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WROCLAW'S ECONOMIC LINKS  
WITH THE UPPER GERMAN LANDS IN  
THE THIRTEENTH TO THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY

The economy of Latin Europe had reached a peak of development in the thirteenth century. At the same time dramatic events like the Fourth Crusade and the conquest of Byzantium by the crusaders and Venetians (1204) as well as the later collapse of the Latin Empire (1261) had resulted in fundamental changes on the political and economic map of the continent. The rise of the Mongol empire, which after 1242 limited itself to regional incursions, enabled the forming of contacts between Europe and the countries of the Far East.<sup>1</sup> Simultaneously there occurred economic development amongst the countries of central Europe, thanks to which they were included in the general European economic-trade system. This concerned not only Poland and the Czech lands but also the kingdom of Hungary which had relatively quickly managed with the catastrophic consequences of the Mongol invasion (1241).<sup>2</sup> The gradual economic integration of Europe resulted in a division of functions amongst the economic areas that were at the time coming into being.<sup>3</sup>

One of the fragments of this very process were the economic contacts of one of the main cities of central Europe, Wrocław (Breslau),

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<sup>1</sup> Janet L. Abu-Lughod, *Before European Hegemony: The World System A.D. 1250-1350* (New York and Oxford, 1989), 33-6, 353-9.

<sup>2</sup> Pál Engel, *The Realm of St. Stephen: A History of Medieval Hungary (895-1526)*, trans. Tamás Pálosfalvi (London and New York, 2001), 101-3, 111-14.

<sup>3</sup> Marian Małowist, *Wschód a Zachód Europy w XIII-XVI wieku. Konfrontacja struktur społeczno-gospodarczych* (Warsaw, 1973), 25-31; Antoni Mączak and Henryk Samsonowicz, 'Feudalism and capitalism: A balance of changes in East-Central Europe', in Antoni Mączak, Henryk Samsonowicz and Peter Burke (eds.), *East-Central Europe in Transition: From the Fourteenth to the Seventeenth Century* (Cambridge, 1985), 7.

and the so-called upper German economic zone. Wrocław constituted the centre of the well developed region of Silesia. In the fourteenth century the city was inhabited by 10,000 to 16,000 people, while in the first half of the fifteenth century this number had increased to around 19,000 to 22,000.<sup>4</sup> According to Marian Małowist's conception of the economic spatial division of East-Central Europe, Wrocław lay in the so-called Sudeten-Carpathian area.<sup>5</sup> Besides Silesia this also covered Bohemia and Moravia as well as the kingdom of Hungary, Lesser Poland (Małopolska) and the western part of Red Rus' with Drohobych and Żydaczów (Zhydachiv). From the point of view of European trade exchange, the main advantage of this region was its minerals: Hungarian gold (to a lesser degree Silesian), Czech silver as well as Polish lead and salt (equally Ruthenian).

Somewhat more problematic is the extent of the upper German area, as this differs from the term 'southern Germany'. On the basis of the appearance of Upper German as a language one would be able to include here not only Bavaria, Franconia, Swabia and Wirtemberg but also Alsace, Switzerland and Austria.<sup>6</sup> The concept of an upper German area was broadened in meaning by the Swiss economic historian, Hektor Ammann, who adopted as a criteria for its distinction the range of influence of people of business from the above mentioned regions and the influence of the upper German trade culture.<sup>7</sup> As a result the upper German economic area was to have

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<sup>4</sup> In general it is accepted that in the first half of the fourteenth century Wrocław was inhabited by 13 to 16 thousand people, in the first quarter of the fifteenth century – 15,000–21,000 (Karol Maleczyński, 'Dzieje Wrocławia od czasów najdawniejszych do roku 1618', in Waclaw Długoborski, Józef Gierowski and Karol Maleczyński, *Dzieje Wrocławia do roku 1807* (Warsaw, 1958), 194; Mateusz Goliński, 'Wrocław od połowy XIII do początków XVI wieku', in Cezary Buśko *et al.*, *Historia Wrocławia. Od pradziejów do końca czasów habsburskich* (Wrocław, 2001), 207.

<sup>5</sup> Małowist, *Wschód*, 25; Henryk Samsonowicz, 'Relations commerciales polono-italiennes dans le bas Moyen Âge', in *Studi in memoria di Federigo Melis*, 5 vols. (Rome, 1978), ii, 291. On the salt deposits in Rus', see Jan Ptaśnik, *Kultura włoska wieków średnich w Polsce* (2nd edn, Warsaw, 1959), 95–6.

<sup>6</sup> Renate Wahrig-Burfeind (ed.), *Wahrig Deutsches Wörterbuch* (Gütersloh and Munich, 2001), 933 (*oberdeutsch*), 154 (*alemanisch*).

<sup>7</sup> Hektor Ammann, *Die Diesbach-Watt-Gesellschaft. Ein Beitrag zur Handelsgeschichte des 15. Jahrhunderts* (St Gallen, 1928), 3; *idem*, 'Wirtschaftsbeziehungen zwischen Oberdeutschland und Polen im Mittelalter', *Vierteljahrsschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, xxxviii, 4 (1961), 433.

spread in the form of a swathe from the Vosges right up to the Eastern Carpathians.<sup>8</sup> This thesis is at odds not only with the ethnic-political and cultural realities of this area but also passes over the economic role of the local social elites as well as people of business from Italy. I am therefore of the view that the upper German economic area was created only by those German speaking countries of Alpine proximity, i.e. present-day southern Germany as well as the territories of Austria, Switzerland and Alsace. The largest urban centres within this area being Ratisbon (Regensburg, 10,000–12,000 inhabitants), Vienna (20,000), Strasbourg (25,000) and Nuremberg (20,000–28,000).<sup>9</sup>

The historiographic picture of Wrocław's contacts with the cities of the upper German area has been dominated by accounts of the activities of merchants from Nuremberg, St Gallen and Ratisbon.<sup>10</sup> Yet the list of cities from this area with which the inhabitants of Wrocław forged economic contacts is much longer. It covers twenty seven centres in: Bavaria (Ratisbon, Passau, Würzburg, Bamberg, Straubing, Cham, Nördlingen), Franconia (Nuremberg), Swabia (Augsburg, Ulm, Ravensburg), Württemberg (Esslingen near Stuttgart), Alsace (Strasbourg), Switzerland (St Gallen, Bern, Zurich), Lower Austria (Vienna, Wiener Neustadt, Korneuburg), Upper Austria (Linz, Salzburg, Steyr, Freistadt), Tirol (Bozen [Bolzano]), Carinthia (Villach), Styria (Graz) and in the Austrian Alps (Kitzbühel). To which it would follow to add several rulers and Church dignitaries from the area.

The direct contact of merchants from Wrocław and those from the upper German area is unlikely to have occurred earlier than in the thirteenth century. In the research conducted to date the possibility

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<sup>8</sup> *Idem*, *Die Diesbach-Watt-Gesellschaft*, 4.

<sup>9</sup> Data after, respectively: Rainer Gömmel, 'Die Wirtschaftsentwicklung von 13. Jahrhundert bis zum Zweiten Weltkrieg', in Peter Schmid (ed.), *Geschichte der Stadt Regensburg*, 2 vols. (Ratisbon, 2000), i, 480; Josiah C. Russell, *Medieval Regions and Their Cities* (Bloomington, 1972), 100, 92; Dieter J. Weiß, 'Des Reiches Krone – Nürnberg im Spätmittelalter', in Helmut Neuhaus (ed.), *Nürnberg – europäische Stadt in Mittelalter und Neuzeit* (Nürnberger Forschungen, 29, Neustadt an der Aisch, 2000), 34.

<sup>10</sup> Wolfgang von Stromer, 'Nürnberg-Breslauer Wirtschaftsbeziehungen im Spätmittelalter', *Jahrbuch für fränkische Landesforschung*, 34–5 (1974–5), 1079–1100; Hans C. Peyer, *Leinwandgewerbe und Fernhandel der Stadt Sankt Gallen von den Anfängen bis 1520*, 2 vols. (St Gallen, 1960); Grzegorz Myśliwski, 'Breslau und Regensburg: Wirtschaftskontakte in der Zeit vom 13. bis zum 15. J.', *Jahrbuch der Schlesischen Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität zu Breslau*, 47–8 (2006–7), 171–99.

of meetings between inhabitants of Wrocław and merchants from Ratisbon either in Kiev in 1245 or in Cologne around 1259 has been shown.<sup>11</sup> Of certainty appears the contact of merchants from Wrocław with Bavarians and merchants from Nuremberg around 1270–1 at the Bavarian town of Cham, through which would the route to Ratisbon and further to northern Italy.<sup>12</sup> At the same time there started to arrive in Wrocław individual immigrants from Bavaria.<sup>13</sup> In the 1260s wine started to be imported from Würzburg.<sup>14</sup>

The forging of contacts between Wrocław and certain towns of the upper German area was made conducive by the expansion of merchants from Ratisbon and Nuremberg to the Czech kingdom.<sup>15</sup> An active part was also played by people of business from Passau, who not later than at the beginning of the fourteenth century brought knives to Wrocław.<sup>16</sup> The Czech state became a transit link between

<sup>11</sup> Myśliwski, 'Breslau', 176–9.

<sup>12</sup> *Nürnberger Urkundenbuch* (hereafter: NÜUB–1/2), i, 2, ed. Stadtrat zu Nürnberg (Nuremberg, 1952), 277. See Hektor Ammann, 'Zur Geschichte der wirtschaftlichen Beziehungen zwischen Oberdeutschland und dem deutschen Nordosten im Mittelalter', *Schlesische Geschichtsblätter*, 3 (1927), 201; Marie Scholz-Babisch and Heinrich Wendt, *Quellen zur Schlesischen Handelsgeschichte bis 1526*, i (Breslau, 1940), no. 307, p. 201; František Graus, *Český obchod se sukнем ve 14. a počátkem 15. století* (Prague, 1950), 34; Hans Schenk, *Nürnberg und Prag. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Handelsbeziehungen im 14. und 15. Jahrhundert* (Wiesbaden, 1969), 13–14. The best substantiated dating of the source in NÜUB–1/2, 277, footnote 1.

<sup>13</sup> Marta Młynarska-Kaletynowa, *Wrocław w XII–XIII wieku. Przemiany społeczne i osadnicze* (Wrocław, 1986), 136, 138; Mateusz Goliński, *Podstawy gospodarcze mieszczaństwa wrocławskiego w XIII wieku* (Wrocław, 1991), 107, 118, 178; *idem*, *Biogramy mieszczan wrocławskich do końca XIII wieku* (Wrocław, 1995), 40.

<sup>14</sup> *Schlesisches Urkundenbuch*, iii, ed. Winfried Irgang (Cologne and Vienna, 1984), no. 555, p. 348; see Hermann Markgraf, 'Zur Geschichte des Breslauer Kaufhauses', *Zeitschrift für Alterthum und Geschichte Schlesiens* [hereafter: ZGS], 22 (1888), 269; Wolfgang Kehn, *Der Handel im Oderraum im 13. und 14. Jahrhundert* (Cologne and Graz, 1968), 35–9; Goliński, *Podstawy*, 46.

<sup>15</sup> František Graus, 'Die Handelsbeziehungen Böhmen zu Deutschland und Österreich im 14. und zu Beginn des 15. Jahrhunderts', *Historica*, ii (1960), 95–100; Friedrich Lütge, 'Der Handel Nürnbergs nach dem Osten im 15./16. Jahrhundert, in *Beiträge zur Wirtschaftsgeschichte Nürnbergs*, i (Nuremberg, 1967), 328; Roland Schönfeld, 'Regensburg im Fernhandel des Mittelalters', *Verhandlungen des Historischen Vereins für Oberpfalz und Regensburg*, 113 (1973), 41.

<sup>16</sup> *Breslauer Urkundenbuch* (hereafter: BUB), i, ed. Georg Korn (Breslau, 1870), no. 68, p. 67; see Hermann Aubin, 'Die Wirtschaft im Mittelalter', in *idem* (ed.), *Geschichte Schlesiens*, i (Stuttgart, 1961), 449; Goliński, *Podstawy*, 96–7.

Bavaria and Silesia, which in the period 1325–35 became almost entirely the fief of the king of Bohemia, while Wrocław, following the death without heir of the duke of Wrocław, Henry VI, started to fall under the direct authority of the Czech monarchs.<sup>17</sup> This fact ends the first, Piast stage in the history of Wrocław's trade and its contacts with the centres of the upper German area.<sup>18</sup>

During this period there also developed economic ties between Wrocław and Lower Austria. Already in the Wrocław tariff of pre-1266 there is mention of the import of Viennese wine (Austrian wine was still to enjoy popularity in the first period of the fourteenth century).<sup>19</sup> Not later than around 1310 there started trade trips by Wrocław merchants through Austria, who transported furs travelling as far as at least Wiener Neustadt. As this town did not play an important economic role it follows to agree with Ammann that Wrocław merchants passed through it on their way to Venice.<sup>20</sup>

The forming of economic contacts between Wrocław and the upper German area during the period of the Piast dynasty occurred also as a result of the dynamic involvement of business people from Wrocław in the fruitful exchanges between the East and the West. Their contacts of the time linked them chiefly with Ratisbon, Passau, Würzburg and Vienna, and to a lesser degree with Nuremberg. Contact with the towns of Cham and Wiener Neustadt more than likely amounted to a transitory passing through both centres.

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<sup>17</sup> Karol Maleczyński, in Długoborski, Gierowski, Maleczyński, *Dzieje Wrocławia*, 171–2; Goliński, 'Wrocław', 133–4, 140–1.

<sup>18</sup> For the periodization of the history of trade in Wrocław and an evaluation of the Piast period in economic terms see Grzegorz Myśliwski, *Wrocław w przestrzeni gospodarczej Europy (XIII–XV wiek). Centrum czy peryferie?* (Wrocław, 2009), 497–501, 618.

<sup>19</sup> BUB, no. 122 (year 1327), p. 113; no. 140 (year 1331), p. 129. On the meaning of the term 'Ostirwein', see Theodor Mayer, *Der auswärtige Handel des Herzogtums Österreich im Mittelalter* (Innsbruck, 1909), 10. It is worth adding that at the end of the thirteenth century there came to Wrocław a certain immigrant from Austria, Konrad Wiener (see Goliński, *Biogramy*, 43). This historian is inclined to explain the genesis of the surname *Wiener* with the name of the family's ancestor – Winher. However, the said contacts with Austria constitute an argument for linking the surname *Wiener* with the dukedom's capital (see Kehn, *Der Handel*, 57). On the Wiener lineage see Rudolf Stein, *Der Rat und die Ratsgeschlechter des alten Breslau* (Würzburg, 1962), 62.

<sup>20</sup> Ammann, 'Zur Geschichte', 53.

At this time goods exchange involved the re-export of furs (presumably Ruthenian) to northern Italy and, possibly, the sale of some of them by merchants from Wrocław in southern Germany and Austria. While from Germany metal goods were brought into Silesia and wine also brought from Lower Austria. Possibly in Bavaria and Austria Mediterranean and Oriental goods were bought, transported there from Venice. Could some of these exotic goods mentioned in the extensive Wrocław tariff of customs and tolls (1327) have been brought by Bavarians, possibly also by citizens of Nuremberg?<sup>21</sup> This could have referred to spices, exotic fruits and southern wine (*reinval*, *welsch*) as well as eastern materials and clothing: silk, semi-silk products (*czindal*) as well as baldekin produced in Baghdad.<sup>22</sup> Inhabitants of Ratisbon dominated at the time amongst the German merchants in Venice and they conducted widespread distribution of Mediterranean, Oriental and western goods, e.g. in the nearby Czech lands.<sup>23</sup> The fact that at this time people from Wrocław could stock up on these goods in, for instance, Bruges,<sup>24</sup> or buy them within the Tirol-Italian borderland or in Venice itself, does not exclude completely upper German intermediacy. It follows to remember that in the tariff of 1327 there is mention of the bringing in of these goods by foreign merchants (*gast*).

Until the time of the entry of Nuremberg merchants onto the Wrocław market (c. 1394), which was to end the second and start the third stage in Wrocław – upper German relations, there is scant mention of contacts on the part of upper German merchandry with Wrocław. That said during the first decades of its being under the jurisdiction of the Czech kingdom relations were maintained with Passau, Ratisbon and Vienna. New contacts were also initiated –

<sup>21</sup> See BUB, no. 122 (year 1327), p. 111–14. On the toll-duty tariff have written Theodor Goerlitz, *Verfassung, Verwaltung und Recht der Stadt Breslau*, i: *Mittelalter* (Würzburg, 1962), 57; Kehn, *Der Handel*, 68, 79–80; Grzegorz Myśliwski, 'Strefa sudecko-karpacka i Lwów. Miejsce Śląska, Małopolski i Rusi Czerwonej w gospodarce Europy Zachodniej (połowa XIII–początek XVI w.)', in Roman Czaja *et al.*, *Ziemie polskie wobec Zachodu. Studia nad rozwojem Europy* (Warsaw, 2006), 285–6.

<sup>22</sup> This was a silky material with the addition of flax or cotton (Wilhelm Heyd, *Geschichte des Levantehandels im Mittelalter*, 2 vols. [Stuttgart, 1879], ii, 686–7).

<sup>23</sup> Graus, *Die Handelsbeziehungen*, 99.

<sup>24</sup> Marian Małowist, 'Le développement des rapports économiques entre la Flandre, la Pologne et les pays limitrophes du XIIIe au XIVe siècle', *Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire*, x (1931), 1018–20.

with Freistadt and Zurich, possibly also with other Bavarian towns. There is a lack of data that would confirm the continued import of wine from Würzburg. While as far as the matter concerns travels to Wrocław the certainty may only be expressed in relation to the presence of merchants from Ratisbon in the city for the period 1335–94.<sup>25</sup>

Their contacts with people from Wrocław were also played out in Prague, where resided the agents of the powerful Ratisbon wholesaler Matthias Runtinger.<sup>26</sup> Already in the years 1384–5 the Wrocław councillor, Hans Reichel, had incurred debts with them.<sup>27</sup> This is, at the same time, the first concrete example of the giving of credit to Wrocław citizens by a merchant from the upper German area. It follows to note though that credit contacts between Wrocław and upper Germany could have been forged earlier. For already in 1349 do we have the provenance of a letter from a Wrocław city council to the Czech king, Charles IV Luxemburg, about the possible claims of the count of Tirol to the properties of persecuted Wrocław Jews.<sup>28</sup>

In the second period the import of knives from Passau presumably came to an end. Besides the source data, this is confirmed by the development of Wrocław metal working during the fourteenth century.<sup>29</sup> While the contacts with this Bavarian town continued, the nature of these was only indirectly connected with economic activity. This is borne out by the story of a certain Wrocław merchant, Johannes Petka who was requisitioned of silver transported to Venice by a customs official in Linz (at the same time a former burgomaster

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<sup>25</sup> Myśliwski, 'Breslau', 181–6.

<sup>26</sup> On his activities in Prague see Jaroslav Čechura, *České země w letech 1378–1437. Lucemburkové na českém trůně II* (Prague, 2000), 186–7.

<sup>27</sup> Franz Bastian (ed.), *Das Runtingerbuch (1383–1407) und verwandtes Material zum Regensburger – Südostdeutschen Handel und Münzwesen*, 3 vols. (Deutsche Handelsakten des Mittelalters und der Neuzeit, 6–8, Ratisbon, 1935), ii, 63–4; Myśliwski, 'Breslau', 188.

<sup>28</sup> 'Item si dom. Tiroliensis velit habere hereditates et bona Judeorum, quid ad hoc sit faciendum', BUB, no. 189, p. 170. Presumably reference is to Louis V the Brandenburger, who ruled the county of Tirol from 1342 to 1361. About the ruler, see Walther Killy and Rudolf Vierhaus (eds.), *Deutsche Biographische Enzyklopädie* (hereafter: DBE), vi (Munich, 1997), 502. As a consequence of the pogrom the municipal council and the *starost* consulted with the Czech authorities on what to do with the robbed Jews as well as their liabilities and documents ('cum debitis et literis inventis Judeorum').

<sup>29</sup> Goliński, 'Wrocław', 151.

and judge in Passau).<sup>30</sup> As a result of a long drawn out trail at the bishop of Passau's court (1386–1408), the Wrocław merchant was granted compensation: seven houses and two lifelong rents on other properties in the Bavarian town.

Similar, in terms of conflict and transit to Italy, were the contacts of Wrocław citizens with Lower Austria. Admittedly the majority of the second half of the fourteenth century was a period of peaceful transports through its territory. In 1353 Duke Rudolf IV bestowed on the inhabitants of the Czech kingdom the right to free transit through the territory of Austria and promised compensation for any potential losses.<sup>31</sup> In 1381 the duke of Carinthia, Leopold, allowed them transit through the territories belonging to him for a period of two years.<sup>32</sup> However, towards the end of this decade and during the next the inhabitants of Lower Austrian towns started to impede the passage of merchants from Wrocław.<sup>33</sup> Wenceslaus IV attempted to resolve the conflict, but only the mediation of the margrave of Moravia, Jodocus (1391–4) guaranteed the safe transit of Wrocław merchandry through Austria to northern Italy (only with money or bills of exchange).

Of most importance in the second period (up to 1394) seems, however, to be the commencing of exports to the upper German area of the home produced goods that was Wrocław cloth (known as 'Polish'). There is confirmation of the transporting of this product by

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<sup>30</sup> The last document is a transumpt of five other texts from 1395–1404 (Hubert Pruckner, 'Der Prozess eines Breslauer Kaufmanns gegen einen Passauer Bürger und dessen Auswirkungen', in *Passauer Studien. Festschrift für Bischof Dr. Simon Konrad Landersdorfer OSB zum 50. Jahrestage seiner Priesterweihe* [Passau, 1953], 257–9). It is worth adding the document not used by Pruckner of 4 Dec. 1385 (*Urkundenbuch des Landes ob der Enns* [hereafter: UBLE], x, no. 461, p. 349). On the story of Petka, see also Richard Loibl, 'Die Stadt im späten Mittelalter: Wirtschaftskraft und Verfassungsstreit', in Egon Boshof *et al.*, *Geschichte der Stadt Passau* (Ratisbon, 1999), 125; Myśliwski, *Wrocław*, 248–9, 260, 406–7, 475.

<sup>31</sup> *Codex diplomaticus et epistolaris Moraviae*, viii, ed. Vincenc Brandl (Brünn, 1874), no. 197, pp. 155–6.

<sup>32</sup> Heinrich Wendt, *Schlesien und der Orient. Ein geschichtlicher Überblick* (Breslau, 1916), 44.

<sup>33</sup> For a description of the conflict together with documents from 1387, 1388 and 1391–4, see Grzegorz Myśliwski, 'Venice and Wrocław in the later Middle Ages' in Piotr S. Górecki and Nancy van Deusen, *Central and Eastern Europe in the Middle Ages: A Cultural History* (London and New York, 2009), 104–5, 253–4.

merchants from Brno to Austria as well as reference to 'ein Polensch tuch' in the Zurich customs tariff of 1379, and at the end of the fourteenth century at Konstanz.<sup>34</sup> In turn in 1382 'Polish' cloth (*polanische tuch*) was being sold by Austrians in Freistadt.<sup>35</sup> It is unknown, however, whether it was individuals from Wrocław who supplied the goods to Switzerland and Upper Austria.

In this same period there occurred a certain heightening in contacts between Wrocław and Nuremberg. These were chiefly conflicts, resulting from the trade clashes of the two cities. In 1347 envoys from the Silesian city asked the Czech king, Charles IV, for 'quod dignetur mercatoribus providere de transitu a partibus Flandrie per Nwrinberg mitigatis conductibus viarum'.<sup>36</sup> The verified presence here of Wrocław citizens in Franconia resulted from their earlier stay in Flanders where they had been purchasing local cloth.<sup>37</sup> Its import to central Europe was not in Nuremberg interests as they also purchased Flemish cloth in order to sell it on for a profit in the Czech kingdom.<sup>38</sup> As it turns out they appeared in Silesia not later than 1368, although with the exception of one document there is an absence of data attesting to their more numerous influx into this region.<sup>39</sup> In evaluating this second period in the history of Wrocław – upper German economic links (1335–94) one may state that there was growth in the frequency of bilateral contacts, the majority of which presumably resulted from earlier expeditions on the part of Wrocławians to northern Italy and

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<sup>34</sup> Graus, *Český obchod*, 61; Danuta Poppe, 'Pannus polonialis. Z dziejów sukiennictwa polskiego w średniowieczu', *Kwartalnik Historii Kultury Materialnej*, xxxvi, 3–4 (1988), 618; see also *Die Züricher Stadtbücher des XIV. und XV. Jahrhunderts*, ed. Heinrich Zeller-Werdmüller, 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1899), i, 61 (year 1379), 262.

<sup>35</sup> UBLE, x, no. 157 (1382), p. 121.

<sup>36</sup> BUB, i, no. 189 (year 1347), 167; Aubin, 'Die Wirtschaft', 467; Graus, *Český obchod*, 17.

<sup>37</sup> Małowist, 'Le développement', 1018; Kehn, *Der Handel*, 101–2.

<sup>38</sup> Graus, 'Handelsbeziehungen', 89; Schenk, *Nürnberg*, 29. On the status of Nurembergers in the Netherlands, see Lütge, 'Der Handel', 321.

<sup>39</sup> In a previously unpublished document which Charles IV issued in Mantua (13 July 1368), he addressed the authorities of Nuremberg to pay the annual tax (*berna*), hitherto paid to him, to the duke of Opole, Boleslas (Bolko) III. It cannot be ruled out that the Nurembergers went in person to the Opole lands via Wrocław to carry out Charles IV's order. See *Regesta Imperii* (hereafter: RImp.), viii, ed. Johann F. Böhmer and Alfons Huber (Hildesheim, 1968), no. 4467, p. 383; the document is in the Národní Archiv in Prague, fond Archiv České koruny, no. 1018.

the Netherlands. The first conflicts between merchants from Silesia and people of business from Nuremberg, Passau, Linz and Vienna as well as other towns of the Austrian dukedom point to the growing activeness and competitiveness of the Wrocław merchantry. There was a continuation in the import of Austrian wine.<sup>40</sup> In this second period of extreme importance was the creation of the first certain credit relations between Wrocław citizens and lenders from the upper German area.

This was to gain in dynamism from 1394 when economic contacts with Nuremberg intensified.<sup>41</sup> Wrocław – upper German relations, though at the same time the striking up of relations with Salzburg and Switzerland, developed not only in the field of trade and loans. The number of incomers from a given town from this area was varied. Different was equally the intensity of contacts with Wrocław as equally the time they were maintained for. With regard to number it was incomers from Nuremberg who dominated. From the end of the fourteenth century 83 people participated in contacts with Wrocław. These included also patricians (Hans and Konrad Gross, Konrad Pfinzig, Jacob Futerer, Heinz Hirschvogel, Melchior and Balthasar Imhoff, Hans and Andreas Reichel, Hans and Alexius Stromer, Sebald Holzschuher).<sup>42</sup> Others, from outside the ruling elite, held prominent positions in merchant circles, like, for example, Hans

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<sup>40</sup> Karl Fajkmajer, 'Die Streitigkeiten zwischen den böhmischen und den Wiener Kaufleuten am Ende des XIV. Jahrhunderts', *Mitteilungen des Institut für Österreichische Geschichte*, xxxi, 3 (1910), 445.

<sup>41</sup> Von Stromer, 'Nürnberg–Breslauer Wirtschaftsbeziehungen', 1087, 1099; Wrocław, Archiwum Państwowe (hereafter: APWr.), *Libri excessuum et signaturarum* (hereafter: G 5), vol. 7, p. 9. In this year an agent was sent from Wrocław to Venice to the Nuremberg merchant Konrad Gross with the aim of buying saffron. Otto Stobbe is not correct in dating this small entry as 1393 ('Mittheilungen aus Breslauer Signaturbüchern' [hereafter: Mitth.Sign.], ZGS, vi, 2 [1865], no. 10, pp. 339–40). According to von Stromer Gross lend Wrocławians money to buy seasonings (*idem*, 'Nürnberger Unternehmer im Karpatenraum. Ein oberdeutsches Buntmetall-Oligopol 1396–1412', *Kwartalnik Historii Kultury Materialnej*, xvi, 4 [1968], 650).

<sup>42</sup> Cf. von Stromer, 'Nürnberg–Breslauer Wirtschaftsbeziehungen', pp. 1099–1100. On the composition of the Nuremberg patriciate in the fourteenth to the beginning of the sixteenth century, see Weiß, *Des Reiches Krone*, pp. 31–3. On changes in the urban elite including reshuffling in the hierarchy of business people, see Wolfgang von Stromer, 'Wirtschaft unter den Luxemburgen', in Gerhard Pfeiffer (ed.), *Nürnberg: Geschichte einer europäischen Stadt* (Munich, 1971), 92, 98–100.

and Ludwig Gruber, Lenhard Podmer (the owners of a well known company), Ulrich Kamerer and Konrad Seiler (partners),<sup>43</sup> Lenhard Reutheimer and Andreas Rudel (also company owners),<sup>44</sup> Heinrich Vorberger and Hans Kunherre (joint share holders in a company with people from Wrocław),<sup>45</sup> Andreas, and also his sons – Hans and Kunze Zeringer,<sup>46</sup> Hans Gartener,<sup>47</sup> or Kunze Guldenmund, who had shares in the Swiss – Nuremberg company Diesbach and Watt.<sup>48</sup> The remaining Nurembergers were presumably petty merchants and agents (Matthias Scheppach, who later was to have his own company with his brother Alexander and Hans Hutter,<sup>49</sup> Ulrich Michel of Villach<sup>50</sup>) or only employees of a company (*knecht* Hans Feldener), or wagoners (Kunze Koppe). There also appeared craftsmen (a sword blade maker by the name of Fritz<sup>51</sup>). A separate group were those Nuremberg merchants who had become citizens of Wrocław and members of Wrocław business circles (Hans Engelhard, Albrecht Scheurlein).<sup>52</sup>

<sup>43</sup> Wolfgang von Stromer, *Oberdeutsche Hochfinanz (1350–1450)*, 3 pts (*Vierteljahrschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, 55–57, Wiesbaden 1970), i, 118–21; *idem*, 'Nürnberg–Breslauer Wirtschaftsbeziehungen', 1087–8.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibidem*, 1085.

<sup>45</sup> *Der Rechte Weg. Ein Breslauer Rechtsbuch des 15. Jahrhundert* (hereafter: RW), 2 vols., ed. Friedrich Ebel (Cologne, Weimar and Vienna, 2000), i, 483–4 (no. 32).

<sup>46</sup> Wolfgang von Stromer, 'Die Zeringer. Steirisch-Nürnbergische innovatorische Montanunternehmer und Fernhändler im 15. Jahrhundert', in Herwig Ebner *et al.* (eds.), *Festschrift Othmar Pickl zum 60. Geburtstag* (Graz and Vienna, 1987), esp. 603–4, 616–18. The Zeringer factory was in Wrocław (Goliński, 'Wrocław', 214).

<sup>47</sup> For the years 1444–64 he represented the Reutheimer company (von Stromer, 'Die Zeringer', 615).

<sup>48</sup> Ammann, *Die Diesbach-Watt-Gesellschaft*, 55. He also cofounded the company with Lenhard Reutheimer and Andreas Zeringer (von Stromer, 'Die Zeringer', 612). About Guldenmund, see also *idem*, *Oberdeutsche Hochfinanz*, i, 202.

<sup>49</sup> APWr., G 5/55, p. 110 (year 1477). On Scheppach, see Wolfgang von Stromer, *Die Nürnberger Handelsgesellschaft Gruber-Podmer-Stromer im 15. Jahrhundert* (Nuremberg, 1963), 35, 54–5.

<sup>50</sup> *Idem*, 'Die Zeringer', 603–4, 607, 619.

<sup>51</sup> APWr., G 5/59, p. 16 (year 1491).

<sup>52</sup> On Scheurlein, see Stein, *Der Rat*, 185–6; Gerhard Pfeiffer, *Das Breslauer Patriziat im Mittelalter* (Breslau, 1929), 236; esp. von Stromer, *Die Nürnberger Handelsgesellschaft*, 32, 55, 63ff. Stein has identified Engelhard, a Wrocław lay judge (*Schöffe*) and councillor 1455–64, as the descendent of inhabitants of Klodzko (Glatz) (Stein, *Der Rat*, 182). Von Stromer was correct in matching Engelhard with Nuremberg ('Die Zeringer', 661). In 1442 he stood before the council court in Cracow: 'Hannus Engilhart von Norenberg' (Cracow, Archiwum Państwowe

Ratisbon economic contacts lasted until 1470.<sup>53</sup> Twenty three individuals maintained contacts with Wrocław from the Danubian city. Amongst these were city councillors (Matthias Runtinger, Lucas Ingolstetter, Johannes Rehauer, possibly Stephan Laufer). A part of the remaining presumably fulfilled an agent's functions (Niklas of Ratisbon, Lettel, Schwarzhoffer, Heller), others were rather independent merchants (Johann Schrofel, Hans Kellner).

Economic contacts were established by Wrocław with Salzburg only in 1413. From amongst the 16 inhabitants of that city<sup>54</sup> only a third belonged to the local plutocracy. The most important was Paul Venediger (*Venedier*). He came from a patrician family.<sup>55</sup> The view that he appeared in Wrocław in 1441 is not correct.<sup>56</sup> He was already involved in economic activity here in 1436.<sup>57</sup> He must have been an extraordinary figure, given that in 1438 he and his three brothers received (in Wrocław) safe conduct for Germany from Albert Habsburg.<sup>58</sup> Wrocław citizenship was awarded to Venediger in 1441.<sup>59</sup> He conducted here a fairly lively business. He was the representative of the well known Nuremberg company Gruber, Podmer and Stromer as well as a shareholder in another firm, Ortlieb and Stromer.<sup>60</sup> He cooperated also with Albrecht Scheurlein and Andreas Zeringer.<sup>61</sup> In the Wrocław acts there appear also his wife, Hedwig, son Barthel

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[hereafter: APKrak.], *Consularia Cracovienses* [hereafter: Cons.Crac.], vol. 2, p. 452). Starting from the 1450s he already appears as a citizen of Wrocław (APWr., G 5/39, p. 58, year 1452); see also APKrak., Cons.Crac., 3, p. 290, year 1461).

<sup>53</sup> See Myśliwski, 'Breslau', 175, 195–6.

<sup>54</sup> Andreas Tanner and his *famulus* Johann, Kobergen, Hans Frechen, Wenzlav Brüchsner (Prüxer), Niklas Fromolt, Hans Weginger, Wolfgang Bockil, Paul Venediger and his wife Hedwig; Kunze Taufkind, Hans of Salzburg, Balthasar Rau, Thomas Venediger, Oswald and Ulrich Elsenheimer.

<sup>55</sup> Heinz Dopsch, 'Die wirtschaftliche Entwicklung', in Heinz Dopsch (ed.), *Geschichte Salzburgs. Stadt und Land*, i: *Vorgeschichte, Altertum, Mittelalter*, 3 vols. (Salzburg, 1981–4), ii, 824.

<sup>56</sup> See von Stromer, 'Nürnberg–Breslauer Wirtschaftsbeziehungen', 1095.

<sup>57</sup> APWr., G 5/ 31, p. 88 (year 1436).

<sup>58</sup> RImp., xii, ed. Johann F. Böhmer and Günther Hödl (Vienna, Cologne and Graz, 1975), no. 531, p. 136 (year 1438).

<sup>59</sup> Pfeiffer, *Das Breslauer Patriziat*, 238.

<sup>60</sup> Von Stromer, *Die Nürnberger Handelsgesellschaft*, 32; *idem*, 'Nürnberg–Breslauer Wirtschaftsbeziehungen', 1094.

<sup>61</sup> He bought, among other things, Lwów wax in 1444 (von Stromer, 'Die Zeringer', 622).

as well as a relative – Ruprecht.<sup>62</sup> Paul Venediger's nephew, Kunze Taufkind, was also active in Wrocław.<sup>63</sup> The third eminent Salzburgian was Oswald Elsenheimer.<sup>64</sup> For the years 1475–80 he held the office of burgomaster of Salzburg, while from 1484 to 1491 he was a city judge.<sup>65</sup> Other Salzburgians were merchants or their agents, which appears to convey the role within which they functioned. The economic ties between Wrocław and Salzburg, although forged later, were to last until almost the end of the period under study, i.e. to 1494.

Although links with Passau suffered in intensity after 1394 they were to last until 1483. In this last year Niklas Gerlach went to Wrocław, with the written support of the Passau city council, to obtain property which had been left in inheritance by a relative from the Silesian centre.<sup>66</sup> In total 12 Passau citizens remained in some form of economic contact with inhabitants from Wrocław, although some, like for example the cloth merchant Niklas Beyer were known solely because of conflict with the law. With the exception of the issuers of letters I have been unable to establish whether any of the Passau citizens belonged to the patriciate. One may presume, however, that Thomas Purkener (see below) who appeared the most often in Wrocław sources, and who conducted large scale trade in pepper, must have belonged to the Passau merchant elite.

In a similar way the number of Viennese was small. With absolute certainty one may note the activities of 12 individuals.<sup>67</sup> This could

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<sup>62</sup> Mitth.Sign., ZGS, ix, 1 (1868), no. 237, p. 177 (year 1445); APWr., G 5/44, p. 40 (year 1462); G 5/48, p. 108 (year 1470).

<sup>63</sup> Marie Scholz-Babisch, 'Oberdeutscher Handel mit dem deutschen und polnischen Osten nach Geschäftsbriefen von 1444', ZGS, lxiv (1930), 57; von Stromer, *Die Nürnberger Handelsgesellschaft*, 32, 84.

<sup>64</sup> Together with his brother Ulrich he stood in 1494 several times before the Wrocław court (APWr., G 5/62, pp. 69, 71, 164).

<sup>65</sup> Dopsch, 'Die wirtschaftliche Entwicklung', 824. Cf. Salzburg, Stadtarchiv, Sendbriefe der Stadt Salzburg, vol. 3, no. 193 (year 1486 ['unser Statrichter']). On Elsenheimer's ancestors, see also Michaela Krissl, 'Die Salzburger Neubürger im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert', *Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft für Salzburger Landeskunde*, 129 (1989), 72–4. At this time he was accused also in his home town of leading a band of robbers (see Dopsch, 'Die wirtschaftliche Entwicklung', 824–5).

<sup>66</sup> APWr., Dokumenty miasta Wrocławia (hereafter: DmWr.), no. 5727.

<sup>67</sup> Niklas Feder (belt maker, year 1402), Friedrich Hedling, Schilthus, Wolfgang of Vienna, Hans Schlanz, Peter Hymperger, Chwal Lorberer (*Lorber'*) and Paul Mettenbecke, servants (*Diener*) of Peter of Vienna, the wife of Peter Fechter, Hans

also include the merchant, Jürgen Winkler *von Ostirreich*, whose agent, Kunze Frosberger, died in Wrocław.<sup>68</sup> Basing myself on the incomplete data from the sources available I cannot state that any of these individuals belonged to the elite of Viennese business. Though judging by the nature of their activities a part of them were merchants (Peter of Vienna, the mentioned Winkler) and stall-keepers, sometimes members of their families or agents (Chwal Lorberer and Paul Mettenbecke). Among the contractors and clients of the citizens of Wrocław were also craftsmen (the belt maker Federer). Contacts between Vienna and Wrocław lasted until at least 1460.

Not until the fifteenth century did people of business from the Swiss centres of St Gallen and Bern start to show an interest in Wrocław. They first arrived in Wrocław in 1418 and were active here until at least 1474. Swiss, chiefly from St Gallen, created an eleven-person strong group. It is here worth noting that although there were less of them in Wrocław than business people from Passau, the economic links between the Swiss and Silesia's main city were more intensive and lasted longer (until 1497). It follows to name first and foremost the shareholders and employees of the famous company Diesbach and Watt: Peter Watt (from 1428 a citizen of Nuremberg), his relatives – David, Andreas, Hans Watt, as equally Kaspar Wirt of Bern.<sup>69</sup> Also there should be added Niklas von Diesbach, also from Bern, where until 1440 the company's headquarter was based.<sup>70</sup> Although he never came to Wrocław, he was connected through the buoyant dealings of his company here. There often appeared on the Oder the company's agents: Hans Brendel and Konrad and Ulrich Hör.<sup>71</sup> A separate business was run in Wrocław by Balthasar Raunacker. Another citizen of St Gallen, Kaspar Hofman also came

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Tanhauser, Hans Wesinberg. The number of Viennese would have been larger if it had not been for the doubts as to the Viennese roots of Thomas of Vienna (*von Wyen*), who appeared in Wrocław sources for the period 1436–45. As he appears in general connected with matters non-economic in character I have not included him in this register.

<sup>68</sup> APWr., G 5/32, p. 29 (year 1439). Despite the criminal character of this event, there indirectly results from the minutes that the Viennese merchant maintained his own representative on the Oder (it is unknown if he was also Viennese).

<sup>69</sup> Peyer, *Leinwandgewerbe*, ii, 48–51.

<sup>70</sup> Ammann, *Die Diesbach-Watt-Gesellschaft*, 27, 30.

<sup>71</sup> Peyer, *Leinwandgewerbe*, ii, 39.

here on business. Contact of sorts with Wrocław merchants (although outside the territory of the city) was also had by the company's agent Thomas Vogelweider from St Gallen.<sup>72</sup>

Besides the above mentioned individuals the people of Wrocław maintained direct economic contacts with people of business from other centres in the upper German area: with five merchants from Ulm (6 mentions for the years 1405–91), not more than three from Augsburg (to c. 1444), and also two apiece from: Bamberg (1409), Esslingen near Stuttgart (1465), Straubing near Ratisbon (1470) as well as the Austrian towns of: Korneuburg (1438), Villach (1438), Wiener Neustadt (from 1439), Steyr (1446), Graz (c. 1447). One may here add Ulrich Osterreicher, whose connections with Austria, as in the case of other individuals bearing a surname of toponymic origin, are most likely. The contact with Ravensburg and the famous *Grosse Gesellschaft* connected with it was only an incident (1448) – Wrocław city council merely played the role of notary public while the two Nurembergers – intermediaries between the Humpiss brothers of Ravensburg and their creditor from Frauenstadt, i.e. more than likely from Wschowa on the border area between Silesia and Greater Poland (Wielkopolska).<sup>73</sup>

At the same time it follows to mention the establishing of new contacts in southern Germany by inhabitants of Wrocław themselves. Hans Dompnig (*Domenecke*) came, around 1425, to Strasbourg in Alsace.<sup>74</sup> According to Hektor Ammann, Wrocławians also visited in the fourteenth century the fairs in Bavarian Nördlingen.<sup>75</sup>

In reconstructing the history of Wrocław-upper German relations one should add that Wrocławians also entered into contacts, ones

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<sup>72</sup> Ammann, *Die Diesbach-Watt-Gesellschaft*, 8.

<sup>73</sup> APWr., G 5/37, p. 83. Admittedly in the literature close bonds are established between this company and the Wrocławian, Ulrich Stoss around 1443 (Aubin, 'Die Wirtschaft', 475; Karol Maleczyński [ed.], *Historia Śląska*, i, pt 2 [Wrocław, 1961], 142). Though I have found no confirmation of this information in the researched sources.

<sup>74</sup> APWr., DmWr., no. 1620. Judging, however, from the letter of the Strasbourg city council, Dompnig failed in this endeavour. He fell into debt with Strasbourgiens, to whom he owed money for board and lodgings ('er demme unsern Burgern schuldig sin solle Bede czerungen Cleider und anders gebruches').

<sup>75</sup> Ammann, 'Zur Geschichte', 52; *idem*, 'Die Nördlingen Messe im Mittelalter', in Heinrich Büttner, Otto Feger and Bruno Meyer (eds.), *Aus Verfassungs- und Landesgeschichte, Festschrift zum 70. Geburtstag von Theodor Mayer dargebracht von seinen Freunden und Schülern*, 2 vols. (Konstanz, 1954–5), ii, 315.

economic in nature, with members of the political and Church elite of the upper German area: with the duke of Bavaria (1425), the burgrave of Nuremberg (1411), the countess (1440) and, separately, with the count of Öttingen (1481) as well as eminent clergymen from Passau: its bishop (1420) and suffragan bishop (1417). Contacts on the level of municipal authorities occurred in Wrocław's case only in relation to Nuremberg, Ratisbon, Passau, Salzburg and Strasbourg.<sup>76</sup> One should also mention the reasonably often appearance of master Johann of Franconia, whose stays also had an economic aspect.

In describing the individual areas of economic activity practiced by the merchants of upper Germany within the domain of Silesia it follows to begin with their transit trade through Wrocław itself. It appears that this covered a greater assortment of goods than was brought in for the needs of the people of Wrocław, and for the transit trade from northern and eastern Europe in Wrocławian execution to the west. I will here pass over the not too varied export of Wrocław and Silesian goods to southern Germany, Switzerland and the countries of present-day Austria, which has been researched by Marie Scholz-Babisch, Hektor Ammann and Wolfgang von Stromer. In the light of historiographic ascertainment, Wrocław played an unusually important role as a staging point for the economic expansion into the Polish kingdom (and here in particular Lesser Poland and Red Rus'), Mazovia as well as the Teutonic state in Prussia.<sup>77</sup> Wrocław drew southern German and Swiss merchantry also as an important transit point on the long-distance trade routes as well as a place for fairs of a transregional significance.<sup>78</sup> Nurembergers as well as those from St Gallen and Bern transported through Wrocław chiefly furs (marten and sable) as well as wax (from Lwów [Lviv], Kiev

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<sup>76</sup> Besides the legations to the king of Hungary, Matthias Corvinus, there are noted in preserved Wrocław municipal accounts legations to Nuremberg (APWr., *Liber rationis civitatis Wratislaviensis* [hereafter: *Lib.rac.Wr.*] de anno 1468, fo. 19; *Lib.rac.Wr.* de anno 1469, fo. 18v, 19v), less often to Ratisbon (*Lib.rac.Wr.* de anno 1468, fo. 20).

<sup>77</sup> Von Stromer, *Die Nürnberger Handelsgesellschaft*, 74; Małowist, *Wschód*, 66; Horst Wernicke, 'Nürnberg's Handel im Ostseeraum im Spätmittelalter und in der früher Neuzeit', in Neuhaus (ed.), *Nürnberg*, 270; Roman Czaja, 'Strefa bałtycka w gospodarce europejskiej w XIII–XV wieku ze szczególnym uwzględnieniem Prus krzyżackich', in Czaja *et al.*, *Ziemia polskie*, 212.

<sup>78</sup> Ammann, *Die Diesbach-Watt-Gesellschaft*, 92; on the Wrocław fairs, see lately Myśliwski, *Wrocław*, 128–34.

and Cracow), and also Polish cochineal.<sup>79</sup> There arrived in Franconia, via Wrocław, also: linen from Prussia, honey and feathers from Poland, white cloth from Schweidnitz (Świdnica), lead from Poland, copper from Hungary, and also gold and vitriol (probably also from Hungary) as well as hides (*irch*).<sup>80</sup> While English cloth was sold via Wrocław to Switzerland.<sup>81</sup>

Much greater was the assortment of goods which merchants from Nuremberg and St Gallen brought to Wrocław, at least during the well researched 1440s. They did so either with the aim of warehousing and selling at the Wrocław fairs or to export the said natural and semi-finished products and manufactured products to the east and north of Silesia. In the light of research to date, people of business from Franconia and Switzerland brought to the Oder spices (galangal, ginger, indigo, caraway, nutmeg, cloves, pepper, saffron, cinnamon, santonica), fruits (figs, currants, almonds), confectionery (sweets), medicines, sweet wines, textiles (various coloured cloth, wool, silk, suede cloth, damask, fustian from southern Germany and northern Italy, taffeta, *bocassino*<sup>82</sup>, Venetian veils), dyes (brazilwood) and also brass and paper as well as the products of Nuremberg metal craft (particularly knives).<sup>83</sup>

However, the valuable ascertainments of historians have not opened up the entire assortment of transit trade. Besides the already mentioned limitation to historiography up to the 1440s when Nurembergers held an already prominent position on the Wrocław market, the research of German and Swiss historians has concentrated on merchants from Nuremberg as well as the company of Diesbach and Watt. In passing over the already mentioned transit of eastern European goods conducted by Wrocławians themselves, it follows to

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<sup>79</sup> Scholz-Babisch, 'Oberdeutscher Handel', 61, 63; Lütge, 'Der Handel', 351; von Stromer, 'Die Zeringer', 622.

<sup>80</sup> Scholz-Babisch, 'Oberdeutscher Handel', 62, 67; Danuta Molenda, *Polski ołów na rynkach Europy Środkowej w XIII–XVII wieku* (Warsaw, 2001), 83; on vitriol Myśliwski, 'Strefa', 276. On copper, see, among others, 'Urkunden-Beilagen' (hereafter: Ur.-B), in von Stromer, *Die Nürnberger Handelsgesellschaft*, 162; APWr., G 5/39, p. 68 (year 1452).

<sup>81</sup> 'Urkunden und Regesten' (hereafter: Ur.u.Reg.), in Ammann, *Die Diesbach-Watt-Gesellschaft*, no. 129, p. 42\* (year 1444).

<sup>82</sup> A silk like material from flax (Heyd, *Geschichte*, ii, 692).

<sup>83</sup> Scholz-Babisch, 'Oberdeutscher Handel', 64–66; von Stromer, 'Die Zeringer', 608. See also Ur.-B, 169–70.

pay attention to the earlier activities of merchants from Ratisbon – in 1404 the Matthias Runtinger's agent brought through Wrocław over 1,100 kg of wax, which was to go to Nuremberg.<sup>84</sup> Amongst the goods which Nurembergers bought and transported through Wrocław was also silver.<sup>85</sup> For the period after 1444 the sources attest to the import of caraway, velvet embroidered with gold and a substantial quantity of copper (around 3 tons).<sup>86</sup>

The participation of upper German merchants in the import of goods for the needs, as well as orders, of Wrocław citizens themselves was not too large. Activeness in this area was shown by merchants from Ratisbon, Nuremberg, Passau and St Gallen. Amongst the goods brought to the Silesian capital was most clearly pepper, which the Runtinger's agent brought for the first time in 1404.<sup>87</sup> The spice was imported right up until the end of the period under research as is borne out by the complaint of the Wrocław city council to the councillors of Nuremberg in 1504 about the low quality of pepper.<sup>88</sup> The size of its import draws one's attention. In barely two transports, merchants from Ratisbon brought about two tons of pepper (1404, 1420).<sup>89</sup> At the same time, Thomas Purkener of Passau (partly in association with an employee of a merchant from Salzburg, Andreas Tanner) supplied Wrocław with over 1,300 kilograms of the spice

<sup>84</sup> Bastian (ed.), *Das Runtingerbuch*, ii, 148.

<sup>85</sup> In 1430, before the city court in Cracow, there appeared two Nurembergers, Mathis Ruprecht and Johann Meyer, who testified that they had taken money for silver which Konrad Zeitz, also from Nuremberg, had stored with Hans Merboth in Wrocław (APKra., Cons.Crac., 2, p. 274). Despite the presence of Silesian silver resources, it seems that the Nurembergers' silver was derived from beyond the region. The testimony given in Cracow in this matter would point to the precious metal coming from Hungary.

<sup>86</sup> Respectively: APWr., G 5/38, p. 93 (year 1450); G 5/39, p. 68 (year 1452).

<sup>87</sup> Bastian (ed.), *Das Runtingerbuch*, ii, 148.

<sup>88</sup> August Mosbach (ed.), *Przyczynki do dziejów polskich z Archiwum miasta Wrocławia* (Poznań, 1860), 121. On the significance of Nurembergers for the supply of seasonings from Venice to Wrocław from the second half of the fifteenth century, see Max Rauprich, 'Breslaus Handelslage am Ausgang des Mittelalters', ZGS, xxvi (1892), 20. In 1474 Nurembergers informed the Wrocław authorities, among other things, about the increasing incidence of adulterating seasonings – saffron and pepper (Lütge, 'Der Handel', 350).

<sup>89</sup> Bastian (ed.), *Das Runtingerbuch*, ii, 148 (over 24 hundredweight, i.e. over 1,227 kg); APWr., G 5/23, p. 99 (80 stone and 3 pounds, i.e. over 961 kg). On Ratisbon hundredweights, see Myśliwski, *Wrocław*, 542–3.

(110 stone).<sup>90</sup> Unknown, however, is the magnitude of Nuremberg supplies. The recipient of these enormous transports was Wrocław city council.

In the light of Wrocław sources merchants from the towns of the south of Germany brought not many other goods. Consequently to the Oder came saffron purchased in Venice and certain quantities of cloth,<sup>91</sup> fustian as well as white silk (in such a small quantity that one may consider it a sample). This short list is supplemented by two goods brought by merchants from St Gallen: cotton and wax (brought from Warsaw).<sup>92</sup> Jewellery (coral beads and rosaries) was also brought to Wrocław.<sup>93</sup> It follows to emphasize that the goods trade between Wrocław citizens and merchants from the upper German area achieved its greatest height in the first half of the fifteenth century. In the case of merchants from Ratisbon and Passau their trade activities in Wrocław ended in the year 1420. In the second quarter of the fifteenth century a living was being made from trade only by merchants from Nuremberg and St Gallen. Presumably the outbreak of the Hussite wars and the transfer of the gravity of Nurembergers' activities in this region from Prague to Silesia played its part here.<sup>94</sup>

There arises the question as to the reasons for such a relatively small import of goods for the needs of Wrocław (with the exception of transports of pepper). Does this result from the specifics of the source, not as substantial as the Nuremberg merchant lists, or possibly the minutes from the Wrocław *Libri excessuum*... reflect the actual rather limited role played by southern German towns in the goods trade of fifteenth-century Wrocław? Although it follows to take flaws in the sources into consideration it does appear, however, to

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<sup>90</sup> APWr., G 5/23, p. 99; DmWr., no. 1974. The prices of pepper in Venice then significantly fell (Frederic C. Lane, *Venice: A Maritime Republic* [London and Baltimore, 1973], 288); on the weight of a stone Goerlitz, *Verfassung*, i, 73, 78; Myśliwski, *Wrocław*, 542.

<sup>91</sup> Respectively: APWr., G 5/17, p. 112 (year 1410); Bastian (ed.), *Das Runtingerbuch*, ii, 144 (year 1401).

<sup>92</sup> Respectively: APWr., G 5/36, p. 89 (year 1446); Ur.u.Reg., 45\*, no. 133 (year 1446).

<sup>93</sup> Bastian (ed.), *Das Runtingerbuch*, ii, 140 (years 1399, 1400).

<sup>94</sup> See Hugo Weczerka, 'Breslaus Zentralität im Ostmitteleuropäischen Raum um 1500', in Evamaria Engel, Karin Lambrecht and Hanna Nogosseck, *Metropolen in Wandel. Zentralität in Ostmitteleuropa an der Wende vom Mittelalter zur Neuzeit* (Berlin, 1995), 256.

be the case that merchants from the upper German area might have been more interested in selling their goods beyond the borders of Silesia. It follows to remember though that Wrocławians were not condemned to incomers from the southern Reich as they had other sources of supply, for example Oriental and eastern goods, and also wool cloth from the Netherlands. A part of these goods came to Silesia via Teutonic Prussia (from Flanders and, possibly, Rus').<sup>95</sup> Besides which Silesian merchants stocked themselves up on foreign goods by travelling around trade centres outside of Silesia. They could buy Oriental and Mediterranean goods not only in the Netherlands but also in Teutonic Prussia, the kingdom of Hungary and Venice, while they were brought to Wrocław in the first half of the fifteenth century by the wealthy Florence entrepreneur, Antonio Ricci.<sup>96</sup> I therefore am of the opinion that the role of merchants from the upper German area was not quite as significant in supplying Wrocławians with foreign goods as has been previously believed. Wrocław was for them chiefly a starting point for further expansion, as well as a location for forging contacts with incomers from the northern territories and the eastern borderland of Silesia (see below).

The goods offered by Wrocławians for merchantry from the upper German area in the period after 1394 was not overly varied. However, the quantity of exported goods was not small. This is proved by the trade letters of 1444 and an account of 1440. This was a complaint of Nuremberg city council, which bemoaned to the bishop of Naumburg of the looting of wagons of goods from Nuremberg merchants.<sup>97</sup> Among the stolen goods was merchandise belonging to Wrocławians of no small value at 13,200 Prague *groschen*. In Wrocław sources we find also examples of the sales by Wrocławians to merchants from Nuremberg and Switzerland of Polish cochineal, Wrocław fustian, Florentine wool cloth, and also velvet.<sup>98</sup> Besides this Wrocław mer-

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<sup>95</sup> Stefan Weymann, *Cła i drogi handlowe w Polsce piastowskiej* (Poznań, 1938), 121; Krzysztof Kopiński, *Gospodarcze i społeczne kontakty Torunia z Wrocławiem w późnym średniowieczu* (Toruń, 2005), 110–11.

<sup>96</sup> Kopiński, *Gospodarcze i społeczne kontakty, passim*; Myśliwski, *Wrocław*, 271–88, 463–4, 469–71, 487–90; *idem*, 'Venice', *passim*.

<sup>97</sup> Ur.u.Reg., no. 89, p. 32\*.

<sup>98</sup> Respectively: Henry Simonsfeld, *Der Fondaco dei Tedeschi in Venedig und die deutsch-venetianischen Handelsbeziehungen*, 2 vols. (Stuttgart, 1887), i, no. 412, p. 227 (year 1437); Scholz-Babisch, 'Oberdeutscher Handel', 64; APWr., G 5/48, p. 107

chants ordered in Stralsund sea fish (herring, salmon) as well as trout, which subsequently was exported to Nuremberg.<sup>99</sup> The possibility to buy herrings brought to Wrocław an inhabitant of Vienna.<sup>100</sup> It is unknown whether in the transport stolen from the Nurembergers on their return from Wrocław in 1467 were to be found these same or maybe other goods.<sup>101</sup> However, to the duchy of Austria Wrocław merchants sent products from eastern Europe which could be treated as a side effect of the trade with northern Italy and Hungary, to where sable pelts were transported.<sup>102</sup> In the second half of the fifteenth century of increasing importance became the trade in oxen from Rus', Hungary and Wallachia westwards,<sup>103</sup> including southern Germany. This is borne out by the ban on the export of oxen to Silesia made by the Polish king, John I Albert, in 1497.<sup>104</sup> The supply of goods by Wrocław merchants to the Nuremberg market did not limit itself only to the above mentioned articles or to transit points on the route from Wrocław to Venice. This is verified by the fairly exceptional transaction between the Wrocławian Peter Stangewald and the Nuremberger Fritz Regeler, which took place in Cracow in May 1405. The merchant of Wrocław sold 12 kilograms of cloves as well as products of the eastern textile industry (*bocassino*), as well as transalpine (arras, i.e. presumably cheap wool cloth, as well as 16 lots

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(year 1470); RW, i, 126 (no. 8). On the influx of cloth from Italy to the Polish lands, see Samsonowicz, 'Relations', 295.

<sup>99</sup> Scholz-Babisch, 'Oberdeutscher Handel', 62.

<sup>100</sup> RW, ii, 924 (no. 8).

<sup>101</sup> Peter Eschenloer, *Historia Wratislaviensis et que post mortem regis Ladislai sub electo Georgio de Podiebrat Bohemorum rege illi acciderant prospera et adversa*, ed. Hermann Markgraf, *Scriptores Rerum Silesiacarum*, vii (Breslau, 1872), 195. In the German version of the chronicle the number of wagons rises to 5 ('fumff wagen'), while the goods are also generally defined (*idem*, *Geschichte der Stadt Breslau*, ed. Gunhild Roth, 2 vols. [Münster, 2003], ii, 737). See Myśliwski, *Wrocław*, 375.

<sup>102</sup> This is how I would understand the references to the sale of 100 hides in Vienna via the representative of the great Wrocław wholesaler, Hans Hesse in 1429 (APWr., G 5/27, p. 60).

<sup>103</sup> Friedrich Lütge, *Strukturwandlungen im ostdeutschen und osteuropäischen Fernhandel des 14. bis 16. Jahrhunderts* (Munich, 1964), 6–8, 29–31, 35, 49; Henryk Samsonowicz, 'Jarmarki w Polsce na tle sytuacji gospodarczej w Europie w XV–XVI wieku', in Czesław Łuczak (ed.), *Europa – Słowiańszczyzna – Polska. Studia ku uczczeniu Profesora Kazimierza Tymienieckiego* (Poznań, 1970), 525–6, 528, 530.

<sup>104</sup> Lütge, *Strukturwandlungen*, 49.

of Wrocław wool cloth).<sup>105</sup> Stangewald brought the said goods from Venice or Prussia.<sup>106</sup>

The time has come to move onto the question of credit links. Not many references have survived on the subject of trade credit. The greatest number being connected with the supply of pepper and payment by Wrocław city council of merchants from Ratisbon<sup>107</sup> as well as Thomas Purkener of Passau. The inhabitant of Passau was to receive the sum of 1,163 marks and 6 *groschen*.<sup>108</sup> The amount of the credits given for the purchase of pepper significantly surpasses isolated examples of trade credit payment for merchants from St Gallen, who brought cotton (15 marks and 10 *groschen*) as well as Nurembergers who paid Wrocław citizens 141 Hungarian florins for wool cloth from Florence.<sup>109</sup> We shall give here the examples cited by Scholz-Babisch from the collection of merchant letters of 1444.<sup>110</sup> The scant examples of trade credit negate the often expressed thesis as to the domination of this form of creditation in Wrocław – upper German contacts.<sup>111</sup> In Wrocław sources there are to be found an incomparably larger number of accounts, as I judge, of pure financial relations, i.e. cash credit. I classify thus because there is a complete absence in them of any references to goods turnover. An additional argument would have been that Wrocław merchants, possessing in the fifteenth century extensive trade contacts, were able to supply themselves with many goods independently. However, their rather poor trade offer in relation to their own goods, as equally cash requirements (consumer, investment) demanded a sizeable inflow of money, which they could find in foreigners.

Wrocław inhabitants granted loans to merchants from at least ten locations. They used both Hungarian and Rhenish florins, Prague *groschen*, as well as Austrian coinage. The vast majority of the money was borrowed from them by merchants from Nuremberg.

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<sup>105</sup> APKr., Cons.Crac., 1, p. 210 (year 1405).

<sup>106</sup> Myśliwski, *Wrocław*, 347–8.

<sup>107</sup> *Idem*, 'Breslau', 186–7.

<sup>108</sup> APWr., G 5/23, p. 99 (year 1420); cf. the document from 21 Nov. 1420 (DmWr., no. 1974).

<sup>109</sup> APWr., G 5/36, p. 89 (year 1446); G 5/48, p. 107 (year 1470).

<sup>110</sup> Scholz-Babisch, 'Oberdeutscher Handel', 69.

<sup>111</sup> Ammann, *Die Diesbach-Watt-Gesellschaft*, 82–5; Scholz-Babisch, 'Oberdeutscher Handel', 69; von Stromer, *Die Nürnberger Handelsgesellschaft*, 77.

TABLE 1. *Wrocław credits in the upper German area*

Origin of debtors	Debt value (in Hung. florins)	% of total upper German debt	Dates of source reference
Nuremberg	2,213 <sup>a</sup>	69.09	1418–91
Salzburg	373 <sup>b</sup>	11.64	1492
St Gallen	200 <sup>c</sup>	6.24	1470
Vienna	128 <sup>d</sup>	4.00	1402–47
Passau	over 98 <sup>e</sup>	3.06	1433
Korneuburg	86 <sup>f</sup>	2.68	1438
Esslingen	80 <sup>g</sup>	2.50	1465
Graz	c. 15 ½ <sup>h</sup>	0.48	1447
Wiener Neustadt	c. 5 ½ <sup>i</sup>	0.17	1447
others ('from Austria')	c. 3 ¾ <sup>k</sup>	0.12	1447
Ratisbon	0.60 <sup>l</sup>	0.02	1447
IN TOTAL	c. 3,203 ⅓	100.00	1402–92

<sup>a</sup> [1.] Credits in *groschen* mark units: APWr., G 5/22, p. 82 (year 1418 – 5 *wiardunki* and 8 *groschen*); G 5/23, p. 36 (year 1421 – 117 marks); G 5/38, p. 117 (year 1450 – 49 marks); G 5/58, p. 106 (year 1491 – 21 *groschen*, which constituted the remains of a larger debt in florins, see below pt 2. of this footnote); [2.] credits in Hungarian florins (fl.): Ur.u.Reg., no. 97, p. 33\* (year 1441 – 1,152 fl.); APWr., G 5/40, p. 43 (year 1454 – 31 fl.); G 5/43, p. 128 (1461 – 4 fl.); G 5/46, p. 206 (year 1467 – 272 fl.); G 5/55, p. 91 (year 1477 – 337 fl.); G 5/58, p. 106 (year 1491 – 21 fl.; I have added the 21 *groschen* mentioned here to the *groschen* bill, see above in pt 1.); [3.] credits in Rhenish florins: APWr., G 5/38, p. 221 (year 1451 – 100 fl.).

<sup>b</sup> The case of the greatest loan, 573 florins (APWr., G 5/60, pp. 112–13, year 1492) requires separate attention. Initially Thomas Venediger of Salzburg was liable for this sum to Paul May of Wislica. May transferred this receivables to the Wrocławian, Dominik Dompnig, who was to pay him 200 florins. Therefore I have calculated this credit to be 373 florins.

<sup>c</sup> Ur.u.Reg., no. 209, p. 61\* (year 1470); exact data (which is absent in Ammann research), is APWr., G 5/48, p. 104.

<sup>d</sup> *Die Wiener Stadtbücher* (hereafter: Wien.Stb.), pt 2 (1401–5), ed. Wilhelm Brauender, Gerhard Jaritz and Christian Neschwara (Fontes Rerum Austriacarum, iii [Fontes iuris], 10, Vienna, Cologne and Weimar, 1998), 113 (year 1402 – 8 marks); APWr., G 5/15, p. 108 (year 1405 – 25 Viennese pounds); Mitth.Sign., ZGS, viii, 2 (1867), no. 205, p. 449 (year 1440 – 55 fl.); G 5/36, p. 211 (year 1447 – 8 ½ pounds of Viennese denarius + 14 fl.). Conversion after Mayer, *Der auswärtige Handel*, 170. His determinations on the relationship between Viennese shillings and Hungarian florins cover the period from 1426 to the end of the fifteenth century. As a result of more exact data I adopt this conversion with reservation as it could have been somewhat different for the first decade of the fifteenth century.

<sup>e</sup> APWr., G 5/29, p. 121 (year 1433).

<sup>f</sup> Mitth.Sign., ZGS, viii, 2 (1867), no. 205, p. 449 (year 1438).

<sup>g</sup> APWr., G 5/45, p. 151 (year 1465).

<sup>h</sup> APWr., G 5/36, p. 211 (year 1447), see Ludwig Petry, *Die Popplau. Eine schlesische Kaufmannsfamilie des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts* (Breslau, 1935), 106.

<sup>i</sup> APWr., G 5/36, p. 211 (year 1447).

<sup>k</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>l</sup> *Ibidem*. Petry mentions this, though without giving the magnitude of the loan (*idem*, *Die Popplau*, 106).

Wrocławians gave loans to merchants from the cities of the southern Reich to a total of around 3,203 Hungarian florins. A full 1,152 Hungarian florins, i.e. around 36 per cent of all credits was lent (to Nuremberg companies) by Nicolaus Gramis, the curate of Wrocław cathedral and the collector of indulgence money in the name of the council at Basle.<sup>112</sup> As one can therefore see the greatest amounts were lent by individuals not belonging to the merchant estate, i.e. the well-to-do of the medieval world.

Merchants of Wrocław borrowed, however, much more from merchants from the upper German area and the number of centres from which they derived credits was greater than the towns whose inhabitants had borrowed money from Wrocławians. The latter had consequently debts with people of business from Nuremberg, Ratisbon, Passau, St Gallen, Ulm, Salzburg, Vienna, Strasbourg, and also with the burgrave of Nuremberg (Friedrich Hohenzollern), as well as the bishop of Passau (Georg von Hohenlohe) and countess of Öttingen (Eufemia of the Piast family, the wife of Frederick III, count of Öttingen). The loans were given in *groschen*, Hungarian florins as well as, though much more rarely, in Rhenish florins.

TABLE 2. Wrocławians' debts in the upper German area

Origin of creditors	Credit value (in Hung. florins)	% of total upper German credit	Dates of source reference
Nuremberg	2,669 $\frac{2}{3}$ <sup>a</sup>	31.99	1398–1494
Nuremberg & Ratisbon	1,498 <sup>b</sup>	17.97	1438
Ratisbon	1,318 <sup>c</sup>	15.81	1384–1464
St Gallen	1,218 $\frac{1}{2}$ <sup>d</sup>	14.60	1418–21

<sup>112</sup> On Gramis' activities see Jan Drabina, *Kontakty Wrocławia z Rzymem w latach 1409–1517* (Wrocław, 1981), 111–12, 133.

Countess of Öttingen	675 <sup>e</sup>	8.09	1440
Passau	531 <sup>f</sup>	6.36	1420–39
Vienna	220 <sup>g</sup>	2.63	1402–45
Salzburg	96 $\frac{2}{3}$ <sup>h</sup>	1.16	1436–57
Strasbourg	60 <sup>i</sup>	0.71	1425
Ulm	43 <sup>k</sup>	0.51	1479
'From Franconia'	15 <sup>l</sup>	0.17	1462
IN TOTAL	8,344 $\frac{2}{3}$	100.00	1384–1494

<sup>a</sup> [1.] loans in Prague *groschen*: APWr., G 5/10, p. 11 (year 1398 – 43 marks); Mitth.Sign., ZGS, vi, 2 (1865), no. 51, p. 353 (year 1415 – 13 marks); APWr., G 5/21, p. 27 (year 1416 – 12 marks, 1 *wiardunek*); G 5/23, p. 58 (year 1420 – 30 marks + 8 *groschen*); G 5/32, p. 58 (year 1436 – 80 marks + 36 *groschen*); G 5/34, p. 61 (year 1442 – 25 marks); G 5/37, p. 232 (year 1449 – 32 marks); G 5/41, p. 50 (year 1456 – 41 marks + 2 *groschen*); G 5/45, p. 35 (year 1464 – 18 *groschen*, which constituted only a part of the liabilities expressed chiefly in Hungarian florins, see below); [2.] loans in florins: 1,000 florins were borrowed from the Nuremberg burgrave, Frederick VI Hohenzollern (see APWr., G 5/18, p. 34, year 141g1; on the burgrave, see DBE, iii [Munich, 1996], 461). Remaining credits, see: G 5/35, p. 234 (year 1445 – 40 fl.); G 5/37, p. 90 (year 1448 – 7 fl.); G 5/43, p. 156 (year 1461 – 60 fl.); G 5/45, p. 35 (year 1464 – 111 fl.; the remainder in *groschen* I have incorporated in the above bill of loans in marks in pt 1. of this footnote; this debt was sold the Wrocławian, Hans Rindfleisch, father); Ur.u.Reg., no. 199, p. 60\* (year 1464 – 206 fl., the receivables of the Nuremberg shareholder in the company of Diesbach-Watt, Kunze Guldenmund), p. 61, no. 209 (year 1470 – 18 fl., the liability of David Watt, a citizen of Nuremberg); G 5/46, p. 174 (year 1467 – 173 fl.); G 5/59, p. 151 (year 1491 – 45 fl.); [3.] loans in Rhenish florins: APWr., G 5/32, p. 102 (year 1438 – 495 Rhenish fl. + shillings in gold, see pt 4. of this footnote); G 5/43, p. 177 (year 1461 – 175 Rhenish fl.); vol. 59, p. 98 (1491 – 20 Rhenish fl.); [4.] loans in shillings (G 5, vol. 32, p. 102 (1438 – 495 Rhenish fl. + 20 shillings in gold – a part of the debt of 495 Rhenish fl., see pt 3. of this footnote).

<sup>b</sup> This is the total debt of the leader of the stall-holders (*iuratus* of the guild) in 1432, Vincenz Frauendienst (APWr., G 5/29, p. 36). He was liable to the total sum of 876 marks to merchants from Ratisbon and Nuremberg (G 5/32, p. 78, year 1438; on transactions, see Pfeiffer, *Das Breslauer Patriziat*, 236). It is impossible to separate the Ratisbon and Nuremberg credits.

<sup>c</sup> Bastian (ed.), *Das Runtingerbuch*, ii, 63–4 (years 1384–5: 93  $\frac{1}{2}$  threescore *groschen* = approx. 117 marks); APWr., G 5/16, p. 71 (year 1407 – 21 marks); G 5/19, p. 92 (year 1413 – 495 marks); G 5/45, p. 39 (year 1464 – 61 fl. + 3 *wiardunki* of Meissen *groschen* without 3 gr.). Conversion on the basis of Zbigniew Żabiński's data, *Rozwój systemów pieniężnych w Europie Zachodniej i Północnej* (Wrocław, 1989), 35.

<sup>d</sup> See Peyer, *Leinwandgewerbe*, ii, no. 120 (year 1418), p. 50 (10 threescore gr.); Ur.u.Reg., no. 17, p. 12\* (year 1418 – 113 marks + 3 *wiardunki* gr.), p. 13, no. 27 (year 1421 – 968 fl. + 13 gr.).

<sup>e</sup> APWr., G 5/33, p. 90 (year 1440). On the countess of Öttingen, Eufemia, at the same time the daughter of the duke of Münsterberg (Ziębice), Boleslas (Bolko) III, see Kazimierz Jasiński, *Rodowód Piastów śląskich* (Cracow, 2007), 344–5. Here it is worth mentioning the much later claims of count of Öttingen, Louis XIII, against Wrocław city council (DmWr.,

no. 5615, year 1481). It is unknown what sum was involved. The Wrocławians denied that they had taken out a loan with the Bavarian count and proposed taking the matter to their lord, Matthias Corvinus.

<sup>f</sup> APWr., G 5/23, p. 98 (year 1420 – 500 fl.), DmWr., no. 2333 (year 1439 – 14 threescore gr., 25 gr.). A sum of 500 fl. was borrowed from the bishop of Passau.

<sup>g</sup> Wien.Stb., 2, p. 113 (year 1402 – 3 marks minus 6 gr.); Mitth.Sign., ZGS, vi, 2 (1865), no. 27, p. 344 (year 1407 – threescore minus 8 *skojcy*, i.e. 69 ½ marks); APWr., G 5/35, p. 211 (1445 – 35 threescore gr.). The identification of the financial currency ('3 markch') that the said debt is given in may arouse a certain doubt. Because in this source the greater financial unit is given as the pound (*phunt*), therefore I feel that under the name *mark* lies the Czech mark. It follows to also explain the identity of the debtor Philipp Rasseff from the Wrocław register of 1407, in which his origin is not defined (which could point to being from Wrocław, obvious to the city council). I identify him 'mit Philippen dem Rassauf von Bresla', about whom there is mention in the Viennese city register for the year 1401 (Wien.Stb., 2, no. 739, p. 88). This identification is possible not only because of the similarity in surnames but also the closeness in time as well as the connection with Vienna and the Viennese in both cases. Could he have been related to the leader (*iuratus*) of the furrier guild in 1389, Peter Rasdaff? (on Rasdaff, see Mysliwski, *Wrocław*, 149).

<sup>h</sup> See APWr., G 5/31, pp. 95, 96 (year 1436 – in total 46 marks); G 5/41, p. 230 (year 1457 – 18 fl.).

<sup>i</sup> APWr., DmWr., no. 1620 (year 1425).

<sup>k</sup> APWr., G 5/56, p. 93 (year 1479).

<sup>l</sup> APWr., G 5/44, p. 64 (year 1462). The matter concerns master Johann of Franconia, a doctor ('Johannes von Francken', 'Meister Johannes franconia'). Another entry informs us of his profession (*arczt*) (G 5/ 48, p. 54, year 1470).

The total was greater, as in the case of some of the loans their magnitude was not given.<sup>113</sup> It is worth noting the difference in the scale between monarchical-dignitary capital (ducal, episcopal, burgrave) and mercantile. The magnitude of a mere three loans given to city of Wrocław and Wrocław citizens by the burgrave of Nuremberg, countess of Öttingen and the bishop of Passau constituted 2,175 Hungarian florins, i.e. almost 26 per cent of all the lent money. In calculating the entirety of the credits and debts in Hungarian florins, Wrocławians borrowed two and a half times the amount that they themselves had lent to upper German merchants. In examining the credit balance of Wrocław with various towns one can see immediately that in relations with the main urban centres of the upper German area the balance was passive, particularly in the case of Ratisbon (17 *groschen* to 1,318 Hung. fl., where it follows to remember also about the individually treated huge debt of the Wrocław citizen, Frauen-dienst; see Table 2, footnote b) and St Gallen (200 to 1,218 ½ fl.). Unfavourable in relation to Wrocław are also the comparison of loans

<sup>113</sup> E.g. APWr., G 5/23, p. 7 (year 1421); G 5/35, p. 68 (year 1444).

with Nuremberg (2,213 to 2,669  $\frac{2}{3}$  fl.), which would deteriorate further if we were to know the receivables of Nurembergers in terms of the aforementioned *Frauendienst*. This unfavourable balance is also noted by Wrocław merchantry in credit relations with Passau (98 to 531 fl.), Vienna (128 to 220 fl.), Strasbourg (0 to 60 fl.) and Ulm (0 to 43 fl.). However, with the exception of Salzburgians, to whom more was lent by Wrocławians than was borrowed (373 to 96  $\frac{2}{3}$  fl.), a favourable balance was only achieved with smaller towns, chiefly Austrian: Korneuburg (86 to 0 fl.), Esslingen (80 to 0 fl.), Graz (15  $\frac{1}{2}$  to 0 fl.) and Wiener Neustadt (15  $\frac{1}{2}$  to 0 fl.).

Wrocław's credit balance with centres from the upper German area was consequently passive (approx. 3,203  $\frac{1}{3}$  to 8,344  $\frac{2}{3}$  Hung. fl.). Attention is also drawn by the fact that the sum of money borrowed by Wrocław citizens was close to the loans taken from northern Italians (8,607  $\frac{3}{4}$  Hung. fl.) but greater than from merchants of the Sudeten-Carpathian area, with whom Wrocławians maintained their most intensive contacts (7,779  $\frac{2}{3}$  Hung. fl.).<sup>114</sup> It is worth adding that Wrocławians borrowed from merchants from towns of nearby Lusatia and Thuringia only 3,787  $\frac{1}{3}$  Hungarian florins and this over a somewhat longer period (from 1372).<sup>115</sup> A comparison of these balances proves, on the one hand, the hunger for capital prevalent amongst Wrocław merchants (for extended consumerism, the purchase of goods for trade?), while on the other hand – the great credit potential of the main urban centres of the upper German area and the high degree of involvement of their merchants in economic activity in Silesia at least in the fifteenth century. Upper German merchants consequently played a definite role in the development of the Wrocław capital market, upon which transactions were concluded and debtors dues executed from beyond Wrocław and Silesia itself (see below). This to a certain degree influenced the written standardization of financial-trade activities in Wrocław, though bonds had most probably been introduced by Jews while bills of exchange had become known thanks to the Italians.<sup>116</sup>

This said Wrocław's credit balance points to the noteworthy financial strength of its merchantry. For we are comparing the debt/credits

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<sup>114</sup> See Myśliwski, *Wrocław*, 254–6, 282–3, 307–10, 481–2, 507.

<sup>115</sup> *Ibidem*, 378–9, 507.

<sup>116</sup> *Ibidem*, 190–6.

of a single, admittedly large city with one of the richest economic areas in western Europe and with the main players of medieval trade and financial relations – Nuremberg, Ratisbon, and Strasbourg no less significant within the scale of the Reich,<sup>117</sup> important points of European transit – Vienna and Salzburg as well as the rather scarcely populated (4,000 inhabitants) though economically buoyant St Gallen.<sup>118</sup>

The economic contacts of Wrocławians with people of business from the upper German area developed not only in the sphere of trade and credit relations. Merchants from upper German countries also conducted other, though more modest, economic activities. The obtaining of permanent incomes from the purchase of rent in Wrocław was of interest only to incomers from Nuremberg. The first examples already come from 1407, i.e. a mere dozen or so years after the forging of more regular contacts. A certain Johann Mak and his wife, Angela, acquired from the city life-rent at a rate of 100 marks.<sup>119</sup> In the sources researched by me I have not been able to find many later analogical accounts.<sup>120</sup> I am, however, aware of one example of the purchase of rent in Vienna by a Wrocław citizen.

It is known that Bavarians and Franconians showed interest also in rent from land, as is shown by the only surviving account on this matter. For in 1446 the claims of the representative of both Ratisbonians as Nurembergers were rejected by the Wrocław court; they demanded, among other things, back rent from the villages of Warzyn

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<sup>117</sup> On the significance of Strasbourg, see Philippe Dollinger, 'Relations directes entre Strasbourg et les villes hanséatiques XIVe–XVIe siècles', in Friedrich Facius and Jürgen Sydow (eds.), *Aus Stadt- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte Südwestdeutschlands. Festschrift für Erich Maschke zum 75. Geburtstag* (Stuttgart, 1975), 118.

<sup>118</sup> The number of inhabitants after Ammann, *Die Diesbach-Watt-Gesellschaft*, 29.

<sup>119</sup> APWr., Antiquarius, 2, p. 278. The purchase price is unknown. What is known though is that the rents bought in Wrocław by foreigners equalled 6.2 – 8.25 per cent of the sums laid out for them (Kopiński, *Gospodarcze i społeczne kontakty*, 141; Myśliwski, *Wrocław*, 312–13). Hence it is possible to speculate that the Nuremberg marriage spent around 620–825 marks on the said rent.

<sup>120</sup> APWr., G 5/31, p. 219 (year 1437); G 5/41, p. 229 (year 1457); G 5/47, p. 215 (year 1468). It is worth adding that Hieronimus Rindfleisch in a will of 1491 bestowed on the Dominican nunnery a 10 marks rent from his hop stores in Wrocław (*hoppenhawse*; on the warehouse, see Goerlitz, *Verfassung*, i, 74). See footnote 175.

(Waryn) and Radecz (Seiffersdorf) near Wrocław.<sup>121</sup> It does seem though that the purchasing of rents within the duchy of Wrocław was not a significant part of activities for merchants from the upper German area. The same conclusion emerges in relation to the purchase of landed estates in Silesia.<sup>122</sup>

Besides, for merchants from the countries of the upper German area, Wrocław counted also as a place for making financial-credit contacts and regulating financial obligations with business people from the whole of central Europe, i.e. the Czech kingdom, Poland and Hungary, as well as with the Teutonic state in Prussia.

Upper German merchants entered into credit relations with Silesians (with Brieg [Brzeg], Neisse [Nysa], Neumarkt [Środa], Borne [Żródła] near Wrocław).<sup>123</sup> Certain Nurembergers were in debt to the inhabitants of Silesian Lemberg (Lwówek) and Schreibendorff (Sarbów) near Wrocław.<sup>124</sup> Financial claims were also laid against another incomer from Franconia by an inhabitant of Greifenstein (Gryfów).<sup>125</sup> It seems, however, that in the relations of Nurembergers and Silesians from outside Wrocław the receivables of the former dominated. This would be borne out by a fairly early (1415) example of the demands by Konrad Lobinger for a return of a loan taken out by the parish priest of the village of Geppersdorf (Gębczyce),<sup>126</sup> the declaration, among others, of Ludwig Gruber in the matter of an absence of claims against the dukes of Sagan (as also declared the Salzburgers – Wenzlav Brüchsner and Paul Venediger),<sup>127</sup> or the paying in of money by a inhabitant of Rogau (Rogów) near Wrocław for the Nurembergers Reutheimer and Gartener.<sup>128</sup> More telling appears to me the authorization which much later Hans Gartener of Nuremberg gave to his brother, Heinrich, to collect all of his credits in Wrocław

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<sup>121</sup> APWr., G 5/36, p. 63.

<sup>122</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 116 (year 1447). In these transactions one may only speak with certainty about Paul Venediger that he came from the upper German area.

<sup>123</sup> Respectively: G 5/20, p. 82 (year 1415); G 5/31, p. 188 (year 1437); G 5/26, p. 44 (year 1427); G 5/23, p. 44 (year 1421).

<sup>124</sup> Respectively: G 5/48, p. 107 (year 1470); G 5/50, pp. 59–60 (year 1472).

<sup>125</sup> G 5/35, p. 256 (year 1446).

<sup>126</sup> G 5/20, p. 90 (year 1415).

<sup>127</sup> G 5/32, p. 195 (year 1439). It presumably resulted from a earlier payment of the debts by the dukes of Sagan.

<sup>128</sup> G 5/36, p. 122 (year 1447).

and Silesia.<sup>129</sup> Both the time when the Nurembergers were already numerous and permanently settled into the landscape of Wrocław and the region of Silesia, as equally the plurality of the word ‘credit’ (‘alle seine schulde hie in der Stat und in der Slezien’) may testify to significantly stronger financial ties between Nurembergers and Sile-  
sians than would result from concrete mentions in Wrocław sources.

Even so the international financial transactions of merchants from the upper German area within the territory of Wrocław were the more frequent. Merchants from Ratisbon kept here their credits from debtors from Prague, Košice and Vienna.<sup>130</sup> What is more they also demanded here a return of goods from their partner from Straubing in Bavaria.<sup>131</sup> At the same time Ratisbonians regulated here their obligations in relation to inhabitants of Cracow, as equally Pilsen.<sup>132</sup> Business people from Passau received on the Oder a return of money from merchants from Prague<sup>133</sup> and Nuremberg.<sup>134</sup> While the latter repaid here borrowed money to merchants from Prague,<sup>135</sup> Wieruszów,<sup>136</sup> Cracow,<sup>137</sup> and as has already been mentioned, Passau. Incomers from Nuremberg had even more foreign debtors, with whom they squared accounts in Wrocław: from Ulm,<sup>138</sup> Cheb (Eger),<sup>139</sup> Gdańsk,<sup>140</sup> Toruń<sup>141</sup> and Warsaw<sup>142</sup>. It is important to mention separately the gathering in Wrocław of receivables by the Nuremberger Kilian Auer in 1493 from well known Cracow merchants including Jan Boner and

<sup>129</sup> G 5/39, p. 220 (year 1454).

<sup>130</sup> Respectively: G 5/20, p. 117 (year 1415 ); G 5/14, p. 90 (year 1404 ); RW, i, 132 (no. 23).

<sup>131</sup> G 5/48, p. 108 (year 1470 ).

<sup>132</sup> Respectively: G 5/23, p. 55 (year 1421); G 5/32, p. 221 (year 1437).

<sup>133</sup> G 5/16, p. 50 (year 1406 ); G 5/19, p. 84 (year 1413).

<sup>134</sup> G 5/23, p. 36 (year 1421).

<sup>135</sup> G 5/17, p. 33 (year 1408, two minutes).

<sup>136</sup> G 5/41, p. 55 (year 1456).

<sup>137</sup> G 5/43, pp. 117, 143 (year 1461); G 5/45, p. 35 (year 1464).

<sup>138</sup> G 5/15, p. 107 (year 1405).

<sup>139</sup> G 5/32, p. 58 (year 1438).

<sup>140</sup> G 5/24, p. 63 (year 1422). On the links of Nurembergers with Gdańsk via Wrocław, see also Lenhart Mülich’s letter of 1444 to Hermann Breutigam in Nuremberg (von Stromer, ‘Die Zeringer’, 623).

<sup>141</sup> Roman Stelmach, ‘Korespondencja rady miejskiej miasta Torunia z radą miasta Wrocławia w XIV i XV wieku’, in Janusz Bieniak (ed.), *Personae, colligationes, facta* (Toruń, 1991), 305–6 (year 1438); APWr., G 5/45, p. 13 (year 1464).

<sup>142</sup> APWr., G 5/39, p. 78 (year 1452).

Friedrich Schilling.<sup>143</sup> Auer, residing in Poznań, represented in Greater Poland Jakob Fugger of Augsburg (known as 'the Rich').<sup>144</sup> Contrary to Gerhard Pfeiffer's opinion, I do not exclude therefore that the claim as to the paying off of the credit by the Cracovians, carried out in the name of Auer's company ('vor sich und seyne geselschafft') could have been connected with the expansion of this powerful 'superior' from Augsburg in this part of Europe.<sup>145</sup>

Also business people from St Gallen reached agreements and returned debts in Wrocław in relation to merchants from various cities: Lublin,<sup>146</sup> Görlitz and Poznań<sup>147</sup>. A merchant from Ulm, as I have already mentioned, returned a debt to a Nuremberger right in Wrocław. Another incomer from this Swabian city obtained from a debtor from Aachen a sum owed for the sale of a shop as well as debts from an inhabitant of Freiberg.<sup>148</sup> The debts of a merchant from Bavarian Koburg were also regulated in Wrocław by his representatives in relation to Reinhard of Prague.<sup>149</sup> The sizeable sum of 1,000 florins also passed through Wrocław from the grand master

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<sup>143</sup> APWr., G 5/61, pp. 61–2. On Kilian Auer, resident in Wrocław already in 1487, see Maleczyński (ed.), *Historia Śląska*, i, 2, p. 157; Oskar Pusch, *Die Breslauer Rats- und Stadtgeschlechter in der Zeit von 1241 bis 1741*, 5 vols. (Dortmund, 1986–91), i, 59.

<sup>144</sup> Leon Koczy, *Handel Poznania do połowy wieku XVI* (Poznań, 1930), 243; see also Pfeiffer, *Das Breslauer Patriziat*, 228.

<sup>145</sup> Pfeiffer, *Das Breslauer Patriziat*, 241. Fuggers started to invest in Central Europe in the second half of the fifteenth century, while they had already appeared in Silesia in 1488 in order to transfer to Rome the money gained from indulgences (Aubin, 'Die Wirtschaft', 478). On their activities in Central Europe in the first quarter of the sixteenth century, see also, among others, Wendt, *Schlesien*, 60, 62, 114; Karol Maleczyński, 'Aus der Geschichte des schlesischen Bergbaus in der Epoche des Feudalismus', in Ewa Maleczyńska (ed.), *Beiträge zur Geschichte Schlesiens* (Berlin, 1958), 268–9; Maleczyński (ed.), *Historia Śląska*, i, pt 2, pp. 143–4, 157–8; Hans Schenk, 'Die Beziehungen zwischen Nürnberg und Prag 1450–1500', in Ingomar Bog, *Der Aussenhandel Ostmitteleuropas (1450–1650). Die ostmitteleuropäischen Volkswirtschaften in ihren Beziehungen zu Mitteleuropa* (Cologne and Vienna, 1971), 199, 202.

<sup>146</sup> Ur.u.Reg., no. 77, p. 31\* (year 1437); for a continuation of the matter, see APWr., G 5/31, p. 141 (year 1437).

<sup>147</sup> Respectively: Ur.u.Reg., no. 81, p. 31\* (year 1440); *ibid.*, no. 157, p. 52\* (year 1450).

<sup>148</sup> Respectively: APWr., G 5/57, p. 80 (year 1479); G 5/59, p. 151 (year 1491).

<sup>149</sup> APWr., G 5/25, pp. 69, 72–3 (year 1425).

of the Teutonic Knights for the duke of Bavaria, Henry XVI, who resided in Nuremberg.<sup>150</sup> It is worth adding that in 1499 the resident of the Teutonic Order in Rome proposed that the grand master order the Fugger bank to transfer 200 ducats which, via Wrocław, were to reach Rome.<sup>151</sup> However, for merchants from the countries of present-day Austria Wrocław did not have a great importance as a point for settling transactions with partners from Silesia and beyond its borders. Apart from the already mentioned declaration of two citizens of Salzburg in relation to the debts of the dukes of Sagan, I am only aware of a single example where Austrians regulated amongst themselves their accounts in Wrocław.<sup>152</sup> It is also necessary to mention the intention of a lender from Olomouc to collect here his receivables (by means of a son) from a contracting party from Vienna.<sup>153</sup> Yet for Wrocław the role of Austrian cities, particularly Vienna, was greater than may be imagined from the modest presence of Austrians on the Oder and their small share in the turnover of credit. For Wrocław the capital of the Austrian dukedom constituted a point for financial settlement.<sup>154</sup> Often bills of exchange were directed to Vienna in order for the money to be collected there.<sup>155</sup> These sums amounted to 2,000 florins. Possibly the squaring of accounts occurred somewhere in Styria (e.g. at Graz during the fair), although I possess only circumstantial evidence for such an

<sup>150</sup> Walther Hubatsch and Erich Joachim (eds.), *Regesta Historico-diplomatica Ordinis S. Mariae Teutonicorum 1198–1525*, i, 1 (Göttingen, 1948), no. 4035 (after 1422), p. 252; see on the subject Kopiński, *Gospodarcze i społeczne kontakty*, 166. On Henry XVI, see DBE, iv, (Munich, 1996), 524.

<sup>151</sup> *Liv-, est- und kurländisches Urkundenbuch*, ed. Friedrich G. von Bunge and Leonid Arbusow, 17 vols., Abt. 2, i (Riga and Moscow, 1900), no. 822 (year 1499), 620–2.

<sup>152</sup> These were two brothers Hans and Ulrich Michels from Villach (APWr., G 5/32, p. 72, year 1438). The second of the brothers fulfilled in Wrocław the function of agent for the company of Andreas Zeringer, a Nuremberger (von Stromer, 'Die Zeringer', 603).

<sup>153</sup> APWr., G 5/33, p. 90 (year 1444). Another minute tells of how Hans Herbist, whose son was to collect debts from Hans Schlanz (*Slanczen*) of Vienna, came from Olomouc (see APWr., G 5/32, p. 93).

<sup>154</sup> APWr., G 5/30, p. 53 (year 1434).

<sup>155</sup> Mitth.Sig., ZGS, ix, 1 (1868) no. 216, p. 169 (year 1444) (on the dating of this minute, see Myśliwski, *Wrocław*, 194). See also APWr., G 5/26, pp. 46–7 (year 1427, here interchangeably with Venice); G 5/33, pp. 251, 269 (year 1441).

assumption.<sup>156</sup> Vienna became also a place of meetings and the regulating of accounts. It happened that the collection of gold (from Hungary?) would take place in the capital of the duchy of Austria, which was presumably sent to Venice for sale as a precious metal for minting coins.<sup>157</sup>

The activities of merchants from the cities and lands of the upper German area did not pass off without tensions within internal German relations as equally contacts with Wrocław merchantry. Nurembergers strove to take over certain financial-trade links from merchants from Wrocław and Silesia. Von Stromer even claimed that thanks to the support of Sigismund Luxemburg in his diplomatic-economic war with Venice, the merchants from Franconia strengthened their position in Italy and consequently took over the Venetian contacts of the Wrocławians. This second view of the German historian is rash.<sup>158</sup> Nuremberg merchants did act as intermediaries via Wrocław between the Republic of Venice and people of business from Schweidnitz and Toruń.<sup>159</sup> Permanently based in Wrocław, they played the role of intermediaries also in the executing of payment obligations between contractors from Wrocław though also from Gdańsk and Neisse,<sup>160</sup> as well as between a creditor from the vaguely defined settlement of *Nosseldorf* and the *starost* of Hungarian Sopron (Odenburg).<sup>161</sup>

Merchants from southern Germany, Switzerland and Austria did not have to leave Wrocław to be able to conduct business with citizens

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<sup>156</sup> In 1466 a matter of the payment of a certain debt was settled before the Wrocław city council, where it was promised that the payment would take place somewhere, i.e. 'andirswos sey zu Crocow in Steiern adir wo das sey' (APWr., G 5/46, p. 34).

<sup>157</sup> Mitth.Sing., ZGS, vii, 2 (1866), no. 119, p. 355 (year 1424); Myśliwski, 'Venice', 109.

<sup>158</sup> Wolfgang von Stromer, 'Landmacht gegen Seemacht. Kaiser Sigismunds Kontinentalsperre gegen Venedig (1412–1433)', *Zeitschrift für Historische Forschung*, xxii, 2 (1995), 181, 185; for a critique of von Stromer's thesis, see Myśliwski, 'Venice', 105–6.

<sup>159</sup> E.g. respectively: APWr., G 5/24, p. 55 (year 1422); G 5/25, p. 53 (year 1425). On David Rosenfeld of Toruń's involvement in these contacts, see Krzysztof Kopiński, 'Mieszczanin Dawid Rosenfeld w dyplomatycznej i gospodarczej służbie zakonu krzyżackiego w Prusach w pierwszej połowie XV w.', *Zapiski Historyczne*, lvi, 2–3 (2001), 41–3, 49–51.

<sup>160</sup> Mitth.Sing., ZGS, vi, 2 (1865), no. 29, p. 345 (year 1407); APWr., G 5/28, p. 37 (year 1430).

<sup>161</sup> APWr., G 5/33, p. 102 (year 1440). Identification of the name after: Josef Engel (ed.), *Grosser Historischer Weltatlas*, ii: *Mittelalter* (Munich, 1979), R 54.

from other towns situated to the north of the Sudeten and Carpathians. However, for some of them Wrocław became a convenient point for further travels. There is no doubt that this is how the city on the Oder was treated by people of business from Switzerland and Nuremberg. Merchants from St Gallen (and Bern) conducted through their Wrocław-based agents financial-trade activities in Poznań, Cracow and Warsaw up until the 1450s (and in Lublin until 1437).<sup>162</sup> The question of analogical activities on the part of Nurembergers is more complex for before they appeared in Silesia they had obtained in 1365 a privilege from Casimir the Great to conduct trade with Lwów and Red Rus'.<sup>163</sup> It is, however, probable that they did not immediately take up the option.<sup>164</sup> At a later period the wealth of Wrocław, a wider spectrum of international contacts than offered by Cracow, as well as the Hussite wars which stopped the further development of Czech trade and temporarily limited the significance of Prague, meant that merchants from Franconia tied their expansion with Wrocław to a greater degree than had hitherto been the case. Their activities in Poznań as well as the main cities of Teutonic Prussia, Toruń and Gdańsk, is explained as a consequence of the strong entrenchment in Wrocław.<sup>165</sup> It seems that also the presence of certain Nurembergers in Lublin (Reutheimer) and Cracow (Scheppach) could be connected with their previous stay on the Oder.

Wrocław became a fairly safe and friendly city for business people from the upper German economic area. In forgetting their business disputes with merchants from Wrocław and other towns of Silesia, disputes impossible to entirely avoid, it follows to state that the local city council was positively disposed towards foreign merchants. It was approached by the councillors of Nuremberg with a request to support their representative and to intercede on the part of Andreas Zeringer, whose goods had been requisitioned by the

<sup>162</sup> Ammann, *Die Diesbach-Watt-Gesellschaft*, 51–3, 82, 84–5, 87, 88, 100.

<sup>163</sup> Jan Ptaśnik, 'Study nad patrycyatem krakowskim wieków średnich', *Rocznik Krakowski*, xvi (1914), 25; Lütge, 'Der Handel', 326–7, 345; von Stromer, *Oberdeutsche Hochfinanz*, i, 94, 95; Jerzy Wyrozumski, 'Handel Krakowa ze Wschodem w średniowieczu', *Rocznik Krakowski*, I (1980), 62.

<sup>164</sup> See von Stromer, *Oberdeutsche Hochfinanz*, i, 108; Kopiński, *Gospodarcze i społeczne kontakty*, 27; Myśliwski, 'Strefa', 271–2 (where literature on the subject).

<sup>165</sup> Wernicke, *Nürnbergers Handel*, p. 267.

*starost* of Ottmachau (Otmuchów) (1448).<sup>166</sup> Wrocław city council often extended guarantees of safety to merchants from Ratisbon,<sup>167</sup> Nuremberg<sup>168</sup> and St Gallen,<sup>169</sup> who, as it may be supposed, were disturbed by, for example, impatient creditors.

It was possibly for another reason that some of the representatives of the upper German merchantry decided to settle in Wrocław. The greatest migration was confirmed in the case of Nurembergers. Their influx occurred following the outbreak of the Hussite wars. It follows to mention here the families of Hornig, possibly Popplau, while for certain Scheurlein and Kurn, as well as Sauermann and Heugel.<sup>170</sup> A similar thing happened in the case of Hans Engelhard. Paul Venediger from Salzburg and his family settled in Wrocław as well as the Taufkind family. In the case of migration from Ratisbon Pfeiffer has noted only a single person and of an inferior social status, who settled in 1419.<sup>171</sup> There was an absence of migrants from Passau, though there existed certain family links between the inhabitants of the Danubian city and Wrocław. In 1417 they constituted the reason for the submitting of a letter by Johann, a suffragan bishop in Passau, to the Wrocław city council with the demand to ensure his participation in the inheritance of a dead relative, Hans Reuber (a citizen of Wrocław).<sup>172</sup>

It is not known exactly how many Wrocław citizens had contacts (directly or indirectly) with the merchantry of southern Germany, Switzerland, the authorities of the archbishops of Salzburg as well as the duchy of Austria in the whole of the period under study, i.e. the thirteenth to the fifteenth century. For periods pre-1394 we have only the mention of two merchants (David and *Diemon*) and the

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<sup>166</sup> APWr., DmWr., no. 3330.

<sup>167</sup> APWr., G 5/39, p. 139 (year 1452), pp. 234, 235 (year 1453), p. 238 (year 1454). I here pass over the guarantees of security in matters clearly not connected with economic activity.

<sup>168</sup> APWr., G 5/43, pp. 82–3 (year 1442), p. 94 (year 1460), p. 192 (year 1461); G 5/44, p. 102 (year 1462), p. 210 (year 1463); G 5/45, p. 114 (year 1464); G 5/46, p. 222 (year 1467); Ur.u.R., no. 210, p. 61\* (year 1470); APWr., G 5/48, p. 147 (year 1470), p. 148 (year 1470/1); G 5/49, pp. 104, 126, 128 (year 1471); G 5/55, p. 110 (year 1477); G 5/58, p. 124 (year 1490); G 5/60, p. 169 (year 1492).

<sup>169</sup> APWr., G 5/48, p. 147 (year 1470).

<sup>170</sup> Pfeiffer, *Das Breslauer Patriziat*, 228–30, 234–7, 240–1, 318.

<sup>171</sup> *Ibidem*, 226.

<sup>172</sup> APWr., DmWr., no. 1397.

councillors – Alexius Sachse and Hans Reichel. However, for the later period we can assert the documentation of significantly more than 100 people. Their status was varied. We find, therefore, amongst them twenty-nine representatives of the patriciate (councillors and *Schöffen*), including such trade tycoons as Johann Banke, father, Michael Banke, Hans Hesse and the already mentioned Albrecht Scheurlein.<sup>173</sup> It follows to also mention the chancellor of the Wrocław duchy, Johann Banke, son. Some belonged to patriciate clans, although they did not fulfil any functions in the city (Alexius Mühlheim, Dominic and Niklas Dompnig). Those powerful Wrocław merchants who did not belong to the city authorities also took part in contacts with the merchantry of southern Germany (Andreas Popplau, Hieronimus Rindfleisch, Niklas Diettrich, Kal Kunze, Jorge Zebrecht, and also Peter Mize, who had dual citizenship – of Wrocław and Prague) or the well known agents (Paul Beringer, Johann Liligenstein, Peter Lange). The remaining individuals rather belonged to the less well off strata of Wrocław society like, for example, the furrier Andreas Tinzmann, Bertram Messerer, possibly a cutler by occupation, or the wagoner Janko Schwarz, and others, whose social position I have been unable to determine.

The escalation of upper German expansion in Silesia and neighbouring areas (the Polish kingdom, the Teutonic state) from the end of the fourteenth century as well as the derived intermediacy of merchants from the southern Reich in the trade and credit turnover of Wrocław did not lead to a fall in activity on the part of its merchantry either in the Czech lands or the upper German economic zone, as equally on the Apennine Peninsula. Direct contacts of Wrocławians with Italians were maintained. They continued to travel around the upper German zone looking for, as it seems, new contacts. This appears to be borne out by both the recalled visit of Dompnig to Strasbourg, as equally the letter of the Rhenish palatine and at the same time the duke of Bavaria, Henry XVI to the Wrocław city council (1425).<sup>174</sup> In the

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<sup>173</sup> Others are: Czenke and Franczko Dompnig, Alexius Banke, Niklas Bunzlau, Sigmund Posenau, Peter Rote, Peter Stronichen, Peter Raster *alias* Mühltschreiber, Martin Gossinger, Markus Beckenschloer, Konrad Eisenreich, Anton and Kaspar Horning, Barthel Scheurlein, Michael Utman (before he became a councillor), Niklas Tinzmann, Martin Kurn, Niklas Sittin, Paul Wiener, Niklas Conrad, Thomas Vogel, Melchior Ungeroten, Thomas Saffran. See Stein, *Der Rat*, 285–8 and in the index.

<sup>174</sup> Heinrich informed the councillors that a Wrocław merchant had come to him with accusations that two years earlier a certain wagoner had robbed him in

course of some visits stronger supraeconomic ties were established. For example, in the will of Hieronimus Rindfleisch of 1491 are to be found generous legacies and bequests for Nuremberg ecclesiastical institutions, as well as less generous but also meaningful bequests for individual Nurembergers.<sup>175</sup>

It is obvious that contacts between Wrocław citizens and merchants from the upper German economic area did not only occur in Silesia, Bavaria, Franconia, Swabia or the Austrian lands. Taking into consideration the entire period under research one may say that they were concluded in Prague, Vienna, Venice, and Flanders not to mention the towns of the Polish kingdom. Out of the several dozen western centres taken into consideration for the period under research, an important role was only really played in the central European theatre by Ratisbon, Nuremberg, St Gallen, Vienna, Salzburg, and to a lesser degree Passau, and minimally Ulm. It was Nurembergers who took the victor's palm in post-1420 relations with Wrocław.<sup>176</sup> In this same period a similar, though less intensive and sturdy in terms of capital activity, role was played by the Swiss-Nuremberg company of Diesbach and Watt. The great days of Augsburg were still to come. The remaining centres of the upper German economic area did not play any significant role in the economic history of central Europe (possibly with the exception of Nördlingen, which has been poorly researched within the Wrocław context).

The southern German, Swiss and Austrian cities mentioned played several important parts in the geography of Wrocław's economic contacts. They constituted the source for supply of the Silesian city in their own goods as well as those of foreign and homespun manufacture. They provided generous loans on a scale approaching Venice. At the same time they fulfilled the role of additional intermediary in Wrocławians' contacts with northern Italy. They constituted a source of immigration, from which certain families were to play a eminent role in the economic history of the city. And, last but not least, the centres of the upper German economic area were to be recipients of both

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Bavaria, appropriating his goods ('ein fasslein mit vehrucken und weinlein Paligen', i.e. a cask of wine and wineskin) of a value of allegedly 80 Hung. fl. (APWr., DmWr., no. 1641).

<sup>175</sup> APWr., G 5/59, pp. 163–4. The will was entered into the Wrocław city council register in January 1492.

<sup>176</sup> This problem is dealt with more broadly in: Myśliwski, 'Breslau', 188, 197.

products of Wrocław manufacture as well as those from beyond Silesia itself which passed through the hands of Wrocław intermediaries.

In characterizing the significance of Wrocław for the merchantry of the upper German area it would be possible to once again present everything as if in a mirror image. However, it seems that the most important role played by the Silesian city for Germans from the south of the Reich was its part as one of the main centres of central Europe and as a starting point for economic expansion in this part of the continent (at least for Nuremberg and St Gallen). Wrocław also constituted an important place for the settlement of credit obligations for the merchantry of many towns and countries of central Europe. The role of this Silesian centre grew noticeably in the eyes of upper German merchantry following the outbreak of the Hussite wars and the related fall in the significance of Prague. And therefore, beside the key years of 1335 and 1394 it follows to recognize the year 1420 as one of the most important dates for signalling the chronology and dynamism of Wrocław's and the upper German area's economic relations during the Middle Ages.

*trans. Guy Torr*