

**IMMIGRATION TO LATE MEDIEVAL  
BERGEN**

**A STUDY OF NAMES AND POSITIONS  
IN AN INTERNATIONAL CITY**

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## Summary in Norwegian

Denne studien er et forsøk på å besvare følgende spørsmål: *Hvordan endret immigrasjonsmønstret seg i senmiddelalderens Bergen, og hva var de mulige grunnene til disse endringene?*

Norsk senmiddelalderforskning har ofte vært mest opptatt av hvordan folketallet endret seg i perioden, hva som førte til befolkningsreduksjonene, og hvordan disse påvirket landet og staten Norge. De verkene som har studert migrasjon nærmere har ofte sett på hvordan innvandrerne påvirket samfunnet, i tillegg til på hvordan samfunnet påvirket innvandrerne og på hva som førte til innvandring i første omgang. Få har forsøkt å legge kvantitative studier som grunnlag for teori.

I denne oppgaven har jeg brukt dokumenter som beskriver leie, eierskap og transaksjoner av grunner og bygninger i Bergen mellom 1300 og 1599, da jeg anser eiendomsmarkedet for å være et av de første stedene endringer i innvandring ville være merkbare. Ved å se på navnene som er nevnt i disse dokumentene har jeg forsøkt å anslå hvor navnenes eiere kom fra. Med disse navnene som grunnlag søker jeg å få et inntrykk av endringer i immigrasjonsmønstret ved å se på endringer i forholdene mellom nordiske og ikke-nordiske navn i perioden.

Ikke uventet er en stor overvekt av navnene nordiske, men med en svak økning i andelen ikke-nordiske navn, særlig tyske, fram til midten av fjortenhundretallet. Mellom 1450 og 1499 er det en sterk økning i andelen ikke-nordiske navn, mens andelen faller drastisk den første halvdel av femtenhundretallet. Fra midten av femtenhundretallet er det igjen en skarp økning. Det er vanskelig å finne én enkelt grunn til disse endringene, men både Riksrådets kontroll med utenlandske kjøpmenn i byen, kongens politikk, graden av politisk og religiøs uro, økonomiske utviklinger og hyppigheten av pestepidemier ser ut til å ha påvirket innvandringsstrømmen til Bergen. Andelen av utenlandske navn er enda lavere blant vitner og utstedere enn blant kjøpere, leietakere og eiere, og dette holder seg relativt jevnt perioden gjennom.

Jeg tror at denne og liknende studier, både av eiendomsdokumenter og av andre kildetyper, kan forbedre vår forståelse av endringer i immigrasjonsmønstret, både i Bergen og andre steder, noe som igjen kan føre til bedret forståelse av endringene samfunnet gjennomgikk i senmiddelalderen.

## 1. Introduction

The plague that struck Europe in the mid-fourteenth century, and its effects on the societies of late medieval Europe, have long been important areas of study for Norwegian historians as well as scholars of other disciplines and origins. In Norway, the discussion has often been concentrated around studies of the agrarian crisis of the late Middle Ages, and around the question of whether or not the post-plague situation was in some way more severe in Norway than in other areas. It has been argued that Norway lost a larger proportion of its population than other countries, and the demographic decline has been connected to the economical and political decline which led to the union of the kingdoms of Norway and Denmark.<sup>1</sup>

Steinar Imsen and Jørn Sandnes have estimated that the population of Norway counted between 300,000 and 450,000 before the arrival of the Black Death around 1350, but that by the sixteenth century, the number had dropped to between 140,000 and 200,000, and probably closer to the smaller number than the larger. These numbers excluded the town dwellers, which Imsen and Sandnes estimated to have made up approximately five percent of the population. The towns and cities, they argued, had probably been as badly affected by the plague as more rural areas, if not worse. However, they excluded Bergen, where they argued that the demographic decline and its negative impact on society and economy had been less severe, due to the city's Hanseatic trade and the export of stockfish from the north.<sup>2</sup>

Immigration to Bergen has been explored before, although perhaps mainly in the Early Modern period, and "the effects of the late medieval demographic crisis on the towns of Scandinavia remains little understood."<sup>3</sup> With this dissertation, I seek to contribute towards remedying this shortcoming.

### 1.1. Subject and Research Question

In the Norwegian historical tradition, a lot has been said and written about the plague itself, when it arrived, where it first struck, when and where it returned, and how many lives it claimed. A lot has also been done on the agrarian crisis in late medieval Norway, and the

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<sup>1</sup> Steinar Imsen, *Noregs nedgang* (Oslo, 2002), pp. 79-80

<sup>2</sup> Steinar Imsen and Jørn Sandnes in Knut Mykland (ed.), *Norges historie. Bind 4. Avfolkning og union 1319-1448* (Drammen, 1997), pp. 107-108

<sup>3</sup> Göran Dahlback, 'Chapter 20: The Towns' in Knut Helle (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Scandinavia. Volume I. Prehistory to 1520* (Bergen/Cambridge, 2003), pp. 612

effects of the demographic decline on the rural settlement patterns, economy and politics of the period. Less research has been devoted to the survivors, the part of the population that was not missing, but living in a society affected by its time, or on the effects of the plague on the urban population of Norway, with the exception of those involved with the Hanseatic trade in some way.

As a study of all the possible effects of the late medieval demographic changes in Norway would be too massive a goal for one thesis, both in terms of space and time, I will focus on Bergen, and on how immigration to this city was affected by changes and developments in the society, economy and the political situation during the period. The goals of my study can be divided into one main research question, with one additional research question:

*How did the pattern of immigration to Bergen change over late medieval period?*

*If there were changes, what are the possible reasons for these?*

## 1.2. Chosen Limitations

Although a study of immigration to all of Norway's more urban areas would have been interesting, I have chosen to limit my study to the city of Bergen, as this was large and to some extent international (at least with regards to trade) both in the high Middle Ages and in the early Modern period, as well as in the late Middle Ages. Although it was in a somewhat unique situation compared to other Scandinavian cities, it did not develop in a vacuum. The city, its society, community, population and demographic makeup, was influenced by the rest of Norway and Europe as a whole, and in turn influenced the outside world. Changes to the world outside Bergen would influence Bergen as well. Immigration, too, does not take place in a vacuum, but affects and is affected by changes in politics, religion and other areas of society, and likely was so in the late Middle Ages as well.

I have also chosen to limit this study to a period beginning in 1300 and ending in 1599. This is a fairly long time period, spanning three centuries characterised by several important changes and developments, such as the Reformation and the re-discovery and beginning exploitation of the American continent. The late medieval period is usually said to have lasted from around 1350 to 1536-37 in Norway, when the Reformation was introduced, or to around the mid-sixteenth century. However, I have chosen to begin my study around

1300, to be able to draw the lines from before the brunt of the late medieval demographic crisis hit Norway. I will also include the last part of the sixteenth century, because I wish to follow the development of immigration trends into the early Modern era, to explore whether the changes in immigration trends in this period were a continuation of trends in the late medieval period or not.

This study will focus on permanent immigration. The presence of Hanseatic merchants was very important to Bergen in the period, and I do not wish to deny this or ignore the impact of the Hanse. However, I will not be focusing my study on the Hansards who moved to Bergen from northern Germany without intentions of settling in Norway.

In this, I am making a distinction between “immigrants” and for example “refugees”. While both groups are moving to a different area or country in search of a better, more stable and more secure life, I am mainly concerned with those who settled permanently in Bergen.

This thesis will not spend time and space discussing the reasons for the demographic decline in the late Middle Ages, on whether it was more severe in Norway than in other countries, and whether it was a result of plague, climate change, cultural changes or a combination of these and other reasons. However, it may attempt to explore whether some of these reasons affected the changes in immigration during the period.

### 1.3. Chapter Overview

This thesis will first give a brief overview of the historiography on the subject of demography and on the use of names as indicators of origins and migration, and the sources that have been utilised will be presented and described. It will also present the method I have developed, partially based on methods used in similar studies, and include a discussion on the representativity of this material and this study. Chapter two will be a demonstration of my method and of the extraction and defining of the data I will be using from the sources that have been studied. Chapter three will include a statistical and visual presentation of the data that has been collected and processed, as well as an analysis of this data. The analysis of any possible trends that might come to light in this process will take place in chapter four, and any conclusions that might be drawn from this study will be found in chapter five. All translations of quotes from Norwegian to English are my own.

## 1.4. Historiography

The late medieval period was a period of change, both in Norway and in Europe as a whole, and this change is often, although not always, attributed to the plague epidemic often known as the Black Death. This plague spread through the south of Europe in 1347, reaching the British Isles in 1348 and hitting Scandinavia in 1349-50. Historians have been unable to ascertain how many died in the first wave, or indeed in the following waves of the following centuries, but a reduction of between 30 and 70 percent, and often somewhere around the 50 percent mark, seems a common estimate.<sup>4</sup> The effects of these changes, as well as the reasons for them, have long been important fields of historical study. This chapter will provide a brief overview of the Norwegian historical tradition regarding the study of the changes to the society and population of late medieval Norway. As my study focuses on Bergen and Norway, I will concentrate on the work, approaches and theories of Norwegian historians, with a few comparisons to historians of other schools and nationalities.

### 1.4.1. The Agrarian School of History

The Norwegian Agrarian School is possibly the closest Norwegian historians have come to the *Annales* School of history, with its breakthrough in the 1960s and 1970s. The *Annales* School focused on long term social history, as well as the importance of structures and mentalities on the changes and developments in history. Not only do the two schools share the same research topics and interests, but both have also made use of the retrospective method and they share a focus on structures.<sup>5</sup> However, it would be more correct to describe the two schools as parts of the same movement, rather than as one inspiring the other. The Agrarian School appears to have been more interested in uncovering the reasons of the demographic decline that took place in the late Middle Ages, rather than the effects of it.

A long important element of study in the Agrarian School is the so-called late medieval agrarian crisis in Norway, when farms were abandoned and land uncultivated, and the decline of the state, arguably due to loss of revenue from the land. Sverre Bagge, in his

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<sup>4</sup> See Ernst Sars, *Udsigt over den Norske historie*, volume 3 (Christiania og København, 1887), p. 2, Ole Georg Moseng, Erik Opsahl, Gunnar I. Pettersen and Erling Sandmo, *Norsk historie I. 730-1537* (Oslo, 1999), pp. 282, 299-301, and Lars Walløe, *Plague and Population: Norway 1350-1750* (Oslo, 1995), translation of 1982 article by Alison Coulthard, p. 9

<sup>5</sup> Sverre Bagge, 'Udsigt og innhogg. 150 års forskning om eldre norske historie', *Historisk Tidsskrift* 1 (1996), p. 71



essay from 1996, argued that in the study of this agrarian crisis, ‘Agrarian history contributed to solving the classical national problem of the decline of the Norwegian state. Alongside the democratic and left-wing traits of Norwegian historical research, this is probably an important part of the explanation of the strong position of agrarian history in Norway’<sup>6</sup> The study of the demographic decline, agrarian crisis, the decline of the Norwegian state, its reasons and effects provided a sense of national continuity and a justification of the national state to the nineteenth century historians who established the field.

Two important early contributors to the Agrarian School were Rudolf Keyser and Peter Andreas Munch, who argued for political reasons for the declining state, and that the royal absolutism which was introduced after the civil war of the twelfth century eventually led to the loss of independence in the late Middle Ages.<sup>7</sup> Ernst Sars was the first Norwegian historian to attempt an estimate of how the plague had affected the population. He stated that according to his calculations, approximately one third of the population of Norway perished, which was not more than in the rest of Scandinavia. He argued that the demographic decline, therefore, could not be the direct cause of the national decline<sup>8</sup>, and turned, as Keyser and Munch, to politics. According to Sars, the nation declined due to the lack of a strong, national nobility<sup>9</sup>, an unfavourable economic situation caused by a shortage of workers, and Hanseatic dominance in Norwegian commercial life.<sup>10</sup>

Sars’ death rate calculations did not remain unopposed, and the interest of historians gradually turned from merely looking for political or economical reasons for the late medieval changes to looking at the demographic decline and the effects of it on the population as well. There was also a movement towards looking at the demographic changes and the agrarian crisis in themselves, without necessarily tying them to the political changes in late medieval Norway. Sigvald Hasund used the retrospective method on deserted farms in an attempt to use later records and estimations of the processes and mechanisms that affect population to estimate the demographic fluctuations in the period. He calculated his own death rate estimate, and arrived at a much higher death rate than Sars.<sup>11</sup> He argued, therefore,

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<sup>6</sup> Bagge, ‘Udsigt...’, p. 52

<sup>7</sup> Bagge, ‘Udsigt...’, p. 40

<sup>8</sup> Sars, *Udsigt...*, p. 2

<sup>9</sup> Leidulf Mjelve, *Historie. Historieskriving frå antikken til i dag* (Oslo, 2010), p. 152

<sup>10</sup> Sars, *Udsigt...*, p. 17

<sup>11</sup> Sigvald Hasund, ‘Den store mannedauden’ from *Noregs bondesoge II* (1920) in Andreas Holmsen and Jarle Simensen (ed.), *Norske historikere i utvalg. 4: Norges nedgang*.

that the plague was the reason for the national decline. This retrospective method was further developed by Asgaut Steinnes, among others. He believed that Norway had been a poor country already before the plague arrived in the mid-fourteenth century.<sup>12</sup> He argued that the plague must have been even more of a disaster than historians so far had believed<sup>13</sup>, and according to him, the ‘main reason for the decline and loss of power in Norway in the last centuries of the Middle Ages are to be found in the country and the people itself’.<sup>14</sup>

Another user of the retrospective method was Andreas Holmsen. The demographic decline and the agrarian crisis were central in his explanation of the changes in late medieval Norway. With Holmsen, there was also a slight move towards structural agricultural history, towards the study of the effects of these changes, as well as their explanations and causes.<sup>15</sup> This move was taken further by historians such as Kåre Lunden and Jørn Sandnes.

Sandnes, together with Steinar Imsen, argued that the demographic decline, rather than being the reason for the agrarian crisis, was a part of it. They pointed to the demographic decline which seems to have taken place in Europe already in the first half of the fourteenth century, before the plague, and pointed to climate change as being one possible reason for this. They also argued that the high pressure situation around the mid-fourteenth century might not have been the normal situation, and that the sudden decrease in population in fact brought the population down to a normal level.<sup>16</sup>

A large number of historians, including Sandnes and Holmsen, were involved in the Scandinavian Research Project on Deserted Farms and Villages (*Ødegårdsprosjektet*), which was an ambitious project that lasted from the Nordic Historians’ Congress in Bergen in 1964, and was finished in the early 1980s. It was an attempt at working with a greater perspective, and to study climate change, patterns of settlement and ownership, and changes in economy to make possible comparisons across borders and discuss why the farms were abandoned in the first place.<sup>17</sup>

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*Senmiddelalderen* (Oslo, 1968), pp. 250-253

<sup>12</sup> Asgaut Steinnes, *Gamal skatteskipnad i Noreg. Bind I* (1930) pp. 165-170 and *Gamal skatteskipnad i Noreg. Bind II* (1933) pp. 204-2011, and in Holmsen, *Norske historikere...*, p. 133

<sup>13</sup> Asgaut Steinnes, ‘Tiend-uppgåvone i biskop Øysteins jordebok’ from *Festskrift til Koht* (1933), pp. 144-153, in Holmsen, *Norske historikere...*, p. 271

<sup>14</sup> Steinnes, ‘Gamal skatteskipnad...’, p. 133

<sup>15</sup> Bagge, ‘Udsigt...’, p. 50-51

<sup>16</sup> Imsen and Sandnes, *Norges historie...*, pp. 135, 153

<sup>17</sup> Jørn Sandnes and Helge Salvesen, *Ødegårdstid i Norge. Det nordiske ødegårdsprosjektets norske undersøkelser* (Oslo-Bergen-Tromsø, Universitetsforlaget, 1978), p. 11

According to Holmsen in the early days of the project, its goal was ‘a co-ordinated and comparative study of patterns of settlement and land rent from c. 1300 to c. 1600, through representative analyses in each country and end with a common processing of the results’.<sup>18</sup> The project’s aim was to study the number of farms abandoned, when they were abandoned, how it happened, which farms were affected, and why they were abandoned. The “when” was particularly difficult to answer, as the use of the retrospective method was not particularly efficient in uncovering changes over time. Those who worked on the project found that among the effects of the farm abandonment were changes in agriculture, a change towards less arable farming and more animal husbandry and fishing in certain areas, drawing on sources from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

The researchers argued that if the demographic decline was the main reason for the agrarian crisis, this had to be something new to the mid-fourteenth century. They were not able to develop a multi-cause explanation due to the source situation, but found few signs of demographic decline before 1350, and none at all in the eastern parts of the country. The analysis did not uncover any other crises which might have occurred at the same time and strengthened the effects of the demographic and agricultural decline, nor did it discover several separate crises.<sup>19</sup>

The project found nothing to indicate that people after the plague gathered on a few large, central farms, or of any large-scale emigration, nor did the researchers find anything in the settlement patterns to suggest that climate change was an important reason. If anything, the research project strengthened the view of the plague as the main reason for the decline in demography and agriculture, but the researchers were unable to find any good way to compare the situation elsewhere in Europe, or to explain why the demographic depression should have such longevity.

#### 1.4.2. Demography, Bacteria and New Social History

New Social History was an important movement and shaped the historical thinking and writing of many historians, with its increased interest in women’s, children’s and family history. In Norway, New Social History in many respects introduced new methods, new questions and new topics of research, but appears to have had little direct influence on the

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<sup>18</sup> Sandnes and Salvesen, *Ødegårdstid...*, p. 14

<sup>19</sup> Sandnes, *Ødegårdstid...*, pp. 150-168

study of the population decline in late medieval Norway. However, one field evolved from the Agrarian School and was influenced by the new focus on social history; demography.

Little was done in the field of demography in Norway before 1960, but between 1970 and 1990, more than 100 master's theses were written in this field. It is somewhat in debt to French thinking, perhaps particularly the family reconstruction methods developed by Louis Henry and introduced to Norway by his student Ståle Dyrvik.<sup>20</sup> While medieval historians in for example Great Britain related demography to the history of mentality and the family, this was not done to any great extent in Norway, but demography became a way to study the effects of crises like plague and famine. This interest in demography, combined with the tradition of the Agrarian School's structural history and the Norwegian quest for a reason for the demographic, agrarian and political decline of late medieval Norway, led to an increased interest in the history of epidemics, which was important to many of the analyses throughout the 1990s and the 2000s.

The increased focus on the importance of epidemics is apparent in Lars Walløe's 1988 article, where he argued that

1. repeated plague epidemics were the primary cause of the population decline and the "agrarian crisis" in the late Middle Ages,
2. black rats and Cheopis fleas cannot have been important immediate hosts during the spread of plague in Northern Europe and particularly in Norway, and
3. survivors of plague epidemics were substantially less likely to die of plague in subsequent epidemics (...), either as a result of selection or because they acquired immunity.<sup>21</sup>

He also claimed that during the three decades following the first outbreaks of plague around 1350, plague epidemics were so frequent and severe that they alone preserved the population levels far below what could have been supported by food production. He used records of monks to argue for a certain degree of immunity in plague survivors. Walløe was somewhat interested in social history and the effects of fertility rates on the population, stating that if the fertility rates were already as high as they could be before the plague, then it would not affect the population, unless the women before 1350 were extremely malnourished or the fertility of the population was kept in check in some way.<sup>22</sup> He drew partly on Sølvi Sogner's study of

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<sup>20</sup> Bagge, 'Udsigt...', p. 70

<sup>21</sup> Lars Walløe, *Plague and Population: Norway 1350-1750* (Oslo, Department of Physiology), p. 1

<sup>22</sup> Walløe, *Plague...*, p. 33

the 1654 plague in Christiania, where she argued for an increase in the number of marriages after the plague.<sup>23</sup>

Ole Jørgen Benedictow was another scholar with an interest in the plague itself, as cause of the demographic decline, and mainly concerned with the spread and the occurrence of plague. He attempted to estimate mortality rates, and argued that recurring plagues were the main, if not sole, reason for the demographic depression.<sup>24</sup> Benedictow argued that the plague mainly arrived into the country and spread through it through the grain import and trade, as the plague bacteria *Yersina Pestis* lived on fleas that were able to survive on grain for some time.<sup>25</sup>

Kåre Lunden had argued against the specialising of agriculture and large-scale grain import already in 1988<sup>26</sup>, and he also argued against the view that the late medieval Black Death was spread by the bacteria *Yersina Pestis*, drawing on new international research into plague bacteria.<sup>27</sup> This research, which is questioning the very nature of the epidemics of the late Middle Ages, has been challenging plague historians and demographers alike, but it is still something of a controversial view. Ole Georg Moseng still argued for the traditional *Yersina Pestis* theory, even in his essay from 2009<sup>28</sup>, which was his contribution to a book where few of the other contributors adhered to this theory. His argument in this essay is very much the same as in his book from 2006, which was a very thorough study of the flexibility and adaptability of plague, of how it is transmitted to and between humans in various situations and contexts, and of how plague would behave in a Norwegian climate.<sup>29</sup> Still, his work was in some respect a reaction to the recent questions concerning the nature of this illness.

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<sup>23</sup> Walløe, *Plague...*, p. 30

<sup>24</sup> Ole Jørgen Benedictow, *Svartedauen og senere pestepidemier i Norge. Pestepidemiens historie i Norge 1348-1654* (Oslo, 2002), p. 101

<sup>25</sup> Ole Jørgen Benedictow, 'Den store manndauen og dødsregisteret fra Sigdal', *Historisk Tidsskrift*, vol. 65 (1986), p. 7 and Benedictow, *Svartedauen...*, pp. 30, 35

<sup>26</sup> Kåre Lunden, 'Kornavl og pest i Norge og Sigdal 1349-1667', *Historisk Tidsskrift*, vol. 67 (1988), pp. 399-413

<sup>27</sup> Kåre Lunden, 'Mannedauden 1349-50 i Noreg. Kronologisk og geografisk spreining', *Historisk Tidsskrift* 87 (2008), pp. 607-632

<sup>28</sup> Ole Georg Moseng, 'Climate, Ecology and Plague: the Second and the Third Pandemic Reconsidered' in Lars Bisgaard and Leif Søndergaard (eds.), *Living with the Black Death* (Odense, University Press of Southern Denmark, 2009), pp. 23-45

<sup>29</sup> Ole Georg Moseng, *Den flyktige pesten. Vilkårerne for epidemier i Norge i seinmiddelalder og tidlig nytid* (Oslo, Unipub AS, 2006)

Moseng also argued that climate change and crop failure might have influenced and contributed to the longevity of the demographic decline, relying on the fairly new fields of dendrochronology and dendroclimatology, the study of climate change through the growth rings of trees.<sup>30</sup>

#### 1.4.3. Migration

In other countries and academic cultures, the *Annales* School of History and the New Social History led to an interest in migration, social explanations for demographic changes and the effects of these. In Great Britain, P.J.P. Goldberg is perhaps the best representative of this field of late medieval demographic studies. He argued that the lack of manpower after the decimations by plague in late medieval England led to a change in agricultural practice, from having focused mainly on arable farming to more animal husbandry. His conclusions were not unlike those of the *Ødegårdsprosjektet* for Norway. He believed that this shift led to a migration from the countryside to more urban areas, mainly of young people looking for work, and especially of women who found work as live-in domestic servants until they settled and established their own family. According to Goldberg, this migration and life-cycle servanthood would have had a strengthening effect on the demographic decline, as more women could work, marry later (especially in urban areas), and have fewer children.<sup>31</sup> This argument that marriage and birth rates affect the population is not unlike the one we encountered in Walløe's work, and Goldberg was himself inspired by R. M. Smith's article 'Hypothèses sur la nuptialité en Angleterre aux XIIIe-XIVe siècles', published in the *Annales: Economies, Societes, Civilisations* in 1983.

Goldberg was also part of a new tradition of looking at and attempting to calculate the scale and impact of migration. An earlier representative of this tradition was Peter McClure, who studied the migration of rural people to urban areas in England, in an article published in 1979. In this article, McClure attempted to map out the high medieval rural to urban migration in England by studying the names of those recorded in various cities and market towns. He used locative sur- and bynames to determine patterns and changes in migration.<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>30</sup> Audun Dybdahl, 'Klima og demografiske kriser i Norge i middelalder og tidlig nytid', *Historisk Tidsskrift*, vol. 89 (2010), pp. 183-222

<sup>31</sup> P.J.P. Goldberg, *Medieval England. A Social History. 1250-1550* (London, 2004), p. 169

<sup>32</sup> Peter McClure, 'Patterns of Migration in the Late Middle Ages: The Evidence of English Place-Name Surnames', *The Economic History Review*, 32, 2 (1979), s.174-175

Similar studies, using name material to get insight into immigration and migration patterns, not only based on locative names, but on all names recorded, have been conducted for Scandinavia as well, by such scholars as Eilert Ekwall and Thelma Jexlev. Jexlev found that, of the names she found for medieval Copenhagen, 25 percent were of ‘certain German origin’, and 20 percent were of ‘certain Danish origin’.<sup>33</sup>

The main focus of such migration studies in Scandinavia have tended to be on foreign immigration, possibly due to the name customs and source situations in the Scandinavian countries.<sup>34</sup> Erik Opsahl argued that immigration was far from new to the population of late medieval Norway, but had in fact been going on for centuries.<sup>35</sup> Although much of his focus was on the immigration of foreign (most commonly Danish or German) noblemen who were given control over estates, areas and administrative positions in Norway as part of the Crown’s union politics in the period, he does spend time studying other immigrants as well, including the Hansards, Germans without ties to the Hanse, and others. Opsahl also makes some use of name analysis, not unlike that of Jexlev, to determine the origins of possible immigrants. Much like other studies where immigration is mentioned or plays an integral part, such as works of Scandinavian urban history, Opsahl is more focused on the politics governing (or attempting to govern) and the mentalities surrounding immigration, than to the actual numbers of immigrants, the proportion of immigrants compared to natives, or whether these numbers or proportions changed over the period.

Sølvi Sogner, writing about the early Modern period, also focused on foreigners in Norwegian state administration offices, and on their relationships with the native Norwegians, as well as merchants, whether they were attached to the Hanseatic League or not. However, equal, if not more, time and space was spent on immigrants who were neither traders nor artisans, such as the miners who came to Norway in the sixteenth century, and she was also concerned with the “integration process” of immigrants in Norway, on how long they retained a sense of community with fellow immigrants or the fellow immigrant descendants, and on the process of becoming a Norwegian citizen. Sogner argued that the

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<sup>33</sup> Erik Kjersgaard, *Byen og borgen Havn. Københavns historie. Bind 1, indtil år 1600* (København 1980), s. 109

<sup>34</sup> As the use of locative bynames and surnames did not become common in Norway until much later, the study of migration within Norway or the Norse area by using names from this period is a difficult, if not impossible, task.

<sup>35</sup> Erik Opsahl and Sølvi Sogner, *Norsk innvandringshistorie. Bind I. I kongenes tid 900-1814* (Oslo, 2003), p. 201

population of Norway doubled between 1500 and 1650, a period when the population of Europe in general was stagnant due to war, plague and famine.<sup>36</sup> She also argued that the population quadrupled between 1500 and 1800, something she attributed, at least in part, to immigration, and for the latter part of the early Modern period, she included some more detailed quantitative studies of immigration.

Although most works of urban history in Scandinavia include some mention of whether there was rural immigration to the urban areas, their main point of focus too has been that of foreign immigration. Grethe Authén Blom found that in the last half of the fourteenth century, there was a small stream of immigrants to the city. Possibly not a large number, but some of them were probably foreign.<sup>37</sup> Erik Kjersgaard argued that foreign apprentices were fairly common in late medieval Copenhagen<sup>38</sup>, and that foreigners were involved in town government.<sup>39</sup> He also mentioned that there was quite often some conflict between the German Hansards and the native Copenhageners, but that the aversion some Danish members of the town community felt towards the Germans was due to the power of the Hanseatic League, and not because they were foreign.<sup>40</sup>

In their work on the history of Stavanger, Geir Atle Erslund and Arne Solli argued that most of the import-export trade in the area was conducted via Bergen. They found property structures similar to those in Bergen, but on a much smaller scale, and argued that although there were some German merchants in Stavanger too, Stavanger was not an important part of any northern European trade network.<sup>41</sup> However, Stavanger's geographical position on the route between northern Germany and Bergen, and between Norway and any English ports, as well as its economical position as a marketplace for goods brought from the countryside to the city as rent payment, might have made it a popular stop, both for the people of Stavanger and for the foreign traders.<sup>42</sup>

Arnved Nedkvitne and Per G. Norseng have argued that the Hansards in Oslo were spread throughout the entire city, owning or renting property where they interacted with their

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<sup>36</sup> Opsahl and Sogner, *Norsk innvandringshistorie...*, pp. 229-230

<sup>37</sup> Grethe Authén Blom, *Trondheims historie 997-1997. Bind I. Hellig Olavs By. Middelalder til 1537* (Oslo, 1997), p. 274

<sup>38</sup> Kjersgaard, *Byen og borgen...*, p. 114

<sup>39</sup> Kjersgaard, *Byen og borgen...*, p. 116

<sup>40</sup> Kjersgaard, *Byen og borgen...*, p. 136

<sup>41</sup> Geir Atle Erslund and Arne Solli, *Stavanger bys historie 1. Bispeby og borgarby - frå opphavet til 1815* (Stavanger, 2012), pp. 203-207

<sup>42</sup> Erslund and Solli, *Stavanger...*, p. 208



regular customers<sup>43</sup>, despite the aversion some citizens apparently felt towards the Hansards. In 1456, some citizens were recorded as refusing to rent out houses or give board to Hansards.<sup>44</sup> Although the last book mentions some studies of names, this is nowhere near as thorough as Jexlev's study.<sup>45</sup>

Knut Helle's *Bergen bys historie. Bind 1* from 1982 has neither "migration" nor "immigration" in its index. However, both phenomena are mentioned. He described high medieval Bergen as something of a melting pot, with inhabitants from a variety of backgrounds, both in Norway and abroad. He argued that wealthier landowners probably originated in the areas where they owned land, and that apart from a few men from Gotland and the isles of Shetland and the Orkneys, there are no sign of foreigners among the more influential men of the town until 1350. However, Bergen received an increasing number of foreign merchants, German, English, Flemish and French, as well as from the areas surrounding the North Sea and the Baltic Sea. Some of these, in particular the Germans, spent the winter in Bergen in increasing numbers.<sup>46</sup>

Helle argued that after 1350, the population in central-western Norway was not decimated to quite the same degree as the rest of the country, possibly because of the fishing opportunities, and for parts of the region possibly because of the close proximity of Bergen.<sup>47</sup> According to Helle, there must have been at least some immigration to Bergen, seeing as the city experienced some growth in the late Middle Ages, implying that the economy and commerce of the city still did attract people from the countryside. He argued that the export and import trade might not have suffered as badly from the population decline, and that this might have attracted more immigrants. According to Helle, the German Hansards took over the entire dockside area called *Bryggen* in Bergen in the late Middle Ages. The last certain Norwegian inhabitant of that area was recorded in 1411, and by 1522 there are only German names. He also describes the disagreements the Hansards had, both with Hansards from other cities than their own home town, with Norwegians and Norwegian merchants, and with other

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<sup>43</sup> Arnved Nedkvitne and Per G. Norseng, *Oslo bys historie. Bind 1. Byen under Eikaberg. Fra byens oppkomst til 1536* (Oslo, 1991), p. 361

<sup>44</sup> Nedkvitne and Norseng, *Oslo bys...*, p. 364

<sup>45</sup> Nedkvitne and Norseng, *Oslo bys...*, p. 365

<sup>46</sup> Knut Helle, *Bergen bys historie. Bind 1. Kongssete og kjøpstad. Fra opphavet til 1536* (Bergen, 1982), pp. 449-472

<sup>47</sup> Helle, *Bergen bys...*, p. 678

foreign merchants from such places as England, the Netherlands, Scotland, the Orkneys and Shetland.

Anders Bjarne Fossen, in the second volume of *Bergen bys historie*, included both *innvandring* and *innflytting* (both approximate synonyms of *immigration*) in his index. He stated that it was very difficult to know much about the artisans who migrated from the rural areas surrounding Bergen and into the city, due to the source situation from the period, but that there seems to have been a steady rise of artisan citizens throughout the early Modern period. He argued that even though most of the the inhabitants who acquired citizenship were foreign immigrants, mainly from the German areas, they still obeyed by Norwegian laws and should be considered a Norwegian group<sup>48</sup>. Bergen was somewhat unusual compared to other Norwegian cities, according to Fossen, in that most other cities' immigrant population were dominated by the Danish, while in Bergen it was the German immigrants who were the most numerous.

When talking about immigration in this period, most works concentrate on the effects of the immigrants on the society they migrated to, and to some degree on how the larger political events and processes in the period affected immigration, but few have attempted any kind of calculation of immigration rates or tried to study changes in the immigration pattern in late medieval towns and cities. Although many Norwegian works of urban history include some use of foreign names in their mention of immigration, none have attempted a study like those of McClure or Jexlev. I believe a study of late medieval names in Norway, in the city of Bergen, which I have chosen for my project, will not only explore a new and possibly useful way to use the sources available for this period, but might produce valuable insight into the immigration patterns, and be useful both in understanding the societies that the immigrants moved to, and those they left behind.

### 1.5. The Sources and their Challenges

To be able to study immigration to Bergen between 1300 and 1599 by looking at the names from the period, I need sources that include many names, which documents a part of city life that was likely affected by immigration, and which spans the entire period.

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<sup>48</sup> Anders Bjarne Fossen, *Bergen bys historie. Borgerskapets by: 1536-1800* (Bergen, 1979), pp. 65-66 and 233-237

### 1.5.1. The Late Medieval Immigration Source Situation

The ideal kind of document to use in this setting would be some sort of survey, poll or immigrant register. With such sources, if they included the birthplaces or origins of those mentioned, we would not even have to rely on the names. However, such sources do not exist for the period. The Citizens' Register, *Bergens Borgerbog*, is perhaps the closest we get, and has indeed been used in migration studies. The register does not record all immigrants, however, it records only the men who were able to or thought it worth their while to buy citizenship, and no women were recorded at all. More importantly, it was only introduced in 1550, and only really became a trustworthy source after 1600. It can still be useful to compare studies based on the *Borgerbog* to my study, and to use the names and nationalities of those recorded to control my own name analysis.

The 1520-21 Tithe Records have been used to acquire an insight into the demography of Norway, by Audun Dybahl among others.<sup>49</sup> The main problem with this source, is that, although it mentions many names, it does not allow us to study any developments. It is the snapshot of one point in the period, and quite late in the period at that, but could possibly be combined with other sources.

Another possible source, and the one I will be using, is the property documents from Bergen for the period. These include cadastres, wills, and letters of transactions and agreements regarding the selling, renting and gifting of plots and buildings, whole or in part, in Bergen. The large majority of these letters and documents were recorded by Geir Atle Ersland in his 2011 book, these include documents that record property transactions or people living in or owning specific properties in Bergen that can be found in *Diplomatarium Norvegicum* volumes XXII and XXIII. Most are published in *Diplomatarium Norvegicum*, *Norske Herredags-Dombøger*, *Norse Rigs-Registrarer*, *Norges Gamle Love* and *Bergen Historiske Forening Skrifter*, while some are unpublished, and can be found in *Bergen Byarkiv*, the archive of the University of Bergen library, *Norsk Magasin*, *Eske Billes arkiv* and *Norges Riksarkiv*. I will be using a cadastre from 1463, which records the names of those who rented plots from the abbey of Munkeliv in Bergen. This cadastre is one of three editions that have survived. One of the other books, which is dated 1427 but possibly shows the situation as early as in 1320, mentions 63 properties that are not mentioned in the

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<sup>49</sup> Audun Dybdahl, *Tiendepengeskatten som kilde til folk og samfunn ca. 1520. Med alle skatteyttere fra Sunnfjord til Namdalen* (Trondheim, 2005), p. 229

1463-cadastre. This has led to the belief that the 1463-book reflects on the actual situation in the 1460s, and is not a copy of an older record.<sup>50</sup> Due to the uncertainty surrounding the dating of the two remaining cadastres, they will not be used in this study. The cadastres include a large number of properties, but I will only be focusing on the properties in Bergen, not elsewhere. While every one of the documents I will use in my study show only one stationary fraction of the past, it is the collected sum of all the documents and the fact that they span almost the entire period that makes them so valuable in a study like this. I will be using 51 documents for the period from 1304 to 1349, 25 documents from 1350 to 1399, 39 documents from 1400 to 1449, 19 documents from 1450 to 1499, 12 documents from 1500 to 1549 and 46 documents from 1550 to 1599.

### 1.5.2. Advantages and Disadvantages of using Property Transaction Documents

There are many advantages of using these documents as the source for my study. They are available, thanks to the work of Ersland<sup>51</sup>, and the material is large enough that treating it statistically is possible, and yet not so large as to be unmanageable. It also spans nearly the entire period from 1300 to 1599. All the documents used will mention property in some way. Some are direct accounts of property transactions, some are wills or witness accounts of agreements regarding the buying, selling, renting, renting out or bequeathing of property, but some merely mention people who own property in Bergen or are living in Bergen.

A key word in my study will be *property*. According to Ersland, the property market in late medieval Bergen, rather than collapsing as the population was decimated, flourished, and this, he argued, was linked to the agrarian crisis. The properties in Bergen had been important for converting surplus produce from the rural estates of clerical institutions and the lay aristocracy into revenue. They had also allowed them to be present in the economical and administrative capital of medieval Norway. However, by the late Middle Ages, this was no longer the best way to generate an income.<sup>52</sup> This is particularly visible in the way the monastery of Munkeliv changed the use of their urban properties. ‘In the late Middle Ages, the surplus of such goods was reduced, and the monasteries discontinued the running of the

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<sup>50</sup> Audun Dybdahl, ‘Munkeliv klostres jordegods frem til 1463 - kilder og realiteter’, *Historisk Tidsskrift*, 87 (2008), pp. 234-235

<sup>51</sup> Geir Atle Ersland, *Kven eigde byen? Bygrunnlegging, grunneige og grunnleige i Bergen og eit utval nordeuropeiske byar* (Oslo, 2011)

<sup>52</sup> Ersland and Solli, *Stavanger...*, p. 127

urban properties in favour of renting out plots and buildings'.<sup>53</sup> For this to be possible, for the property market to support not only the same amount of available property, but in fact an increasing amount, there must have been some degree of immigration to the city.

In addition to proving that at least some kind of immigration took place, I believe property to be a good indicator of what we might call “successful” or “permanent” immigration. In Bergen, the activities of Hanseatic merchants meant that the city housed a large group of immigrants who were living in the city for a limited number of years only, before returning to their hometowns in what is today Northern Germany. My hypothesis is that the group of people who were able to rent or buy property in Bergen, to a certain extent will reflect the group that actually settled permanently. I am aware that this hypothesis is flawed. Only people of a certain status and economic independence could afford to rent or buy property in their own names. I will address some of these challenges using this source below.

It is likely that immigration would be visible fairly early among those who were recorded as directly involved in property transactions. There was, as before mentioned, a blossoming property market in the wake of the Black Death, and although it is likely that many of the less prosperous immigrants would have rented lodgings without this being recorded, an increased immigration to the city would have meant more people of immigrant backgrounds becoming involved in the property market. Those who are mentioned in connection to, but not directly involved in, property transactions, are less valuable, but might still serve as a control group, and these names could indicate when immigration became visible in the various strata of town community.

There are of course challenges and problems with using these documents, and some of the problems are those attached to the use of any written source. The tracing of sources is a popular and in certain cases useful way to ensure that the sources utilized are trustworthy. However, in this case, it does not appear to be a useful exercise. The tracing of sources, where they come from, on whose hands they have been, is most useful when there is need to establish a document's degree of authenticity. It is most fruitful when a study is relying heavily on one document. I will be working with the sum of almost 200 documents, which include many different documents from a variety of backgrounds. There is no reason to

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<sup>53</sup> Ersland, 'Eit forsøk på rekonstruksjon av grunneigefordelinga i Bergen ved utgangen av seinmellomalderen' (Bergen, 1989) , p. 263

assume that all my sources are false. As long as most of them are correct in terms of date and place of origin, as I assume they are, and the names have not been altered so much that they seem foreign when they are not, or vice versa, they are useful.

There is always an inherent danger when working with only one kind of source, of course, in that it may only yield insights about one group of people. I will go further into the problem of representation below. This is a common problem, and goes for all sources that were made with one intention and purpose, and used by historians for another. The goal of my study will be to study the qualitative tendencies of migration, and I am aware that the sources I am using will not give a true picture of the total demography of Bergen in the late medieval period. However, when working with such a large compilation of sources, a few documents with the wrong date or place does little to upset any data correlation that might be found.

## 1.6. Method

It has been central to my study to find some method that will enable insight into where the inhabitants of late medieval Bergen originated, and in what numbers, despite there being no record of this for the period. My method relies on those of historians before me, most importantly on those of McClure and Jexlev.

### 1.6.1. The Methodical Approach to the Material

First, I intend to go through the property documents mentioned in the preceding chapter, and make a list of the names mentioned, what function or position they have in the documents, and when their names were recorded. Whenever someone's name is recorded more than once, I will use the date of their first mention. This way, even if the owner of the name was deceased by the time it was recorded, their name will be counted as close to their time of living as possible.

I will then sort the names into groups based on their geographical origins, both by looking at the names themselves, and any locative bynames that may be recorded. Locative bynames are often the most certain and precise in determining a person's origins, but can be problematic when there is more than one place with the same name. However, whereas McClure used the place that lay in the area where the immigrant was statistically most likely to have migrated from in these cases, I would have used the place most likely to have trading

links to Bergen (cities in Northern Germany, the Netherlands and Britain) had I come across any such names. However, I have not. In certain cases, the profession of a person mentioned can reveal where the person was likely to have come from. There were for example a large number of Dutch and German shoemakers in Bergen in this period. A person with a second name which would suggest that the owner was a shoemaker, might possibly be of Dutch or German origins, particularly if this second name is accompanied by a first name common among the Dutch and German.

Having done this, I will separate the names into fifty-year periods. As the number of names recorded each year, or even each decade, varies from none to more than a hundred, trying to show yearly changes in immigration would make little sense. However, an important part of this study is the attempt to uncover change over time, as much could, and most likely did, change over the three centuries my study spans, also when it comes to immigration.

I will also divide the names into further groups, based on their function and status in the documents. This might enable analysis of the migration pattern, as well as insight into the degree of assimilation and establishment immigrants experienced in Bergen in the period, to what extent they became part of the society, and whether this changed over time. I will also compare the members of the different function and status groups with each other, to explore whether there were areas of society where immigration was felt sooner, later or to different degrees than other areas.

The functions and positions of those mentioned will also be analysed more thoroughly, focusing on likely immigrants, to ascertain whether there was any change in the trends over time, and any trend changes will be compared to the external political, economical, social and other events and developments in the period. Nothing happens in a vacuum, and migration is always both the result of and part of processes in the rest of society. If the trends I uncover from my material and method do not appear to have anything in common, then it might well be that my results do not give a good picture of immigration in the period.

Finally, the results from these analyses will be compared to the theories derived from other, similar studies, and possibly contribute to these theories, or to the founding of a new theory regarding late medieval migration.

### 1.6.2. Problematizing the Method

There are several possible pitfalls with my method, one of them being wrongful name analysis. As so much of my study is based on the origin of names, this pitfall is to be taken seriously indeed. As the name material is quite large, a few mistakes will do little to change any possible overall trends, but any large-scale analysis mistakes will render the data that comes out of it useless. In an attempt to avoid this, I will be relying on several different name etymology authorities, some modern and some older, mainly *Norsk-isländska dopnamn ock fingerade namn från medeltiden* by E.H. Lind, *Personnavn i Vest-Norge 1450-1550* by Egil Pettersen, *Tiendepengeskatten som kilde til folk og samfunn ca. 1520* by Audun Dybdahl, *10 001 navn: norsk fornavnleksikon* by Gulbrand Alhaug, and the name etymology site [www.behindthename.com](http://www.behindthename.com). I will also exclude all those names of uncertain or indiscernible origins.

Another possible problem with this method is its reliance on one particular kind of documents. Although the choice of these sources was explained in the preceding chapter, this might lead to biased results. I will attempt to avoid this by comparing my results to the results, theories and studies of others, who have based their work on different sources. I will also be comparing my results to external events, for reasons mentioned above.

In studies like this, the concept of *representation* is often introduced, to control the value and usefulness of the study. It is, however, a tricky concept. The source material I will be using is good, but not perfect. Not everybody rented or owned plots or houses. As a rule, the plot was rented, but the buildings on it owned, and whoever owned (or rented) them could let out rooms to yet others.<sup>54</sup> The names of these tenants of the renter of the plot were probably rarely recorded. We rarely come across the names of the poor, the women who were the wives, daughters or servants of the house owners, or anyone who were too young, too dependent or simply too poor to own, buy or rent a plot or a property in their own name.

Those mentioned are most commonly men of good social and economical standing. A few women are mentioned as well, but they too seem to have been reasonably wealthy and of fairly high social status. The documents regarding property, then, suffer from the same problem as the citizens' register, where only the men who could afford to pay for their citizen's diploma were registered (no women were allowed to register as citizens of Bergen).

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<sup>54</sup> Ersland and Solli, *Stavanger bys historie...*, p. 189 and Ersland, 'Eit forsøk...'



This study, then, will arguably not present a representative image of the demography of Bergen. However, the use of representativity in cases such as this is problematic. To be able to say anything about representativity with certainty, about whether the results of my study will actually showcase the true population of Bergen, we need to know the total, the size and the composition of the town's population. This is impossible. There are, as mentioned, no records, polls or surveys to provide us with such a picture. The only universe we can know and compare this study to is a fictive, constructed one, based on the existing source material and a certain degree of qualified guesswork.

It is well known that the sources do not include the entire population spectrum, that not all the social and demographic spheres of the city are equally represented. I make no claims, therefore, that my study will unveil a complete and perfect image of the town's demographic. This is not the goal of my study. I intend to use a large and varied compilation of source material spanning nearly 300 years to say something about qualitative tendencies in the period. The results will not be representative, but will hopefully reveal certain trends, and these trends can be valuable when compared to events and movements in Norway in the period, as well as in Europe and the world as a whole.

## 2. Assessing the Source Material

My main challenge in the process of working with the sources has been to exclude the names of those who did not live in Bergen, or only lived in the city for a short time. After having written down all the names found in my documents, I went through them all, excluding names like *Gored j Opdall* (the *j* translates to *in*), and those who held some sort of office elsewhere, such as *Prosz Lauritzen til Nørholm lagmann j Skien* (an official in Skien). After having done this, I went through my list of names several times to avoid counting the same name twice.

It is of course near impossible to guarantee no duplicates, due to the irregularities in spelling in the late Middle Ages, as well as a lack of consequence in the way people were named or described. One man could be named with a patronymicon in one document, and with his place of residence in another, a woman could be described as someone's daughter in one document, and as someone's wife in another. However, I do hope I have been able to reduce this bias significantly.

I have attempted to avoid including the names of the Hanseatic traders, as they, as a rule, were not permanent settlers. This has been done by looking at the context in which their names appear, by paying attention to where the name's owner is living (I have tried to avoid counting men with German sounding names who live in the Bryggen-area), and in some cases by looking at their titles. If they are titled *Olderman* or described as a trader, chances are they are in some way connected to the Hansa, especially if they also live on Bryggen and carry German sounding names.

Finally, after this process, I was left with 806 names, taken from 190 different documents. A large number of these names are unsurprisingly Norwegian in appearance. However, it is difficult to distinguish Norwegian names from other Scandinavian names, and the difficulty only becomes greater in the later part of the period. Norway, Sweden and Denmark were close, both politically and linguistically. Because of this, I have chosen to group these names together in one category called "Norse names". This is not because these are the only areas where Norse was spoken, it was for instance spoken on the Faroe Islands, but while Faroese people often are given their home place as a locative by-name (such as

*Eirikkir Færøyske* in 1309<sup>55</sup>), there are no one named “Swede” or “Dane” in my source material.

## 2.1. Norse Names

A large group of the names recorded are fairly obviously Norse. Some are distinguishable by the elements of which they are constructed. In his book from 1981, the Norwegian linguist Egil Pettersen mentioned how most of the Norse names in his material are composites, either of two nominal elements, or of one nominal element and one derivative suffix.<sup>56</sup> Examples of nominal elements are *Hall-* (as in *Halldora* or *Hallvarðe*), *An-* (as in *Anbyon* and *Angunnar*) and *-bjørn* (as in *thordbjørnn* and *Asbion*), an example of a derivative suffix is *-ljot* (as in *Arnliotu*).<sup>57</sup> Yet other names are recorded as being of Norse origin and in use in Norway before the late Middle Ages in Alhaug’s 2011 book *10 001 navn: norsk fornavnleksikon*. Some first names are fairly international, such as the popular name *Jon* with all its derivations. Men named *Jon*, *Joan*, *Joon*, *Joen* et cetera, after the popular saint John the Baptist, could be of Norse origin, but could also come from most other places in Europe. In these cases, I have used the patronymicons wherever present, exemplified in the case of *Jon Josteins son*<sup>58</sup>, who despite his international first name probably was of Norse origin, as his father bore the fairly unambiguously Norse name *Jostein*.

Some names are uncertain, and require closer analysis. *Rydgæirs i Suæins garðe*<sup>59</sup>, whose name was recorded in 1309, is probably of Norse origin. *-geir* is a common Norse nominal element. His place of residence, *Suæins garðe*, was in the Bryggen area, and he was among the men vouching for the German traders who were staying in Bergen over the winter.

In a document dated 1311, there is a *Gondøffuer udi Søstergardenn*.<sup>60</sup> The tenement called Søstergarden was later recorded as one of those inhabited by Hanseatic traders, but this early in the period, it was probably still the home of Norwegians. *Gondøffuer* is one of several men listed who has informed on the German traders who stay in Bergen over the winter, but refuse to pay tithe. The other informers have distinctly Norse names (*Arne*, *Siffuer*, *Anundt* and *thordbjørnn*), and it is probable that *Gondøffuer* too is a Norseman.

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<sup>55</sup> DN XII 43

<sup>56</sup> Egil Pettersen, *Personnavn i Vest-Norge 1450-1550* (Oslo, 1981), p. 64

<sup>57</sup> Pettersen, *Personnavn...*, pp. 64-72

<sup>58</sup> DN V 69

<sup>59</sup> DN I 122

<sup>60</sup> BHFS 60 1954/55 p. 192-193

Two names recorded in 1312 are somewhat uncertain at first glance. *Aðalizu gamla Bruns dottor*<sup>61</sup> could be German or Norwegian, there is some uncertainty as to the origin of her first name.<sup>62</sup> However, we know that her father, *Brun Gamle*, was from the German areas of Continental Europe, but moved to Bergen, married a Norwegian woman, and lived the rest of his life here.<sup>63</sup> This makes *Aðalizu* the Norwegian born daughter of a German man, and not an immigrant, and she should be counted with the Norse name owners. *Jon bruni*, in the same document, is somewhat less certain. He was probably the son of the same *Brun Gamle*, in which case he, like *Aðalizu*, was the Norwegian born child of a German immigrant, a second-generation immigrant, and should be counted as Norse.

Occasionally, both the first name and the patronymicon of a person is an international, religious name. *Petr Petrs son*<sup>64</sup>, whose name was recorded in 1332, is an example of this. He is probably the brother of one *fru Ingibiorgh Peters dotter* in the same document, whose first name is of certain Norse origin, and it is therefore fairly safe to presume *Petr Petrs son* is a Norseman.

In a document from 1335, there is one *elinu*<sup>65</sup>, who is not given a patronymicon or any other second name. However, she was the sister of the *Æindridi Symonarson*, whose name is undoubtedly Norse in appearance. It is very likely *Elinu* was Norse as well.

*Herr Erlings Sizselia i Soppo dottar garðe*<sup>66</sup> bore an unusual second name, he seems to have been given the female name *Cecilia* as a form of second name, at least when his name was recorded, in 1338. He is recorded as being married to one *fru Ælin Boresdotter*, who bears a Norse name, and his first name *Erling* is also a Norse name, so he is probably of Norse origin.

Some are recorded with fairly obvious Norse names, but unfamiliar second names, such as *Ellinger Hiarrandason*<sup>67</sup>, also recorded in 1346. *Ellinger* is a Norse name, and although *Hiarranda* is not a familiar or common Norse name, this *Ellinger* here was probably a Norseman.

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<sup>61</sup> DN I 134

<sup>62</sup> Pettersen, *Personnavn...*, p. 70

<sup>63</sup> Knut Helle, *Bergen bys historie. Kongssete og kjøpstad: fra opphavet til 1536* (Bergen, 1982), p. 723

<sup>64</sup> DN V 92

<sup>65</sup> DN I 233

<sup>66</sup> DN I 253

<sup>67</sup> DN IX 144

The second name of *jomfru Cecilia Ceciliagard*<sup>68</sup> is a tenement name and indicates her place of residence, even if it says little about where she might have originated from. However, her title, *jomfru*, would indicate that she was an unmarried, aristocratic woman. Her father is recorded as being named *Hakon Ragnalldzson*, and her mother's name was *Margret j Skaptanum Vilhialms dotter*, meaning *Cecilia*'s name should be counted among the Norse names.

In a document dated 1389, can be found the name of *Joon Lødwardsson*.<sup>69</sup> *-vard* was a common Norse nominal element, meaning *Joon*'s father *Lødward* probably was a Norseman. *Joon* will therefore be counted in the Norse name group.

*Johan Moltheche* and *Elsebe Haruikxdottir*<sup>70</sup> are recorded in a document from 1419. Both their names sound somewhat German. However, they are recorded because *Johan Moltheche* was involved in a barter trade where he bought property in Bergen and payed for it with a property in Nordfjord. It is unlikely that a Dutch or German man had properties in Nordfjord, hence it is probable that both *Johan* and *Elsebe* are Norseborn, but the children of Dutch or German immigrants.<sup>71</sup>

*Bekt Haruiktsson riddare*<sup>72</sup>, recorded in 1442, is another example of an ambiguous name, but his first name is probably a misspelling of the Norse name *Benkt*. Also, the fact that he is a knight would make it probable that he is Norse, if not Norwegian, and that his name should be counted among the Norse.

*Holte Torsson*<sup>73</sup> was recorded in 1478, as being the owner of a property named Skjeldan in the Bryggen area of Bergen. Although *Holte* is unusual as a Norse name, it is not unheard of, and *Tor* is such a certain Norse name, it is probable that *Holte* should be counted as one of the Norse names.

Bishop *Hans* of Bergen<sup>74</sup>, recorded in 1487, is mentioned without any second name. However, his name will be counted as a Norse name, as the bishop probably was of Norse origin, due to his position.

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<sup>68</sup> DN II 498

<sup>69</sup> DN I 518

<sup>70</sup> DN XII 166

<sup>71</sup> Opsahl and Sogner, *Norsk innvandringshistorie...*, p. 151

<sup>72</sup> DN I 783

<sup>73</sup> DN XXIII 103 / NR, RA Jno 999/1920

<sup>74</sup> DN II 938

*Axel Kana*<sup>75</sup> was recorded in 1490, and his second name is probably the aristocratic family name *Kåne*, and probably also of Norse origin. The name *Axel* was used both in the Norse and in the Dutch-German areas, as well as on the British Isles. He might be related to *Gaute Kaane*<sup>76</sup>, whose name was recorded in 1520, and who was almost certainly Norse. *Erlendh Fraak lagman i Bergwen* is recorded in the same document as *Axel Kana*, and is also probably Norse, although his second name, possibly a version of the Dutch-German sounding *Frach*, would suggest that his relatives had come to the Norse areas from Continental Europe. However, his Norse first name would mean he should be counted in the Norse name group. The third ambiguous name in the same source is *Siwrdh kaath*. His first name is probably a different spelling of the name *Sigurd*, making him almost certainly of Norse origin, despite his somewhat unfamiliar second name.

*Herre doctor Jens Schelderop* and his wife *Susanna Leinsdatter*<sup>77</sup> are mentioned in a document dated 1567. Although his second name might sound somewhat Dutch or German, we know that Bishop *Jens Pederssøn Schelderup* moved to Bergen from Denmark<sup>78</sup>, apparently together with his wife. Both names should therefore be counted in the Norse name group.

*Mats Skeel*<sup>79</sup> is recorded in a document dated 1574. *Mats* is a name of Norse origin, and *Skeel* could be one spelling of the name *Skiel* which seems to have come to Bergen in this period, possibly from other Norse areas, such as Denmark. *Mats Skeel* will therefore be counted among those of Norse origin. So should *Claus Skiel*<sup>80</sup>, recorded in a document dated 1578. The name *Claus* seems to have become more popular with people of Norse origin in this period.

### 2.1.1. Excluded Names

In some cases, the origin of a name and a person is so uncertain, it is better to take it out of the source material used, than to keep it in. This has been done to reduce bias where possible, and has led to the excluding of the following names:

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<sup>75</sup> DN VI 610

<sup>76</sup> DN V 1027

<sup>77</sup> DN IX 796

<sup>78</sup> Terje Bratberg, 'Schjelderup', *Store Norske Leksikon* (<https://snl.no/Schjelderup>), accessed 06.03.16.

<sup>79</sup> NRR 2 p. 110

<sup>80</sup> NHD 1 p. 167-68

In a document dated 1309 is the name *Jon lagx*<sup>81</sup> recorded. It is difficult to ascertain where he originated. As mentioned above, *Jon* is a religious name, and was not uncommon, in one variation or other, all over the Christian world. The second name *lagx* can be a way of writing the title *logman*. Even so, this title sheds little light on his origins, and the name is therefore a little too uncertain to be of any use in this study.

Sometimes the origin of a name is difficult to establish with certainty because of the way the document is written. One example of this is one *Olafuir*<sup>82</sup> in a document dated 1314. In the *Diplomatarium Norvegicum*, one has not been able to be certain of whether his second name should be read as *kæm*, *kæni*, *kæin*, *kæiu* or *kæui*. His first name is a Norse one, and his third name or title in the document is *maghir*, which probably means he is the brother-in-law of some of the other people mentioned in the same document. Although this by no means is a guarantee that *Olafuir* is Norse, all his possible in-laws in this document bear Norse names. In an earlier document, dated 1312, there is mention of one *Olafur Kæiv*.<sup>83</sup> I find it probable that this is the same as the *Olafuir* of 1314, in which case the 1314-version of his name should be excluded from further analysis, regardless of geographical origin.

As mentioned above, *Jon* seems to have been a very popular name in the period. In one 1315-document we find two of them. The first one is never given a second name, and it is therefore very difficult to say anything of where he might have originated. The second is named *Jon Falkenæ*.<sup>84</sup> Although this tells us a little about what his profession might have been, *Falkenæ* probably means “falconer”, it gives few leads with regards to his geographical origins. The first *Jon* is the brother-in-law of a man with the Norse sounding name of *Sæbion Erlends sons*, and *Jon Falkenæ* is named as a witness. They are both surrounded by Norse names, and are probably of Norse origin themselves, but it is impossible to know this with sufficient certainty.

Another elusive *Jon* is *Jon skoeringær*<sup>85</sup>, whose name was recorded in 1329. His second name might suggest that his profession was that of a “cutter” (“*skjærer*” in Norwegian), someone who cuts cloth or hide to be made into garments. Later in the period,

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<sup>81</sup> DN XII 43

<sup>82</sup> DN XII 48

<sup>83</sup> DN I 134

<sup>84</sup> DN I 146

<sup>85</sup> DN I 204

there were some Dutch and German cutters in Bergen, but it is impossible to say whether *Jon* was one of them, or if he was of Norse origin.

Some names can be a Norse name, or a non-Norse name with unusual spelling. One such name is that of *herra Hemmingi*<sup>86</sup>, the abbot of the monastery of Munkeliv in Bergen, whose name was recorded in 1330. *Hemming* is a Norse name, possibly from the Norse word for shape, “hamr”.<sup>87</sup> However, the name can also be a misspelling, or mis-transcription, of the name *Henning*, which originates in the German area of Europe. Although this abbot probably was of Norse origin, we cannot be sufficiently certain.

We find *Jon millæ*<sup>88</sup> in a 1332-document. His second name could mean he worked as a miller, but it is impossible to determine his origins.

In a document dated 1338, we find two men recorded only by their first names, *Jon* and *Filippus*.<sup>89</sup> *Jon* is impossible to place with no further leads. *Filippus*, probably *Filippus Erlendson* from Sogn<sup>90</sup>, had what was originally a Dutch name, but which was not uncommon in Norway at this time. There had even been a Norwegian king named *Filippus*, from 1207 to 1217. Our *Filippus* can be of Norse origin, but it is difficult to say for certain. The same goes for *Jon*<sup>91</sup>, who was recorded in 1346, with no further names or titles.

*Jone stagga*<sup>92</sup> was a man whose name was recorded in 1376 as he was renting out property. However, he too bears a variation of the popular but difficult name *Jon*, and his second names does not hold many leads as to where he might come from.

Certain names are challenging, even if much is known about their origins. *Herre Swale Rømr* and *Otte Rømr*<sup>93</sup> carried such names. The *Rømr* family was a Norwegian aristocratic family, and *Swale* and *Otte* could therefore be counted among those carrying Norse names. However, the family, as well as the family name, probably originated in Mecklenburg, and the surname was originally written *Reymare*. *Otte* is the first member of this family that we know of, but he might not be the first *Rømr* in the Norse area.<sup>94</sup> To avoid possible confusion, I have excluded the names of *Otte* and *Swale Rømr* from further analysis.

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<sup>86</sup> DN XII 77

<sup>87</sup> ‘Hemming’, *Behind the Name* (<http://www.behindthename.com/name/hemming>), accessed 06.03.16

<sup>88</sup> DN V 92

<sup>89</sup> DN I 253

<sup>90</sup> Helle, *Bergen bys historie...*, p. 518

<sup>91</sup> DN XI 144

<sup>92</sup> DN I 436

<sup>93</sup> DN I 518

<sup>94</sup> Terje Bratberg, ‘Rømer’, *Store Norske Leksikon* (<https://snl.no/R%C3%B8mer>), accessed 06.03.16



*Iænis Bæintzson*<sup>95</sup>, whose name was recorded in 1398, was probably a Norseman, although his first and second names are somewhat unfamiliar. However, in the cases of *brdhir Petir*<sup>96</sup>, recorded in 1399, and *abbed Jons*<sup>97</sup>, recorded in 1400, there is nothing to suggest their place of origin.

In a document dated 1405, the name of *Sandr sassæ*<sup>98</sup> is recorded. *Sandr*, which is possibly the diminutive of *Aleksander*, might have been of Norse origin, but he might also have been from the German or Dutch area of the Continent, and his second name is unhelpful in deciding where he came from.

The names of two monks, *brodhir Jon* and *brodhir Haniss Ingeldzson*<sup>99</sup>, appear in a document from 1420. While we can say nothing about the origin of *brodhir Jon*, *brodhir Haniss* exemplifies why first names can be deceiving. *Hanes* is a Dutch-German sounding name, and indeed the name of many men who probably originated in that Dutch-German area. However, the name of Haniss' father, *Ingeld*, is less obviously non-Norse. Could be a version of *Inge*, the nominal elements *Ing-* and *Inge-* were common in Norse names.<sup>100</sup> This could be a case of a Dutch-German name gaining popularity also with Norse people naming their children, but to reduce risk of counting non-Norse names in the Norse group, their names are excluded from further analysis. The same is *Jon*<sup>101</sup>, whose name was also recorded in 1420, but without any further names or titles.

There would seem to be an increase in these ambiguous names, names which can both be the name of a naturalized immigrant or of a person of Norse origin, in the later documents. *Heningh Mykelsson*<sup>102</sup>, whose name was recorded in 1463, is another example of these names. The name *Henning* was originally a name from the German area, but in this case, we could be looking at a Norseman given a German name. *Mikkel*, the name in his patronymicon, was a common Norse version of *Michael*.

In the cadastre of the monastery of Munkeliv from 1463<sup>103</sup>, there are names of Norse origin, names of clearly non-Norse origin, and some names where the place of origin is

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<sup>95</sup> DN I 562

<sup>96</sup> DN XII 133

<sup>97</sup> DN XII 134

<sup>98</sup> DN I 602

<sup>99</sup> DN XII 170

<sup>100</sup> Petterson, *Personnavn...*, p. 66

<sup>101</sup> DN XII 171

<sup>102</sup> DN III 862

<sup>103</sup> DN XII 232

difficult to ascertain. *Bertel Viinbærgh* is one of these. Although *Bertol* is a Dutch name, *Bertil* has been common in Norse areas, and *Bertel* might very well have been a Norseman. His second name would suggest that he originated in some place called *Vinberg*, although I have been unsuccessful in locating this place. As it is difficult to decide from where he came, his name is excluded from further analysis. The same is *Henning Timberman*, who could be Norse or German, however his second name reveals nothing about his origins. I have also excluded the names of *Hannes Rødhekrans* and *Azor Niklisson* for the same reasons. Although *Hannes* was a common Dutch-German name, his second name appears to be a nickname (possibly describing his red hair or beard), and does not indicate where the name's owner originated. Although *Nikolas* was not an uncommon Norse name, *Azor* is neither recognisably Dutch-German nor Norse.

*Herr Simon*<sup>104</sup>, recorded in 1479, was also probably of Norse origin, but as he was not recorded with any second name, it is not possible to tell from where he might have come.

In a document dated 1544, we find *Rasmus Hanssønn*<sup>105</sup>, who bore the title of *radman*, and witnessed a transaction. Judging from his name, he might be of Norse origin, or he might be Dutch-German in origin. While *Rasmus* was originally a German name, and the name *Hans* was a common name in the Dutch-German areas, by the sixteenth century, both names were in use in the Norse areas as well. Due to this uncertainty, his name is excluded from further analysis. The same is the name of *Loghe Brade*<sup>106</sup>, whose name was recorded in 1547. His name could be a Norse spelling of a British or a Dutch-German name, or the name of a Norseman, introduced to Bergen via Denmark, but it is impossible to state which one with any certainty.

One document, dated 1562, includes two names that are somewhat challenging to decipher, one *Barbara*, possibly with the second name *Kruteous*, and *Adelus*, with a second name which might read *Kreckus*<sup>107</sup>. Judging by these second names, none of the women seem to be of Norse origin. However, the *Adelus* mentioned in this source might be the same woman as the one called *Adelus Kruckow*<sup>108</sup> in a document dated 1596. If she is, and both

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<sup>104</sup> NM 1 s. 574

<sup>105</sup> DN VI 757

<sup>106</sup> DN XII 618

<sup>107</sup> UBB dip. saml. 30.08.1562

<sup>108</sup> NRR 3 p. 413-414

Adelus and Barbara share the same last name, they are both Norse. However, as this is somewhat uncertain, both names have been excluded from further analysis.

*Lauritz Woeg*<sup>109</sup>, *Jørgen Sthabell*<sup>110</sup> and *Rasmus Smed*<sup>111</sup> are all mentioned in documents dated 1565. Whereas *Woeg* has the appearance of a Dutch-German name, *Lauritz* might still be the name of a man of Norse origin, even if the name itself hails from the Continent. The name after *Lauritz Woeg* on the list is that of *Lauritz hansøn*, who was the captain of Bergenhus under King Kristian II of Denmark and Norway, and probably a Norseman. Due to this uncertainty, *Lauritz Woeg* is excluded. The same are the names of *Jørgen Sthabell* and *Rasmus Smed*. Both names could be those of Norsemen, but they could also have been the names of men born in the Dutch or German areas of Continental Europe.

The name of *Herr Claus Bilde*<sup>112</sup>, who is mentioned in a 1569 source, is uncertain. While his name certainly appears Dutch-German, he might be related to *Eske Bille*, and to the *Claus Bille* who died in 1558, in which case his name should be counted among the Norse. *Rasmus Snedker*<sup>113</sup> was recorded in a document dated 1574. *Rasmus* can be the name of a Dutch-German or a Norseman at this point, and his second name gives few indicators to his place of origin, so his name has been excluded from further analysis. Some of the same challenges apply to *Peder Schriffuer*<sup>114</sup>, recorded in a document dated 1578. Likewise, it is not possible to say anything about where *Peder Schiffuer* originated.

*Mester Marckus borgere* might be a citizen of Bergen, but there is no way of ascertaining whether he came from the Norse areas or not. While the name *Marcus* or *Markus* was in use on the British Isles as well as in the Dutch-German area, it was not wholly uncommon to the Norse area, and with no second name, we cannot know where he originated.

*Laurits Kruse*<sup>115</sup>, in a document dated 1597, might originate in the Dutch-German area. *Kruse* means “potter” in Low German. However, as seen above, the name *Laurits* was by this point also given to Norsemen. *Kruse* might have been an inherited second name, and

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<sup>109</sup> DN IX 792

<sup>110</sup> DN IX 792

<sup>111</sup> NRR 04.10.1565

<sup>112</sup> NRR 1 p. 629

<sup>113</sup> NRR 2 p. 110

<sup>114</sup> NHD 1 p. 167-68

<sup>115</sup> NRR 3 p. 497

*Laurits Kruse* might have been born in a Norse area. Due to this uncertainty, his name is excluded.

## 2.2. Non-Norse Names

After the analysis of the names that are likely of Norse origin, where the most uncertain names are removed, we are left with the names of 767 people. 622 of these, that is 81.1 percent, probably originated in the Norse area, that which is Norway, Sweden and Denmark today.

Although knowing that 81.1 percent of the names recorded are of Norse origin, and probably belonging to Norse people, is valuable, it would be even more useful if we were able to say something about where the remaining 18.9 percent could have come from. In analysing these names, I will divide them into three groups based on their probable place of origin; one for the names that probably originate in the Dutch-German area of North-Western Continental Europe (the D-group), one with the names that probably hail from the British Isles (the B-group), and one for other areas (the X-group).

I am well aware that the Netherlands, Germany and Great Britain did not exist, in the form we know them today, in the period of this study. However, these groups are based on geographical, and to a certain extent linguistic, borders, not political state lines. Although those that were considered German areas in the period were distinct from those considered Dutch<sup>116</sup>, the Low German language of the late Middle Ages and the language spoken and written in the Dutch areas were sufficiently similar to make it difficult to ascertain whether a name is of German or Dutch origin. Even when the name studied has a locative by-name or surname, the place referred to in the name might be difficult to find. Sometimes several different towns and cities carry the same name, and sometimes the location has had a change of name, has been included in a nearby, larger town or city, or has disappeared completely.

This method might obstruct significant differences between Dutch and German immigrants, or Scottish and English immigrants. However, it is employed because I deem it more useful to have more reliable results showing general trends, than a more specific and detailed analysis where the risk of the result being flawed or biased is that much greater.

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<sup>116</sup> Helle, *Bergen bys historie...*, p. 800

### 2.2.1. Excluded non-Norse Names and Norse Names of Foreign Appearance

As with the Norse names, some names leave no doubt of their owners' place of origin. We can be fairly certain that *Eirikkir Færøyske*<sup>117</sup> came from the Faeroe Islands, and that *Jenis fan Kampen*<sup>118</sup> came from the Dutch-German area, probably from the coastal city of Kampen in what is now the Netherlands. However, as with the Norse names, some are less certain.

One such name is *Henrik* or *Heinrich*, which was originally a Dutch-German name, but introduced to the Norse areas fairly early in the Medieval period. This is one of the reasons to be uncertain of the origin of *Hæinrækr korsbroder at Postola kiurkiu*<sup>119</sup>, who's name was recorded in 1328. If we were to judge by his first name alone, we might want to count him among the names in the D-group. However, in 1338, there is one *Hæinrækr Einars son*<sup>120</sup> recorded, who is probably the same person as the *Hæinrækr* recorded ten years previously. *Einar* is very much a Norse name, meaning this *Hæinrækr* should be counted among the Norse, not the Dutch-German, names.

The name of *Hinzsi ræfuær*<sup>121</sup> is recorded in a document dated 1389. His first name is possibly of Dutch-German origin, a version of the German name *Heinz*. His second name can be a spelling of the Norse or Low German word for *fox*. In the document, he is surrounded by Norse names, and witnessing the ownership of property by men of Norse origin. However, we cannot be certain of his origins, and his name is therefore excluded from further analysis.

*Brodhir Biærnardhe*<sup>122</sup> is recorded in a document dated 1400. Another *Biærnardhe*, or *Bernard*, is recorded in the same document, one *Biærnardhir fan Borken*, who is certainly of Dutch-German origins, making it probable that *Brodhir Biærnardhe* hails from the same area. However, the name *Bernard*, in various spellings, was not uncommon on the British Isles and in France, as well as in the Dutch-German areas. Due to this uncertainty, and to the possibility that the two *Bernards* in the document are in fact the same man, *Brodhir Biærnardhe* is excluded from further analysis.

In a document dated 1410, the name *Radheka Kædhingh*<sup>123</sup> is recorded. His name seems fairly unfamiliar, but he appears together with *Hænika Wlf*, who is probably

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<sup>117</sup> DN XII 43

<sup>118</sup> DN II 581

<sup>119</sup> DN II 165

<sup>120</sup> DN I 253

<sup>121</sup> DN I 518

<sup>122</sup> DN XII 134

<sup>123</sup> DN XII 148

Dutch-German. However, both men are described with the title *køpmen*, that is, “merchants” or “traders”, and their place of residence is Bryggen, making it probable that these two are Hanseatic traders, and should therefore be excluded from further analysis.

*Bloomberg*<sup>124</sup> is a name recorded in a 1420-document as having owned buildings in Bergen. He is only given one name, which we can assume is not his first name. In the Citizens’ Register for Bergen 1550-1750, there are no record of any *Bloombergs*, but three *Blombergs*, all of which are from Bergen. However, these three names are recorded in 1734<sup>125</sup>, 1742<sup>126</sup> and 1747<sup>127</sup>, and if we are looking at the same name, a British name might very well have become naturalised over more than three centuries. As his name does not provide us with more information regarding his origins, it will be excluded from further analysis.

*Teitki Heniman*<sup>128</sup>, who’s name is recorded in a 1484 document, presents a challenge. His second name is unfamiliar, and might suggest Dutch-German origin, and his first name might also be from the same area. However, his first name might also be a spelling, misspelling or misreading of the Norse name *Teiti* or *Teitr*. Due to this uncertainty, his name has been excluded.

*Hans Skedsmand*, *Hans Stafwell*, *Rassmus*, possibly with the second name *sirards*, and *Jürgen Torn* or *Tom* are all recorded in the same document.<sup>129</sup> While *Jürgen Torn/Tom* most likely is of Dutch-German origin and should be counted among the names in the D-group, the remaining names are less certain. *Hans Stafwell* is probably also of Dutch-German origin. Not only is the name *Hans* a common Dutch-German version of *Johannes*, but his second name would suggest that he hailed from the Dutch-German area, and should be counted in the D-group of names. *Skedsmand* could be the second name of someone who made spoons and other cutlery, and many of the craftsmen in Bergen came from German or Dutch areas, but it seems ignorant to exclude the possibility that some of them were Norse and could have born the name *Hans*. Regarding *Rassmus*, his second name is not sufficiently distinct to allow any certainty as to where he came from. *Hans Skedsmand* and *Rassmus* will therefore be excluded from further analysis.

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<sup>124</sup> DN III 652

<sup>125</sup> N. Nicolaysen, *Bergens Borgerbog 1550-1751* (Kristiania, 1878), p. 167

<sup>126</sup> Nicolaysen, *Borgerbog*..., p. 184

<sup>127</sup> Nicolaysen, *Borgerbog*..., p. 193

<sup>128</sup> DN4 998

<sup>129</sup> UBB dip. saml. 09.10.1531

*Hendrich bøsseskiøtther*<sup>130</sup>, recorded in 1562, was possibly also of Dutch-German origin. The name *Hendrich* was mostly born by non-Norse men<sup>131</sup>, but while his second name could mean that he worked with the making and maintenance of guns, it says little about his origins. The name *Henrik* could be born by Norsemen as well. *Hendrich* appears with the names of two other men of non-Norse origin: *Dyriich Mainfelld* and *Dunckert Skotte*. The origin of the latter is hard to mistake, however *Dyriich* might be both of Dutch-German and of British origins. His first name could be a spelling of the Dutch-German name *Dyrek*, or of the British name *Derrick*, and his second name might even suggest British origins. Various spellings of *Henrik* have long been a Norse way of writing the British name *Henry*, making it possible for *Hendrich bøsseskiøtther* to be of British origins. Due to this uncertainty, however, his name is excluded from further analysis, while the name of *Dyriich Mainfelld* will be counted with the names in the B-group.

The name of *Tynne*<sup>132</sup>, possibly with the second name *Lynnin*, is recorded in another 1562-document. Both his first and his second names are unfamiliar, *Tynne* possibly being a misspelling of the Dutch-German name *Tymme*.<sup>133</sup> However, in a later document, from 1563, we find the name of one *Thome Lynning*<sup>134</sup>, and we can assume that this is probably the same person due to the similarity of the names. Even later, in a document dated 1578, he is recorded yet again, this time his name is spelled *Tome Lynninck*.<sup>135</sup> Here, he is also given the title of *Olderman*, meaning he was amongst the administrative leaders of the Hansards in Bergen. His name is therefore excluded from further analysis.

The same is the name *Scheletu*<sup>136</sup>, recorded in a document dated 1567. It is not clear whether this is a first name or some sort of locative name, family name or nickname. It could be a spelling of the Dutch-German *Schulte*, and is probably not of Norse origin, but due to its very uncertain origins, it will be excluded from further analysis.

The name of *Carsten Carstensen*<sup>137</sup> is recorded in a 1578-document. Judging from the name present both as his first name and in the patronymicon that is his second name, he could

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<sup>130</sup> DN10 758

<sup>131</sup> E.H. Lind, *Norsk-isländska dopnamn och fingerade namn från medeltiden* (Uppsala/Leipzig, 1905-1915), pp. 503-506

<sup>132</sup> UBB dip. saml. 30.08.1562

<sup>133</sup> Lind, *Norsk-isländska dopnamn...*, p. 1046

<sup>134</sup> UBB dip. saml. 20.01.1563

<sup>135</sup> UBB dip. saml. 22.06.1578

<sup>136</sup> DN9 796

<sup>137</sup> UBB dip. saml. 22.06.1578

be either Norse or of Dutch-German origin. He is however recorded as renting a plot together with three other men, all of which have Dutch-German names (*Tome Lynnick*, *Gerluf van der Luffa* and *Gerdt Balsuinck*). However, as mentioned above, *Tome Lynnick* is a Hanseatic *Olderman*, making it highly probable that the three other men also were Hansards. All their names are therefore excluded from further analysis.

*Herman skredder*<sup>138</sup> is recorded in a document dated 1583. *Herman* is a name of Dutch-German origin, with few Norsemen being named it in our period. The second name *skredder* simply means “tailor”, and a lot of the tailors in Bergen at this point were in fact from the Dutch-German areas. However, there is not enough information provided by this name to say where its owner might hail from.

*Rolof Lybeley*, who’s name was recorded in a document dated 1594, could appear to be of Dutch-German origin, possibly from Lübeck, judging from his second name. However, the name *Rolof* was in fact not an uncommon name in the Norse areas, making his origins uncertain.

In a document dated 1595, the name *Batzer Matzsønn*<sup>139</sup> is recorded. *Batzer* is an unfamiliar name, but could be a spelling or version of *Balthasar*, traditionally the name of one of the three Magi, and a name which would probably not be unknown in Norse areas, if not common. *Matz*, however, was not an uncommon Norse name. His name is excluded, due to this uncertainty.

*Rørik Jacobsen* and his wife *Tønne Henndricksdotter*<sup>140</sup> are recorded in a document dated 1598. Both are neither distinctly Norse nor typical of any other area, and both have second names that could be of both Norse and Dutch-German in origin. For this reason, they will be excluded from further analysis.

### 2.2.2. D-group Names

A significant number of the names recorded are Dutch or German in appearance, for instance *Hænza groeywa*<sup>141</sup>, a name which was recorded in 1309. This was the name of a man who lived in the Bryggen area in Bergen, and vouched for the German traders who were staying in Bergen over the winter, and who were then in a dispute regarding whether or not they should

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<sup>138</sup> UBB dip. saml. 06.03.1583

<sup>139</sup> UBB dip. saml. 14.01.1595

<sup>140</sup> UBB dip. saml. 15.01.1598

<sup>141</sup> DN I 122



be paying tithes. *Hænza* is not a typical Norse name, and there are other men named *Hænza* in the same document, one of which is described as a German trader wintering in Norway. Although his second name is near impossible to decipher, it seems safe to suppose that he belongs to the D-group. Had this document been dated later in the period, the mere fact that he is located on Bryggen would mean he was one of the Hansards. However, the Hansa was not organised at this point in the period, making it possible our *Hænza* is a naturalised German, or at least a German man settled in Bergen.

The same goes for the third *Hænza* in the same document, *Hænza Oskradara*. Here too, the second name lends few hints as to his origins, but based on his first name, it seems probable that he too is of Dutch-German origins, but still considered sufficiently trustworthy to be able to vouch for his countrymen.

In 1334, we have recorded the names of *Jon standuoeyks* and *Valburgar husproeyu*<sup>142</sup>. The man's first name is the religious *Jon*, and his second name is difficult to understand, making it difficult to ascertain where he originated from. However, he was married to *Valburgar*, who bore a Dutch-German name. This makes it likely that the two of them came from the area of the D-group, as it was far more usual for Dutch-German men to travel to Bergen and take Norse wives, than for Norsemen to marry foreign women.

In a document from 1382, we find the name of *herman siirhaghen*<sup>143</sup> recorded. *Herman* is a German name, and seeing as his second name is the rather Dutch-German sounding *siirhaghen*, it seems safe to presume that *herman* belongs in this group.

In a document dated 1399, we find the name of *Herman klaustirman*<sup>144</sup> recorded. His first name, *Herman*, is of Dutch-German origin, whereas his second name merely means that he lived in or came from an abbey. It is likely that he is of Dutch-German origins, as only a very small number of certainly Norse men have been recorded with this name.<sup>145</sup>

*Tidik Wistakr*<sup>146</sup>, who is recorded in a 1401 document, is probably of Dutch-German origin, despite being married to a Norse woman, *Fru Margreta Eilifsdatter*.

*Gødichi Gødichsson*<sup>147</sup> is a name recorded in a 1405-document. Although the name *Gødichi* is fairly unfamiliar, it is possibly a spelling of the Dutch-German name *Götke*.

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<sup>142</sup> DN II 207

<sup>143</sup> DN XXI 165

<sup>144</sup> DN XII 133

<sup>145</sup> Lind, *Norsk-isländska dopnamn...*, pp. 527-528

<sup>146</sup> DN II 566

<sup>147</sup> DN I 602

*Tideka Fridorp*<sup>148</sup>, recorded in a document dated 1412, is mentioned with the title of *radman*, meaning he was most likely well established in the city. Judging by his first and second names, he was most likely of Dutch-German origin.

*Hannes Tydhekasson prestir at Katerina Kirkiu*<sup>149</sup> is recorded in a 1418-document. His first name as well as the name in the patronymicon are both of Dutch-German origin, but were both possibly in use in the Norse areas at this point in time.<sup>150</sup> However, there is only one certainly Norse man recorded with the name *Tideke* in this period<sup>151</sup>, and the combination of two typical Dutch-German names makes it probable that *Hannes Tydhekasson* was of Dutch-German origin.

In a document dated 1418, the name *Hanis Eintwintigh*<sup>152</sup> is recorded. Although versions of *Hanis* or *Hanes*, as mentioned above, were used by Norsemen in the period, the second name appears to be decidedly Dutch-German.

The same applies to *Haniss Borquordh*<sup>153</sup>, recorded in a 1420-document. He too bears the first name *Haniss*, while his second name is decidedly non-Norse, and probably of Dutch-German origin.

*Herman Sosth* and *Henrike Sosth*<sup>154</sup> are recorded in a document dated 1444. *Herman* and *Henrike* were both originally Dutch-German names, and although names from the Dutch-German areas appears to have been less uncommon in use by Norsemen by the mid fifteenth century, they still seem to have been born mostly by men of Dutch-German origin. *Herman* and *Henrike* both share an apparently non-Norse second name; *Sosth* is possibly a Dutch-German family name. *Herman* is recorded as selling part of a plot called *Brynjulfstomten* to *Henrike*, a plot which was not in use by the Hanseatic traders by the end of the late Medieval period<sup>155</sup>, making it less likely that *Herman* is a Hansard. *Henrike* is recorded as being the father-in-law of *Morten Jensson*, who is probably a Norseman, making it more likely that he is a naturalised man from the Dutch-German areas.

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<sup>148</sup> DN II 630

<sup>149</sup> DN XII 165

<sup>150</sup> Lind, *Norsk-isländska dopnamn...*, p. 484

<sup>151</sup> Lind, *Norsk-isländska dopnamn...*, p. 1029

<sup>152</sup> DN XII 165

<sup>153</sup> DN XII 170

<sup>154</sup> DN X 181

<sup>155</sup> Helle, *Bergen bys historie...*, p. 710

*Hanes Krøfwer*<sup>156</sup> is recorded in a document dated 1463. While his first name could have been the name of a Norseman, it is probable that he was of Dutch-German origin, considering his second name. Although *Krøfwer* is not a familiar name, there is for instance no one by that name in the Citizens' Register for Bergen, with its records dating back to approximately one century after *Hanes Krøfwer*'s name is mentioned, its appearance would suggest it is a Dutch-German name.

The name *Arent Pauk* is recorded in the same document. Whereas several forms of *Arn*-names were common Norse names, the name *Arent* in all its variations is most commonly found on men of Dutch-German origin.<sup>157</sup> While *Arent* could be a confusing spelling of a Norse name, the unfamiliarity of the second name would suggest that its owner was not of Norse origin. In modern times, the name *Pauk* is most common in the Czech Republic, Hungary, Estonia, Poland and Germany. Combined with a Dutch-German first name, it seems reasonable to count *Arent Pauk* among the names in the D-group.

The abbess of Munkeliv abbey, *syster Elsebe Egerdzdotter*, was probably not of Norse origin. Although the name *Elsebe* was occasionally given to Norse-born women<sup>158</sup>, the name of her patronymicon, *Egert*, is of Dutch-German origin.<sup>159</sup> It is likely, therefore, that *Elsebe Egerdzdotter* should be counted among the names of this group.

In a 1495-document, *Hans fiskare*<sup>160</sup> is recorded, renting a plot together with *Clafws kamper* and *Jochim fatighe*. Although his first name is a name not uncommon in Norse areas as well as in Dutch-German, his second name merely means "fisher" or "angler" in Norse, and reveals little about his origins. However, the men he is recorded with both bear very Dutch-German sounding names, and by this point, groups of men with Dutch-German names renting together was quite common (more on this in a later chapter), making it probable that *Hans fiskare* too was of Dutch-German origin.

*Lange Claus* and *Jens Splid*<sup>161</sup> both are recorded in a document dated 1585. *Claus* is a Dutch-German name, while *Lange* possibly is a nickname, seeing as it is recorded in front of what is the most common first name. *Jens* as a name was also in use in the Norse areas, while his second name *Splid* appears to be a non-Norse name. In the Citizens' Register for Bergen,

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<sup>156</sup> DN XII 232

<sup>157</sup> Lind, *Norsk-isländska dopnamn...*, p. 31

<sup>158</sup> Lind, *Norsk-isländska dopnamn...*, p. 232

<sup>159</sup> Lind, *Norsk-isländska dopnamn...*, pp. 208-209

<sup>160</sup> DN I 982

<sup>161</sup> NHD 3 pp. 15-16

one *Claues Splidt* from Bremen is recorded in 1622.<sup>162</sup> It seems likely that these two men were of Dutch-German origin.

### 2.2.3. B-group Names

Some of the names recorded in the documents are most likely the names of immigrants from the British Isles, most commonly either from Scotland or England. Some of these are fairly certain, some more uncertain. One such uncertain name is *Thomas Spir*<sup>163</sup>, recorded in 1392. He is recorded selling a property on behalf of a man who is certainly of British origin, *Thomas Buknam*.<sup>164</sup> *Thomas* appears to have been a very common name among those of British origin in Bergen, although the name was not uncommon on Norsemen either.<sup>165</sup> His second name could be a spelling of the Dutch-German names *Spierling* or *Spirie*, but considering his connections to *Thomas Buknam*, it seems more reasonable to assume *Spir* to be a Norse spelling of the British name *Spear*.

The name *Thomas Ietmundzson*<sup>166</sup> is recorded in a document dated 1423. As mentioned above, *Thomas* was a popular British name, but also a not uncommon Norse name. However, *Ietmund*, as in the patronymicon, was a common Norse spelling of the British name *Edmund*, a name not common in the Norse areas until later in the period.<sup>167</sup> His name will therefore be counted among the names of this group.

#### 2.2.3.1. The Scottish Names of 1529

One document dating from some time after 1529<sup>168</sup> does not deal with property transactions, but rather with those who have lost belongings and property after a violent incident; it describes the aftermath of the German attack on Scottish traders in Bergen in 1523. Although those mentioned in this document no doubt lived in Bergen at the time of the attack, it is less certain whether they were permanently established in Bergen, or if they meant to return to their home countries. Some of them, such as *Jon Thomesszønn* and *lille Thomess*, we can assume were well established in the city, and even in some cases held civil office in the city.

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<sup>162</sup> Nicolaysen, *Bergens Borgerbog*..., p. 41

<sup>163</sup> DN XII 124

<sup>164</sup> DN XII 108

<sup>165</sup> Lind, *Norsk-isländska dopnamn*..., pp. 1027-1028

<sup>166</sup> DN XII 175

<sup>167</sup> Lind, *Norsk-isländska dopnamn*..., p. 619

<sup>168</sup> DN XXII 147

Some, such as *Jon Bagster*, was likely also of British origin, his second name probably being the Norse spelling of the British *Baxter*. Some of the names mentioned, *Sander Ionsszønn*, *Jonn Ionsszønn*, *Willomm Nielszønn*, *Anders Ionsszønn* and *Peder Ionsszønn*, could be either Norse names or Norse spellings of the British names *Sander Johnson*, *John Johnson*, *William Nelson*, *Andrew Johnson* and *Peter Johnson*, although it seems probable, due to the context, that they all were of British origin. Whether they were permanently established in Bergen is less certain, although the Scottish immigrants in Bergen in this period do not appear to have had the same system of going back to Scotland after some years' work in Bergen as the Hansards did.<sup>169</sup> Some names, such as *Arnt snedker* and *Giertt bardskier* are more Dutch-German than British in appearance. They may have been Dutch-German artisans without connections to the Hanseatic union, and therefore considered as big a threat by those who attacked them. Their names will therefore be counted among the names in the D-group. One name mentioned in this document, *Donckin*, would appear to be a Norse spelling of the British name *Duncan*. However, his wife is recorded in the document as being surprised that she and her husband were targeted in the attack, as her husband was not Scottish (“mynn bonde war ingen schotte”). It might be that he was simply from the Shetland Islands or from England, rather than from Scotland. However, due to this uncertainty, his name will be excluded from further analysis. The same will the name *Copien* be. We do not know whether this was a first name, or whether he copied texts for a living, and this name was given him due to his profession.

The women mentioned in this document are named *Gyde* (widow of *Arnt snedker*), *Lorethe Thomiss dotther* (widow of *lille Thomess*), *Maritte Thomisdotther* (the wife of *Donckin*) and *Margrette* (the wife of *Copien*). *Gyde* or *Gyda* is an old, Norse name, meaning *Gyde* probably was of Norse origin and should be counted among the bearers of Norse names. *Lorethe* is probably a Norse spelling of the British name *Loretta*, making it one of the names in the B-group. *Maritte* and *Margrette* are versions of the name *Margareth/Margrete*, a name common in both Norse and British areas. As it is difficult to further ascertain whether or not they were Norse or British, their names will be excluded from further research.

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<sup>169</sup> Helle, *Bergen bys historie...*, pp. 804-805

### 2.3. The X-group Names and Summary of the Assessed Source Material

Three names do not belong to any of the above-mentioned groups. Those are *Eirikkir Færøyske*<sup>170</sup>, recorded in 1309, *fru Philippa greffue Hans dotter*<sup>171</sup>, recorded in 1463, and *Berent Færøiske*<sup>172</sup>, recorded in 1583. *Eirikkir* and *Berent* are from the Faeroe Islands, while *fru Philippa* is the daughter of Count Hans of Eberstein in Austria.

After this assessment of the names that are recorded in these sources, we are left with 742 names. 629 of these are of Norse origin, 95 belong to the D-group, 14 belong to the B-group, and 3 to the X-group.

<b>Group of names:</b>	<b>Number of occurrences:</b>	<b>Percentages:</b>
Norse names	629	84.8
Dutch-German names	95	12.8
British names	14	1.9
Other names	3	0.4
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>742</b>	<b>99.9 ≈100</b>

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<sup>170</sup> DN XII 43

<sup>171</sup> DN III 862

<sup>172</sup> NRR 2 pp. 527-532

### **3. Material analysis.**

As mentioned in an earlier chapter, the source material spans a significant time period, from the beginning of the fourteenth century to the end of the sixteenth, and the number of documents and names vary greatly from year to year, even from decade to decade. Certain years can come up with one document, others several, and some none at all. Because of this, trying to analyse possible trend changes over time by looking at year-by-year changes would yield poor and confusing results. The names were therefore grouped into periods of 50 years.

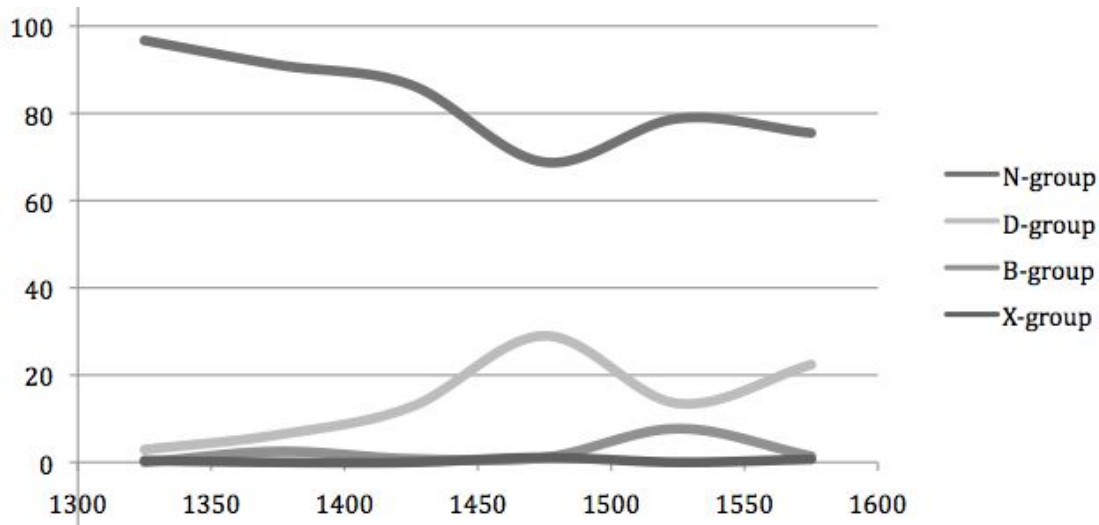
	1300-49	1350-99	1400-49	1450-99	1500-49	1550-99	TOTAL
N	232	72	109	64	41	111	629
D	7	5	16	27	7	33	95
B	0	2	1	1	4	2	10
X	1	0	0	1	0	1	3
TOTAL	240	79	126	93	52	147	737

Names in property documents 1300-1599.

Seeing as the number of names recorded in each time period varies from 240 to 57, this table is not ideal when we are looking for changes in the proportions that make up the demographic in question. The numbers are more useful as percentages, here rounded to the closest decimal (All tables and graphs can also be found in Appendices 2 and 3):

%	1300-49	1350-99	1400-49	1450-99	1500-49	1550-99
N	96.7	91.1	86.5	68.8	78.8	75.5
D	2.9	6.3	12.7	29.0	13.5	22.4
B	0	2.5	0.8	1.1	7.7	1.4
X	0.4	0	0	1.1	0	0.7

Table 1: Percentages of names in property documents 1300-1599



Graph 1: Changes in name proportions 1300-1599. The Y-axis shows the relative numbers, and the x-axis the years A.D.

The names used in this study could be said to belong to three different categories, depending on what the role or function of their owners were recorded as having. This chapter will explore the differences and similarities between these three categories.

The first category, group one, is this study's core group, and consists of the names of those who were recorded as buying, selling, renting, leasing, letting out or owning property, plots or buildings in Bergen. This is the people who were most certainly living in Bergen at the time when their names were recorded. Some were possibly buying property to rent it out, and might not have lived in Bergen themselves. Sometimes one of the parties of a transaction was an organisation, but these seem to have been often represented by someone who lived in Bergen, as in the examples of priests or monks acting on behalf of a church or monastery. It is generally easy to see when someone is not in fact living in Bergen, and even those who lived elsewhere were in a process of establishing, improving, securing or losing a foothold in Bergen, and were arguably still important in the city community. This category includes both men and women.

The second category, group two, consists of the names of what we might call "primary witnesses", those who issued the documents. They are often the first names mentioned, either as witnesses to a transaction or testifying to an oral agreement. Erslund has argued that the latter kind of document went out of use during the late Middle Ages, while the former became more widely used.<sup>173</sup> Both documents include group two names. These are often civil servants of some sort, or in some cases priests or even bishops. While most of

<sup>173</sup> Erslund, *Kven eigde byen...*, pp. 97-102



them probably lived in Bergen, these are somewhat less certain than the owners of names in group one, as it was perfectly possible to hold these kinds of offices, without actually living in the city. This category consists of men only.

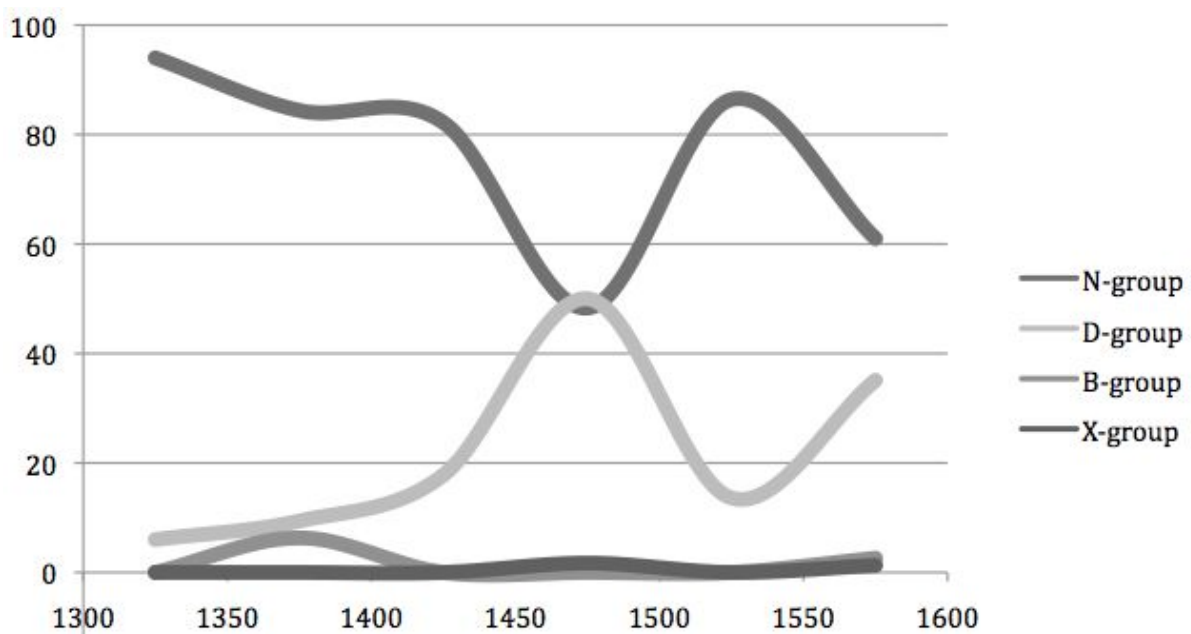
The third category, group three, consists of all the other names mentioned in the documents. Some are character witnesses, some are simply mentioned as the relatives, friends, family or associates of those who were directly involved in property transactions. Although many of the owners of these names might have lived in Bergen, it is probable that there were more non-Bergen dwellers present in this group than in the previous two. It can, however, still be useful if treated as a control group for group one, together with group two. Both men and women make up this category.

### 3.1. Core Group.

The number of names recorded in this first category are as follows, with the percentages in brackets:

	1300-49	1350-99	1400-49	1450-99	1500-49	1550-99	TOTAL
N	47 (94)	27 (84.4)	37 (82.2)	29 (48.3)	19 (86.4)	47 (61)	206 (72)
D	3 (6)	3 (9.4)	8 (17.8)	30 (50)	3 (13.6)	27 (35.1)	74 (25.9)
B	0 (0)	2 (6.3)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	2 (2.6)	4 (1.4)
X	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 (1.7)	0 (0)	1 (1.3)	2 (0.7)
TOTAL	50 (100)	32 (100.1)	45 (100)	60 (100)	22 (100)	77 (100)	286 (100)

Table 2: Names in group one, 1300-1599



Graph 2: Changes in name origins, group one, 1300-1599

Already, this graph provides us with some interesting information, as in the great changes that took place from the second half of the fifteenth century. The data is, however, not unproblematic. There are too few names in the X- and B-groups to allow any thorough analysis of these. However, it is interesting to notice that the two names mentioned in the 1350-99 period probably belonged to English men, and that the two in the 1550-99 period probably belonged to men of Scottish origin. According to Helle, the English merchants that had used to travel to and trade with Bergen began trading directly with Iceland from about 1400, and the Hansards faced little English competition after c. 1440<sup>174</sup>, whereas Scottish immigration to Bergen was on the rise from the early sixteenth century.<sup>175</sup> These numbers could reflect this development.

Most names, unsurprisingly, are Norse, but the proportion of the names of Norse origin is a lot smaller at the end of the sixteenth century than at the beginning of the fourteenth, with an apparent low point in the second half of the fifteenth century, while the proportion of D-group names associated with property transactions rises steadily until the second half of the fifteenth century, when they account for 50 percent of the names recorded.

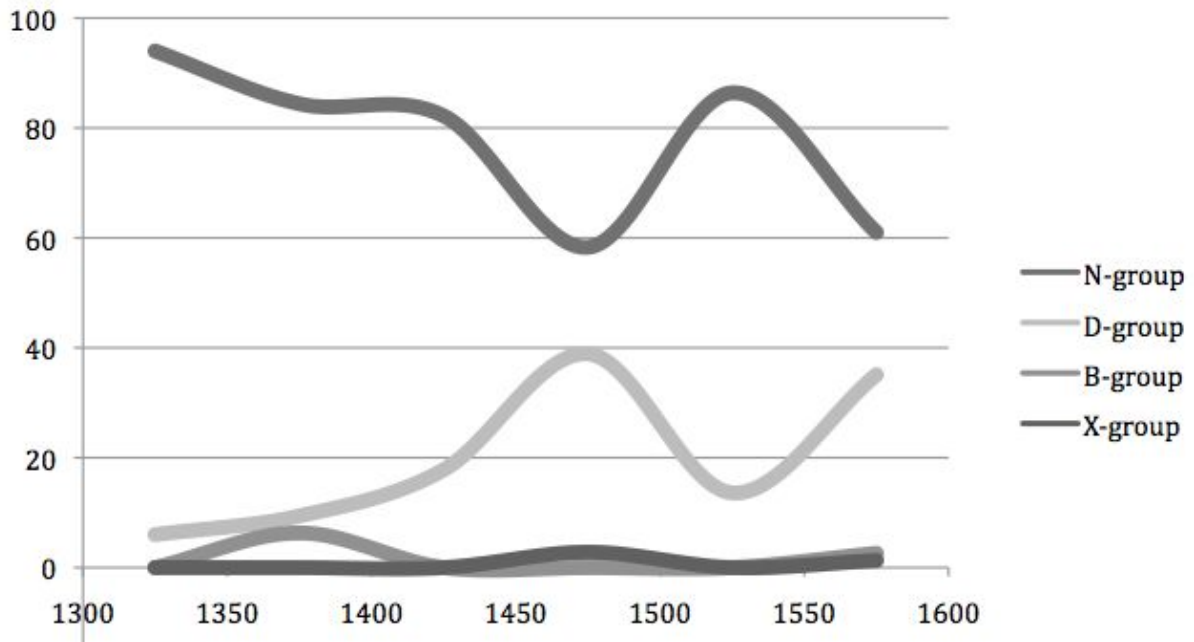
The probable explanation for this rather extreme increase of D-group names, is the inclusion of the Munkeliv cadastre from 1463. In this document, listing a number of people who were renting property from Munkeliv around the mid-fifteenth century, the D-group names make up 66.7 percent of the names. This is an interesting document, and well worth an analysis. However, for sake of removing statistical noise, all the names of the cadastre, both the Norse and the non-Norse, will be removed from future graphic presentations. Without this document included, the numbers like this:

	1300-49	1350-99	1400-49	1450-99	1500-49	1550-99	TOTAL
N	47 (94)	27 (84.4)	37 (82.2)	21 (58.3)	19 (86.4)	47 (61)	198 (75.6)
D	3 (6)	3 (9.4)	8 (17.8)	14 (38.9)	3 (13.6)	27 (35.1)	58 (22.1)
B	0 (0)	2 (6.3)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	2 (2.6)	4 (1.5)
X	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 (2.8)	0 (0)	1 (1.3)	2 (0.8)
TOTAL	50 (100)	32 (100.1)	45 (100)	36 (100)	22 (100)	77 (100)	262 (100)

Table 3: Names in group one, without the Munkeliv cadastre, 1300-1599

<sup>174</sup> Helle, *Bergen bys historie...*, pp. 790-91

<sup>175</sup> Helle, *Bergen bys historie...*, p. 804



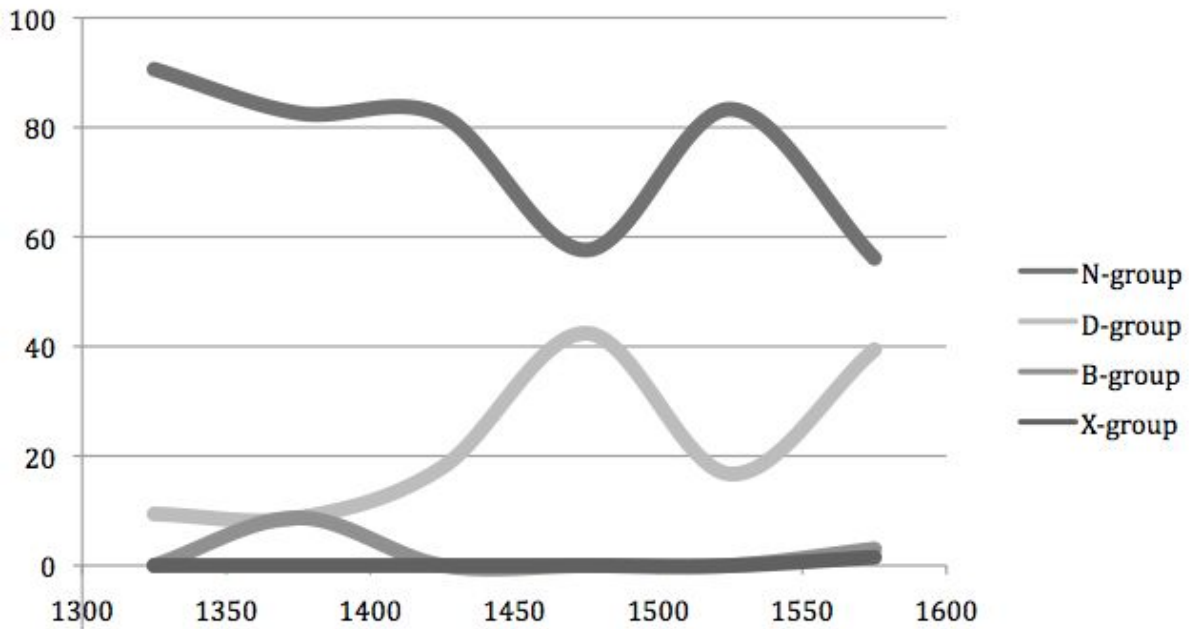
Graph 3: Changes in name origins, group one, without the Munkeliv cadastre, 1300-1599

There is still a noticeably smaller proportion of N-names from the second half of the fifteenth century, and there is still a sharp increase in the proportion of D-group names in the same period, but the numbers are less extreme compared to the earlier numbers. However, it is well worth noticing the number of people with D-group names who rented property from Munkeliv, especially when compared to later examples of people with D-group names in the Bergen property market.

Some of the names of those who were directly involved in property transactions, may not have lived in Bergen. To explore whether these names have any effect on the shape of the graph, all these names were removed from group one to group three. The proportions of names in group one are now thus:

	1300-49	1350-99	1400-49	1450-99	1500-49	1550-99	TOTAL
N	29 (90.6)	19 (82.6)	32 (82.1)	19 (57.6)	15 (83.3)	37 (56.1)	151 (71.6)
D	3 (9.4)	2 (8.7)	7 (17.9)	14 (42.4)	3 (16.7)	26 (39.4)	55 (26.1)
B	0 (0)	2 (8.7)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	2 (3)	4 (1.9)
X	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 (1.5)	1 (0.5)
TOTAL	32 (100)	23 (100)	39 (99.9)	33 (100)	18 (100)	66 (100)	211 (100.1)

Table 4: Names in group one, 1300-1599



Graph 4: Changes in name origins, group one, 1300-1599

The proportions are still much the same as in the previous table and graph. The proportion of Norse names has gone down. This is hardly surprising, as it is likely that some Norse or Norwegian people were active in the property market outside Bergen, or came to Bergen from other parts of Norway or the Norse area to conclude property transactions in there.

The relative similarity of the proportions before and after the removal of the names of people who might not have lived in Bergen, can have several explanations. It could mean that the proportion of Norse versus non-Norse people actively involved in property transactions was fairly similar in other areas, perhaps especially in the region around Bergen, to what it was in Bergen. This is a problematic supposition, as we have little or no similar material from other areas to compare the Bergen data with. Another, perhaps more likely explanation, is that the names that were moved to group three were indeed also representative of the pattern in Bergen. Because of this uncertainty, these uncertain names will stay in group three for the remainder of this study.

### 3.2. Comparison with Group Two and Group Three

There were more people with Norse names than with non-Norse names directly involved in the property transactions we have studied. However, there was an increase of non-Norse names involved throughout the period, and particularly in the second half of the fifteenth

century and the second half of the sixteenth. It can be interesting to compare these proportions with those in groups two and three.

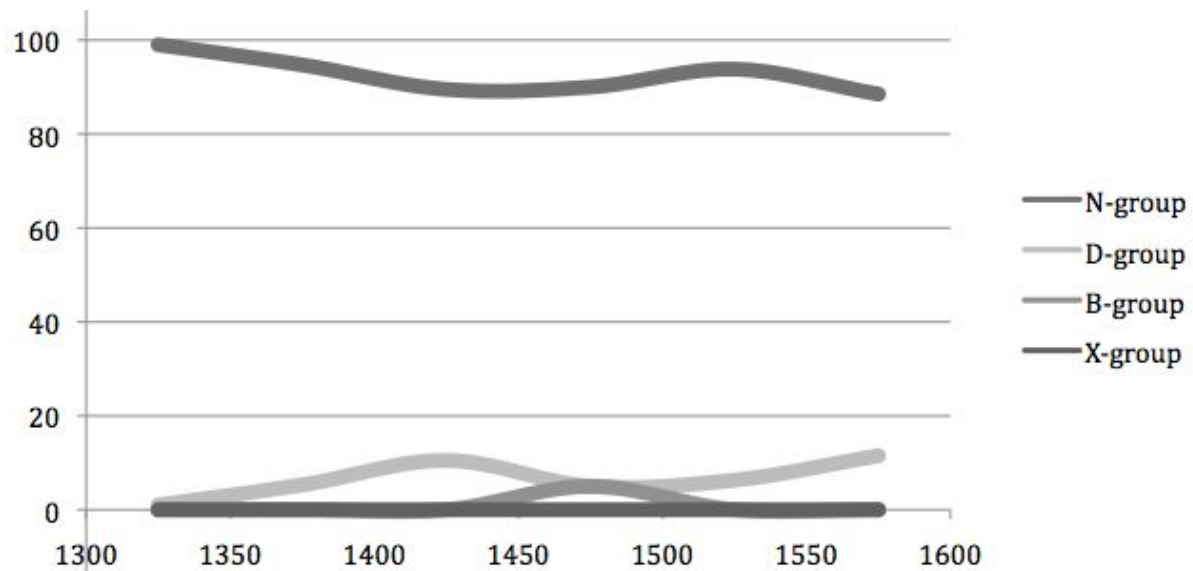
If these groups display a similar trend in the proportion of names mentioned, it might mean that late medieval Bergen was a place where immigrants were integrated in more than one aspect of town life. They did not only buy, sell, rent, rent out or donate property, they were also trusted as witnesses and mentioned as friends or family. If these two groups display a dissimilar trend to the trend in group one, it can be useful to look at what areas they differ in, and how much they differ, as well as possible reasons for this difference.

### 3.2.1. Group Two

Of the two secondary groups, this is the largest one. This comes as no surprise. When two people traded property, it was not unusual to have between three and six witnesses, either as witnesses to the transaction or to testify that the parties had made an oral agreement. These, as mentioned above, are most often men of some sort of civil office. There are *lagmenn*, *sysselmenn*, *fehirder*, *drottseter*, *skattseter*, *rådmenn* and *lagrettsmenn* present, all of which were offices that dealt with the running of the city and the country, and the men holding these offices were probably considered trustworthy and honourable men. Some were men of the Church, both priests and monks, and even occasionally a bishop. It seems fair to assume that most of the men in this category were economically independent, if not to say reasonably well off. There are no women in this category. This group is probably the one which is the least representative of society as a whole. However, it can be an indicator of who were integrated, trusted and well-established within the town community.

	1300-49	1350-99	1400-49	1450-99	1500-49	1550-99	TOTAL
N	103 (99)	36 (94.7)	51 (89.5)	18 (90)	15 (93.8)	23 (88.5)	246 (94.3)
D	1 (1)	2 (5.3)	6 (10.5)	1 (5)	1 (6.3)	3 (11.5)	14 (5.4)
B	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 (5)	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 (0.4)
X	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>104 (100)</b>	<b>38 (100)</b>	<b>57 (100)</b>	<b>20 (100)</b>	<b>16 (100.1)</b>	<b>26 (100)</b>	<b>261 (100.1)</b>

Table 5: Names in group two, 1300-1599



Graph 5: Changes in name origins, group two, 1300-1599

This table and graph displays the same curve as the previous one, however the fluctuations are smaller, the increases and decreases much less dramatic. The X- and B-group names are of little interest when it comes to examining trends, as the latter group includes only one name and the former none at all. It is however interesting to note this lack of names from these two groups, and that the one name in the B-group is recorded in the second half of the fifteenth century, *Pædher Engilz*, probably belonged, not to a Scottish immigrant, as might be supposed, but to an Englishman. However, according to Helle, merchants from eastern England continued to sail to and trade with Bergen throughout the fifteenth century. In the 1460s, there was still an English alderman living in Bergen, and Lynn merchants with trading connections with Bergen still had their own guild at the end of the century.<sup>176</sup>

The proportion of D-group names is much smaller than for group one. There might be several reasons for this. It could be that the immigrants from the German and Dutch areas were less established than the figures for group one might suggest. A somewhat more likely reason is that the figures for group two reflects a different demographic. Some of the members of this group were probably not from Bergen, and the figures for group two might reflect a less urban society. However, seeing as the trends in group one remained much the same even after the names of those most likely not resident in Bergen were removed to group three, this does not immediately explain why the trends should be different when there are people from a larger geographical area represented. The difference is probably due to the fact

<sup>176</sup> Helle, *Bergen bys historie...*, p. 791

that these represent a somewhat different strata of the town community. It is not unlikely that immigrants were less trusted and less frequently appointed to positions of power, and that this is the reason why their names are so much less represented, compared to what they are in group one.

On Graph 4, the low point for D-group names is in the 1500-49 period, between the peaks of 1450-99 and 1550-99. In this group two table and graph, the relative lowpoint is in the 1450-99 period, the peak coming in 1400-49, and before a rise in the last time period. The reason for this difference could be a reaction to the growing dominance of the Hansa in the Bergen trade, and an increasing unwillingness to see anyone from the D-group area in office and in positions of authority and power. The Hanseatic Office on Bryggen was fully developed by 1450<sup>177</sup>, and its presence might have been felt as a sufficient threat to the power of the Norse inhabitants of Bergen to result in this. It could also have been a reaction to the attack on Olav Nilsson and Munkeliv in 1455.

As the members of this group very likely were wealthier than the average member of the city community of Bergen, it could be that those who originated in the D-group area, and who had the same ambitions or were as financially successful as the N-group members of this category, preferred to move back to their home cities rather than to stay in Bergen, and that they are less represented in this group for that reason. It might also have been more difficult to obtain financial success and social influence without being franchised in some way, as the Hanseatic traders were, and that other, non-Hanseatic, immigrants lacked the necessary contacts, which the members of the N-group would have had more of.

### 3.2.2. Group Three

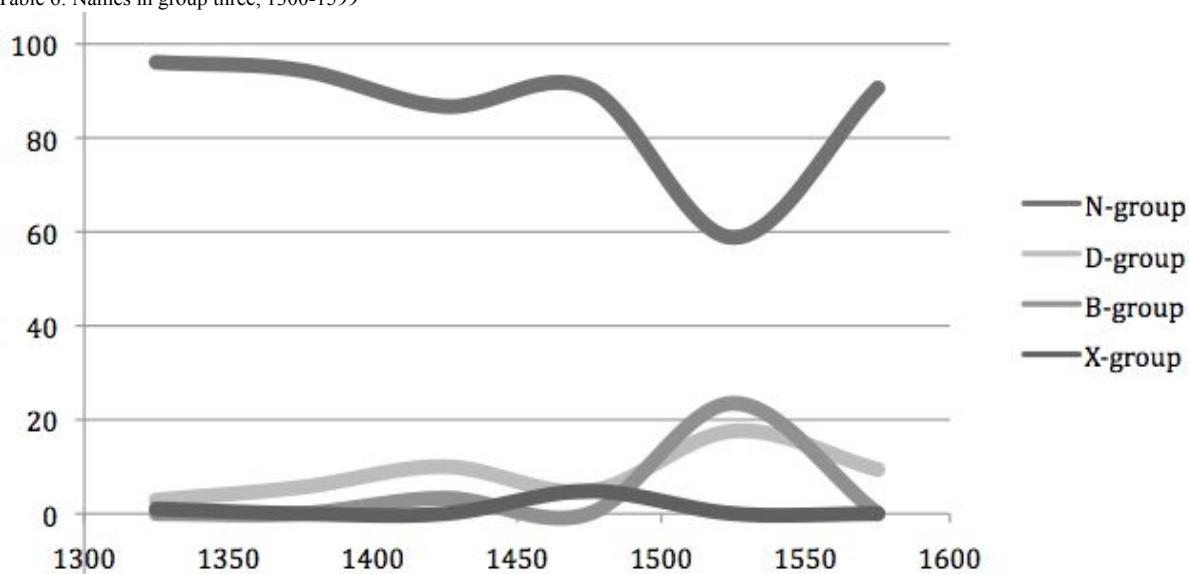
This is by far the most diverse group, but also the most uncertain in terms of the place of living of its members. A number of the names in this group probably belonged to people who came to Bergen from their place of living solely to witness in the cases where they were mentioned. Some were not even present when the case documented was taking place, but merely mentioned by others. Many of those mentioned in this group did probably live in Bergen, as they could give testimony as to the owner history of various Bergen properties or of the family history of the people directly involved in the transactions, or serve as character witnesses for the members of this and the previous groups. In table form:

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<sup>177</sup> Helle, *Bergen bys historie...*, p. 743

	1300-49	1350-99	1400-49	1450-99	1500-49	1550-99	TOTAL
N	98 (96.1)	17 (94.4)	26 (86.7)	19 (90.5)	10 (58.8)	48 (90.6)	218 (91.2)
D	3 (2.9)	1 (5.6)	3 (10)	1 (4.8)	3 (17.6)	5 (9.4)	16 (6.7)
B	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 (3.3)	0 (0)	4 (23.5)	0 (0)	3 (1.3)
X	1 (1)	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 (4.8)	0 (0)	0 (0)	2 (0.8)
TOTAL	102 (100)	18 (100)	30 (100)	21 (100.1)	17 (99.9)	53 (100)	239 (100)

Table 6: Names in group three, 1300-1599



Graph 6: Changes in name origins, group three, 1300-1599

The general proportions of name origins in this group are much the same as in the previous groups, where the majority of the names are of Norse origin. The names in the X- and B-groups are still too few to yield much information or form a proper impression of the possible number of X- or B-group immigrants. However, this table and graph shows much less of a steady rise in the amount of non-Norse names than what could be seen in the visual presentation of group one, group two, and all the names together.

There are several possible reasons for this. One is the variety in numbers of documents used and names found. The most severe dip in the proportion of Norse names takes place in a period where we only have 17 names recorded, the lack of material might explain the unexpected change. However, where there is a fall in the proportion of Norse names in group one and two, there is actually a rise in the proportion of Norse names for group three. Group three is probably a less coherent group. Some of its members are not from Bergen, and it represents a much more random selection of the demographic than the two previous groups. This might explain the difference in fluctuations from group one and two, this group might simply not represent the same demographic as groups one and two.



There is a severe reduction in the proportion of Norse names in the 1500-49 period, where in group one and two, this fall in the proportion of Norse names was found in the preceding period, a period where the proportion of Norse names rises in group three. One possible explanation would be that the increase of non-Norse name owners directly involved in property transactions meant an increase of foreigners who needed native Norse men and women to vouch for them and their ability to pay rent or for the purchased property. However, this theory would not explain the rise in the proportion of D-group names in the 1500-49 period, as it is less likely that Norse men and women in the property market had the need for non-Norse character witnesses.

Another possible reason for this difference, is that the increase of non-Norse names in the first half of the sixteenth century and the decrease in the second half of the same century displays a delayed mirroring of the developments present in group one and to some extent in group two. It is likely that immigrants were recorded in group one before they were recorded in group three, seeing as the members of group one were much earlier in the process of becoming established in the city than those who were mentioned by others or called upon to witness.

### 3.3. Restricting to Property Documents Only

All the documents used in this study refer to Bergen property in some way or other. While most of them were issued as part of a property transaction, some documents do not include the transaction of property, merely mention of one or several Bergen properties, often in the name of those recorded (e.g. *Jon Notarius i Einarsgard*<sup>178</sup>). To explore whether the proportions within and correlations of the three groups would change if only the documents that were direct results of property transactions were included, all documents where Bergen property is mentioned, but where no transaction of property takes place, were excluded from groups 2 and 3.

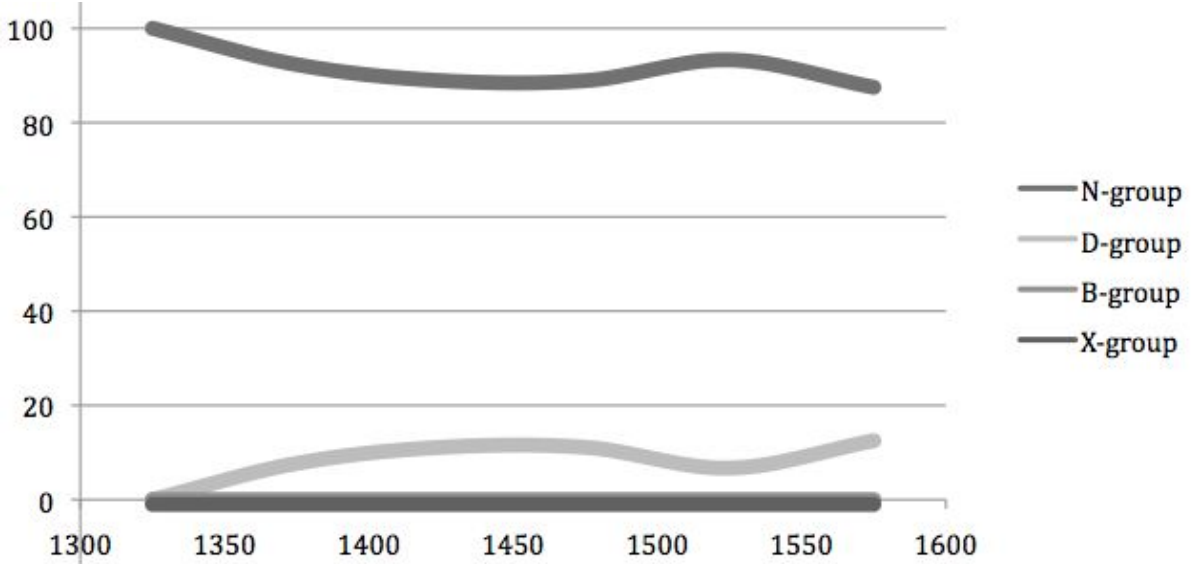
By doing this, we narrow down the variety of sources used. Even if immigration was noticeable in one source at one time, it is likely felt in other areas of city life and in other kinds of documents at other times. The results were thus:

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<sup>178</sup> DN I 101

	1300-49	1350-99	1400-49	1450-99	1500-49	1550-99	TOTAL
N	33 (100)	24 (92.3)	32 (88.9)	8 (88.9)	14 (93.3)	14 (87.5)	125 (92.6)
D	0 (0)	2 (7.7)	4 (11.1)	1 (11.1)	1 (6.7)	2 (12.5)	10 (7.4)
B	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)
X	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)
TOTAL	33 (100)	26 (100)	36 (100)	9 (100)	15 (100)	16 (100)	135 (100)

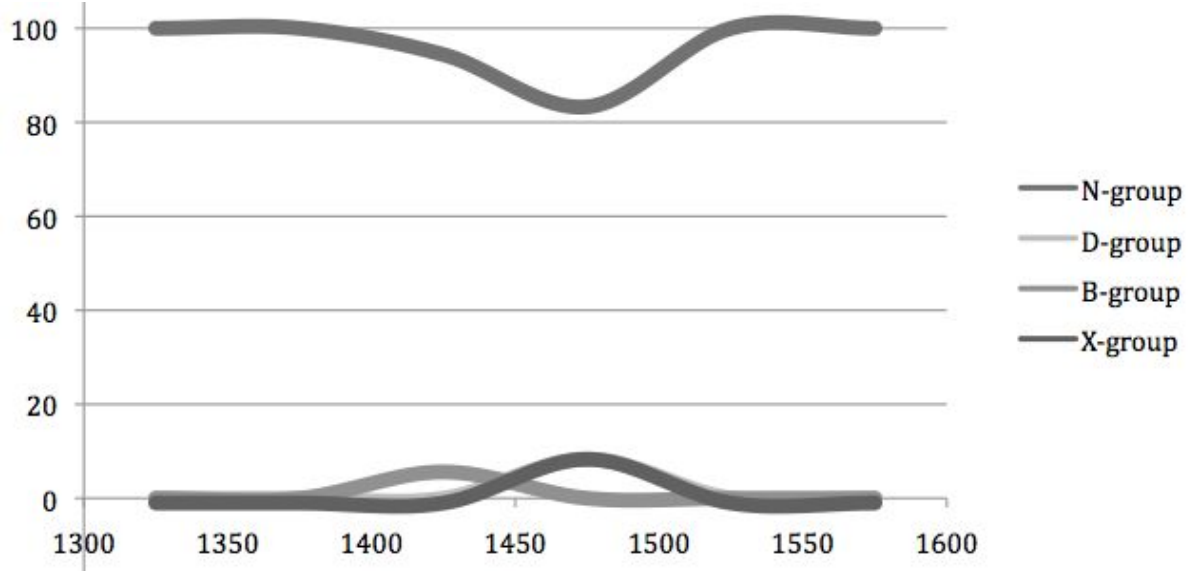
Table 7: Names in group two, including only property transaction documents, 1300-1599



Graph 7: Changes in name origins, group two, including only property transaction documents, 1300-1599

	1300-49	1350-99	1400-49	1450-99	1500-49	1550-99	TOTAL
N	26 (100)	5 (100)	17 (94.4)	10 (83.3)	3 (100)	3 (100)	64 (95.5)
D	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 (8.3)	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 (1.5)
B	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 (5.6)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 (1.5)
X	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 (8.3)	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 (1.5)
TOTAL	26 (100)	5 (100)	18 (100)	12 (99.9)	3 (100)	3 (100)	67 (100)

Table 8: Names in group three, including only property transaction documents, 1300-1599



Graph 8: Changes in name origins, group three, including only property transaction documents, 1300-1599

These tables and graphs show better correlation between the relative numbers in group two and three, and those of group one, than when all names were included. Graphs for all three groups now experience rises and falls in the same periods. This improved correlation might be the result of the elimination of what we could call statistical noise. The fact that there are even fewer names included here, and particularly non-Norse names, might mean that people of non-Norse origin were not much involved in the processes surrounding property transactions. It is possible that those who were looking to get involved in the Bergen property market thought it important to show their ties to the native Norse community, and therefore were much more likely to use people of Norse origins as witnesses and executors.

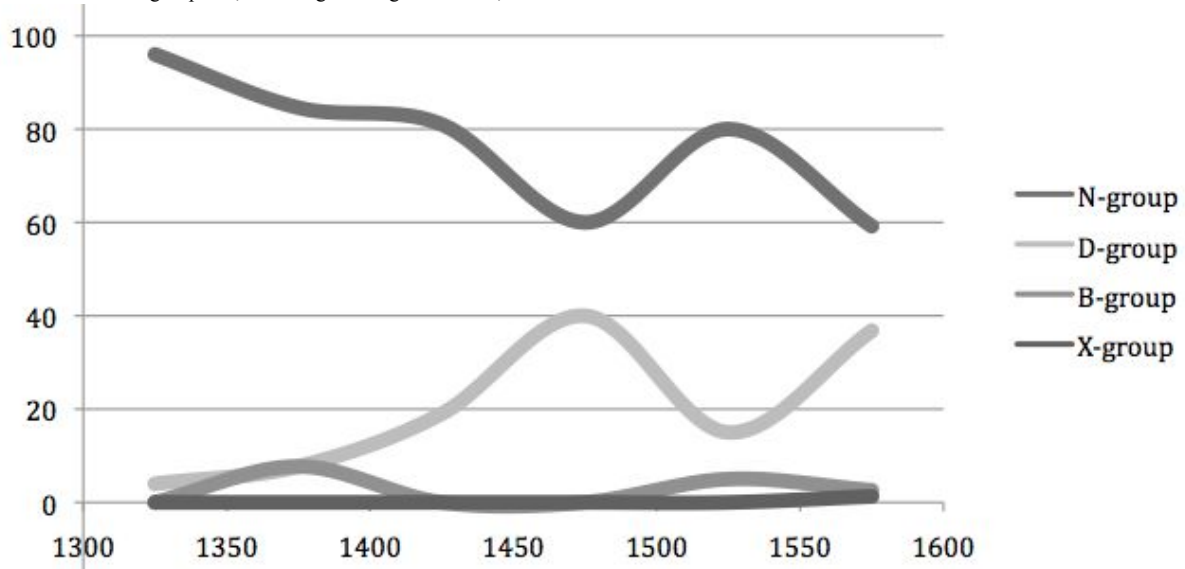
However, it is of course possible that these new tables and graphs show a false correlation. The number of names included is in some cases quite drastically reduced, particularly in group three, making any conclusions drawn from this material much less sound. We know that the owners of the names did exist. It is possible that the fluctuations of name origins in group three, as it was before these names were excluded, would have correlated with studies of names from a more diverse body of documents. These new, correlating tables and graphs could hide a trend. That the previous group three table and graph was difficult to explain does not imply that it is incorrect or imprecise. However, as the curves of these new graphs have the same fluctuations as those of the Graphs 4 and 5 for groups one and two, this would suggest that these graphs can indeed be seen as a representation of the changes in the makeup of certain parts of the town's demographic.

#### 3.4. Including the Bergen Dwellers

Some of the names in groups two and three would suggest that the owner was owning or renting Bergen property, or at least living in the city of Bergen. These names include those of bishops, priests and other clergymen who were attached to churches and abbeys in Bergen (e.g. *Arnfinz prebendarium at broedra alteri j Kristkirkiu j Biorgvin*, the prebenadium at the Brothers' altar in the church Kristkirken in Bergen), those who are given a locational by-name or surname (e.g. *Rydgæirs i Suæins garðe*), those who are described as being mayors of Bergen (e.g. *Niels Lauritzsenn borgermestere her udj Bergenn*), and, from the mid-sixteenth century, those who are given the title of "citizen", *borger* (e.g. *Dunckert Skotte borger her i Bergenn*). Another way to test the consistency in the curves and correlations of the tables and graphs is by including these names in group one.

	1300-49	1350-99	1400-49	1450-99	1500-49	1550-99	TOTAL
N	72 (96)	22 (84.6)	34 (81)	21 (60)	16 (80)	45 (59.2)	210 (76.6)
D	3 (4)	2 (7.7)	8 (19)	14 (40)	3 (15)	28 (36.8)	58 (21.2)
B	0 (0)	2 (7.7)	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 (5)	2 (2.6)	5 (1.8)
X	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 (1.3)	1 (0.4)
TOTAL	75 (100)	26 (100)	42 (100)	35 (100)	20 (100)	76 (99.9)	274 (100)

Table 9: Names in group one, including all Bergen dwellers, 1300-1599



Graph 9: Changes in name origins, group one, including all Bergen dwellers, 1300-1599

Comparing these curves to those of Table and Graph 4, we can see that they have the same fluctuations. It is still the N-group and D-group that are of sufficient size for analysis, and their curves on the graph are still similar after all Bergen dwellers have been included. In the beginning of the period, there is a large majority of N-group name, a few D-group names and no B-group and X-group names. Up until the mid-fifteenth century, there is a gradual decline in the proportion of N-group names, while the proportion of D-group names increases steadily until the second half of the fifteenth century, when there is a marked dip in the proportion of N-group names, and a marked rise in the proportion of D-group names. The first half of the sixteenth century sees a sharp increase in the N-group proportion and a sharp decrease in the D-group, before the second half of the sixteenth century, when there is again a fall in N-group names and a rise in D-group names.

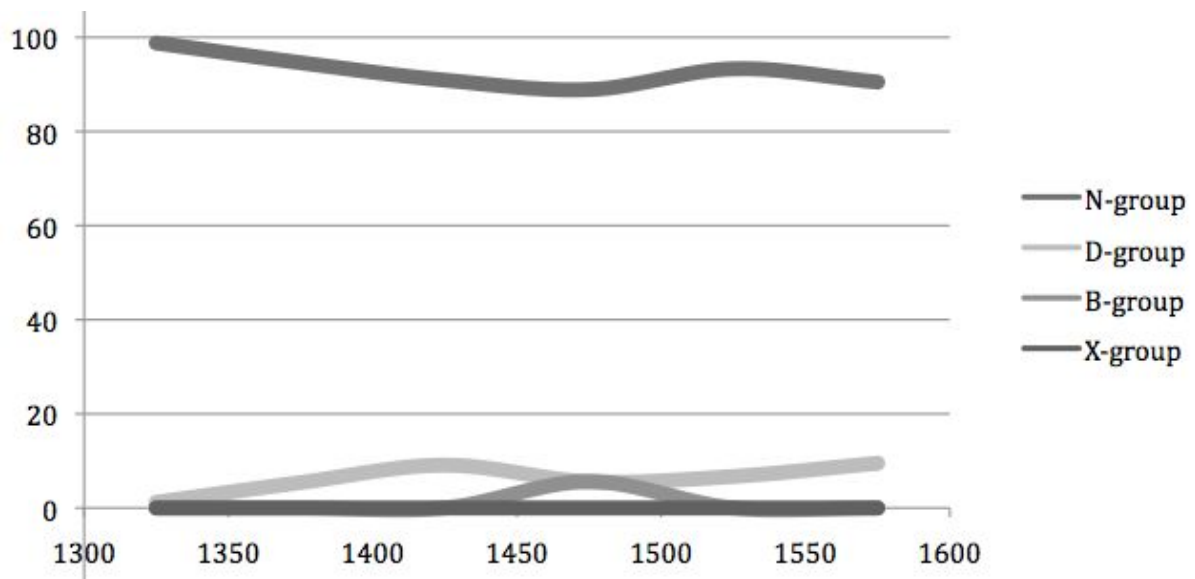
The change in the first half of the sixteenth century would appear to be somewhat less dramatic on this graph than on Table and Graph 4. However, there are few notable differences between the two graphs. As all the names included in the data making up Table and Graph 9 are names of people involved in the Bergen property market in some way, whether their names were recorded in the case of a property transaction or they were recorded

as living in or owning property in Bergen, it can be presumed that this graph is a fairly accurate representation of the trends and changes in the makeup of the demographic within the premises established in this study.

As a form of control, we can compare the similarity of the Graphs 4 and 9 with those of group two and three, not including the names of those who probably lived in Bergen.

	1300-49	1350-99	1400-49	1450-99	1500-49	1550-99	TOTAL
N	83 (98.8)	35 (94.6)	50 (90.9)	16 (88.9)	14 (93.3)	19 (90.5)	217 (94.3)
D	1 (1.2)	2 (5.4)	5 (9.1)	1 (5.6)	1 (6.7)	2 (9.5)	12 (5.2)
B	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 (5.6)	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 (0.4)
X	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)
TOTAL	84 (100)	37 (100)	55 (100)	18 (100.1)	15 (100)	21 (100)	230 (99.9)

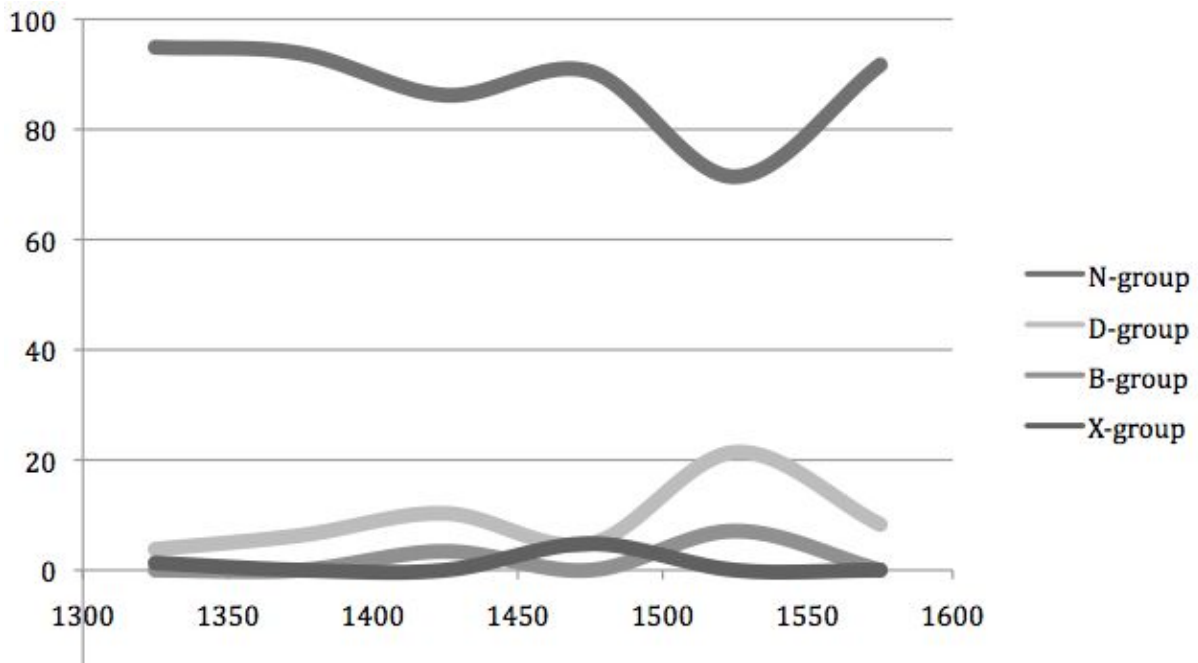
Table 10: Names in group two, excluding Bergen dwellers, 1300-1599



Graph 10: Changes in name origins, group two, excluding all Bergen dwellers, 1300-1599

	1300-49	1350-99	1400-49	1450-99	1500-49	1550-99	TOTAL
N	75 (94.9)	15 (93.8)	25 (86.2)	19 (90.5)	10 (71.4)	44 (91.7)	188 (90.8)
D	3 (3.8)	1 (6.3)	3 (10.3)	1 (4.8)	3 (21.4)	4 (8.3)	15 (7.2)
B	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 (3.4)	0 (0)	1 (7.1)	0 (0)	2 (1)
X	1 (1.3)	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 (4.8)	0 (0)	0 (0)	2 (1)
TOTAL	79 (100)	16 (100.1)	29 (99.9)	21 (100.1)	14 (99.9)	48 (100)	207 (100)

Table 11: Names in group three, excluding Bergen dwellers, 1300-1599

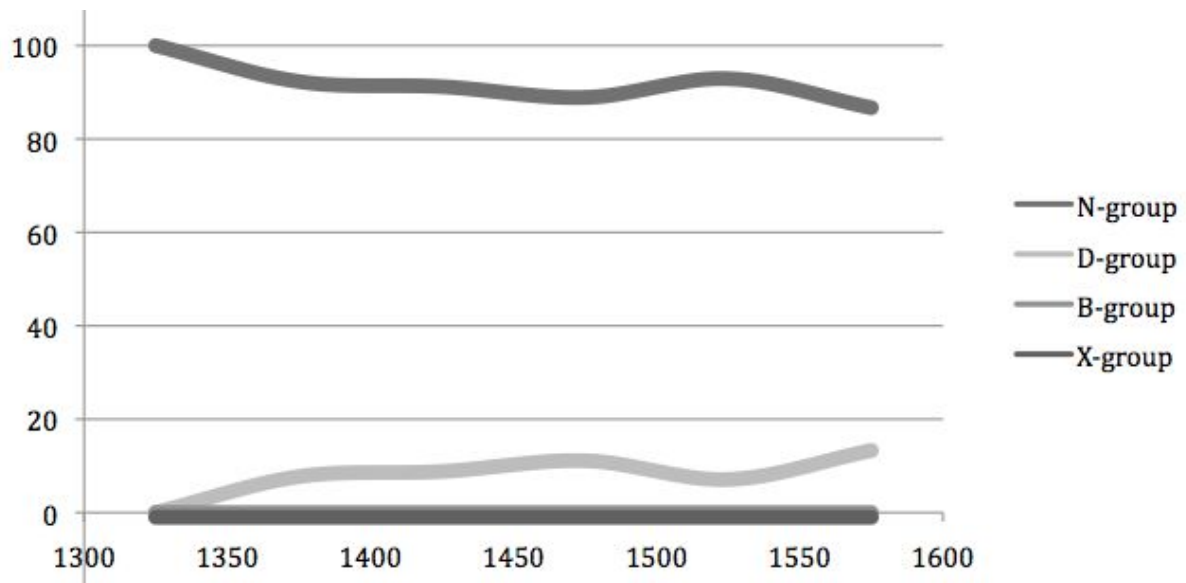


Graph 11: Changes in name origins, group three, excluding all Bergen dwellers, 1300-1599

The changes in these tables graphs still look much the same as they did in Tables and Graphs 5 and 6, down to the inverted pattern of increases and decreases in the group three graph and table. When removing the names that have been taken from documents that do not deal directly with property transactions, the curves are fairly identical to those of Tables and Graphs 7 and 8:

	1300-49	1350-99	1400-49	1450-99	1500-49	1550-99	TOTAL
N	28 (100)	24 (92.3)	31 (91.2)	8 (88.9)	13 (92.9)	13 (86.7)	117 (92.9)
D	0 (0)	2 (7.7)	3 (8.8)	1 (11.1)	1 (7.1)	2 (13.3)	9 (7.1)
B	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)
X	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>28 (100)</b>	<b>26 (100)</b>	<b>34 (100)</b>	<b>9 (100)</b>	<b>14 (100)</b>	<b>15 (100)</b>	<b>126 (100)</b>

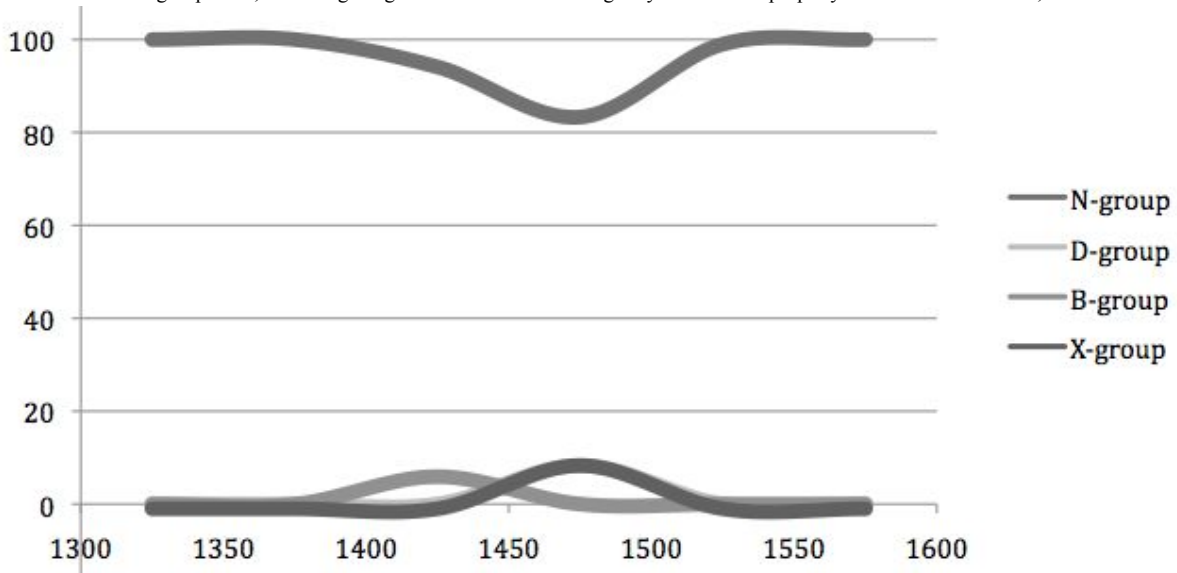
Table 12: Names in group two, excluding Bergen dwellers and including only names from property transaction documents, 1300-1599



Graph 12: Changes in name origins, group two, excluding all Bergen dwellers and including only names from property transaction documents, 1300-1599

	1300-49	1350-99	1400-49	1450-99	1500-49	1550-99	TOTAL
N	21 (100)	4 (100)	16 (94.1)	10 (83.3)	3 (100)	2 (100)	56 (94.9)
D	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 (8.3)	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 (1.7)
B	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 (5.9)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 (1.7)
X	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 (8.3)	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 (1.7)
TOTAL	21 (100)	4 (100)	17 (100)	12 (99.9)	3 (100)	2 (100)	59 (100)

Table 13: Names in group three, excluding Bergen dwellers and including only names from property transaction documents, 1300-1599



Graph 13: Changes in name origins, group three, excluding all Bergen dwellers and including only names from property transaction documents, 1300-1599

Due to the consistency of the changes of these tables graphs, it seems fair to assume that these data show certain trends in the migration pattern to late medieval Bergen, and that they, particularly the group one data, can serve as basis for further analysis.

## 4. Trend Analysis

As this study is primarily concerned with the role of possible immigrants in the property market of late medieval Bergen, this chapter will look at the examples of non-Norse names of group one, those connected to the transactions, ownership or other use of Bergen property, and examine their roles and functions, and the roles and origins of those surrounding them. As the groups two and three, as well as the overview of all the names counted together, function as control groups for the trends of group one, this chapter will compare the names of group one to these, presented in the graphs in the previous chapter. It will also take a closer look at the other inhabitants of Bergen, who are mentioned in the same documents, but not connected directly to property transactions. Finally, this chapter will attempt to connect the trends and changes that can be discerned to changes and events in the period, both in Norway and abroad.

### 4.1. 1300-1349

For the first part of the period the large majority of the names belong to the N-group, and only 9.4 percent have non-Norse names. One couple with names belonging in the D-group, *Jons standuoeyks* and his wife *Valburgar* bought a part of the Bergen property *Skjeggen* (*Skeggenom*) from the Bergen church *Kristkirken* in 1334, on the condition that they would build two fireproof stone cellars on it. In 1337, *Tidemann van Lynn* (D-group) is recorded as owning one of the properties in the vicinity of the property *Brødregård* (*Bræders garde*), without further mention of when or from whom it was acquired. Both his new and his old neighbours all have names from the N-group.

These names are really too few to shed light on any trends, but it is worth noticing that already before 1350, some possible immigrants were not only *becoming* involved in the Bergen property market, some were already involved. It is also interesting to note how the first two names belong to a couple, considering how late medieval immigration to Bergen often has been seen as a largely masculine affair, and the classical image of a late medieval immigrant in Bergen is that of an unmarried man.

We see the lack of non-Norse names reflected in Table and Graph 1, where only 3.3 percent have non-Norse names, 2.9 percent of these have names from the D-group. When comparing group one to group two, visualised in Table and Graph 5, we see that this group of



witnesses and officials have hardly any members of non-Norse names at all, less than 1 percent. This is hardly surprising. The members of the groups two and three were likely already established within the community, and if there was an increase of immigrants, the effects would likely not be seen in groups two and three before the end of these five decades, or the beginning of the next five. If this is the explanation, we should be able to see the movements of group one mirrored, but delayed, in groups two and three.

Also in group three, presented in Table and Graph 6, is the proportion of non-Norse names smaller than for group one, 3.9 percent. 2.9 percent are D-group names, the same proportion as for all the names. As for group two, it is not surprising to find a smaller proportion of non-Norse names in this group than in group one, especially not if we are to accept that the fourteenth century saw the beginning of increased late medieval immigration to Bergen.

#### 4.2. 1350-1399

The non-Norse names in the second half of the fourteenth century make up a somewhat larger proportion of all the names recorded, 17.4 percent, which is an increase of 8 percentage points compared to the previous period. In 1366, *Tidhekir Nicholassun* (probably from the Dutch-German area), was given the use of plots belonging to the abbey of Munkeliv on Nordes in Bergen, as his mother's brother was the bishop of Greenland. In 1375, *Thomas Buknam* (B-group) was owed a considerable sum of money by *Margrett Villiams dottir* in Skapten (*Skaptenom*), and it was decided that she was to pay him back in part by renting out her house Duvehus (*Dufwo hws*) in Skapten. It was not rented out to him, but those who did rent it were paying rent directly to *Thomas*, and if she did not pay him back, he was to take over the building, while she still had to make sure it was being kept in proper condition until the debt had been paid in full. Apparently the debt was not paid, because in 1388, a relative of *Margrett*, *Sighurdir Wnason*, gave the property away as payment of her debts, presumably to *Thomas*, who asked *Thomas Spir* (B-group) to sell Duvehus on his behalf. It was sold to the Norseman *Eiriki Ragwaldzsyni*, possibly a relative of the now late *Margrett's* husband *Hakon*. In 1399, brother *van Aken* (D-group), on behalf of his abbey Munkeliv, traded a property in Sogn for the Bergen property *Åfjorden* (*Afiordhenom*) with the Norseman *Endridhir Haldoorsson*.

The two men with names of British origin appear to be less interested in establishing themselves with property in Bergen. However, they seem to treat property as valuable assets, as values that can cover debts. The property had been on Norse hands before, and went back to Norse hands after a brief period of British ownership. The two men with D-group names both acquired property through their connections with the Church, one more directly than the other. Brother *fan Aken* was presumably already established in Bergen as one of the monks of Munkeliv, and was acquiring property on behalf of his abbey. This could be part of the abbey's property policy, as mentioned in earlier chapters, and its endeavour to own and rent out more property to generate income. *Tidhekir* was connected to the Church through family ties, but is the only non-Norse person mentioned in this period who probably acquired the property for his own use, and not on behalf of someone else or to sell it on for profit.

Also in Table and Graph 1, we can see an increase of 5.6 percentage points in non-Norse names. There are a lot fewer documents from these than from the preceding decades, but this could be the beginning of an immigration increase. The proportion of non-Norse names in group two increases too, with 4.3 percentage points. However, this is possibly due to the reduction in number of names recorded, as even with the increased percentage, there are only two foreign names in group two for these decades, those of *Herman klaustirman*<sup>179</sup> and *Hanis Westhof*<sup>180</sup>. Both of these men were probably attached to the Church, possibly to the abbey of Munkeliv. There was probably more immigration within the Church already long before our period of study, and we are therefore more likely to find immigrants here, and they are less likely to be delayed mirroring from a previous period.

There is an increase in the proportion of non-Norse names in group three as well, however, here the increase is 2.7 percentage points, which is a lot less than for both group two, one and for all the names taken together. Also in this group, the reduction in the number of names recorded is noticeable, and there is really only one non-Norse name recorded for these decades and in this group. This name is that of *herman siirhagen*<sup>181</sup>, and belongs in the D-group. This might be due to document bias, however it might also be that there were few well established immigrants in the town community yet. *Herman* was recorded towards the end of the period, in 1382, and was involved in a property transaction, just not regarding a

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<sup>179</sup> DN XII 133

<sup>180</sup> DN XII 133

<sup>181</sup> DN XXI 165

property in Bergen. He should perhaps rather be counted among those who were seeking to establish themselves in Norway, than those who were already sufficiently established to be called on to witness or mentioned in property transactions documents.

#### 4.3. 1400-1449

The first five decades of the fourteen hundreds see an increase of non-Norse names in group one of just 0.5 percentage points compared to the previous decades. The first non-Norse name mentioned from the first half of the fifteenth century, is that of *Haniss Borquordh*<sup>182</sup> (D-group), who rented a plot from Saint Birgitta's order at the abbey of Munkeliv in 1420. In 1422, *Heine Henrikxson*<sup>183</sup> (D-group) was recorded as selling the Bergen property Tuft, and in 1441, *Hans Nagele*<sup>184</sup> (D-group) rented a part of one of the urban commons to erect a baking house on it. *Herman Sosth*<sup>185</sup> (D-group) sold a part of the Bergen property Brynjulfstomten (*Bryniulfs tupth*) to *Henrike Sosth* (D-group) in 1444, and in 1447, *Hans Skoep*<sup>186</sup> (D-group) leased a cellar with a house and a plot from the Norseman *Erlend Endritson riddhere*. The property had earlier been leased, or at least used, by another man with a D-group name, *Egert Koht*.

Those mentioned in this part of the period seem to have been somewhat more involved in the transaction of properties for their own use than those of the preceding century. Four were recorded as renting or leasing property, all from native organisations (Munkeliv or the City Council), or people with N-group names. One man mentioned, *Heine*, sold his property to the Norsewoman *Gudrune Anunda dottir*.

There is possibly some indication of a community of people with D-group names in the cases mentioned above, but this is uncertain to say the least. It was specified that, although the cellar, house and plot was owned by *Erlend*, it had been used by a Dutch or German man before. The Dutch or German *Herman* sold his property to another Dutch or German man, but these men could be related, seeing as they share a second name, and this particular transaction might be something of a family affair.

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<sup>182</sup> DN XII 170

<sup>183</sup> DN XII 174

<sup>184</sup> NgL II, III, nr. 390

<sup>185</sup> DN X 181

<sup>186</sup> DN II 778

While the proportion of non-Norse names is fairly stable for group one, there is a clear 4.6 percentage point increase of non-Norse names in Table Graph 1 compared to the previous fifty-year period, and an increase of 10.2 percentage points compared to the proportions one century earlier. This is due to the increase of non-Norse names in the other two groups. The proportion of non-Norse names in group two increases with 5.2 percentage points, possibly signalling that there was an increase in the proportion of foreigners among the well established men of the city. Does this increase mirror the increase in group one for the previous decades? Six names are recorded, and all six belong in the D-group. Three of the names probably belong to men who were attached to the Church or a monastery. One name, that of *Tideka Fridorp*<sup>187</sup>, belongs to a council member, and the last two names belong to witnesses, with no further titles. Although half of the men mentioned still have connections to the Church, this could suggest that more immigrants were becoming established and trusted as private persons, and not as people acting on behalf of or with the authority of a religious organization.

The increase of non-Norse names is even more pronounced for group three, where it increases by 7.7 percentage points compared to the previous fifty-year period. This is possibly delayed mirroring from the previous decades. However, when the names recorded in documents that do not deal directly with property transactions are removed, we are left with one name, that of *Thomas Ietmundzson*<sup>188</sup> (B-group), who was recorded confirming one man's ownership of a property. Only counting this name, the non-Norse name proportion of group three increases with 5.6 percentage points, which is closer to that of group two and of all names together. The increase of non-Norse names in groups two and three, despite the stability in group one, would suggest that some of those who were establishing themselves in the previous period were perhaps now becoming more integral to the community.

#### 4.4. 1450-1499

We have even more names for the second half of the fifteenth century, and although the majority of names still belong in the N-group, the proportion of non-Norse names increase by 24.5 percentage points in this period. *Gereka fan Mølne*<sup>189</sup> (D-group) was recorded as

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<sup>187</sup> DN II 620

<sup>188</sup> DN XII 175

<sup>189</sup> DN II 825

renting a Bergen property from the Norsewoman *Ragnilda Bærgxdotter*, who acted on behalf of Munkeliv where she was the mother superior, in 1458, and of all those who were recorded as renting Bergen properties from Munkeliv in 1463, 66.6 percent had names belonging in the D-group. Only 33.3 percent of those mentioned in this document had names that belong in the N-group.<sup>190</sup> *Laurens Kochz*<sup>191</sup> (D-group) donated a Bergen property to Munkeliv, which was sold on to the Norseman *Pædher Mikelsson* in 1470, and in 1479, *Kort Rackebud*<sup>192</sup> was recorded as being responsible for the Bergen property Kare, on behalf of a woman in Lübeck. Sister *Elsebe Egerdzdotter*<sup>193</sup> (D-group) leased out the Bergen property Arvidsgarden (*Arffuidzgaarden*) on behalf of her abbey Munkeliv in 1481. She acted together with the abbey's confessor, the Norseman *Ketil Beinsson*, and the property was leased out to a Norse couple, *Guttorm Amundz syne* and *Margarethe Torstens dotter*. In 1484, *Berindth Swtman*, *Clawssz Eberingh* and *Clawssz Jansson*<sup>194</sup> (all D-group) rented a kaleyard and a plot with bakehouses from the Norseman *Andres Jansson*, in 1486, *Lydek van Luden*, *Johan Thorbek*, *Hans skinner* and *Hans Fedtzer*<sup>195</sup> (all D-group) rented a house from Norseman *Endrid Svenssøn Rostung*, and in 1495, *Clafws kamper*, *Hans fiskare* and *Jochim fatigue*<sup>196</sup> leased a plot belonging to Munkeliv, represented by the Norse mother superior of the abbey, *Birgitta Ølreks dotter*, and the abbey's confessor generalis, the Norseman brother *Lafranz Olaffson*.

The Church, in particular the abbey of Munkeliv, seems to have been important to the Dutch or German immigrants involved in the Bergen property market, even if we disregard sister *Elsebe*, who was acting on behalf of Munkeliv. *Gereka* rented from Munkeliv, *Laurens* donated his property to Munkeliv, a group of three Dutch or German men rented a plot from Munkeliv, and 16 of 24 of the names of the Munkeliv canastre belong in the D-group. *Kort* might be attached to the Hanseatic Trade Union in some way, and the Lübeck woman on whose behalf he is acting might be the wife or daughter of a Hansard with Bergen properties, but apart from him, all of those who do not deal with Munkeliv, two groups of three and four men with D-group names respectively, deal with people with Norse names. It is also worth noticing that towards the end of the fifteenth century, it seems more common for small

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<sup>190</sup> DN XII 232

<sup>191</sup> DN V 870

<sup>192</sup> NM 1 p. 574

<sup>193</sup> DN I 930

<sup>194</sup> DN IV 998

<sup>195</sup> NM 1 pp. 575-576

<sup>196</sup> DN I 982

groups of Dutch-German men to rent property together, whereas earlier, the names recorded are those of families or single men acquiring property alone.

There is a general increase of 17.7 percentage points for non-Norse names in general in this part of the period, not only in the group one names, and although this increase is somewhat less dramatic, it is still significant. This would suggest an increase in immigration, as well as an increased degree of immigrants becoming established and involved in society. However, group two shows no increase in the proportion of non-Norse names, remains fairly stable, with only a small decrease of 0.5 percentage points. This is peculiar when group one show such an impressive increase of non-Norse names. One reason for this might be the mirroring effect which was mentioned earlier, seeing as group one showed some of the same stability in the previous five decades. However, it is also possible that an increased immigration from the Dutch or German areas created more distrust towards people of Dutch or German origins, and that these were less likely to be given office or used as witnesses in periods of increased immigration. The two non-Norse group two names recorded, one from the D-group area and one from the B-group, both belong to council members, to men who were already established in positions of trust and power, one in 1463 and one in 1490.

The decrease is even more pronounced for the non-Norse names in group three, where the proportion of non-Norse names goes down with 3.7 percentage points compared to the previous five decades. This could be due to document bias, or to delayed mirroring, or, as with group two, because of distrust of immigrants. However, if we only include the names from the documents that deal with property transactions, the picture changes, and the proportion of non-Norse names increases with 11 percentage points, which, although it is not as dramatic as the group one increase of 24.5 percentage points, is still noticeable. There is little coherence in the position and origin of those mentioned in this group, and there are only two. One was an Austrian noblewoman collecting the debts of her late (Norse) husband, the other is a man with a D-group name who might be a Hansard, and who is mentioned as a witness in a property transaction, making it impossible to draw any conclusions from this group.

#### 4.5. 1500-1549

There are only a very few names recorded in these documents for the first half of the sixteenth century, and the proportion of non-Norse group one names decreases with 25.7

percentage points. The first name recorded is that of *Hildebrand Tegeder*<sup>197</sup> (D-group) who, in 1527, rented a kaleyard belonging to the Bergen church Vår Frue Kirke, represented by the vicar *Hans Henrikssøn*. In 1531, *Hans Stafwell*, *Jürgen Tom* (or possibly *Jürgen Torn*), and two men of uncertain but possibly D-group origins rented the Bergen properties Nordre Lånen and Ytre Lættan from the Norse (but probably not Bergen-dwelling) *Ingerd Ottedatter til Austråt*.

With such a small number of names, it is difficult to say anything about changes in trends over these five decades. This is the period of sharp decline in the proportion of foreign, compared to Norse, names. However, the trend of Dutch-German immigrants renting property from churches or abbeys appears to have continued into this first half of the century, as well as the trend of several Dutch-German men renting property together.

The decrease of 10 percentage points for all the names counted together is smaller than for group one only, the same is the decrease of non-Norse names in group two, a decrease of 3.7 percentage points. With fewer documents, there is only one non-Norse name recorded for group two, that of *Melchior Pryts*<sup>198</sup> (D-group), who was a member of the council.

However, for group three, not only does the proportion of non-Norse names not decrease, but it increases with 31.5 percentage points. This, as mentioned in the previous chapter, is more than a little puzzling. There are not that many names recorded for these five decades, but this difference is still interesting and dramatic. Although this is likely to mirror the increase of non-Norse names in group one in the previous decades, at least to some extent, it is likely to be, at least in part, due to the documents used. If all documents that do not describe property transactions are excluded, we are left with no group three names at all, a decrease of 16.6 percentage points all together. The only group three name which is not mentioned in the document about the victims of the German attack on Scots and others in 1523, is a possible Hansard, who might not even have lived in Bergen.

#### 4.6. 1550-1599

The last fifty years of our period of study sees not only an increase in non-Norse name owners involved in the property market, there is a 27.2 percentage point increase in

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<sup>197</sup> NM 1 pp. 576-577

<sup>198</sup> DN VI 757

non-Norse group one names in this part of the period, but also an increase in the number of names recorded in general. In 1559, *Henrik Dresse*<sup>199</sup> (D-group) rented a part of a Bergen property. *Dunckert Skotte*<sup>200</sup> (B-group) and his wife acquired one of the Church's plots on Øvrestretet in 1562, built for him by *Erik Rosenkrantz* on behalf of the King, and were to pay a yearly sum for it. The same plot had earlier been used by *Dyriich Mainfeld* (B-group). Another man, *Tønnes Clausson*<sup>201</sup> (D-group), was also given a plot by the King in 1562, and *Jorst Herbardinck* and *Marchus Van Hadussaden*<sup>202</sup> (both D-group), plus *Thome Lynning* (who was probably a Hansard), rented a plot and a kaleyard from the Norse *Anders Nilsen*, and *Barbara Kruckow* and *Adelus Kruckow* (of more uncertain origins), the same year.

There are no fewer than six different property transaction documents dated 1563 used in this study. *Adriam Blaufouger*<sup>203</sup> (D-group) acquired one of the plots on Stranden which belonged to the Bergen church Apostelkirken, and there was some building work done for him on the plot by *Baltzer Lundt*, the ombudsman of *Christoffer Walchendorps*. *Erik Rosenkrantz* built a property for *Thomisz Dreselhaege*<sup>204</sup> (D-group) on one of the Crown's plots in Vågsbotnen in Bergen. *Jesper Brand* and *Marchus van Heusen*<sup>205</sup>, as well as *Thome Lynning* and *Jost Herbardnik* who were probably Hansards (all D-group), rented a plot from *Erik Rosenkrantz*, the same did *Rothgierd Westhoff* and *Henrich Wessels*<sup>206</sup>, and *Rasmus Ruut*, *Hans Pott*, and *Birel Knoch*<sup>207</sup> (all D-group). *Tonis Effelt*<sup>208</sup> rented a plot from the Church.

*Marchus Tym* (D-group) and his wife *Anna Christoffersdotter*<sup>209</sup> (who might have been of Norse or Dutch-German origins) were allowed the use of a plot in 1577. The plot had been the inheritance of the wife of Norseman *Peder Morttensson*. In 1581, *Adrian von Buckschott* and his wife *Tholicki Henricksdottr*<sup>210</sup> (both D-group) bought a kaleyard from the Norseman *Jens Nielssen thil Simling*, and in 1582, a tailor by the name of *Hans Ryssou*

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<sup>199</sup> UBB dip. saml. 24.07.1559

<sup>200</sup> DN X 758

<sup>201</sup> NRR 1 p. 344

<sup>202</sup> UBB dip. saml. 30.08.1562

<sup>203</sup> DN X 760

<sup>204</sup> DN X 764

<sup>205</sup> UBB dip. saml. 20.01.1563

<sup>206</sup> UBB dip. saml. 20.01.1563

<sup>207</sup> UBB dip. saml. 20.01.1563

<sup>208</sup> AHL ASA ex. Dan. 850

<sup>209</sup> UBB dip. saml. 31.01.1577

<sup>210</sup> UBB dip. saml. 03.05.1581



bought, together with his wife *Anna Dirichs*<sup>211</sup> a Bergen property from two Hansards who had acquired it from the Norseman *Oluff Suendssen*. A document dated 1583 lists the owners of the properties surrounding one urban common which had been in the ownership of *Erik Rosenkrantz*. Nine of the names belong in the N-group, but *Røllik Kobberslager*, *Rotmand*, *Bartskjer Berents* or possibly *Boens* (all D-group), and *Berent Færøiske* (X-group)<sup>212</sup> were also among the owners. In another document dated the same year, *Jocun Willumssen* (D-group) and his wife *Maritte Amunssdotter* (probably N-group)<sup>213</sup> are recorded as having rented a plot on Hollenderstretet, possibly from vicar *Truils Laritssen*. *Lange Claus* (D-group)<sup>214</sup> sold a plot on Stranden to *Jens Splid* (D-group) in 1585, and in 1595, *Zendt Kofffermandt*<sup>215</sup> was recorded as owning houses in the vicinity of a property sold by the Norse woman *Jahann Søffreusdatter* to *Else Christensdotter*, who was probably Norse, and *Batzer Matzsønn*, of uncertain origins.

This last part of the period saw more groups of men with D-group names renting property together, although some of these probably were Hansards. There is also one example of a couple where both have D-group names buying property from Hansards. One possible explanation for this would be that the Hansards were involved in the property market the same way that the British *Thomas Buknam* and *Thomas Spir* were earlier in the period. Another reason might be that the Hanseatic union was losing its overwhelming dominance, and that those attached to the Hanseatic Office in Bergen were looking to sell what property they had in Bergen and establish themselves in their home towns on the Continent. There seems also to have been a rise in the number of people who had plots built for them by the King or by Rosenkrantz, particularly in the 1560s. There are examples of people with Norse names renting or acquiring property in the same way, but this appears from the surviving material to happen somewhat less often. *Elsebe Pedersdatter* receives a barber's booth from the King in 1557<sup>216</sup>, but it would seem that she had already received this property as a gift from *Geble Pedersson*, and that the King was merely confirming this gift. *Anders Pedersson* was allowed to rent one of the Crown's properties, built on by *Geble Pedersson*, in 1561<sup>217</sup>,

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<sup>211</sup> UBB dip. saml. 22.01.1581

<sup>212</sup> NRR 2 pp. 527-532

<sup>213</sup> UBB dip. saml. 06.03.1583

<sup>214</sup> NHD 3 pp. 15-16

<sup>215</sup> UBB dip. saml. 14.01.1595

<sup>216</sup> NRR 1 p. 220

<sup>217</sup> NRR1 p. 62

and another (or possibly several) Crown property on Hollenderstredet in 1562.<sup>218</sup> *Hans Hanssøn* and his wife *Elsebe Thomisdatter*<sup>219</sup> rented one of the King's plots in 1578. The Mayor *Nils Lauritson* rented the same King's plot as *Anders Pedersson* had rented before, also in 1578. However, in addition to those mentioned above, *Erik Rosenkrantz* rented out property to Hanseatic officials and traders in 1562<sup>220</sup>, and to a group of six men, described as "traders on Bryggen" and almost certainly Hansards, in 1568. In 1578, his widow *Hellwig* rented out property to four men who were also almost certainly Hansards.<sup>221</sup>

This eagerness of the King and his officials to rent out property to what is possibly a number of Hanseatic traders could have several explanations. It might be part of *Erik Rosenkrantz*' effort to bring the Hansards under Danish-Norwegian law<sup>222</sup>, one way of controlling where they could live. The fact that several of these properties had building work done as part of the process leading to them being rented out could mean that the property market in Bergen was stagnant or declining, and that measures were made to make properties more desirable for possible renters. Ermland spotted the same trend in his work, and attributed it to a wish for urban growth.<sup>223</sup>

There is a general increase of 3.3 percentage points in the proportion of non-Norse names in this last half century, not only for the group one names, although this increase is much less dramatic than that in group one. As in earlier decades, this part of the period might have seen an increase in immigration, which was more profoundly noticed in the property market than in other areas of city life. There is an increase in the proportion of non-Norse names in group two as well, of 5.2 percentage points. If the effect of the increased immigration visible in group one was more distrust of foreigners and a smaller proportion of non-Norse names in group two for the 1450-99 period, we would expect to see something similar here, but instead, there is an increase of the non-Norse proportion. However, looking more closely at the names recorded for group two, there are still only three. One is the *Hovedsmann*, a King's Captain, who probably immigrated to Norway from the D-group area, but through Denmark, it is even possible he came from a D-group family who made the

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<sup>218</sup> NRR 1 p. 328 and NRR 1 pp. 343-344

<sup>219</sup> NRR 2 25.07.1578

<sup>220</sup> UBB dip. saml. 30.08.1562

<sup>221</sup> UBB dip. saml. 22.06.1578

<sup>222</sup> Ermland, *Kven eigde byen...*, pp. 140-143 and Magnus A. Mardal, 'Erik Ottesen Rosenkrantz, *Store Norske Leksikon* ([https://snl.no/Erik\\_Ottesen\\_Rosenkrantz](https://snl.no/Erik_Ottesen_Rosenkrantz)), accessed 19.04.16

<sup>223</sup> Ermland, 'Eit forsøk...', p. 257

migration over several generations, seeing as he was working in a position of trust under the Danish-Norwegian King. It is possible his should not be counted among the non-Norse names at all. The second recorded name is of a citizen of Dutch or German origin who was involved in vouching for another man's, who was probably also Dutch or German, ability to pay his debts. The third name is of a tailor, with a D-group name, who witnessed the sale of a property by two Hansards to a couple with names of D-group origin. Although two names cannot provide us with sufficient information to draw any very solid conclusions, the fact that both of these D-group names are of men who were involved in transactions between other people of Dutch or German origin might suggest some feeling of distrust towards immigrants.

While there is increase in the non-Norse names of both group one and two, group three sees a decrease of 31.7 percentage points. This decrease almost mirrors the decrease in group one in the previous part of the period, and the decrease brings the group three non-Norse name levels back to the same level as they were on in the second half of the fifteenth century. When including only the documents that describe property transactions, there are no non-Norse names at all, the same as was the case in the previous fifty-year-period. This might also be caused by native distrust of immigrants, and suggest that there were still fewer established and trusted immigrants who played integral parts in the town community after the immigration slump in the early sixteenth century.

#### 4.7. Other Inhabitants

For the first century of the period, the only non-Norse inhabitants of Bergen mentioned in the documents used in this study, are those who were directly involved in property transactions. None of the names found for either group two or three include non-Norse names of people whom we can assume lived in Bergen. The first name is recorded in 1418, and is that of *Hannes Tydhekasson*<sup>224</sup>, who was a priest at a church in Bergen, and who belongs in group two. He is not the only clergyman with D-group name recorded in these documents, there are Dutch-German clergymen recorded in documents dated 1399.<sup>225</sup> One of the witnesses to the trade in this document, *Herman klaustirman*, might even have been attached to an abbey in Bergen, but as this is uncertain, his name has not been included among the Bergen dwellers in group one. *Hannes Tydhekasson* is not the only group two member with a D-group name

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<sup>224</sup> DN XII 165

<sup>225</sup> DN XII 133

recorded in the first half of the fifteenth century either. *Biernardhir fan Borken*<sup>226</sup>, *Jenis fan Kampen*<sup>227</sup> and *Hanis Eintwintigh*<sup>228</sup> served as witnesses and issued property transaction documents in 1400, 1404 and 1418 respectively.

For the second half of the fifteenth century, there are no non-Norse Bergen dwellers recorded, apart from those who were directly involved in property transactions. As mentioned before, at first glance this seems somewhat at odds with the curve of Graph 9, which shows a clear increase in the proportion of D-group names in this period., which might indicate that the rise of this curve does indeed not reflect an increase in immigration, and that immigration and immigrants trusted with positions of power or influence were not noticeable until later periods.

Two names are recorded for the first half of the sixteenth century, and both are of British origin. *Jon Thomesszønn* was first mentioned in 1529<sup>229</sup>, and later as a witness (group two) in 1547<sup>230</sup>, when he was Mayor of Bergen. The other is *Lille Thomes*, who was a member of the city council, and is mentioned in the same 1529 document as *Jon*. Both names could be said to belong both in group two and three, being both names mentioned in a document which does not describe a property transaction, and names of men in the same social and economical situation as those of group two.

In the final part of the period, the name of *Jens Kock* (D-group) was recorded as he witnessed a property transaction in 1578.<sup>231</sup> He is also described as “borger”, a citizen of Bergen. D-group names are not common in group two, even this late in the period, but *Jens* is not alone. There are others with D-group names mentioned in 1559 (*Christopher Valchendorff*<sup>232</sup>) and 1582 (*Hendrich Wischen skreddere*<sup>233</sup>). *Claus Melsom borgere*, (D-group) another citizen of Bergen, is mentioned in 1585<sup>234</sup>, although not in a property transaction document. No non-Norse names are mentioned among the groups two or three inhabitants of Bergen in the property transaction documents used in this study after 1465.

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<sup>226</sup> DN XII 134

<sup>227</sup> DN II 581

<sup>228</sup> DN XII 165

<sup>229</sup> DN XXII 147

<sup>230</sup> DN XII 618

<sup>231</sup> NHD 1 pp. 167-168

<sup>232</sup> UBB dip. saml. 24.07.1559

<sup>233</sup> UBB dip. saml. 22.01.1582

<sup>234</sup> NHD 3 pp. 33-34

#### 4.8. External Events

Even after this closer study of those with non-Norse names recorded as directly involved in property transactions, or as living in Bergen, it does not do to be too certain or conclusive about this analysis. However, some possible trends can be discerned. One is the importance of the Church in the property transactions, both in renting out property, but also as an organization and a workplace through which some immigrants can be involved in the property market and, in one case, as a group two witness. Of course, this impression might very well be biased and caused by the fact that a large number of the documents used in this study came from the abbey of Munkeliv. However, the trend of groups renting property together stretches from the Catholic last half of the fifteenth century, and well into the Protestant decades of the sixteenth. It is not unlikely that the Crown assumed the role of the Catholic Church in renting out property to these groups of men with D-group names.

This group renting is another discernable trend, although this impression too might be biased, as the material probably includes Hansards who might not have been looking to settle permanently in Bergen. However, it is interesting to note that these groups do not seem to have been looking to invest in the property market to make money. They did not buy property and lease it out, although they might very well have had paying tenants living in the properties they themselves rented. It is also very unclear whether, in the second half of the sixteenth century, these groups were taking advantage of a favourable property market, or were being controlled or attempted controlled by the King and his deputies in Bergen. No matter how challenging it may have been for the Crown to generate income by renting out Bergen properties, however challenging it may have been to attract people wanting to rent the Crown's property, they were still choosing to rent it out, rather than sell it, possibly hoping for changes in the economic situation, if indeed the economy was the reason for this building on and renting out plots and properties.

Some aspects appear fairly unchanged throughout the period. One is the interchangeability of property ownership. Property appears to rarely pass directly from one immigrant or person with a non-Norse name to another, and there does not appear to have been any culture for selling or renting out property within an immigrant community. Properties of all kinds are rented, owned or used by Norse and non-Norse people interchangeably.

Another seemingly unchanging aspect is the heterogeneity of the immigrants directly involved in the property market. Despite the increase in groups renting from around the mid-fifteenth century, couples and single people were also involved in the property market throughout the period.

As mentioned above, there seems to have been a certain change late in the period, most likely effects of the Reformation, where the King or the Crown took over from the Church as the most prominent landlord. This could be reflected in the group two witnesses that live in Bergen. Where there was a priest in the early fifteenth century, by the second half of the sixteenth century we find citizens instead.

Most of the immigrants seem to have come from the Dutch or German areas, and it is also within this Dutch-German group that we find the most diversity. The two Englishmen recorded in the late fourteenth century were not looking to settle down and establish themselves permanently in Bergen, and the Scottish men noted in the first half of the sixteenth century were not recorded as directly involved in property transactions. The only X-group member is a Faroese man in the second half of the sixteenth century, but while he is recorded as being the owner of a Bergen property, we know nothing of who he acquired it from or whether he rented it out or not. Although the majority of the names of those living in Bergen or directly involved in property transactions always are Norse, the proportions of Norse and non-Norse names vary throughout the period. The reason for these variations must be sought outside the material. As the main changes would suggest a sharp increase in immigration in the second half of the fifteenth century, a sharp decrease in the first half of the sixteenth century, and another increase towards the end of the sixteenth century, it would seem sensible to look into the events and situations that shaped Norway and Bergen over these 150 years.

#### 4.8.1. Politics and Religion

The last fifty years of the fifteenth century saw a reorganizing of the Church, both in Norway and in Europe as a whole, and the Church in Norway entered the sixteenth century as a strong, autonomous organisation under the effective leadership of the Archbishop. From 1458, certain members of the Church were freed from taxation. Another group of people who were attempting to avoid taxation was the German Hanse in Bergen, much to the anger of the Council of the Realm. The disagreements between the Norwegians and the Hansards in one

sense culminated with the German attack on the King's Captain (*Høvedsmann*) in Bergen, Olav Nilsson, the Bishop of Bergen, and a number of others in the autumn of 1455. However, neither the Hanse nor its members did face any punishments for this until the end of the century, and the Council and the native merchants and artisans of Bergen received little or no support from the King. Christopher of Bavaria, who had been King of Norway until his death in 1448 had been less supportive of the anti-Hanse politics of the Norwegian Council, partly due to his need of support for his quest to control Gotland.<sup>235</sup>

The Treaty of Bergen, which established that Norway and Denmark should be in an eternal union as equals under one common king, had been signed in 1350, and the Swedish King Charles VIII, who had been crowned King of Norway in 1449, had relinquished all demands on the country. King Christian I was already in conflict with England, and he too wanted to retain a problem free relationship with the Hanse. The bad feelings between the Norwegian Council and the Hanse did not improve on the death of King Christian I in 1481, and the Norwegian aristocracy attempted to strengthen their claims and demands in the Recess of Halmstad in 1483, a Recess which established Christian's son John as King of Norway.<sup>236</sup>

The importance of the Church to the D-group immigrants who were looking to rent property in Bergen has already been mentioned earlier in this chapter. It seems reasonable to assume that this was, at least in part, a result of the Church's efforts to become stronger and economically more independent in this part of the period, as well as a continuation of their landlord policy, as described in Chapter 1.5.2. The decrease of non-Norse names in the groups two and three is perhaps not surprising, the attack on Olav Nilsson and the disagreements between the Hanse and the Council of the Realm, the native nobility, and the other merchants in Bergen were hardly factors likely to improve the trust, credibility and social standing of immigrants, particularly those from the German areas associated with the Hanse. However, despite this, the second half of the fifteenth century was the first period of sharp increase in immigration from the Dutch and German areas.

According to Helle, the establishment of the Hanse Office in Bergen in the 1360s probably brought with it a number of German artisans to the city, and for much of this period,

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<sup>235</sup> Opsahl and Sogner, *Norsk innvandringshistorie...*, p. 178

<sup>236</sup> Magne Njåstad and Hans Jacob Orning (ed.), *NORVEGR. Norges historie - Bind II. 1400-1814* (Oslo, 2011), pp. 24-39

the German artisan guilds, most notably the Shoemakers' Guild, dominated the city. The guilds became stronger and more autonomous in the first three quarters of the fifteenth century, as a constitutional crisis in Lübeck around 1400 encouraged emigration. Both King Magnus Eriksson and Eric of Pomerania, King of Norway, had encouraged the guilds to stay under Hanseatic protection and control by demanding the foreign artisans pay extra taxes. The Council of the Realm and leading men of Bergen encouraged the same thing by attempting to bring both the Hanse and the artisan guilds under Norwegian jurisdiction and control. When those attached to the Hanseatic Office had to leave due to Eric of Pomerania's war with the Hanse from 1427 to 1433, the artisans could remain in Bergen, possibly contributing to some sense of independence from the Hanseatic League, because when King Christian I visited Bergen in 1450, he persuaded the artisan guilds to ally with him. The guilds remained outside of Office control until the 1470s, and when John became King in 1486, he renewed the privileges that Christian I had granted the guilds, and with that, their loyalty.<sup>237</sup>

It could be that it is these artisans we see increasingly represented in the property transactions documents in this part of the period. It seems likely that Bergen, in this part of the period, would seem an attractive place to migrate to and settle in for German and Dutch artisans and traders. Bergen already had an established "colony", arguably several different colonies, well established guilds, and the special privileges from the King from 1450 to sometime in the 1470s, and then again from 1486. Bergen also seems to have been a city with a lot of available property. The groups of men renting together might be small groups of artisans, or the members of one workshop, if they were not simply renting together for reasons of economy, safety or family ties.

The first half of the sixteenth century saw the beginning of some political unrest. In 1501, a riot against King John was started, and in 1506, he sent his son Christian as viceroy to Norway. Christian, later King Christian II, made a number of controlling, unorthodox and unpopular decisions. This included the appointing of people to positions of power, such as the position of Archbishop. Christian supported the native merchant class, in the belief that strengthening their position would strengthen the King's power and weaken the nobility. He was also eager to establish a royal trading company in the Baltic Sea, and compete with the Hanseatic League. In 1520, he was made King of Sweden, and began his kingship of this

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<sup>237</sup> Helle, *Bergens historie...*, pp. 750, 754, 758-761



country by killing several influential Swedes, igniting a rebellion. He was forced into exile in 1523. The Council of the Realm and Archbishop Olav Engelbrektson attempted to negotiate an agreement with the new king, Frederik I, however this agreement was not based on any actual power, and fell through fairly quickly.

This part of the sixteenth century was of course also the time when the Reformation was introduced to Norway. It had already been embraced by a number of German princes, partly for economic reasons, and King Frederick I, who had originally been Duke of Schleswig and Holstein, was not uninterested in this new religion, and even began to treat some Norwegian Church property as if it was his own, and appointed the new Bishop of the Faroes.<sup>238</sup> Many of the Hansards on Bryggen were, perhaps not unsurprisingly, positive to Luther and the Reformation, and the 1520s saw the emergence of Hansards evicting catholic priests from their local churches in Bergen, and the destruction of catholic relics. Sverre Steen has argued that this, plus the fact that many natives of Bergen already had negative feelings for the Hansards, which was unlikely to endear the Norwegian population of Bergen to Protestantism.<sup>239</sup>

The Council of the Realm and the Archbishop contacted the old King Christian II, who was a catholic, and he arrived in Norway in 1531. He conquered most of the country, with the exception of the fortresses, but was then captured and held imprisoned until his death in 1559. In 1533, civil war broke out in Denmark, a war that was won by Frederick's son Christian III, a protestant, in 1536. In 1537, it was decided that Norway was to be a part of Denmark, not an equal partner in a union, and that Denmark-Norway was to be a Protestant country. The Archbishop resisted this, but was finally forced to flee the country and escaped to Flanders, where he died. Some of the Norwegian bishops were deposed, but most just continued their work in the Lutheran Church.

This political and religious unrest might go some way to explain the dramatic decrease in immigration over these five decades. If the groups of men acquiring property together did indeed do so because it felt safer, this trend continued into this part of the period. There are even fewer names recorded for the groups two and three for these five decades, and those recorded mainly belong to the Scottish and German traders and artisans who were attacked by Hansards in 1523. This would definitely suggest that immigrants were still rarely

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<sup>238</sup> Njåstad, *NORVEGR...*, pp. 40-45

<sup>239</sup> Sverre Steen, *Langsomt ble landet vårt eget* (Andresen & Butenschøn, Oslo, 1996), p. 96

chosen as witnesses, or not sufficiently established in the community to hold office or called on to witness.

No non-Norse group one names in this fifty-year-period are recorded at all after 1531, so it is difficult to ascertain if there were any direct effects on the immigration pattern after the introduction of the Reformation. The very fact that we have no non-Norse names recorded in these documents between 1531 and 1559 should perhaps be seen as an effect in itself. We might have expected less hostility towards immigrants from the German areas, and more immigrant names mentioned in the documents, by the end of the 1540s. However, if there was native resentment towards the Germans and the Reformation alike, this resentment was likely to linger for years after the Reformation had been officially introduced. Sogner argued that there was 'little tolerance in the century of the Reformation'<sup>240</sup>, and this climate of intolerance would likely be at its worst in the decades surrounding the introduction of the Reformation itself.

It might also be that the slump in immigration had other reasons as well, if indeed we accept that the decline in the proportion of non-Norse names in this part of the period is indicative of a decrease in immigration, and not merely of document bias or a faulty extraction of data. The political unrest, particularly in the beginning of the period, might have led to some uncertainty, both as to whether migrating to Bergen would be economically favourable, and whether it would be safe.<sup>241</sup> King Christian III's conflicts with the Holy Roman Emperor Charles V might have made people from the German areas in particular less eager to settle in Norway.<sup>242</sup>

Another factor which might have had an impact on the number of immigrants to Bergen, is the Crown's change of policy regarding the Hanse in Bergen. When Frederick I was made King in 1523, it was with the support of Lübeck, but by 1528, he had gone back to the harsh line that monarchs had held against the Hanse and German immigrants in the 1340s and the 1440s.<sup>243</sup> Both the King and the Council of the Realm sought to control the foreign merchants in Bergen by granting the same privileges to other merchants as they did to those

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<sup>240</sup> Opsahl and Sogner, *Norsk innvandringshistorie*..., p. 244

<sup>241</sup> Njåstad, *NORVEGR*..., pp. 45-49

<sup>242</sup> Øystein Rian, Knut Helle and Trond Bjorli, *Aschehougs Norgeshistorie. Den nye begynnelsen: 1520-1660* (Oslo, 1995), p. 62

<sup>243</sup> Helle, *Bergens historie*..., pp. 761, 768

attached to the Hanseatic League. The intention was to facilitate the competition in such a way, the various fractions of merchants would keep each other in check.<sup>244</sup>

The final fifty years of our period of study seem to have been characterized by the King's attempt to gain more control over the administration of Norway. The number of fiefs, or *len*, in Norway was reduced, and those who had the office of *lensherre*, or seignior, now increasingly had to account for their income, and send at least part of their income to the King. The old position of *kansler*, chancellor, had less power than before, somewhat depending on who held that office, and from 1572, a new office, that of *stattholder*, a kind of Lord Lieutenant, was introduced.<sup>245</sup>

The immigration increase which is suggested by the name material in this part of the period might, at least in part, be because of the increased stability in this fifty-year-period, compared to the previous one. The King's eagerness to rent out property in Bergen is easily combined with his eagerness to increase control and generate profit, as well as the wish for urban growth.

From 1560 onwards, both Scottish and, even more significantly, Dutch merchants were presenting the now less powerful Hanse with some considerable competition.<sup>246</sup> Although we have little name evidence of Scottish immigrants in this part of the period, it could be that some of the D-group names recorded for these five decades belonged to immigrants from the Dutch areas, rather than from the German areas.

Immigrants still acquired property in groups, there were still very few with non-Norse names in group two, and those who are mentioned appear only in transactions and dealings with at least one other person with a non-Norse (D-group) name. There are still next to no non-Norse names in group three, but this might be because immigrants were still working to establish themselves in the community after the immigration slump and the possible aversion towards people of German or Dutch origins, both in the first half of the century and in the second.

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<sup>244</sup> Opsahl and Sogner, *Norsk innvandringshistorie*..., p. 287

<sup>245</sup> Njåstad, *NORVEGR*..., p. 90

<sup>246</sup> Opsahl and Sogner, *Norsk innvandringshistorie*..., pp. 297, 305

#### 4.8.2. Plagues

As most historians agree that the arrival of the Black Death and subsequent plagues was at least partly responsible for the changes in society and economy in the late Middle Ages, the plagues that visited Europe should at least be taken into consideration as a possible influence on the immigration pattern in Bergen during the last half of our period of study.

According to Ole Jørgen Benedictow, Norway was struck by plagues in 1452, 1459, 1500, 1521, 1525, 1529-30, 1547, 1565-67, 1582-84 and 1599-1604, and possibly also in 1465-72 and 1506, and with possible, but uncertain plagues in 1463-65, 1485-87 and 1513-15. He found little record of plagues in Norway between the arrival of the Black Death and 1450, but assumed that most of the larger plagues that hit Northern Europe affected Norway too. Benedictow argued that the plagues in Norway most often were introduced from England, and then first to Oslo, and that there was no apparent case where plague was introduced from the Hanse towns of Northern Germany. The plague in Bergen in 1452 might have come from the Netherlands, but even then, it had probably been introduced to the Netherlands from England. Between 1348 and 1500, England had 20 large plagues and the Netherlands 18, while Northern Germany had 13. According to Benedictow, only one plague was likely to have come to Norway from Germany, and that was in 1629, after the end of the period that this study is concerned with.

Even if one disagrees with Benedictow's theory, his overview of possible plagues in Norway, England, the Netherlands and Northern Germany show that the first half of the sixteenth century saw an increase in the number of plagues to hit Norway and England. The decade between 1521 and 1530 alone saw three plagues of considerable geographical spread in Norway. The one in 1521 might have arrived in the county of Agdesiden and spread north. Bergen, as a large centre for coastal trade, was vulnerable to plague, and when the disease was mentioned in *Bergenhuss* accounts from this year, it was arguably not unexpected. However, it was unusual for these accounts to mention plague at this time. The second plague of this decade, the one of 1525, struck Eastern Norway, but was probably not felt in Bergen. Benedictow argued that the disease that struck Norway in 1529-30 might have been sweating sickness rather than plague, but whatever it was, it still affected a large part of Norway, including Bergen.<sup>247</sup>

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<sup>247</sup> Benedictow, *Svartedauden...*, pp. 146-155

Another plague struck Norway in the years 1547-48, however this one did possibly not affect Bergen to a significant degree, and according to Benedictow's tables, the plague density sank in both England, Norway and Northern Germany in the second half of the sixteenth century. Bergen was struck by plague in 1565-67, and the Hanse towns of Northern Germany too were troubled with plague in the mid 1560s, but while there was a new plague in Norway in 1583-84, this one did not much affect Bergen, and no plagues hit this particular city until 1598.

To be able to draw any conclusions about immigration based on what we know about plague density, we need to be able to compare it to the plague density in the immigrants' home countries. Among the names of all those who were recorded as being involved in property transactions in Bergen, as owning property in Bergen or as living in Bergen, there were 14 non-Norse names for the 1450-99 period, all of them from the D-group. For 1500-49, there were three D-group names and one B-group name, and for the 1550-99 period, there were 28 D-group names, two B-group names, and one X-group name, that of a Faroese man.

As there is only one Faroese name and a very few British names, focusing on the D-group names and on comparison with plague density in the Netherlands and Northern Germany seems to be the most fruitful.

According to Benedictow, there were 11 plagues in Northern Germany between 1450 and 1599, in 1451, 1464, 1483-85, 1505, 1521, 1537, 1539, 1547-48, 1564-66, 1583-83 and 1595-98. The Netherlands had 18 plagues in the same time period, in 1450-54, 1456-59, 1466-72, 1478, 1481-85, 1487-90, 1502, 1509, 1514-16, 1519, 1526, 1528-30, 1557-58, 1564-66, 1573-75, 1586, 1593 and 1599-1604, in addition to possible plagues in 1505, 1537-39 and 1547-48.

Comparing the three areas, Norway, the Netherlands and Northern Germany, there are times when plagues in all three areas coincide. The plague of 1452, which possibly came from the Netherlands, coincides not only with the 1450-54 plague of that area, but with the plague of 1451 in Northern Germany. There was possibly plague in all three areas in 1481-85, but this is uncertain for Norway. The same goes for the plague of 1505-06, which is uncertain for both the Netherlands and Norway, and the plague of 1547-48, which is uncertain for the Netherlands, and might not have affected Bergen too much. Both Norway, the Netherlands and Northern Germany were visited by plague in the period 1582-86, but it is possible that Bergen was not strongly affected by this. If we are only to look at the plagues

that occurred in Bergen (and ignore those in the rest of Norway), the Netherlands and Northern Germany, and the plagues that we can be reasonably certain did in fact occur between 1450 and 1599, we are left with only three plagues, the plague of 1450-54, that of 1564-67, and that of 1599-1604.

Between 1450 and 1499, the Netherlands had six certain plagues, Norway three and Northern Germany three. Between 1500 and 1549, the Netherlands again had six plagues, Norway five (although one of them might not have affected Bergen), and Northern Germany four, and between 1550 and 1599, the Netherlands were stable on six plagues, while Norway had three (and only two of the affected Bergen) and Northern Germany four. While the plague stability of the Netherlands was fairly stable, that of Bergen and Northern Germany are interesting.

The arrival of plague means that the population decreases. This means more land, food and work for the survivors, but also fewer workers. Less work get done, and the society that has been struck by plague might experience some disruption in trade and commerce. Plague, in many cases, as seen in an earlier chapter, also leads to migration to places with more or better work. When plague hit Bergen, some of the people from the D-group area might have gone there, to fill the jobs now left vacant. Why, then, would there be more immigration to Bergen when there were more plagues in Northern Germany than in Bergen?

I believe the answer could be fear. Plague and disease is scary, probably even to a society that has been exposed to it over a decade, and which in some respects is used to it. It would make sense to migrate *from* plague-ridden areas to places where the plague is gone (even if it is just for a few years). It is also possible that any opportunities in Bergen, any openings in the work or property market, to use modern terminology, would not be clearly visible until the plague density sank. The patterns of plagues in Bergen cannot alone explain the immigration pattern. However, the decrease in number of plagues in Bergen during the second half of the sixteenth century, while there was no decrease in Northern Germany or the Netherlands, might have contributed to the immigration to Bergen between 1550 and 1599.

#### 4.8.3. Economy, and Comparisons to some Early Modern Immigration Theory

For the earlyModern period, there has been work done on immigration to Bergen based on *Bergens Borgerbog 1550-1751*, a record of those who bought citizenships in Bergen in this

period. Although this paper does not have the time or place to analyze all early Modern studies and theories, comparison with a few of them can be fruitful.

Anders Bjarne Fossen has argued that in 1560, at least 50 percent of all Bergen's citizens had been born abroad. He also argued that there were more immigrants among the artisan citizens than the rest (64 percent of artisan citizens were immigrants, 33 percent of artisan citizens were German).<sup>248</sup> We have already mentioned how immigrant artisans were important in the demographic of the city, and it might be well worth comparing Fossen's *Borgerbog* data to the name data of this study.

As seen in Table and Graph 1 for the period 1550-99, 24 percent of all names in my study are non-Norse, barely one quarter of the entire data material, compared to Fossen's more than half. However, there are several reasons why these two different numbers from two different studies might still be compatible.

Sverre Steen has argued that the number of Norwegians who became citizens of Bergen was smaller than that of immigrants, as the benefits of citizenship were less than sufficient to make up for the inconvenient taxes and precepts that came with such a citizenship, especially if you came from the nearby area and already had the contacts needed in your trade.<sup>249</sup> However, the Norwegians who moved to Bergen still needed a place to live. Considering this, it is not unlikely that Norse names should be overrepresented in the name material, compared to the representation of Norwegians in the citizenship material. The property material also includes one part of the demographic which is not at all represented in the *Borgerbog*; the women. Although women are not recorded nearly as often as men, and the large majority of women recorded have Norse names, the fact that they are not at all recorded in Fossen's material might go some way to explain the difference between the percentage of immigrants in this study and Fossen's.

Another explanation for the difference is of course that Fossen counts the Danes he encounters as foreign immigrants, while they have been included in the Norse name group in this study. This undoubtedly leads to an underrepresentation of immigrants in this study, compared to his. Also, his study should really rather be compared to the numbers for group one, as this group is the most likely to reflect immigration first. For group 1 between

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<sup>248</sup> Anders Bjarne Fossen, "Derfra Gaae Skibe..." *Bergen og omland gjennom tidene. Hovedtrekk i Bergens historie. Del II* (Bergen, 1986), p. 21

<sup>249</sup> Sverre Steen, *Bergen, byen mellom fjellene. Et historisk utsyn* (Bergen, 1969), reprinted in Fossen, "Derfra Gaae Skibe...", p. 246

1550-99, the non-Norse names make up 43.9 percent of the names, the D-group names make up 39.4 percent. If we include the names of all those who are recorded as living in Bergen, the non-Norse names only make up 40.7 percent. However this is not surprising, as the reduced immigration from the preceding period would have meant fewer immigrants already established in Bergen. Nor is it really surprising that the D-group names make up a larger proportion of my material compared to the 33 percent in Fossen's study, seeing as this study includes possible Dutch names in the D-group, while Fossen restricted his group to people of German origins only.

The proportions for group one are fairly close to Fossen's estimate. If we were to calculate in the Danish names excluded from the groups of non-Norse names into my study, and the native Norwegians who did not take up citizenship into Fossen's, the two studies would probably end up with approximately the same proportion of immigrants.

While we can only compare this one part of the period, as the *Borgerbog* was not introduced before 1550, the similarities between Fossen's immigrant-native ratio and the ratio in this study would suggest that the trends of names connected to property uncovered in this study would approach the actual immigration trends, at least for that part of the demographic which was likely to acquire citizenship.

Sverre Steen's theory, based on the *Borgerbog* for the Early Modern period, was that immigration happens when a city is developing economically, and is a lot less common in a stabilized economy. Does this then imply that Bergen was a developing economy from 1450 to 1499, stabilized from 1500 to 1549, and developing again between 1550 and 1599?

The first half of the fifteenth century had been a time of some distrust towards immigrants, as well as conflicts between foreign administrators and native Norwegians.<sup>250</sup> The King was attempting to balance the support for the Council of the Realm with privileges to both the Hanse and other traders in a way that would provide him with as much political leeway as possible.<sup>251</sup> After the crowning of the new king, King Christopher, in 1442, the Council initiated a new, strict anti-German policy to force the Hanse out of retail trade, largely motivated by the Council members own economic interests.<sup>252</sup> Considering this, it seems likely that the climate in the first half of the century would not encourage large

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<sup>250</sup> Opsahl and Sogner, *Norsk innvandringshistorie...*, pp. 157-159

<sup>251</sup> Opsahl and Sogner, *Norsk innvandringshistorie...*, p. 174

<sup>252</sup> Opsahl and Sogner, *Norsk innvandringshistorie...*, pp. 176-177



numbers of immigrants. However, the King, as we have seen, was less interested in keeping with the strict, anti-German line.<sup>253</sup>

Perhaps this was the reason why the second half of the fifteenth century in many ways was the heyday of the Hanseatic League in Bergen, as well as its last decades on top of the food chain. There were no wars between the Hanse and Denmark or Norway, the Crown, although always seeking a certain amount of control commerce and trade, was generally positive to the Hansards, and old restrictions on the Hanseatic trade in Norway were lifted. Whenever the Hanseatic League was attempted controlled, this was with varying result. This all would suggest a developing city with a burgeoning economy, and it seems reasonable for this time of development would come approximately a century after the first dramatic attacks of plague in Norway. The same would seem to be true for the second half of the sixteenth century. This period of time was characterised by an increase in Dutch and Scottish competition for the Hanseatic League<sup>254</sup>, as well as an increase in the export of timber from Norway, and definitely a still developing economy.

What then about the first half of the sixteenth century? As mentioned earlier in this chapter, these decades showed little sign of stability and stagnation. There were plagues, the introduction of the Reformation, and something akin to a civil war. Trondheim experienced a dramatic reduction in the basis for its economy and trade over this period, but there is nothing to suggest the same happened in Bergen.<sup>255</sup> In fact, trade and economy was developing and increasing in scale in parts of the country, due to the increased timber exports from Norway, which, arguably, should have opened Norway up to the “world economy”, and should have encouraged immigration.<sup>256</sup> However, it is possible that the timber trade did not contribute as much to the economy until the 1560s, when timber supplies on the continent were cut off due to the Eighty Years’ War.<sup>257</sup> The value of stockfish, the most important Norwegian export throughout the late Middle Ages, fell in the first half of the sixteenth century, but this was followed by a considerable increase in the number of foreign ships visiting Bergen, as well as an increase in stockfish exports, from the 1520s. This price fall would therefore not seem to have led to economical stability or stagnation.<sup>258</sup>

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<sup>253</sup> Opsahl and Sogner, *Norsk innvandringshistorie*..., p.182

<sup>254</sup> Opsahl and Sogner, *Norsk innvandringshistorie*..., pp. 297, 305

<sup>255</sup> Njåstad, *NORVEGR*... p. 51

<sup>256</sup> Njåstad, *NORVEGR*..., p. 119

<sup>257</sup> Opsahl and Sogner, *Norsk innvandringshistorie*..., p. 303

<sup>258</sup> Rian, Helle and Bjorli, *Aschehougs*..., pp. 88-89

This is not in any way to say that Steen's theory was faulty, or that the economical changes were not the reasons for the seventeenth century immigration pattern. However, it would seem that for the mid-fifteenth to late sixteenth century, economy was not the sole reason for the changing immigration trends. Although the immigration increased in times of economic development, as predicted by Steen, the degree of Crown and Council control over foreign traders, the foreign policy of the King, the mistrust of foreign merchants and officials, war, religious unrest and plague frequency seem to have been more important in affecting the decrease in immigration in the first half of the sixteenth century.

## 5. Concluding Remarks

This thesis set out to answer the following questions:

*How did the pattern of migration to Bergen change over the late medieval period?*

*If there were changes, what are the possible reasons for these?*

If we accept that the names found in documents that describe property and property transactions in Bergen reflect at least parts of the town population, this study has uncovered developments and trends in immigration by looking at just these names. We have discovered that, among the non-Norse names, the majority of names are from the Dutch and German areas, and that there was a slow, steady increase in the proportion of non-Norse names from around 1300 up until the mid-fifteenth century. Then, there was a more dramatic increase in the non-Norse name proportion in the last half of the fifteenth century, an almost equally dramatic decrease during the first half of the sixteenth century, and another dramatic increase over the second half of the same century. Looking at the names of those who were not directly involved in property transactions, it would seem that very few non-Norse names are among those of witnesses and officials.

The first period of increase probably marked the end of a period of war, even if the foreign artisans had not had to leave Bergen during the war between the Hanse and King Eric, and of strict policy with regards to foreign traders and artisans in Bergen. In the second half of the fifteenth century, the Crown was more positive to the foreigners, and the Council of the Realm less successful in controlling them. The King also granted foreign traders and, in particular, foreign artisans in Bergen new privileges. The frequency with which the city was struck by plague fell, and there might also have been an upsurge in the economy of Bergen. However, there was possibly still some distrust towards immigrants in Bergen. Few non-Norse names are mentioned among those who were not directly involved in property transactions, and this period saw the beginning of groups of men renting together, although this might have been because they acquired property together as a workshop, and for protection.

The period of decrease coincided with a period of higher plague frequency, also when there was little or less plague in the areas where many immigrants came from, such as

northern Germany. These decades were also affected by political unrest, arguably even outright civil war, as well as serious religious unrest, with the introduction of the Reformation in the 1530s. The fact that there were still few non-Norse names mentioned among the witnesses and officials mentioned in the property transaction documents for these years could signify an increased, or at least continued, distrust towards immigrants. The increase in the proportion of non-Norse names mentioned in documents that did not describe property transactions in this period might mean that there were still many non-Norse people in Bergen, but that fewer of them were willing to establish themselves with property in the city, possibly because Bergen seemed too uncertain a place to settle.

This study has uncovered little to suggest that the economy was stabilising, in fact it might possibly have been worsening, due to the unrest and upheaval. A stricter political line and improved Council control over foreign merchants in these five decades might have inhibited the economy, but likely not stabilised it.

The second period of increase saw another fall in plague frequency, as well as more political stability. The weakening of the Hanseatic League and the introduction of new trades, perhaps in particular the timber trade, and new traders might have led to new development in economy. It was probably this movement in the economy which continued into the seventeenth century, in particular as trade with Schleswig-Holstein became important from around 1600<sup>259</sup>, and the Thirty Years' War in the German areas<sup>260</sup> likely encouraged migration from this area to Norway and Bergen. It was also probably this movement which was visible in Steen's data from the early Modern period.

This is by no means an exhaustive study of late medieval immigration to Norway or Bergen, but an attempt to study and understand migration, not primarily from models or theories derived from other periods or places with different or better sources available, but by collecting data to reveal changes and trends. I have then used these trends to look for possible explanations, rather than using theories and explanations, and looking for sources which can produce data that fit those theories. The method used in this study can, with caution and certain reservations, probably be applied to utilise already surviving documents in a new way which might improve our understanding of overall migration trends.

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<sup>259</sup> Opsahl and Sogner, *Norsk innvandringshistorie...*, p. 318

<sup>260</sup> Opsahl and Sogner, *Norsk innvandringshistorie...*, p. 240

Using these data, one is better armed for more qualitative studies, for example of how changes in the immigration pattern affected the society the immigrants moved to, as well as how society changed the immigrants. The data and explanations of this study could also be compared to more theories than the few mentioned in Chapter 4.8.3, as well as to the situation elsewhere in Europe. As mentioned early in this text, immigration does not develop in a vacuum, and some of the trends uncovered for Bergen might also be visible elsewhere. For a larger base for comparison, the method used in this study can also be applied to documents elsewhere, or to other types of document, to provide a better overview and better insight into more than one part of town life and community.

The results of this study, together with other studies of migration history, can also perhaps be compared to migration situations today. An improved overview of migration in all societies and all periods of time would perhaps increase our understanding of the differences and, perhaps even more importantly, the similarities between people and societies in the past and in the present.

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## Appendix 1: Names Included in the Analysis, in Alphabetical Order

<u>Year:</u>	<u>Names:</u>	<u>Source:</u>
1416	(Herm)undher Siugurðhason	DN II 638
1595	(Z?)endt Koffermandt	UBB dip. saml. 14.01.1595
1599	Abraham Daudtzen raadmend	NHD5 s. 161-67
1587	Absalon Gjõe	NRR2 s. 689
1567	Absolon Pedersøn, mester	DN IX 796
1312	Aðalizu gamla Bruns dottor	DN I 134
1593	Addrian Oellssens	RA 13.02.1593
1570	Adelisse Benneckestock	DN VI 805
1596	Adelus Kruckow, fru	NRR3 s. 413-414
1563	Adriam Blaufouget	DN X 760
1581	Adrian von Buckschott	UBB dip. saml. 03.05.1581
1383	Agmunda Findzsonar, herra	DN I 483
1405	Agmundr Øysteinsson	DN I 602
1583	Agnes	NRR2 s. 527-532
1401	Alf Haraldsson, herra	DN II 566
1472	Alff Knwtson riddere	DN I 900
1401	Alfinnor Bryniolfsson	DN III 560
1412	Alfuer Þorsteinsson radman	DN II 620
1329	Alfuær Iwars son	DN I 204
1315	Amund kyll	DN I 146
1472	Amund Torleiffsson	DN IV 973
1419	Amundh Bolt riddara	DN XII 166
1315	Amundi i Drotningar garde	DN I 146
1578	Amundt Lauritzsenn	NHD1 25.08.1578
1334	Anbyon gulsmidhir	DN XII 83
1565	Anders Christiennsson	DN IX 792
1463	Anders Ebbeson	DN III 862
1593	Anders Effuerttszen borger i Bergen	RA 13.02.1593
1547	Anders Hanssøn aff waben	DN XII 618
1507	Anders i Bergen, biskop	DN XXI 700
1529	Anders Ionsszønn	DN XXII 147
1541	Anders Mattisszen byfougde ij Bergenn	DN VI 748

1562	Anders Nilsen	UBB dip. saml. 30.08.1562
1561	Anders Pedersson borger	NRR1 s. 62
1585	Anders Skriffuer	NHD3 s. 15-16
1505	Andor Nillssøn	DN IX 459
1375	Andres a Mork	DN II 435
1578	Andres Christensenn	NHD s. 169-70
1484	Andres Jansson	DN IV 998
1472	Andres Nielsson radman	DN IV 973
1325	Anðriðr Simvnar sonlogmaðr	DN I 179
1410	Anfindir Amundason laghretto man	DN XII 148
1340	Anfinnar a Dale	DN V 142
1335	Anfinnr loghmadr	DN I 233
1338	Angunnar foður moder	DN I 253
1577	Anna Christoffersdotter, hustru	UBB dip. saml. 31.08.1577
1582	Anna Dirichs, hustru	UBB dip. saml. 22.01.1581
1502	Anne Albretesdotter	DN XII 268
1578	Anne Iffuersdatter	NHD1 25.08.1578
1311	Anundt udj kiøes	BHFS60 1954/55 s. 192-93
1370	Are Jons son	DN II 413
1463	Arent Pauk	DN XII 232
1347	Arna Þrondar sonar	DN VI 187
1458	Arna Yuvarsson	DN II 825
1341	Arnbiorn Þorleiksson	DN IV 253
1333	Arne Ellinghs son	DN IV 208
1311	Arne i breders gardt	BHFS60 1954/55 s. 192-93
1312	Arne j Grasgarði	DN I 134
1372	Arne j Vaxdall	DN II 424
1337	Arne Jons son	DN II 223
1308	Arne Lang i Gylten/Gullskoen	DN I 117
1341	Arne prest	DN I 276
1463	Arne Sigurdson	DN XXI 535
1367	Arne Þoresson	DN II 392
1583	Arne Tømmermand	NRR2 s. 527-532
1307	Arne, bishop	DN II 88
1337	Arnfinner Arnna son	DN II 223

1349	Arnfinnr Þorssteins son	DN V 206
1334	Arnfinz prebendarium	DN II 207
1312	Arnliotu Boduars konu	DN I 134
1529	Arnt snedker	DN XXII 147
1388	Arnulfuir Gunnarsson	DN XII 118
1332	Arnvlfuer Halluardz son	DN V 92
1402	Aruidh Ingelzson	DN XII 136
1323	Asa Þorlæifs kona	DN V 69
1333	Asbion Gausz son	DN IV 208
1400	Asbiorn Halwardsson radman	DN I 570
1341	Aslak Bararson	DN I 276
1408	Aslak Bolt, biskop	NM1 s.507
1463	Aslak Ordræksson	DN XII 232
1490	Asmwndh Salmonsson	DN VI 610
1367	Assgeir Audhunarson	DN II 392
1337	Atnnulfuer Haluarðs son	DN II 223
1328	Audfinn biskup	DN I 194
1348	Audun Sighwatz son vicarius	DN IV 330
1370	Augmundr Amunda son	DN II 413
1490	Axel Kana aff wapen	DN VI 610
1570	Axell Frederichsenn laugmandt	DN VI 805
1578	Axell Frederichsenn laugman	NHD s. 169-70
1570	Axell Gynterzerg	DN VI 805
1563	Baltzer Lundt	DN X 760
1340	Barðar Haldorsz son, sira	DN V 142
1333	Bardhe Ionssyni	DN XII 81
1419	Bardir Amundzson	DN XII 167
1583	Bartskjer Berents/Boens	NRR2 s. 527-532
1406	Bendikt Sigurdarsun	DN XVI 54
1442	Benkt Haruiktsson riddare	DN I 783
1314	Berdor klerkir	DN XII 48
1583	Berent Færøiske	NRR2 s. 527-532
1531	Berijthe Arnedotter	DN XIII 277
1484	Berindth Swtman	DN IV 998
1487	beskedelik quinne Gunhildhe Tronedotter	DN II 938

1463	Besse Hakonsson	DN XII 232
1444	Bi?rn Olaffson	DN X 181
1346	Biarne Bir(gir)son	DN IX 144
1307	Biarne Erllinnings son, herra	DN II 88
1367	Biorne Svueinsson	DN II 392
1563	Birel Knoch	UBB dip. saml. 20.01.1563
1342	Birghit Baardar dotter j Grantenom	DN III 209
1495	Birgitta Ølrekk dotter abbatissa	DN I 982
1325	Birgittar j Grautenvm	DN I 179
1472	Birgittæ Aslaks dotter	DN IV 973
1419	Biæna Amundzsyni	DN XII 166
1400	Biærnardhir fan Borken	DN XII 134
1311	Botolfer haquonarsvnn	DN XXI 10
1383	Botolfr Endridason på Finnen	DN I 481
1413	Botolfuir Sweinsson	DN XII 150
1347	Botolfver Asbiarnar son kors brodir	DN IV 314
1349	Bottolfs Jons sonar	DN V 206
1463	Brun Brinkelman	DN XII 232
1570	Brynell Bennckestock	DN VI 805
1416	Bryniolfuir Natulfsson	DN XII 161
1337	Baarder aa Hiartakre	DN II 223
1328	Baarðr Petrs son	DN IX 100
1386	Cecilia Ceciliagard, jomfru	DN II 498
1504	Christen Pederssen prbist	DN IX 458
1531	Christen Torbenson aff wabenn radman	DN XIII 277
1463	Christian Kiætlæ	DN XII 232
1585	Christoffer Grøn	NHD3 s. 33-34
1547	Christoffer Huidtfeld høffuitzmand	DN XII 618
1559	Christopher Valchendorft	UBB dip. saml. 24.07.1559
1495	Clafws kamper	DN I 982
1565	Claus Haalst	DN IX 792
1585	Claus Melsom borgere her udj Bergen	NHD3 s. 33-34
1578	Claus Skiel	NHD 1 s. 167-68
1465	Claus Wydh	DN V 855
1484	Clawssz Eberingh	DN IV 998

1484	Clawssz Jansson	DN IV 998
1490	Cristiern Pædersson prosth	DN VI 610
1570	Cristoffer Ericksenns	DN VI 805
1583	Diderik Pederssøn	NRR2 s. 527-532
1562	Dunckert Skotte borger her i Bergenn	DN X 758
1562	Dyriich Mainfelld	DN X 758
1447	Egert Koht	DN II 778
1404	Eilifr Þorsteinsson radhman	DN II 581
1337	Eilifuer Orms son	DN II 223
1402	Eilifuir Arnason	DN XII 136
1309	Eilifur i Drotninja gardhe	DN XII 43
1400	Einar Endridasson radman	DN I 570
1337	Einar haluarðs son	DN II 223
1315	Einar i Drotningar garde	DN I 146
1323	Einar i Hildugarðr	DN V 69
1420	Einar Magnusson	DN XII 169
1328	Einar Þorgills son	DN II 165
1313	Einars abota, herra	DN XII 47
1427	Eindrid Erlendssøn, herr	DN VII 382
1356	Eindríde Petrsson	DN XXIII 31
1315	Eindrídi logmadr	DN I 146
1329	Eindrídr Simonar son, herra	DN II 172
1372	Eindrídr Æiriksson	DN II 424
1392	Eiriki Ragwaldzsyni	DN XII 124
1309	Eiríkkir Færøyske	DN XII 43
1309	Eiríks logmanz i Berwin	DN I 122
1309	Elifuir Helghason af Biorgwin	DN XII 43
1418	Elin Jons dottir	DN XII 165
1335	elinu	DN I 233
1455	Elisa Æskilsdóther	DN III 830
1375	Ellender Philipsson	AM333 fol(50 a-b)
1346	Ellinger Hiarrandason	DN IX 144
1383	Ellingr Halldors son	DN I 481
1481	Elsebe Egerdzdotter abbadissa	DN I 930
1419	Elsebe Haruikxdottir	DN XII 166

1557	Elsebe Pedersdatter	NRR1 s. 220
1578	Elsebe Thomisdatter	NRR2 25.07.1578
1585	Elße Christoffersdother, etterleverske	NHD tillegg s. 24-25
1486	Endrid Svenssøn Rostung rådmann i Bergen	NM1 s. 575-576
1311	Endrider aa løykynn	DN XXI 10
1399	Endridhir Haldoorsson	DN XII 133
1423	Endridhir Halfdansson	DN XII 175
1372	Endridr Steinmøsson	DN II 424
1375	Erchir Anundesson	AM333 fol(50 a-b)
1570	Eric Hannssenn	DN VI 805
1565	Erich Munck	DN IX 792
1547	Eriic Rosenkrantz	DN XII 618
1479	Erik Jakopssøn, mester	NM1 s. 574
1463	Erik Thorsteinsson	DN XII 232
1348	Erlednr oghmundar son	DN IV 330
1447	Erlend Endritson riddhere	DN II 778
1329	Erlend klerk	DN II 169
1490	Erlendh Fraak lagman i Bergwen	DN VI 610
1412	Erlendz Iønassonar	DN XII 149
1334	Erlingi Orms syni	DN I 228
1392	Erlingir Halwardzson	DN XII 124
1360	Erlingks Einarðsonar i Hildugarðe	DN IV 408
1312	Erlingr Amunda son	DN I 134
1312	Erlingr bræiðr	DN I 134
1312	Erlings j Hilldugarði, herra	DN I 134
1338	Erlings Sizzelia i Soppo dottar garðe, herr	DN I 253
1329	Erlings Vikunnar sonar drotzseta, herra	DN II 172
1502	Erlland Andresson	DN XII 268
1534	Eske Bille	Eske Billes arkiv II Ba2 / DN XXIII
1463	Evært Kampen	DN XII 232
1463	Evært van Riisen	DN XII 232
1463	Ewært Swrbiir	DN XII 232
1504	Eyleff Andorszenn	DN IX 458
1532	Eyliff Oluffsson	DN I 1081
1347	Eyvindar Þorgerssonor	DN IV 314



1399	fan Aken, brodhir	DN XII 133
1342	Finner Eilifs son	DN III 209
1328	Finnr Ommundar son systlumadr j Biorgwin	DN II 165
1463	Frende Jnguarsson	DN III 862
1348	Gaute Erlendz son	DN IV 336
1578	Gaute Iversen	NHD1 25.08.1578
1520	Gaute Kaane	DN V 1027
1382	gauter widarson	DN XXI 165
1360	Gautti Vlfsson	DN IV 408
1520	Gawthe Galle ridder	DN V 1027
1557	Geble Pedersson	NRR1 s. 220
1458	Gereka fan Mølne kopmanne	DN II 825
1400	Gerwen fan Alen	DN I 570
1599	Giert Bönick laugrettismend	NHD5 s. 161-67
1544	Giertrudt bagere konne	DN VI 757
1529	Giertt bardskier	DN XXII 147
1547	Giøruell Faders Dotter	DN XII 618
1463	Godhike scifvare	DN XII 232
1311	Gondøffuer udi Søstergardenn	BHFS60 1954/55 s. 192-93
1341	Greipr Þoresson	DN IV 253
1347	Grimr Jonsson	DN IV 314
1337	Gudbrand Gudbrandz son	DN II 223
1334	Gudbrande j Skegginom	DN XII 83
1408	Gudbrandir Anbiørnasson	DN II 601
1335	Gudbrandr	DN I 233
1370	Gudbrandr Alfs son	DN II 413
1399	Gudhrwn Gudþorms dottir	DN XII 133
1325	Guðormr Helga son systlumadr j Biorgvin	DN I 179
1416	Gudridh Anunda dottir	DN XII 161
1404	Gudridh Jons doter	DN II 581
1416	Gudridhe Halz dottir	DN XII 161
1333	Gudridi Audfinsz dotter	DN IV 208
1390	Gudrun Anunda dotter, hustru	DN I 527
1323	Guðrun Endriða kona	DN V 69
1337	Gudrun heimakona	DN II 223

1312	Guðrun Koiyv kona	DN I 134
1475	Gudrun Nickelsdochter	DN VII 480
1369	Gudrun Steinarsdottir	DN IV 480
1416	Gudrone a Tuft	DN XII 161
1329	Gudþormer Jons son	DN II 165
1325	Gudþormr Kolbiærnar son logmadr	DN I 180
1338	Gudþormr Paals son	DN I 253
1334	Gunildar	DN XII 83
1388	Gunnar Biørnsson	DN XII 118
1348	Gunnar Halldors son	DN IV 330
1369	Gunnar Hierrandason lagmann i Bergen	DN IV 480
1337	Gunnar Sighwatz son	DN II 223
1329	Gunnare rasuein	DN II 169
1323	Gunnildi	DN V 69
1346	Gunstein Arason	DN IX 144
1315	Gunþiolfr frasse	DN II 122
1441	Gutorm Jonssenn	NgL II,III, nr. 390
1356	Gutthormer Gudleiks son	DN XXIII 31
1481	Guttorm Amundz syne	DN I 930
1532	Guttorm Nielsson	DN I 1081
1529	Gyde, Arnt snedkers effterleffuerske	DN XXII 147
1328	Gyridi Siugurdar dottor, fru	DN II 165
1405	Gødichi Gødichsson	DN I 602
1541	Gønnitt Jonsdotter, hustrw	DN VI 748
1313	Hacon sonar Solhuæighar	DN XII 47
1416	Hafu(ardhe) Bot(olfsson)	DN II 638
1441	Hagen Audonssen	NgL II,III, nr. 390
1479	Hak Pederssøn	NM1 s. 574
1334	Hakon byskupen	DN II 207
1420	Hakon Griotgardzson	DN XII 169
1386	Hakon Ragnalldzson (Smør)	DN II 498
1347	Hakon Þorbiarnar son	DN IV 314
1329	Hakonar Orms sonar, herra	DN II 172
1329	Hakonar skatzsoeta	DN II 172
1423	Hal Arnason	DN XII 175

1412	Haldans Magnusasonar	DN XII 149
1333	Haldor duks	DN IV 208
1338	Haldors Jon sonar, sira	DN I 253
1329	Haldors Sagsa sonar	DN II 172
1408	Halkasla Jons dottir	DN II 601
1346	Halldor Helgason	DN IX 144
1349	Halldor Styrlaughsson	DN III 265
1312	Halldora kona Orms	DN I 134
1334	Hallvarðe Arnfinz syni a Belle	DN I 228
1367	Halstein Bardharson	DN II 392
1419	Halstein Ionssyni	DN XII 166
1342	Halzstein Þores son	DN III 209
1463	Hanes fan Borgen	DN XII 232
1463	Hanes Krøfwer	DN XII 232
1463	Hanes Tærstil	DN XII 232
1418	Hanis Eintwintigh	DN XII 165
1472	Hanis Pedersson logman	DN IV 973
1399	Hanis Westhof	DN XII 133
1420	Haniss Borquordh	DN XII 170
1418	Hannes Tydhekasson prestir	DN XII 165
1486	Hans Fedtzer	NM1 s. 575-576
1583	Hans Finssøn	NRR2 s. 527-532
1495	Hans fiskare	DN I 982
1578	Hans Hanssøn	NRR2 25.07.1578
1527	Hans Henrikssøn	NM1 s. 576-577
1487	Hans med gudz nad biscuper i Bergwen	DN II 938
1583	Hans Møller, rådmenn i bergen	NRR2 s. 527-532
1441	Hans Nagele	NgL II,III, nr. 390
1563	Hans Olssøn	NRR 03.06.1563
1563	Hans Pott	UBB dip. saml. 20.01.1563
1534	Hans Prøss	Eske Billes arkiv II Ba2 / DN XXIII
1582	Hans Ryssou schredder og borger i bergen	UBB dip. saml. 22.01.1581
1486	Hans skinner	NM1 s. 575-576
1447	Hans Skoep	DN II 778
1531	Hans Stafwell	UBB dip. saml. 09.10.1531/20.01.156

1599	Hans von Gylleck laugrettismend	NHD5 s. 161-67
1442	Haruikt Henriksson	DN I 783
1317	Hauker Erlændzson, herre	DN II 133
1305	Hauks logmannz j Bergwin, herra	DN I 106
1422	Heine Henrikxson	DN XII 174
1463	Heinrik Kærnhof	DN XII 232
1323	Helfrið Ifvars kona	DN V 69
1408	Helga Halbiørna dottir	DN II 601
1403	Helgha, sira	DN XII 138
1578	Hellevig, Erik Rosenkranz etterleverske	UBB dip. saml. 22.06.1578
1504	Hendrich Bagge høffuidtzmand	DN IX 458
1582	Hendrich Wischen skreddere	UBB dip. saml. 22.01.1581
1563	Henrich Wessels	UBB dip. saml. 20.01.1563
1581	Henrick Piaski	UBB dip. saml. 03.05.1581
1532	Henriic Bille	DN I 1081
1559	Henrik Dresse	UBB dip. saml. 24.07.1559
1574	Henrik Holck	NRR2 s. 135
1465	Henrik Jenson, her	DN V 855
1583	Henrik Rytter	NRR2 s. 527-532
1444	Henrike Sosth	DN X 181
1329	Herbirni Gudþorms syni	DN II 169
1578	Herborg Torbensdatter, høstrue	NHD1 25.08.1578
1401	Herdís Thorvaldsdatter, fru	DN II 566
1346	Herleiks Arnasonar	DN IX 144
1399	Herman klaustirman	DN XII 133
1382	herman siirhaghen	DN XXI 165
1444	Herman Sosth	DN X 181
1390	Hiarandir Benteinsson	DN I 527
1527	Hildebrand Tegeder	NM1 s. 576-577
1328	Holmfrida Erlings dotter	DN II 165
1478	Holte Torsson	DN XXIII 103/ RA Jno 999/1920
1401	hustru Asa Hauardar doter på Finnen	DN III 560
1595	hustru Else Christensdotter	UBB dip. saml. 14.01.1595
1463	Hustru Sunniva	DN XII 232
1328	Hæinrækr korsbroder at Postola kiurkiu	DN II 165

1335	Hælgha	DN I 233
1463	Hænriik Ærnst	DN XII 232
1463	Hænrik fan Høpen	DN XII 232
1463	Hænrik Kranz	DN XII 232
1309	Hænza groeywa	DN I 122
1309	Hænza Oskradara	DN I 122
1328	Hærdisi Thorvallz dotter	DN II 165
1400	Hærman fan Minden kjøpmann	DN I 570
1401	Haakon Sigurdsson	DN II 566
1472	Iacob Ienson	DN I 900
1338	Ifuare Andressyni	DN X 33
1487	Ingeborg, hæderlik quinne hustru	DN II 938
1388	Ingibiorgh Hallfuardz doter	DN IX 181
1332	Ingibiorgh Peters dotter, fru	DN V 92
1337	Ingibiorgh Sigurdar dotter	DN II 223
1329	Ingibiorgu, fru	DN II 172
1323	Ingigærðr, fru	DN V 69
1348	Ingilæif Andors dotr	DN XXIII 26
1348	Ingimundr Ions son lagmann i Bergen	DN XXIII 26
1544	Ionn Kiernes orgere	DN VI 757
1544	Ionn Simonsson	DN VI 757
1328	Iuar i Hæinreks gard	DN II 165
1341	Ivar Ellingsson	DN IV 253
1304	Ivar lagmann i Bergen	DN I 101
1563	Ivar Thorsteinsson	NRR 03.06.1563
1463	Ivar Trondson	DN XXI 535
1390	Iwar Siugurdarsson	DN I 527
1329	Iwars Arna sonar	DN II 172
1398	Iænis Bæintzson	DN I 562
1595	Jacob Willomþønn	UBB dip. saml. 14.01.1595
1595	Jahann Søffreusdatter enke	UBB dip. saml. 14.01.1595
1404	Jakob Fastulfson	DN II 581
1348	Jardþrudr Halldors dotter	DN IV 336
1404	Jenis fan Kampen	DN II 581
1400	Jenis Hiarna	DN I 570

1418	Jenis Nikulasson	DN XII 165
1578	Jens Kock borger	NHD 1 s. 167-68
1567	Jens Schelderop, herre doctor	DN IX 796
1585	Jens Splid	NHD3 s. 15-16
1563	Jesper Brand	UBB dip. saml. 20.01.1563
1408	Jngeman Kætilsson	DN II 601
1337	Jngibiarghar Paals kono i Bræðergarde	DN II 223
1352	Jngibiorgh (Haakonsdatter), hertoghinna	DN II 312
1352	Jngibiorgu Munans dottor, fru	DN II 312
1420	Ingrido Symona dottor, hustrw	DN III 652
1444	Joan Ketilson	DN X 181
1495	Jochim fatighe	DN I 982
1583	Jocun Willumßen borger i bergen	UBB dip. saml. 06.03.1583
1375	Joen Aslachssonn	AM333 fol(50 a-b)
1532	Joen Ellingsson raadmendt	DN I 1081
1578	Joenn Gautesenn	NHD1 25.08.1578
1419	Johan Moltheche	DN XII 166
1486	Johan Thorbek	NM1 s. 575-576
1599	Johann Windelckenn laugrettismend	NHD5 s. 161-67
1329	Jon af Lybeke	DN I 204
1529	Jon Bagster	DN XXII 147
1408	Jon Bardhasson	DN II 601
1389	Jon Biarna son	DN II 513
1389	Jon Biørnsson	DN II 513
1347	Jon Bottolfs son	DN VI 187
1312	Jon bruni	DN I 134
1383	Jon Eiriksson	DN I 481
1401	Jon Erixson	DN III 560
1423	Jon Euindzson	DN XII 175
1346	Jon hafþorsson	DN XXI 74
1423	Jon Iwarsson	DN XII 175
1323	Jon Josteins son	DN V 69
1304	Jon Notarius i Einarsgard	DN I 101
1441	Jon Oloffzen	NgL II,III, nr. 390
1420	Jon Petirsson	DN XII 170

1348	Jon Sigurdr son	DN IV 330
1472	Jon Smørs	DN I 900
1547	Jon Teiste ridderemendzmend	DN XII 618
1529	Jon Thomesszønn	DN XXII 147
1441	Jon Torkilssen rådmenn i Bergen	NgL II,III, nr. 390
1333	Jone Iwarssyne	DN XII 81
1463	Jones Kærnhof ok Heinrik	DN XII 232
1570	Jonn Bennckestock	DN VI 805
1529	Jonn Ionsszønn	DN XXII 147
1595	Jonn Pederßøn	UBB dip. saml. 14.01.1595
1329	Jons Kolbæins sonar	DN II 172
1334	Jons standuoeyks	DN II 207
1329	Jons Ærlændz sonar	DN II 172
1392	Joon Geirmundarsson	DN XII 124
1375	Joon Haluardzson	DN II 435
1410	Joon Ivarsson, sira	DN XII 147
1389	Joon Løwardsson	DN I 518
1335	Joronno frendkono	DN I 233
1442	Jorunde Swnolfs dotter, hustru	DN I 783
1401	Jorundir Arnason	DN XII 135
1562	Jost Herbardinck	UBB dip. saml. 30.08.1562
1531	Jürgen Torn/Tom	UBB dip. saml. 09.10.1531/20.01.156
1490	Jæppe Sighersson	DN VI 610
1565	Jørgen Erichsønn predicanter, her	DN IX 792
1583	Jørgen Jacobssøn	NRR2 s. 527-532
1587	Jørgen Skram	NRR2 s. 689
1349	Kall Audunar son	DN III 265
1405	Kallæ Jonsson	DN I 602
1481	Ketil Beinsson confessor, brodhr	DN I 930
1400	Ketil Jonsson radman	DN I 570
1589	Kirsten efterleverske	NRR3 s. 44-45
1570	Kirstinn Benckestok	DN VI 805
1593	Knud Clavssen	RA 13.02.1593
1580	Knud Hardenberg	NHD1 1580 (/1564)
1490	Knwdh Brynilsson	DN VI 610

1463	Kort Kumrugh	DN XII 232
1479	Kort Rackebud	NM1 s. 574
1329	Kristin Ifuars dotter, fru	DN II 172
1400	Kristin Nikulasdotter	DN I 570
1593	Kristine Andersdatter	NRR3 s. 299
1386	Lafranz Nikulasson	DN II 498
1495	Lafranz Olaff son confessor generalis	DN I 982
1585	Lange Claus	NHD3 s. 15-16
1565	Lasse Duun	DN IX 792
1422	Lasse Marteensson	DN XII 174
1583	Lasse Pederssøn	NRR2 s. 527-532
1504	Lauredtz Ingessøn radmannd i Bergenn	DN IX 458
1470	Laurens Kochz	DN V 870
1596	Laurits Skriver borgermester	NRR3 s. 413-414
1565	Lauritz hansøn slotzschriffuer	DN IX 792
1578	Lauritz Iffuerszenn, Gantes far	NHD1 25.08.1578
1565	Lille Marrine	DN IX 792
1529	lille Thomes	DN XXII 147
1587	Lisabeth Rasmusdotter, hustru	UBB dip. saml. 12.09.1587
1529	Lorethe Thomiss dotther	DN XXII 147
1472	Luciæ Peders dotter, hustrw	DN IV 973
1486	Lydek van Luden	NM1 s. 575-576
1565	Magdalene Thørrissdotther	DN IX 792
1583	Magdalene, hustru	NRR2 s. 527-532
1532	Magdalena Oluffsdotter	DN I 1081
1323	Magne a Oeyrum	DN V 69
1382	magnildar	DN XXI 165
1398	Magnus Hakonsonar	DN I 562
1383	Magnus Hallsteins son	DN I 481
1577	Marchus Tym barsker	UBB dip. saml. 31.08.1577
1562	Marchus Van Hadussaden	UBB dip. saml. 30.08.1562
1563	Marchus van Heuser	UBB dip. saml. 20.01.1563
1583	Maren, hustru	NRR2 s. 527-532
1481	Margarethe Torstens dotter	DN I 930
1408	Marghit Endridha dottir	DN II 601



1578	Margitte Christoffersdatter, frue	NHD1 25.08.1578
1323	Margret i Vetrliðanum	DN V 69
1323	Margret Petrs dotter	DN V 69
1401	Margreta Eilisdatter, fru	DN II 566
1338	Margrett Filippus dotter	DN I 253
1307	Margrett i Gizska, fru	DN II 88
1341	Margrett Þorbergs dottor	DN IV 253
1375	Margrett Villiams dottir	DN XII 108
1328	Margrettar dotter i Roddo hus, fru	DN II 165
1563	Marite Cornelis dotter	DN XII 677
1583	Maritte Amunþdotter	UBB dip. saml. 06.03.1583
1532	Maritte enken etter	DN I 1081
1463	Marquardh Henriksson	DN III 862
1565	Marrinne Joennssdotther, hustru	DN IX 792
1419	Marten Hakonsson	DN XII 166
1465	Mathes biscop	DN V 855
1574	Mats Skeel	NRR2 s. 110
1547	Mattes Størssøn laugmand i Bergen	DN XII 618
1472	Mattiss Palneson	DN I 900
1563	Matz Størzen	DN XII 677
1544	Melchior Pryts raadmendt	DN VI 757
1567	Michil Jonsøn, her	DN IX 796
1410	Michiæll Eriksson	DN XII 147
1585	Mickel Adrianszen borgere her udj Bergen	NHD3 s. 33-34
1599	Mickell Jenszenn borgermester	NHD5 s. 161-67
1463	Morten Jensson	DN III 862
1583	Morten, herr	NRR2 s. 527-532
1599	Niels Hellisszenn raadmend	NHD5 s. 161-67
1567	Niels Hindricksen, her	DN IX 796
1578	Niels Jennsenn	NHD1 25.08.1578
1578	Niels Klaueszenn	NHD1 25.08.1578
1578	Niels Lauritzsenn borgermestere	NHD s. 169-70
1455	Niels Olafson	DN III 830
1463	Niels Stenarsson	DN III 862
1463	Nikles Dyreksson	DN XII 232

1369	Nikolas Þorsteinsson ráðmann	DN IV 480
1583	Nils Bild	NRR2 s.707-8
1583	Nils Bjørnssøn	NRR2 s. 527-532
1416	Nisse Jonsson	DN XII 161
1420	Nisse Magnusson	DN XII 170
1333	Odde Odsyni	DN IV 208
1416	Oddor Botolfsson på Finnen	DN II 638
1348	Oeyfuindr Hallzteins son	DN IV 330
1329	Oghmundær langær	DN I 204
1369	Ogmunder Sighurdasson	DN IV 480
1333	Ogmundr laanggr	DN IV 208
1348	Ogmundr Nikolasson	DN IV 336
1447	Olaf Nilsson	DN XVI 161
1419	Olaf Pethirsson	DN XII 166
1419	Olaf Sighurdzson	DN XII 168
1444	Olaff Ericksenn	NgL 2R nr. 394
1312	Olafr Kæiv	DN I 134
1335	Olafur Æiriksson	DN I 233
1400	Olafs Haldorssonar	DN XII 134
1372	Olafue Biarnarsyni	DN II 424
1442	Olafuer biskupr j bergwin	DN I 783
1412	Olafuer Ifuarsson radman	DN II 620
1372	Olafuer j Vesteruik	DN II 424
1348	Olafuer Ogmundar son	DN IV 336
1412	Olafuer Þorersson radman	DN II 620
1392	Olafuir Ionssou	DN XII 124
1312	Olauí	DN I 134
1315	Olaur Iuars son	DN I 146
1531	Oleffh Erlendson	DN XIII 277
1315	Ollauer langr	DN I 146
1520	Oluff Galle	DN V 1027
1507	Oluff Steinszøn	DN XXI 700
1582	Oluff Suendþenn	UBB dip. saml. 22.01.1581
1532	Oluff Torbiørnsson	DN I 1081
1341	Omundr Hauarðs son	DN I 276

1305	Orm Kafle	DN I 106
1334	Orme bonda a Belle	DN I 228
1330	Ormir Ogmundarson i Kappanum	DN XII 77
1403	Ormir Ysaacson	DN XII 138
1315	Ormr Alfs son	DN I 146
1312	Ormr suarti Þoress son	DN I 134
1382	Osodder knarrarson	DN XXI 165
1490	Otte Mattisson riddære og høøsthman	DN VI 610
1413	Pall Andfinzsson guldsmidh	DN XII 150
1314	Pall mørke	DN XII 48
1502	Peder Albrettson	DN XII 268
1472	Peder Andresson	DN IV 973
1599	Peder Clausszen raadmand herudjj ergenn	NHD5 s. 136-40
1595	Peder Guldtsmidt	UBB dip. saml. 14.01.1595
1529	Peder Ionsszønn	DN XXII 147
1595	Peder Lauritzøn	UBB dip. saml. 14.01.1595
1577	Peder Morttensøn	UBB dip. saml. 31.08.1577
1585	Peder Olszen bysuend udj Bergen	NHD3 s. 33-34
1567	Peder Simenzen, her	DN IX 796
1589	Peder Simons	NRR3 s. 44-45
1585	Peder Skredder	NHD3 s. 33-34
1590	Peder Thott embetsmann på Bergenhus	NRR2 s. 113-114
1583	Peder, herr	NRR2 s. 527-532
1444	Pedher Ketilson	DN X 181
1465	Pedher Torleyfson rydderæ, her	DN V 855
1388	Peter Nicuos son	DN IX 181
1309	Peters Gudlæiks sunnar	DN I 122
1582	Pether Aarentßen	UBB dip. saml. 22.01.1581
1420	Petir Ionsson byman	DN XII 170
1418	Petir Jenisson radman	DN XII 165
1332	Petr Matios son	DN V 92
1332	Petr Petrs son	DN V 92
1334	Petre bonda	DN XII 83
1329	Petrs j Ædoey, herra	DN II 172
1463	Philippa greffue Hans (av Ebersteins) dotter	DN III 862

1587	Poueld Heliefsønn lagmann	UBB dip. saml. 12.09.1587
1463	Pæder Magnusson radmen j Berguen	DN III 862
1490	Pædher Bærtillsson	DN VI 610
1490	Pædher Engilz	DN VI 610
1470	Pædher Mikelsson	DN V 870
1455	Pæther Nielson, hær	DN III 830
1325	Paal bonde	DN VII 103
1346	paal Knutzon	DN XXI 74
1329	Paals j Kannænom	DN II 172
1423	Ragna Ions dottir	DN XII 175
1472	Ragnild Øysteins dotter, hustrw	DN IV 973
1458	Ragnilda Bærgxdotter abbadiiss j Munkaliiff	DN II 825
1569	Ragnilda Karlsdatter	NRR1 s. 629
1427	Ragnilda Þorkels dottir	DN XII 187
1328	Ragnildi Jons dottor, fru	DN II 165
1416	Ragnildir Anunda dottir	DN XII 161
1372	Ragnu modor hans	DN II 424
1487	Randid, hederlik quinne hustru	DN II 938
1587	Rasmus Jenssøn	NRR2 s. 689
1563	Rasmus Ruut	UBB dip. saml. 20.01.1563
1349	Reidar Eirikx son	DN V 206
1328	Ronnogh Ræppis dottor, fru	DN II 165
1563	Rothgierd Westhoff	UBB dip. saml. 20.01.1563
1583	Rotmand	NRR2 s. 527-532
1309	Rydgæirs i Suæins garðe	DN I 122
1325	Ræidar Dagfinz son	DN I 180
1583	Røllik Kobberslager	NRR2 s. 527-532
1529	Sander Ionsszønn	DN XXII 147
1388	Saxsa Andræs syni	DN IX 181
1311	Siffuer udj thufft	BHFS60 1954/55 s. 192-93
1463	Sighurd Jonsson ridder, her	DN III 862
1410	Sighurdir Biørnsson	DN XII 145
1420	Sighurdir Endridzsson	DN XII 171
1388	Sighurdir Wnason	DN XII 118
1328	Sighurdi, sira	DN I 194

1315	Sigríð	DN I 146
1348	Sigríð	DN IV 330
1347	Sigríðar	DN IV 314
1418	Sigríð Haldors dóttir	DN XII 165
1341	Sigríði Barðar dóttir	DN I 276
1337	Sígrúð j Ósa	DN II 223
1472	Sígrúð Jónsson	DN IV 973
1412	Sígrúður Særkúirsson radmañ	DN II 620
1348	Sígrúður Gunnarsson	DN IV 336
1348	Sígrúður Hælgða son	DN IV 330
1356	Sígrúður Kolbeins son	DN XXIII 31
1405	Simon Kalsson	DN I 602
1578	Sínue Endrítzsdóttir	NHD1 25.08.1578
1372	Síughúður Þóresson	DN II 424
1346	Síugurður birgðes	DN XXI 74
1360	Síugurður Assólfs son	DN IV 408
1406	Síugurður Onanassun	DN XVI 54
1490	Síwrðh kaath	DN VI 610
1313	Sólhuæighar í Buagarde	DN XII 47
1463	Steen Bærg	DN XII 232
1410	Stein, abbed	DN XII 145
1402	Steinar Aslaksson at Iónskirkju, broðhir	DN XII 136
1337	Steinfínnur Níkulass son	DN II 223
1349	Suein ...son	DN III 265
1389	Suígurðhar Jósteínsson	DN II 513
1328	Sunnífu Brínníolf dóttir, fru	DN II 165
1567	Súsanna, hústru	DN IX 796
1328	Suæin Síugurðar son foehyrður	DN II 165
1305	Svein Bjanason	DN I 106
1323	Svein Bonde í Grísen	DN V 69
1320	Svæini klerk	DN VII 94
1398	Sveins Arnasonar	DN I 562
1341	Sygurður gallte	DN IV 253
1315	Sæbion Erlends son	DN I 146
1317	Sæbion Helgða son	DN I 150

1595	Søffren Andersson	UBB dip. saml. 14.01.1595
1578	Søniffue, høstrue	NHD1 25.08.1578
1403	Þiodhilda Helgha dottir	DN XII 138
1581	Tholicki Henricksdottr, hustru	UBB dip. saml. 03.05.1581
1314	Þolleifur i Holmadalenom	DN XII 48
1375	Thomas Buknam	DN XII 108
1423	Thomas Ietmundzson	DN XII 175
1392	Thomas Spir	DN XII 124
1563	Thomisz Dreselhaege	DN X 764
1337	Þoordeir Arnbiannar son	DN II 223
1340	Þora Steingrimsz dotter	DN V 142
1412	Þorberger Dagfinsson radman	DN II 620
1349	Þorbiarnar Þordar sonar	DN V 206
1349	Þorbiorn Tossta son	DN III 265
1419	Þorbiørn i Bidøø	DN XII 166
1311	thorðbiørnn paa stroffm	BHFS60 1954/55 s. 192-93
1315	Þorðr Gunnars maghr	DN II 122
1328	Þorðr præstr at Mariu kirkiu	DN II 165
1388	Þore Þordeir son	DN IX 181
1347	Þorer Biorgwlfs son loghmader j Biorgwin	DN VI 187
1337	Þorer borgh radsmenn	DN II 223
1333	Þorer i Holmadalenom	DN IV 208
1315	Þorfinn i Grautenom	DN II 122
1320	Thorfinner i Hæinriksgarde	DN VII 94
1337	Þorgeir Biarnnar son	DN II 223
1406	Þorgeir Ellendsson	DN XVI 54
1425	Þorgeir Kiætillbiørnsson	DN XII 179
1401	Þorgier Hauarda son	DN III 560
1356	Þorgils Iuarsson	DN XXIII 31
1346	Þorgrimr Hallason	DN IX 144
1360	Þorgylssi Anbiarnar syni	DN IV 408
1328	Þorgæir a Stædiu	DN II 165
1389	Þorgæir Haldorsson	DN II 513
1323	Þorgæir Tofwa son	DN V 69
1309	Þorir i Tauna gardhe	DN XII 43

1423	Þorir Ionsson	DN XII 175
1420	Thorir Thorsteensson	DN XII 170
1317	Þorkell prestur Orms son	DN I 150
1423	Þorkill Halgrimsson	DN XII 175
1348	Þorleifur Olafs son	DN IV 330
1334	Þorleifur	DN II 207
1341	Þorstein Iuars son	DN I 276
1382	Þorstein Þorbiarnasonar	DN XXI 165
1328	Þorstæin mitu	DN II 165
1348	Þorstæine Þorkels syne	DN IV 336
1335	Þorstæini Roghnusyni	DN I 233
1346	Þostein halgrimsson, sira	DN XXI 74
1332	Þronde kraka sonar loghmanz	DN V 92
1332	Þrondr Eiriks son	DN V 92
1376	Þuridhar Halsteins dottor	DN I 436
1412	Tideka Fridorp radman	DN II 620
1337	Tidemann van Lynn	DN II 223
1366	Tidhekir Nicholassun	DN XII 103
1401	Tidik Wistakr	DN II 566
1329	Tidæmaðr af Lybyku	DN II 172
1563	Tonis Effelt	AHL ASA ex. dan. 850
1570	Tord Benckestock	DN VI 805
1463	Tordh Elifsson	DN III 862
1541	Tordt Roed høuitsmand paa Bergensshus	DN VI 748
1470	Torger abboth j Munkaliff, brodher	DN V 870
1419	Torkill timbirman	DN XII 166
1455	Torleff, biscop	DN III 830
1531	Tosteyn Ericson	DN XIII 277
1547	Trondt Benckestock	DN XII 618
1569	Trude Ulfstand, herr	NRR1 s. 629
1583	Truils Lauritßen sogneprest	UBB dip. saml. 06.03.1583
1562	Tønnes Clausson borger i Bergen	NRR1 s. 344
1334	Valburgar husproeyu	DN II 207
1360	Viliamer Eirixsson	DN IV 408
1572	Vincent Juell	NRR2 s. 48

1463	Værnik Diakn	DN XII 232
1529	Willomm Nielszønn	DN XXII 147
1312	Æinari	DN I 134
1340	Æiriker Harmunar son	DN V 142
1312	Æirikr	DN I 134
1338	Ælin Þoresdotter, fru	DN I 253
1328	Æyuoru Gauta dottor, fru	DN II 165
1422	Østein Kringir logrettomen	DN XII 174
1463	Østen Bagge	DN XII 232
1329	Aaso, iungfru	DN II 172



## Appendix 2: The Tables

%	1300-49	1350-99	1400-49	1450-99	1500-49	1550-99
N	96.7	91.1	86.5	68.8	78.8	75.5
D	2.9	6.3	12.7	29.0	13.5	22.4
B	0	2.5	0.8	1.1	7.7	1.4
X	0.4	0	0	1.1	0	0.7

Table 1: Percentages of names in property documents 1300-1599

	1300-49	1350-99	1400-49	1450-99	1500-49	1550-99	TOTAL
N	47 (94)	27 (84.4)	37 (82.2)	29 (48.3)	19 (86.4)	47 (61)	206 (72)
D	3 (6)	3 (9.4)	8 (17.8)	30 (50)	3 (13.6)	27 (35.1)	74 (25.9)
B	0 (0)	2 (6.3)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	2 (2.6)	4 (1.4)
X	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 (1.7)	0 (0)	1 (1.3)	2 (0.7)
TOTAL	50 (100)	32 (100.1)	45 (100)	60 (100)	22 (100)	77 (100)	286 (100)

Table 2: Names in group one, 1300-1599

	1300-49	1350-99	1400-49	1450-99	1500-49	1550-99	TOTAL
N	47 (94)	27 (84.4)	37 (82.2)	21 (58.3)	19 (86.4)	47 (61)	198 (75.6)
D	3 (6)	3 (9.4)	8 (17.8)	14 (38.9)	3 (13.6)	27 (35.1)	58 (22.1)
B	0 (0)	2 (6.3)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	2 (2.6)	4 (1.5)
X	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 (2.8)	0 (0)	1 (1.3)	2 (0.8)
TOTAL	50 (100)	32 (100.1)	45 (100)	36 (100)	22 (100)	77 (100)	262 (100)

Table 3: Names in group one, without the Munkeliv cadastre, 1300-1599

	1300-49	1350-99	1400-49	1450-99	1500-49	1550-99	TOTAL
N	29 (90.6)	19 (82.6)	32 (82.1)	19 (57.6)	15 (83.3)	37 (56.1)	151 (71.6)
D	3 (9.4)	2 (8.7)	7 (17.9)	14 (42.4)	3 (16.7)	26 (39.4)	55 (26.1)
B	0 (0)	2 (8.7)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	2 (3)	4 (1.9)
X	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 (1.5)	1 (0.5)
TOTAL	32 (100)	23 (100)	39 (99.9)	33 (100)	18 (100)	66 (100)	211 (100.1)

Table 4: Names in group one, 1300-1599

	1300-49	1350-99	1400-49	1450-99	1500-49	1550-99	TOTAL
N	103 (99)	36 (94.7)	51 (89.5)	18 (90)	15 (93.8)	23 (88.5)	246 (94.3)
D	1 (1)	2 (5.3)	6 (10.5)	1 (5)	1 (6.3)	3 (11.5)	14 (5.4)
B	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 (5)	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 (0.4)
X	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)
TOTAL	104 (100)	38 (100)	57 (100)	20 (100)	16 (100.1)	26 (100)	261 (100.1)

Table 5: Names in group two, 1300-1599

	1300-49	1350-99	1400-49	1450-99	1500-49	1550-99	TOTAL
N	98 (96.1)	17 (94.4)	26 (86.7)	19 (90.5)	10 (58.8)	48 (90.6)	218 (91.2)
D	3 (2.9)	1 (5.6)	3 (10)	1 (4.8)	3 (17.6)	5 (9.4)	16 (6.7)
B	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 (3.3)	0 (0)	4 (23.5)	0 (0)	3 (1.3)
X	1 (1)	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 (4.8)	0 (0)	0 (0)	2 (0.8)
TOTAL	102 (100)	18 (100)	30 (100)	21 (100.1)	17 (99.9)	53 (100)	239 (100)

Table 6: Names in group three, 1300-1599

	1300-49	1350-99	1400-49	1450-99	1500-49	1550-99	TOTAL
N	33 (100)	24 (92.3)	32 (88.9)	8 (88.9)	14 (93.3)	14 (87.5)	125 (92.6)
D	0 (0)	2 (7.7)	4 (11.1)	1 (11.1)	1 (6.7)	2 (12.5)	10 (7.4)
B	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)
X	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)
TOTAL	33 (100)	26 (100)	36 (100)	9 (100)	15 (100)	16 (100)	135 (100)

Table 7: Names in group two, including only property transaction documents, 1300-1599

	1300-49	1350-99	1400-49	1450-99	1500-49	1550-99	TOTAL
N	26 (100)	5 (100)	17 (94.4)	10 (83.3)	3 (100)	3 (100)	64 (95.5)
D	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 (8.3)	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 (1.5)
B	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 (5.6)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 (1.5)
X	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 (8.3)	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 (1.5)
TOTAL	26 (100)	5 (100)	18 (100)	12 (99.9)	3 (100)	3 (100)	67 (100)

Table 8: Names in group three, including only property transaction documents, 1300-1599

	1300-49	1350-99	1400-49	1450-99	1500-49	1550-99	TOTAL
N	72 (96)	22 (84.6)	34 (81)	21 (60)	16 (80)	45 (59.2)	210 (76.6)
D	3 (4)	2 (7.7)	8 (19)	14 (40)	3 (15)	28 (36.8)	58 (21.2)
B	0 (0)	2 (7.7)	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 (5)	2 (2.6)	5 (1.8)
X	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 (1.3)	1 (0.4)
TOTAL	75 (100)	26 (100)	42 (100)	35 (100)	20 (100)	76 (99.9)	274 (100)

Table 9: Names in group one, including all Bergen dwellers, 1300-1599

	1300-49	1350-99	1400-49	1450-99	1500-49	1550-99	TOTAL
N	83 (98.8)	35 (94.6)	50 (90.9)	16 (88.9)	14 (93.3)	19 (90.5)	217 (94.3)
D	1 (1.2)	2 (5.4)	5 (9.1)	1 (5.6)	1 (6.7)	2 (9.5)	12 (5.2)
B	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 (5.6)	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 (0.4)
X	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)
TOTAL	84 (100)	37 (100)	55 (100)	18 (100.1)	15 (100)	21 (100)	230 (99.9)

Table 10: Names in group two, excluding Bergen dwellers, 1300-1599

	1300-49	1350-99	1400-49	1450-99	1500-49	1550-99	TOTAL
N	75 (94.9)	15 (93.8)	25 (86.2)	19 (90.5)	10 (71.4)	44 (91.7)	188 (90.8)
D	3 (3.8)	1 (6.3)	3 (10.3)	1 (4.8)	3 (21.4)	4 (8.3)	15 (7.2)
B	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 (3.4)	0 (0)	1 (7.1)	0 (0)	2 (1)
X	1 (1.3)	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 (4.8)	0 (0)	0 (0)	2 (1)
TOTAL	79 (100)	16 (100.1)	29 (99.9)	21 (100.1)	14 (99.9)	48 (100)	207 (100)

Table 11: Names in group three, excluding Bergen dwellers, 1300-1599

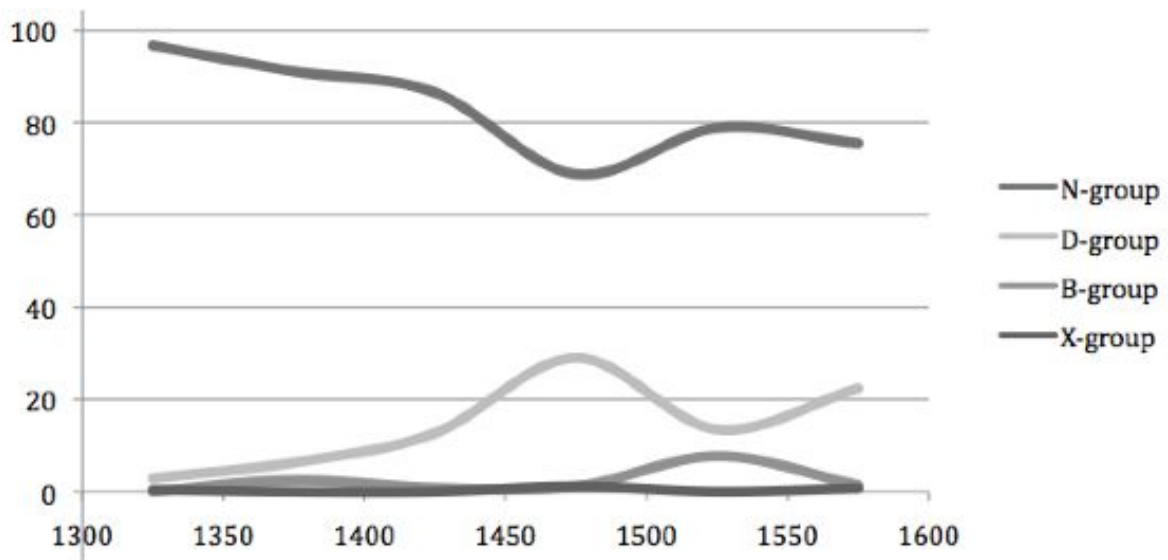
	1300-49	1350-99	1400-49	1450-99	1500-49	1550-99	TOTAL
N	28 (100)	24 (92.3)	31 (91.2)	8 (88.9)	13 (92.9)	13 (86.7)	117 (92.9)
D	0 (0)	2 (7.7)	3 (8.8)	1 (11.1)	1 (7.1)	2 (13.3)	9 (7.1)
B	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)
X	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)
TOTAL	28 (100)	26 (100)	34 (100)	9 (100)	14 (100)	15 (100)	126 (100)

Table 12: Names in group two, excluding Bergen dwellers and including only names from property transaction documents, 1300-1599

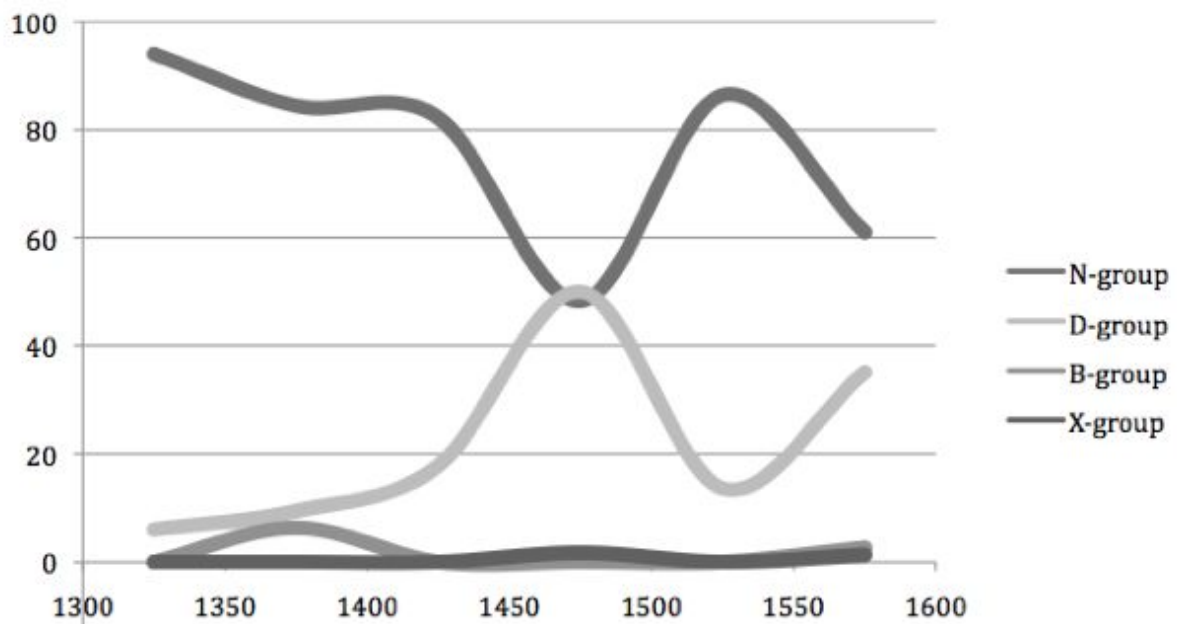
	1300-49	1350-99	1400-49	1450-99	1500-49	1550-99	TOTAL
N	21 (100)	4 (100)	16 (94.1)	10 (83.3)	3 (100)	2 (100)	56 (94.9)
D	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 (8.3)	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 (1.7)
B	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 (5.9)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 (1.7)
X	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 (8.3)	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 (1.7)
TOTAL	21 (100)	4 (100)	17 (100)	12 (99.9)	3 (100)	2 (100)	59 (100)

Table 13: Names in group three, excluding Bergen dwellers and including only names from property transaction documents, 1300-1599

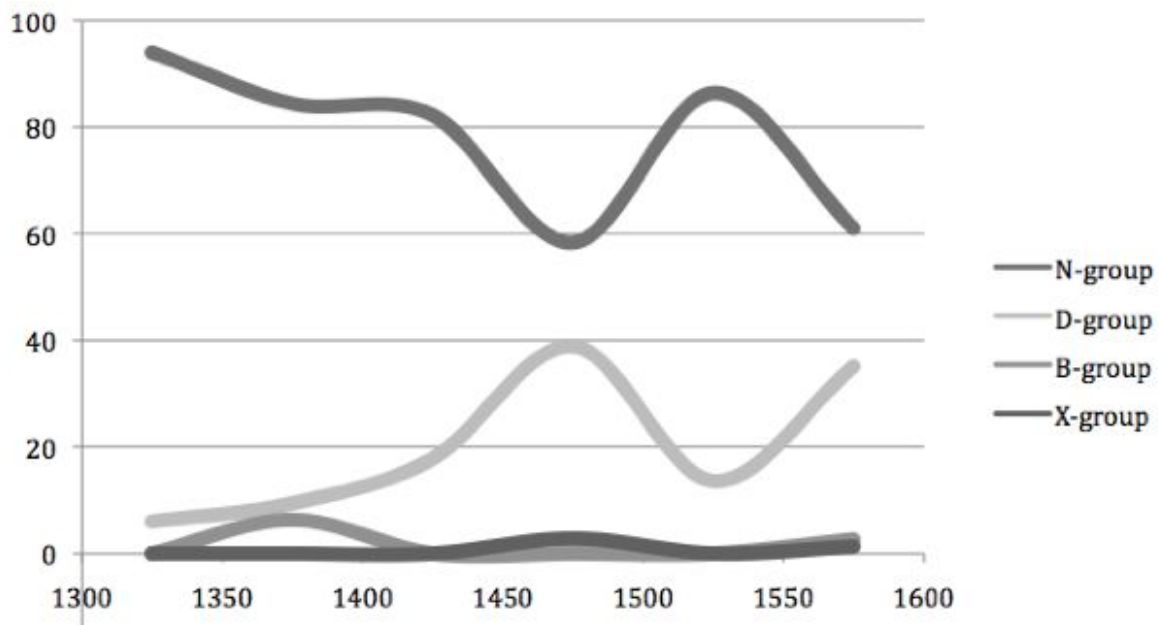
### Appendix 3: The Graphs



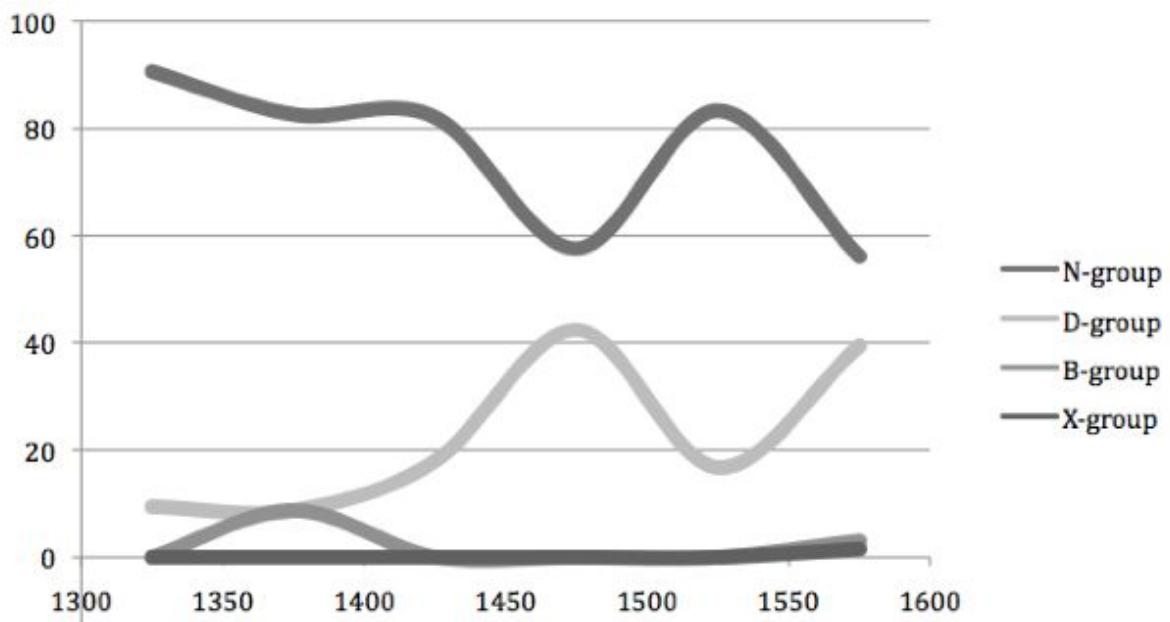
Graph 1: Changes in name proportions 1300-1599. The Y-axis shows the relative numbers, and the x-axis the years A.D.



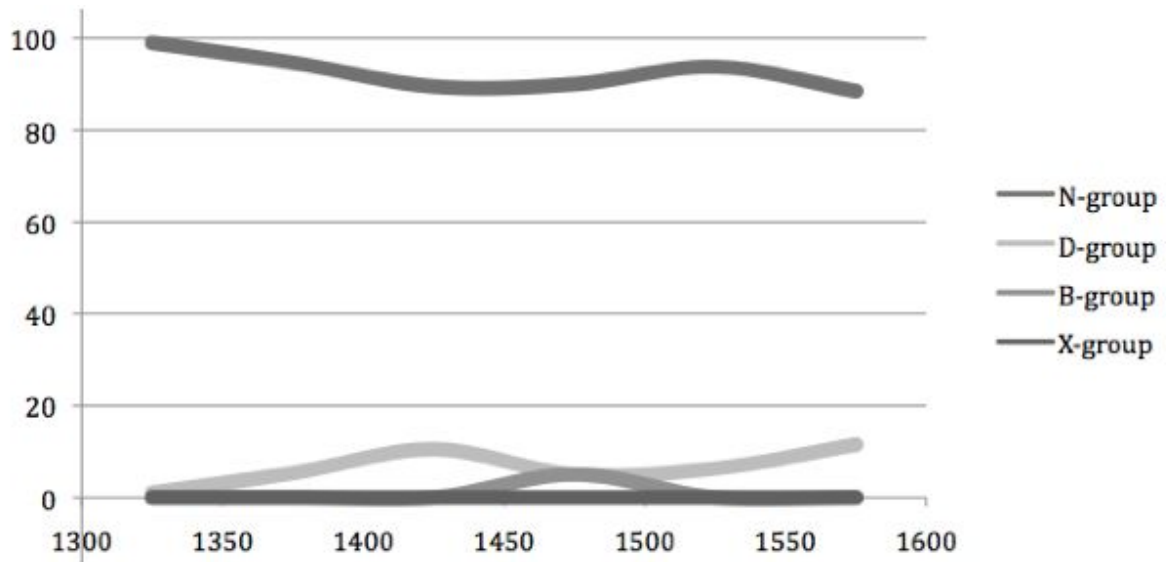
Graph 2: Changes in name origins, group one, 1300-1599



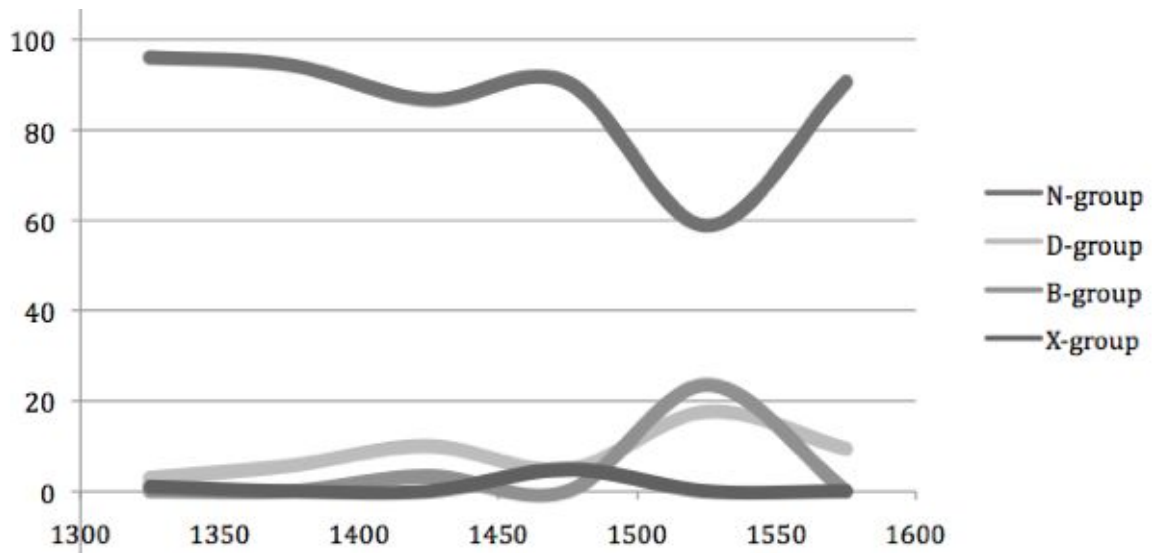
Graph 3: Changes in name origins, group one, without the Munkeliv canastre, 1300-1599



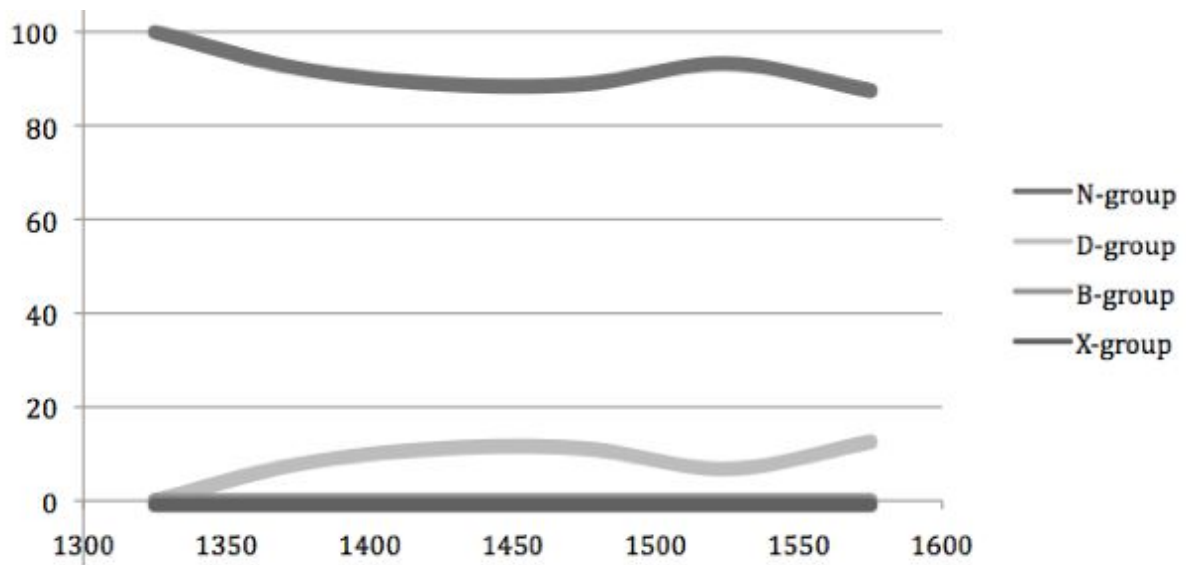
Graph 4: Changes in name origins, group one, 1300-1599



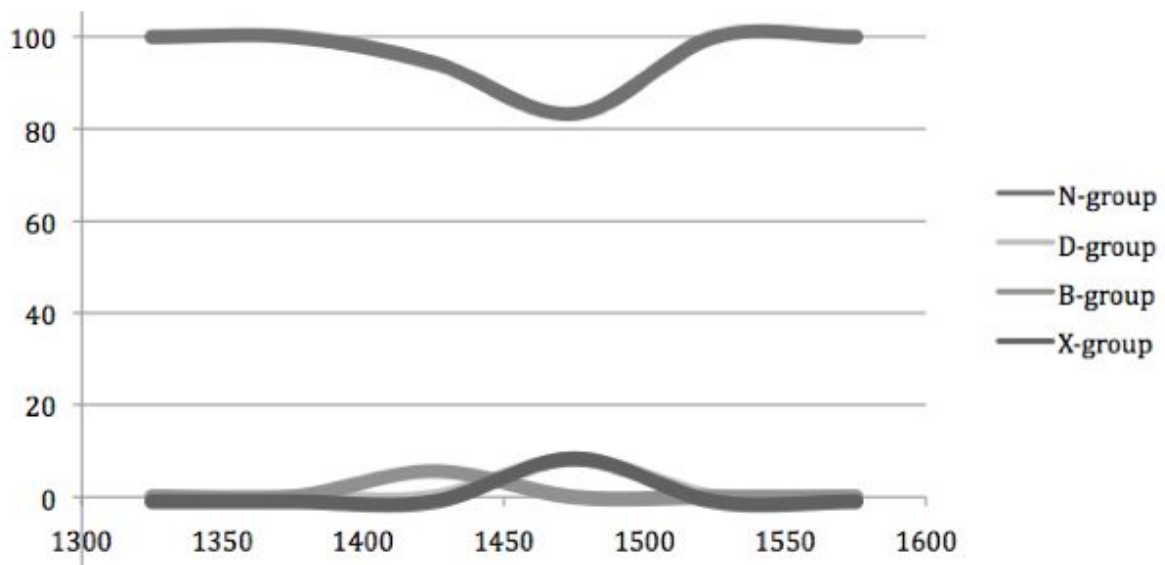
Graph 5: Changes in name origins, group two, 1300-1599



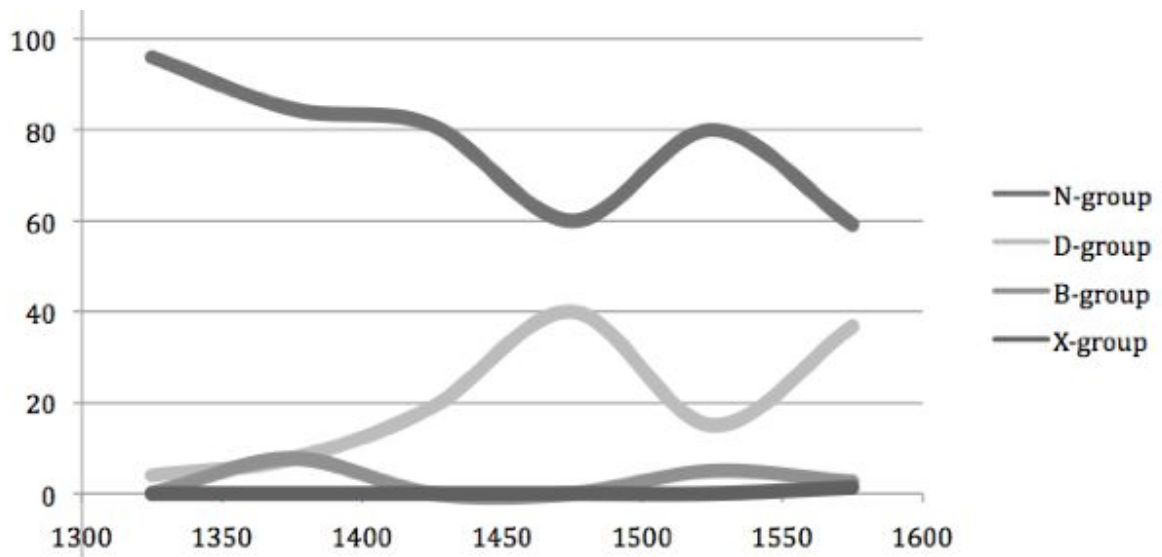
Graph 6: Changes in name origins, group three, 1300-1599



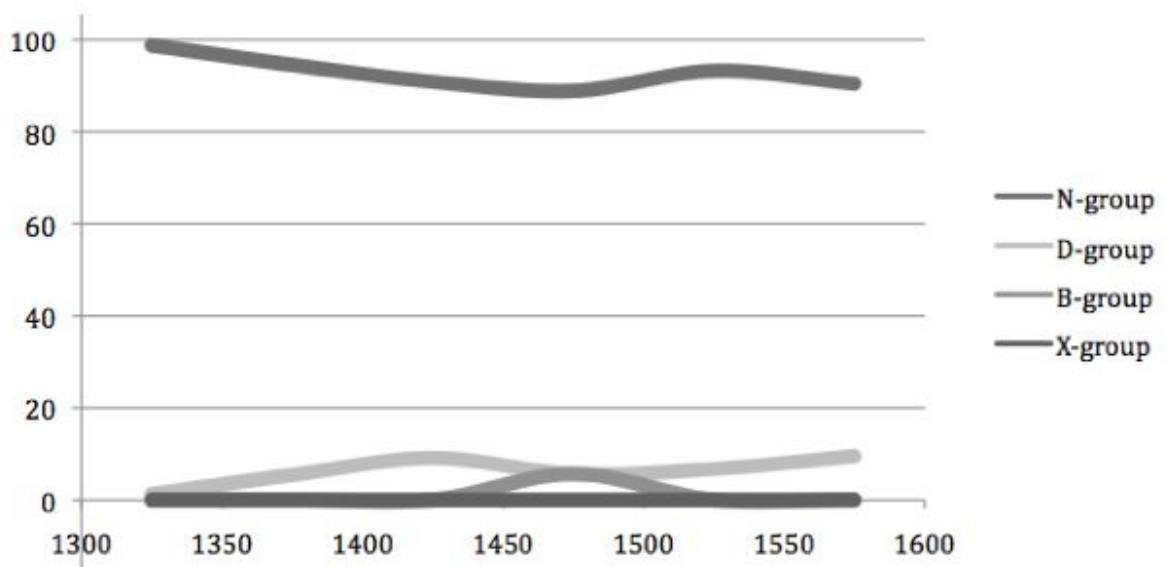
Graph 7: Changes in name origins, group two, including only property transaction documents, 1300-1599



Graph 8: Changes in name origins, group three, including only property transaction documents, 1300-1599

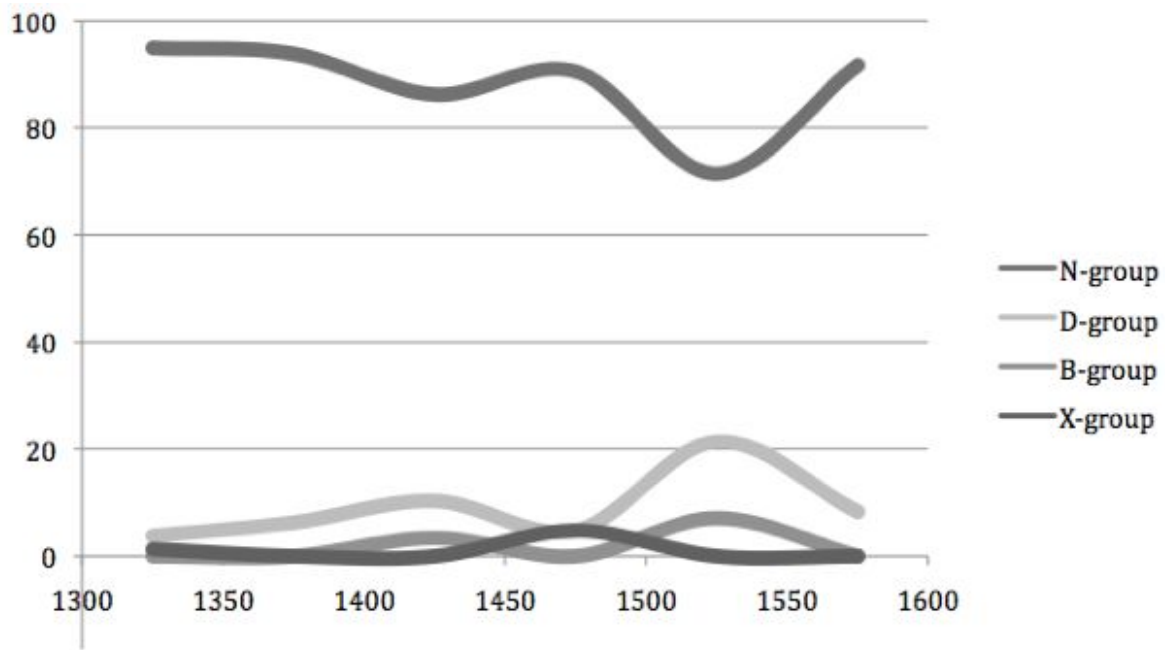


Graph 9: Changes in name origins, group one, including all Bergen dwellers, 1300-1599

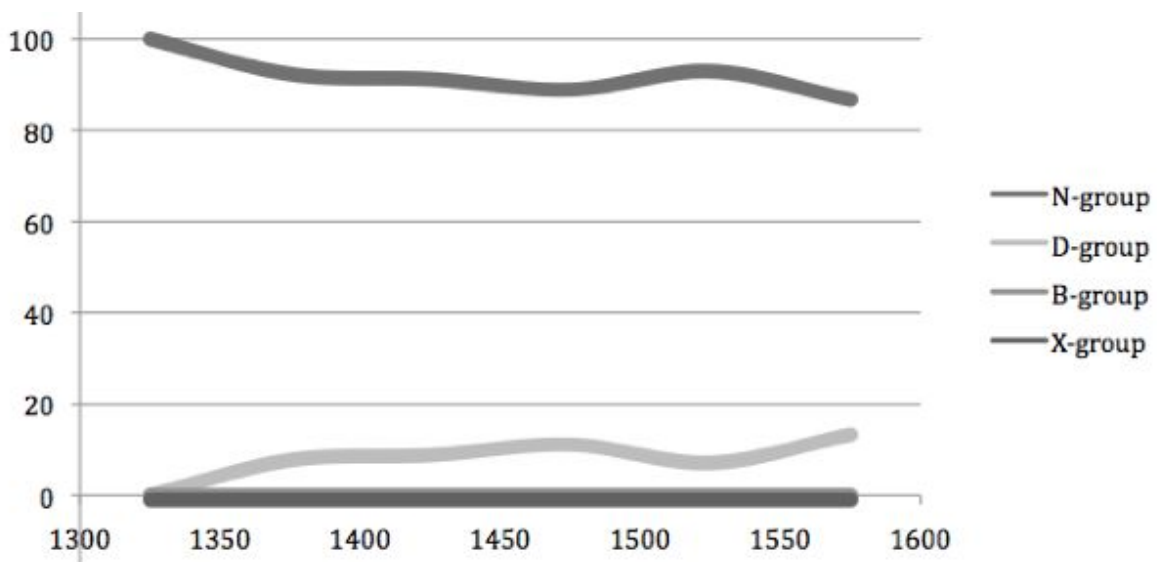


Graph 10: Changes in name origins, group two, excluding all Bergen dwellers, 1300-1599

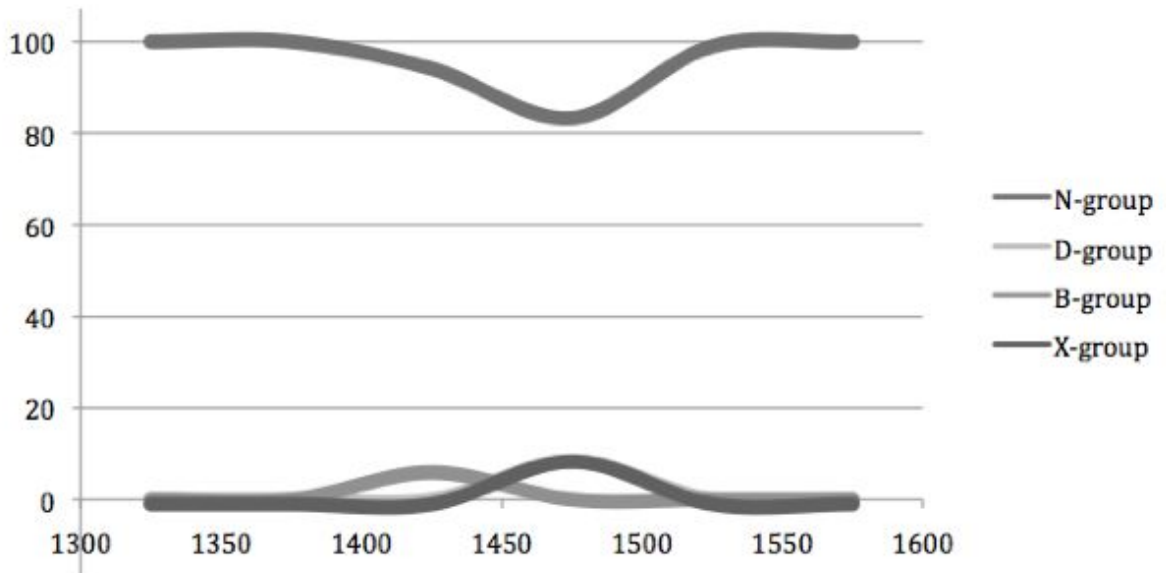




Graph 11: Changes in name origins, group three, excluding all Bergen dwellers, 1300-1599



Graph 12: Changes in name origins, group two, excluding all Bergen dwellers and including only names from property transaction documents, 1300-1599



Graph 13: Changes in name origins, group three, excluding all Bergen dwellers and including only names from property transaction documents, 1300-1599