

Daily Life in Danish Medieval Monasteries

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1. THE SOURCES

There is no general treatment of this subject, and so references must be gleaned from scattered sources and secondary works. The great *Dagligt Liv i Norden i det sekstende Århundrede* (Daily Life in the North in the 16th Century) vol. 1-7, (1879-1901), sixth edition 1968, by Troels-Lund has only two references to monasteries and monks. Troels-Lund says that the hospitality shown by medieval monasteries continued to be a tradition in the countryside after their closing, for parish priests were expected to house travellers (I: 185-6).

A recent study of a Cistercian abbey in Southern Jutland: Olga Bartholdy *Munkeliv i Løgumkloster* (Løgumkloster, 1973 and 1987) was criticized by a reviewer in *Historisk Tidsskrift* (74, 1974, p. 527-528) for its title's indication that the contents dealt with the daily life of the monastery. The reviewer pointed out that the account dealt not with the monks' lives but with the relationship of society to the monastery. This approach is necessitated by the type of sources available for Danish monastic life. Beginning at the Reformation, monasteries were emptied of their movable goods, and their chronicles and books were used for scrap paper. Some of the fragments now collected by Jørgen Raasted at the Institute for Greek and Latin Medieval Philology in Copenhagen come from books of Sorø monastery. These books were cut up and made use of for the 17th century registers of Copenhagen University.

The one type of monastic sources that was preserved after the Middle Ages was the record of the monastery's properties. Copies of abbey charters were often copied into collections in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. These include the *Codex Esromensis* (*Esrom Klosters Brevbog*, ed. O. Nielsen, Copenhagen: Selskabet for Udgivelse af Kilder til Dansk Historie, 1880-81, repr. 1973) and the *Sorø Book*, printed in *Scriptores Rerum Danicarum Medii Aevi* IV (Copenhagen, 1776) p. 463-531 and now commented on in an important article by Kai Hørby, "Sorø Klosters Gavebog", in *Kongemagt og Samfund i Middelalderen, Festskrift til Erik Ulsig* (Århus: Arusia-Historiske Skrifter VI, 1988) p. 55-62. For the period up to 1385, the monastic charters and other documentary materials have all been gathered into the massive *Diplomatarium Danicum* [Copenhagen: Det danske Sprog- og Litteraturselskab, 1938-(87)]. New volumes appear every two or three years and by using the indices one

can find valuable information about Danish monastic relations to other social institutions.

Many of the Latin sources beautifully edited in M. Cl. Gertz, *Scriptores Minores Historiae Danicae Medii Aevi* (Copenhagen: Selskabet for Udgivelse af Kilder til Dansk Historie, 1918–22, repr. 1970), shed light on monastic life, especially the Cistercian sources in the second volume, including the Øm Abbey Chronicle. Another narrative source of great value, and one which at times approaches the contents of daily life, is the Letters of Abbot William of the Augustinian house at Æbelholt in Northern Zealand. These have now been printed in the *Diplomatarium Danicum* (Vol. I, Række 3, appendix) ed. by C. A. Christensen and Herluf Nielsen and have been analysed in a brief, incisive article by Nanna Damsholt "Abbed Vilhelm af Æbelholts brevsamling", *Historisk Tidsskrift* 78 (1978), p. 1–22, with an English summary, "The Letters of Abbot Vilhelm".

Among foreign sources that sometimes shed light on Danish monastic conditions is, of course, J. M. Canivez, *Statuta Capitulum Generalium Ordinis Cisterciensis* (Bibliothèque de la Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique 9–14B; Louvain 1933–41), now commented upon as a whole by Svend E. Green-Pedersen, "De danske cistercienserklostre og Generalkapitlet i Cîteaux til ca 1340", *Festskrift til Troels Dahlerup* (Århus: Arusia-Historiske Skrifter V, 1985) p. 37–53. Also useful is *The Tax Book of the Cistercian Order*, eds. A. O. Johnsen and H. P. King (Det Norske Videnskaps Akademi II, Hist. - Filos. Klasse Avhandling, Ny serie, no. 16; Oslo, 1979).

2. GENERAL TREATMENTS OF MONASTIC LIFE IN DENMARK

The classic work, which has never been replaced and which still can be used, though with caution, is J. B. Daugaard, *Om de Danske Klostre i Middelalderen* (Copenhagen, 1830). An attempt to update Daugaard got only a limited assistance, but Ivar Hertzsprung, "De danske Klostres Styrelse og økonomiske Forhold samt Klosterbygningerne i Tiden 1202–1319" *Historisk Tidsskrift* 7. Række, 5. Bind (1904–05) p. 299–364, has given much inspiration to later studies. Vilhelm Lorenzen, *De danske Klostres Bygningshistorie I–IX* (1912–41) cannot be trusted for its historical details, and much of its archeological information is now out of date, but it remains the only twentieth-century treatment of all the Danish monasteries, arranged according to their orders. H. N. Garner, *Atlas over danske klostre* (Copenhagen: Nyt Nordisk Forlag, Arnold Busck, 1968) deserves to be reprinted (with corrections), for it is the best brief guide to the locations and founding dates for Danish monasteries.

An early study that still influences new work on Danish monasticism, as well as on other aspects of Danish medieval life, is Ellen Jørgensen, *Fremmed*

Indflydelse under den danske Kirkes tidligste Udvikling (Memoires de l'Académie Royale des Sciences et des Lettres de Danemark, 7me série, Section des Lettres t. I, no. 2; Copenhagen, 1908).

Recently there have been a few studies which have looked upon monastic life not in terms of individual orders but in terms of its impact on Danish ecclesiastical and social life. These include Thelma Jexlev, *Fra dansk senmiddelalder: Nogle kildestudier* (Odense University Studies in History and Social Sciences 29; Odense, 1976) and Tore Nyberg, "Lists of monasteries in some thirteenth century wills. Monastic history and historical method: a Contribution", *Medieval Scandinavia* 5 (1972) p. 49-74, a fascinating article with a rich bibliography. Tore Nyberg has emerged in recent years as the Danish-Swedish historian who is broadest in studying several religious orders and in relating the Scandinavian to the international development. For an attempt at this same approach, see my "Anders Sunesen og klostervæsenet: Kontinuitet eller Brud?", in *Anders Sunesen - stormand, teolog, administrator, digter* ed. Sten Ebbesen (Copenhagen: Københavns Universitets Center for Europæiske Middelalderstudier, G. E. C. Gad, 1985), p. 27-41.

For the objects of daily life from Danish monasteries now at the National Museum in Copenhagen, see Tage E. Christiansen, *Danmarks Middelalder* (Copenhagen: Nationalmuseet, 1972).

3. DANISH NUNS

Here there is the same lack of publications that is typical for Europe as a whole, but in recent years there has been some excellent work. Gina Gertrud Smith, "De danske nonneklostre indtil ca. 1250" *Kirkehistoriske Samlinger* (1973) p. 1-45 is a pioneering work. The same can be said of Nanna Damsholt, *Kvindebilledet i dansk højmiddelalder* (Copenhagen: Borgen, 1985) whose fifth chapter draws on Danish saints' lives, including Cistercian sources, but where I find a too sharp distinction between an episcopal and a monastic view of women in Denmark.

Ingrid Nielsen, well-known for her work on Danish towns, has written an excellent new treatment of two womens' houses in Roskilde, a Franciscan and a Dominican, from the later thirteenth century, "Brude- eller nonneslør. Om grundlæggerne af Sankt Clara og Sankt Agnes klostre i Roskilde", in *Kongemagt og Samfund i Middelalderen. Festskrift til Erik Ulsig* (Århus: Arusia - Historiske Skrifter VI, 1988) p. 101-15. See also Thelma Jexlev, "Nonneklostrene i Roskilde", *Historisk Årbog fra Roskilde Amt* (1977), p. 25-40.

4. THE BENEDICTINES IN DENMARK

Except for one of Lorenzen's volumes, as mentioned above, the Benedictines in Denmark lack any complete treatment. Their monasteries are seen as isolated entities, and since several of them later became Cistercian houses (as Veng and Sorø), their Benedictine phase is given short shrift. Best-known is the house at Odense, as in Peter King "The Cathedral Priory of Odense in the Middle Ages", *Kirkehistoriske Samlinger* 7:VI (1966) p. 1-20. See also the relevant sections in *Odense bys historie: Fra boplads til bispeby. Odense til 1559* (Odense: Odense Universitetsforlag, 1982).

The Benedictine house at Næstved, later moved outside the city, was treated in H. J. Helms, *Næstved St. Peders Kloster*, (Næstved, 1940). An edition of the late medieval account books of Næstved that will cast valuable light on relations between monastery and peasants is being prepared by Merete Dahlerup.

5. THE CISTERCIANS

Because of the relative richness of the source materials, the Cistercian Order's presence in Denmark has received much attention, but most of the studies concern the relations of the monks to other groups in medieval society and not the content of their everyday lives. A projected work on the Cistercians in Denmark by the historian and priest Edward Ortvad was never completed, but his general volume from 1927 on the Order as a whole, *Cistercieordenen Overhovedet*, has had some influence on later studies (a posthumous volume, *Sveriges Klostre*, appeared in 1933), while a typescript on Herrisvad monastery is kept in the Royal Library at Copenhagen with Ortvad's other papers.

In 1982 my book, *The Cistercians in Denmark: Attitudes, Roles and Functions in Medieval Society* (Cistercian Studies 35, Kalamazoo, Michigan: Cistercian Publications) appeared. I approached the subject in terms of social history and the history of mentalities, and so the question of everyday life is only dealt with secondarily. My book stops in the early fifteenth century. The last century of Danish monasticism is still waiting for a treatment, which might be able to bring forth many surprising sides of its situation at the eve of the Reformation. Excavations at Øm monastery in Jutland in the mid-1970s brought to light new information about a late medieval building programme that completed the abbey complex, which had remained unfinished after the dispute with the bishop of Århus in the 1260s described in my *Conflict and Continuity at Øm Abbey: A Cistercian Experience in Medieval Denmark* Opuscula graecolatina 8 (Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum, 1976). Unfortunately the full report of the Øm excavations has not yet been published, but a summary is available

in Olaf Olsen, "Krønike og udgravning: Øm kloster i historisk og arkæologisk belysning", *Convivium* (1979) p. 2-22.

The most promising work contributing to our knowledge of the monks' daily lives is being done by archaeologists, such as Ole Schiørring: "Lægbrødrøfløjen på Øm kloster. Fra de seneste arkæologiske udgravninger - The lay-brother's wing at Øm abbey", *Løgumkloster Studier* 2 (Løgumkloster, 1980), p. 7-34 (with an English summary). Another fruit of the excavations at Øm is Kristian Madsen and Ole Schiørring: "Tre 1400-tals ovne på Øm Kloster"; *Århus Stifts Årbøger* (1976-79) p. 25-38. Another Jutlandic monastery excavated in the 1970s is Tvis, reported on by Torben Skov, "Tvis kloster - en foreløbig orientering om prøvegravningen i 1987", *Holstebro Museum Årsskrift* (1978) p. 41-55.

The journal *Løgumkloster Studier* (mentioned above), continues to publish studies relevant to Cistercian life in Denmark and especially the situation of Løgum abbey. *Løgumkloster Studier* 4 (1984) includes Hanne Sanders, "Klostret i Løgum og dets placering i lokalsamfundet i 1200-tallet - The abbey of Løgum and its relationship to local society during the 13th century", p. 23-58; Jesper Ballhorn, "Løgumkloster kirkes middelalderlige udsmyknig - Mittelalterliche Kunstwerke in Lügumkloster Kirche", p. 60-84; Niels Sterum, "Korsgangshvælvinger i Løgum Kloster - ideal og virkelighed - Vaults of the cloister-walk at the abbey of Løgum - ideal and reality", p. 86-107; and Bent Søholm Jepsen, "Middelalderlige urter omkring klostret i Løgum - Medieval herbs from the monastery of Løgum", p. 109-115. The "grand old man" of Løgum abbey studies, Jürgen A. Wissing, published in 1972 a book that has now been revised and soon will reappear, *Kloster Løgum: Zistercienserkloster Loci Dei* (Schriften der Heimatkundlichen Arbeitsgemeinschaft für Nordschleswig, Heft 26).

The archaeologist Niels Sterum, now at the Randers municipal museum, continues to research the medieval development of the monastery complex at Løgum. See his "Not on Rock, not on Sand, but on Turf: Turf foundations under the Cistercian church in Logum, Denmark", *Cîteaux Commentarii Cistercienses* 34 (1983) p. 311-15.

Svend Erik Green-Pedersen, historian at Århus University, has made many contributions to the history of Øm Abbey, [including "Øm Klosters grundlæggelse og dets forhold til bisp Sven af Århus", *Århus Stifts Årbøger* 57 (1964) p. 173-246], but his most fascinating work sees Danish Cistercian developments as a whole: "De danske cistercienserklostres grundlæggelse og den politiske magtkamp i det 12. århundrede", in *Middelalder, metode og medier: Festskrift til Niels Skyum Nielsen* (Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum, 1981) p. 41-65 and "De danske cistercienserklostre og Generalkapitlet i Cîteaux til ca. 1340", *Festskrift til Troels Dahlerup* (Århus: Arusia - Historische Skrifter, 1985) p. 37-

Our knowledge of the conditions of life at Øm Abbey was greatly enlarged by Kr. Isager, *Skeletfundene ved Øm Kloster* (Copenhagen, 1936), with a German edition, *Krankenfürsorge des dänischen Zisterzienserklosters Øm* (Copenhagen, 1941).

Other recent studies which could contribute to an understanding of conditions in the monasteries and in their relations to their surroundings include: Tage E. Christiansen, "Sune Ebbesens Halve Hovedlod", *Historisk Tidsskrift* 81 (1981) p. 183–92, with summary, "Sune Ebbesen's half main portion of inheritance", relevant to the history of Sorø abbey, and Axel Bolvig, "Stridighederne omkring Brede Kirke 1250–1350" ('The conflicts concerning the parish church of Brede'), *Historisk Tidsskrift* 77 (1977) p. 85–95, illuminating for the relations of the Løgum monks to lay society. For monastic place names and their origins see Inge Wohlerst "Dobbeltnavne på danske klostre", *Festskrift til Kristian Hald* (Copenhagen, 1974) p. 71–84 and Niels Haastrup, "Esrom – et kloster nær ødemarken?", *Danske Studier* (1985) p. 99–102.

Some of my most recent articles update or revise observations in the book on the Cistercians in Denmark. See "Monastic and Episcopal Biography in the Thirteenth Century: The Danish Cistercian Account of Bishop Gunner of Viborg", *Analecta Cisterciensia* 39 (1983) p. 195–230 and "Why Scandinavia? Bernard, Esquil and Cistercian Expansion in the North 1140–80", *Goad and Nail: Studies in Medieval Cistercian History* X, ed. E. Rozanne Elder, Cistercian Studies Series 84 (Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 1985) p. 251–81.

6. AUGUSTINIANS

The Augustinian canons founded nine houses in Denmark during the Middle Ages, but as with the Benedictines, we lack a full study, except for Lorenzen's work. Because of abbot William (see above) and his letter collection, the house at Æbelholt in Northern Zealand can be seen to a certain extent in terms of everyday life. Æbelholt is also documented through the excavations led by Vilhelm Møller-Christensen and published in *Æbelholt kloster* (Copenhagen: Nationalmuseet, 1982), with detailed descriptions of the skeletons found and the medical evidence accumulated. A medical museum at Æbelholt, open to the public in the summer months, provides an invaluable introduction to the history of daily life in medieval Denmark and supplements the finds from Øm abbey (above).

7. FRANCISCANS AND DOMINICANS

The mendicants were quite successful in Denmark and founded dozens of priories after the 1220s. The Dominicans are most fully treated in the relevant

sections of Jarl Gallén, *La province de Dacie de l'Ordre des Frères Precheurs* I (Institutum Historicum FF. Praedicatorum. Dissertationes historicae XII; Helsingfors, 1964).

The Franciscans received a full treatment in 1914 by Johannes Lindbæk, (*De danske Franciskanerklostre*), while in recent decades Jørgen Nybo Rasmussen, archivist at the Royal Archives, has written many excellent studies, including "Das Franziskanerkloster in Flensburg und die Ordensprovinz 'Dacia' um 1500", *Flensburg 700 Jahre Stadt - eine Festschrift* (1984), p. 85-104. Forthcoming from Nybo Rasmussen, by the Institut für europäische Geschichte, Mainz, is *Die Franziskanerprovinz Dacia I. Gründung und Leben*. In a letter to me Nybo Rasmussen points out that the tenth chapter, "Klosterleben und Gottesdienst", deals with subjects involving everyday life.

In the 1970s there were excavations at the Franciscan house in Svendborg on the island of Fünen. A preliminary report has been published by Henrik M. Jansen, "Svendborg franciskanerkloster - set i lyset af de arkæologiske undersøgelser 1975-80. En foreløbig oversigt", *Årbog for Svendborg og Omegns Museum* 1984 (Svendborg: Museumsforeningen, 1985) p. 24-43.

We are unable to get close to the lives of individual Franciscans as we can to a Cistercian monk-bishop like Gunner of Øm, but Nybo Rasmussen has made a bold attempt in his "Broder Esger - provincial minister for franciskanerprovinzen Dacia 1406-32. En personstudie på grundlag of upersonlige kilder" (a biographical study on the basis of impersonal sources) in *Mennesker i Danmarks og Europa Middelalder* ed. Brian Patrick McGuire (Copenhagen: Center for Europæiske Middelalderstudier ved Københavns Universitet, published by C. A. Reitzel, 1986) p. 105-119.

8. OTHER ORDERS

The *Premonstratensians* were especially successful in the twelfth century in establishing houses in the Danish province of Skåne, but their history has not been seen as a whole. See now, however, Tore Nyberg, "Die skandinavische Zirkarie der Prämonstratenserchorherren", *Secundum Regulam Vivere. Festschrift für P. Norbert Backmund*, hrsg. Gert Melville (Windberg: Poppe Verlag, 1987) p. 265-79. See Also Curt Wallin, ed. *Tommarps Urkundsbok 1085-1600: Klostret. Hospitalet. Staden. Socknen* I-II (Tomelilla: Verbum, 1975-76) with an article by Tore Nyberg in II: p. 7-22 and 33-42 on the Nordic Premonstratensians' position. The *Hospitallers of Saint John* had six houses in medieval Denmark and are treated in an attractive study by a historian who died young and thus did not realise the promise that the book indicates: Thomas Hatt Olsen, *Dacia og Rhodos* (Copenhagen, 1962). For a summary in English, T. H. Olsen, "The Priory of Dacia in the Order of Saint John

of Jerusalem", *Annales de l'Ordre de Malte* 4 (1960) p. 20–33. See also Tore Nyberg, "Johanniterna i Norden i äldsta tid", *Festskrift tillägnad Matts Dreijer* (Ålands Folkminnesförbund. Bygdserie nr. 5; Mariehamn, 1984) p. 193–225. Also his "Zur Rolle der Johanniter in Skandinavien. Erstes Auftreten und Aufbau der Institutionen", *Die Rolle der Ritterorden in der mittelalterlichen Kultur*, hrsg. Zenon Hubert Nowak (Universitas Nicolai Copernici: Ordines militares, Colloquia Torunensia Historica III; Toruń, 1985) p. 129–44.

The *Carmelites* did not come to Denmark until the early fifteenth century but then founded five houses. Their house in Helsingør (Elsinore) north of Copenhagen is the best preserved monastery complex in Scandinavia and at the Reformation housed the distinguished Copenhagen University teacher Poul Helgesen, whose Skiby Chronicle and other writings are an invaluable source for early sixteenth-century events in Denmark. As with the other monastic and religious orders, the Carmelites are described in the *Kulturhistorisk Leksikon for Nordisk Middelalder* ("Karmeliterordenen", Troels Dahlerup, vol. 8, col. 298). A fuller description, which does not limit itself to the Elsinore house, is given by Kaare Rübner Jørgensen, "De hvide brødre i Helsingør", *Helsingør Bymuseum Arbog* 1979, p. 5–63, with rich notes and bibliography.

The *Bridgettine Order* (*Ordo Sancti Salvatoris*) has been written about extensively and in many different connections by Tore Nyberg, usually in terms of the rule, administration, and links among monasteries. See his doctoral thesis, *Birgittinische Klostergründungen des Mittelalters*, Bibliotheca Historica Lundensis (Lund–Leiden, 1965). More popular, but a good guide to one Bridgettine house in Denmark, is Per Sloth Carlsen, *Mariager Kloster: Birgittinerordenen og bygningshistorien* (Randers: Randers Amts Historiske Samfund, 1983). Søren Kaspersen at the Institute for Art History, Copenhagen University, has been working on the influence of Saint Bridget and her Order on Scandinavian church art, as in "Den hudflettede Kristus på korset: Et birgittinsk indslag i den sengotiske kunst i Norden?", (with German summary: "Der gegeisselte Christus am Kreuz – ein birgittinischer Einschlag in der spätgotischen Kunst des Nordens?"), in *Kristus fremstillinger. 5. nordiske symposium for ikonografiske studier* (Copenhagen: G. E. C. Gad, 1980) p. 127–47.

The *Hospital Brothers of the Holy Ghost*, founded in Southern France in the late twelfth century, did not come to Denmark until 1451, with the foundation of a house at Ålborg in Northern Jutland. Aside from local studies, little work has been published on the order in Denmark since 1906, when Johannes Lindbæk and G. Stemmann issued their *De danske Helligaandsklostre*.

For Antonites, Augustinians, and Carthusians, the only introductions (besides Lorenzen) are provided by the respective articles in the *Kulturhistorisk Leksikon for Nordisk Middelalder*.

9. CONCLUSION

As indicated at the outset of this brief review, the Danish monasteries lack a modern treatment of their everyday life. Monastic history has never had a very high priority in Denmark, perhaps partly because of the distant legacy of the Reformation and its rejection of monastic life as an acceptable form of Christian existence. Even among totally secularized Danish historians today, monastic history is generally looked upon as a secondary concern (as can be seen by taking a glance at recent treatments of Danish medieval history).

The foundation of a European Centre for research on monasticism (C.E.R. C.O.R. – Centre Européen de Recherches sur les Congrégations et Ordres Religieux, Maison Rhone-Alpes des Sciences de l'Homme, Saint-Etienne Cedex 2, France) has already made an impact on Scandinavian monastic research. At its first conference in 1985, Tore Nyberg appropriately presented a paper, "Les réseaux monastiques en Scandinavie", which soon will appear in the acts of the congress. It is to be hoped that the activities of the Saint-Etienne monastic centre, as well as the Krems Institute for Medieval Daily Life, will contribute to new work on daily life in Danish medieval monasticism.

MEDIUM AEVUM QUOTIDIANUM

NEWSLETTER 15

QUOTIDIANUM
SEPTENTRIONALE

ASPECTS OF DAILY LIFE IN MEDIEVAL DENMARK

Edited by

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and

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Inhaltsverzeichnis/Contents

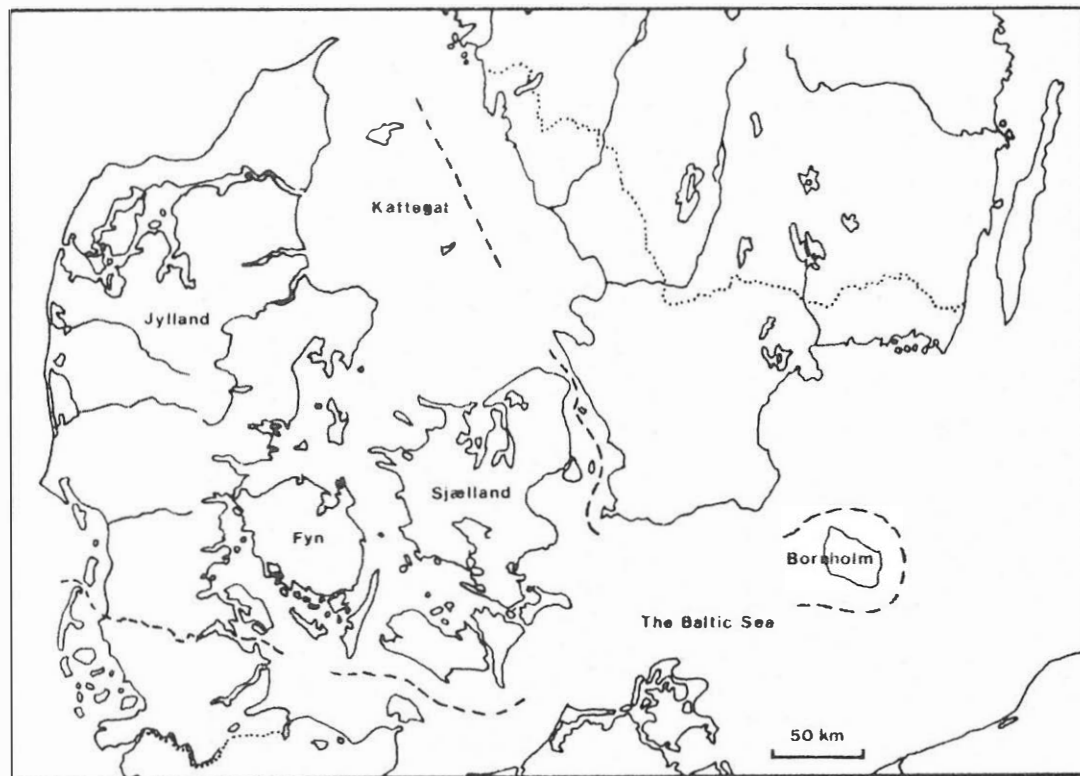
Introduction	4
Nanna Damsholt: The Legends of Danish Saints as Sources to Daily Life	7
Brian Patrick McGuire: Daily Life in Danish Medieval Monasteries	14
Ebbe Nyborg: Kirchliche Kunst und mittelalterliche Wirklichkeit	23
Marianne Johansen – Ingrid Nielsen: The Danish Medieval Town	36
Jens E. Olesen: In der Kanzlei des Königs. Die Kanzlei im mittelalterlichen Dänemark	43
Jens E. Olesen: Tolls and Toll Collectors in Medieval Denmark	60
Bjørn Poulsen: Possibilités et limitations du paysan danois dans le bas moyen âge	74
Helle Reinholdt – Bodil Møller Knudsen: “Women’s Rosegarden” and “Women’s Herbgarden”: Two Symposia on the Sexuality of Medieval Women	84
Biographies of the authors	87
Berichte – Besprechungen – Mitteilungen	92

Introduction

The articles in this issue all deal with current research on life in medieval Denmark. Though comprehensive within their respective fields, they represent only a part of the multi-faceted research currently being undertaken in Denmark, in spite of the adverse work and job situation of many younger scholars. Due to a very short deadline for articles, many scholars were unable to comply with our request for a contribution but expressed interest in participating in international communication of current research. We hope to bring more articles on research on medieval Danish life at a later date.

In Denmark, no particular stress is laid on the topic: medieval daily life. Yet, the by now established social and economic history as well as the renewed interest in political history, has made historians focus on daily life and on its material as well as mental aspects. The articles by Nanna Damsholt and Brian Patrick McGuire concern the religion and the Church of medieval Denmark and their fusion with secular life.

With the development of the discipline of medieval archaeology, our understanding of the material aspects as well as the physical frames for medieval life has been greatly expanded. In contrast to the finite number of written documents, the quantity of archaeological sources keeps increasing, adding valuable information to our knowledge of medieval society. The challenge to historians and archaeologists has been to combine and interpret written, artistic and material sources as Ebbe Nyborg discusses in his article while Marianne Johansen and Ingrid Nielsen present a project combining archaeology and written sources. All three authors are historians as well as archaeologists. In this connection, one might mention the periodical *hikuin* (published by Forlaget Hikuin, Moesgård, DK-8270 Højberg, Denmark) which began in 1974 and appears at irregular intervals, the latest volume being number 14 (1988). The periodical brings articles on medieval archaeology primarily in Danish but also in Swedish and Norwegian with resumes in English. Special issues have been devoted to church archaeology, urban archaeology, coins and pottery. We should also like to mention the research tool *Nordic Archaeological Abstract* (NAA) which indexes all articles on medieval archaeology (see p. 95).



The Jutland peninsular and the Danish islands. The borders of the core of the Medieval kingdom are marked with dotted lines and the modern boundaries with broken lines. The areas in present-day Sweden were the medieval province of Skåne (Scania), Halland and Blekinge.

Ingrid Nielsen has also produced the map, accompanying the introduction, which shows the medieval as well as the present boundaries of Denmark. As she and Marianne Johansen point out in their article, the latter boundary also determines the boundaries of much archaeological and historical research. In part to make up for this, meetings have been held between Danish and Swedish historians and archaeologists (the latter primarily from Skåne) dealing with aspects of the town-country relationship. The publications of these meetings are mentioned in the article by Bjørn Poulsen.

The article by Jens E. Olesen on tolls and toll collection deals with a topic, hitherto seen as part of political or financial history; but this was, in fact, of great importance to the common people, especially the many men and women engaged in trade or commerce whether on international, inter-regional or local level. Similarly, his other article, describing the development of the royal chancellery, reminds us that bureaucracy and bureaucrats, whether viewed negatively or positively by contemporaries, are neither modern phenomena nor ones, appearing during Absolutism.

Bjørn Poulsen's article makes us aware that medieval people did not live and produce in isolation but were integrated into the European economy, though the extent of involvement and the awareness of international connections would vary according to time and place. Poulsen also stresses that town and country, so often seen as mutually exclusive, were both part of the daily life of many medieval women and men.

The contribution by Helle Reinholdt and Bodil Møller Knudsen points to the gender aspect, so often overlooked in traditional history which has concerned itself mainly with the action of men. We have chosen not to have an article on "Women and Daily Life" which would make women merely one ingredient in the daily life of men but have urged the authors to include the gender aspects, making the reader aware that history, whether of daily life or of extraordinary events, is made by women as well as men.

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Grethe Jacobsen, Jens Christian V. Johansen