to the city council.<sup>12</sup> Furthermore, Lamberg argues that among the social rank of town councillors it was often women who transferred political power and social esteem from their fathers to their husbands. Thus, the continuity through womenfolk was characteristic to the bourgeois society in general.<sup>13</sup> And, indeed, marital strategies were planned among the craftsfolk as well.

The daughters and widows of Tallinn master goldsmiths tended to marry other master goldsmiths who also became craft's aldermen.<sup>14</sup> There is, for example, the case of Frau Ramborghe, who – judging from the references in the records of the Tallinn city council (*Denkelbuch*) and other sources – seems to have climbed up the social ladder and acquired wealth by remarrying strategically.<sup>15</sup> We know only the name from her first husband, Hans Moller. Her second husband was Michel Swabbert, a master goldsmith, whose purchase of a house in 1486 is mentioned in a city book. Ten years later he was the craft's alderman, seven years before his death in 1503.<sup>16</sup> The widow's third husband was also a master goldsmith, Lambert Hostkamp, who served as the craft's alderman twice, first in 1514–1518 and then in 1529–1531. According to the city's *Denkelbuch*, Lambert and Ramborghe were married by the year 1509; and in 1524, Lambert bought the house of Michel Swabbert, his wife's late husband.<sup>17</sup> During the years of her widowhood, c. 1503–1509, Ramborghe seems to have managed the business and property well, because she was a suitable match for another master goldsmith as her third husband. On the other hand, it is also possible that precisely marriage with Ramborghe helped the new husband to become the alderman of the most prosperous craft in the city. However, sometimes wealth could also have some side-effects, as well-to-do widows might have experienced pressure from family and community to remarry.<sup>18</sup>

The ordinances of Tallinn goldsmiths granted widows a year to continue their trade.<sup>19</sup> Interestingly, widow Ramborghe seems to have been a widow for six years

12 Some young merchants married a daughter of a wealthy craftsman. However, the daughters of merchants seem to have been out of reach of the craftsmen. Lamberg, *Dannemännen*, 93, 96.

13 Lamberg, *Dannemännen*, 92, 96.

14 The tendency of craftsfolk to marry within the same craft, especially in the case of widows' remarriages, predominated in London. Cf. Hanawalt, *The Wealth of Wives*, 114.

15 I have discussed the case of Frau Ramborghe previously in two articles. See Ojala 'Widows' Opportunities', 204–205 and Ojala 'Tuntematon käsityöläinen', 41–43.

16 Friedenthal, *Die Goldschmiede Revels*, 65. In 1505, the craft donated 30 requiems for the commemoration and salvation of Michel Swabbert. TLA, coll. 230, inv 1, nro Aa7, 82v.

17 Friedenthal, *Die Goldschmiede Revels*, 65, 67; TLA, coll. 230, inv 1, nro Aa7, 95r (*Denkelbuch*); TLA, coll. 190, inv 2, no. 76, 95 (*Goldsmede Protocollbuch*). See also Ojala, 'Tuntematon käsityöläinen', 41–43.

18 Kermode, *Medieval Merchants*, 90–91.

19 TLA, coll. 190, inv. 2, no. 70, 5r (*Goldsmede/ Goldsmiths 1453*); TLA, coll. 230, inv. 1, no. Ac5, 67v (*Goldsmede/ Goldsmiths 1537*).

before her third husband. It is not known if she continued her (husband's) trade. Based on Friedenthal's study and the markings of the produced goldsmiths' items, there were no female goldsmiths in Tallinn.<sup>20</sup> The case of Ramborghe suggests that time limits mentioned in widows' rights articles were not always strictly followed in practice. And, indeed, even craft ordinances often included various modifications to time limits. Therefore, it is presumable that under the management of widow Ramborghe business continued, perhaps with the help of journeymen. The second husband of Ramborghe, Michael Swabbert took three apprentices in 1496, yet, these three never became masters in Tallinn. The third husband, Lambert Hostkamp, did not take any apprentices.<sup>21</sup> This suggests that after the second husband, Swabbert, the household workshop was run first by the widow Ramborghe, who had employed the three apprentices probably as journeymen. Thereafter the household management was officially transferred to the third husband Lambert Hostkamp. However, it is possible, and even likely, that Lambert and Ramborghe managed the workshop together.

The transfer of master rights to the new husband did not automatically mean that the whole business and its control would have also been handed over. For example, Toivo has argued that gendered division of labour in the Finnish countryside during the Early Modern Period was not strict; the married couple worked together as a managerial team and a husband and a wife 'could act interchangeably in each other's roles'. Hence, this was part of a family strategy which aimed at the success of the farm.<sup>22</sup> In urban settlements both the husband and the wife commonly participated in the maintaining of the household workshop, even though it was also possible that they were engaged in different trades. Consequently, the transfer of master rights to the new husband should be regarded more as an establishment of new managerial team, which shared the responsibilities of running the household workshop, than as an act where the widow gave up the workshop. Furthermore, through remarriage a widow found herself a partner with whom it was possible to carry out all the tasks. Thus, in principle the running of a workshop became easier and remarriage could also increase the welfare of the family.

Often the number of masters within a certain craft was limited. These limitations could have been written in the craft ordinances or the records of the city council. Appendix 5 presents those Tallinn and Stockholm crafts where this numerus-clausus principle existed. In Stockholm, the number of master coppersmiths was regulated by the city council already in 1480, and later, in 1602, in their ordinance, which

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20 Friedenthal, *Die Goldschmiede Revels*, 58–170.

21 Friedenthal, *Goldschmiede Revels*, list of apprentices, 125.

22 Toivo, *Witchcraft and Gender*, 142–145, quotation 142.

limited the number of masters to six.<sup>23</sup> The Stockholm coppersmiths' ordinance illustrates how a master's vacancy was left open for one year: after her husband's death a master's widow was allowed to carry on for a year during which no other master would replace the deceased one. In the meantime the widow was supposed to look for a new husband. When the year was (nearly) over, if she remarried within the same craft, the new husband was to receive the master's title.<sup>24</sup> Here a widow's role was to transmit the craft rights. These factors, the common custom and limited number of masters, are reflected in this widow article of coppersmiths. As a conclusion, if the number of masters was limited, in some cases it also affected widows' rights. On the other hand, this kind of a situation increased widows' remarriage prospects because a marriage with a master's widow offered a route to mastership for journeymen. Thus, as stated above, the transfer of master rights often meant an establishment of a managerial team, where the male master was officially the head of the household but the business could and would be managed together.

It must be pointed out that the limited number of masters also affected journeymen, perhaps even more than widows. Riga goldsmiths clearly stipulated that the number of masters was fixed to 12. When one of the masters died the oldest journeyman, who had worked in the craft for the longest time, was to take up this vacant mastership.<sup>25</sup> Many journeymen ended up in a situation where in spite of being qualified to mastership they were unable to gain a master's status because the number of masters was fixed.<sup>26</sup> Furthermore, as the analysis in Chapter 5.2.3 will show, the fixed number of masters seems to be one of the factors that led to several disputes within the crafts and between the crafts and the city council.

Quite often additions regarding remarriage were made to widows' rights articles. If a widow remarried a master widower from the same craft she could enjoy the membership for free as she had done previously. However, if the new husband was from a different craft then a widow was to give up her old trade. But what would have happened if a widow first remarried outside the craft but then later again remarried

23 SSTB 1474–1483, 229; Klemming, *Skrå-ordningar*, 281 (Koppersmede/Coppersmiths 1602).

24 Klemming, *Skrå-ordningar*, 283 (Koppersmede/Coppersmiths 1602): 'Åhr thez och så, at någen Mestere i Embethett dör och hafuer hustru och barn effter sigh då må ach skall hans effterlatne Enkie oppeholle Embethet vthi et åhr, och i meder tijd skall ingen Mestere in hennes mans stadh intages, Wärder hon och dess förinnen och för än åhret vthe åhr gifft igen, och bekommer någen af samme Embethe till sin Man, då skall han vthi Embethett blifue och Mester Embethe winna, huar han thz tilförde icke giord hafuer, och ther till kan tienlig ware och fyllest före göre, och då skall han gifue i Embetet Sex Daler.' Here it is disputable whether children also are a condition under which the widow was allowed to carry on, i.e. she could continue the trade if she had children.

25 Stieda and Mettig, *Schragen*, no. 31, 299 (Goldschmiede/Goldsmiths 1542).

26 Karras, *From Boys to Men*, 109–11, 129, 135, 144–146.

to her ‘original’ craft? Let us say that, for example, a tailor’s widow’s husband number two was a small shop keeper but after he had died husband number three would again be a tailor. In Stockholm, the masons’ and shoemakers’ craft ordinances mentioned three husbands in widows’ rights articles.<sup>27</sup> According to shoemakers’ ordinance, widow’s husband number three was to fulfil membership requirements if husband number two had not been from the shoemakers’ craft.<sup>28</sup> In other words, if a widow first remarried outside the craft but then remarried a widower from the ‘original’ craft she could not automatically enjoy crafts’ membership.

It is very hard to judge whether these rules were followed in real life. A prosopographical research could help us to evaluate if these paragraphs related to remarriage were indeed followed in everyday life. However, such inquiry is very challenging considering the source material available. Nevertheless, I shall assume that the rule that ordained widows to give up their trade if they married outside the craft was based on the city council’s decrees, which allowed artisans to practise only one trade.<sup>29</sup> A situation where practitioners of two closely related but officially separated professions were married would have been problematic because then the different work stages would have been performed in the same workshop. This, of course, would have lowered production costs and given advantage over other producers. As Sabine von Heusinger has shown, this was one of the reasons for conflicts within the Strasbourg crafts.<sup>30</sup> And, indeed, the demarcation of trades was also one of the major sources for conflicts in late medieval and early modern towns bordering the Baltic Sea. Furthermore, as part of their protective policy, crafts tried to impose collective benefits before individual wins. In practice, however, they did not succeed: the preserved Stockholm tax lists reveal that the property of individual artisans varied largely within one craft.<sup>31</sup>

Before discussing the modifications and flexibility of time limit it must be pointed out that the significance of (re)marriage was crucial not only within protectionist craft trade culture but also within society in general. Within craft trade culture marriage and remarriage were means to control admission to the craft and the

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27 Klemming, *Skrå-ordningar*, 86 (Murare/Masons 1487) and 17–18 (Skomakare/Shoemakers 1474). In Stockholm, three marriages seem to have been common during the Late Middle Ages. See Lager-Kromnow, *Allt vara stockholmare*, 85.

28 Klemming, *Skrå-ordningar*, 17–18 (Skomakare/Shoemakers 1474): ‘[...] Nw kan skomakare döo ok hustrv tagher annan man än skomakare dör han tagher sydan skomakare tha skal han göra frokost ok allan annan räth.’

29 SSTB 1474–1483, burspråk 1462 § 30 s. 445. See also G. Dahlbäck, *I medeltidens Stockholm* 180.

30 Von Heusinger, *Die Zunft*, 116–123, 260–265.

31 Lindberg, *Hantverk och Skråväsen*, 58–59.

qualifications of an artisan, particularly the new husband-to-be.<sup>32</sup> Remarriage was also protection against competition outside the craft: often a widow was supposed to give up her trade if she married someone from a different craft.<sup>33</sup> In this way craft aspired to prevent one craft member having a benefit over the others. Yet, this difficult balance between collective benefit and individual profit-seeking was indeed one of the major controversies within craft trade culture as the following chapters will demonstrate. Furthermore, remarriage of artisan widows was the default solution after one part of the business unit had perished. And, indeed, many artisan widows eventually remarried. However, it is clear that sometimes this did not happen as quickly as crafts might have wanted or at all, for that matter. Consequently, crafts acknowledged already in their rules that exceptions might appear. Hence, widows' rights articles and particularly their modifications offered flexible solutions on how to deal with workshops run by a single adult instead of a married couple.

#### 4.1.1 Modifications of time limits

The one year rule was not a strict and rigid as various modifications were added to it. In some cases a year became two or three. The chest makers in Lübeck gave a widow two years to find a new husband.<sup>34</sup> The two years' time limit was also mentioned in Riga shoemakers' ordinance of 1615.<sup>35</sup> In their previous ordinances from the end of the fourteenth century Riga shoemakers settled with one year time.<sup>36</sup> In Tallinn, coopers gave widows three years of time.<sup>37</sup>

32 Cf. Gonzáles Athenas, 'Legal Regulation', 163. See further the discussion in Chapter 5.3 'Skills and qualifications'.

33 This rule was valid, for example, in Tallinn in shoemakers' and locksmiths' craft, TLA, coll. 190, iv. 2, no. 24 (Schuster/Shoemakers 1481–1530); TLA, coll. 230, inv. 1, no. Ac6 I (Schuhmacher/Shoemakers 1536–1665); TLA, coll. 190, inv. 2, no. 149 (Schlosser und smede/Locksmiths and smiths 1459–1528/1750). For other cities and more details, see Tables 3.6–3.9.

34 Wehrmann, *Zunftrollen*, no. 26, 256 (Kistenmaker/Chest-makers 1508): '[...] vnde eyne junge vrouwe, nicht myt swarer langer suke befallen, schal sick in twen jarn voranderen offte des amptes entberen.'

35 Stieda and Mettig, *Schragen*, no. 106, 541 (Schuster/Shoemakers 1615): 'Zum Achtzehenden wehre eine Fraw in dem Werke, dere Mann abstürbe, der soll man alle Redlichkeit halten zwei Jahre nach ihres mannes Tode, gleich wie ihr Mann die Redlichkeit gebraucht hatt.'

36 Stieda and Mettig, *Schragen*, no. 103, 531 (Schuhmacher/Shoemakers end of the 14th century).

37 TLA, coll. 190, inv. 2, no. 473, 7r (Böttcher/Coopers 1515): 'Item yft eyn broder sed amptes vorstürü vnnnd lete eyne wedewe na de sulueste frowe zo verne ze zick In middeler tidt nycht vorandert mach dat ampdt broken na des mannes dode dre iar lank ghelick eynem anderen broder.' Later ordinance with same article TLA, coll. 1230, inv. 1, no. Ac5 Schargen-Codex, 105v (Boddecker/Coopers 1556).

Furthermore, there was room for negotiation. The wheel makers in Lübeck ordained that a widow could ask for additional time from crafts' aldermen if no suitable new husband had been found.<sup>38</sup> In Riga goldsmiths' craft a widow was to negotiate with crafts' aldermen on the one year rule and possible remarriage: a widow was first allowed to continue her livelihood peacefully for one year. After this time crafts' aldermen were to discuss whether there would be a suitable husband for the widow among the journeymen. This way they 'would be able to stay within the craft, do as others had done and the whole craft would have been pleased'.<sup>39</sup> The follow-up addition in Riga goldsmiths' ordinance of 1542 regulated that (1) a journeyman and new husband-to-be should be worthy of the craft, otherwise they were not allowed to continue the trade, (2) if a journeyman and a widow became engaged but did not marry they would be excluded and (3) if a widow did not remarry she was to be excluded. The number of masters within the Riga goldsmiths' craft was fixed to 12 and it was expected that the oldest journeyman would take the vacant mastership.<sup>40</sup> In spite of the harsh end of the Riga goldsmiths' ordinance these examples reveal that there was room for negotiation. Later in 1582, the widow article was changed: a widow was allowed to continue her trade without any restrictions as long as she wanted and did not remarry. If she remarried she was to take a journeyman within the craft.<sup>41</sup> These clauses in the ordinances show how the craft took an active role as a mediator in a new marriage. They also illustrate craft's and community's point of view in which remarriage was seen as the preferred option. Furthermore, they portray how crafts strove towards inner protectionism. Crafts craved to control admission to the craft and secure that newcomers matched the quality and skill requirements of masters. In terms of negotiations, crafts wanted to make sure that everyone knew the rules and followed them.

Some crafts considered the age and health of the widow as well as the quality of the products. A wheel maker's widow in Lübeck could freely carry on her business if

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38 Wehrmann, *Zunftrollen*, no. 45, 368 (Rademaker/Wheel makers 1508): 'Item eyne fouwe, der er man affstervet, schal sick voranderen bynnen jare dages; schut des nicht, so schal se kamen by de olderlude vnde bydden noch eyn jar vordan. [...].'

39 Stieda and Mettig, *Schragen*, nro 32, 302 (Goldsmede/Goldsmiths 1542): 'Item wenn ein goldtschmede vorstörve und eine elicke huszfrau nahlethe, de schall men fredsam und rowsam sitten lathen in erer nering jahr und tach, unnd wenn jahr und dach vorby isz nah erer annes dode, so mach de olderman de wedefrow anspreken und mit er underreding hebben, so hier ein ehrlick, framm unberuchtiget geselle were, dar se sin gemöchte tho hette, dat se by dem ampte bliven wolde, und de ock doen wolde, wesz ein ander vorgedan hedde, und dar ein ganz ampt mit thofreden wehre, desulvige geselle mach mit der frowen vorgestadet werden.'

40 Stieda and Mettig, *Schragen*, no 32, 299, 303–304 (Goldsmede/Goldsmiths 1542).

41 Stieda and Mettig, *Schragen*, nro 34, 311 (Goldsmede/Goldsmiths 1582).

she was too old to take a new husband.<sup>42</sup> The Lübeck chest makers regulated that if a widow was too old or seized by illness she could continue the trade with the help of a *knecht* until the end of her days. However, if she was young she was to remarry.<sup>43</sup> In one case an actual age limit was mentioned. The Lübeck amber rosary makers, who around the Baltic Sea area were often called paternoster makers, revoked the one year rule if a widow was older than 45 years. Yet, she was to prove the quality of her work and make amber stones without the help of journeymen or apprentices.<sup>44</sup> Age limitations were only mentioned in Lübeck ordinances. Another case where attention was given to the quality of work is from Stockholm. City bakers ordained that a widow was allowed to carry on freely for one year and six weeks if she wanted. After this time, if she had been able to keep up with her work and proved to be worthy of the craft, she could carry on with her trade as long as she wanted.<sup>45</sup> Here the emphasis is clearly on the continuity of business. Based on the rarity of the cases it seems that the age of the widow and the quality of her work were not decisive factors when assessed whether she could continue her trade. Furthermore, this conclusion is in line with the findings from early modern Low Countries and southwest Germany where widows were seen as competent as men in terms of product quality.<sup>46</sup>

In two cases it was clearly expressed in the craft ordinance that the one year rule derived from the one year mourning time. The saddlers in Riga regulated that after the mourning year a widow was to remarry or lose the craft right unless the craft's

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42 Wehrmann, *Zunftrollen*, no. 45, 368 (Rademaker/Wheel makers 1508): 'Dar se denne ock to olt wer, eynen man to nehmen, so machse wedewe blyven, [...].'

43 Wehrmann, *Zunftrollen*, no. 26, 256 (Kistenmaker/Chest makers 1508): 'Vnnde wannen eyner fruwen des vorschreven amptes ere man affstervet, is se denne olt oft myt krankheit bevallen, desulve mach eynen knecht holden dessuven amptes vnde bruken dat ampt tyd eres levendes, vnde don deme ampte dat derde part rechticheyt, vnde eyne junge vrouwe, nicht myt swarer langer suke bevallen, schal sick in twen jarn voranderen offte des amptes entberen.'

44 Wehrmann, *Zunftrollen*, no. 41, 353 (Paternostermaker/Rosary makers 1470): 'Int erste welker vrouwen in unsem ammete ere man vorstervet edder rede vorstorven is, de benedden XLV jare olt is, dat de mach bliven sunder man eyn jar langh, ofte se will, vppe dat se ere werk bynner der tyd moge rede maken. Vnde wand at jar vmme komen is, dat se denne ere part stenes lyke wol entfange, doch by alsodanen beschede, dat er nen meyster noch knecht in vnsem ampte den sten arbeyden schal bet to der tyd, dat se enen bedderven man neme to des ee vte unseme ampte, ok de wile nynen lerejungen totosettende.' Paternoster makers made amber rosaries.

45 Klemming, *Skrå-ordingar*, 212 (Bagare/Bakers 1506): 'Hwilken Syster i samma Embetet mister Sin Bonde tå skall hon fritt hall aEmbetet I Sex Weekor, och ett Åhr ther effter om hon så förmår eller henne täckess: Åhr hon fallen till att Vppehålla samma Embetet redigligha ock skåliga, tå må hon dett njuta, så länge ho Leffwer eller förmår att bruka, tå medh Rättens loff och tillstädielse.'

46 Schmidt, 'Women and Guilds', 175; Ogilvie, *A Bitter Living*, 232, 325–326.

*Herren* would consider the matter differently.<sup>47</sup> The term *Trauerjahr* was also used in Riga hat makers' ordinance of 1595.<sup>48</sup> It was a common custom to wait about a year before remarrying in late medieval and early modern times. Church recommended this so-called *tempus luctus* year before remarriage. Furthermore, the mourning year derived from the practice to ensure inheritance rights of the child. However, city laws regulated only on how a widow and her children from the previous marriage(s) were to divide the property before the remarriage of the widow, but did not mention any specific time limitations.<sup>49</sup> In any case the purpose of the mourning year was to show respect to the late husband and secure paternity and inheritance questions.<sup>50</sup>

It was a common custom to combine the one year rule with 'hiring a *knecht*' article. Tallinn hemp weavers used this combination.<sup>51</sup> Even more common was a combination of the one year rule with the article 'with children'. A widow was allowed to carry on for one year if she had no children. In Tallinn, the following variations were used. In tailors' craft a widow had three years if she had children, otherwise the one year rule was applied.<sup>52</sup> A smith's widow was allowed to continue her craft without limitations if she had children, otherwise the one year rule was applied.<sup>53</sup> In Lübeck, it was explicitly mentioned in cup makers' and girdlers' ordinances that if

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47 Stieda and Mettig, *Schragen*, no. 86, 434 (Sattler/Saddlers 1619): 'Wenn eine Wittfrau unseres Amts nach verflozzenen Trauerjahre sich nicht ins Handwerk wieder befreyet, soll sie im Amte ferner nicht gelitten werden, es geschehe denn auf sonderliches Bedenken und mit Begünstigung der Amtsherren und des Amtes.'

48 Stieda and Mettig, *Schragen*, no. 45, 355 (Hutmacher/Hat makers 1595): 'Eine Wittwe mag das Trauerjahr über das Werk treiben, wozu ihr des Amts-Altermann, mit Gesind und Rath beförderlich sein soll.'

49 Holmbäck and Wessén, *MES*, Giftermålsbalken § 12–13, 44.

50 Here I must thank Mia Korpiola (Professor of Legal History, University of Turku) for informing me on the matter.

51 TLA, coll. 190, inv. 2, no. 642, 5v (Hanfspinner/Hemp weavers 1462).

52 TLA, coll. 190, inv. 2, no. 511, 5v (Schroter/Tailors 1413–1650)/ TLA, coll. 230, inv. 1, no. Ac 6 I Schragenbuch, 11r: 'Item welk Ampt Froûwe Wedewe id de kinder hefft de mach na des mannes dode dat ampt brûken ein [later replaced in Schragen Codex with 'dreen'] Jahrlanck, vnd de nene kinder hebben de möget brûken jahr vnd dach upp et older [...].' Apparently one word is missing from the original document and the sentence should end as following: 'upp et olde **gewonheit/gebruk**', which means 'according to old customs'.

53 TLA, coll. 190, inv. 2, no. 555, 5v (Smede/Smiths 1458–1528): 'Item effte eyne ffrouwe were in vnsem ampte der er man wer affstoruen vnde de nene kinder hedde de in vnsem ampte gebaren weren So sal vnn mach she dae amptes gebuken iar vnn dach vnn wan er deme iar vnn dach vmme gekamen sint So sal men her de windelage to slûten vnn weret sake dat sze kinder hadde de in deme ampte gebaren vnn nen gestlicke lude weren szo schal sze vnn mach des ampte gebrûken mit eren kinder so lange er dat leueth.' Later the rule was changed so that a widow was allowed to continue without any restrictions unless she remarried outside the craft, 6v: 'Item off ener vrowen eren man affgenoge vnd verstorue so mach se des ammpes gebuken der wile se wedeve ys vnd ven se sick verandert heft buten ammpes so sal se des ammpes nycht lenk bruken.'



a widow had no sons, the one year rule was to be applied.<sup>54</sup> In these cases the aim for continuation is clear. The household workshop was a valuable inheritance for the children and it was considered more important than exact time limitations set to widows. Here continuation overruled gender. However, this favouring of children birthed controversies. A widow who continued to manage workshop with the aim of transferring it later to her children hindered the work perspectives of the journeymen. Yet, nepotism was part of the protective policy of the crafts. Indeed, many craft ordinances favoured masters' sons and daughters, for example, by lightening their membership fees and acceptance as masters or giving benefits to those who would marry a master's daughter. For example, according to Stockholm shoemakers, a master's son did not have to provide beer for the craft at the beginning of his apprenticeship and he was freed from arranging the *kost* when gaining a mastership. The last decree was also applied to those who married a master's daughter or widow.<sup>55</sup> In Tallinn shoemakers' craft the maids and *knechte* could inherit the trade for free.<sup>56</sup>

From a temporal and chronological perspective there seems to be no pattern or clear connection to certain decades where one could observe modifications made to the one year rule. Tallinn had widows' rights articles with a clear cut one year rule without modifications approximately during the same time period (1453–1665) it had widows' rights articles with the one year rule including modifications (1413–1650).<sup>57</sup> The same applies to Lübeck where the majority of one year articles included a modification, stretching from 1414 until 1591.<sup>58</sup> Based on this we can conclude that general economic decline or upswing of the prospects of each separate trade seemed to have an impact whether the one year rule was modified or not. Consequently, these modifications prove crafts' acknowledgement that the continuity of the business also required flexibility. The main objective of the craft was to ensure the continuity of production and widows held an important position in ensuring this. With the modifications to the one year rule crafts added desired flexibility to the system which sought to protect this continuity.

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54 Wehrmann, *Zunftrollen*, no. 6, 171 (Beckermaker/Cup-makers 1591); no. 46, 372 (Gürtler/Girdler 1414).

55 Klemming, *Skrå-ordingar*, 17 (Skomakare/Shoemakers before 1474); Lindberg, *Hantverk och Skråväsen*, 89–90.

56 It is possible that this means daughters and sons. TLA, coll. 190, inv. 2, no. 24, 7v (Shuster/Shoemakers 1481): 'Vortmer so sollenn de meghedikenn yn unserem ampte unse ampt so wol vry eruen und hebben alß de knechtikenn in unserem ampte.'

57 See Table 3.8.

58 See Table 3.6. In Lübeck, only fell dyers (1476) and shoemakers (1441) had a clear cut one year article in their ordinances.

### 4.1.2 Flexibility of the time limit

The majority of the examined craft ordinances gave widows some kind of a time limit, usually a year, to continue their trade after which they were supposed to remarry or give up their trade. Lübeck petition letters provide us more information on how time limits were applied in practice. The following Table 4.2 lists the letters which deliver us information on how long the widows had continued their trade. In four Lübeck petition letters exceeding of this time limit was at least one factor in dispute between a widow and a craft. These four cases are listed first and bolded in the following Table 4.2. Additionally, some cases, where the surpassing of time limit was not the main issue, the petition letters offer us information on how long the widows had continued their trade. These cases are listed at end of the table. For example, in the case of barber-surgeon widow Magdalena Bucks the petition letter reveals that she had continued her trade for 19 years after her second husband had ‘left her secretly and walked away in silence taking with him as much as he could carry’.<sup>59</sup>

Table 4.2 Exceeding time limits and how long widows had continued their trade according to Lübeck letters

Author	Craft	Dating	Additional information	How many years the widow had continued her trade
Aldermen	Bäcker/ Bakers	17.10.1620	Complaints about a baker widow Christine Holtagel	8
Master Jacob Huken	Knochenhauer/ Butchers	28.3.1609	n/a	3–4
Aldermen	Kistenmacher/ Chest makers	3.11.1568	Craft vs. widow Anneke Dreyers; Widows’ rights article in the craft ordinances: 2 years’ limit, unless if old or ill	4
Proxies Jochim Ludeman and Claus Kusel	Dreyer/ Turners	30.1.1579	For the widow of Hinrich Koneckin	n/a
Widow Magdalena Bucks	Barber/ Barber-Surgeons	13.5.1615	Widow wants to sell master rights	19
Widow Margareta Wolder	Bremelmaker/ Curriers	23.7.1586	Widows’ rights article in the craft ordinance: no restrictions	8

59 AHL, ASA Interna, Handwerksämter, no. 511 (Barbiere/Barber-surgeons, letter 13 May 1615).

Let us now take a closer look on the four cases in which exceeding the time limit was at least one of the reasons for dispute. In October 1620, the baker aldermen appealed to the city council complaining that Christine, Hans Holtagel's widow, had continued her trade already for eight years after her husband's death. Aldermen continued that she had formally transferred her master rights to her son four years previously, but the son had already been married in Königsberg. The aldermen demanded an explanation why Christine had been allowed to continue so long because she had pledged to continue the trade only because of her son. The aldermen disagreed with her application to have a permission to continue her trade the rest of her life and referred to a common custom to grant a widow a *Gnadenjahr*, one year time to continue her trade.<sup>60</sup> Baker's craft ordinance did not have a widows' rights article, hence the aldermen only invoked the common custom. One might assume that the city council would had been on the side of the craft aldermen, since it has been argued that together with the city council crafts tried to restrict widows' opportunities to continue their trade.<sup>61</sup> Yet, the city council of Lübeck gave Christine Holtagel another six months to carry on with her business until the following Easter.<sup>62</sup> The decision of the city council suggests that it was not their intention to cut off the widow's livelihood abruptly but to give her enough time to settle her matters. Moreover, it seems that Christine continued her trade even longer, since she was recorded in the Lübeck real estate books as the heir of Hans Holtagel's bakery in 1623.<sup>63</sup> What about the other cases then?

In March 1609, a butcher master Jacob Huken complained to the city council that a widow called Geselke Bildfelt had already continued her trade for three years and had applied for a fourth one in a row. According to butcher master Jacob, it was customary in their craft that if a widow did not want to remarry after her *Gnadenjahr*, she was supposed to hand over the master vacancy to younger people.<sup>64</sup> Again, there was no widows' rights article in the Lübeck butchers' ordinance<sup>65</sup> but instead a reference was made to common custom. In the case with the chest makers' craft the aldermen complained about a widow Anneke who had continued her trade for

60 AHL, ASA Interna, Handwerksämter, no. 366 (Bäcker/Bakers, Letter 17 October 1620).

61 Ogilvie, *A Bitter Living*, 258–262, 266–267; Roper, *Holy Household*, 40.

62 AHL, ASA Interna, Handwerksämter, no. 366 (Bäcker/Bakers, Letter 17 October 1620), Decretum: 'Es werden den vorordnete zur Wettn erkundigen was es umb angefogenn bebringe ob sie mit der Wendischen stet Sigell gfirmen upo nicht were, daruff nicht zu schen sondern der Witwen das backen noch bis Ostern zu vorgunnen.'

63 AHL, Handschriften 850d, 60 (Schröder/Schroeder, Lübeck im 17ten Jahrhundert). In 1625, Christine also acquired a brewery. For more details on the Holtagels and Christine, see Chapter 3.3.

64 AHL, ASA Interna, Handwerksämter, no. 2288 (Knochenhauer/Butchers, Letter 28 March 1609).

65 Wehrmann, *Zunftrollen*, no. 27, 259–270 (Knochenhauer/Butchers 1385, additions 1484).

four years and at that time wanted to marry a carver. According to their ordinance, a widow was allowed to carry on for two years.<sup>66</sup> In this case the main problem was actually the remarriage and not surpassing the time limit, as further discussion of Anneke's case in Chapter 5.2.1 demonstrates.

In the fourth case, turners in 1579, it was not mentioned how long the widow had continued her trade, nor the time of the husband's death. Since in other four cases it is quite clearly mentioned how long the widow had run her workshop, this turner letter could be an exception. I think, however, that the explicit time was not mentioned because the letter was written not by the widow herself (or a scribe) but was signed by her proxies. The proxies must have been aware of the widows' rights article in the turners' ordinance according to which a widow was allowed to carry on for one year if she had no sons.<sup>67</sup> Therefore, as a deliberate strategy, they had left out the exact time of how long their client had continued her trade as a widow. In the letter they made no reference to her children and therefore, consequently, the one year rule was applied.

The fact that widows practised their trade for several years after their husband had died centres our focus on continuation. Furthermore, it must be underlined that some widows continued their trade for a very long time. Dag Lindström has studied how long widows continued their trade in two early modern Swedish towns, Linköping and Norrköping. He discovered that the majority of widows continued their trade for a relatively short time, less than two years. However, the ones who stayed in their trade for a longer time tended to stay active for quite long, carrying on as widows even for 17 years.<sup>68</sup> A Lübeck currier's widow Margareta wrote in her petition letter to the council in July 1586 that her husband had died eight years before.<sup>69</sup> The Lübeck curriers' craft ordinance gave widows a right to continue their trade without any restrictions, unless they remarried outside the craft.<sup>70</sup> Based on the Lübeck evidence it seems that the tendency was the same in Lübeck as it was in central Sweden. It is also very important to note that those widows who held a workshop for a shorter time period quite likely continued their trade but not as

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66 Wehrmann, *Zunftrollen*, no. 26, 256 (Kistenmacher/Chest makers 1508).

67 Wehrmann, *Zunftrollen*, no. 12, 200–201 (Dreyer /Turners 1507, addition 1580).

68 Lindström, 'Privilegierade eller kringskurna?', 240–241.

69 AHL, ASA Interna, Handwerksämter, no. 977 (Bremelmacher/Buntmacher/Bunftutterer/Curriers, letter 23 July 1586).

70 AHL, ASA Interna, Handwerksämter, no. 994 (Bremelmacher/Buntmacher/Bunftutterer/Curriers 1386–1636). Wehrmann, *Zunftrollen*, no. 10, 192 (Buntmaker/Curriers 1386–1501). The widows' rights article remained the same in the curriers' craft ordinance at least until 1636.

independent masters or heads of the household but as partners in a business, either with their new husband or with their son.<sup>71</sup>

It seems to have been important that production within the household workshop continued even though the other half of the business unit had died. The Lutheran reformers and early modern moralist writers emphasized a woman's place under the guardianship of her husband or other male relatives. The *Haustafel*, Table of Duties and the catechism highlighted woman's role as an obedient wife, subordinate to her husband.<sup>72</sup> It is clear that a workshop led by a single woman did not fit neatly to this social order proclaimed by religious teachings – even if she was widowed. As Raisa Maria Toivo has shown, the populace did not interpret the social order of *Haustafel* as strictly as has been stated in previous research. On the contrary, she argues that social order presented in *Haustafel* could and was indeed interpreted by contemporaries in various ways and social order was constantly negotiated in legal processes.<sup>73</sup> This was the case particularly under those circumstances when it was needed, and clearly widowhood was one of those. It is evident that not every artisan workshop was organized according to the principles of *Haustafel*, although already in legal sense the position of a widow was different than that of a wife, for example. Moreover, it is evident that contemporaries interpreted the social order more flexibly than has been claimed in previous research. It was acceptable for widows to take over the household workshop and 'step into a male master's shoes'. Consequently, the role of the household master was shared between a husband and a wife and therefore widows could continue their trade and assume the role of the master. The Lübeck petition letters for their part are one piece of evidence of this discussion and negotiation process of social and gender order.

Furthermore, the petition letters that dealt with the surpassing of time limit provide us important information on the roles of widows within craft trade culture and practices within it. All the Lübeck petition letters were addressed to the city council, to the highest civic authority in towns. Muriel Gonzáles Athenas has studied the petition letters of artisans of early modern Cologne. According to her, the petition or supplication letters 'were a well-known form of negotiation in the town's system of communication and arbitration' to the contemporaries.<sup>74</sup> Indeed, in Lübeck as well as in Cologne the petition letters followed a strict pattern with their official salutations and other conventional forms, as discussed previously in Chapter 3.3. Because in Cologne, as well as in other European towns, women were mainly

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71 Lindström, 'Privilegierade eller kringskurna?', 240–241.

72 Toivo, *Witchcraft and Gender*, 154–155.

73 Toivo, *Witchcraft and Gender*, 157–161.

74 Gonzáles Athenas, 'Legal Regulation', 155.

excluded from official policy making of the crafts or from political crafts/guilds, this system of appellation to the council was a channel through which women could present their cases.<sup>75</sup>

According to the complaints in the letters of Lübeck baker aldermen and butcher master Jacob Huken, widows had sent applications to the city council and requested a permission to continue their trade either for one more year, as in butcher widow Geselke's case, or for the rest of their life, as in the case of baker widow Christine. As far as I know, it has not been studied how this system, in which widows sent their supplications to the Lübeck city council, worked. Additionally, the supplications of Christine and Geselke have not been preserved.<sup>76</sup> Therefore, we cannot say for sure whether the widows were supposed to apply yearly for a permission from the city council in order to be able to continue their trade. Yet, the various petition letters that were sent to Lübeck city council strongly suggest that widows appealed to the city council in regular intervals asking a permission to continue, and often this permission was granted.

In spite of the gaps in our knowledge on the appellation system we can conclude several things based on indirect information provided in these letters. Firstly, the letters prove that widows were able to exceed customary time limits granted in craft ordinances. Secondly, it implies that someone delivered raw material to widows and someone bought the products they manufactured. Hence, it proves that widows were generally accepted actors, producers, and entrepreneurs within craft trade culture. Yet, thirdly, it also shows that widows had to operate under rather uncertain premises. In other words, the continuation of their business was unsure and they had to repeatedly legitimize it. Furthermore, it again sheds light on another controversy in craft trade culture. On the one hand, crafts strove for continuity but, on the other, the premises for continuity were often uncertain.

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75 González Athenas, 'Legal Regulation', 156.

76 At least their supplications have not been preserved in the same archival fond where the letters of the aldermen and Master Jacob were included.

## 4.2 Running the business with children

Relatively common possibility for an artisan widow was to carry on with the business with her children. In 14 cases a widow had a right to carry on with her children, as illustrated in the following Table 4.3.<sup>77</sup> In seven cases this possibility was combined with the one year rule: if there were no children the one year rule would have been applied.<sup>78</sup> Here regional variations occur since the possibility to continue the trade with children (with or without modifications) was mentioned only in the ordinances from Lübeck and Tallinn. Lübeck ordinances also favoured sons, because in three cases it was explicitly mentioned that a widow was allowed to carry on with the trade with her sons.<sup>79</sup>

Table 4.3 The number of ‘with children’ articles in the craft ordinances

City	Number of ordinances with articles on widows' rights	Number of ‘with children’ articles
Lübeck	23	7
Riga	17	0
Tallinn	15	6
Stockholm	9	1
Total	64	14

Sources: See Tables 3.6–3.9.

Within this framework, the supporters of the subordination theory and decline thesis have interpreted a widow’s right to continue the trade in late medieval and early modern times only as a continuation of her husband’s trade, securing the widow’s living and preserving the business for the children, compared to the fourteenth century when widows continued *their own trade*, the trade they pursued as wives.<sup>80</sup>

<sup>77</sup> For example, in the following crafts: in Lübeck Wehrmann, *Zunftrollen*, no. 6, 171 (Bekermacher/Cup makers 1591), no. 12, 201 (Dreyer/Turners 1507), no. 46, 372 (Gürtler/Girdlers 1414), no. 51, 403 (Sadelmaker/Saddlers 1502); Tallinn, TLA, coll. 190, inv. 2, no. 511, 5v (Schroter/Tailors 1413–1650), no. 555, 5v (Smede/Smiths 1459–1528), no. 642, 5v (Hanfspinner/Hemp weavers 1462), no. 121, 4r (Knochenhauer/Butchers 1509), no. 149, 7v (Schlosser/Locksmiths 1459–1528) and LECUB (Knochenhauer/Butchers, 1394). See Tables 3.6–3.9 for further details.

<sup>78</sup> Lübeck: Bekermacher/Cup makers, Dreyer/Turners, Gürtler/Girdlers, and in Tallinn Schroter/Tailors, Smede/Smiths, Hanfspinner/Hemp weavers and Schlosser/Locksmiths. See Tables 3.6–3.9.

<sup>79</sup> Wehrmann, *Zunftrollen*, no. 6, 171 (Bekermacher/Cup makers 1591); no. 12, 200–201 (Dreyer/Turners 1507); no. 46, 372 (Gürtler/Girdlers 1414). See also Tables 3.6–3.9.

<sup>80</sup> Bennett, *Ale, Beer and Brewsters*, 57.

At first sight craft ordinances from the Baltic Sea region seem to support this interpretation, since the continuation of the business with children was so often written in craft ordinances.

However, as the previous chapter has demonstrated, interpretation of widows' rights articles in the craft ordinances only as means to overcome the transition period between generations and male heads of households is too narrow a perspective. Household-based craft production system needed the work contribution of both spouses to sustain. Furthermore, a married couple often formed a joint economy and managerial team; thus they ran the workshop together. Consequently, it would be hard to imagine that a husband thought business to be solely *his*; and that a widow would have thought herself only a means to keep the household business going until children would come of age. In English towns, widows were even expected to continue the business as recent studies point out.<sup>81</sup> In early modern Paris, some widows shared the management of the business with their sons. In one case the son of the master printer was to take care of the daily running of the workshop with a generous annual salary whereas his mother held the master title and authority of the workshop. In another case widow rented her master rights to her son.<sup>82</sup> In early modern Cologne, a goldsmith's widow continued her trade with her daughter and journeyman for several decades.<sup>83</sup>

#### 4.2.1 Modifications to the 'with children' article

As we know, several modifications were made to the widows' rights articles that gave widows a certain time limit to continue their trade. Similarly, modifications were also made to the 'with children' article. In four cases from Lübeck this option was combined with the one year rule, so that if a widow had children the one year rule was revoked or, as stated in the cup makers' ordinances, if there was no son the one year rule was to be applied.<sup>84</sup> In the fifth Lübeck case the saddle makers' ordinance regulated that a widow could carry on with her son if she did not want to

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81 McIntosh, *Working Women*, 29.

82 Lanza, *From Wives to Widows*, 145, 147–148.

83 Gonzáles Athenas, 'Legal Regulation', 161.

84 Wehrmann, *Zunftrollen*, no. 12, 200–201 (Dreyer/Turner 1507), no. 46, 372 (Gürtler/Girdlers 1414) and no. 47, 171 (Bekermaker/Cup makers 1591): 'Item eine wedewe do nenen son heft, und dat ampt gebruken will, sol sich wedder befryen binnen jhares na gelegenheit und guttachtent der weddehern.' Quotation from the cup makers ordinance.



remarry. Additionally, saddle makers required that the son would know the work.<sup>85</sup> Four Lübeck cases explicitly mentioned sons. Only the purse makers used the word ‘children’.<sup>86</sup> Turners, additionally, regulated that a widow was allowed to continue the trade until her son would come of age.<sup>87</sup>

Other six cases appear in Tallinn craft ordinances, where this right was the second most common option after the one year rule. Tallinn craft ordinances included various additions and modifications to the ‘with children’ article. In two cases this article was again combined with a time limit, as in tailors<sup>88</sup> and hemp weavers<sup>89</sup> crafts; in two cases, with smiths and locksmiths, time was unlimited.<sup>90</sup> Tailors allowed a widow to carry on for three years with children.<sup>91</sup> In two cases, both from butchers, a widow could continue her trade with her children as long as she remained a widow.<sup>92</sup> In butchers’ craft ordinances ‘with children’ option was the only possibility mentioned in the craft ordinances. Locksmiths regulated that children had to ‘be born to the craft’, in other words they had to be the children of the now-dead craft member.<sup>93</sup> If this was the case, the mother and children could continue the trade as long as the

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85 Wehrmann, *Zunftrollen*, no. 51, 403 (Sadelmaker/Saddlers 1502): ‘Item wenn ein meyster des vorsecrevenen ampts stervet unde leth na eine frouwe, de sullfte mach mit rade ehrer frunde sich up dat amt wedder voranderen, unde so se sick nicht voranderen wolde und einen sone hadde, dat warck konede, de mach des by der moder, beth he sines sulven werden kann, unbehindert bruken.’

86 Wehrmann, *Zunftrollen*, no. 9, 187 (Büdelmaker/Purse makers 1459): ‘Item eyne wedewe mach bruken des amptes jahr vnde dach na eres mannes dode vnde nicht lenck, men hefft se kyndere van deme manne des amptes vnde will wedewe blyven, so mach se des amptes bruken myt den vorschrevenen kynderen, so lange also ze will.’

87 Wehrmann, *Zunftrollen*, no. 12, 200–201 (Dryer/Turners 1507): ‘Item welk wedewe, der de man vorstorven is, des amptes bruken will, de mach dat don jar und dach; sunder hefft se eynen sone, de des amptes bruken will, so mach se dat beholden wente to sinen mundigen jaren.’

88 TLA, coll. 190, inv. 2, no. 511, 5v (Schroter/ Tailors 1413–1659).

89 TLA, coll. 190, inv. 2, no. 642, 5v (Hanfspinner/ Hemp weavers 1462).

90 TLA, coll. 190, inv. 2, no. 555, 5v (Smede 1459–1528) and no. 149, 8v (Schlosser/Locksmiths 1459–1528/1549). See also Appendix 3.

91 TLA, coll. 190, inv. 2, no. 511, 5v (Schroter/Tailors 1413–1659)/TLA, coll. 230, inv. 1, no. Ac5 Schragencodex, 74r/TLA, coll. 230, inv. 1, no. Ac 6 I Schragenbuch, 11r: ‘Item welk Ampt Froüwe Wedewe id de kinder hefft de mach na des mannes dode dat amt brüken ein [later replaced in Schragen Codex with ‘dreen’] Jahrlanck, vnd de nene kinder hebben de möget brüken jahr vnd dach uppet olde [...]’

92 TLA; coll. 190, inv. 2, no. 119, 2v–3r (Knochenhauer/Butchers 1394) and no. 21, 4r (Knochenhauer/Butchers 1509): ‘Item weret ok sake dat wol uth vnseme ampte vorstorüe van mans persone, vnde he kinder na lethe myt der vrouwen dat syn knechte edder juncfrouwe, de frowe sal dat amt brüken, de wile sich de frowe nycht vorandert.’ Transcription from butchers from 1509.

93 TLA, coll. 190, inv. 2, no. 149, 8v (Schlosser/Locksmiths 1459–1528/1549). The same obligation was mentioned in the Lübeck purse makers’ ordinance, Wehrmann, *Zunftrollen*, no. 9, 187 (Büdelmaker/Purse-makers 1459).

mother was alive.<sup>94</sup> In times when remarriages were common it was highly important to know whose husband's children they were.

Table 4.4 Combinations and modifications of 'with children' article in Tallinn craft ordinances

Widows' rights article	Combination or modification	Number of cases in Tallinn	Crafts
With children	Time limit	2	Tailors, hemp weavers
With children	Unlimited time	2	Smiths, locksmiths
With children	As long as widow was unmarried	2	Butchers

Sources: See Table 3.8.

It is worth to note that the Tallinn craft ordinances which included the 'with children' article use the term *kyndere*, children, whereas in Lübeck it is *some*, sons. The use of the word *children* implicates that in Tallinn girls could inherit their father's occupation, alike the sons. In Tallinn coopers' craft ordinance it is clearly stated that a cooper's daughter or a son, who had learned the craft, was applicable to a lower membership fee.<sup>95</sup> However, the references to daughters' rights in the craft ordinances around the Baltic Sea are scarce. Consequently, no firm conclusions on the matter can be made. The majority of the articles that dealt with masters' daughters handled the daughters' marriage and, in fact, listed the benefits given to a journeyman if he was to marry a master's daughter. In Strasbourg, the majority of masters' daughters married into a different craft than that of their father or parents.<sup>96</sup> Perhaps this happened also in the Baltic Sea region and therefore the daughters' inheritance rights for craft mastership were not included in craft ordinances. Indeed, for Stockholm Marko Lamberg has shown that the sons of town councillors often did not follow their fathers' career paths in town administration: more commonly a son-in-law followed his father-in-law as a councillor than a son his father.<sup>97</sup> On the other hand, according to the Northern city

94 TLA, coll. 190, inv. 2, no. 149, 8v–9r (Schlosser/Locksmiths and smiths 1528–1747): 'Item effte eyne ffrouwe were in vnsem ampte der er man wer affstorüen vnde de nene kinder hedde de in vnsem ampte gebaren weren So sal vnn mach she dae amptes gebruken iar vnn dach vnn wan er deme iar vnn dach vmme gekamen sint So sal men her de windelage to schlüten vnn weret sake dat sze kinder hadde de in deme ampte gebaren vnn nen gestlicke lude weren szo schal sze vnn mach des ampte gebrüken mit eren kinder so lange er dat leueth.' Perhaps children could also be from a previous marriage, if the previous husband had also been a locksmith.

95 TLA, coll. 230, inv. 1, no. Ac6 I Schragenbuch, 121v (Boddeker/Coopers 1556, Addition from 1617): 'Item datt sall och eines Boddekers dochter edder söne, so det dat Ampt gelehret vnd sine fülle Gerechtigheit gedahn, des Ingahende geldes entfäuen sin, gelick desze Meisters, [...].'

96 Von Heusinger, *Die Zunft*, 234–237.

97 Lamberg, *Dannemänner*, 94, 110–114.

laws, daughters and sons inherited equal shares. Furthermore, widows inherited half of the property.<sup>98</sup> Thus, the practice that daughters could inherit their fathers' profession might have been common and there was no need to write it down explicitly in the craft ordinances. In any case, more research is required to shed light on this matter.

Tallinn hemp weavers are a unique case among the crafts when analysing widows' options. Their craft ordinance combined three options and had some additions to the rules, too. A widow was allowed to carry on with the trade for one year but she was also to hire a *knecht* to assist her. However, if she had a son and the son would learn the craft with her mother, she could continue the trade as long as she wanted. If a widow had no sons and she remarried with the craft's journeyman, he was to carry out all the payments like other journeymen. This is peculiar, since usually journeymen were given benefits if they married a craft's widow. Indeed, if a journeyman married a master's daughter he could freely practise the trade, i.e. he was freed from fees and payments. Craft ordinance also regulated that if a widow remarried outside the craft she was to give up her trade.<sup>99</sup> Tallinn hemp weavers' widows' rights article illustrates effectively how the chances for a widow to continue her trade could be manifold within one craft.

Tallinn hemp weavers manufactured yarn for ropes and sails. Yarn products were then delivered to rope makers or sail makers and finally exported by merchants. At least some Tallinn hemp weavers also manufactured light sails and these were part of mastership qualifications. Thus, the separation of these two trades is rather debatable.<sup>100</sup> In late medieval Tallinn, rope making industry was flourishing. It also held an important position in the city's export.<sup>101</sup> Economic importance of this trade sector explains why the craft ordinance gave so many possibilities for a widow to

98 For Swedish town law, see Holmbäck and Wessén, *MEST*, Ärvdabalken § 1–2, 56; for Lübeck city law, see Korlén, *Norddeutsche Stadtrechte*, Lübeck stadtrecht 1282, § 12, 86–87 and Lübisches Recht 1586, Successionen § 2–3, § 7, 72–73, 75. Digitalized edition (read 4 November 2013). See bibliography for details. See also Salminen, 'Uusmaalainen Tallinnaperinnöt', 195–196.

99 TLA, coll. 190, inv. 2, no. 642, 5r–6r (Hanfspinner/Hempweavers 1462): 'Item welk man in vnseme Ampt vorsteruet vnd ene vrome vrouwe nalet de vrouwe mach des Amptes broken iar vnd dach by sodamen beschede dat se vrome knecht holde gelicken anderen broder vnd dat se deme Ampte rechte do na der Schraa. Item welck vrome vrouwe ded eme sone beholt van eneme yn vnseme Ampte vnd de sone mit der moder leret vnd mit er bruken will zo mach de vrouwe mit dem sone dat Ampt bruken to eren dagen vry vnd gwyt. Item welck vrome vrouwe de er man vorstoruen is vnd nenen zone en hefft vnd enem gesellen wedder nympt yn vnseme Ampte de geselle schal deme Ampt don alle redelicheit gelick enem anderen gesellen. Item welk man ere vrome vrouwe nalet und de sik vorandert buten unse Ampte de en schall vnse Amptes nicht mer bruken. Item welk man enen dochter heft yn vnseme Ampte edder nalet vnd wert gegeuen eneme geselle yn vnseme Ampte de schaöo vnd mach des Amptes bruken vry vnde gwyt.'

100 Stieda, 'Kabelgarn und Steine', 153–156.

101 Stieda, 'Kabelgarn und Steine', 153–166; Aalto, *Sotakaupunki*, 74.

carry on: it was important to guarantee the continuity of the business and secure the production of ropes and sails for the export-orientated markets. Therefore, it was beneficial for all parties, for the craft and merchants of the city council, to provide widows with various opportunities to continue their trade.

#### 4.2.2 Parenthood and authority

In many cases petitioners, both widows and one widower, explicitly attempted to justify their cause by referring to their children.<sup>102</sup> Some petitioners referred directly to their children as a reason why it was necessary for them to be able to continue craft trade. For example, this was the case when turner's widow Meike Hoiers referred to her two sons. She appealed to the city council in 1583 asking for a permission to continue her trade. The widow wrote that she was told to go to the *Gilde stube* and present her piece of work in order to prove that she was able to earn her daily bread with the help of her two sons, of whom the elder was 20 and the younger 13.<sup>103</sup> Based on this, it is evident that she had continued her trade with her sons and saw herself capable of doing so. In the letter there is no reference to a former husband which indicates that Meike had been a widow for some time.

According to turners' ordinance, a widow was allowed to continue her trade with her sons until the sons would come of age,<sup>104</sup> therefore it is no wonder that Meike Hoiers continuously referred to her children. Clearly she mentioned to her sons in order to emphasize her role as a mother responsible of sustaining the family. The descendants may have also been the key why she left the ordinance unmentioned. Perhaps, as the elder son had reached the age of 20, the aldermen saw that he should take over the family business. In her petition letter widow Meike Hoiers fiercely defended her rights, which might implicate that she was unwilling to hand over the control of the workshop to her son. Unfortunately, besides the ages of her sons, no other background information is provided, so a researcher is not aware of the circumstances in the turner workshop. Nevertheless, the widow clearly knew the

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102 AHL, ASA Interna, Handwerksämter, no. 1105 (Drechsler/Dreyer/Turners, Letter 22 October 1583); 511 (Barbiere/Barber-surgeons, Letter 8 August 1599 and Letter 1 May 1607); 1648 (Glockengiesser/Bell founders, Letter 21 March 1615); 2652 (Leineweber, Linen weavers, Letter 12 April 1586); 4036 (Tischler/Joiners, Letter 20 January 1607).

103 AHL, ASA Interna, Handwerksämter, no. 1105 (Drechsler/Dreyer/Turners, Letter 22 October 1583: '[...] Mij unlangst mitt minen Sohnes vorschreven, na stove tho kamen, und etzlich Böme tho baren, darumb ick datt daglige brodtth thovordenen mitt minen beiden sohnes, darwan der einen 20 Jar und der andere 13 Jar altt is, [...]'. The transcribed letter and the last page can be found in Chapter 3.3.

104 Wehrmann, *Zunftrollen*, no. 12, 200–201 (Drechsler/Dreyer/Turners 1507, Additions until 1580).

channels available for her to defend her case. Perhaps she, and the community, regarded the city council's authority to be above the craft – which it certainly was – and therefore the widow relied on the council's judgement and did not refer to the craft ordinance.<sup>105</sup> In conflict cases the city council was the highest court instance.

Some petitioners emphasized their role as mothers, as did Catharina, barber-surgeon Berend Catonis' widow,<sup>106</sup> or as fathers, as linen weaver Bastian Vermann and butcher Jacob Huken. Linen weaver Bastian wrote in his petition letter that after marrying linen weaver's widow Wibke two years ago he had become responsible for four stepchildren and after the death of her wife had to take care of five children.<sup>107</sup> Butcher Jacob Huken wanted to displace a widow called Geselke so that his son-in-law could take over the vacant master's place.<sup>108</sup> The proxies of an unnamed free baker Thomas' widow wrote how she had raised her children alone.<sup>109</sup> Bell founder's widow Catharina Benning wrote in her petition letter asking for a permission to hire a journeyman that she had six living children, the youngest of which she was still breastfeeding. She continued that she had received little hope, advice, and help to sustain them and without her trade (*handwerk*) she was unable to provide for the family.<sup>110</sup> Obviously Catharina Benning wanted to justify her request for a journeyman by providing detailed information on how many mouths she had to feed. Yet, we can perhaps notice a subtle boast in her reference that all her children were alive in a time when infant mortality was substantial.<sup>111</sup>

However, widows, widowers, and other individuals were not the only ones who

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105 Here I owe thanks to the docent Aino Katermaa at the University of Tampere for pointing out this possibility.

106 AHL, ASA Interna, Handwerksämter, no. 511 (Barbiere/Barber-surgeons, Letter 8 August 1599).

107 AHL, ASA Interna, Handwerksämter, no. 2652 (Leineweber/Linen weavers, Letter 12 April 1586): '[...]dat ich seligen Jacob Meyers, etwa gewesen Tein pennickknechts, und Füberbötters, nachgelateneen Wedewe, de J. E. W. darvor ich aller underdenigst danckbar, mit dren touwen, mit ohren viff kindern, öhre schamele neringe, darvan tho hebben beleget, wor twen jahren thor ehe genamen, welck kort vor negest vorgangen Wynachten, veer kindern, van seligen Jacob gebaren, nalaten vorstoruen, [...]' More about Bastian's case see Chapter 5.3.

108 AHL, ASA Interna, Handwerksämter, no. 2288 (Knochenhauer/Butchers, Letter 28 March 1609).

109 AHL, ASA Interna, Handwerksämter, no. 456 (Freibäcker/Free bakers, Letter 6.1.1611): '[...] dann der Witwen die mühe und last bei ihren \_\_\_\_ das habenden kleinen \_\_\_\_\_ [kindern?] mit welchem sie als entzele frawespersonen is, ihres mühseliges hausregiment mehr dann gnnug zuschaffen [...]'. The original letter is damaged but I have interpreted the badly damaged word as *kindern*, children, based on the context.

110 AHL, ASA Interna, Handwerksämter, no. 1648 (Glockengießer/Bell founder, Letter 21 March 1615: '[...] Aldieweill ich nun mit sechs lebendigen unerzogenen kleinen kindern /: darunter das iungste mir noch an den brusten liegett :/ sitze, und zu unterhaltung demselben zwar wenig trost, rath und hulfe habe, [...] das ich ohn zuthun des handwercks dieselbe nichtt zu ernehrem weiß. [...]'.

111 Cipolla, *Before the Industrial Revolution*, 3–5, 155–156.

referred to the children as a justification to their requests as the crafts/ aldermen used this tactic as well. In July 1586, a currier's widow Margareta appealed to the city council and requested that she would be considered as worthy of the craft and would no longer be mocked because of her dishonourable husband whom she had divorced many years ago.<sup>112</sup> The craft's rejoinder letter stated that if the council reduces the number of master's vacancies in their craft trade and, additionally, Margareta is allowed to continue her trade then these measures would weaken the possibilities of the masters' children to continue within their inherited trade of the carriers.<sup>113</sup> Here the aldermen referred to the children's rights to inherit their parents' trade. In their rejoinder letter the currier aldermen emphasized long-term continuity: naturally parents saw their children, particularly sons, as continuators of their life work. Additionally, aldermen wanted to guarantee best possible future for their children, as any parent would. The currier widow Margareta described her former husband as a scoundrel in various parts of her letter.<sup>114</sup> This was a deliberate choice. She wanted to make a contrast between herself as an honest person and her unworthy former husband.<sup>115</sup> In order to enforce the argument an additional letter of proof was enclosed with Margareta's letter that confirmed Margareta's view.<sup>116</sup>

In late medieval and early modern world children played a key role in securing economic safety. Inheritance laws varied according to whether a married couple had children or not, and children were to take care of their parents when they became old. Children were loved and cared for. Moreover, as Sari Katajala-Peltomaa argues, taking care of and raising children was seen as the responsibility of both parents.<sup>117</sup> Lübeck petition letters support this view and we encounter some men that were worried about their children's future. Being a parent was often a source of authority and power, although not automatically. Like age, social status, and gender, it was one of the categories that could bring authority and power. Much depended on the status

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112 AHL, ASA Interna, Handwerksämter, no. 977 (Bremelmacher/Buntmacher/Buntfutter/Curriers, Letter 23 July 1586). See also Chapter 4.1.1 Exceeding time limits where Margareta's case is discussed.

113 AHL, ASA Interna, Handwerksämter, no. 977 (Bremelmacher/Buntmacher/Buntfutter/Curriers, Letter 23 July 1586): '[...]jetzlich unter uns so Ire erwachssene kinder haben, dieselben unangesehen, dass sie wohl mehr lust und neigung gehabt dabei zu bleiben, ausserhalb des berurten unses amts bestatten müssen, [...]'

114 AHL, ASA Interna, Handwerksämter, no. 977 (Bremelmacher/Buntmacher/Buntfutter/Curriers, Letter 23 July 1586).

115 Cf. Toivo, *Witchcraft and Gender*, 94.

116 AHL, ASA Interna, Handwerksämter, no. 977 (Bremelmacher/Buntmacher/Buntfutter/Curriers, Letter 15 July 1586).

117 Katajala-Peltomaa and Toivo, *Noitavaimo ja neitsytäiti*, 67. See also for example Kuuliala, *Disability and Social Interaction*, 120–121, 195–197.

of a person within the household. A parent who was respected within the household could use parenthood in strengthening her or his authority, hence, use parenthood as an influential tool in court room, for example. On the other hand, a parent who was disrespected in the household could not easily gain authority in the community and could not refer to parenthood so successfully.<sup>118</sup>

A substantial share of petitioners, six of the Lübeck petitioners studied here, referred to their children or their role as a parent. These six cases included both men and women of different marital, social, and professional status. For example, we have linen weaver Bastian Vermann, who was a widowed journeyman working at craft associated license granted to his late wife Wibke. The situation was very much disadvantageous for Bastian as we will discuss in Chapters 5.2.2 and 5.3, because he was unqualified for craft mastership, he worked under craft associate license, and he even owned more weaving looms than he and his wife had been allowed.<sup>119</sup> Yet, he clearly used his position as a father in order to legitimize his actions and claims. As Raisa Maria Toivo has argued, in early modern Finland people legitimized their course of action in court by using the rhetoric of parenthood.<sup>120</sup> Similar tactic can be observed in Lübeck. Indeed, based on Lübeck letters we can conclude that regardless of the petitioners' gender, marital, social, or work status referring to parenthood was used as a strategy for appeal. However, it is hard to conclude how successful this strategy was since council decisions were seldom written on the backside of the letters. Nonetheless, the petitioners referred to their parenthood as often as they referred to craft ordinances and much more often than they referred to city law or old custom. This indicates that they considered it a useful strategy.

In the widows' rights articles in craft ordinances the option to carry on with the trade with children was the third most common option mentioned.<sup>121</sup> The option to carry on with the trade with children underlines widows' role as mothers. Here the main concern is the livelihood of the family and the inheritance of the children. As a single parent it was crucial for the family's sustainability that a widow was allowed to carry on with the profession. In many Lübeck petition letters the petitioners, both men and women of different marital status, referred to their children and their role as a parent when presenting their case. Judith Bennett, among others, has argued that widows merely managed the household workshop in the interim before a son could

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118 Toivo, *Witchcraft and Gender*, 145; Eilola, 'Patriarkalisuus', 111–115, 123; Katajala-Peltomaa and Toivo, *Noitavaimo ja neitsytäiti*, 101–102.

119 AHL, ASA Interna, Handwerksämter, no. 2652 (Leineweber/Linen weavers, Letters 12 April 1586 and 14 April 1586).

120 Toivo, *Witchcraft and Gender*, 190.

121 See Table 3.5.

take over the business. According to her, widows simply continued their husband's trade, tried to secure a living, and preserve the business for the next generation. Hence, widows did not consider it as their own trade.<sup>122</sup> Conversely, Raisa Maria Toivo has argued that women were not merely actors of transitional period but, like men, they were links in a chain of generations.<sup>123</sup> Expecting something else would have been quite inane. One aim of this chain was to preserve the family business. Moreover, separating an individual, 'P', from the chain of generations is rather anachronistic. They were the same thing and one could not have existed without the other.

Based on the evidence discussed in this chapter it is clear that parenthood was something that was considered very important both economically and emotionally. Parenthood was, without a doubt, regarded as one source of authority since so many petitioners referred to it even though their starting position was weak, like in Bastian's case. Reference to children as continuators of the craft trade was also emphasized. Continuity and protection of the business, both in craft and household level, were crucial elements within craft trade culture in late medieval and early modern cities bordering the Baltic Sea. Furthermore, the emphasis of continuity and protection was clearly stated in city laws of this region, which granted equal inheritance rights for children despite their sex and entitled widows to inherit half of the joint property.

### 4.3 Effort for continuity and inner protectionism

There were many ways how crafts aimed to secure continuity of production and inner protection. A widow's possibilities to carry on with her children or for a certain period of time were one of these means, as we have seen in the previous chapters. Thus, with their ordinances, confirmed by the city council, crafts attempted to control labour market and production. In other words, crafts endeavoured to operate as a cartel.<sup>124</sup> Essential elements in the control of production were, for example, regular visits of the aldermen who supervised the quality of products and equipment, like looms, in the workshop so that they met the standards and regulations set in the craft ordinances. Another two possibilities for widows to continue their trade which were mentioned in the craft ordinances will be discussed within this context in the following subchapters.

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122 Bennet, *Ale, Beer and Brewsters*, 57. See also Karlsson Sjögren, *Kvinnors rätt*, 68–69.

123 Katajala-Peltomaa and Toivo, *Noitavaimo ja neitsytäiti*, 121–122.

124 Lindberg, *Hantverk och skräväsén*, 76.



### 4.3.1 Using all purchased materials

One option for an artisan widow to carry on with her trade was the possibility to continue until she had finished working with already purchased materials. In other words, she could carry on working with the materials they had bought together with her late husband. This option was only mentioned in four Lübeck ordinances and in one Stockholm ordinance, which originally was the ordinance of Danzig chamois leather tanners.<sup>125</sup> Perhaps this reflects Lübeck's position as a leading commercial city and the capital city of the Hanseatic League. Lübeck tanners combined this fourth option, finish work with the purchased materials, with 'hiring a *knecht*' article. A widow could tan the skins her husband left for her if she stayed in the craft. If she decided to remain a widow, she was to hire a *knecht* who would tan three skins a week for her.<sup>126</sup> The combination is practical and reflects the idea of continuity in business and production.

In Lübeck hucksters' and wool dyers' craft this was the only option mentioned in the ordinances.<sup>127</sup> The hucksters' ordinance advised a widow to see crafts' aldermen who were to tell the widow how to sell the purchased goods. This seems rather odd because many wives were selling their goods at the market so there was no reason to assume that a widow did not know what to do. In fact, the craft ordinance forbade hucksters' wives to sell their goods at the salt market unless the husband was ill.<sup>128</sup> This suggests that some wives had sold their goods at the salt market. The ordinance also stipulated that two women (*beyden fruwe*) at the market, who sat on the week bench selling herring, should only sell the best quality herring.<sup>129</sup> Apparently the

125 RA, Stockholms stads acta, vol 27 (Sämskmakare/Chamois leather tanners 1575). See Tables 3.5, 3.6, and 3.9 for further details.

126 Wehrmann, *Zunftrollen*, no. 34, 316 (Lorer/Tanners 1454): 'Item so wor een Man vuth vnsem ampte vorsterue vnde ene hufrouwe nalet, de frouwe mach gheren eren fullen tal, so lange dat ere loet waret, dat ere man eer nalaten hefft, so verne se deme ampte blifft. Is dat denne sake, dat se denne wedewe wil bliven, so mach een bedderve man in vnsem ampte se to zijk nehmen vnde gheren tor weken vor eer III hude, vnde dar schal he ze vor voden ere tyd, men se en mach dat nicht vorhuren offte vorsetten.'

127 Wehrmann, *Zunftrollen*, no. 21, 238 (Hoker/Hucksters 1507) and no. 63, 485 (Wantfarver/ Wool dyers 1500).

128 Wehrmann, *Zunftrollen*, no. 21, 237–238 (Hoker/Hucksters 1507): 'Item welk man vorlent is vp deme soltenmarkede, de schal sijn gudt sulven zellen vnde nicht de fruwe, vnde he enschal nene spe worde geven, [...] vnde worde de man krank, so mach de fruwe sijn gud sellen; vortmer storve de man, so schal se gan bij de olderlude, de schole sse vnderichten, er gudt to zellen, dat de man hefft ingehofft.'

129 Wehrmann, *Zunftrollen*, no. 21, 237–238 (Hoker/Hucksters 1507). In this hucksters' widows' rights article it is not clear whether the term *fruwe* refers to an independent huckster woman or to a huckster's wife, both options are possible.

craft wanted to control widows' enterprise, which explains the addition made to the widows' rights. However, we must interpret these articles within a larger framework of protectionism.

Crafts used many ways to control production. Together with the city council they fixed (minimum) prices and wage level. For example, the tariffs of Tallinn boatmen were regulated and revised several times.<sup>130</sup> Before the Stockholm bakers' ordinance was written down at the beginning of the sixteenth century the city council regulated what grain should be used for different bread types and how much a loaf of bread was to weigh.<sup>131</sup> Afterwards the bakers' craft ordinance regulated weight and quality of the end product.<sup>132</sup> In order to ensure equal resources for craft members, crafts also regulated the distribution of raw material.<sup>133</sup> Quality standards of products were stipulated in the ordinances and these standards were executed in practice through regular control of produced goods by the aldermen and regulating the skill requirements for the mastership, like the manufacturing of a master piece. Furthermore, the volume of the production was controlled by limiting the number of masters, the number of workforce employed by one master, the number of equipment and tools, like the number of weaving looms,<sup>134</sup> and the number of produced items.

It must be underlined that these control measures did not focus on women of any marital status. In other words, these actions were not gender-specific but applied to the whole system and organization. Within this framework the clause according to which a Lübeck huckster widow was advised to see the crafts' aldermen on how to sell her products appears in a different light. It was part of the inner protectionism and control of produced goods. This 'asking of advice' practice was a means to guarantee that everyone understood controlling decisions and that these were followed. Granting a widow a right to continue her trade as long as she had manufactured goods with the materials already purchased and controlling this production was intended to ensure the continuity of production and inner protectionism – both essential elements within craft trade culture.

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130 Stieda, 'Mündriche und Träger in Reval', 137–140.

131 SSTB 1484–1492, 71, 83, 118, 188.

132 Klemming, *Skrå-ordinagar*, 211–215 (Bagare/ Bakers, beginning of the sixteenth century).

133 Lindberg, *Hantverk och skråväsen*, 77.

134 Wehrmann, *Zunftrollen*, no. 35, 321–322, 325 (Leineweber, Linen weavers before 1425).

### 4.3.2 No restrictions

The second most common possibility mentioned in the widows' rights articles granted widows a right to continue their trade without any restrictions. The option to carry on without any restrictions can be found in each of the four cities, like the one year rule. In Stockholm, this option was only mentioned in the barber-surgeons' ordinance of 1571.<sup>135</sup> A striking feature is that this option was very common in Riga where eight crafts gave widows full freedom to continue their trade.<sup>136</sup> Furthermore, Riga chamois leather tanners also considered widows capable of training apprentices and journeymen.<sup>137</sup> This was very important when considering the continuity of the business. In Lübeck, a widow was allowed to continue without any strings attached in fell dyers', tanners', and curriers' crafts.<sup>138</sup> The following table illustrates the number of cases in each city.

Table 4.5 The number of 'no restrictions' cases in the craft ordinances of the four cities.

City	Number of ordinances with articles on widows' rights	No restrictions
Lübeck	23	4
Riga	17	8
Tallinn	15	5
Stockholm	9	1
Total	64	18

Sources: see Tables 3.6–3.9.

135 Klemming, *Skrå-ordinagar*, 244 (Barbere/Barber-surgeons 1571).

136 Stieda and Mettig, *Schragen*, no. 34, 311 (Goldsmede/Goldsmiths 1582); no. 70, 402 (Leineweber/Linen weavers), no. 80, 423 (Maurer/Masons 1390); no. 82, 429 (Maurer/ Masons 1546); no. 87, 452 (Schlosser-, Sporer, Büchsenmacher und Uhrmacher-Meister/ Locksmiths, other smiths, and watchmakers 1593); no. 100, 513 (Schnitzer/Carvers 1536); no. 101, 521 (Schnitzer/Carvers 1541) and no. 121, 651 (Semischgerber/Chamois leather tanners 1579). It must be noted that the Schlosser/Locksmiths' (et al) masters' ordinance of 1593 probably revoked this right later according to markings in the marginal of the original document.

137 Stieda and Mettig, *Schragen*, no. 121, 651 (Semischgerber/Chamois leather tanners 1579).

138 Russfärber/fell dyers, Rotlöscher/Tanners and Bremelmacher/Buntmacher/Buntfutter/curriers. See Table 3.6 for further details.

In Tallinn, the composite craft of joiners, painters, and glazers granted widows full rights to continue the trade, without any additions.<sup>139</sup> However, in some cases it is not clear whether a widow was allowed to carry on without any restrictions only if she and the latest husband had had children. For example, the Stockholm barber-surgeons regulated that if after the death of a craft brother his wife and children are still alive, then the widow can practise the trade like other craft brothers as long as she desires and behaves worthy of the craft:

Til thet Sextonde, När någon ämbetzbroder efter sin dödh hustru och barn lefuendes, Då skall henne efterlathes bruka ämbetet lijka medh ander ämbetz brödher så länge hänne siälf lyster, och hon wil göre i ämbetet lijke och rätt.<sup>140</sup>

In the barbers' case this article could also be interpreted in a way that if a widow had children, then and **only then** she was allowed to continue the trade. However, the article has no formulations on whether she was supposed continue the trade with her children, as was the custom in the ordinances written in Middle Low German. It is also possible that if this latter interpretation was intentional, the article would respectively include the formulation *only then* (**bara** då); now the formulation is simply *then* (*då*). It is possible that precisely this language area explains the different encoding, because a similar case is also the one of Stockholm coppersmiths concerning the one year rule.<sup>141</sup>

Like so many widows' rights articles, also 'no restriction' cases included some additions. Lübeck tanners ordained that a son was to hire a *knecht* to help his widowed mother.<sup>142</sup> Evidently the craft saw that male workforce was needed to keep the household-based business flourishing. And, indeed, the question of workforce often led to disputes as the next main chapter will show. The Tallinn boatmen (*Mündriche*) added that a widow was allowed to carry on without restrictions as long as she remained a widow. If she remarried the craft

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139 The craft has two different ordinances and therefore it is counted as two separate cases. TLA, coll. 230, inv. 1, no. Ac5 Schragencodex, 10r (Maler, Glazewerter und Snitker/Painters, glazers, and carvers 1513): 'Item ist eyn mester storüe vnnd syne frowe blive leüendich szo sal se dat ampt alike wol broken vnnd don des amptes rechticheit also yste de mester leüde.' and TLA, coll. 230, inv. 1, no. Ac6I Schragenbuch, 106r (Dischler-Maler-Gläzer/Joiners-Painters-Glazers 1536–1637), in which the article has the same formulation as in the older ordinance.

140 Klemming, *Skrå-ordinangar*, 244 (Barbere/Barber-surgeons 1571).

141 Klemming, *Skrå-ordinangar*, 283 (Kopparsmede/Coppersmiths 1602).

142 Wehrmann, *Zunftrollen*, no. 49, 392–393 (Rotlöscher/Tanners (vor) 1471): 'Item vortmeer weret sake, dat eyn man vorstorve, de enen sone hebbe, de sines sulues were, de mach enen knecht tosetten umme vorstendinge siner moder.' Addition in 1471: 'Item welk vruwe der ere man in God vorstervet, de schall des ganzen amptes vortan, bewile se weddewe blivet, na des mannes dode bruken, by also, dat desulffte mede doen schal ane jegensegget gelijk anderen amptes brodern.'

right was to be applied anew.<sup>143</sup> It is worth to note that in Tallinn two crafts altered their ordinances so that the previous combination of the one year rule and ‘with children’ article were later changed to ‘no restriction’ option.<sup>144</sup> This contradicts the predominant view of previous research that the possibilities for widows to continue their trade diminished towards the seventeenth century, as already shown in Chapter 3.1.2.

In several cases it was clearly stated that this ‘no restrictions’ possibility applied only as long as a widow did not remarry.<sup>145</sup> This was also common practice in late medieval and early modern Denmark where many crafts allowed widows to carry on with their trade without restrictions as long as they did not remarry and acted as craft’s worthy.<sup>146</sup> Janine M. Lanza has argued that the practical know-how, legal and economic independence, and master rights/craft membership combined with a flexible gender role gave widows a possibility to choose widowhood over remarriage. Some widows were not willing to give up these privileges granted to them by their status. In fact, artisan widows in early modern Paris remarried less frequently than other widows.<sup>147</sup> Furthermore, Lanza has shown in her study how some widows established business partnerships with other masters in order to gain a thriving business. Sometimes these partnerships included an intimate relationship. By incorporating her lover into her business and living quarters a widow could turn her relationship acceptable but at the same time retain her independence and mastership status as well as the legal and economical privileges granted

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143 TLA, coll 190, inv. 2, no 664 (Mündriche/Boatmen 1531). See also Stieda, ‘Mündriche und Träger in Reval’, 136–137.

144 TLA, coll. 190, inv. 2, no. 555, 5v (Smede/Smiths 1459–1528): ‘Item effte eyne wrouwe were in unsem ampte der er man were affgestoruen und de neyne kinder hadde de in unsem ampte geboren weren so scal und mach se des ampted gebruken iar und dach und wanner deme iar und dach umme gekomen syn so scal men er de windelage to sluten und weret sake dat se kinder hadde de in deme apmte geboren und neyne geistlike lude en weren so scal und mach se des amptes gebruken myt eren kinderen so lange er dat geleuet.’ Undated modification 6v: ‘Item off ener vrowen ere man affgenge und verstorue, so mach se des ammpes gebruken der wile sw wedewe ys und wesen sik verandert heft buten ammpes so sal sed ammpes nycht lenk bruken.’ TLA, coll. 190, inv. 2, no. 149, 8v, 9v (Schlosser/Locksmiths and smiths 1459/1528–1750).

145 Stieda and Mettig, *Schragen*, no. 34, 311 (Goldschmiede/Goldsmiths 1582), and no. 70, 402 (Leineweber/Linen weavers 1544). Wehrmann, *Zunftrollen*, no. 49, 392–393 (Rotlöscher/Tanners1471); TLA, coll. 190, inv. 2, no. 555, 5v (Smede/Smiths 1459–1528), TLA, coll. 190, inv. 2, no. 664/ Beiträge, Band 7, 136–137 (Mündriche/Boatmen 1531); TLA, coll. 190, inv. 2, no. 149, 9v (Schlosser/ Locksmiths and smiths 1459/1528–1750). See Tables 3.9–3.9 for further details.

146 Jacobsen, *Kvinder*, 185.

147 Lanza, *From Wives to Widows*, 153–154, 162, 182.

by her status.<sup>148</sup> Consequently, within this context the possibility to continue the trade without any restrictions as long as she remained a widow offered her a worthy alternative. And it seems that many were willing to take this alternative despite of the risks and hard work.

In few cases a widow's otherwise unlimited possibility to continue her trade was made conditional on her behaving 'honourably', as Sheilagh Ogilvie has put it.<sup>149</sup> In the Baltic Sea region we have some evidence of such closures, particularly from Lübeck. Some widows' rights articles mentioned that a widow should do justice to the craft and follow the rules (*don des ampts rechticheit/ rechtigkei*t). In other words, they were to be worthy of the craft, as written in Riga carvers' ordinance.<sup>150</sup> Lübeck fell dyers added that a widow should act worthy of the craft, which meant that, among others, adulterous affairs were not tolerated. Additionally, if a widow remarried outside the craft she lost master rights. Interestingly, it is added that if a widow could not and did not remarry but still wanted to 'do right by the craft' she was allowed to carry on.<sup>151</sup> Lübeck curriers' ordinance stated that an honourable widow was allowed to carry on as long as she wanted, but if she married outside the craft she was to give up her trade.<sup>152</sup> Besides Ogilvie, Merry Wiesner-Hanks has argued that these kinds of requirements for honour were open to abuse by male masters and aldermen who wanted to limit the inner competition by restricting widows' possibilities to continue their trade. According to Wiesner-Hanks, widows were often denied a right to continue if some suspicions of dishonourable behaviour emerged.<sup>153</sup>

Previous research has also emphasized the connection between Protestant work ethic and guild milieu. As mentioned before, Lyndal Roper considers that urban

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148 Lanza, *From Wives to Widows*, 147–149.

149 Ogilvie, *A Bitter Living*, 262.

150 Stieda and Mettig, *Schragen*, no. 101, 521 (Schnitzer/Carvers 1541): 'Item offt ein meister storve, unnd sine frowe bleve nha em leven, so sall se dat ampt allyckewoll bruken unnd doen des amptes rechtigkei

151 Wehrmann, *Zunftrollen*, no. 50, 399 (Russfärber/Fell dyers 1500): 'Item weret ock, dat eijner framen frouwen im vorschreven ampte offte lenen er man affstorve vnde bynnen amptes eren geliken nicht wedder frijen konde edder nicht wedder frijde, vnde doch amptes recht dede edder don wolde, de schall vnde mach des amptes offte lenes bruken, so lange des er belevet, vnde se sick fromelick holdet; mer frijde se buten amptes wedder, edder sick umborlich helde, so schaal se des amptes offte lenen darmede vorfallen wesenn.'

152 Wehrmann, *Zunftrollen*, no. 10, 192 (Bremelmacher/Buntmacher/Buntfutter/Curriers 1386–1501): 'Item steruet enes sulues here ut unsem ampte, de ene berve unberuchtede wrowen nalet, de mach des amptes bruken, wo langhe dat se will; men nympt se enen man buten sem ampte, so scal se des ampts quijt wesen.'

153 Wiesner, *Working Women in Renaissance Germany*, 158; Ogilvie, *A Bitter Living*, 262, 167. See also, Simon-Muscheid, 'Frauenarbeit und Männerehre', 23.

guilds and crafts were a fruitful breeding ground for Protestantism. Roper argued that ‘in order to understand the conservative shift in the Reformation’s message to women we must explore the dynamics of the craft workshop which became the nurturing soil of populist Protestantism’.<sup>154</sup> According to Roper’s interpretation, the Reformation signified strengthened patriarchalism, which was based on the guild ideals of work and sexual hierarchy in the craft workshops; subordination of wife to husband, children to parents, and servants to master.<sup>155</sup>

Recent studies have challenged this black-and-white interpretation of social and gender order offering more nuanced interpretations of the past.<sup>156</sup> Widows could perform the roles of both men and women, and thus it was both accepted and expected.<sup>157</sup> Based on the evidence from London Consistory Court records, wives often referred to the responsibilities of a husband to sustain the household when they accused their husbands in court. Economic irresponsibility towards the household was repeated in many court cases. Women effectively used the rhetoric of patriarchal order, according to which the husband’s duty was to be the breadwinner in the family, to defend their cause. According to contemporary perceptions, a drunken, poor, and violent husband unable to take responsibility and support his family was seen as a threat to patriarchal order.<sup>158</sup>

One similar case can be found in Lübeck: on 23 July 1586 a currier’s widow Margareta appealed to the city council requesting that she was to be considered as worthy of the craft and that she should no longer be mocked because of the unworthy former husband of hers.<sup>159</sup> In order to prove the husband’s unworthiness and their divorce, a proof letter was enclosed with her petition. According to the proof letter, the former husband Hans Wolder had been a ‘godless beast, behaved begrudgingly against his wife, and lost his house and garden/all property

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154 Roper, *Holy Household*, 3.

155 Roper, *Holy Household*, 1–5, 22–23, 28. Katharina Simon-Muscheid has also stressed the significance of Protestant Reformation in regards of craftsmen’s honour. See, Simon-Muscheid, ‘Frauenarbeit und Männerehre’, passim, here especially 18.

156 See, for example, Toivo, *Witchcraft and Gender*, passim; Hubbard, *City Women*, passim; Fairchilds, *Women*, passim; van den Heuvel, ‘Guilds and family economy’, passim.

157 Lanza, *From Wives to Widows*, 161.

158 Hubbard, *City Women*, 137, 141–143.

159 AHL, ASA Interna, Handwerksämter, no. 977 (Bremelmacher/Buntmacher/Bunftutterer/ Curriers, Letter 15.7.1586): ‘[...] daher und veile Ick solch elende, da tick mit minen Manne der nun mehr vorstoruen gehat up oftmalige beschene truwselige vormanige, in acht jaren nicht enden können, noch mogen, [...] vormeintlich vorgeuende Min Man im ambt uthgedan, Ick daher nicht des ambts nicht gewertig sin solde, [...] demnach bidde E. Erb. W. Ick [...] dat bremelmaker ambt, als ick allewege thovorn gedan, auerst umb mines Mannes Slomerge will ein tidt lanck angueen moten frey to gebrucken [...]’

by gambling and left his family in great poverty'.<sup>160</sup> Additionally, the letter proved their divorce.<sup>161</sup>

The two letters paint anything but a rosy picture of Margareta's and Hans' marriage. It is evident that Margareta wanted to continue her life and practise her trade as an honest person. It is worth to note that in this case the concept of honour, crucial element in craft life, becomes very apparent. The majority of the crafts paid a lot of attention to honour and craft worthiness in their regulations. Requirements of honourable birth, certain ethnicity, and respectable marriage all represent how important crafts considered it to be that their members were honourable persons. The reputation of the craft members equalled the reputation of the craft. At a time when business was based on personal relationships, negotiations, and contacts a person's reputation had a wide-ranging influence.<sup>162</sup> This also applies to craft trade culture as we can see from Margareta's case: after eight years since his death the ill-reputation of her husband still hampered her activity within the craft. It is also clear that the ill-reputation was not solely attached only to one person but, if needed, could be transferred to apply to the whole household, although Margareta tried to prove her worthiness to the city council.

The craft and guild honour has been widely discussed among scholars.<sup>163</sup> A member of the craft represented the whole craft to the outsiders. Dishonourable behaviour of one craft member harmed the reputation of the whole craft. Furthermore, in general, honourable birth was a precondition for the acceptance to the craft and for mastership.<sup>164</sup> For example, in Lübeck the requirements for honourable birth were regulated at least in brass founders', purse makers', barber-surgeons', tanners',

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160 AHL, ASA Interna, Handwerksämter, no. 977 (Bremelmacher/Buntmacher/Buntfutterer/Curriers, Letter 23 July 1586): '[...] dat Hans Wolder er Eheman domals sick in solk godtlos beestless, und wurste levend begere ock solck frevell, gemalt und modtwille an syne frouwe gealvet (?) one dat he huss und hoff husraedt (?) und alles verlapen, verspelet und umme gelecht heffet dat he ock to lateste nicht allene and den Beddel staff und hogste armodt gerade [...].'

161 AHL, ASA Interna, Handwerksämter, no. 977 (Bremelmacher/Buntmacher/Buntfutterer/Curriers, Letter 15 July 1586): 'Desse tegemoredige arme wedewe margrete Wolders is vor 8 iars ungeverlick van eren manne Hans Wolders beide dorch weltlick recht der Erbychter herren und ferna dorch des Consistorii sententes gescheden, [...].'

162 Cf. Simon-Muscheid, 'Frauenarbeit und Männerehre', 19.

163 See, for example, Simon-Muscheid, 'Frauenarbeit und Männerehre', passim; Simon-Muscheid, 'Gewalt und Ehre', passim; Lindström, 'Öarliga mästarte', passim. Rudolf Wissell dedicates a whole chapter in his monumental work to discuss honour and dishonour, see Wissell, *Alten Handwerkes Recht* I, Siebentes Kapitel, 145–254.

164 Simon-Muscheid, 'Frauenarbeit und Männerehre', 18–19; Karras, *From Boys to Men*, 111.



linen weavers', carpenters', chandlers', and amber rosary makers' crafts.<sup>165</sup> This was applied to masters' wives as well, because wives were responsible for the craft's reputation in the same way as male masters were.<sup>166</sup> In Lübeck, the requirements for honourable birth were connected to the question of ethnicity: the inhabitants of Slavic origin were often denied citizenship, hence the ability to practise craft trade officially in the organized crafts.<sup>167</sup> Similarly the non-Germans were excluded from some (prestigious) crafts in Tallinn.<sup>168</sup>

The requirements for honourable birth and behaviour were thus part of the inner protectionism of the craft, aiming to uphold the good reputation of the craft or, in some cases, exclude craftsmen of other ethnicity. Consequently, these requirements were not solely gender-specific but other categories like ethnicity mattered as well. In comparison, in early modern Cologne confession was one means of exclusion: in principle, only Catholics were accepted as craft members.<sup>169</sup> If there was room for misuse of the closures on honour and honourability it touched not only widows but other people as well, apprentices and journeymen who wanted to practise the trade or foreign masters trying to establish a business in a new home town, for example. Thus, the picture painted in previous research is too bleak. Furthermore, references to widows' honourable behaviour are unsystematic in the craft ordinances around the Baltic Sea region during the time period of 1350–1620.

## 4.4 Conclusions

Remarriage of an artisan widow was regarded as a default situation and crafts encouraged widows to do so and even operated as active intermediators in seeking suitable new partners. Particularly highly common time limitations in the widows' rights articles underline these efforts to restore the situation where the household workshop was run by a married couple. This was the ideal situation in economic, moral, and social sense. In previous research scholars have often underlined how

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165 Wehrmann, *Zunftrollen*, no. 1, 157 (Apentgeter/Rotgießer/Brass founders 1432); no. 9, 186 (Büdelmaker/Purse makers 1459–1586); no. 4, 145 (Barbiere/Barber-Surgeons 1480); no. 34, 314 (Lorer/Tanners 1454); no. 35, 320 (Leineweber/Linen weavers before 1425); no. 60, 458 (Zimmerleute/Carpenters 1428); no. 25 (Kerzengießer/Chandlers 1508); no. 41, 351 (Paternostermakers/Amber rosary makers 1510).

166 Arnold, 'Frauen in den mittelalterlichen Hansestädten', 18.

167 Wehrmann, *Zunftrollen*, 34.

168 von zur Mühlen, 'Schosslisten', 212–217; see also Johanssen and von zur Mühlen, *Deutsch und Undeutsch*, Chapter 4.

169 Gonzáles Athenas, 'Legal Regulation', 154, 158.

crafts with their compulsion of remarriage enforced patriarchal order by trying to move females back under male supervision and authority through remarriage.<sup>170</sup> From this viewpoint widows' rights to continue their trade has been only seen as means to survive the transition period: a widow was allowed to continue for a short period of time after which she was supposed to hand over the master rights to a male member of the family: to a son, a stepson, or her new husband.

However, as the analysis in this chapter has demonstrated, a wider perspective must be taken. Despite the fact that nuclear family was the preference, based on the chosen source material widows were regarded as competent and valid leaders of artisan households. However, in times of economic concerns widows' rights could have been contested. Yet, as long as the economic welfare of a single craft was not threatened and the continuation of production was secured, widows could run their workshop without further ado. Moreover, by transferring the mastership to the new husband a managerial team was established. Thus, even though the terms used, both in original sources and research, easily underline how widows *gave up* their trade and/or *transferred* the master rights, the narrative evidence suggests that a married couple often managed a household together and as wives women participated in the running of the household business. Hence, by remarrying a widow was able to gain a new business partner.

To some extent this practice to promote remarriage was part of the protective policy of the crafts: they wanted to make sure that the new spouse would fulfil the requirements concerning honourable birth and sufficient training. Yet, the numerous modifications of the various widows' rights articles and the Lübeck petition letters clearly demonstrate how crafts attempted to prepare themselves to situations where remarriage was delayed or, for one reason or another, not an option. In these kinds of situations flexibility was needed. Consequently, crafts modified otherwise too stiff and too simple widows' rights articles and particularly their time limits. As the Lübeck letters prove, time limits of the craft ordinances often failed in practice. The fact that some widows were able to continue their trade for several years undeniably proves that their role within craft trade production and culture was not only the role of transmitters but also acknowledged members of that culture. Thus, the flexibility of the craft ordinances reveals us the flexibility of craft trade culture. Furthermore, it reveals how late medieval and early modern society, commonly characterized as a patriarchal one, was not as black and white as scholars have previously claimed.

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170 Roper, *Holy Household*, 32, 52.



## 5 Labour Market and Entrepreneurship

At the turn of the sixteenth century, great discoveries and the expansion of Europe set loose various interrelated processes of change and accelerated those which had begun before the year 1500. More and new goods were available as well as capital in form of precious metals. Furthermore, the population of Europe increased rapidly. Consequently, the demand of consumer and capital goods in general expanded. In many areas and various fields of craft trade the production, however, could not answer the increased demand. This fuelled inflation and resulted in an increase of prices. The economic balance in Europe changed as well: during the second half of the sixteenth century and the first half of the seventeenth century the Hanseatic League in the North as well as northern Italy and Spain in the South lost their prominent positions in commerce and trade to the new rising power of the northern Netherlands.<sup>1</sup> Within the context of craft trade culture several scholars have argued that crafts were unable to adjust and take advantage of the changing circumstances and thus with their protective and conservative rules and mentality hindered economic development.<sup>2</sup> For example, Cipolla argues that the decline of Italy was partly due to the unwillingness of the crafts to try and adopt new innovations and production methods.<sup>3</sup> Furthermore, as discussed in earlier chapters, particularly in 3.1, the supporters of the subordination theory and decline thesis have argued that larger economic changes and change in production patterns resulted in restricting widows' possibilities to continue their trade and, furthermore, in the exclusion of women from crafts.

However, some scholars like Josef Ehmer and Reinhold Reith have criticized this dichotomy that mirrors the 'traditional' pre-industrialized societies against 'modern' market economies, the latter being seen as (positive) end of historical development.<sup>4</sup> Within the framework of this dichotomy the main principles of crafts, ensuring equal premises and equal well-being for their members, have been overempha-

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1 Cipolla, *Before the Industrial Revolution*, 223–227, 238–239, 248–276; Rowlands, 'The Conditions of Life', 47–48; Houston, 'Colonies, Enterprises, and Wealth', 138, 157–170.

2 Cipolla, *Before the Industrial Revolution*, 251, 256, 261; Ogilvie, *A Bitter Living*, 331, 349–351; Rowlands, 'The Conditions of Life', 57. See also Wiesner-Hanks, *Women and Gender*, 124–134.

3 Cipolla, *Before the Industrial Revolution*, 256, 261.

4 Ehmer and Reith, 'Märkte im vorindustriellen Europa', 15–19.

sized and set against the main principles of modern industrialized market society, individual profit-seeking, and free market.<sup>5</sup> Consequently, Ehmer and Reith have argued that the concepts of market, competition, and flexibility should be regarded not as opposite (*Antithesen*) to traditional craft trade culture but as its feature.<sup>6</sup> And, indeed, the previous chapters have already shown that both flexibility and protection were essential elements in craft trade culture.

During medieval and early modern times crafts dominated labour market in European towns.<sup>7</sup> The control of labour market was achieved through various means: training to craft trade, access to craft organizations, and access to workforce was regulated. The control of labour market affected entrepreneurship: with regulations concerning the skills and qualifications of masters crafts attempted to control who was allowed to gain a mastership but also strove to control the quality of production and thus reinforce craft's honour and reputation. In many cities, like in Stockholm, the protectionist aims of the crafts matched with the protectionist (or mercantilist) economic policy of the state.<sup>8</sup> In this chapter I shall discuss the various means with which crafts tried to control labour market and entrepreneurship. As the chapter will reveal, there were various disputes that derived from the means of control.

## 5.1 Workforce

Crafts regulated the training and availability of workforce through their ordinances. The career track of a person who wanted to become a master artisan was long and hard. For men, it started when a boy, usually between 12–18 years of age, was accepted to become an apprentice, *Lebrjunge*. The length of the apprenticeship varied

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5 Gonzalés Athenas, 'Regulierte Märkte', 142.

6 Ehmer and Reith, 'Märkte im vorindustriellen Europa', 19. Here the term 'market' is understood in abstract sense signifying the economic system of regulations, the relationship between demand and supply, and the distribution of economic resources that affect the society. As defined by Ehmer and Reith: 'Zum zweiten bildet der Begriff des Marktes – als Metapher – seit dem 18. Jahrhundert aber auch eine Grundkategorien des ökonomischen Denkens. In diesem abstrakten Sinn bezeichnet "Markt" eine Institution oder ein wirtschaftliches Regelsystem, das den Austausch innerhalb einer arbeitsteiligen Wirtschaft gewährleistet, zwischen Produzenten bzw. Anbietern von Dienstleistungen und Konsumenten vermittelt, und dabei den Ausgleich zwischen Angebot und Nachfrage und die Verteilung der ökonomischen Ressourcen in einer Gesellschaft wirkt.' Ehmer and Reith, 'Märkte im vorindustriellen Europa', 10.

7 Von Heusinger, *Die Zunft*, 14.

8 Lindberg, *Hantverk och skråväsen*, 87–90, 119–124.

due to the difficulty of the trade and from town to town, but was usually two or three years. Apprentices lived in their masters' households. Only some apprentices came from the same craft they learned.<sup>9</sup> In workshop hierarchy the apprentices were subordinate to a male master and his wife or a widow. Their place within this social hierarchy was clear because they were young boys, in contrast to adult artisans, and because they were less skilled than a master or a mistress. After finishing his training the apprentice was 'spoken free' (*Freisprechung*) and able to apply and gain the status of a journeyman.<sup>10</sup> As discussed in Chapter 3.2.1 the training of apprentices was a socialization process during which young men learned what it meant to be a craftsman and what kind of a relationship a craft member had with other craft members and larger society.<sup>11</sup> The evidence on female apprentices is scarce across Europe. In some cities, if a girl entered into apprenticeship it happened similarly as with the boys.<sup>12</sup> Sabine von Heusinger has found evidence that in many Strasbourg crafts girls learned the trade as apprentices (*Lehrtochter*) like boys.<sup>13</sup> However, it seems that most women learned craft trade unofficially, as part of their everyday life as daughters and wives of craftsmen. And, indeed, many scholars have emphasized the work contribution of women and daughters in household workshops.<sup>14</sup> Yet, urban craft trade, craft organizations, and craft workshops are often regarded as a masculine sphere and a male-dominated culture.<sup>15</sup>

As a journeyman, a young man was paid for work and was thus considered a skilled labourer. Journeymen were usually unmarried and often lived in the master's household. In addition to their upkeep and salary, they sometimes also received clothing. Journeymen swore a public oath to their masters, to the craft, and the city council and committed themselves to obey craft rules. Journeymen were mobile, moving from town to town according to the need of labour force. In the beginning of the Early Modern Period it became obligatory for journeymen to spend an exchange year in a foreign town. In some towns journeymen established their own organizations. After working several years as a journeyman one could apply for a mastership.<sup>16</sup>

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9 Schulz, *Handwerk*, 50–51; Von Heusinger, *Die Zunft*, 62; Karras, *From Boys to Men*, 116–117; Wehrmann, *Zunftrollen*, 114–116; *Lexikon des Mittelalters* (LMA) V, colum 1844 (K. Schulz).

10 Karras, *From Boys to Men*, 109, 116.

11 Cf. Lanza, *From Wives to Widows*, 125; Simon-Muscheid, 'Frauenarbeit-Männerehre', 15–16.

12 Hanawalt, *The Wealth of Wives*, 37–44.

13 For example, goldsmiths had girl apprentices. See Von Heusinger, *Die Zunft*, 73–74.

14 See for example Lanza, *From Wives to Widows*, 122–125. See also Chapter 3 for detailed discussion.

15 See for example, Karras, *From Boys to Men*, 109–111, Simon-Muscheid, 'Frauenarbeit und Männerehre', 15; Roper, *Holy Household*, 31–36. According to Christopher Pihl, craft trade in the Swedish Crown's estates was a masculine world. Pihl, *Arbete*, 67.

16 Von Heusinger, *Die Zunft*, 62–63; Karras, *From Boys to Men*, 129–130; Lanza, *From Wives to Widows*, 91–92. *LMA* Band IV, colums 1386–1387 (K. Schulz).

In medieval sources there is no evidence of the female counterpart of a journeyman, nor is there any evidence of journeyman years (*Gesellenzeit*) of women.<sup>17</sup> Until the middle of the fifteenth century it was easy for journeymen to receive (limited) craft membership. Later, during the sixteenth century, it became harder, especially for foreign journeymen and for those who had not grown up in the same craft.<sup>18</sup> Hence, the situation of the journeymen depended heavily on the supply and demand of workforce and the current economic situation. In the case of workforce shortages, for example, after pestilences, journeymen were a desired labour force. Many crafts forbade a master to lure a journeyman from a fellow master.<sup>19</sup> But then, during recession and population growth, crafts could limit the access of the journeymen to the craft. As previously noted, the social status of a journeyman was somewhat problematic, too. The head-of-the-household status was closely connected to the status of a master. According to Karras, only master artisans as heads of households were considered adult men, hence this status marked adult masculinity.<sup>20</sup>

In order to become a master craftsman, to gain full membership in a craft, and, with it, receive craft rights (*Zunftrecht*) several conditions had to be fulfilled. These conditions varied according to time, place, and each craft but generally they included the following criteria. Besides the formal training and a few years work experience as a journeyman, one had to be of honourable birth, make a master piece, pay the entrance fee to the craft, and/or arrange a feast to craft members as well as acquire a citizenship. In some crafts the only way to a mastership was to marry a master's daughter or a widow. In addition, many crafts limited the number of masters.<sup>21</sup> Sabine von Heusinger has underlined the economic preconditions for mastership. In order to gain mastership and craft membership one had to have a certain economic independency, which in practice meant a house with a workshop, including tools and raw material.<sup>22</sup> Ruth Mazo Karras has emphasized the significance of marriage for craftsmen: in order to be able to become a master craftsman and to participate in, what she calls, artisanal masculinity depended heavily on a

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17 I have not discovered any reference to female journeymen in the craft ordinances from Stockholm, Tallinn, Riga, and Lübeck. Sabine von Heusinger has reached the same conclusion. See von Heusinger, *Die Zunft*, 73–74.

18 Von Heusinger, *Die Zunft*, 63–64. For further discussion, see Chapter 2.2.1.

19 Von Heusinger, *Die Zunft*, 63; Lindberg, *Handverk och skräväsén*, 83. This kind of an article can be found in many craft ordinances in the Baltic Sea region. For example, see TLA, coll 190, inv. 2, no. 23, 3r (Schomaker/ Shoemakers 1416); LECUB, IX, no 258, 153 (Bäcker/Bakers 1438).

20 Karras, *From Boys to Men*, 129–130, 134. See also Simon-Muscheid, 'Frauenarbeit und Männerehre', 21.

21 Schulz, *Handwerk*, 53–57; Von Heusinger, *Die Zunft*, 56; Wissell, *Alten Handwerks Recht* II, 1, 11, 23–24; Wehrmann, *Zunftrollen*, 122–127; Karras, *From Boys To Men*, 136–137.

22 Von Heusinger, *Die Zunft*, 56.

journeyman's possibility to marry. Because full manhood was so closely connected to the head-of-the-household status, which could only be gained through marriage, journeymen were not considered as equals of other adult craftsmen, the masters if they were unable to marry. Thus, unmarried (adult) journeymen rendered in a very undesirable situation.<sup>23</sup> Moreover, the status of a journeyman and his marriage prospects had an effect to widows' rights, obligations, and opportunities.

Before discussing widows' possibilities to continue their trade with the help of hired workforce it must be noted that the career track above displayed is, of course, simplified and variations occurred. For example, in building and construction trades, which often relied heavily on seasonal extra workforce, married journeymen formed an important worker potential. In booming trades, like in various cloth production trades in seventeenth-century Augsburg, married journeymen were more a rule than an exception. Additionally, many trades depended on immigrant workforce. Thus, in early modern Europe, as Ehmer and Reith argue, labour market in general depended to great extent on immigrants.<sup>24</sup> Indeed, as Janine M. Lanza has argued, the straightforward career track rarely happened in practice and journeymen often faced several economic and social hardships.<sup>25</sup> However, as the household workshop commonly needed hired skilled workers, especially if the workshop was led by a single adult, the crafts paid plenty of attention to hiring workforce.

### 5.1.1 Hiring a knecht according to craft ordinances

One option for a craft widow was to continue the trade with a journeyman. In Middle Low German sources the term used is *knecht*. This term is ambiguous because it can refer to a hired male worker in general, to a servant, to a craft journeyman, sometimes even to a craft apprentice, and, in rural context, to a male farmhand. Therefore, in some cases, it remains unclear whether the article implies that a widow was allowed to continue the trade by hiring male workforce or a journeyman without remarriage or if a widow was supposed to hire a journeyman and eventually marry him. In Lübeck tanners' craft ordinance it is clearly stated that if a woman wanted to stay a

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23 Karras, *From Boys to Men*, 145–150. Cf. also Simon-Muscheid, 'Gewalt und Ehre', 8–9 and Simon-Muscheid, 'Frauenarbeit und Männerehre', 21–22.

24 Ehmer and Reith, 'Die mitteleuropäische Stadt', 244–245, 247. The wood and carpenter trades in Stockholm provided employment for various 'grades' of carpenters and several journeymen worked independently without the master title. Pursche, *Timmermansämbede*, 31, 74.

25 Lanza, *From Wives to Widows*, 91–92.



widow she could hire male help to work three skins a week for her.<sup>26</sup> String makers of Lübeck regulated that a widow could take an honourable journeyman and marry him if she wanted (*wen si will*).<sup>27</sup> String makers' ordinance made no reference to a time limit, and the expression in the article underlines widows' freedom of choice.

Table 5.1 The number of 'with a knecht' articles in the craft ordinances

City	Number of ordinances with articles on widows' rights	Number of 'with a knecht' articles
Lübeck	23	6
Riga	17	0
Tallinn	15	1
Stockholm	9	0
Total	64	7

Sources: See Tables 3.6–3.9.

As Table 5.1 shows, 'with a *knecht*' option was mentioned only in six Lübeck craft ordinances and in one Tallinn ordinance. 'With a *knecht*' articles highlight the active and protective role of the craft and its aldermen. Lübeck cup makers stipulated that aldermen were to appoint a *knecht* for a widow.<sup>28</sup> In this way aldermen could be assured that the *knecht* was a qualified worker but also that the widow had better possibilities to sustain herself. Furthermore, as the remarriage of widows was regarded as the most preferable situation, perhaps by their article Lübeck cup makers hoped to promote possible remarriage. Thus, crafts wanted to protect not only the widow, but their own interests and, to some extent, even the status quo.

As in the case of other widows' rights articles, sometimes modifications were made to 'with a *knecht*' article as well: wheel makers of Lübeck allowed a widow to

26 Wehrmann, *Zunftrollen*, no. 34, 316 (Lohrer/Tanners 1454): '[...] Is dat denne sake, dat se denne wedewe wil bliven, so mach een bedderve man in vnsem ampte se to zijk nehmen vnde gheren tor weken vor eer III hude, vnde dar schal he ze vor voden ere tyd, men se en mach dat nicht vorhuren offte vorsetten.'

27 Wehrmann, *Zunftrollen*, no. 55, 432 (Senkler/String makers 1543): 'Thom achteinden schal averst einen witwe unsers amptes macht hebben, sich mit einen ehrlichen gesellen unsers amptes widerumb zu befrien, wen si will.'

28 Wehrmann, *Zunftrollen*, no. 6, 171 (Bekermaker/Cup makers 1591): 'Item wanner ein meister vorstervet und dar is nen knecht up siner werckstede so sollen de olderlude der wedewen einen knecht verschaffen, woferne noch einer binnen amptes arbeitet, und de meister, de ene missen moth, soll den knecht mit willen folgenn laten by poene.'

continue the trade with a *knecht* if she was too old to remarry.<sup>29</sup> In Tallinn, hemp weavers also had this option in their ordinance. It is combined with the one year rule and ‘with children’ rule.<sup>30</sup> It should be noted that the exiguity of cases, only seven, points to differences between the Baltic Sea region and Western Europe. In early modern Low Countries the most common condition under which a widow was allowed to continue practising her profession was with the assistance of a son or a journeyman.<sup>31</sup>

In German-speaking areas the emergence of influential journeymen organizations has been considered a reason to limit widows’ work from the beginning of the seventeenth century onwards. According to this interpretation, journeymen considered widows competitors and wanted to ensure their own possibilities to become masters at the expense of widows.<sup>32</sup> Women’s work created both economic and ideological threat in journeymen’s view, as Merry Wiesner-Hanks and Katharina Simon-Muscheid have proposed. Journeymen’s attacks against female labour reveal the nature of the work that wives, daughters, and maids did in the workshop – a work that was comparable with the tasks journeymen performed, as pointed out by Wiesner-Hanks. Additionally, they hindered journeymen’s own economic success in the future, because the contribution of both marriage partners was essential for a flourishing craft enterprise.<sup>33</sup> In Strasbourg, women were bit by bit superseded from the professional crafts during the sixteenth century. It was regarded a blow against artisan honour (*Handwerkerehre*) if a journeyman had to share a workshop with a woman or if he was trained by a woman, as Katharina Simon-Muscheid argues.<sup>34</sup> Indeed, according to the decline thesis, widows and women lost their prominent positions within the crafts towards the end of the sixteenth century and widows’ rights articles in the craft ordinances were means to restrict the work possibilities of widows.<sup>35</sup>

However, as the quantitative and qualitative analysis have shown in Chapter 3.1.1 and 3.1.2, widows’ rights articles included in the craft ordinances in the Baltic Sea region do not indicate so gradual a change. On the contrary, the continuity was

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29 Wehrmann, *Zunftrollen*, no. 45, 368 (Rademaker/Wheel makers 1508): ‘[...] Dar se denne ock to olt wer, eynen man to nehmen, so mach se wedewe blyven vnde holden eynen knecht, vnde bruken des amptes, vnde schal don deme ampte de halven vmplicht.’

30 TLA, coll. 190, inv. 2, no. 642, 5v (Hanfspinner/Hemp weavers 1462).

31 Schmidt, *Women and Guilds*, 175.

32 Wiesner, *Working Women in Renaissance Germany*, 163–165; Kruse, *Witwen*, 314.

33 Wiesner-Hanks, *Women and Gender*, 126–127; Wiesner, *Working Women in Renaissance Germany*, 165; Simon-Muscheid, ‘Frauenarbeit und Männerehre’, 22–24.

34 Simon-Muscheid, ‘Frauenarbeit und Männerehre’, 22. See also von Heusinger, *Die Zunft*, 80.

35 Wiesner-Hanks, *Women and Gender*, 124–128; Ogilvie, ‘Women and Labour Markets’, 47–50, 55–56. See discussion in Chapter 3.1.

emphasized and some widows' rights articles were even changed to the advantage of widows. What about the organizations of journeymen, then, can we find parallels with the Baltic Sea region and other parts of Europe? The oldest evidence of journeymen's organizations from Tallinn and Riga are from the end of the fourteenth century, but these organizations were more devotional guilds than professional crafts.<sup>36</sup> In Riga, five ordinances of journeymen's organizations are extant, two from the fifteenth century, two from the sixteenth century, and one dated right in the 1600s.<sup>37</sup> In Tallinn, the journeymen's organizations emerged at the end of the seventeenth century.<sup>38</sup> The ordinance of Stockholm girdler journeymen (*bältare svennen*) of 1436 is preserved.<sup>39</sup> In Wehrmann's edition of Lübeck ordinances no ordinance of journeymen's organizations can be found.<sup>40</sup> Subsequently, this suggests that in the Baltic Sea region the organizations of journeymen did not propose a general threat to widows' work chances and their possible effects have focused on single crafts. Furthermore, if these organizations tried to restrict female labour it happened later than during the time period of this study, 1350–1620.

The opportunity of widows to carry on with the trade with the help of a journeyman or hired male workforce has received various interpretations. According to the subordination theory, by enforcing a widow to hire or marry a journeyman the craft aspired to return to the situation where the workshop was once again led by a male person.<sup>41</sup> Another view highlights the concern of the crafts for the shortage of journeymen, particularly in the Early Modern Period.<sup>42</sup> Yet, regardless of nuances in emphases, the majority of scholars think that without the help of a skilled journeyman a widow could not succeed in running the workshop to sustain her and her family and that was precisely what the craft wanted. Therefore, this journeyman or 'with a *knecht*' article in the craft ordinances has been interpreted as a restriction against widows' work.<sup>43</sup> For example, Sheilagh Ogilvie argues that

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36 Stieds and Mettig, *Schragen*, 97.

37 Stieda and Mettig, *Schragen*, no. 26, 289–291 (Glazer-Gesellen/Glazer-journeymen 1542); no. 86, 440–470 (Schlosser-, Sporer-, Büchsenmacher- und Uhrmacher-Gesellen/Locksmiths and other smiths, and watchmaker journeymen 1580s); no. 99, 502–507 (Schneider-Gesellen/Tailor journeymen 1600) and no.104, 532–537 (Schuhmacher-Gesellen/ Shoemaker journeymen 1414 and 1480).

38 Margus, *Katalog, Archiv der St. Kanutigilde*, 56–121; According to Friedenthal, Tallinn goldsmiths' journeymen were loosely organized already in the 1470s. See Friedenthal, *Die Goldschmiede Revels*, 34.

39 Klemming, *Skrå-ordingar*, 1–10 (Bältare-svennen/Girdler or Belt maker journeymen 1436).

40 Wehrmann, *Zunftrollen*, passim.

41 Ogilvie, *A Bitter Living*, 260–262.

42 Ingendahl, *Witwen*, 155.

43 Ogilvie, *A Bitter Living*, 260; Ingendahl, *Witwen*, 155.

in some Württemberg crafts widows were only allowed to carry on by hiring a journeyman. He, as an expensive worker, would have increased the resources needed for the widow to carry on. Additionally, the training of journeymen was also strictly regulated in the craft rules. Therefore, Ogilvie sees it only as a restriction for widows. Limiting widows' access to cheap workforce was an attempt of male masters to limit the number of apprentices in general who would have thereby had access to the craft and also to limit female competition caused by widows.<sup>44</sup> Yet, these interpretations are somewhat inadequate.

Firstly, the comparison to workforce which male masters employed is lacking. It is impossible to discover the actual number of apprentices, journeymen, and female personnel in late medieval household workshop with the source material used in this study. However, Dag Lindström, who has studied the possibilities of artisan widows in early modern Swedish towns, which is the same time period as Ogilvie's study of the Württemberg area, has calculated the number of apprentices and journeymen employed by male masters and widows. According to his findings, the widows indeed often had to rely on expensive journeymen and 71% of the artisan widows employed at least one journeyman, respectively to that of the male masters of which 45% employed at least one journeyman. However, one fourth of the widows had no employees at all – a result that differs significantly from the previous notions of international scholarship. Furthermore, more than half of the professional active widows had one or more apprentices working in their workshop. Again, this is a result that differs significantly from previous international research, which has underlined that widows could not employ apprentices. Thus, in previous research this has been regarded as one of the major differences between male masters and widows.<sup>45</sup> Furthermore, Janine M. Lanza has shown for early modern Paris that some widows offered journeymen extra employment benefits because they wanted to attract and keep trustworthy journeymen.<sup>46</sup> Widows were willing to invest in skilled workforce if it was possible, although some employed 'illegal workers', i.e. journeymen who had not taken the official training path of the crafts.<sup>47</sup> Tallinn tailors ordered that

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44 Ogilvie, *A Bitter Living*, 261. The articles on honourability are seen as unfavourable to widows because men could abuse these paragraphs and accuse widows of any kind of misbehaviour. Furthermore, on the basis of these paragraphs men were able to reverse widows' rights to continue their trade. (Ogilvie, *A Bitter Living*, 262.) See also Chapter 4.3.2 for more discussion in this matter.

45 Lindström, 'Privilegierade eller kringskurna?', 236–238, 244.

46 Lanza also mentions another reason for giving the journeymen extra benefits: widows were dependent on skilled workforce and some wanted to keep their journeymen because of love and desire. Lanza, *From Wives to Widows*, 127–129.

47 Lanza, *From Wives to Widows*, 104, 147.

a *frouwe*, apparently a master's wife or widow, was not allowed to pay a journeyman more than the craft brothers.<sup>48</sup> This example suggests that also in cities bordering the Baltic Sea widows – as well as male master households – tried to get hold of skilled workforce even at the expense of bending the craft rules. Hence, it demonstrates the importance of the workforce as a resource for household workshops.

Secondly, in contrast to Ogilvie's interpretation and findings, the crafts in the Baltic Sea region often helped a widow to employ a *knecht*. In some cases the masters were to recruit a *knecht* for a widow or a son had to hire a *knecht* for his mother.<sup>49</sup> In her study on women, gender, and law in late medieval and early modern Denmark Grethe Jacobsen has reached a similar conclusion.<sup>50</sup> Craft ordinances provide clues on the various motives of the aldermen. Tanners in Lübeck stipulated that 'when a man died, and he had a son, who worked independently, the son was to hire a *knecht* to be the guardian for a widow'.<sup>51</sup> Thus, the motive of the aldermen was to restore the patriarchal order of the household workshop. Yet, as a *knecht* was also subordinate to the mistress,<sup>52</sup> it remains open if the tactic of the aldermen actually worked *de facto*. Riga chamois leather tanners' craft regulated that if a widow had only one journeyman and some master had two or three journeymen she was allowed to ask for one of the master's journeymen for herself and the master was to agree without protest.<sup>53</sup> Hence, here the emphasis of the protective policy of the crafts is on ensuring equal premises to all members, at least in principle. Moreover, as the next chapter will show, the Lübeck petition letters revealed that it was an unwritten custom that the aldermen were to help a widow to hire a *knecht*, usually by appointing a suitable *knecht* for a widow. Sometimes this practice ran smoothly,<sup>54</sup> sometimes the craft had provided, according to the widow, a somewhat unsuitable *knecht*,<sup>55</sup> and sometimes the craft's aldermen seemed reluctant to fulfil their duties.<sup>56</sup>

48 TLA, coll 190, inv. 2, no. 511, 6r/TLA, coll 230, inv. 1, no. A c 5, 74v (Schroter/Tailors 1413–1650).

49 Wehrmann, *Zunftrollen*, no. 6, 171 (Bekermaker/Cup makers 1591): 'Item wann er ein meister vorstervet und dar is nen knecht up siner werckstede so sollen de olderlude der wedewen einen knecht verschaffen, woferne noch einer binnen amptes arbeidet, und de meister, de ene missen moth, soll den knecht mit willen folgenn laten by poene.'

50 Jacobsen, *Kvinder*, 185.

51 Wehrmann, *Zunftrollen*, no. 49, 392 (Rotlöscher/Tanners 1471).

52 Cf. Karras, *From Boys to Men*, 132, 135.

53 Stieda and Mettig, *Schragen*, no. 121, 651 (Semischgerber/Chamois leather tanners 1579): 'So eine wittfraw in unserm ampte were, de einen gesellen zuthuend hette, unnd einen meister zwey oder drey gesellen hette, unnd sie der einen begerete, so soll ihr der meister den gesellen folgen lassen ohne inrede, [...].'

54 AHL, ASA Interna, Handwerksämter, no. 1105 (Drechsler/Dreyer/Turners, Letter 22 October 1583).

55 AHL, ASA Interna, Handwerksämter, no. 1105 (Drechsler/Dreyer/Turners, Letter 2 May 1624).

56 AHL, ASA Interna, Handwerksämter, no. 1105 (Drechsler/Dreyer/Turners, Letter 30 January 1579).

It is clear that the option to continue trade with a *knecht* was a somewhat controversial matter among craftsfolk and parties interpreted this option quite differently. Additionally, it seems that the motives behind these stipulations and practices varied. Consequently, the aim was not solely to place the widows again under male supervision, but other factors, like collective well-being and continuity of production, mattered as well. In any case, even in 1720 the revised general craft regulation (*almänna skråordning*) for Swedish realm stipulated that aldermen were to acquire a *knecht* for a widow.<sup>57</sup>

Thirdly, these examples indicate that there were some problems in recruiting workforce. Yet, craft ordinances in general paid a lot of attention on recruiting at various levels. In principle, all craft ordinances from the Baltic Sea region (and from other parts of Europe, for that matter) regulated the procuration of apprentices and journeymen as well as their training. It was strictly forbidden to lure someone else's *knecht* during the work year. For example, the Tallinn shoemakers ordained that if a master, his wife, or someone else on their behalf wanted to employ a *knecht* when the *knecht* already had a contract with another master they were to pay a penalty of 3 marks and lose their honour.<sup>58</sup> In Riga coopers' crafts both the master who lured a journeyman as well as the journeyman were fined: the master was to pay 3 marks and the journeyman 2 marks.<sup>59</sup> Often a specific calendar day, usually Michaelmas was set for the recruiting of labour force for the following year.<sup>60</sup> During this 'transfer window' employees were allowed to change their work place.<sup>61</sup> Moreover, crafts attempted to eliminate competition for workforce by fixing the wages.<sup>62</sup> Furthermore, craft ordinances regulated the labour force allowed in household workshops. For example, in Stockholm the shoemakers were allowed to have three apprentices and one journeyman.<sup>63</sup> The Stockholm goldsmiths were not allowed to hire, for regular basis, more than two journeymen at time, but they were allowed

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57 Lindström, 'Privilegierade eller kringskurna?', 236.

58 TLA, coll. 190, inv. 2, no. 24, 3r (Schuster/Shoemakers 1481).

59 Stieda and Mettig, *Schragen*, no. 17, 266 (Böttcher/Coopers 1581).

60 According to Tallinn shoemakers, recruitment was carried out either on the second day after Easter or on the second day after Michaelmas. TLA, coll. 190, inv. 2, no. 24, 2v (Schuster/Shoemakers 1481). Riga coopers did not set a day but it was not allowed to employ someone else's journeyman before his year had ended. Stieda and Mettig, *Schragen*, no. 17, 266 (Böttcher/Coopers 1581).

61 It must be noted that this pattern changed significantly during the later centuries so that in the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries journeymen changed their workplace more often, sometimes even from month to month. Ehmer and Reith, 'Die mitteleuropäische Stadt, 250.

62 Lindberg, *Hantverk och skråväsen*, 84.

63 Klemming, *Skrå-ordningar*, 21 (Skomakare/Shoemakers before 1474). See also Lindberg, *Hantverk och skråväsen*, 83.

to hire more journeymen for separate pieces of works.<sup>64</sup> Each Stockholm butcher master was allowed to have one journeyman and one apprentice.<sup>65</sup> These regulations are clear evidence of the protectionism within craft trade culture. Crafts tried to ensure equal resources for each master and workforce was one of the most – if not **the** most – significant resource in late medieval and early modern world. Each household workshop counted as an important unit and it seems that the gender of the household manager was not a restricting category.

However, it must be noted that crafts differed greatly from each other: as the examples from Stockholm show, in some crafts masters had several journeymen but some masters, like carpenters and masons, often worked alone.<sup>66</sup> Moreover, the Stockholm tax records reveal that within one craft the prosperity of the masters could vary enormously. Some of the wealthier masters were truly rich whereas some of the poorest balanced at the edge of survival. Based on Stockholm tax records, the average tax goldsmiths paid in 1516 was 2 marks and 1 öre. The poorest one of the goldsmiths paid only 4 öre whereas the two richest ones, paid each 4 marks and 4 öre.<sup>67</sup> The fact that within one craft the wealth of the masters varied significantly indicates that the protectionist policy of the crafts did not succeed entirely. Furthermore, it suggests that competition and individual profit-seeking were also elements of the late medieval and early modern craft trade culture. Indeed, Muriel Gonzáles Athenas has argued that in previous research the endeavours of the equal well-being of craft members and to common good have been slightly overemphasized.<sup>68</sup> The equal opportunities and premises of all craft masters were initial aims of the crafts and part of craft culture but in practice these aims often collided with individual profit-seeking. Consequently, this supports the arguments of Ehmer and Reith that bipolar comparison of traditional societies and societies with market economy is inadequate and can lead to misinterpretations.<sup>69</sup> Thus, it

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64 Klemming, *Skrå-ordningar*, 154 (Guldsmeder/Goldsmiths 1501). See also Lindberg, *Hantverk och skråväsen*, 83.

65 Klemming, *Skrå-ordningar*, 49 (Köttmånglare/Butchers 1477). See also Lindberg, *Hantverk och skråväsen*, 83.

66 Lindberg, *Hantverk och Skråväsen*, 53.

67 Source: SSSB 1516–1525, year 1516; Lindberg, *Hantverk och skråväsen*, 59. According to Marko Lamberg, the average tax payment of the Stockholm citizens was 9 marks 1 öre in 1516. This would suggest that in general the Stockholm goldsmiths were considerably below of the general tax payment level, thus substantially below the average wealth of the citizens. This is rather surprising, and more research is required to confirm this. See Lamberg, *Dannemännen i stadens råd*, 296, Bilaga 10. For currency 49 öre is 6,125 marks (1 mark = 8 öre), *Tüma, tiu, tynnyri*, ed. Grönros et. al., 105.

68 Criticism of previous research, see for example Gonzalés Athenas, 'Reguliert Märkte', 142.

69 Ehmer and Reith, 'Märkte im vorindustriellen Europa', 18–19.

can easily lead to anachronistic interpretations of the past; economic history is seen as linear development from protectionism and mercantilism slowly towards free market economy. In such a framework the role of crafts is easily reduced to be an obstacle on the road towards capitalism. This might prevent us from perceiving various elements within craft trade culture, some of which could be rather contradictory as the analysis in this chapter has shown.<sup>70</sup>

### 5.1.2 Hiring a knecht in practice

As we now know, one option included in widows' rights articles was the opportunity to continue craft trade with the help of a *knecht*, a journeyman or a hired male worker. This option was mentioned in six Lübeck craft ordinances and in one Tallinn ordinance.<sup>71</sup> Craft ordinances as normative regulations arbitrate us the ideal situation, how things should have been, but remain, to some extent, silent on how things were handled in practice. Detailed analysis of time limits granted to widows in the craft ordinances and of the disputes related to time limits according to the Lübeck petition letters revealed that normative time limits were often exceeded without further ado. How about the possibility to carry on with the trade with the help of a *knecht*? In four Lübeck petition letters the question of a journeyman came up, although not quite so as one might expect. These cases will be discussed next.

Table 5.2 The Lübeck petition letters that dealt with hiring a knecht

Author	Craft	Dating	Additional information
Proxies Jochim Ludeman and Claus Kusel	Dreyer/ Turners	30.1.1579	Acting on behalf of the widow of Hinrich Koneckin
Widow Meike Hoiers	Dreyer/ Turners	22.10.1583	Widows' rights article in the craft ordinance: 1 year rule + with children
Widow Catharina Falken	Dreyer/ Turners	2.5.1624	Widows' rights article in the craft ordinance: 1 year rule + with children
Widow Catharina Benning	Glockengiesser/ Bell founders	21.3.1615	n/a

Sources: AHL, ASA Interna, Handwerksämter, no. 1105 (Drechsler/Dreyer/ Turners) and 1648 (Glockengiesser/ Bell founders).

70 For example, Muriel Gonzalés Athenas has shown that in Cologne crafts used various strategies to adjust to changing economic circumstances during the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries. Some crafts revised their rules and attempted to adapt to new conditions whereas some resisted changes. Gonzalés Athenas, 'Regulierte Märkte', *passim*.

71 See Tables 3.6 and 3.8.



Only in one case a widow directly asked a permission to hire a journeyman in her letter. This widow was Catharina, bell founder Reinhold Benning's widow, who justified her application with the fact that she had six children of which the youngest was still a baby.<sup>72</sup> In this case the *decretum* was written on the top of the letter. According to the *decretum*, the city council consented to her request.<sup>73</sup> Catharina's letter differs from the other three Lübeck letters, which had a reference to hiring a *knecht* or a journeyman, in two ways: it was the sole request in the letter and unlike other letters it had no reference that it would have been the obligation of the craft and its aldermen to hire a *knecht* for a widow.

As the table above shows, other three cases all derive from the same craft, namely that of Lübeck turners. In the first case the proxies (*Vormünder*) of a turner's widow approached the Lübeck city council with their petition letter in January 1579. For some reason the craft's aldermen had begun to oppose the way the widow continued her trade.<sup>74</sup> In the letter the proxies reminded how a widow was allowed to have a journeyman and craft's aldermen were to help a widow in this matter, which the aldermen seemed reluctant to do. Perhaps there was a shortage of (skilled) workforce because circa 10 years earlier in 1568 Lübeck was recovering from a pestilence that had ravaged the city and the surrounding area. During that year the aldermen of chest makers in Lübeck complained in their letter, concerning the remarriage of a chest maker's widow Anneke, that they had not been able to attract new journeymen to the city because of the epidemic.<sup>75</sup> And, indeed, in the middle of the sixteenth century Lübeck was facing hard times, the pestilence visited the city at least in 1548 and, in addition, during the following decade the city suffered from several famines due to crop failures.<sup>76</sup> In early modern times the cities were usually dependent on immigration in order to survive.<sup>77</sup> It seems that in Lübeck travelling journeymen were quite important, at least for some trades.

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72 AHL, ASA Interna, Handwerksämter, no. 1648 (Glockengießer/Bell founders, Letter 21 March 1615).

73 AHL, ASA Interna, Handwerksämter, no. 1648 (Glockengießer, Bell founders, Letter 21 March 1615), Decretum: 'Ein Erbahr Rath kann woll gestaten das was gebeten were, geschehe. Incidenter wo ferne aber von denen so mit in lite vorschrieben wurde ist hiedurch ehm vor straff nicht erlassen.'

74 AHL, ASA Interna, Handwerksämter, no. 1105 (Drechsler/Dreyer/Turners, Letter 30 January 1579: '[...] aldremen wollen den Widtwen [...], abschneiden, [...] und sie an irem wolstand zuvorhindern [...].')

75 AHL, ASA Interna, Handwerksämter, no. 4254 (Tischler/Kistenmacher/Chest makers, Brief 3 November 1568). The case is discussed in depth in Chapter 5.2.1.

76 *Lübeckische Geschichte*, ed. Graßmann, 917.

77 Ehmer and Reith, 'Die mitteleuropäische Stadt', 235; Lamberg, *Dannemänner*, 97.

Furthermore, the Hanseatic trade suffered from the Dutch War of Independence (1568–1648) and Northern Seven Years' War (1563–1570).<sup>78</sup> Lübeck participated in the latter on the side of the Danes against Sweden by equipping several warships. Even though the peace Treaty of Stettin in 1570 was beneficial for Lübeck, because the city re-acquired trade privileges to the Estonian town of Narva, the gate to Russia, and privileges to Swedish towns as well, it is clear that war affected the life of the city, thus the availability of workforce.

In the second turner case a turner's widow Meike Hoiers wrote a petition letter to the city council in October 1583.<sup>79</sup> Her main request was to be allowed to practise her trade like other craft brothers and be protected by the craft ordinance, without any more harassment. Additionally, she wanted to have back the five mark fee [for the crafts' festivities], which she considered unjustifiable, and which 'had been extorted from her without any good reason'. As for her reasoning, she wrote that she did not drink that much beer in craft festivities.<sup>80</sup> In the letter widow Meike wrote how she was grateful for the help she had received when she needed to hire a *knecht*. This had happened during previous carnival time. She continued that after the carnival time she had managed well. She added that she had paid in time her share of the rye, which she still had owed.<sup>81</sup> This part of the letter suggests that the craft had helped her to hire workforce. In the letter of 1579 the proxies claimed that the craft had not fulfilled its duties in a similar matter. Apparently this requirement for help in hiring a *knecht* was something that could easily end up in disputes.

Sheilagh Ogilvie has argued that by enforcing widows to rely on expensive workforce, i.e. journeymen, crafts wanted to hinder widows' opportunities to continue their trade compared to male masters who could rely on cheap workforce, apprentices and their wife.<sup>82</sup> Janine M. Lanza has pointed out how widows in early modern Paris, for various reasons, employed illegal workers, that is youngsters who had not completed their craft training or had never even started the training. Perhaps widows wanted to save in labour costs or could not have afforded to hire a skilled journeyman. Or perhaps, as Lanza suggests, 'due to their liminal position' within

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78 *Lübeckische Geschichte*, ed. Graßmann, 426, 429–433.

79 AHL, ASA Interna, Handwerksämter, no. 1105 (Drechsler/Dreyer/Turners, Letter 22 October 1583). See also the transcription of the letter and picture in Chapter 3.3.

80 AHL, ASA Interna, Handwerksämter, no. 1105 (Drechsler/Dreyer/Turners, Letter 22 October 1583).

81 AHL, ASA Interna, Handwerksämter, no. 1105 (Drechsler/Dreyer/Turners, Letter 22 October 1583).

82 Ogilvie, *A Bitter Living*, 260–262.

the crafts widows were not so much bound with the craft honour, and therefore preferred cheaper labour to following craft rules strictly.<sup>83</sup>

On the other hand, hiring an (expensive) journeyman could turn out to be beneficial in the long run as Meike Hoiers' case clearly proves. Recurrent prohibitions of luring someone else's *knecht* in the craft ordinances indicate that the competition for skilful workforce was tough. A good journeyman was worth his weight in gold, as Folke Lindberg puts it.<sup>84</sup> Moreover, in vibrant cities widows had the opportunity to hire labour instead of marrying labour,<sup>85</sup> a matter that left some kind of a freedom of choice, at least for wealthier widows. Consequently, despite the high cost, several widows were able to employ journeymen as the study carried out by Lindström, discussed above, has shown.<sup>86</sup> Lübeck letters refer to a similar conclusion, although the sample is very small and it is not clear how many widows in fact employed a *knecht*. Furthermore, Lanza has also shown in her study how some widows in early modern Paris offered journeymen extra benefits, compared to other journeymen within the same craft, in order to attract and keep trustworthy workers.<sup>87</sup> Evidence of this kind of procedure can be found in the Baltic Sea area too. The Tallinn tailors forbade widows to pay more to their journeymen as male masters.<sup>88</sup> This practice was of course against the collective idea of the crafts to ensure equal premises to all members and control the competition over workforce. Thus, it shows how crucial the question of skilled workforce was for the thriving business. Furthermore, it suggests that individual benefit could overtake collective benefit.

We encounter the matter of hiring a journeyman also in the third letter of the turners' craft. In May 1624, Catharina, Hansen Falken's widow, appealed to the city council and asked for additional time to continue her trade. Her husband had died almost a year before and she had not found a suitable husband but wanted to carry on with her trade.<sup>89</sup> In the letter widow Catharina requested that she would be allowed to continue her trade at least yet another year during which she would try to find a good new husband. Catharina also mentioned in her letter that according to turners' practice the time limit for widows was one year. After it had expired the aldermen and the craft had wanted her to remarry. However, according to Catharina, it was the duty of the city council and not of the aldermen to decide whether the time limit was to be shortened or lengthened. She appealed to the council as a protector of

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83 Lanza, *From Wives to Widows*, 147.

84 Lindberg, *Hantverk och skråväsen*, 83.

85 Lanza, *From Wives to Widows*, 157.

86 Lindström, 'Privilegierade eller kringskurna?', 236–238.

87 Lanza, *From Wives to Widows*, 128–129.

88 TLA, coll. 190, inv. 2, no. 511, 6r (Schroter/Tailors 1413–1650).

89 AHL, ASA Interna, Handwerksämter, no. 1105 (Drechsler/Dreyer/Turners, Letter 2 May 1624).

widows and orphans and asked the council to understand her hopeless situation as a widow. She wrote that she would trust their Christian love of one's neighbour and promised to pray for the council members.<sup>90</sup>

Catharina's letter reveals that during the one year limit she had not found herself a new husband and when the limit was expiring she had to take action. It is clear that she wanted to carry on with her trade and was willing to use all means available to do so. In Catharina's case the decisive factor was the infertility of the marriage with Hans. According to turners' ordinance, a widow was allowed to continue the trade with her son until he was old enough to take over. If the couple had been childless then the one year rule would have been applied.<sup>91</sup> At what age the son would be old enough to take over the family business seemed to be a matter of interpretation: the oldest son of turner widow Meike Hoiers was 20 but apparently she had no means to hand over the business to him.

According to Catharina Falken's petition letter, it was the duty of the craft's aldermen to find a journeyman who would help a widow to continue her trade:

[...] in unnsere dar drejer ampte gebreuchlich ist, das die alterleute musen einer wittwen anstandt Ihres abgestorbenen mans einen gesellen auf die werckstede verschafen darmit sie das ampt möge erhalten [...].<sup>92</sup>

However, Catharina was not pleased with the journeyman she had received and described him as a 'bald drunken journeyman', whose behaviour she for honour's sake would rather not describe further.<sup>93</sup> Her writing implies that she had become a target of sexual harassment or violence, and the aldermen knew of this. Leaving this unfortunate detail aside we notice that in all three turner letters the petitioners clearly stated that it was the duty of the craft and its aldermen to procure a journeyman for a widow. Moreover, at least in two cases this obligation had led to a conflict. In the first case of 1579 the aldermen had copped out of their responsibilities. In Catharina's case the journeyman turned out to be a drunk and a molester. In Meike Hoiers' case the craft had indeed procured a journeyman, who had proved very helpful. The main point here is, however, that the obligation to hire a journeyman for a widow was not mentioned in the craft ordinance. Nevertheless, this was a

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90 AHL, ASA Interna, Handwerksämter, no. 1105 (Drechsler/Dreyer/Turners, Letter 2 May 1624).

91 Wehrmann, *Zunftrollen*, no. 12, 200–201 (Drechsler 1507).

92 AHL, ASA Interna, Handwerksämter, no. 1105 (Drechsler/Dreyer/Turners, Letter 2 May 1624).

93 AHL, ASA Interna, Handwerksämter, no. 1105 (Drechsler/Dreyer/Turners, Letter 2 May 1624): '[...] einen kalen versoffenen gesellen auf die werkstede zugewiesenn. So hat sich doch darselbe mit aller ungebur gege mir der beschoffenheit noch all so bezeigt uund verhaltenn welches ich umb ehren halben alhir schriftlich nicht melten wiell, aber unnsere elteste dasselbe gantz woll bewust [...].'

practice in real life as the three letters prove. If crafts wanted to restrict widows' possibilities to continue their trade why did such a practice exist, particularly when it was not even mentioned in the craft ordinance? We can argue that the practice was not successful since two widows complained about it. Apparently recruitment was difficult because there seemed to be a shortage of skilled workforce. At any rate the cases discussed here clearly demonstrate that it was the first and foremost interest of the craft to keep the production process running continuously, without interruptions, by ensuring widows' means to continue their trade at least for a period of time. Consequently, the continuity was an essential element in craft trade culture.

Besides the petition letters, a decree in the Lübeck *Wettebuch* of 1589 reveals that also in other crafts than that of the turners aldermen were to recruit a journeyman for a widow. The decree stated that hucksters' craft had unanimously consented that when there was a widow, either poor or rich, aldermen were to place a good journeyman at the widow's disposal.<sup>94</sup> According to hucksters' ordinance of 1507, a widow was allowed to continue her trade as long as she had sold the products purchased by her late husband.<sup>95</sup> Yet, the ordinance had no reference that aldermen were to acquire a journeyman to help her. Apparently such practice existed, however. It is possible that someone had complained to the *Wetteberren* that aldermen did not help and *Wetteberren* had to enforce this unwritten widows' right by writing it down. Another explanation is that this practice was new and *Wetteberren* were only then informed about it.

The size of the workshop, which was often regulated in the craft ordinances, was also important. According to Lübeck turners' craft ordinance of 1507, one master was allowed to have either two *knechte* and one apprentice, or two apprentices and one *knecht*.<sup>96</sup> The size of the workshop had not changed in the additions which were made to the ordinance in 1580.<sup>97</sup> Late medieval craft trade production and craft trade culture required certain-sized workshops. The workshop itself could be run by a male master, a married couple, or a widow, and the combination of workers' sex/gender and marital status could vary greatly. For example, in Cologne we encounter a widow who had continued her trade with her daughter and an unmarried journeyman for forty years.<sup>98</sup> Yet, the most preferred condition was a workshop employing 1–2

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94 AHL, Handschriften, no. 101, 32r (*Wettebuch* 1589): 'datt ampt der hocker hebben eindeutig vorwilliget wen sine/eine wedewe vorhanden ist, ist sei arm edder Riker so scholen de Olderlude ir sinen/einen guden gesellen so ir denstlich ist wedder up de werckstede vorschaffen, Actum 21 Juni.'

95 Wehrmann, *Zunftrollen*, no 21, 238 (Hoker/Hucksters 1507).

96 Wehrmann, *Zunftrollen*, no. 12, 200 (Dreyer/Turners 1507).

97 AHL, Ämter und Innungen, Drechsler, no. 1 (Drechsler Rolle 1507 with an addition in 1580).

98 Gonzáles Athenas, 'Legal Regulation', 160–163.

apprentices and 1–2 journeymen and led by a married couple. Craft ordinances, the flexibility of widows' rights articles, and the practice of recruiting *knechte* for widows all aimed to secure the continuity at two levels; at the household workshop level and at the craft level. This was part of the protectionist policy of the late medieval and early modern crafts.

## 5.2 Protection and flexibility – controversial strategies

In their study on premodern towns as a labour market Josef Ehmer and Reinhold Reith have shown that the assumption, according to which early modern labour market was characterized through norms and regulations that limited individual choices and mobility, contradicts the diversity and variability of reality.<sup>99</sup> As opposite to protectionism, labour, goods, and real estate markets in the Early Modern Period were in many sense flexible, as Ehmer and Reith argue.<sup>100</sup> In regards to craft trade culture in late medieval and early modern times the previous chapters have shown that this culture was shaped by both protection and flexibility. This combination often resulted in contradictions which manifested in various disputes. Some of these disputes handled widows' rights to continue their trade, at least on the surface. Yet, when examined more closely, reasons behind the disputes were much more complex than just a question of masters' gender. The following sections highlight several contradictions that emerged from the combination of flexible and protectionist strategies of the crafts and city council.

### 5.2.1 Demarcation of trades

In principle every citizen in late medieval and early modern towns was allowed to practise one trade. This right for a trade was included to the citizen rights: by acquiring a citizenship a person at the same time acquired a licence to practise a certain craft or merchant trade. According to Stockholm city council's decree, *burspårke*,<sup>101</sup> issued in

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99 Ehmer and Reith, 'Die mitteleuropäische Stadt', 255.

100 Ehmer and Reith (Eds.) *Märkte im vorindustriellen Europa*, passim. See also Ehmer and Reith, 'Märkte im vorindustriellen Europa', 22–23.

101 City councils issued various norms and regulations concerning public safety and order, sanitation as well as industrial and commercial activity. These long-term decrees were called *burspråke* and they were read aloud to the inhabitants, usually twice a year as in Stockholm. Usually the *burspråke* were read at the main market square in the spring and before Christmas. See Korpiola, 'Maallisen oikeuslaitoksen tuottamat lähteet', 208–209; Mänd, *Urban Carnival*, 20.

1462, a craftsman was not to practise more than one trade by a penalty of 3 marks.<sup>102</sup> This prohibition to practise more than one trade was repeated in Stockholm at least in 1463, 1476, and 1481, which indicates that this decree was not faithfully followed.<sup>103</sup> Indeed, in practice this simple decree caused a lot of problems because many trades overlapped each other, principally building, construction, and wood trades,<sup>104</sup> as well as retail sales and textile production.<sup>105</sup> Furthermore, as Sabine von Heusinger has argued, craftsmen were flexible producers who aimed at expanding their selection of goods.<sup>106</sup> Consequently, some craftsmen practised more than one trade and, as the evidence from Strasbourg reveals, some even had a dual membership in two different crafts.<sup>107</sup>

During the Late Middle Ages and Early Modern Period craft production was highly segmented and professionalized. The various stages of production process were divided so that often one field of craft trade performed a very precise task in the production chain. This poses a problem for historians in the demarcation of different craft trades since many professions have disappeared a long time ago and small differences between various fields can be obscured. However, the demarcation of different craft trades was not so simple for the contemporaries either and it was one of the grounds for several disputes.<sup>108</sup>

Lübeck petition letters reveal that the demarcation of trades resulted in several disputes. Particularly in two disputes the separation of trades was at the centre and in a third case it was intertwined with the question of practising the trade outside the craft with a special licence granted by the city council. Therefore, this third case is discussed later in Chapter 5.2.2. In the first case a chest maker's widow Anneke had continued her trade for four years after her husband's death and wanted to remarry a carver (*Schnittker*) journeyman. The craft, however, disapproved this marriage and appealed in November 1568 to the city council to prevent such marriages in future.<sup>109</sup> According to the chest makers' ordinance, a widow was allowed to carry on for two years after her husband had died, unless she was old or ill in which case she could carry on with the help of a *knecht*.<sup>110</sup> Hence, Anneke had exceeded the time limit

102 SSTB 1474–1483, 445 (Burspråk 1462): 'Inghen embitzmen eller gerningx[men] bruka mera än et embete widh sino iij (3) marck, swa ofta han wader ther medh fongan.'

103 SSTB 1474–1483, 452 (Burspråk 1463), 461 (Burspråk 1476), 480 (Burspråk 1481).

104 See Appendix 7 and von Bonsdorf, *Kunstproduktion*, 28–37.

105 Cf. Von Heusinger, *Die Zunft*, 116–124.

106 Von Heusinger, *Die Zunft*, 123.

107 Von Heusinger, *Die Zunft*, 264; Lindberg, *Hantverk och skråväsen*, 51, 99, 148, 195.

108 Cf. Von Heusinger, *Die Zunft*, 116–124.

109 AHL, ASA Interna, Handwerksämter, no. 4254 (Tischler/Kistenmacher/Joiners/Chest makers, Brief 3 November 1568).

110 Wehrmann, *Zunftrollen*, no. 26, 256 (Kistenmacher/Chest makers 1508).

mentioned in their craft ordinance. Furthermore, the letter reveals additional details on remarriages and circumstances that either made possible or inhibited widows to continue independently for a longer period of time. This is illustrated in aldermen's writing that Anneke had not been able to remarry due to a long-lasting pestilence epidemic that had devastated Lübeck. In addition, aldermen wrote that times had been hard also in the surrounding area and therefore they had failed to attract new wandering/migrating journeymen to Lübeck. This had led to a situation where Anneke remarried not with a chest maker but with a carver.

As discussed in Chapter 5.1, Lübeck was facing hard times politically and economically in the middle of the sixteenth century. Little by little the city lost its leading position in trade and commerce as the Hanseatic privileges crumbled at all fronts. Furthermore, pestilence in 1548, famines, and war campaigns clearly affected the labour market.<sup>111</sup> Consequently, there seemed to be a shortage of skilled craftsmen, at least in certain fields of trades. These factors may partly explain the complaints of the aldermen and Anneke's decision to marry a carver. Of course mutual affection and love might have been a reason for the marriage as well.

Yet, the case of Anneke the chest maker is also interesting because in their letter the actual request of the aldermen is that in future a marriage between a chest maker and a carver would not be allowed. Thus, the aldermen seemed much more worried about the kind of marriage Anneke wanted to step into than the fact that she had exceeded the time limit. It is precisely this kind of 'intermarriage' between two closely related but different crafts that the aldermen wanted to prevent in future. The aldermen were concerned on the benefits this kind of intermarriage would bring to the new couple compared to other craft members who practised only one trade and perhaps lacked the skill for carver's work. Of course the situation was problematic if there were no skilful chest maker journeymen available. The problem of separating chest makers and carvers was at least officially solved fifty years later when the two crafts were united into one craft of the joiners (*Tischler*) in 1620.<sup>112</sup> The aldermen who wrote to the city council were thus afraid of the independence of their craft and the changes these kinds of marriages could bring in future. Consequently, the main problem was not that a female person had continued the trade or that a widow had exceeded the time limit but the possible competitive advantage over other craft members.

In the second case the turners' craft and a journeyman Gybrecht argued whether the named Gybrecht could be qualified as a master in turners' craft in 1560. Gybrecht either wanted to marry the widow of Clawes Holsteinn or had already married her.

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111 *Lübeckische Geschichte*, ed. Graßmann, 424–426, 429–433, 445–446, 917.

112 Wehrmann, *Zunftrollen*, 294.



In any case he was already working for the family Holsteinn. The main dispute concerned the skills and qualifications of the journeyman Gybrecht and therefore the case is further discussed in the following Chapter 5.3. However, additional notes made by the city scribe in the letter reveal us something more. It was common that when a dispute was handled in the city council the scribes made extra notes to the front side of the letter, where the addressee, the city council was marked. Often they noted the crafts and/or persons involved. In this case the petition letter of the turner aldermen was categorized by the scribe as *boldtreyer*, wood turners.<sup>113</sup> The rejoinder letter from Gybrecht, on the other hand, was categorized as *blockdreyer*, block (of wood) turners.<sup>114</sup> And, indeed, in his letter journeyman Gybrecht wrote how he was working with the interiors of a ship, apparently on the assignment by the city council. It is somewhat unclear whether Gybrecht had worked under a special licence, *Leben*. In any case in his rejoinder letter Gybrecht asks for such an allowance since at that moment the craft did not accept him as a master.<sup>115</sup> The case of the journeyman Gybrecht illustrates how very often several problematic issues were intertwined in one dispute: a widow wanted to transfer the master rights to a journeyman, who, according to the craft, was unqualified. The journeyman had probably worked on a special assignment by the city council, and, perhaps with a special licence, which might have caused jealousy among the (qualified) masters. Furthermore, he was doing block turner work which, apparently, was on the borderline or outside the turners' field of trade. As we know, much of the wood and art trade easily overlapped, although according to Jan von Bonsdorff turners formed quite a clear field of their own.<sup>116</sup>

## 5.2.2 Working with a special licence – a flexible solution or a conflict?

Intertwined with the separation of trades was often the question of *Leben* or *fief*. In medieval and early modern Lübeck it was a special licence or fee granted by the city council to an artisan. These people were called *Verlebnte*, those who had

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113 AHL, ASA Interna, Handwerksämter, no. 1104 (Drechsler/Dryer/Turners, Letter 19 March 1560).

114 AHL, ASA Interna, Handwerksämter, no. 1104 (Drechsler/Dryer/Turners, Letter from Gybrecht undated).

115 AHL, ASA Interna, Handwerksämter, no. 1104 (Drechsler/Dryer/Turners, Letter from Gybrecht undated).

116 Von Bonsdorff, *Kunstproduktion*, 34. See also Appendix 7.

received *Lehen*.<sup>117</sup> The *Verlehnte* were not officially members of (any) craft and/or the *Lehen* excluded them from craft membership.<sup>118</sup> However, with this special licence an artisan was allowed to practise his/her trade outside the craft. Yet, these fiefs were personal, and the city council could if necessary reject the license.<sup>119</sup> Based on the sources used in this study, it remains unclear how *Lehen* was granted and whether it was granted for a specific time period or for the rest of the life.<sup>120</sup> As far as I know, only Alfred Witt has discussed the *Verlehnte* and fiefs in Lübeck.<sup>121</sup> As the term *fief* bears a strong connotation to rural feudal structures, I shall use either the term *special licence*, or the original Middle Low German word *Lehen* as technical terms.

German research tradition commonly speaks of *unzünftig Handwerk*, meaning those individuals or artisan groups that practised and performed their craft trade with *Lehen* – or without – and were not members of (any) craft; or the special field of craft trades that were not organized into formal crafts. In her extensive study on medieval crafts in Strasbourg von Heusinger has shown that at the side of the straight organized craft trades a variety of possibilities to practise craft trade existed.<sup>122</sup> However, the straight organized crafts have often been taken for granted, thus the inflexibility of the crafts has been emphasized.<sup>123</sup> Here I shall use the

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117 According to Wolf-Dieter Hauschild, '[...] die sog. Verlehnten, die von Ratsherren für ihre Tätigkeit eine Konzession (ein Lehen) bekamen und z.B. als Träger bei der Warenbeförderung eingesetzt wurden, [...]'. *Lübeckische Geschichte*, ed. Graßmann, 358. According to Erich Hoffmann, the concept of *Verlehnten* rounds-up several professional groups that belonged to the lower social classes, such as wage workers (*Tagelöhner*) and helpers (*Arbeitsmänner*). *Lübeckische Geschichte*, ed. Graßmann, 322–323.

118 The term *Lehen* refers to a *beneficium*, meaning that the fee-holders were subordinate to their 'feudal lord', in medieval case to the City Council of Lübeck. Therefore, holding a *Lehen* excludes the craft membership. In the end of the seventeenth century the fief system was developed so that various kinds of *Lehen* existed side by side: a fee that could be bought and pawned; a fee that could be bought but not pawned; a fee that was granted by one of the merchants' *Kollegien*; a fee granted by the council (*Stadtkassenleben*) and a fee granted by the Wette as a gift (*Geschenkeleben*). Witt, 'Die Verlehnten in Lübeck (die Träger)', 201–207.

119 Witt argues that despite of their omnipotence the city council stepped in only in severe cases. Witt, 'Die Verlehnten in Lübeck (die Träger)', 50–51.

120 For example, the free bakers in Borchstraße mentioned only that the city council granted their *Lehen*. AHL, ASA Interna, Handwerksämter, no. 456 (Freibäcker/ Free bakers, Letter 6 January 1611): '[...] erfahrens haben wir das Greger (?) Rüter (?) gewesente und von Erb. Rath belehnter freybecker in de Borchstrasen [...].'

121 Witt, 'Die Verlehnten in Lübeck (die Träger)', passim. In his study the term *Verlehnten* (plural) refers both to individual carriers and to groups of carriers like brick carriers.

122 Von Heusinger, *Die Zunft*, 247–266.

123 Cf. for example Ogilvie, *A Bitter Living*, passim; Roper, *Holy Household*, 36–55; Cipolla, *Before the Industrial Revolution*, 251, 261. Criticism of previous research, van den Heuvel and van Nederveen Meerkerk, 'Introduction, Partners in Business?', 209–213; Gonzalés Athenas, 'Regulierte Märkte', 141–242. See also, Schmidt, 'Women and Guilds', passim.

term *unorganized craftsmanship* when I refer to this type of craft trade. Kirsi Vainio-Korhonen has pointed out in her study on craft trade production in early modern Turku, Finland, that many women engaged themselves especially in unorganized craft production that was not controlled by crafts or guilds.<sup>124</sup> Same situation has been applied to many Swedish towns.<sup>125</sup>

Two cases among the Lübeck petition letters illustrate eminently the disputes that this system of special licences sometimes created. In our first case we encounter a barber-surgeon widow Catharina Catonis who wrote a petition letter to the city council in 1599. The widow was very upset and accused some members of the barber-surgeons' craft of intruding her house, searching through the house, and smashing and stealing her tools. On top of the intrusion they had pushed her in the face using thumbs. Furthermore, according to the widow, the intruders had accused her and her late husband of stealing from the trade of barber-surgeons. By this it was meant that Catharina and her husband had practised the trade without a craft membership. In the letter Catharina argued that she and her husband had had nothing to do with the craft.<sup>126</sup> If these accusations were true we face here several serious crimes, such as disturbing domestic peace. The widow requested that from there on the craft would leave her in peace. The letter encompasses almost 12 pages and indicates that the dispute between the craft and the widow had continued for a long time and that it had been previously also discussed in court.

Enclosed with the widow's petition is a decision of the Lübeck lower court from two years earlier, 1597, concerning a case between her late husband Berend Catonis and the craft.<sup>127</sup> This decision, which displays the accusation of both parties, reveals us decisive background information: the craft accused Berend, who had had a *Leben* to heal old wounds and fractures, of exceeding his competence and taking customers that belonged to the barber-surgeons. Berend contested the charges and claimed that his field of operation had been granted a *Leben* also before him. According to the decision, Berend was allowed to continue his trade with *Leben* but was to keep treating old wounds and fractures and not to break the ordinance of barber-surgeons. Based on this decision it is clear that in this case the question of special licence was combined with the question of what was included to the barber-surgeons' trade and what could be understood as another kind of healing. In other words, the separation of healing trades was intertwined with the question that some were able to practise

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124 Vainio-Korhonen, *Käsien tehty*, for example pages 91–93, 98–100.

125 Ling, 'Genusarbetsdelning i tidigmoderna städer', 169–170.

126 AHL, ASA Interna, Handwerksämter, no. 511 (Barbiere/Barber-surgeons, Letter 8 August 1599).

127 AHL, ASA Interna, Handwerksämter, no. 511 (Barbiere/Barber-surgeons, Copia sub litera A, 5 February 1597).

a trade outside organized crafts with this special licence. Because crafts wanted to protect their privileges and control the qualifications of the workforce, it is clear that they were not pleased with these special licences granted by the city council. Furthermore, the craft considered that the widow was not allowed to carry on with the trade with the *Lehen* granted to her former husband. Apparently the widow saw things differently although she did not precisely ask a permission to continue the trade. The previous disagreements between the late husband Berend and the craft show, however, that the main grounds for this dispute were the special licence and the demarcation of healing trade, and the question of gender was only in the background.

In our second case we encounter linen weaver Bastian who wrote a petition letter to the council in 1586.<sup>128</sup> Bastian had worked as a *knecht*, serving Master Jacob Meyers, and in 1584 married his widow Wibke. Bastian asked a permission to continue trade with the *Lehen* that was granted to Meyers' former wife. A rejoinder letter from the crafts' aldermen provides further information. Aldermen complain that the widow had received a *Lehen* without informing the craft. Furthermore, the *Lehen* was initially intended for two looms but Bastian had at that time three.<sup>129</sup> According to the craft ordinance of Lübeck linen weavers, those who wove narrow cloth were allowed to have only two looms.<sup>130</sup> The craft had asked *Wetteberren*, council officials who supervised craft trade, to inspect the workshop of Bastian and ask him to give up his trade. However, *Wetteberren* had given Bastian time to finish the work he had already started. Finally, when he was ordered to give up his trade, he had somehow managed to get a *Lehen* and continued his trade 'to the dishonour of the craft and the craft ordinance', as the aldermen put it. Furthermore, aldermen were upset about these special licences and feared that they would encourage more weavers to disobey the craft ordinance. Thus, they requested that the city council would reject the *Lehen* granted to Bastian so that the craft ordinance, which was confirmed only a year ago, would hold true and be honoured.<sup>131</sup>

It is clear that special licences contravened the protectionist policy of the crafts. If these licences would have been available for everyone, crafts would have lost one of their most important control – the control of workforce, its training and qualification; the latter being extremely important also to crafts' honour. The records of

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128 AHL, ASA Interna, Handwerksämter, no. 2652 (Leineweber/Linen weavers, 12 April 1586).

129 AHL, ASA Interna, Handwerksämter, no. 2652 (Leineweber/Linen weavers, Letter 14 April 1586).

130 Wehrmann, *Zunftrollen*, no. 35, 325 (Leineweber/Linen weavers before 1425, Additions 1585).

131 AHL, ASA Interna, Handwerksämter, no. 2652 (Leineweber/Linen weavers, Letter 14 April 1586).

Lübeck Lower Court reveal that several crafts complained about artisans working under *Leben* in front of city council. For example, in 1475, the aldermen of coopers complained about a certain Hartich Holste who manufactured wooden vessels like a cooper. Hartich defended himself by claiming that the city council had given him and his one *knecht* a special licence to manufacture vessels. The council determined that Hartich was allowed to manufacture and sell unfinished products and sell those vessels that were ready. But the *knecht* would be excluded from craft membership because he had already worked under *Leben* outside the organized crafts.<sup>132</sup> In this case the city council used its right to reject the licence. A few decades later, in 1502, the rope makers complained about Peter who had received a *Leben* to make rope according to Russian style but was now making them in other ways as well causing damage to the rope makers' craft. According to the council's decision, Peter with his *Leben* was allowed to manufacture ropes only in Russian way.<sup>133</sup> Like Sabine von Heusinger and Kirsi Vainio-Korhonen have shown, these examples reassert that the organized crafts were not the only form of craft production in late medieval and early modern cities. However, as the crafts wanted to control the urban craft production and labour markets and to secure organized craft trades as regular and most respected forms of artisan work,<sup>134</sup> it is obvious that they were displeased with these special licences granted by city council. The cases discussed here do not reveal much about the motives of the city council to grant the special licences. It seems that the idea of the city council had been to ensure the continuation of production and to answer the changing demands by increasing production in some trades if necessary. This initially flexible and useful idea collided, however, with the protectionist policy of the crafts. However, more research is required to discover how this *Leben* system was created, how it worked in practice and what its significance to urban economy was. Nevertheless, the cases discussed above clearly show that in spite of all their efforts crafts were not fully able to control craft trade production but other forms of production occurred, like von Heusinger has shown for medieval Strasbourg and Vainio-Korhonen for early modern Finnish town of Turku.

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132 Ebel, *Lübecker Ratsurteile Band 1*, no.169. Original in *Niederstadtbuch*.

133 Ebel, *Lübecker Ratsurteile Band 2*, no. 86. Original in *Niederstadtbuch*.

134 Cf. Hoffmann-Rehnitz, 'The Invention of the *Störer*', 50–51.

### 5.2.3 Limited number of master vacancies

In many crafts the number of masters was limited as it was in ten Stockholm crafts.<sup>135</sup> The number was also limited in 17 Tallinn crafts.<sup>136</sup> The limited number of masters was at the heart of the protectionist policy. This matched with the protectionist policies of emerging states: particularly in Stockholm the protectionist industrial and commercial policy of the Crown supported the numerus-clausus idea of the crafts.<sup>137</sup> One of the most striking results emerging from the Lübeck letters is that disputes on the number of master vacancies within a certain field of trade were behind many disagreements. In four letters this source of disagreement was directly stated and in as many as in ten letters it was expressed indirectly. In some of these cases the question of the number of master vacancies was also intertwined with the question on special licence. Due to the large number of cases I will not handle them all one by one but instead I shall introduce a couple of them as examples which will be profoundly analysed.

The most illuminating case in this group is from year 1586 concerning currier widow Margareta Wolder. She applied to the city council requesting that in spite of her improvident late husband she would be regarded as a person worthy of the craft.<sup>138</sup> Enclosed was even another letter assigned as official proof of her late husband's thrifless and worthless nature and of their legal divorce.<sup>139</sup> Extant is also the rejoinder letter of the craft's aldermen, which offers further information on this case and allows us to take a closer look on the motives behind the actions of the aldermen. In the rejoinder letter the aldermen first pointed out that Margareta's husband Hans had left the currier's trade four years before his death. Thereafter the aldermen complained how the demand of their products had decreased dramatically in the preceding couple of years. Finally, the arguments of the aldermen crystallized to the notion on how the city council wanted to reduce the number of master vacancies in the carriers' craft from the present 23 to 16 whereas the aldermen

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135 See Appendix Table 5.2. Additionally, the number of brewers was limited at the beginning of the seventeenth century. See also Lindström, *Skrå, stad och staat*, 194–199.

136 See Appendix Table 5.1.

137 Lindström, *Skrå, stad och staat*, 194–199; Lindberg, *Hantverk och Skråväsen*, 119–124.

138 AHL, ASA Interna, Handwerksämter, no. 977 (Bremelmacher/Buntmacher/Bunftutterer/Curriers, Letter 23 July 1586).

139 AHL, ASA Interna, Handwerksämter, no. 977 (Bremelmacher/Buntmacher/Bunftutterer/Curriers, Letter 15 July 1586).

felt that a suitable number of vacancies would be 20.<sup>140</sup> Further on the aldermen proposed a solution to the city council on how this reduced number of master vacancies could be accomplished: through natural demise, meaning that after the death of the next three masters the craft would not fill these master vacancies. And that widow Margareta would not be allowed to practise currier's trade as a master.<sup>141</sup>

Based on the aldermen's letter it is evident that they had fallen into a cross pressure situation where the city council wanted to reduce the master vacancies radically, the widow Margareta wanted to practise the trade as an (extra) master, and the craft tried to find middle ground. It seems that the reasons were mainly economic but also political. The currier business was going downhill and in such cases the council was forced in radical actions, which meant cutting down production. During the second half of the sixteenth century Lübeck was facing hard times in several fronts. The privileges of the Hanseatic trade were falling, the Northern Seven Years' War required a lot of resources and hindered trade in the Baltic Sea region. Furthermore, the city was recovering from pestilence and famines.<sup>142</sup> The craft acknowledged as well that times were rough for their trade but tried to guarantee their members a slightly smaller livelihood but more for their masters. In principle, crafts were subordinate to the city council but held a lot of executive power over their ordinance. In this case the question of subordination and (political) power crystallized to the question on who had the highest authority to decide on the number of masters.

Margareta's situation was all but beneficial: she had officially divorced her husband long ago and more importantly, the husband himself had left the currier trade years before his death. In order to enforce the council's decisions the craft had clearly begun the reductions from the 'weakest link', from the widow whose position was

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140 AHL, ASA Interna, Handwerksämter, no. 977 (Bremelmacher/Buntmacher/Buntfutter/Carriers Letter 23 July 1586): '[...] Das wir offtmahls darüber geclaget, welches gestat das gedacht unser Ampt in negstuer rücken Jaren einer grossen abbruch genommen, in deme bremels ilzo nicht soviel wie wol wormals geschere, gebraucht werden und doch gleichwol unser will, alß im zale 23 so sich alhie desselbige amtsgebrauchen und als nicht wol davon unsere nharung haben sondern und dabei fast kummerlich behelffen müssen, daher dan auch fur dero zeit auf unsere diesfals beschenes clagen, von E: Erb: hohen uns dieser bescheit gegeben dass durch die nach einander negstes urbenden die anzal die des Ampts persone sollte biß auf 16 oder je 20 gemindert werden, Welchem also unsere theils gebruchliche nachzu setzen, etzlich unter uns so Ire erwachssene kinder haben, dieselben unangesehen, dass sie wohl mehr lust und neigung gehabt dabei zu bleiben, aussserhalb des berurten unses amts bestatten müssen.'

141 AHL, ASA Interna, Handwerksämter, no. 977 (Bremelmacher/Buntmacher/Buntfutterer/ Currier, Letter 15 July 1586): 'Unser hochfleissige dinestliche bit die wollten der gedachten Witwen angezogenen vorhabens nicht verstaten, sondern nochmals es also gunstlich verordenen und statuieren, dass durch unsers mittels die negestabsterbenden die anzal der semptlichen Bremelmachern wo nicht auf 16 jedoch bis auff 20 personen kommen muge. [...].'

142 *Lübeckische Geschichte*, ed. Graßmann, 424–433, 445–450, 917.

not strong even without reduction pressures. In my opinion the economic reasons were the motives for the actions of the aldermen and their main goal was not to restrict women's work because of their sex/gender but stop the economic downhill and strive for the continuity of craft production. This was part of the protectionist policy of the crafts. Unfortunately, as it seems, in this case these measures fell hard on a widow.

The limited number of master vacancies was also the concern of the proxies of a turner Hinrich Koneck's widow when they appealed to the city council in 1579. In the latter part of the letter the proxies emphasized that only eight masters were allowed in turners' craft, like the city council had decided, and if the widow was allowed to continue her trade turners would need an allowance for a ninth master vacancy.<sup>143</sup> It seems that the situation had developed into a deadlock: on the one hand, it was the widow's right to continue her trade but, on the other, if she would have continued, turners would have needed a new master vacancy. Therefore, the aldermen of the turners had begun to oppose the widow's right to continue her trade. Consequently, this is the reason why the proxies approached the city council with their letter and asked for a decision.

How could a deadlock situation like this have developed? Based on the craft rule, we know that a widow was supposed to remarry unless she had a son. The turners' ordinance also gave benefits for a journeyman if he was to marry a master's daughter or a widow.<sup>144</sup> Often when the number of masters was limited a marriage with a master's daughter or a widow was the only way for a journeyman to become a craft master. This seems to be the case in Lübeck turners as well. Interestingly, when the proxies wrote that only eight masters were allowed in turners' craft they added that they did not know whether the decree for eight masters was the decision of the city council or if it was the perception of the aldermen.<sup>145</sup> In the ordinance of 1507, which the city council confirmed in 1580, there is no reference to a limited number of masters.<sup>146</sup> Thus, this suggests that the regulation for eight masters had been a council's decree. If this, indeed, was the case it again raises questions on the

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143 AHL, ASA Interna, Handwerksämter, no. 1105 (Drechsler/Dreyer/Turners, Letter 31 January 1579).

144 Wehrmann, *Zunftrollen*, no 12, 200–201 (Dreyer/Turners 1507, additions 1580).

145 AHL, ASA Interna, Handwerksämter, no. 1105 (Drechsler/Dreyer/Turners, Letter 30 January 1579): '[...] unsere durch E. Erb. hochw: [Rat] uns gegebene Rulle vormag das nicht mehr als achte unses amptes zur zeit sein sollen, wir nicht wissen können, ob solches durch E. Erb. hochw: als vorordnet oder durch der alterleute eigene anstiftung zu werck gesettet worden seij. [...].'

146 AHL 5.1–2 Ämter und Innungen, Drechsler no.1 (Rolle 1507, 1580). The confirmation and changes of 1580 are not in the Wehrmann edition.



power relationships between the city council and the crafts. In principle, the crafts were subordinate to the city council. Why the council's decree was not added to the craft ordinance?

We can reconstruct one possible line of developments from these bits of information. After the husband Hinrich Koneke had died, his widow had continued the turner's trade. Apparently she had not remarried, even though it was expected according to the craft ordinance. In other words, the widow had had the eighth master's vacancy and for the time being this practice had been accepted. After a while a journeyman wanted to become a master and establish his own workshop. This had led to a conflict situation between the widow and the newcomer. Hence, both of them had rightful claims for their cause. In any case as long as the interests of individuals and the craft did not collide a widow master was very much acceptable. Unluckily for the historians the council's decision was not attached to the petition letter and it remains obscure whether the anonymous turner widow was, indeed, forced to give up her trade.

In today's historical research concerning women and work in craft milieu it has been a disputed question whether widows were forced to step aside and make room for younger generation, if there was a journeyman 'in line' waiting to take the master's place after the widow had given up her trade. The examples discussed above suggest that this was also a controversial question to the contemporaries in late medieval and early modern towns. Indeed, the following case illustrates how this question was discussed at the turn of the seventeenth century in Lübeck. Butcher master Jacob Huken appealed to the city council in 1609 requesting that a widow called Geselke Bildtfelt should give up her trade and the son-in-law of Jacob should take her master vacancy.<sup>147</sup> The daughter of Jacob Huken was about to marry a butcher journeyman or had recently married him. Master Jacob justified his claims adequately: firstly, he referred to the common custom in butchers' craft according to which if a widow did not want to marry after her *Gnadenjahr* she was supposed to yield her place to young people.<sup>148</sup> Secondly, he boldly pointed out that, as the city council should remember, butcher aldermen had already in 1604 requested that this old custom was

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147 AHL, ASA Interna, Handwerksämter, no. 2288 (Knochenhauer/Butchers, Letter 28 March 1609).

148 AHL, ASA Interna, Handwerksämter, no. 2288 (Knochenhauer/Butchers, Letter 28 March 1609):  
 '[...] in unsere Ampt der Knochenhauer nicht alleine uber aller Menschen gedenken ein gebrauch unnd herkommens wesen, wann eine Wittibe nach absterben ihren Mannen ein gnaden Jahr gehabttn und sich nicht wiederumb befeyen will, das alsdann anderen Jungen leuten das amptt zufornern und damith von einen Erbaren hochweisen Rath belehnett zuworden pflegen, [...].'

to be valid.<sup>149</sup> Apparently this custom was not followed strictly. Thirdly, he argues that the widow Geselke had already been granted three years' time to continue her trade without remarrying and she had at that time applied for the fourth.<sup>150</sup> Fourthly, according to Jacob, the journeyman was more in the need of income than the widow who had by that time paid the dowries of her children.<sup>151</sup> Finally, he wrote that if the council would consent the widow's request to have a fourth year it would cause 'great disadvantage for the poor journeyman and his beloved'.<sup>152</sup>

The essential question here for the craft was what would be the most successful strategy to ensure the continuation of craft production. Was it better to focus on an experienced widow who knew the trade, had a network of customers, who could perhaps remarry a journeyman? Or should the craft invest in young blood by favouring a journeyman who was supposed to marry a master's daughter? As the last occurrence with master Jacob and his daughter demonstrates it was by all means not clear that the young couple would have the advantage. On the contrary, it seems that the city council had favoured the widow Geselke. Subsequently, evidence from Lübeck does not support the view opposed by Roper and Ogilvie, among others, according to which crafts together with the city council aimed to restrict widows' work opportunities.<sup>153</sup> What seems to be characteristic to craft trade culture is that crafts tried to balance their supply, the production of goods, in order to match the demand by using the means available to them, such as reducing the number of masters at times of economic decline. In this way crafts tried to fulfil one of their main functions by ensuring economic welfare to all their members. However, these examples show that, besides the protectionism and common good, competition and individual profit-seeking were also part of craft trade culture, which thus was full of controversies.

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149 AHL, ASA Interna, Handwerksämter, no. 2288 (Knochenhauer/Butchers, Letter March 1609): '[...] Großgunstige liebe herrn Erw. Ernuesten, hoch und wohlweiß sich unter maßen erinnern, [...] Wie dann auch gleichfalls Einer Ehrnuesten hoch und wollweisen Rath noch unentfallen sein wird, das unsere alterleute in einer supplication so sie Anno 1604 den 6 Novembris ubergeben, gantz umbsiges fleisses gebeten, es bey solchen alten herkommen und gebrauch gunstig vorbleiben zulaßen, [...].'

150 AHL, ASA Interna, Handwerksämter, no. 2288 (Knochenhauer/Butchers, Letter 28.3.1609): '[...] on dann nun wohll nicht alleine zwei sondern nun auch das dritten gnaden Jahr gehabt und in mittelst sich nich wiederbefreiet, [...], das obgedachte Geselke Bildfeldts inzovon Meinen umb das 4 gnaden Jahr supplicando angehaten haben soll, [...].'

151 AHL, ASA Interna, Handwerksämter, no. 2288 (Knochenhauer/Butchers, Letter 28 March 1609): '[...] dan nunn auf zum anderenn, das die Bildtfeldish Ihre Kindern alle austteuert, [...] das sie ihr reichlich hinkommen wohl sobey kommen, unnd nicht so sehr ernötiget, [...].'

152 AHL, ASA Interna, Handwerksämter, no. 2288 (Knochenhauer/Butchers, Letter 28 March 1609): '[...] wann aber nun solche mehr armen gesellen unnd meinen lieben Braudt zu hochsten schaden geweisen wolde, [...].'

153 Ogilvie, *A Bitter Living*, 258–265; Roper, *Holy Household*, 36–55.

### 5.3 Skills and qualifications – competence under challenge

The qualifications of a master and quality guarantee of products were essential elements in craft ordinances. Basically all craft ordinances defined qualifications required for mastership. Usually these qualifications included sufficient training first as an apprentice and then as a journeyman, a demonstration of skills that was evaluated by the aldermen (sometimes together with council representatives), a feast organized by the applicant and/or certain food or money payment, not to forget the honourable birth and acquired citizenship.<sup>154</sup> The quality and skill requirements were one of the means of the crafts to control labour market and entrepreneurship. Several historians have argued that women only had access to low-skilled work and consequently to low income. Craft organizations and the household workshop have often been taken as a starting point. In craft milieu only men had access to official training and mastership. Additionally, master rights were combined with citizen rights, hence a certain legal status. Therefore, these trades, when practised by men, bought them high status as well.<sup>155</sup> According to scholars adherent to subordination or middle ground theory, the gendered division of work explains why in many trades women's work was considered less valued than men's. It was often men who took care of the most advanced work stages whereas women, especially wives, were responsible of simple, preparatory work stages that could be carried out alongside household work.<sup>156</sup> Christopher Pihl has argued that it was the organization form of work and not the work itself that created the gendered/sexual division of work. Women engaged themselves more in the marginal and informal side of production.<sup>157</sup>

In her article on gendered division of labour in early modern Swedish towns Sofia Ling has criticized this interpretation. She argues that women's work has been studied in the framework of organized craft trade albeit the majority of women's work in the cities took place outside the organized crafts. If organized craft trade is taken as a starting point when we examine how women's work was valued, this leads to the fact that men's work is valued higher and women's work is underrated. Thus, women's work should be examined in its own right.<sup>158</sup> I fully concur with Ling. Additionally, recent studies have shown that women took great pride in their

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154 See for example the ordinance of Tallinn smiths presented in Table 1.2.

155 McIntosh, *Working Women*, 122; Hubbard, *City Women*, 190; Karlsson Sjögren, *Kvinnors rätt*, 93–96; Vainio-Korhonen, *Käsin tehty*, 40; Simon-Muscheid, 'Frauenarbeit und Männerehre', 30–31.

156 Vainio-Korhonen, *Käsin tehty*, 36–40; Simon-Muscheid, 'Frauenarbeit und Männerehre', 30–31; Wiesner-Hanks, *Women and Gender*, 118, 126, 133–134.

157 Pihl, 'Arbete och hushåll', 46–48, 51, 54.

158 Ling, 'Genusarbetsdelning i tidigmoderna städer', 169–170.

trade and work effort. For example, in court many women referred to their professional status. Hence, an honest work/trade could be a source for credit and authority within the community.<sup>159</sup> Furthermore, Ling has criticized that gendered division of labour within the households has been taken for granted.<sup>160</sup> Raisa Maria Toivo has argued that crossing the borders of gendered division of labour did not automatically mean the loss of status or honour.<sup>161</sup> Lanza has pointed out that even though girls were often excluded from official training daughters usually received good training in the family workshop, which they then deepened and widened as wives of master craftsmen. Furthermore, the wives often engaged themselves in customer service, took care of monetary affairs, and interacted with other master craftsmen, whereas the master himself organized and controlled the production. Therefore, widows usually possessed the needed economical, managerial, and technical skills to continue the business. Yet, these women did not experience the same socialization process as men did, when they ploughed through the formal education path.<sup>162</sup>

In eight Lübeck letters the qualifications of a widow, widower, or a journeyman was at stake. In the following section the cases where widows' qualifications were somehow disputed are discussed first. Then I shall turn my attention to the cases that involved journeymen and/or widowers, which offer a male perspective. As the examples will show, the disputes on the qualifications of the artisans were usually part of a larger scheme where the very essentials of craft organization system and craft trade culture were discussed and negotiated.

Currier widow Margareta argued in her letter of 1586 that she should be regarded as a craft sister, despite of her late 'good-for-nothing' husband, because she had proved herself a person worthy of the craft.<sup>163</sup> In this case, however, it is not clear if this statement referred to her work skills, but rather to her reputation as an honest and a good person. On the other hand, in craft trade culture honour, understood in a wide sense, was essential; hence, a skilful worker was also an honest and a good worker. Turner widow Meike Hoiers complained in her letter of 1583 how she had been forced to go to the guild house and present her work in order to prove

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159 Toivo, *Witchcraft and Gender*, 116–119; Hubbard, *City Women*, 192.

160 Ling, 'Genusarbetsdelning i tidigmoderna städer', 171.

161 Toivo, *Witchcraft and Gender*, 134.

162 Lanza, *From Wives to Widows*, 124–125, 128.

163 AHL, ASA Interna, Handwerksämter, no. 977 (Bremelmacher/Buntmacher/Buntfutterer/Curriers, Letter 23 July 1586): '[...] bin ick glickwol eine ambsyster der bremelmaker gebleuen unnd alles wath Ick in angetagenen wercke (?) unerhochtenn bekummernisse nicht gedan tho dem ambete wat ick kann, [...]'

her skills as a turner.<sup>164</sup> Here it seems that the aldermen wanted to make sure that the widow was competent in her trade. Clearly the widow Meike was upset that her skills were questioned. Alongside this turner widow's case the craft ordinance of Stockholm bakers is the only occurrence where a widow's qualifications were somehow challenged. Stockholm bakers' widows' rights article namely stated that after the death of her husband a widow was to have a trial period for one year and six weeks. If she proved herself worthy of the craft during that time she was allowed to continue her trade.<sup>165</sup>

Woollen cloth maker widow Lillie Vögel referred in 1608 to the skills she had acquired by working with her late husband. According to her, she was worthy of the craft and had 'done justice to the craft ordinance'. Therefore, she could not understand the efforts of the aldermen to exclude her from the craft even though she felt she had good chances for a second marriage within the craft.<sup>166</sup> Unfortunately no rejoinder letter from craft aldermen has survived so we can only guess the reasons that had led to this situation. Additionally, no craft ordinance of woollen cloth makers (*Wandmacher*) has not survived and the craft ordinance of linen cloth makers (*Lakenmacher*) has no widows' rights article.<sup>167</sup> Furthermore, Lillie did not make any reference to a common custom regarding her rights. Nonetheless, it is interesting how in the letter Widow Lillie constantly refers to her right to remarriage as though the aldermen were trying to prevent it. The aldermen had no legal right to prevent the marriage of two adult persons, but a widow had a right to transfer master rights to her new husband, so this suggests that the craft wanted to reduce the number of master vacancies by enforcing the widow to give up her trade. In this way the aldermen probably hindered Lillie's chances of remarriage since the prospect of receiving mastership by marrying a master's widow was indeed a very attractive opportunity for a journeyman, especially if the number of master vacancies was limited. As a matter of fact, linen cloth makers' craft ordinances include articles which regulated the careers of journeymen: if a journeyman wanted to gain a mastership he was to

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164 AHL, ASA Interna, Handwerksämter, no. 1105 (Drechsler/Dreyer/Turners, Letter 22 October 1583): 'Mij verlangst mith minen Sohnes vorschreven, na stove tho kamen, und etzliche Böme tho baren, darum ick dath dagliche brodt thovordenen mith minen beiden Sohnes, [...]'. Meike Hoiers' letter is transcribed and presented in Table 3.12.

165 Klemming, *Skrå-ordningar*, 212 (Bagare/ Bakers 1506).

166 AHL, ASA Interna, Handwerksämter, no. 4531 (Wandmacher/Wollen cloth makers, Letter 25 August 1608): 'daß ob ich wohl etliche jhar hero mit meinen sehligen Ehemanne Hinrich Vögeln ein Wandmacher ampt geseßen, und inhalts dero Rullen den selben gleich und recht gethan, [...], demnoch die alterleute gedachter Wandmacher iezo, da mir gutte gelegenheit ad secundas nuptias mit einen ihres amptes vorstehet, sich angemaßet, daß die mieh keines weges in ampt wißen noch deßen wurdigen achten sondern gantz und gar davon excludieren und ausschlisßen wollen. [...]'

167 See Appendix 1.2 and discussion in Chapter 2.1.2.

work in a master's workshop for two years after which he was to marry into the craft either with a master's daughter or a *meisterinne*, a master's widow. If a journeyman was unable to marry a craft member but married outside the craft he was to give the council twenty golden coins, twenty marks to the *Wette* and ten marks to the craft – a considerable amount of money for a journeyman.<sup>168</sup> Consequently, the only way for a journeyman to gain a mastership was to marry into the craft. Therefore, losing master rights could have been disastrous for Widow Lillie which again explains her anxiety.

Lyndal Roper, among others, has argued that the lack of formal training of women in craft trades also denoted their secondary and subordinate place within the craft.<sup>169</sup> Yet, only one craft ordinance that included a widows' rights article referred to the working skills of a widow and it was not a dominating theme in the conflicts either. This suggests that widowhood implicated that a woman was a skilled worker who could manage the workshop on her own or with the help of children or other workforce. In many cities widows engaged themselves in skilled crafts, although often in small numbers, and, according to Ogilvie, it was not the lack of skill that made it difficult for widows to continue their trade.<sup>170</sup> As the analysis in Chapter 3.1.4 showed, basing on the craft ordinances widows could engage themselves in a variety of trades including skilled trades such as goldsmiths'.

The qualifications of a journeyman, a husband-to-be, or a widower could be questioned as well. In 1611, an unnamed free baker's widow wanted to marry a journeyman and transfer the special licence *Lehen* to him, which she and her former husband had enjoyed. The proxies of this free baker's widow turned to the city council and requested that the council would make sure that the documents presented by this journeyman were, indeed, sufficient proof of his qualifications. The proxies described the journeyman as an honest, pious man who had completed his training, presented trustworthy documents, and even bid farewell in good terms with his master.<sup>171</sup> Yet, the letter provides no information whether the journeyman was to

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168 Wehrmann, *Zunftrollen*, no. 30, 302 (Lakenmacher/Linen cloth makers 1553).

169 Roper, *Holy Household*, 47. See also, for example, Simon-Muscheid, 'Frauenarbeit und Männerehre', 31; Karlsson Sjögren, *Kvinnors rätt*, 93–96; Wiesner-Hanks, *Women and Gender*, 118, 126, 133–134 and Väinö-Korhonen, *Käsin tehty*, 40, passim.

170 Ogilvie, *A Bitter Living*, 232–233.

171 AHL, ASA Interna, Handwerksämter, no. 456 (Freibäcker/Free bakers, Letter 6 January 1611): '[...] als besteht nun mehr dabei, dass sie sich mit einen anderen ehrlichen unnd frommen gesellen, der nicht allein dass handwerk aufrichtih geleret sondern auch sein glaubhafte documenta und kundschaften furzulegen, dass er sich fröblich und woll verhalten, und guten abscheide von reinen lehrmeistern unnd sonst allenthalben genommen, [...] Ist derhalben unser der vormünder ganz unterthenichss dienstfleissess bitten, [...], da E. Erb. H. und Wolle. Dieselbe (vie wir genztlich vorhoffen) fur sufficien und genugsamb erkennen werden, [...].'

demonstrate his skills in practice or to provide a baking sample. Nevertheless, this occurrence correlates with the general fact that crafts put much effort to qualification requirements for mastership. Although it seems that here it was mainly a dispute on a special licence granted by the city council, the community of free bakers, at least some of them apparently working under *Leben*,<sup>172</sup> were naturally concerned about the reputation of their professional group and considered it important to control who could join their ranks.

In 1560, the turner aldermen argued that a certain Gybrecht, who we encountered already in Chapter 5.2.2, the new husband of Clawes Holsteinn's widow, did not fulfil the qualifications for mastership.<sup>173</sup> In his undated rejoinder letter the named Gybrecht complained that he was not accepted to the craft and requested for a special licence.<sup>174</sup> Gybrecht continued in his letter that he would need the workshop in order to make ship parts and furnishing that the city council had ordered to its ships. Therefore, he asked a permission to continue his work. In their rejoinder letters the craft aldermen referred to the craft ordinance, according to which proper training first included three years' apprenticeship by one master and then one year employment as a *knecht* by the same master.<sup>175</sup> The aldermen complained that Gybrecht had started his apprenticeship under Master Hinrich Helvic but had not finished his training and stayed only six months under the master's guidance. Thereafter the named Gybrecht had worked under some other masters but never finished his training.<sup>176</sup> Hence, it seems that Gybrecht did not fulfil the skill requirements for the mastership and the aldermen did not want to accept him as a craft member and, additionally, did not approve that he would practise the trade with *Leben* either. Evidently, the profitable arrangement with the city council and Gybrecht also caused jealousy among the turner craft members and they, therefore, tried to pressure Gybrecht. As we saw in previous chapters, special licences were grounds of many disputes. Such special deals made with the council of course violated the equality principle among craft members. In effect this will also be the case in our last two examples.

The last two letters that dealt with the qualifications of an artisan were from

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172 It is also possible that all free bakers were granted a *Leben*. AHL, ASA Interna, Handwerksämter, no. 456 (Freibäcker/Free bakers, Letter 6 January 1611): '[...] erfahrens haben wir das Greger (?) Rüter (?) gewesente und von Erb. Rath belehnter freybecker in de Borchstrasen [...].'

173 AHL, ASA Interna, Handwerksämter, no. 1104 (Drechsler/Dreyer/Turners, Letter 19 March 1560).

174 AHL, ASA Interna, Handwerksämter, no. 1104 (Drechsler/Dreyer/Turners, undated letter).

175 AHL, ASA Interna, Handwerksämter, no. 1104 (Drechsler/Dreyer/Turners, Letter 19 March 1560). These requirements were written in the craft ordinance. See Wehrmann, *Zunftrollen*, no 12 (Dreyer/Turners, 1507).

176 AHL, ASA Interna, Handwerksämter, no. 1104 (Drechsler/Dreyer/Turners, Letter 19 March 1560).

linen weaver Bastian Vermann and craft rejoinder letter to his case. In April 1586, Bastian appealed to the city council requesting a permission to continue under *Lehen* granted to his late wife, the widow of Jacob Meyers called Wibke.<sup>177</sup> Previously, Bastian had worked as a journeyman for the said Jacob Meyers. However, it seems that Master Jacob had died before Bastian had finished his training. After the death of Master Jacob, Bastian had married his widow Wibke two years before the letter was written. Unfortunately their life together did not last long because Wibke died as well. Bastian wanted to continue the trade and support his family of many children with this special licence originally granted to his wife. Bastian assured in his petition letter that with his three looms he was no threat to the linen weavers' craft.<sup>178</sup>

As we might have guessed, linen weavers' craft was not delighted about Bastian's request and immediately formulated a rejoinder letter in April 1586, two days after Bastian's letter.<sup>179</sup> Interestingly, the craft complained that widow Wibke had continued her trade after the death of her husband Jacob without any consent from the craft. Additionally, the aldermen pointed out that the special licence for widow Wibke was granted only for two looms. Aldermen continued that Bastian had continued his trade without further ado even though he had not acquired a mastership; hence, it was against their ordinance that a *knecht* would be in charge of a workshop. Here the aldermen clearly referred to the addition of their ordinance dated in 1585, which revised the quality requirements for mastership: a *knecht* who wanted to become a craft *member* was to work one year abroad, work one year and a day in Lübeck, and then he could acquire the membership. If he wanted to become a master he was to work two years after gaining a membership and should yearly be present and contribute to the craft's assembly, *dat ampt eschen*.<sup>180</sup> Previously one year's work as a journeyman had been sufficient. Apparently, on top of this came the requirements that were stated in the previous ordinance: written proof of honourable birth, German ethnicity, *kost*, one keg of beer, 2 pound wax, and 20 marks capital. It is also worth to note how it was explicitly stated that these requirements applied to both men and women.<sup>181</sup> It is unclear if there was some kind of a transitional period for those who had started their career as a journeyman before the new addition of 1585;

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177 AHL, ASA Interna, Handwerksämter, no. 2652 (Leineweber /Linen weavers, Letter 12 April 1586).

178 AHL, ASA Interna, Handwerksämter, no. 2652 (Leineweber /Linen weavers, Letter 12 April 1586): '[...] uund dan dorch solcke drei vorleinede touwe, dem ampte der linenwefer keinen schaden thogefögt [...].'

179 AHL, ASA Interna, Handwerksämter, no. 2652 (Leineweber/Linen weavers, Letter 14 April 1586).

180 Wehrmann, *Zunftrollen*, no. 35, 326 (Leineweber/Linen weavers 1425, addition 1585).

181 Wehrmann, *Zunftrollen*, no. 35, 320 (Leineweber/Linen weavers 1425, addition 1585).



in other words, whether Bastian should have followed the old or new requirements. Moreover, the ordinance stipulated that linen weavers producing narrow cloth were allowed to have only two looms.<sup>182</sup> A year before Bastian's case the aldermen had appealed to the city council requesting it to confirm these additional articles in their ordinance, which also happened. In that previous letter the aldermen openly expressed their concern towards unorganized (*unzünftig*) weavers claiming that they posed a threat to their trade and livelihood.<sup>183</sup>

Furthermore, the aldermen complained in their rejoinder letter of 1586 that they had asked *Wetteberren*<sup>184</sup> to inspect the looms of Bastian and to command him to give up his trade. On the contrary, *Wetteberren* had told the aldermen to wait until next Easter so that Bastian could finish the work he had already begun, on which the aldermen agreed. However, when *Wetteberren* finally ordered Bastian to give up, he had, according to the aldermen, 'stubbornly clung to his work and refused to give up, thus causing the craft ordinance and the craft harm and disadvantage'.<sup>185</sup>

On the basis of the two aldermen letters and the linen weavers' craft ordinance it is evident that aldermen considered Bastian unqualified for a mastership and therefore opposed his request to be allowed to practise the trade as an independent master under a special licence. The aldermen constantly referred to their ordinance in justifying their cause and to the fact that in future no journeyman was to be allowed to practise the trade independently.<sup>186</sup> Moreover, the fact that Bastian had three looms instead of the allowed two must have caused problems in the relationship between him and the craft. It was against the protectionist policy of the crafts. The principle of craft trade culture was to ensure equal resources for all craft members. Now, in this case we have a journeyman who neglected the rules and even had more looms than actual craft members. It is no wonder that the aldermen were not pleased with such a situation. Aldermen also feared that Bastian's example would

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182 Wehrmann, *Zunftrollen*, no. 35, 325 (Leinewebers, Linen weavers 1425, addition 1585).

183 AHL, ASA Interna, Handwerksämter, no. 2647 (Leineweber/Linen weavers, Letter 7 December 1585): 'Wo dat yn desser geschwinden, schwaren und durren tyden, da leider Godes, ah nallen orden, de dagelycke nerung und handel hüpch erbarmlick affnipt, unnd dennoch gelyckewol yn unserem gerigscelzigen Ampte der Jungen ankamede Meister mith grothen anthall sick hüpich vormeren, ahne dat unß van den hartbenaberden (?) buten Weveren unlidlicke grothe schade unnd unser nerung affbrack thogefoget werst. [...].'

184 The *Wetteberren* were council officials whose task was to control and supervise craft trade.

185 AHL, ASA Interna, Handwerksämter, no. 2652 (Leineweber/Linen weavers, Letter 14 April 1586): '[...] also dat he der Erbarn Wetteherenn gebott unngeachtet, ock unser Rolle unndt ampte tho schaden und nachteil, stieff by den arbeyde vorharret, [...].'

186 AHL, ASA Interna, Handwerksämter, no. 2652 (Leineweber/Linen weavers, Letter 14 April 1586): '[...] unnd wenn hinfort manniglich also ahne onderscheidtgunftigk worde verlenet wordenn, scholde keinen knecht up unsere werckstede mehr beholdenn konnenn, [...].'

encourage other journeymen to apply for such special licences to practise their trade. This would, of course, have eroded the whole craft trade system. Therefore, the aldermen wrote that they were willing to take Bastian as a craft brother.<sup>187</sup> However, the aldermen did not say anything about the possible mastership.

Several above discussed cases fall on a time when the question of who had a right to practise craft trade was fiercely debated in Lübeck. The city council issued two decrees, one in 1569 and one in the following year 1570, concerning irregularly working craftsmen in Lübeck and surrounding countryside. Already in 1532, on crafts' initiative, the council took action against unorganized craftsmanship declaring that no one should work in secret in the future. And because this kind of work was considered harmful to crafts anyone working as a *Bönbase* without craft membership (or *Leben*) or employing or giving lodging to them were to be punished by *Wetteherren*.<sup>188</sup> The two decrees in the second half of the sixteenth century sharpened and tightened the 1532 stipulation. They repeated the regulation that inhabitants of Lübeck should not exploit clandestine work (*heimliche Arbeit*), which apparently meant the artisanal work done by non-craft members. Furthermore, they stated that the 1532 stipulation had been violated in many ways, which had been detrimental to organized crafts and was leading to unrest, thus 'threatening the general welfare of the city', as Philip Hoffmann-Rehnitz has put it.<sup>189</sup> Therefore, the city council had ordained that from now on no one was to perform irregular and wandering craft trade (*Störer oder Bönbasen Arbeit*) within the city limits or in the surroundings. Wandering craftsmen without craft membership and citizenship should not be given work or lodging or any other necessities and a person who was found doing this would be punished as well. The trespassers of organized craft trades were prohibited to enter the city and should be repelled from neighbouring surroundings.<sup>190</sup> In his study on irregular artisan work, basing on Lübeck council decrees, Philip Hoffman-Rehnitz has argued that craft membership was perceived as a fundamental precondition for performing artisan work in regular manner. Craft members were the 'honourable citizens' whereas irregularly (and/or illegally) working craftsmen and wandering craftsmen (*Bönbasen, Störer*) were 'less honourable others'. In sixteenth century Lübeck these differences sharpened as *Bönbasen* and *Störer* were regarded not only as a threat to the individual crafts but as a common problem to the civic community, endangering the welfare of

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187 AHL, ASA Interna, Handwerksämter, no. 2652 (Leineweber/Linen weavers, Letter 14 April 1586): '[...] alß willen wir ehn gerne vor einen ampt Broder up annd ahnehmenn, [...].'

188 According to Philip Hoffmann-Rehnitz, the crafts took advantage of the 'politically volatile atmosphere' after the Reformation, Wullenwever uprising, and conflict with Denmark. Hoffmann-Rehnitz, 'The Invention of the *Störer*', 53.

189 Hoffmann-Rehnitz, 'The Invention of the *Störer*', 55.

190 Hoffmann-Rehnitz, 'The Invention of the *Störer*', 55–56.

the city.<sup>191</sup> As the crafts together with the city council tried to control unorganized craftsmanship it was crucial to hold on to the skill requirements issued in the craft ordinances.

Thus, based on the cases discussed in this chapter we can conclude the following. Firstly, it was not only widows who could find themselves in the middle of dispute situations but it could happen to their male counterparts as well. The qualifications of an artisan were, in fact, perhaps questioned more among men than among women, in this case widows. Therefore, work skills or lack of skill was not a gender-specific matter in conflicts. Working skills were an important topic which reflects the ideology and aims of the crafts: one of the main tasks of the crafts was to ensure uniform quality of their products. All craft members represented their craft to the wider city community and poor products would, of course, have had a negative effect on the prestige of the craft. In fact, if the widows (or women in general) would have been considered unskilled workers then the qualifications and work skills of widows would have been questioned more often in disputes and regulated more carefully in craft ordinances. This supports my argument that master's gender was not the main concern of the crafts but other matters, such as work skills, were more important. Hence, in previous research regarding women and work the question of gender has been overemphasized. The restrictions were part of the protectionist policy of the craft and were applied to all regardless of sex and gender.

Secondly, the measures of the city council, whose representatives *Wetteherren* were, aimed to the continuation of craft production and maximization of its profits, since they were willing to make special agreements with individual artisans, such as granting them special licences and giving them extra time to finish their work. In principle, this was also the objective of the crafts. However, despite these consistent aims the means to achieve them collided. By granting these special licences the city council eroded the authority of the craft ordinance. Hence, it was precisely craft ordinances that crafts used as a tool to ensure the continuity of craft production. If craft ordinances were constantly violated by the highest civic authorities how could crafts enforce them and thus achieve crafts' objectives?

Thirdly, the cases where the skills and qualifications of individuals were challenged should be interpreted within the context of irregular artisan work and how the crafts together with the city council tried to control the unorganized craftsmanship. Regular control of produced goods, supervised and regulated training, qualifications for mastership, and citizenship rights were among the factors that characterized regular and honourable artisan work and differentiated it from unorganized crafts-

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191 Hoffmann-Rehnitz, 'The Invention of the *Störer*', 50–58.

manship. Within this framework the question of individual skills becomes highly relevant. Moreover, crafts attempted to balance in this sensitive economic system. Even though the qualifications of individual artisans were at stake, their cases were part of a larger and more profound negotiation on power, means of production, and craft trade culture itself.

## 5.4 Conclusions

One possibility for an artisan widow to carry on with her trade stated in craft ordinances was to hire a *knecht*, a skilled labourer, usually a journeyman. In previous research this clause has been seen as restrictive: by composing widows to rely on expensive workforce instead of cheap apprentices or family members crafts attempted to make it difficult for widows to continue. The findings of this chapter, however, contradict previous notions. As the chosen source material reveals, it was an unwritten custom in many crafts that aldermen were supposed to recruit a *knecht* for a widow. This practice was even encoded to some craft ordinances. Furthermore, as the evidence from Lübeck shows, widows were able to hire skilled journeymen.

As the analysis demonstrated, the question of workforce was essential in craft trade culture. Crafts controlled labour market in many ways. Disputes arose especially in times when there seemed to be a shortage of skilled workforce. Closer analysis on labour market and entrepreneurship as well as their control reveals the controversies within craft trade culture. On the one hand, the main aim of the crafts was to eliminate competition among craft members and ensure equal premises, for example, by stipulating the size of the household workshop, in other words the number of journeymen and apprentices one master was allowed to have. Furthermore, the recruitment of skilled workforce was strictly regulated. On the other hand, tax records and Lübeck petition letters exposed the inequality of the craft members and the aims for individual advantage. Thus, the protectionist policy of the crafts combined with the flexible means resulted in controversial strategies which all aimed to ensure the continuity of production.

The profound analysis of Lübeck petition letters, organized under the title 'Widows' Rights' (*Witwenrechte/ Rechte der Witwen und Waisen*) in the Lübeck city archive uncovered that in all cases the disputes of widows' rights were intertwined with a larger problem. In fact, the question of gender was hardly at the centre in any case. Larger issues were the demarcation of different trades, special licences, limited number of master vacancies, and the qualifications of the master. Often

these problematic issues were interwoven in separate cases. Therefore, I cannot agree with Ogilvie, Roper, and others that it would have been the intention of the crafts together with the city council to restrict widows' or women's work. Based on the analysis the question of gender seems to be secondary. It does not come up as a distinctive category in the letters. In contrast to previous research the analysis in this chapter also showed that when the competence of an individual was challenged it applied to both sexes. In fact, the qualifications and skills of males, especially of journeymen, were more often contested than that of the widows. Usually crafts opposed that a journeyman, who had either married a widow or was supposed to marry a widow, would receive a mastership, because the aldermen considered him unqualified.

In those cases where we have a letter involving a widow as well as a craft ordinance which included a widows' rights article there is no evidence that the craft would have changed the widows' rights article to be disadvantageous for widows. If it would have been on the agenda of the craftsmen and the city council to restrict widows' work opportunities they certainly would have changed craft ordinances when they made alterations and modifications to them. Furthermore, examination of the petition letters in the context of communication between the artisans, crafts, and city council supports the arguments presented in previous chapters that widows were an integral part of craft trade culture and accepted as independent masters.

## 6 Conclusions: Continuity, Protection, and Gender in Craft Trade Culture

[...] it is clear that gender was always a fluid notion for medieval and early modern people. [...] Such evident fluidity in late-medieval and early modern understandings of gender must result in the abandonment of any assumption that gender was always dichotomous, based on polarities, dualist or even decisive in its categories of masculine and feminine. Gender was all sorts of shades of grey in the past – just as we know it to be in our postmodern world.<sup>1</sup>

This quotation from Megan Cassidy-Welsh and Peter Sherlock describes the conceptions of gender in medieval and early modern Europe. They have two main points: firstly, the main emphasis is on the flexibility and fluidness of the category: gender was reproduced and negotiated over and over again depending on time and place. Secondly, Cassidy-Welsh and Sherlock advise that we must abandon dichotomist notions of gender. Although the two authors here concentrate on the concept of gender, their ideas reflect well the main results of this study: craft trade culture in late medieval and early modern cities bordering the Baltic Sea was flexible and aimed for the continuation of production at several different levels. At the same time craft trade culture was a strongly protectionist one. Furthermore, within this protectionism there existed elements which are often used to characterize modern market economies – individual profit seeking and competition. Hence, late medieval and early modern craft trade culture was full of contradictions. Additionally, this study has shown that within craft trade culture other categories and aims outweighed the gender aspect. It was more important to ensure the continuation of production than fret over the gender of the master. Consequently, widows' rights articles in the craft ordinances were not means to restrict widows' and respectively women's work, as presented in previous research. Instead, widows' rights articles strove to secure the continuity of production and to protect craft trade production which was based on household workshops. Moreover, as we must abandon the bipolar notion

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1 Cassidy-Welsh and Sherlock, 'Reflecting and Creating Gender in Late-Medieval and Early-Modern Europe', quotation 317–318.

of gender, we must also reject the dichotomy of comparing ‘traditional societies’ to societies with (free) market economy. As this study has shown, craft trade culture in late medieval and early modern Northern cities was at the same time affected by the aims of the crafts to ensure equal premises and resources for all their members and a common well-being of its members as well as by the competition between craft members and self-interest. These often resulted in disputes and controversies, thus one of the central elements of craft trade culture was indeed the very contrasts.

In previous research only few scholars, like von Heusinger, Lindström, Gonzáles Athenas, and Reith, have stressed the flexibility of craft trade culture.<sup>2</sup> The majority of gender and economic historians have underlined the inflexibility of craft organizations arguing that this rigid system hindered the development of market and dynamic economy. However, the current study has proved that craft trade culture was a flexible system that adapted to changing conditions and left room for negotiation. The flexibility comes apparent at various levels. Firstly, widows’ rights articles indicate this flexibility. The nuclear family and household workshop led by a married couple was the ideal situation that was heavily prompted in the contemporary (religious) literature. And, indeed, crafts strongly encouraged widows to remarry. Yet, crafts prepared themselves to divergent situations by including widows’ rights in their ordinances. Thus, crafts acknowledged that the ideal situation did not always occur. Secondly, widows’ rights articles included several modifications and combinations. This indicates that crafts further acknowledged that widows could find themselves in quite different situations, hence only by creating a system that was flexible enough crafts could achieve one of their main aims: the continuity of production. It was precisely this aspect, the continuation of production, which made widows’ rights and their flexibility so important to crafts. Therefore, it is no wonder that more than a third of the preserved craft ordinances included widows’ rights articles.

While conducting this study I noticed that it became impossible to answer explicitly some questions I addressed to the source material. Instead of one clear answer or interpretation I found multiple variations and differences, in other words various different solutions from the contemporaries to one particular matter. Perhaps the most illustrative case of this kind of a situation is the question on female membership in craft organizations. I wanted to discover whether women, unmarried and/or widows, could act as independent masters and be craft members in the Baltic Sea region. It had been a common canon in research that women could only be passive members of the crafts or that they were excluded from them. It was also

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2 In addition, Dutch scholars like van den Heuvel, van Nederveen Meerkerk, and Schmidt have emphasized flexibility.

bothering me that scholars used a variety of terminology in their studies. It was my hypothesis that this inaccurate terminology had, at least partially, caused the perceptions of passive female membership. The analysis in Chapter 2 revealed that the categorization of various urban organizations is crucial in studying late medieval and early modern urban society. Based on the analysis it is clear that in the case of crafts we must reject either–or dichotomy in the question on female membership. Instead, we must depict a flexible membership, which cannot be defined simply as full or active/passive. In addition to the fact that membership in itself was flexible, it also was so in the context of circumstances; it varied from place to place, from craft to craft, and from time to time. Consequently, this indicates that craft trade culture was flexible. Crafts did not define female membership in their ordinances but concentrated on regulating work environment. Furthermore, crafts regarded work itself and successful running of workshops more important than gender issues. And, indeed, present day historical research underlines multicausal explanations and complicated interconnections. It is often highlighted in results that a certain phenomenon changed according to time, place, and other determining factors. For example, economic historians like Carlo Cipolla often underline the variation according to time and space when describing economic circumstances and fluctuation in Europe before the 1700s.<sup>3</sup> This perception is called contingency and has influenced also my interpretation of the past craft trade culture.

In this study I introduced a new approach and classification to urban organization called *tripartite classification*. According to it, three different organization types existed in late medieval and early modern towns bordering the Baltic Sea: professional crafts, composite artisan guilds and merchant guilds, and devotional organizations, which I call devotional guilds. This *tripartite classification* is both a method of this study and a result of extensive comparison of 178 craft ordinances, several guild and devotional guild statutes within the time period of 1350–1620. The analysis in Chapter 2 demonstrated that the organization type clearly affected not only female membership and widows' possibilities but also other questions like political participation, military, and defence as well as religious participation. The three organizations, crafts, guilds, and devotional guilds, differed from each other based on their membership and functions. For example, (full) female members were explicitly mentioned only in the statutes of devotional guilds. In addition, people of different status, profession, and gender could be members of devotional guilds. These were the two main features that differentiated devotional guilds from crafts and other guilds.

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3 Cipolla, *Before the Industrial Revolution*, for example 248–249.



The main features that differentiated crafts from guilds and devotional guilds were the facts that the majority of articles in the craft ordinances regulated the actual work of an artisan and that crafts were subordinate to the city council. In the statutes of composite artisan guilds and merchants' guilds the main emphasis was on regulating mutual aid and festivities whereas the statutes of devotional guilds concentrated on devotional practices and common feasts. Furthermore, many crafts regulated matters related to military and defence, which were not part of the statutes of guilds or devotional guilds. One major difference that distinguishes Northern crafts from their counterparts in the European mainland is the fact that crafts in the Baltic Sea region did not have official political power and were not represented in the city council.

Despite their differences, the analysis in Chapter 2 revealed that all three organization types had similarities as well. Usually all three organizations included articles related to feasts in their ordinances and statutes. Additionally, sometimes the devotional practices related to a patron saint cult were included in the rules. However, a closer examination, conducted using the *tripartite classification*, exposed that the religious functions of the crafts have been overemphasized in previous research. It became clear that religious participation and devotional actions were channelled through other organizations, above all devotional guilds. Consequently, devotional practices and religious participation were part, but not the main elements, of craft trade culture.

Craft ordinances granted widows five different possibilities to continue their trade. In previous research particularly the supporters of subordination theory have considered these widows' rights as restrictions. However, the findings of the current study do not support these notions. Widows took advantage of these possibilities and were aware of the rights granted to them in the craft ordinances. Despite the questions that widowhood raised among contemporaries, widows could run their workshops independently and/or with the help of their children and/or hired workforce. Some crafts considered widows capable of training apprentices and at least in some crafts widows participated in craft assemblies and festivities. Furthermore, the analysis of Lübeck petition letters exposed that some widows exceeded the customary time limit granted to them in craft ordinances and continued their trade for several years, even 19. This demonstrates that widows were an integral part of craft trade culture: someone delivered them raw material and someone bought their products. On the other hand, the continuation was often granted for a short period at time. It seems that widows had to apply to the city council at regular intervals in order to get a permission to continue their trade. This inevitably brings to mind a connotation to modern temporary work. Yet, the

research of Ehmer and Reith has shown that temporary work was commonplace among the journeymen as well.

The large comparison of widows' rights in four cities revealed that the most common widows' rights article included in craft ordinances was the so-called one year rule. In other words, craft ordinance granted widows certain time, usually one year and a day, to continue their craft trade. In previous research this has been seen as a transition period after which a widow was supposed to hand over the workshop to a son, a step-son, or a new husband. Thus, in this way the ideal situation and patriarchal order would be restored. However, the transfer of master rights should not be regarded solely as a relinquishment of the workshop and control, but more as a construction of a new partnership, in which the responsibilities were shared and which corresponded to the ideal situation. With remarriage a managerial team was established and often the husband and wife both participated in the running of the workshop. Furthermore, the analysis in Chapter 4 showed that in practice these time limitations were often exceeded. And, indeed, it seems that unless the situation developed into a conflict of some kind this alternative manner of running the workshop was entirely accepted. Thus, we ought to ask, whether this was so common that we can no longer speak of an 'alternative way' but instead depict the workshop led by a single female, in this case a widow, merely as 'one of the ways households were organized'.

The comparison of widows' rights articles revealed that a relatively common possibility for a widow to carry on was to continue the business with her children. Furthermore, many of the petitioners, both female and male, and of various marital statuses, referred to their parenthood when they justified their case to the Lübeck city council. Parenthood was clearly a source of authority and something which was considered significant and valuable. These findings indicate that the main aim of the crafts was to ensure continuity: not only the continuity of production but also passing the workshops to the next generation. Thus, widows were regarded important links in this chain of generations. At the same time this practice was also part of the protectionist policy of the crafts. Yet, widows' role was not only to be the transmitters of household workshops and master rights but their work was valued as such.

The fact that several craft ordinances gave widows a possibility to continue without any restrictions, or as long as they were using the raw material already purchased with their husband, led our focus further to continuity. It is also a significant finding that usually the city council had similar interests as the crafts concerning the continuity of production. Yet, the means of the council could have collided with those of the crafts who wanted to control craft trade at all levels. These findings do not support

the arguments presented, among others, by Sheilagh Ogilvie that crafts together with authorities and institutions tried to restrict widows and, respectively, women's work. Consequently, this points to the conclusion that the Baltic Sea region had similarities with especially the Dutch region and that a re-evaluation of women's work and craft trade culture in Western European cities is needed.

The long time period of this study enabled the examination of changes and continuities. The supporters of the subordination theory and decline thesis have argued that during the sixteenth century women lost their position within the crafts and the slowly-developing industry finally put an end to the so-called 'Golden Age' of women's work. Both quantitative analysis on the emerge of widows' rights articles into craft ordinances and qualitative analysis on the contents of widows' rights articles over time contradict the decline thesis. In the Baltic Sea region widows' rights articles can be found in the ordinances throughout the time period under investigation. More significantly, no major change occurred in widows' rights articles and even if there was a change it can be interpreted as advantageous for widows.

Crafts tried to control labour market and entrepreneurship in late medieval and early modern towns with various means. They controlled the training of apprentices and journeymen, set qualifications for mastership, fixed wages, limited production and the number of masters. This was part of their protectionist policy, which was an essential element of craft trade culture. Therefore, it is no wonder that questions concerning workforce, skills, and qualifications often led to conflicts. The analysis of the widows' rights articles revealed that one possibility for a widow to carry on was to continue the trade with the help of a skilful *knecht*. In previous research this has been seen as one of the most effective ways to restrict widows' work, since it made widows dependent on expensive workforce. Yet, this study showed that widows could utilize hired workforce and it seems to have even been an unwritten custom that aldermen were to recruit a *knecht* for a widow. It must be noted, however, that like so many other issues, it varied from craft to craft how the hiring of workforce went. Furthermore, the contingency is especially present in times when there was a shortage of skilled workforce. Hence, economic fluctuation, wars, famines etc., had a crucial impact on labour market, and, furthermore, on craftsfolk. Moreover, it must be pointed out that late medieval and early modern urban labour market has not received much attention from scholars, especially here in the North. Consequently, more research is required in order to be able to perceive general patterns and local specialities. This research has, however, provided a significant starting point for future studies on labour market in cities bordering the Baltic Sea.

The selected combination of normative and narrative source material together with a variety of methods offered a fruitful base to study craft trade culture in

late medieval and early modern towns in the Baltic Sea region. This research has provided a new interpretation on work opportunities of artisan widows in the cities bordering the Baltic Sea. According to my interpretation, these widows were by no means oppressed but active players within craft trade culture and society. Moreover, the main aim of craft organizations was not to restrict women's work but to ensure the continuity of craft production and economic welfare of its members. Craft trade culture was protectionist but at the same time flexible. It was marked by controversies: collective welfare, cartel, and protection were combined with competition and individual profit-seeking. In my view it seems that craft trade culture in the Baltic Sea region during the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries was perhaps not so far removed from the entrepreneur and trade culture of the twenty-first century as it is often thought.



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- no. 1124 Amtsbuch der Leineweber 1618–1776 nebst Schragen von 1625
- no. 1145 Schragenbuch oder Ordnungen und Gesetze aller Empter, Innungen und Zünften  
dieser Konninglichen Stadt Riga. Zusammengestellt im Auftrage des Amtsherrn  
Evert Huszman 1588
- no. 1149 Akten des Amt der Hanfbinder in Riga betreffend
- no. 1155 Rechnungsbuch des Amts der Maurer
- no. 1166 Amtsbuch der Ligger xvi–xvii saeculum

## Coll. 8 Rīgas magistrāta iekšējais arhīvs:

inv. 1 1220–1878

no. 7 Das älteste Stadtbuch 1385–1482

no. 15 Dath Schragen und olde renthebok (Mikrofilm)

no. 16 Rentebock 1516–1549

no. 21 Denkelbuch 1530–1651

## Nordiska Museet Arkiv/Stockholm Nordic Museum Archive

Skråregister, Stockholm

no. 15,988.e Glasmästare skrå (1585, 1608)

## Riksarkivet/Swedish National Archives

### Stockholms stads acta:

vol 24 skinnare

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## Stockholm Stadsarkivet/Stockholm City Archives

### Borgmästare och råds arkiv före 1636:

D 67 Ämbetsbok 1545–1581

## Riksantikvarieämbetet, Antikvarisk-topografiska arkivet (ATA)

### Vitterhetakademiens Handskriftensmmling:

vol 21 Sallustis–Spak, Skomakare skrå 1474 (kopie från 1816)

vol 23 Skråordningar

Handschriftensamling B:

- no. 590 bagare skrå (c. 1506)
- no. 594 dragare skrå (1502–1635)
- no. 597 guldsmeder skrå (1501)
- no. 599 guldsmede ämbetet
- no. 601 murare skrå (1487)
- no. 607 skräddare skrå (1501)
- no. 608 skräddare ämbetet

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# Appendices

In order to be able to study essential elements of craft trade culture and widows' options it is necessary to classify source material in depth before it is profoundly analysed. Because the careful classification of the collected sources is both a method of the study and a result, I have placed this detailed examination here instead of Introduction, where craft ordinances were discussed in general. The appendices here at the end of the study, which list all the used craft ordinances, are the results of this classification of my main sources. In addition, the appendices will help other scholars to identify used sources and ease future studies related to craft trade.

## Appendix 1: Lübeck craft ordinances and editions

The edition of C. Wehrmann *Die älteren Lübeckischen Zunftrollen* forms the core of the Lübeck source material.<sup>1</sup> For the most part it is still accurate and usable. Moreover, many of the ordinances edited by Wehrmann have not survived the Second World War and its aftermaths and therefore in many cases the edition is our only access to Lübeck craft ordinances. After the Second World War some of the archival collections of the *Archive der Hansestadt Lübeck* were partly transported either to the Soviet Union or to the DDR. In 1987, the archival collections such as *ASA Interna* were assigned back. Unfortunately some of the documents are still lost. However, I have found additional craft ordinances of the time period chosen for this study from the *Archive der Hansestadt Lübeck* (AHL)<sup>2</sup>, which were used in addition to Wehrmann's edition. The references to Lübeck source material are in the first hand to Wehrmann's edition. If the ordinance is not available as an edition the reference will be to the archival material. Additionally, if the edition is inadequate the reference will be to the original document. The surviving craft ordinances are preserved in the

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- 1 C. Wehrmann, *Die älteren Lübeckischen Zunftrollen*, Grautoff, Lübeck 1872. Wehrmann was the city archivist of Lübeck.
  - 2 I have not found an official English translation of the name of the Archive der Hansestadt Lübeck and therefore I shall use the German name, the term 'Lübeck city archive', or its abbreviation AHL in this study.

AHL in two collections: in *Altes Senatsarchiv (ASA)*, *Interna, Handwerksämter*<sup>3</sup> and in *Private Archive* in collection of *Ämter und Innungen*.<sup>4</sup>

Although Wehrmann's edition is very usable, it sometimes lacks later additions that were made on many craft ordinances. Curriers' craft ordinance serves as an example of this. Lübeck *Buntmacher*, currier's craft ordinance is preserved as various copies in the Lübeck city archive. The 'original' ordinance was dated in 1386 but seems to be missing. The first copy of the ordinance has confirmations and additions until 1544 and was probably written around that time.<sup>5</sup> The second copy of the medieval ordinance has confirmations of the city council and additions until 1636 and was most likely written in the first half of the seventeenth century.<sup>6</sup> Both of these copies are preserved as paper booklets. In addition, there is one undated addition to the ordinance that most likely originates from the middle of the seventeenth century, also in a booklet form.<sup>7</sup> Third copy is a parchment roll, which includes the old 1386 ordinance as well as the additions of 1501, 1544, 1636, and 1640.<sup>8</sup> Wehrmann has edited the curriers' ordinance but in his edition the ordinance has additions only until 1501.<sup>9</sup> Yet these multiple additions that so often were written to the craft ordinances

3 AHL, 01.1-02 ASA Interna, Handwerksämter. In this study I shall use the reference without the number of the archival collection, using only the name of the collection, followed by the number of the document, folio (if possible), and the name of the document as requested from the archive. For example, when referring to a book binders' craft ordinance in this collection the reference is AHL, ASA Interna, Handwerksämter, no. 934 (Buchbinder/Book binders 1592).

4 AHL, 05.1–2 Ämter und Innungen. In this study I shall use the reference without the number of the archival collection, using only the name of the collection, followed by the number of the document, folio (if possible), and the name of the document as requested from the archive. For example, when referring to turners' ordinance the reference is AHL, Ämter und Innungen, Drechsler no. 1 (Rolle 1507, Zusatz 1580).

5 AHL, ASA Interna, Handwerksämter, no. 994 (Bremelmacher/Buntmacher/Buntfutter/Curriers). The handwriting of this copy indicates that it was written in the middle of the sixteenth century. This archive file includes various documents of the curriers' craft: two copies of the ordinance, one undated small note (fifteenth-century handwriting), one letter from 1547, one *Beliebigung* from 1559, and one undated appendix to the ordinance, most likely from the middle of the seventeenth century.

6 AHL, ASA Interna, Handwerksämter, no. 994 (Bremelmacher/Buntmacher/Buntfutter/Curriers). The handwriting of this copy indicates that it was written in the first half of the seventeenth century.

7 This dating is based on a palaeographical analysis made with the help of Dr. Ulla Koskinen (University of Tampere).

8 AHL, Ämter und Innungen, Buntfutter no. 3 (Rolle 1386, 1501). The handwriting of this roll is not traditional first half of the seventeenth century handwriting but more like an early sixteenth century *bastarda*. The style of the roll is fine and elegant and the writing style resembles early prints, such as the revised Lübeck city law of 1586. See revised Lübeck city law 1586 <http://reader.digitale-sammlungen.de/resolve/display/bsb10987621.html> (read 26 February 2013).

9 Wehrmann, *Zunftrollen*, no. 10, 190–194 (Bremelmacher/Buntmacher/Buntfutterer/Curriers 1386).

demonstrate how crafts together with the city council reacted and adapted to changing circumstances. It is true that the time gap between additions could have been long, several decades as in the Lübeck carriers’ case. It is a well-known fact that legislation always drags behind everyday practices. In addition, one can assume that the changes of the ordinance were discussed in the official craft assemblies and perhaps some alterations existed only as oral regulations.

The systematic classification of preserved material in the AHL is somewhat problematic since some of the ordinances lack an explicit date, have different craft names compared to Wehrmann’s edition, or have been organized into larger units. For example, various cloth and fell dyers have been labelled under *Färber* (dyers) in the archive.<sup>10</sup> The *Färber* archival file includes the following documents:

Table 1.1 Craft ordinances included in the AHL archival fond of *Färber* (dyers)

Archival signum	Documents	Edition
AHL, ASA Interna, Handwerksämter, no 1171 (Färber)	Ordinance of Russfärber (fell dyers) 1476	
	Ordinance of Russfärber 1500	Wehrmann (no 50)
	1586 revised Wandfärber (wollen cloth dyers) ordinance of 1500	Wehrmann (no 63)
	Undated and unfinished ordinance of Wandfärber (with a heading Lakenverver)	
	Concept which has a council decree from 1561	
	Ordinance of Wandfärber/ Lakenfärber 1596	

Source: AHL, ASA Interna, Handwerksämter, no. 1171 (*Färber*).

The ordinance of 1596 is based on the ordinance of 1500–1586 and contains some changes: for example, the widows’ article has been left out. It is somewhat questionable whether this ordinance can be classified as a ‘real’ craft ordinance since the purpose of it is more to regulate the interaction between different actors, merchants, and various cloth craft trades like dyers in relation to cloth trade. In this study I have classified this document as a craft ordinance since it clearly regulates the actual work of the dyers and the ordinance is based on the older ordinance of 1500–1586. The undated and unfinished ordinance is not counted as one independent ordinance, because it seems to be a draft of the ordinance and has no confirmation date or any

10 AHL, ASA Interna, Handwerksämter, no. 1171 (*Färber*/Dyers).

kind of reference to the city council, which normally confirmed craft ordinances. In addition to these documents, the *Färber* archival file contains several documents, mainly official letters, from the seventeenth century.

To complicate the identification of edited ordinances from the original ones some ordinances are preserved as paper concepts within a larger collection of paper concepts. These collections include different document types, such as council decrees, drafts of ordinances, and other unclassified legal documents. To keep the focus on craft ordinances, various *Ordnungen* and *Beliebungen* are only discussed if regarded necessary and they are not listed in the Appendix Table 1.2. *Ordnung* was a decree of the city council for a specific craft and it was dictated solely by the city council.<sup>11</sup> *Beliebungen* were regulations dictated by a craft and unconfirmed by the council. This was in contrast to the actual craft ordinances that were initiated by the crafts themselves and had the council's confirmation.<sup>12</sup> The following Table 1.2 shows the Lübeck craft ordinances used in this study, their repository place and additions that were made to the ordinances. In addition, the table presents the other documents found in the AHL, which were related to separate crafts, as well as the documents related to widows' rights.

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11 Some craft archival collections include *Ordnungen*, for example, AHL, ASA Interna, Handwerksämter, no. 3857 (Schneider, Ordnung 1591). See also Wehrmann, *Zunftrollen*, 15; *Lübeckische Geschichte*, ed. Graßmann, 315.

12 Wehrmann, *Zunftrollen*, 15; *Lübeckische Geschichte*, ed. Graßmann, 315.

Table 1.2 Lübeck craft ordinances with archival signums and editions used in this study

Source/Edition	Number	Pages	Craft	Year	Additions	Other	AHL	Witwenrechte dokumente in AHL
Wehrmann	40	343-347	Altischumacher (Olflicker)	1511-1649		Olltaper	05.1-2/02 Ämter und Innungen, Rolle	
Wehrmann	2	160-161	Armborstere	1425			Kein Archivmaterial gefunden	
Wehrmann	3	162-163	Badstöver	1350?	1530		01.1-02 ASA, Int. Handwerksämter 301	
Wehrmann	4	164-167	Barbiere	1480			05.1-2/08 Ämter und Innungen, Rolle	ASA Int, Handw. 511 Rechte der Meisterwitwen
Wehrmann	5	167-170	Bäcker	1547			Rolle nicht vorhanden	ASA, Int. Handw. 366 Amtsrechte der Witwen
Wehrmann	6	170-173	Beckenmacher	1591		Metallarbeiter, nicht Bechermacher	05.1-2/11	
Wehrmann	41	347-355	Bernsteindreher (Paternostermacher)	1510	1360, 1356, 1385, 1470	Paternostermacher	05/1-2/69 Rolle nicht vorhanden; ASA 608 Rolle	ASA Int, Handw. 609 Anrechte der Witwen
Wehrmann	9	186-190	Beutler (Büdelmacher)	1459-1586	1503	Büdelmacher	05.1-2/12, Ämter und Inn. Rolle	
Wehrmann	7	173-178	Böttcher (Boddeker)	1440	1321, 1526, 1559	Boddeker	05.1-2/13 Ämter und Inn. Rolle 1440, 1531	
Wehrmann	8	178-185	Brauer (Bruwer)	1363	1462		Rolle nicht vorhanden/ other material 05.1-2/15	



Source/ Edition	Number	Pages	Craft	Year	Additions	Other	AHL	Witwenrechte dokumente in AHL
AHL			Buchbinder	1591	1791		ASA Int, Handw. 934 Rolle 1592-1791	
Wehrmann	10	190-194	Buntfütterer (Buntmaker)	1386	1501,164		05.1-2/18 Ämter und Inn. Rolle nro 3	ASA, Int, Handw. Amtsrechte einer Witwe
AHL			Buntfütterer u. Kürschner (Buntmaker u. Korsewader)	1386-1544	1501, 1544, 1636	Das gleiche als Wehrmann no. 10 Buntmaker	ASA, Int, Handw. 994 Buntfütter, Rolle, 2 Kopie	
AHL			Buntfütterer u. Kürschner	1386-1640	1501, 1544, 1636, 1640		Ämter und Inn. Buntfütterer Rolle, Nro 3	
Wehrmann	11	195-197	Decker	16Jh.		Nur in Wehrmann	Keine Archivmaterial gefunden	
Wehrmann	12	197-202	Drechsler (Dreyer)	1507	1580		05.1-2, Ämter und Inn. Drechsler Rolle	ASA, Int, Handw. 1104 Heirat mit Meisterwitwe: 1105 Amtsrechte
Wehrmann	62	477-485	Fischer (Vysscher)	vor 1399	bis 1562		Rolle nicht vorhanden	
Wehrmann	13	203-207	Garbereiter (Garbrader)	1376		Schlachter, der gares und rohes Fleisch verkauft	Rolle nicht vorhanden	
Wehrmann	16	215-223	Goldschmiede (Goltsmede)	1492	1371, 1531		05.1-2 Ämter und Inn. Goldschmiede No. 2 Rolle in Buchform	
Wehrmann	17	223-225	Gortemaker (Grüssmacher)	1481		Nur in Wehrmann	Kein Archivmaterial gefunden	

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Source/Edition	Number	Pages	Craft	Year	Additions	Other	AHL	Witwenrechte dokumente in AHL
Wehrmann	18	225-229	Grapengiesser	1354	1513		Kein Archivmaterial gefunden	
Wehrmann	46	370-374	Gürtler (Kemenschleger)	1414	1438,15		05.1-02, Ämter und Inn, Gürtler Ordnung 1502-1809	
Wehrmann	14	207-209	Gärtner (Gherdener)	1370			Kein Archivmaterial gefunden	
Wehrmann	19	229-232	Haardeckenmacher (Harmaker)	1443	1538		Rolle nicht vorhanden	ASA, Int. Handw. 1797 Amtsrechte der Meisterwitwen 1604-1689
Wehrmann	20	233-234	Harnischmacher (Harnschmakere)	1433			Rolle nicht vorhanden	
Wehrmann	22	240-243	Häutekäufer (Hüdeköper)	1445			Teil von Rollen nicht vorhanden	
Wehrmann	21	235-240	Höker (Hoker)	1507			Kein Archivmaterial gefunden	
AHL			Höpfner	1546-1651			ASA, Int. Handw. 2020 Höpfner Rolle und Ordnung	
Wehrmann	61	471-477	Hutmacher (Vilttere, Filzmacher)	1507	1469, 1481,1483	Laut Wehrmann berührt sich auf Rolle von 14 Jh.	Rolle nicht vorhanden	
Wehrmann	23	243-246	Kammacher (und Holtenluchtenmaker)	1531?	1557		Rolle nicht vorhanden	

Source/ Edition	Number	Pages	Craft	Year	Additions	Other	AHL	Witwenrechte dokumente in AHL
Wehrmann	24	246-248	Kannengjesser (Kannengeter)	1508	1421		Rolle nicht vorhanden	
AHL			Kerzengjesser (Kerzengeter)	15.Jh.			ASA, Int, Handw 2191 Kerzengjesser	
Wehrmann	25	249-251	Kerzengjesser (Kerzengeter)	1508			ASA , Int, Handw. Kerzengjesser Amtsrolle 15Jh.-1734	ASA, Int, handw. 2212 Weiterbetrieb der Kerzengjesserei durch Meisterwitwen 1609-1636
AHL			Kistenmacher	15Jh.			ASA, Int, Handw. 4254 Tischler/ Kistenmacher alte rolle	
Wehrmann	26	252-259	Kistenmacher	1508			Rolle nicht vorhanden	Kistenmacher + schnittker schloßen sich in 1620 zusammen zu Tischleramt (Wehrmann, 294)

Source/Edition	Number	Pages	Craft	Year	Additions	Other	AHL	Witwenrechte dokumente in AHL
Wehrmann	27	259-270	Knochenhauer (Knochenhowere)	1385	1484		ASA, Int. Handw. Rolle 1385-1730	ASA, Int. Handw. 2288 Gnadenjahr der Witwen und Waisen 1582-1778
Wehrmann	29	294-300	Kontormacher (Kunthor- und panelemaker)	1474	1486, 1499		Rolle nicht vorhanden	
Wehrmann	28	270-276	Krämer(kompanie)	1353	1389			
Wehrmann	28	276-284	Krämer(kompanie)	1573				
AHL			Kupferschmiede	1592	1635, 1637		05.1-2 Ämter und Inn. 54 Kupferschmiede no. 1 Rolle 1592-1635	
Wehrmann	42	356-362	Kürschner (Pelzer, Korsewarter)	vor 1409	1409, 1425, 1436, 1476, 1516		05.1-2, Ämter und Innungen Kürschner Rolle 1436-1586	
Wehrmann	31	304-308	Lakenberedere	1546			Rolle nicht vorhanden	
Wehrmann	30	300-304	Lakenmacher (Lakenmakere)	1553			05.1-02 Ämter und Innungen. 55 Lakenmacher Rolle 1553	
Wehrmann	32	308-312	Laken wardeyen	1553				
Wehrmann	35	320-326	Leineweber (Lynen wevere)	vor 1425	1425, 1585			
AHL			Leineweber	1562			ASA, Int. Handw. 2647 Rolle (Briefkonzepte) 1575-1731	

Source/ Edition	Number	Pages	Craft	Year	Additions	Other	AHL	Witwenrechte dokumente in AHL
Wehrmann	34	314-320	Lohgerber (Lorer)	1454	1727		05.1-02 Ämter und Innungen, No 1 Rolle (Latein), 2 Rolle (1454) 1727	ASA, int. Handw. Streit Gesellen eingeherrtet Witwenrechte 1586
Wehrmann	33	312-313	Lowentkoper (Leinensneider/händler)	1503		Fraglich ob eigenes Amt	Rolle nicht vorhanden	Zusatz zu Rolle in 1754 Witwenrechte
Wehrmann	36	326-330	Maler (Maler och Glasewerter)	vor 1425	1425, 1474, 1528		05.1-02 Ämter und Innungen, Maler Rolle 1425	
Wehrmann	38	332-339	Maurer und Decker (Muriude und Decker)	zirka 1527			Rolle 1516 nicht vorhanden	
Wehrmann	37	330-331	Messing- und Beckenschläger (Missingschläger)	1400			Rolle nicht vorhanden	
Wehrmann	39	339-343	Nädler (Neteler) (W)	1356	1425, 1469, 1508	Nur in Wehrmann	Kein Archivmaterial gefunden	
Wehrmann	15	209-215	Pantoffelmacher (Glockenmaker)	1436	1457, 1488/1493		Rolle nicht vorhanden	
Wehrmann	44	365-366	Platenschlegere (W)	1370			Kein Archivmaterial gefunden	
AHL			Rademacher	1490			05.1-02 Ämter und Innungen Rademacher No. 1 Rolle 1490	

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Source/Edition	Number	Pages	Craft	Year	Additions	Other	AHL	Witwenrechte dokumente in AHL
Wehrmann	45	366-369	Rademacher	1508			Rolle nicht vorhanden	
Wehrmann	48	380-387	Reifschläger (Reper)	1390		Seilmacher	Rolle nicht vorhanden	
Wehrmann	47	374-380	Riemer (Remsnider)	1396	bis 1479		Rolle nicht vorhanden	
Wehrmann	1	156-159	Rotgiesser (Apentgeter)	1432			Rolle nicht vorhanden	
Wehrmann	49	388-397	Rotlöcher (Roetschlosschere)	vor 1471		Auch Weißgerber genannt in der Rolle	Rolle nicht vorhanden	
AHL			Russfärber (Russwervere)	1476		Separate Konzepte	05.1-02 Ämter und Innungen, Färber: Russfärber 1476	
Wehrmann	50	397-401	Russfärber (Russwervere)	1500			05.1-02 Ämter und Innungen, Färber: Russfärber 1477, 1500	
Wehrmann	51	401-404	Sadelmacher	1502		Nur in Wehrmann	Kein Archivmaterial gefunden	
Wehrmann	52	405-412	Schiffzimmerleute (Shepestimmerleute)	1560	1593		Rolle nicht vorhanden; ASA, Int. Handwerksämter, 3525 Ordnung 1560-1774	
Wehrmann	56	433-445	Schmiede (Smede)	1400	1455		05.1.02 Ämter und Innungen, Schmiede, Rolle 1512 beschädigt!	ASA, int. Handw. 3863 Amtsrechten Schneidermeister-Witwen 1639

Source/Edition	Number	Pages	Craft	Year	Additions	Other	AHL	Witwenrechte dokumente in AHL
Wehrmann	56	437-438	Schmiede (Smede)	1512			Handschriften No. 308, F. 16-19	
Wehrmann	54	421-429	Schneider (Schrodere)	1370	1464, 1524	Zusammen- geschlossen alt nyen + olt schrodere 1514	05.1-2 Schneider Rolle (Jahr?); ASA, Int. Handw. Schneider Rolle 1591-1641 ASA, Int. Handw. Schneider 3857, Ordnung 1591	
Wehrmann	53	413-421	Schuchmacher (Shomaker)	1441	1466, 1480		ASA, Int. Handw. Schuchmacher Rolle 15Jh. - 1772	
Wehrmann	29	294-300	Schnitzer (Bildschnitzer) (Kunthor und panelenmacher)	1474	1477, 1486, 1499			
AHL			Schnitzer	1596			ASA, Int. Handw. Schnitzer 3972 Rolle (Snittker + Kistenmaker)	
Wehrmann	59	455-457	Schwertfeger	1473			05.1-2 Ämter und Inn. Schwertfeger Rolle 1473	
Wehrmann	55	430-433	Senkler	1543			Kein Archivmaterial gefunden	
Wehrmann	57	449-452	Spinnradmacher (Spinnradmaker)	1559			ASA, Int. Handw. 4186 Spinnradmacherrolle 16Jh.	

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Source/ Edition	Number	Pages	Craft	Year	Additions	Other	AHL	Witwenrechte dokumente in AHL
AHL			Tuchfärber/Färber	1596		Färber allgemein, basiert auf Wandfärber Rolle 1500-1586	05.1-2 Ämter und Innungen, Färber, Extract, geschrieben in 1596	1596
AHL			Töpfer	1551	1677	Revidierte Rolle vorhanden	ASA, Int, Handw. 4426 Töpfer Rolle (1551)-1677	
AHL			Träger u. Wagenlode u Buchser	15Jh.	1509		ASA, interna T-Z, no. 30473	
Wehrmann	63	485-489	Wandfärber (Wanfarver)	1500	revidiert 1586		05.1-2 Ämter und Innungen, Färber, Wandfärberrolle 1500-1586	
AHL			Wandfärber/ Lakenverer	1596			ASA Int Handw 1171 Färber	
AHL			Wandbereiter	1551-1648		Arbeiten mit vollemem Stoff	ASA 4511 Wandbereiter	
Wehrmann	64	490-493	Wandschneider (Wan/ Lakensnider)	1410		Only Wehrmann		
Wehrmann	65	494-499	Wollenweber	1477	1543		ASA Int, Handw. 4558 Wollenweber Rolle 1475-1560	
Wehrmann	60	457-461	Zimmerleute (Tymmerlode)	1428	1503, 1505		Rolle nicht vorhanden	
AHL			Zimmerleute, Maurer, Decker	1516			05.1-2, Ämter und Inn, Hauszimmerleute, no. 1 Rolle 1516	
Wehrmann	60	462-470	Zimmerleute	1545			05.1-2, Ämter und Inn, Hauszimmerl. 2 Rolle 1545	



## Appendix 2: Riga craft ordinances and editions

Riga craft ordinances were edited by Wilhelm Stieda and Constantin Mettig in *Schragen der Gilden und Aemter der Stadt Riga bis 1621*, published in 1896.<sup>13</sup> As the title of the edition suggests, in addition to craft ordinances, the edition contents also include guild statutes, such as merchants' Great Guild's statutes, and ordinances of devotional guilds. I have compared the surviving ordinances at Latvian State Historical archives to the edition to test its reliability and despite its age the edition is trustworthy. Thus, the edition is constantly used by scholars.<sup>14</sup> The surviving original sources are preserved in Latvian State Historical Archives, *Latvijas Valsts Vēstures Arhīvs* (LVVA) in Riga, mainly in two collections *Gesellschaft für Geschichte und Altertumskunde zu Riga*<sup>15</sup> and in *Rīgas magistrāta iekšējais arhīvs*.<sup>16</sup> Unfortunately many of the ordinances did not survive the Second World War and the Soviet occupation era. The reference to the craft ordinances will be mainly made according to the edition of Stieda and Mettig.

In counting the ordinances I have, in general, followed the main principles, which are mentioned in Chapter 2.1.2 and relied on the edition of Stieda and Mettig. However, in their edition Stieda and Mettig have headlined various sources simply as craft ordinances although a detailed examination revealed that some ordinances were actually statutes of devotional guilds, according to my *tripartite classification*. Therefore, because of the diversity of edited Riga source material, it is necessary to take a closer look which organizations are crafts and which documents are actually craft ordinances. For example, the 1535 statute of beer carriers is actually a decree of the city council concerning the load and salaries of beer carriers.<sup>17</sup> Hence this decree is not counted as a craft ordinance in this study.

The organizations of fishermen<sup>18</sup>, loaders (*Ligger*)<sup>19</sup>, carriers (*Losträger*)<sup>20</sup>, and *Stadtdiener*<sup>21</sup> were devotional guilds according to my classification, and even Stieda

13 Stieda and Mettig, *Schragen der Gilden und Aemter der Stadt Riga bis 1621*, Gesellschaft für Geschichte und Altertumskunde der Ostseeprovinzen Russlands. Buchdruckerei von W. F. Häcker, Riga 1896.

14 For example, Anu Mänd refers to this edition in her studies. See Mänd, *Urban Carnival*, passim.

15 LVVA, coll. 4038 Gesellschaft für Geschichte und Altertumskunde zu Riga (Rīgas senatnes un vēstures pēitāju biedrība), inv. 2 Handschriftensammlung (Rokrastu Kolekcija).

16 LVVA, coll. 8 Rīgas magistrāta iekšējais arhīvs, inv. 1 1220–1878.

17 Stieda and Mettig, *Schragen*, no. 13, 256–257 (Bierträger/Beer carriers 1535).

18 Stieda and Mettig, *Schragen*, no. 20, 275–278 (Fischer/Fishermen 1403 (?), additions 1581, 1606).

19 Stieda and Mettig, *Schragen*, no. 74, 407–411 (Ligger/Loaders 1463).

20 Stieda and Mettig, *Schragen*, no. 77, 414–417 (Losträger/Carriers 1450).

21 Stieda and Mettig, *Schragen*, no. 122, 655–660 (Stadtdiener 1415).

and Mettig point out that the organizations of *Stadtdiener*, loaders, and carriers were more like religious brotherhoods than professional crafts.<sup>22</sup> At the beginning of the fishermen's statutes it is stated that 'in the honor of the Holy Cross they have founded a laudable brotherhood'. Furthermore, the ordinance concentrates on religious participation, to masses and joint feasts and has no article related to fishermen's work.<sup>23</sup> In the case of the loaders the following elements in the statute reveal that it is a devotional guild: at the beginning of the statute it is clearly mentioned that St John the Baptist is the patron saint of the guild and that women and unmarried women/maidens could be full members of the guild. In addition, the term *gilde* is used instead of *ampt*. In Riga, the majority of crafts called themselves *ampte* in the original sources, whereas devotional organizations used mainly the terms *guild* and *brotherhood*. Moreover, there is no reference to work in the statute, although the city council is depicted as a supervising body.<sup>24</sup> Also, in the case of carriers, the term *gilde* is used instead of *ampt*, which refers to a devotional organization. Additionally, women and unmarried women/maidens are explicitly mentioned as full members. Thus at the beginning it is stated that the organization is devoted to Corpus Christi. Finally, the statute concentrates on guild festivities and funerals of members and does not regulate carriers' work.<sup>25</sup> The same justifications also hold true with the regulations of the *Stadtdiener*. Indeed, it seems that the members of the devotional guild of *Stadtdiener* had different estates as members and its main function was the commemoration of its past members. Consequently, it is my interpretation that it was a devotional guild and not a professional craft.<sup>26</sup>

Some of the legal acts (*Entscheidungen*) have been counted in if their content equals the craft ordinances in general. For example, a city council's degree (*Rathsentscheidung*) from 1569 on the status of German and non-German small shop keepers (*Krämer*) has been counted as a craft ordinance of the small shop keepers based on the content of the decision.<sup>27</sup> Similarly for the same reasons the sixteenth century *Rathsentscheidung* on the status of carriers and loaders (*Losträger und Ligger*) has been counted as a craft

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22 Stieda and Mettig, *Schragen*, 113–114.

23 Stieda and Mettig, *Schragen*, no. 20, 275–278 (Fischer/Fishermen 1403 (?), additions 1581, 1606): 'so hebben wy in eere des hilligen crützes eine löfföiche bruoorderschuop und gilde begundt.'

24 Stieda and Mettig, *Schragen*, no. 74, 407–411 (Ligger/Loaders 1463).

25 Stieda and Mettig, *Schragen*, no. 77, 414–417 (Losträger/Carriers 1450)

26 Stieda and Mettig, *Schragen*, no. 122, 655–660 (Stadtdiener 1415). See also pp. 113–114. In the ordinance it is clearly stated that the main function of this organization is pastoral care and that they honour the Virgin Mary. The ordinance includes articles related to guild festivities and funerals. Also women are mentioned as full members who were allowed to bring guests to the festivities.

27 Stieda and Mettig, *Schragen*, no. 53, 369–372 (Deutsche und Undeutsche Krämer/German and Non-German small shop keepers 1569).

ordinance.<sup>28</sup> As we saw, both carriers and loaders had already formed devotional guilds in the fifteenth century. Because the statutes of these devotional organizations did not have articles related to actual work, it seems that the city council saw it necessary to establish work ordinance by conferring this kind of a decree. At the beginning of the ordinance it is stated that due to many disputes and offences the city council saw it necessary to establish this ordinance. Therefore this *Rathsentscheidung* is regarded a craft ordinance and will be referred to as the carriers' and loaders' ordinance of the 16<sup>th</sup> century.

In contrast to the council's decree on the carriers and loaders, the decree of the Arch Bishop and *Ordensmeister* von Plettenberg of Teutonic Order on several work-related matters concerning brewers, bakers, butchers, and shoemakers has been left out. This degree concentrates on sporadic matters related to these diverse crafts and was not confirmed by the city council, which was characteristic to craft ordinances. Thus this decree is not a craft ordinance. Similarly other legal decisions have been left out if they concentrate on a specific disagreement.<sup>29</sup> The *Amtsgerichtsentscheidung* of 1588 related to linen weavers' craft has been counted as an addition to their 1544 ordinance, because it is formulated as additional articles and its content match craft ordinances, but it is not a whole revised ordinance.<sup>30</sup> The complete list of Riga craft ordinances used in this study is presented in the following Table 2.1.

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28 Stieda and Mettig, *Schragen*, no. 78, 418–421 (Losträger und Ligger Rathsentscheidung aus dem 16. Jh.).

29 Stieda and Mettig, *Schragen*, no. 102, 523–528 (Schnitzer Rathesentscheidung vom 20. Feb. 1575). This was a dispute between masters and journeymen. Stieda and Mettig, *Schragen*, no. 33, 309–310 (Goldschmiede Schragen 1561). Even though in edition the latter is called *Schragen*, it was King Sigismund Augustus' decision and therefore it is not counted as a craft ordinance.

30 Stieda and Mettig, *Schragen*, no. 72, 404–405 (Leineweber, Entscheidung des Amtgerichts vom 14. Juni 1588).

Table 2.1 Riga craft ordinances and editions used in this study

Source/Edition	Number	Pages	Craft	Year	Additions	Other
Stieda & Meitig	1	233-235	Arbeiter und Losträger	1535		
Stieda & Meitig	4	239-242	Bäcker	1392		
Stieda & Meitig	6	242-244	Bäcker	1484		
Stieda & Meitig	11	248-252	Barbiere	1494	1626	
Stieda & Meitig	12	252-256	Bierträger	1466		
Stieda & Meitig	16	260-263	Böttcher	1375		
Stieda & Meitig	17	264-268	Böttcher	1581		
Stieda & Meitig	21	278-281	Fuhrleute	1605		
Stieda & Meitig	24	283-288	Glaser	1541		
Stieda & Meitig	30	294-297	Goldschmiede	1360		
Stieda & Meitig	32	298-308	Goldschmiede	1542		
Stieda & Meitig	34	310-312	Goldschmiede	1582		
Stieda & Meitig	39	338-343	Gürtler und Brezmacher	1512		
Stieda & Meitig	44	346-348	Hanfspinner	1436		
Stieda & Meitig	45	348-356	Hutmacher	1595		
Stieda & Meitig	52	367-369	Krämer (Russische)	1522		Kopie geschrieben 1694
Stieda & Meitig	53	369-372	Krämer (Deutsche und Undeutsche)	1569		
Stieda & Meitig	56	378-382	Kürschner	1397	1573	Rathsentcheidung but contents like ordinance so counted in
Stieda & Meitig	58	383	Kürschner	1513		
Stieda & Meitig	66	389-392	Kürschner	1588		Mostly the same as ordinance 1397, 6 articles changed
Stieda & Meitig	68	394-395	Lakenscherer	1386		

Source/Edition	Number	Pages	Craft	Year	Additions	Other
Stieda & Meitig	69	395-399	Leineweber	1458		
Stieda & Meitig	70	400-403	Leineweber	1544		
Stieda & Meitig	78	418-421	Losträger und Ligger	16. Jh	no. 72 1588	Amtsgerichtsentscheidung, not ordinance, but counted as addition to 1544 ordinance
Stieda & Meitig	80	422-426	Maurer	1390		Rathsentscheidung, however contents like ordinance and counted as ordinance
Stieda & Meitig	82	428-432	Maurer	1546		
Stieda & Meitig	83	433-425	Sattler	1619		
Stieda & Meitig	87	448-455	Schlosser- Sporer, Büchsenmacher und Uhrmacher Meister	1593		
Stieda & Meitig	88	456-460	Schmiede	1382		
Stieda & Meitig	90	463-471	Schmiede	1426-1530		
Stieda & Meitig	91	471-478	Schmiede	1578		
Stieda & Meitig	92	478-481	Schneider	Ende 1300		
Stieda & Meitig	93	482-488	Schneider	1492		
Stieda & Meitig	98	494-502	Schneider	16. Jh		
Stieda & Meitig	100	507-515	Schnitzer	1536		
Stieda & Meitig	103	528-532	Schuchmacher	Ende 1300		
Stieda & Meitig	106	538-544	Schuchmacher	1615		
Stieda & Meitig	107	545-546	Undeutsche Schuchmacher	1615		
Stieda & Meitig	121	650-655	Semischgerber	1597		

### Appendix 3: Tallinn craft ordinances and editions

The majority of Tallinn medieval craft ordinances are preserved in the Tallinn City Archives, *Tallinna Linnaarhiiv* (TLA) in two collections in *Archiv der St. Kanutigilde* and in *Der Revaler Magistrat*.<sup>31</sup> The references will be to the original sources, unless otherwise mentioned. Some of the Tallinn craft ordinances are edited in large source compilations such as *Liv-, Est- und Kurländisches Urkundenbuch* (LECUB),<sup>32</sup> others can be found in *Beiträge zur Kunde Est-, Liv- und Kurlands*.<sup>33</sup> Essential for this study has been the catalogue of the St Canute's Guild archival collection edited by Aleksander Margus, with a profound introduction to the development of craft organizations in Tallinn, since the craft ordinances are preserved in this collection.<sup>34</sup> In this study the references to craft ordinances that are preserved in St Canute's Guild archival collection, will follow the signums used by Margus.<sup>35</sup> In addition to craft ordinances, the personal notebook of Goldsmith Alderman Hans Ryssenberg has been used together with the protocol book of the goldsmiths to enlighten the financial matters of the craft and everyday life of its members.<sup>36</sup> The transcriptions of the Tallinn source material is marked by author unless otherwise mentioned.

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31 TLA, coll. 190 *Archiv der St. Kanutigilde*, inv. 2 *Handwerksämter*, and in coll. 230 *Der Revaler Magistrat*, inv. 1. In the footnotes the shortening for Tallinn City Archives TLA is followed by the number of the collection, then the number of the invocation followed by the number of the document and folio numbers. At the end the name of the craft is mentioned as well as the year(s) of the craft ordinance. For example, a reference to shoemakers' craft ordinance of 1480–1530, preserved in the St Canute's Guild archival collection would be: TLA, coll. 190, inv 2, no. 24, 5v (Shuster 1480–1530). If the craft ordinance is preserved only in edition the reference will be instead made to the edition.

32 *Liv-, Est- und Kurländisches Urkundenbuch* (LECUB): Butchers (Knochenhauer) 1394 in Abt. 1, Band 4 MCCLXV; Bakers (Bäcker) 1438 in Abt. 1 Band IX, no. 258. In LECUB there are also: the guild statutes of Tallinn Great Guild, (Abt. 1, Bd. 4, MDXVII, columns 281–286) and St Canute's Guild (Abt. 1, Bd. 4, MDXIX, columns 287–304); the statutes of brewer journeymen (Schoppenbruwer 1498) (Abt. 2, Bd. 1, document number 633). The statutes of Tallinn Great Guild are also edited in Eugen von Nottbeck, *Die alten Schragen der Grossen Gilde zu Reval*, Reval 1885.

33 *Beiträge zur Kunde Est-, Liv- und Kurlands*, ed. Estländische Literärische Gesellschaft: Fuhrleute (Waggoners) 1435 in Band 2 Heft 1; Beer carriers (Bierträger) 1456–1462, Boatmen (Mündriche) 1506 and 1531 in Band 7.

34 Aleksander Margus, *Katalog des Stadtarchivs Tallinn IV, Archiv der St. Kanutigilde*, Tallinna Linnaarhiivi väljaanne, Tallinn 1938.

35 The older signums in Hansen/Greiffenhagen catalogue are not used if the craft ordinance has been reorganized under St Canute's Guild archival collection. The statutes of Tallinn St Canute's Guild are also edited in Margus, *Katalog*, LXX–LXXXIV.

36 TLA, coll. 190, inv. 2, no 82 (Denkelbuch of Hans Ryssenberg 1518-1522) and no 76, (Goldsmiths' Protocol book 1461–1542).

The various Tallinn smiths (*groff smede, kleinsmede, grapengeter*), coppersmiths (*koppersleger*), and swordsmiths (*sverd fegeter*) were united as one craft until the middle of the seventeenth century.<sup>37</sup> The first part of locksmiths' (*Schlosser*) ordinance is the copy of the smiths' ordinance of 1459 with the council's confirmation from 1528. The newer part of the rule, from fol. 11r onwards, begins with the date 1549 and therefore these two ordinances are regarded as two separate ordinances in this study. The ordinance is classified as the locksmiths' ordinance in the Tallinn city archives catalogue by Alexander Margus, but the ordinance clearly mentions the various smiths so it forms a logical follow-up to the two older smiths' ordinances.<sup>38</sup> It must also be pointed out that the Tallinn *Ubrmacher* ordinance of 1653 has been left out because its status as an independent ordinance is questionable: it mainly follows the 1459 smiths' ordinance and is basically a High German translation of the smiths' ordinance of 1459.<sup>39</sup> The complete list of Tallinn craft ordinances, their archival signums, and editions is presented in the following table Table 3.1.

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37 See also Chapter 2.1.2.

38 TLA, coll. 190, inv. 2, no. 149 (Schlosser/Locksmiths and smiths 1459). See also Margus, *Katalog*, 71, 108 and Chapter Sources and Methodology and the Bibliography in this study.

39 TLA, coll. 230, inv. 1, no. Ac40.

Table 3.1 Tallinn craft ordinances with the archival signums and editions used in this study

Source/Edition	Number	Folien	Craft	Years/Additions	Other
TLA, coll. 190, inv. 2	23		Shomaker	1416	
TLA, coll. 190, inv. 2	24		Schuster	1481-1530	
TLA, coll. 230, inv. 1	Ac 6 1	92-97	Schuhmacher	1536-1665	
TLA, coll. 190, inv. 2	69		Goldschmiede	1395	Edited in LECUB III 1343
TLA, coll. 190, inv. 2	70		Goltsmede	1453(-1458?)	
TLA, coll. 230, inv. 1	Ac 5	64-67	Goldschmiede	1537-1553	
TLA, coll. 230, inv. 1	Ac 5	5-11	Maler, Glaszewerter, Snytker	1513	
TLA, coll. 230, inv. 1	Ac 6 1	103-108	Dischler, Maler, Gläser	1536-1637	
TLA, coll. 190, inv. 2	472		Böttcher	1443-1497	
TLA, coll. 190, inv. 2	473		Böttcher	1515	
TLA, coll. 190, inv. 2	474		Boddeker	1556	Also in Ac 5 103-105 and in Ac 6 I, 119-122
TLA, coll. 190, inv. 2	511		Schroter	1413-1650	Also in Ac 5, 71-76, and in Ac 6 I, 8-15
TLA, coll. 190, inv. 2	549		Sattler, Thomslegereh, Sedeleren, Pistelmakereh vnd Gordelmakereh	1459-1521	Also in Ac 5 41-43, and in Ac 6 I, 38-42;
TLA, coll. 190, inv. 2	554		Smede	1415-1437	Also in Ac 5, 25-31
TLA, coll. 190, inv. 2	555		Smede	1459-1528	Also in Ac 6 I, 60d-66
TLA, coll. 190, inv. 2	642		Hanfspinner	1462	Also in Ac 5, 12-18. Edited in Beiträge VII, 189-195
TLA, coll. 190, inv. 2	(---)		Zimmerleute	1420	Edited in Wissell I, 119
TLA, coll. 190, inv. 2	668		Tymerlude	1508-1567	
TLA, coll. 190, inv. 2	680		Bierträger	1456, 462	Edited in Beiträge VII, 126-128
TLA, coll. 190, inv. 2	281		Bäcker	1438	Edited in LECUB, Abt 1 Band IX, no. 258.
TLA, coll. 190, inv. 2	118		Knochenhauer	1394	Edited in LECUB, Abt 1, Band 4 MCCLXV



Source/Edition	Number	Folien	Craft	Years/Additions	Other
TLA, coll. 190, inv. 2	119		Knochenhauer	Ende 15Jh.	
TLA, coll. 190, inv. 2	120		Fleischer	1509	Also in Ac 5, 45-48
TLA, coll. 230, inv. 1	Ac 5	61-63	Fleischer	1528	
TLA, coll. 190, inv. 2	663		Müdrirche	1506	Edited in Beiträge VII, 128-130
TLA, coll. 190, inv. 2	664		Müdrirche	1531	Edited in Beiträge VII, 132-137
TLA, coll. 190, inv. 2	149		Schlosser und smede	1459/1528-1750	
TLA, coll. 190, inv. 2	649		Vulhoecker	1534	Fish sellers
TLA, coll. 190, inv. 2	678		Fuhrleute	1435	Also in Ac 5, 49-52. Edited in Beiträge II
TLA, coll. 190, inv.2	679		Fuhrleute	1545	
TLA, coll. 190, inv. 2	650		Stein und Bildhauer	1402-1447	Also in Ac 5, 19-24, Edited in Beiträge VII, 195-199
TLA, coll. 190, inv. 2	651		Stein und Blichauer	1459-1561	Also in Ac 6 I, 50-54. Edited in Beiträge VII, 199-208
TLA, coll. 230, inv. 1	Ac 5	68-70	Korsewetter	1425/1553	Also in Ac 5, 68-70. Copy of schraa 1425, corrected 1553, written c. 1650
TLA, coll. 230, inv. 1	Ac 6 I	29-32	Kürschner	1553-1656	Copy, written c. 1650
Beiträge VII,	p. 130-132		Arbeitsleute und Träger	1529	Edited in Beiträge VII, 130-132.

## Appendix 4: Stockholm craft ordinances and editions

Stockholm craft ordinances are scattered in different libraries and archives across Stockholm.<sup>40</sup> The majority of Stockholm craft ordinances are edited by G. E. Klemming in *Skrå-ordningar*, published in 1856.<sup>41</sup> This edition is still usable, yet it lacks a detailed description on archival collections and manuscript variations, characteristic to German source-editions. Several statutes of devotional guilds and few craft ordinances are edited in *Småstycken på forn-svenska*, also edited by Klemming.<sup>42</sup> The following Table 4.1 lists the preserved Stockholm craft ordinances, their additions, various city council decrees, and royal privileges granted to crafts. Table 4.1 also, for the first time, shows the editions combined with the repository places of original documents, including archival signums and collections in the archives. Table 4.1 further shows when the craft ordinance, aldermen, or the council's *bisittare* were mentioned in the *tänkeböcker* or in the ämbetsböcker, the latter listing the various offices of town administration. Table 4.1 completes and extends the table composed by Dag Lindström.<sup>43</sup> See further the discussion of organized trades in Stockholm in Chapter 2.1.2 and Table 2.7. The extensive studies of Werner Pursche of Stockholm carpenters,<sup>44</sup> Arvid Hedbergs' fundamental study of Stockholm book binders as well as Albert Löfgrens' monumental study of Stockholm pot founders provide the basic facts of these crafts, some source editions, rich person registers as well as description of the piece of works of these artisans.<sup>45</sup>

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40 Some craft related documents are also preserved in Uppsala Universitets Bibliotek. See Appendix Table 4.1 for more details.

41 G. E. Klemming, *Skrå-ordningar*, samlingar utgifna af Svenska Fornskirft-sällskapet, P. A. Norstedt and Söner Kongliga Boktryckeriet, Stockholm 1856. Some Stockholm craft ordinances among devotional guild statutes of various cities are edited in G. E. Klemming, *Småstycken på fornsvenska*, Kongl. Boktryckeriet P. A. Nordsted and Söner, Stockholm 1868–1881.

42 Some Stockholm craft ordinances among devotional guild statutes of various cities are edited in G. E. Klemming, *Småstycken på fornsvenska*, Kongl. Boktryckeriet P. A. Nordsted and Söner, Stockholm 1868–1881.

43 Lindström, *Skrå, stad och staat*, Appendix 1.

44 Pursche, *Timmermansämbetet i Stockholm före 1700*.

45 Hedberg, *Stockholms Bookbindare 1460–1880*; Löfgren, *Stockholms kannigjutare skrå*.

Table 4.1 Stockholm craft ordinances with the archival signums, editions, repository places and additional information used in this study

Craft	Skrå/ other	Years	Repository	Klemning Skråordningar, sida	Klemning Fornsvenska, sida	Other	Tänkebok	Ämbetsbok
Skomakare	Skrå	före 1474	Riksantikvarie Ämbetet/ATA, pdf-file	s. 11-34		ATA, vol 21: Skråordning 1474 kopia från 1816		
	Borgermästare och Råds stadfästelse	1474	?	s. 30				
	Tilläg dertill	1477, 89, 99, 1502	?	s. 31-33				
	Skrå förnyad	1596	?	s. 35-38				
	Kungliga stadfästelse	1616	Riks-Registratura 1616? RA?	s. 38				
	Beslut	1489	RA Stockholms stads acta vol 25			SE/RA/755/755.3 Riksarkivets ämnessamlingar		
	Bref till Johan III	1578	RA Stockholms stads acta vol 25			SE/RA/755/755.3 Riksarkivets ämnessamlingar		
	Skrå	1616	RA Stockholms stads acta vol 25	Samma än skrå 1474		SE/RA/755/755.3 Riksarkivets ämnessamlingar		

Appendices

Craft	Skrå/other	Years	Repository	Klemming Skråordningar, sida	Klemming Fornsvenska, sida	Other	Tänkebok	Årbetsbok
	Skrå	1621	RA Stockholms stads acta vol 25			SE/RA/755/755.3 Riksskrivets ämnessamlingar		
Köttmång- lame/ Slaktare	Skrå	1477	Tryckt på 1600-talet, RA/Oxenstiemska samlingen?	s. 45		UUB, Nordiska samlingen no. 841 quarto		
	Kong. Tillståndsbrief om uppköp boskap	1530	RA, riks-registratur 1529-31?	s. 54				
	Kong. Tillståndsbrief om uppköp boskap	1546	RA, riks-registratur 1546?	s. 54				
Smede	Skrå	1479	Kopie från 1600-talet?			SSA sager förmodligen försvunnit		
	Skrå	1669	RA Stockholms stads acta vol 27					
	Skrå	1600-l. tehty kopio	KB, Hadorphs samling?--> nu i UUB?			Kopie från 1600-talet UUB, Nordiska samlingen 841 i quart		
Murare	Skrå	1487	KB B 601	s. 75		Skrå ATA/ Vitterhets-akademiens bibliothek Br. 04/ 691	1486, s.158, Embete, alderman och skrå nämns	
	Tillägg	1601	KB B 601	s. 88				
	Kong.stadfstälse derpå	1602		s. 90				

Craft	Skrå/ other	Years	Repository	Klemning Skråordningar, sida	Klemning Fornsvenska, sida	Other	Tänkebok	Ämbetsbok
	Material från 1600-talet	1600	Nordiska museet					
Skräddare	Skrå	1501	KB B 607	s. 93		Privilegier 1356, 1453	1485, s.30, Älderman nämns	
	Tilläg dertill	1508, 1517, 1545, 1575	?	s. 117-119			1485, s.114, Skrå nämns	
	Kung Stadgande	1356	KB B 608:1, översättning till svenska KB B 608:2 1450	s. 120		Kopi från 1600-talet RA/Stockholms stads acta vol 26		
	Kong. Stadfästelse derpå	1453		s. 122		Karl Knutsson, Kopie RA/Ssa vol 26		
	Kong. Privilegier för skräddare	1536	KB B 608:4	s. 123		Gustav Vasa, Kopie RA/Ssa vol 26		
	Kong. Privilegier för skräddare	1571	KB B 608:5	s. 126		Johan III, Kopie RA/Ssa vol 26		
	Stadfästelse derpå	1594	KB B 608:6	s. 131		Sigismund		
Guldsmeder	Skrå	1501	KB B 597	s. 139		Älderman ja Embete nämns PRF	1477, s.89, Embete nämns	1545, SSA ämbetsbok 6v Råb
	Riksrådets stälda för Guldsmeder	1473	KB B 599: 1	s. 160		Ärkebiskop, biskop och Sten Sture		
	Riksrådets stälda för Guldsmeder	1474	KB?	s. 161		"Ex Orig." ur Schmedemans samling af författningar KB?		
	Riksrådets stälda för Guldsmeder	1485	Schmedemans samling i KB?	s. 162				

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Craft	Skrå/other	Years	Repository	Klemming Skråordningar, sida	Klemming Fornsvenska, sida	Other	Tänkebok	Årbetsbok
	Bref på ett altare i Storkyrkan	1485	KB B 599:2	s. 163				
	Aftalsbrev för dem som besökte altaret	1487	KB B 599: 3	s. 164				
	Riksrådets bref om Guldsmeder	1489	UUB, Nordiska samlingen, 841 quarto?	s. 167				
	Kong. Ordning för Guldsmeder	1529	KB B 599: 4	s. 169		Gustav Vasa		
	Kong. Bref om marknadsplatser	1585	KB B 599: 5	s. 170				
	Kong. Ordning för Guldsmeder	1594	KB B 599: 6	s. 171				
	Privilegier	1677	KB B 599: 7					
	Bref till Stockholms råd från Reval, kisälli	1475	KB B 599: 8			Merten Dutschendorp		
	Bref till Revals råd från Stockholm	1527	KB B 599: 9			Magnus Petsson, Anders Henriksson änka Anna		
	Skrå	1616	KB B 599 a	Det samma än 1501				
	Skrå	1622	KB B 599 b					

Craft	Skrå/ other	Years	Repository	Klemming Skråordningar, sida	Klemming Fornsvenska, sida	Other	Tänkebok	Ämbetsbok
Dragare/ Vindragare	Skrå	1502- 1635	KB B 594	s. 183		senare tilläg 1541. tilläg till 1635		1458, s.67 Älderman, 1545 SSA ämbetsbok 6v
	Taxa för dragare	1541		s. 207				
Bagare	Skrå	1506-11	KB B 590	s. 211 (Kopie från 1600-talet)	s.33--> 1500-talet	stagna v. 1584 I slutet av original	1486, s.183. Skrå nämns	
Tumbin- darna	Skrå	1500-l. alku/1579	?	s. 219 (1579)		skrå 1640 Nordiska museet	1478, s.155, Skrå nämns	1545, SSA ämbetsbok 6v Rådbsittare
Tennjutare (Gryt- och Kannjutare)	Skrå	1545	Nordiska museet E	s. 227		Editio också i Albert Löfgren 1925, Bilaga 12		
	Skrå	1622	Nordiska museet			Grytgjutare och Kannjutare		
Barberare	Skrå	1571	Karolinska Institutets bibliotek?	s. 239		Bardskärare	1479, s.198;1484, s. 60 Skrå nämns, 1496, s.289; 1514, s.31	SSA ämbetsbok 1545 6v Rådbsittare
Snickare	Skrå	1575	RA Stockholms steds acta vol 27	s. 251		Riksarkivets ämnessamlingar		1545, SSA, ämbetsbok 7r Rådbsittare
	Kong. Stadfrästelse derpå	1578	RA? Oxenstierna samlingen/Ssa?	s. 259				
Skinnare	Skrå	1589	RA Stockholms steds acta vol 24	s. 261			1484, s.8 Älderman nämns; 1485, s.78 Skrå	

Appendices

Craft	Skrå/other	Years	Repository	Klemming Skråordningar, sida	Klemming Fornsvenska, sida	Other	Tänkebok	Ämbetsbok
Kopparslagare	Skrå	1602	RA Riks registratur 1602?	s. 281		Kopparsmederna	1480, s. 229, numerus clausus till mästare	
	Skrå	1622	KB B 600. d			med tysk översättning		
Timmermän	Skrå	1454/ 1604	KB, kopia tryckt i 1604		s.17			
	Skrå	1608	Nordiska Museet Arkiv, no. 15,988.e					
Glasmästare	Skrå	1585	Nordiska Museet Arkiv, no. 15,988.e			Edition by Vistrand, Per in 1893		1545,SSA, ämbetsbok 7r Rådissittare
	Protokoll	1604-1643	Nordiska museet					
	Erbetsbok		Nordiska museet					
Sämsk-makare	Skrå	1575	RA/ Stockholms stads acta vol 27			Danzig Weissgerber och sämskmaker		
Hammskrä	Hamm regler	1450		s. 289				

Notes and Abbreviations: ATA Antikvarisk Topografisk Arkivet; KB B Kungliga Bibliotek Handskriftensamling; Ssa Stockholms stads acta; SSA Stockholms Stads Arkivet; RA Riksarkivet; UUB Uppsala Universitets Bibliotek



## Appendix 5: Limited number of masters in Tallinn and Stockholm

Table 5.1 Limited number of masters in Tallinn

Tallinn	Number of masters/ year			
	1369-1399	1538	1654	1688
Craft				
Bäcker/Bakers	12	7	14	
Fleischer/ Butcher and Schlachter	18	10	7	33
Brauer/ Brewers	14	17		4
Fischer/ Fishermen	28			14
Schneider/ Tailors	13	16	19	24
Leineweber/ Linen weavers			c.17	23
Kürschner/ Korsewerter/ Furriers	9		6	12
Schuster/ Shoemakers	27	18	17	23
Goldsmiede/ Goldsmiths	7	11	9	14
Goldsmiede (according to Friedenthal)	35	36	46	
Böttcher/ Coopers	8	14	3	4
Steinbrecher, -hauer, Maurer/ Stonemasons and masons	30	24		29
Zimmerei/ Carpenters	27	18	23	70
Fuhrleute /Wagoners	17	14	16	25
Karleute?		fuhr und karleute 14		26
Mündriche /Boatmen	1-3	18	24	41
Bootsleute?		41		25
Arbeitsleute/ Day workers		130		380

Source: von zur Mühlen, 'Schoßlisten der Stadt Reval', passim; Friedenthal, Die Goldschmiede Revals, passim.

Appendices

Table 5.2 Limited number of masters in Stockholm

Stockholm	Number of masters/ centuries			
Craft	15th Century	16th Century	17th Century	Specific years/ other limits
Butchers	8			
Coppersmiths			6	1615: max 3
Pot founders (grytgjutare and kanngjutare)		5 + 4		
Barbers		6		
Carvers		8		
Glazers and painters		4 + 2		
Goldsmiths, native and immigrants		8 + 8		
Shoemakers, German and Swedish		10 + 20	10 + 20	1618: 20 + 30
Masons, German and Swedish			4 + 8	
Woollen cloth-dressers			3	
Brewers (including Norr- and Södermalm)			12 + 4 + 3	

Source: Lindström, Skrå, stad och staat, 195.

## Appendix 6: Craft trades and their translations

Table 6.1 Craft trades and their translations in German, Middle Low German (MLG), Swedish, English, and Finnish

Deutsch/Mittelniederdeutsch	Svenska	English	Suomi
Barbiere	barberare	Barber-surgeon	välkäri
	bagare	Baker	leipuri
Beckermaker		Cup maker	pikarintekijä
Bernsteindreher, Paternostermakers		Amber rosary maker	rukousnauhantekijä
Bremelmacher/ Buntmaker/ Buntfutter		Currier	turkisreunustentekijä
Beutler, Büdelmaker		Purse maker	kukkarontekijä
Böttcher, Boddeker	tunnbindare	Cooper	tynnyrintekijä
Drechsler, Dreyer		Turner	sorvari
	dragare	Carrier	kantaja
Fischer	fiskare	Fisher	kalastaja
Fuhrleute		Wagoner	
Glaser	glasmästare	Glazer	lasimestari
Goldschmiede, Goldsmede	guldsmed	Goldsmith	kultaseppä
Gürtler		Girdler	soljentekijä
Hocker		Huckster	torikauppias/ pikkupuodin pitäjä
Hutmacher		Hat maker	hatuntekijä
Kistenmaker		Chest maker	kirstuntekijä
Kerzengiesser		Chandler	kynttilänvalaja
	kopparslagare	Coppersmith	kupariseppä
Knochenhauer	köttmånglarne	Butcher	teurastaja
Krämer		Small shop keeper	sekatavarauppias
Kürschner		Furrier	turkkuri
Leineweber		Linen weaver	pellavankutoja
Lakenberedere	överskärare	Linen cloth dressers	
Lakenmaker		Linen cloth makers	
Lorer/ Gerber	skinnare	Tanner	nahkuri
	kopparsmede	Coppersmith	kupariseppä
Maler		Painter	maalari
Maurer	murare	Mason	muurari
Mündriche		Boatman	ahtaaja

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Sattler		Saddle maker	satulantekijä
Rademakers		Wheel maker	pyöräntekijä
Rothschlosser		tanner	nahkuri
Russfärber		Fell dyer	nahan värjäri
Senkler		String maker	nyöripunoja
Shoemaker, Schuster		Shoemaker	suutari
Schroter, Schneider	skräddare	Tailor	räätäli
Schlosser		Locksmith	lukkoseppä
Semischgerber	sämskmakare	Chamois leather tanner	säämiskäntekijä
Smede	smede	Smith	seppä
Schnitzler, snittker	snickare	Carver	kaivertaja
	tenngjutare	Pot founder	kannunvalaja
Tischler		Joiner	puuseppä
Timmerman/ Zimmermann	timmermän	Carpenter	kirvesmies
Wantfarver		Wool dyer	villavärjäri

## Appendix 7: Wood and art trades

Table 7.1 Overlapping of wood and art trades in the Baltic Sea region (Based on von Bondorff's study)

	Painters (Maler)	Board makers and carvers (Tafelmaker, sniddeker)	Carvers (snitker)	Kuntor makers (Kuntor- macher)	Chest makers (Kisten- macher)	Carpenters (Timmerman)	Turners (Dreyer)
Paintings on wooden boards	X	X					
Frames for wooden sculptures	X	X	X				
Wooden sculptures	X	X	X				
Columns	X	X		X			
Panels				X			
Chests, trunks, coffins			X	X	X	X	
Wardrobes, cabinets			X	X	X		
Large furniture, like desks and tables				X			
Window frames			X	X	X		
Doors			X	X	X		
Railings			X	X	X		
Stairs						X	
House structures						X	
Turner items							X

Source: von Bondorff, Kunstproduktion, 34.

## English Summary

In this dissertation I study craft trade culture in late medieval and early modern cities bordering the Baltic Sea. Research focuses on four urban communities, namely on Stockholm, Tallinn, Riga, and Lübeck. In all these cities craftsfolk formed one fourth of the inhabitants as well as the so-called middle class of the citizens. Additionally, craft organizations penetrated all spheres of life in urban settlements: they dominated labour market, influenced town topography, organized military troops, took care of juridical and administrative tasks, organized professional training, and together with merchants governed the economic sector. In addition, crafts organized poor relief, free time, and some crafts even took care of religious and devotional activities. In this research craft trade is studied from economic and gender history viewpoints. Special emphasis is on the possibilities of artisan widows to continue their trade after their husband had died. This study provides for the first time an extensive comparison of craft trade culture in four Baltic Sea cities. Furthermore, it combines two perspectives, rarely applied together in the field of craft and guild studies. In addition, the study covers the time period of circa 1350–1620, hence transcending the usual boundaries between medieval and early modern era in historical research.

The essential elements of craft trade culture are traced from three different angles. Firstly, the various urban organizations are examined, differentiated, and categorized. My hypothesis is that the possibilities of widows to carry on depended on the organization type. In previous research the various urban organizations, guilds, crafts, and devotional guilds or confraternities have not always been differentiated, which has led to misinterpretations about the position of women within these organizations. The categorization is based on my own innovation called *tripartite classification*. The tripartite classification is both a **method** of the study as well as a **result** of a wide-range comparison of the ordinances and statutes of the three organization types.

Secondly, the opportunities of artisan widows and the meaning of widowhood in the context of craft trade are examined. Here the viewpoint changes from the organizations to the point of view of the craftsfolk and particularly of artisan widows. By adopting different roles, as mothers and managers of household workshops, widows challenged traditional gender roles. Thus, the widow perspective is fruitful because it helps us to examine how gender relationships were constructed in craft trade culture and what role gender played in it. The normative side is discussed by studying craft

ordinances: what options and possibilities did craft ordinances give to widows to continue their trade. In previous research widows' rights articles have been seen as mere restrictions against women's work. I challenge previous research by arguing that widows' rights articles must be seen as opportunities, and hence widows' rights articles ensured legal protection for widows.

Thirdly, craft trade culture is studied by taking a closer look at Lübeck. The everyday practice of craftsfolk is examined, with the help of narrative source material. In particular I ask how widows' right articles were applied in practice and what dispute situations can be observed. In addition, the work identity of craftswomen and craftsmen is examined. It is my hypothesis that in previous research gender hierarchies and the masculinity of artisanal world has been overemphasized. Using Lübeck as a case study I shall also examine the interaction between the city council, the crafts, and individual craft members. This is significant because it helps us to detect the dynamics within craft trade culture and how various actors negotiated on norms, rules, values, and their goals.

In this study I use both normative source material, craft ordinances and records of the city council, as well as narrative sources, Lübeck petition letters. I have analysed all the preserved craft ordinances from the four cities which stem from the time period of 1350–1620. These 178 craft ordinances built the core of the study, thus they set the framework within which the narrative letters are analysed. The detailed Appendices at the end of the study list all the used craft ordinances, their editions, repository places, and archival signums. This combination of sources offers a good basis to study widows' opportunities in principle and in practice. Moreover, craft ordinances build the context in which the petition letters are analysed. Furthermore, the letters enable a deeper study of contemporary values and mentalities than the craft ordinances. Throughout the study quantitative, qualitative, and linguistic methods are used together with comparison, a case study, and tripartite classification mentioned above.

The concept of *craft trade culture* is understood broadly meaning the system how handicraft production was organized; how various artisans within the same profession were organized into crafts; how craft ordinances regulated various aspects of production and the everyday life of the artisans. In addition, I consider craft trade culture to include a set of norms, values, and practices that guided individual craft members. *Gender* is understood as a cultural and social construction, which encompasses more than just the physical differences between biological sexes. Biological differences form the base but cultural and social norms and practices that define female and male work, duties, rights, and obligations are more important. An essential element of this social gender is that its definitions vary and change according

to time and space. What is feminine and what is masculine can be defined differently in various geographical areas, cultures, social contexts, and religious confessions as well as in various times. Masculinities and femininities also vary according to other categories and attributes such as profession, social status, age, personal character, and marital status, and so forth. Work and particularly work conditions were one of the factors that created, enforced, or diminished gender roles.

This study finds that craft trade culture in late medieval and early modern cities bordering the Baltic Sea was flexible and aimed for the continuation of production at several different levels. At the same time craft trade culture was a strongly protectionist culture. Furthermore, within this protectionism there existed elements, which are often used to characterize modern market economies – individual profit seeking and competition. Hence, the study reveals that craft trade culture was full of contradictions. Additionally, within craft trade culture other categories and aims outweighed the gender aspect. It was more important to ensure the continuation of production than fret over the gender of the master. Consequently, widows' rights articles in the craft ordinances were not means to restrict widows' and respectively women's work. Instead, widows' rights articles strove to secure the continuity of production and to protect craft trade production which was based on household workshops. Moreover, as we must abandon the bipolar notion of gender, we must also reject the dichotomy of comparing 'traditional societies' to societies with (free) market economy. The investigation conducted here reveals that craft trade culture was at the same time affected by the aims of the crafts to ensure equal premises and resources for all their members and a common well-being of its members as well as by the competition between craft members and self-interest. The majority of gender and economic historians have underlined the inflexibility of craft organizations arguing that this rigid system hindered the development of market and dynamic economy. However, the current study proves that craft trade culture was a flexible system that adapted to changing conditions and left room for negotiation.

In this study I introduce a new approach and classification to urban organization called *tripartite classification*. According to it, three different organization types existed in late medieval and early modern towns bordering the Baltic Sea: professional crafts, composite artisan guilds and merchant guilds, and devotional organizations, which I call devotional guilds. The analysis in this study demonstrates that the organization type clearly affected not only female membership and widows' possibilities but other questions like political participation, military, and defence as well as religious participation.

Craft ordinances granted widows five different possibilities to continue their trade. In previous research particularly the supporters of subordination theory have



considered these widows' rights as restrictions. However, the findings of the current study do not support these notions. Widows took advantage of these possibilities and were aware of the rights granted to them in the craft ordinances. Despite the questions that widowhood raised among contemporaries, widows could run their workshops independently and/or with the help of their children and/or hired workforce. Some crafts considered widows capable of training apprentices and at least in some crafts widows participated in craft assemblies and festivities. Furthermore, the analysis of Lübeck petition letters exposes that some widows exceeded the customary time limit granted to them in craft ordinances and continued their trade for several years, even 19. This demonstrates that widows were an integral part of craft trade culture. Moreover, the main aim of craft organizations was not to restrict women's work but to ensure the continuity of craft production and economic welfare of its members.

# Suomenkielinen tiivistelmä

## Protektionismi, jatkuvuus ja sukupuoli – Käsityöläisten yrittäjäkulttuuri Itämeren alueella (1300–1500-luvuilla)

Väitöskirjassani tutkin käsityöläisten yrittäjäkulttuuria Itämeren alueen kaupungeissa myöhäiskeskiajalla ja uuden ajan alussa. Toisin sanoen selvitän, mitkä olivat yrittäjäkulttuurin keskeisimmät elementit, arvot ja toimintatavat. Yrittäjäkulttuuria tarkastelen käsityöläisleskien kautta: mitkä olivat käsityöläisleskien mahdollisuudet jatkaa ammatissaan miehensä kuoltua ja käyttivätkö he näitä mahdollisuuksia hyödykseen. Tarkemmin ottaen tutkimus keskittyy Tukholman, Tallinnan, Riian ja Lyypekin kaupunkeihin noin vuosina 1350–1620. Aiemmassa tutkimuksessa tuon ajan yrittäjäkulttuuri ja ammattikuntalaitosjärjestelmä on nähty staattisena rakennelmana, joka ei pystynyt sopeutumaan muutoksiin ja joka vahvisti patriarkaalista yhteiskuntajärjestystä sekä pyrki rajoittamaan naisten työntekoa. Tutkimukseni haastaa tämän näkemyksen ja ehdottaa uudenlaisen tulkinnan. Väitöskirjani tarjoaa ensimmäistä kertaa laajan vertailevan tutkimuksen Itämeren alueen kaupunkien käsityöläiskulttuurista ja lesken asemasta. Lisäksi se yhdistää eri näkökulmia uudella tavalla, sillä hansakaupunkien käsityöläisiä ei aiemmin ole tarkasteltu yrittäjyyden, taloushistorian ja sukupuolihistorian näkökulmista. Tutkimukseni tarjoaa täysin uuden lähestymistavan hansa-alueen kaupunkihistoriaan, sillä aiempi hansatutkimus on keskittynyt lähinnä tarkastelemaan hansaliittoa taloudellisena ja poliittisena mahtina tai käsitellyt kauppiaita ja heidän verkostojaan.

Tutkimukseni päätavoite on syventää ymmärrystämme myöhäiskeskiajan ja uuden ajan alun kaupunkiyhteisöstä ja käsityöläisten arkielämästä. Käsityöläisten yrittäjäkulttuurin ja käsityöläisammattikuntien tutkiminen on tärkeää, sillä käsityöläiset muodostivat noin neljäsosan kaupunkien asukkaista. Ilman käsityöläisiä kaupungit eivät olisi pystyneet toimimaan ja kukoistamaan. Käsityötuotanto tapahtui pääosin perhepiirissä, kodin yhteydessä olevassa verstaassa, ja käsityöläiset olivat järjestyneet ammattikunniksi ammattialoittain. Jokaisella ammattikunnalla oli omat sääntönsä, joissa säänneltiin pääosin työntekoa, kuten oppipoikien määrää, mestariksi pääsyn vaatimuksia ja lesken oikeuksia, mutta myös vapaa-aikaa sekä hautajaisia. Käsityöläisammattikunnat läpäisivät elämän jokaisen osa-alueen: ammattikunnat hallitsivat työmarkkinoita, järjestivät ammatillista koulutusta, osallis-

tuivat kaupungin sotilaalliseen puolustukseen, huolehtivat osaltaan oikeudenhoidosta ja monista hallinnollisista asioista, ylläpitivät kaupunkirauhaa, järjestivät köyhäinhoitoa, tarjosivat jäsenilleen sosiaalista yhdessäoloa sekä jopa mahdollisuuden uskonnollisen hartauden osoittamiseen pitämällä yllä alttareita kirkoissa. Ammattikuntien merkitys jokapäiväiselle elämälle oli kiistaton. Aiemmassa hansatutkimuksessa käsityöläisammattikunnat ja niiden jäsenet on kuitenkin jätetty marginaaliseen rooliin.

Lähden jäljittämään yrittäjäkulttuuria kolmea polkua pitkin. *Ensiksi* (luvussa kaksi) tarkastelen, millaisia järjestöjä kaupungeissa toimi ja miten niitä on määritelty sekä aikalaisten toimesta että historiantutkimuksen piirissä. Usein erilaisia termejä kuten kilta, ammattikunta ja veljeskunta on tutkimuksessa käytetty synonyymeinä ilman tarkempaa määrittelyä. Tämä on kuitenkin johtanut väärin tulkintoihin esimerkiksi käsityöläisnaisten toimivuudesta ja asemasta näissä järjestöissä. Väitän, että naisten jäsenyys, toimintamahdollisuudet ja lesken mahdollisuus jatkaa ammatissaan riippui siitä, mikä järjestötyyppi oli kyseessä. *Toiseksi* (luvussa kolme) tarkastelen lesken mahdollisuuksia jatkaa ammatissaan ja leskeyden merkitystä yrittäjäkulttuurin kontekstissa. Näkökulma vaihtuu instituutioista lesken perspektiiviin. Analysoin ja vertailen, mitä vaihtoehtoja ja mahdollisuuksia käsityöläisammattikuntien säännöt tarjosivat leskille. Aiempi tutkimus haastetaan kahdelta osin: väitän, että ammattikuntien säännöissä olevat leskipykälät, jotka säätelivät lesken oikeuksia jatkaa ammatissaan, pitää nähdä mahdollisuuksina eikä niiden tarkoitus ollut rajoittaa naisten työntekeä. Toiseksi väitän, että leskien mahdollisuudet jatkaa ammatissaan eivät radikaalisti huonontuneet tultaessa 1600-luvulle. Aiempi tutkimus on usein esittänyt, että myöhäiskeskiaika oli nk. kulta-aikaa naisten työnteolle ja uuden ajan alussa vahvistuneen patriarkalismin ja muuttuneiden tuotantorakenteiden myötä naisten mahdollisuudet itsenäiseen työnteokoon heikkenivät. Tutkimukseen valittu pitkä aikaväli mahdollistaa juuri muutosten ja jatkuvuuksien tarkastelun. Lisäksi se rikkoo perinteisen historiantutkimuksen aikarajoja. *Kolmanneksi* (luvuissa neljä ja viisi) yrittäjäkulttuuria jäljitetään kohdistamalla tarkastelu Lyypekkiin. Narratiivisen lähdemateriaalin avulla tarkastelen käsityöläisten arkielämän käytäntöjä. Miten ammattikuntasääntöjen leskipykälää sovellettiin käytännössä ja hyödynsivätkö lesket sääntöjen suomia mahdollisuuksia? Erilaiset kiistat kertovat meille niistä arvoista, joita aikalaiset pitivät tärkeinä sekä siitä, miten eri toimijat (raati, ammattikunta, yksittäiset jäsenet) keskustelivat näistä arvoista. Väitän, että aiemmassa tutkimuksessa sukupuolen merkitystä ja käsityöläiskulttuurin maskuliinisuutta on ylikorostettu.

Tutkimuksen pääaineistona ovat käsityöläisammattikuntien säännöt. Niitä on säilynyt verrattain paljon Itämeren alueen kaupungeista ja ne tarjoavat hyvän lähtökohdan yrittäjäkulttuurin tutkimukseen, sillä säännöt määrittelivät ne raamit, joiden puitteissa käsityöläisen tuli harjoittaa ammatiaan. Vaikka säännöt ovat

normatiivinen lähdeaineisto, ne kuvastavat aikalaisten arvoja, huolia ja mentaliteettia. Ne eivät syntyneet tyhjiössä vaan olivat ratkaisuja syntyneisiin ongelmiin ja väline, jolla yrityskulttuuria pyrittiin sääntelemään ja organisoimaan. Lisäksi niihin aika ajoin tehtiin muutoksia ja lisäyksiä. Tutkimusta varten olen analysoinut kaikki Tukholmasta, Tallinnasta Riistä ja Lyypekistä säilyneet ammattikuntasäännöt aikaväliltä 1350–1620, yhteensä 178 sääntöä. Lisäksi olen analysoinut erilaisten kiltojen ja uskonnollisten kiltojen statuutteja. Täydentävänä lähdeaineistona olen käyttänyt kaupungin raatien pöytäkirjoja ja käsityöläisten Lyypekin raadille lähettämiä anomuskirjeitä. Narratiivinen kirjemateriaali tarjoaa mahdollisuuden tarkastella käsityöläisten arkielämää käytännössä ja sitä, miten ammattikuntasääntöjä sovellettiin arjessa. Valittu eri lähdemateriaalinen yhdistelmä tarjoaa hedelmällisen pohjan tutkia käsityöläisten yrittäjäkulttuuria aikana, jolloin suurin osa säilyneistä menneisyyden jäänteistä liittyy yhteiskunnan ylimpiin luokkiin kuten aateliin tai kaupungeissa suurkauppiaisiin.

Työssä hyödynnetään useita eri menetelmiä. Tutkimuksessa yhdistellään sekä kvantitatiivista että kvalitatiivista analyysia, vertailevaa metodologiaa, lingvististä analyysia sekä tapaustutkimusta. Lisäksi käytän omaa innovaatiotani, kaupunkijärjestöjen kolmijakoa (*tripartite classification*), joka on sekä laajan sääntövertailun **tulos** että **menetelmä**, jonka avulla yrittäjäkulttuuria tarkastellaan. Usean eri menetelmän ja lähdemateriaalin yhdistäminen tarjoaa parhaan mahdollisen lähtökohdan laajalle vertailevalle tutkimukselle.

Kaupunkijärjestöjen kolmijako paljasti, että tutkittaessa mitä kaupunkielämän osa-aluetta tahansa on syytä erottaa toisistaan käsityöläisammattikunnat, kauppiaiden killat ja käsityöläisten komposiittikillat sekä uskonnolliset killat. Nämä kolme järjestötyyppiä erosivat toisistaan sekä jäsenistönsä että toimintojensa perusteella. Erityisesti naisten toimintamahdollisuudet ja jäsenyys riippui suuresti siitä, mikä järjestö oli kyseessä. Esimerkiksi naisten täysjäsenyys mainittiin yksiselitteisesti vain uskonnollisten kiltojen statuuteissa, käsityöläisten komposiittikilloissa naiset olivat ”passiivisia” jäseniä osallistuen vain tiettyihin juhliin ja käsityöläisammattikuntien säännöissä merkinnät naisten jäsenyydestä vaihtelivat. Suurin ero näiden kolmen järjestön välillä oli se, että ammattikuntien säännöt keskittyivät työnteon sääntelemiseen, kun taas kauppiaiden killoissa ja käsityöläisten komposiittikilloissa pääpaino oli yhdessäolossa, juhlissa ja keskinäisessä avunannossa. Uskonnolliset killat puolestaan keskittyivät edesmenneiden jäsenten muistamiseen, suojeleuspyhityksen palvontaan ja hartaustilaisuuksiin sekä seuralliseen yhdessäoloon. Lesken mahdollisuudet jatkaa ammatissaan mainittiin ainoastaan käsityöläisammattikuntien säännöissä.

Käsityöläisammattikuntien säännöt tarjosivat leskelle viisi eri vaihtoehtoa miten leski saattoi jatkaa ammatissaan. Seuraavassa vaihtoehdot esitellään edeten yleisim-

mästä aina vähiten esiintyneeseen vaihtoehtoon. Ensimmäisen ja kaikista yleisimmän vaihtoehdon mukaan leski sai jatkaa ammatissaan yhden vuoden ja päivän, jonka jälkeen hänen tuli joko mennä uudelleen naimisiin ja virallisesti siirtää mestarinoikeus uudelle aviomiehelle tai luopua ammatistaan. Toiseksi yleisimmän vaihtoehdon perusteella leski sai jatkaa ammatissaan ilman erityisiä rajoituksia. Joissain ammattikunnissa tähän vaihtoehtoon kuului lisäys, jonka mukaan leski sai jatkaa ilman rajoituksia niin kauan kunnes hän meni uudelleen naimisiin. Kolmanneksi yleisin vaihtoehto puolestaan määrittä, että leski sai jatkaa ammatissaan yhdessä lastensa kanssa. Neljänneksi yleisimmän vaihtoehdon mukaan leski sai jatkaa ammatissaan yhdessä kisällin kanssa. Ja viidenneksi yleisimmän vaihtoehdon perusteella leski sai jatkaa ammatissaan niin kauan kunnes oli työstänyt valmiiksi kaikki materiaalit, jotka oli ostettu yhdessä edesmenneen miehen kanssa. Tutkimukseni osoittaa kiistatta, että lesket usein hyödynsivät heille tarjottuja mahdollisuuksia, mutta joskus myös viittasivat säännöille kintaalla ja esimerkiksi jatkoivat ammatissaan vuosia menemättä uudelleen naimisiin. Tämä osoittaa, että ammattikuntasääntöjä ei voida pitää pelkästään rajoituksina naisten työnteolle. Lisäksi tutkimukseni perusteella voidaan todeta, että lesket olivat kiinteä ja hyväksytty osa käsityöläisten yrittäjäkulttuuria. Pitkän aikavälin tarkastelu myös paljasti, etteivät lesken oikeudet jatkaa ammatissaan huonontuneet tultaessa 1600-luvulle vaan osa sääntöpykälistä jopa muuttui edullisemmaksi leskille.

Tutkimukseni perusteella käsityöläisten yrittäjäkulttuuri myöhäiskeskiajan ja uuden ajan alun Itämeren alueen kaupungeissa oli joustavaa ja sen tärkein elementti oli tuotannon jatkuvuuden turvaaminen. Samalla yrittäjäkulttuuri oli sangen protektionistista: ammattikunnat pyrkivät turvaamaan yhtäläiset edut jäsenilleen ja varmistamaan ammattikunnan menestyksen. Kuitenkin ulkonaisen protektionismin sisällä oli havaittavissa kilpailua ja oman edun tavoittelua – piirteitä, jotka usein liitetään nykyaikaiseen markkinatalouteen. Juuri tällaiset ristiriidat olivat tyypillisiä tuon ajan urbaanille yrittäjäkulttuurille. Tutkimukseni myös osoittaa, että edellä mainitut pyrkimykset, erityisesti tuotannon jatkuvuuden takaaminen, olivat tärkeämpiä kuin mestarin sukupuoli. Lyypekin anomuskirjeet paljastivat, että näennäisesti sukupuoleen liittyvien kiistojen takana vaikuttivat usein muut syyt, kuten kiista mestareiden lukumäärästä, kysymys puutteellisesta koulutuksesta tai jonkun ammattikunnan jäsenen suuremmat resurssit. Vaikka ajallista ja paikallista vaihtelua ilmeni ja esimerkiksi lesken mahdollisuudet jatkaa ammatissaan vaihtelivat ammattikunnittain, laaja vertaileva tutkimukseni osoitti, että käsityöläisten yrittäjäkulttuuri Itämeren alueella oli sangen yhteneväistä ja edellä mainitut elementit olivat havaittavissa kaikissa tutkimissani kaupungeissa.