Tolls and Toll Collectors in Medieval Denmark

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Toll is one of the oldest trade dues. Originally it was a duty imposed on a person or a ship, but early on toll became a duty on goods, primarily based on the quantity, occasionally on the value of the cargo. Toll was paid for the right of passage or export while toll in the sense of customs on imports is not found until a more recent period. Toll appeared whereever trade took place, and one important part of the privileges sought by every medieval Danish town was the exemption of her trading citizens from tolls.[1]

The right to collect tolls belonged to the feudal lord which in Denmark first and foremost meant the king and thereby the central authorities, but collection was handled locally for most of the medieval period. A special corps of toll keepers who collected the toll and controlled the traders appears only in the late Middle Ages. Originally no clear distinction was made between toll and other dues, such as market dues. The Cadaster of King Valdemar (compiled 1231) makes no references to tolls except when listing income from Ribe and a few other major markets. The biggest of those was the Scania Fair where a royal official, the *gældker*, had supervised the collection of the tolls since the 12th century. The word "told" was used also for other sources of royal income and apparently the toll money was mixed with other monetary income of the crown. The actual account was probably delivered orally for a greater part of the Middle Ages, but eventually written receipts were issued to reeves and other officials who delivered the money. Proper accounting was probably not established until after 1400 when paper became common in Denmark. We may safely assume that paper scraps containing a list of receipts were succeeded by regular account books and accounting procedures during the reigns of king

[1] The history of Danish tolls and especially of toll collectors is a fairly new area of history. Tolls have been treated in general surveys as, for example, in KHL, v. 18, col. 431 ff., Hvidtfeldt, p. 488–89 and W. Christensen, p. 633 ff., and in articles by Birck and Jexlev (1982). In 1977 *Dansk Toldhistorisk Selskab* was founded and in 1978 the periodical *Zise, Toldhistorisk tidsskrift* began appearing. In 1987, the first volume of *Dansk Toldhistorie* was published. The author is Dr. Mikael Venge who covers the period up to 1660. Although based primarily on secondary sources, the work provides a good background for further research into the topic.

Christopher of Bavaria (1440–1448) and king Christian I (1448–1481), when the central administration expanded.[2]

In the following some of the characteristic features of toll collection during the fifteenth century will be dealt with. As the history of officials in charge of toll collection and accounts is a fairly new discipline, no complete picture of the toll collectors, their social background, training and work duties can be given as yet.[3]

The Danish cities of the high Middle Ages were small, so we may assume that the royal reeve had no major difficulty in administering the tolls along with his other duties. In larger towns he most likely had assistants and in towns with heavy trade one of these may well have become a regular toll collector. At important trading centres such as the Scania Fair and at Rødby, toll collection was the main duty of the reeve.[4] During the reign of king Erik Menved (1282–1319) the office as toll keeper had not yet appeared. When, in 1319, the citizens of Copenhagen were exempted from "our new toll", the document refers only to the royal bailiff in the city who must also have received all royal income from the town.[5]

During the reign of Valdemar Atterdag (1340–1375) the word "tolder" (toll collector/keeper) makes its first appearance in documents issued by the Hanseatic merchants who naturally took most notice of this aspect of the function of the royal reeves. In 1367 the Hanseatic towns complained that the royal toll collectors would not receive toll in copper money and that they had begun charging an unreasonable "toldørtug."[6] In a list of lot owners in Copenhagen from about 1380 a "Haquinus Tollære" is mentioned as renter.[7] Throughout the Middle Ages the cities sought and obtained exemptions for their citizens from tolls all over the kingdom except for the Scania Fair. During the late Middle Ages the royal authorities began to demand toll at the many seasonal markets with herring fishery that appeared during that period. In the early sixteenth century Danish citizens had to pay toll everywhere regardless of their medieval privileges; and by the time of Christian II (1513–1523) the duty to pay toll whereever toll was demanded was imposed on all traders and merchants.[8]

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[2] Jexlev (1985) p. 21 f., Venge (1987) p. 15 ff., 32, 43.

[3] See note 1.

[4] Venge (1987), p. 43.

[5] DGK, III, p. 52.

[6] *Hanserecesse* 1:1, p. 370.

[7] DMR, 3:1, p. 114.

[8] Enemark (1971) I, p. 202–03; Hørby (1980), p. 94–95; Jexlev (1982) p. 34 ff.

The Scania Fair

The staff at the Scania Fair was larger than elsewhere in Denmark during the fishing season (August 15 to October 9) when the catching and packing of the herring and the trading activities filled the large market area with bustling life all of which had to be supervised. The duties of the official and his assistants were extensive but the collection of tolls remained the most important. According to the rules of the market, the "Motbog" from 1537, the merchants themselves had to go to the toll collector when they had anything to declare according to the regulations, unless the toll collectors agreed to other arrangements. The regulations, referred to, were primarily those contained in the peace agreement of Stralsund (1369–70) which listed all taxable goods and rates. The Hanse merchants kept strictly to this agreement but apparently one could make an agreement with the collector and obtain a lower rate. The official also had authority over transportation. The waggoners and porters were not allowed to take goods on shore without his permission. Thus, all unloading seems to have taken place under the supervision of the toll collector and his people. When a merchant arrived, he was not allowed to "break his bundle" without the permission of the collector.[9]

The market peace at the Scania Fair was guaranteed by the Danish king and expressed physically, first by the castle at Skanør, built around 1200 and in use until 1542, and then by Falsterbohus, a castle constructed around 1300 and abandoned in 1596.[10] In return for guaranteeing peace at the market the king demanded a series of dues from the fishery and the trade to be collected by his reeve or castellan. During the late Middle Ages the toll collector, who had his own toll booth at Falsterbo, was in charge of the economic interests of the king. He collected the dues imposed on the fishery and trade and gave a yearly account. However, only one account, that of 1494, is extant. The toll collector that year was Markvard Skriver (Scribe), who a few years later is mentioned as bailiff and toll keeper in Malmø, one of the major Danish towns. He is a good representative of the toll keepers at the fair, of whom we have some information. They were of bourgeois origin, made careers as secretaries at the royal and courtly administration and were stationed at the Scania Fair during the season.[11]

The war of Valdemar Atterdag with the Hanse, resulting in the Peace of Stralsund in 1370, meant that the Scania Fair was under the lordship of the Hanse for 17 years (1368–1385) which also marked the peak of the Fair's

[9] Venge (1987), p. 60 ff., 71 ff., 76 ff.

[10] Dedenroth-Schou, p. 32.

[11] Ibid., p. 33–34.

activities and importance. During the fifteenth century the Scania Fair lost its central role and other fishery and trade fairs arose along the Sound and the Limfjord in northern Jutland. Although Lübeck and other Hanseatic towns stuck to the fair and showed up every year, the Scania Fair lost its character as an international trade fair and became one of the many fishery fairs along the Sound, although still one of the major fairs.[12] The account of 1494 shows that Danes and Germans paid different rates of toll on the herring and that about 30 percent of the total export customs were paid for goods other than herring. Although the fishery and the trade activities must have been at considerably lower levels than during the peak years, the accounts of 1494 demonstrate an economic activity of some importance to late medieval Denmark[13] and not the least the many Danes, who flocked to the fair every year to acquire some income, the men to catch the herring, the women to clean and pack the herring and serve beer and sex to the fishermen and merchants.[14]

The Sound Toll

The Sound Toll was introduced around 1429 and was set at one noble per ship. It had its origins in the toll regulations which from ancient times had been imposed on ships through the Sound and on the special toll on ships imposed by Erik of Pomerania (1412–1439). The introduction of the Sound Toll was directly caused by the increased cargo capacity of the ships and the sinking value of Scanian currency relative to the Lübeck currency which contributed to the decline in royal income from the Scania Fair. The Sound Toll became the most important source of income for the Danish state for more than 400 years.[15]

During the early years of the Sound Toll, collection was in the hands of Peder Oxe, bailiff at the castles of Krogen (Elsinore) and Helsingborg, on the opposite side of the strait. He also supported Erik of Pomerania during the latter's fight with the Council of the Realm. After the deposition of the king, Peder Oxe continued to hold the castle, collect the toll and gain an extra income for himself and his men by confiscating ships and goods. In 1440, however, he had to surrender the two castles and pay homage to king Christopher and the Council of the Realm.[16]

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[12] Ibid., p. 31 ff.; KHL v. 16, col. 68–77; Hørby (1980), p. 102–05; Venge (1987) p. 55 ff., A. E. Christensen (1976), p. 103–05, Brandenborg, p. 155–60.

[13] Dedenroth-Schou, p. 34–41.

[14] Eriksson, p. 26–39, 78–81.

[15] Hørby (1966), p. 245–72; Olesen (1982) p. 19 ff.

[16] Olesen (1980), p. 76 ff., 95 ff., 139 ff., 147 ff.

In 1439, the Council had promised Lübeck that the Hanse towns would be exempted from the toll. This promise reappeared during the peace negotiations in 1441 between the Dutch and the Hanse towns when the latter asked that it be kept. King Christopher and the council argued that only the Wendish towns had been referred to, not the other Hanseatic towns. The Wendish towns remained solidary with their fellow members of the Hanse and the outcome was that the Hanseatic towns should be exempted temporarily. The payment of the toll was not to be resumed until a second meeting which seems never to have taken place. The Hanse remained exempt from the Sound Toll on their own goods until the late 1440s.[17]

In 1447 the city of Zwolle complained that the bailiff of Helsingborg charged a noble regardless of the Hanseatic privilege.[18] Zwolle probably referred to the bailiff of Helsingør (Elsinore) who became the most important person connected with the Sound Toll just as Helsingør, not Helsingborg, drew the major benefits from the traffic in the Sound. During the reign of Christian I toll collection was in the hands of a prominent citizen in Helsingør, the mayor Peder Hansen, who in 1476 was enobled. His son, Hans Pedersen (Lilliefeld), succeeded his father in the office and was called "our gracious lord's toll collector in Helsingør" during the years 1494–96.[19]

Christian I. showed an unflagging interest in the Sound Toll and its collection. He sought to increase the rates for each ship and he introduced a custom on Bay salt. His son, king Hans (1481–1513), imposed a duty on wine and copper and complaints indicate that, like his father, he also sought to increase the toll on each ship, which was 1 noble on Hanse ships and 3 or 4 nobles on other ships. The income of king Hans from the Sound Toll reached 2–3000 nobles. The new duties and raises in the old tolls no doubt increased the work load of the toll keeper and his staff not the least because the exempted Wendish ships had to be scrutinized.[20]

The toll collector in Helsingør not only had to collect the Sound Toll but also the special dues on certain kinds of goods which were imposed around 1470. The royal authorities did not passively accept that items, considered essentials for a royal household, passed the Sound. The toll thus became more a kind of expropriation than a proper toll, a confiscation of goods which the king needed. Salt, copper and wine was taken from passing ships. The oldest Sound Toll account books from 1497, 1503 and 1528 show that, among other

[17] Ibid., p. 174 ff., 189 ff., 363 ff.

[18] *Hanserecesse* II:3 nr. 288. See Olesen (1980) p. 363–64; Olesen (1982) p. 24.

[19] *Magazin til den Danske Adelstands Historie* I, p. 3–5; *Rep.* II:4 nr. 7633; 8270.

[20] W. Christensen, p. 655 ff., Olesen (1982) p. 24–28; Enemark (1971) I, p. 81.

things, hundreds of casks of Rhine wine were delivered to the Danish king. In this fashion, the supplies of the royal winecellar were kept at suitable levels.[21]

Toll collection also meant that the collector in Helsingør came into contact with seamen of many nations. The collectors became well-informed of the political situation in Western Europe and the Baltic ports and by the end of the fifteenth and throughout the sixteenth century the collector remained the preferred observer of the Danish government.[22] To his many duties was added exchange of coins as it proved difficult to insist on payment in noble. The collector had to accept other gold currencies as long as it was not debased. Undoubtedly, the many shipmen, who anchored up in Elsinore to pay toll, caused tense situations as the Sound Toll became more complex with special rates for the goods. Unfortunate shipmen who did not have gold coins with which to pay could exchange their currency for the obligatory "hard currency." In a case from 1548, the collector informed the court that he provided Henricusnoble and double ducats in exchange for whatever currency, the shipmen were able to provide. Clearly these transactions demanded a high degree of honesty and counting ability.

The case of 1548 arose because the toll collector was accused of having fixed the toll in noble but accepted payment in gulden at a lower exchange rate, shortchanging the state by 15 to 20 percent. The collector, Peder Hansen, had succeeded his father and grandfather in office in 1528. During the 20-year tenure he had probably followed the principles for exchange, he had been taught by his father. He had stuck to the old exchange rate of 2,5 gulden to a noble although this was no longer a fair exchange. The shipmen were quick to take advantage of this and preferred to pay in gulden, so towards the end of his tenure, Peder Hansen obtained only a few nobles. The Danish government was, however, as much to blame having preferred to avoid the issue of exchange rate until after the peace at Speyer in 1544 and the final peace agreement with the Emperor at the Diet of Augsburg in 1547–48. By beginning court procedures against Peder Hansen the government signalled a new toll policy, especially towards the Netherlands, by demanding toll payments in Rosenobles. Peder Hansen, in fact a victim of foreign policy, was sentenced to loss of life and property; but in May of 1549 he was pardoned in return for handing over his manor to the king.[23]

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[21] W. Christensen, p. 670 ff. , 676 ff.

[22] Venge (1987) p. 123 ff.

[23] Friis, p. 166 ff., Enemark (1983B) p. 93 ff., Venge (1987) p. 116–19.

The Oxen Toll

The toll on oxen became a third important source of income for the king during the fifteenth century and by the mid-sixteenth century it equalled the Sound Toll. The rise in the export of oxen is connected to the changes in European agriculture and demography caused by the crisis of the later Middle Ages. During the fifteenth century, the oxen were the so-called grassoxen, animals that had grazed in meadows and commons during the Summer and were sold at markets in Ribe, Kolding and Assens in September and October. In 1475, the king ordered all trade in oxen to take place at these three cities where the toll on the export had to be paid.[24] The further route south passed the castle of Gottorp in Schleswig where a final toll was extracted. Toll collectors are mentioned in 1487 both at Gottorp and in the town of Husum on the West Coast.[25] Although the income from Gottorp was quite large, the collector there did not play the important role in administration as did the collector of the Sound Toll and those at Aalborg and Skagen (see below). Some account books are extant, the earliest from 1484–85 and 1490–91, and show that income and expenditures of the court and staff at Gottorp were mixed with income and connected expenses from the toll collection.[26]

The trade in oxen and horses at Ribe, Kolding and Assens is fairly well illuminated in the account books of Queen Christina (1461–1521). She received the income from these fairs as her dower and her account books for the years 1495–1513 and 1520–21 are extant.[27] They show that she received income not only from the trade in oxen and horses but also from other trade but the former was by far the largest. The queen's chaplain also functioned as her bookkeeper and accountant. He travelled to Ribe and Kolding and acted as toll collector during the remainder of the year. Assens also had a temporary toll collector with the mayor taking care of collection during the off-season. The queen paid wages, including food, for the officials who collected the toll, as for example "Peder Skriver who in the gate noted down what toll was collected" and Per Kneffs, who received 1 mark because he "stood in the gate and took care that nothing left the town without toll payments." In Ribe, the queen also paid for the rental of the toll booth.[28] After the death of the queen, toll collection was

[24] Enemark (1983A), p. 13 ff., DGK III, p. 106–08 (1475). See also ordinance of 1477 ibid. , p. 76–78.

[25] Ibid. I, p. 82.

[26] Enemark (1971) I, p. 25, 84. Enemark's work is the basic examination and analysis of late medieval toll accounts.

[27] Edition: DCH. Detailed discussion in Enemark (1971) passim.

[28] DCH, p. 30, 35, 165, 173, 260, 266, 295, 331, 386, 418.

left to the local collector who delivered the income twice yearly to the central administration.[29]

After 1500, the so-called stableoxen, oxen that had spent the winter in the stables and were sold at fairs in the Spring, came to dominate the export. The books of queen Christina show that a considerable amount of these oxen were sold at fairs in Ribe and Kolding in late March and by the 1520s the Fall fairs had dwindled to almost nothing. In an ordinance of 1521 king Christian II defined the Spring fair at Ribe in March as the "proper time for the market". Gradually, the fair at Wedel on the Elbe succeeded the fairs at Ribe and Kolding and the Danish state lost the income from the fairs but made up for it by collecting toll along the route to Wedel.[30]

The Excise

The tolls demanded at the Sound concerned only those engaged in long-distance trade, the tolls extracted at the fishery and oxen fairs involved a considerably larger group of the Danish population but were seasonal phenomena. The late medieval excise, in contrast, touched the entire population as it was a duty placed on beer, favourite beverage of the Danish people. At first it was imposed on imported beer but from the early sixteenth century on, locally brewed beer was also subject to the excise. From being a temporary measure for raising money, this duty became a permanent fixture not the least because part of the income from the excise went to the urban magistrates and thus helped augment municipal coffers.[31] The sources concerning the method of collecting are scattered and the excise has not yet received the scholary treatment, it deserves.

Toll collectors during the fifteenth century

The word "tolder" appears rarely in documents before 1400 but this changed in the course of the century when the office had become so common that the coronation charter of king Hans of 1483 states that toll collectors had to be native men.[32] This was during the period of the Calmar Union (1397–1521) and the Swedes and Norwegians wanted to protect themselves against overly eager Danish toll and tax collectors. During the reign of Erik of Pomerania royal bailiffs, assisted by other royal oficials, seem to have been in charge of toll

[29] Enemark (1971) I, p. 43, 57, 73 ff.

[30] Enemark (1983A), p. 28–31, 39 ff.

[31] KHL v. 6, col. 122.

[32] Aab, p. 52.

collection and of supervising that rules for trade were followed. One can also find references in documents to urban magistrates, such as mayors, councillors and town reeves, serving as toll collectors.[33] From the time of Christopher of Bavaria specific toll collectors, "toldere", are mentioned in towns of Ribe, Aalborg, Dragør and Malmø, all major trade centres. In documents from 1441/42, 1444, 1445, 1446 and 1447 issued by the royal chancellery the word "tolder" appears, referring to a royal official.[34] The development accelerated during the second half of the fifteenth century when toll collectors are found in all major towns of the kingdom. The reasons for the proliferation of sources can be found not only in the increased number of extant documents but also in the growing interest, showed by royal authorities in the income generated by the markets and fairs which provided fertile ground for a multitude of dues and customs. The office of toll collector became attractive to the male members of the urban patriciate and several cases of wealthy collectors who later became mayors of their towns are known.[35]

The number of toll collectors, supplemented with a toll scribe, "toldskriver",[36] also increased at major toll centres, such as Dragør (Fall fishery fair near Copenhagen) and Assens (oxen trade),[37] while Aalborg and Skagen (fishery fairs) in Northern Jutland emerged during the fifteenth century as two important trade and income generating centres with the tax collector as a central figure.

Toll collectors in Aalborg and Skagen

The Spring herring fishery at the Limfjord near Aalborg had made the latter a favourite town of the Hanse merchants who bought herring and agricultural products. The most well known of the toll collectors in Aalborg was Hans Bartholomæussen, also called Hans Tolder.[38] He was the municipal reeve in Odense in 1508 and became a toll collector in Aalborg before 1513, by 1518

[33] W. Christensen, p. 651, Mackeprang, p. 240.

[34] *Bronnen tot de Geschiedenis van den Oostzeehandel*, ed. H. A. Poelman (The Hague, 1917) I, nr. 1569 (1441/42); DMR 1:1, p. 4, 26 (1447); W. Christensen, p. 643–44; Olesen (1980) p. 193 ff., DGK III, p. 232 (1445), IV, p. 69–70 (1446, see also p. 71–72), 273–74 (1444).

[35] Olesen (1980), p. 248 ff.

[36] DK, p. 364 (1547).

[37] DGK III, p. 105–06, 480–81; IV, p. 273–74; Rep. II:3, nr. 5942; Ladewig Petersen, p. 224.

[38] About Hans Tolder see Hassing, Støvring-Nielsen, Venge (1972) p. 30-46, and *Dansk Biografisk Leksikon*, 3rd ed. by S. Cedergreen Bech a. o. (Copenhagen, 1979–84), vol. 1, p. 481.

he was a mayor and around 1520 he was appointed castellan of Aalborghus, without resigning the two other posts. Christian II endowed him with several special privileges and it seems clear that Hans Tolder was a clever and loyal official, who eagerly protected the interests of the crown, a fact that he himself stressed in his letters to the king.

The extant accounts show that he was indeed very good at keeping and rendering accurate accounts. An account from 1518 shows that he had to collect toll on goods such as grain, flour, herring, eel and other fish, pelts, furs, tallow, meat, oxen, horses and salt as well as excise on beer and special dues on "oars and coffers", that is dues collected from retail dealers.[39]

Hans Tolder eagerly sought so squeeze the maximum toll from the merchants, especially the Hanse, and the maximum taxes and services from peasants working the royal demesme. He also managed to pay out the local bishops, who had received "len" (administrative fiefs) as security for loans to the king, and he sought to gain control of other "len" that were administered by the great abbeys of the area, none of which made him a popular man among the local population. The increasing emnity between the Council of the Realm and the king owed no doubt quite a bit to the activities of Hans Tolder who met a violent end. In August of 1522 he was killed by the citizens of Aalborg.

"Our toll collector at Skagen" is first mentioned in a letter of commission, issued by the king in 1490[40] and several toll collectors from the early sixteenth century on are known.[41] In 1514, a toll booth is mentioned which must have been the office, not the dwelling of the collector who lived in the so-called "Toldergaard." Although Skagen was a small town, the office as toll collector there remained of greater importance well into the seventeenth century than those in the other small towns. One reason was the many shipwrecks that occurred in this part of the country, another was the fishery on which a fishery toll had to be paid to the crown. The castellan at Aalborghus was ultimately in charge of these incomes as well as of the general administration of the area, but because of the distance between Aalborg and Skagen, the toll collector at the latter place was charged with carrying out both the fiscal and the judicial duties of the castellan. To this was in 1561 added the care of the lighthouse, erected in 1560. In addition to these duties, the toll collector also bought fish for the royal household and shipped them to Aalborg where his colleague supplied the salt for further treatment, as is seen from a document from 1552 which shows one of the many duties of the late-medieval and early modern toll collector.

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[39] Enemark (1971) I, p. 49 ff.

[40] Miss. I, p. 93.

[41] For a general discussion see Klitgaard (1925) and (1928) and V. Christensen.

The toll rates, which had reached new heights during the reign of Christian II (1513–1523) and the tense situation in Europe required a large army and ensuing expenses. Toll booths were placed at all fishery and trade fairs to prevent the increasing smuggling. The staff was also greatly expanded and the wages rose, partly as result of the confiscation of estates and privileges of the bishops and the abbeys. The establishment of a network of toll booths and a group of royal officials to man them enabled the crown to count income from tolls, small as well as large, as an important part of royal finances.[42] The toll collectors became an important element in the monarchy's steady search for income, a search that build on the foundations laid during the Middle Ages.

[42] Venge (1987) p. 187–89. For a shift in the governmental toll-policy in the 1550s, see Enemark (1971) p. 131, 213.

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Dictionary:

KHL = *Kulturhistorisk leksikon for nordisk middelalder, fra vikingetid til reformationstid*. 21 vols. Copenhagen: Rosenkilde og Bagger, 1956–78. Repr. 1980–82.

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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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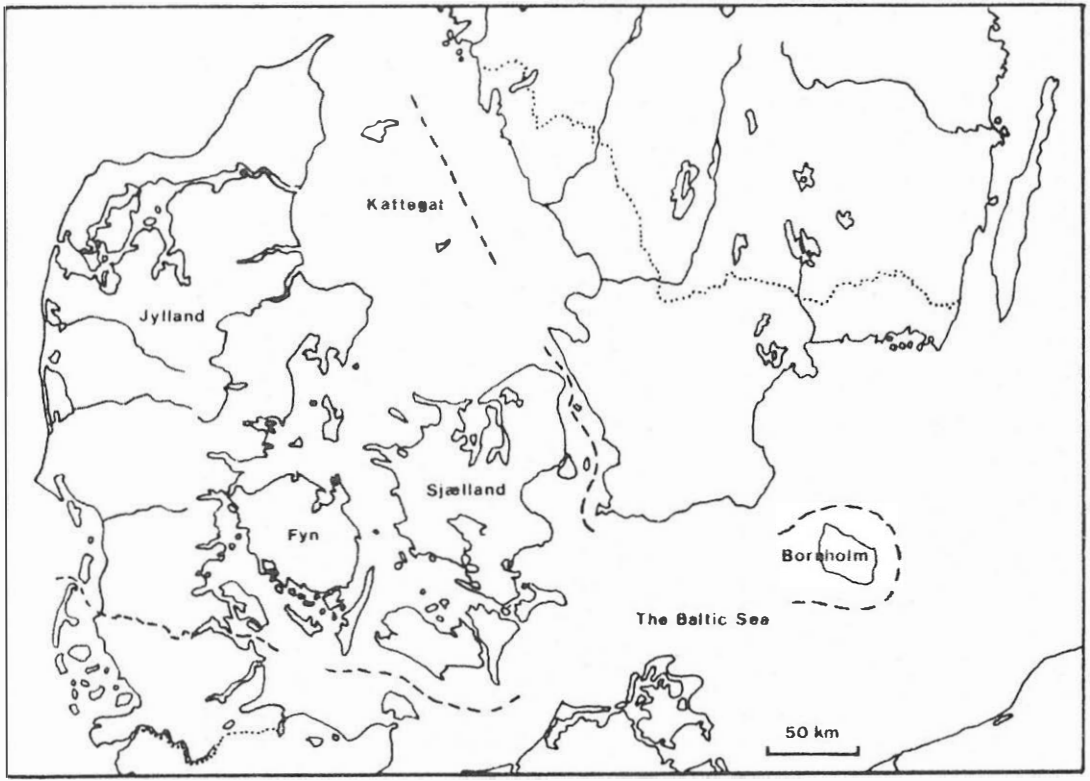
Introduction

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 achaeology 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.

September 1988 Grethe Jacobsen, Jens Christian V. Johansen