

POLISH-FLEMISH TRADE IN THE MIDDLE AGES

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I

POLAND'S MEDIEVAL TRADE ROUTES

Comparatively little is known regarding Poland's foreign trade during the Middle Ages. This obscurity is primarily to be attributed to the inconsiderable amount of source-material handed down to our times. The difficulties arising from this situation are in fact often unsurmountable, and will explain why Polish historiography is rather deficient in works on the subject. Of these perhaps the most worthy of attention are Kutrzeba's study on the trade of Cracow¹ and Charewiczowa's on the commercial relations of Lwów.² The present writer published an essay some years ago which aimed to present an outline of Polish-Flemish commercial relations from the thirteenth to the beginning of the fifteenth century.³ The history of Poland's economic contacts with Flanders would appear to merit closer attention if only because the latter was the principal centre of economic life in Western Europe during medieval times, and virtually the whole of Europe endeavoured to participate in Flemish trade and to extract the greatest profit from such relations. The object of the present article is to sketch the history of the efforts made by the Polish commercial world to secure access to Bruges and the other great centres of trade and handicraft production in old Flanders.

It can be stated that the system of foreign trade in Northern Europe during the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth centuries revolved around the Bruges-Novgorod axis, and consisted in the exchange of Western and Southern European commodities for goods from the north and north-east. The former group of commodities included cloth, salt, wine, and spices from the south-east; north-eastern Europe exported furs, bees-wax, timber and other forest and animal products. During the thirteenth century this trade fell into the hands of the Hanseatic towns who thenceforth jealously guarded their predominant position and offered strenuous resistance to all possible rivals. This system of relations wielded an enormous influence on the directions of trade routes in the whole of Northern Europe, and hence on those utilized by Poland. The Polish territories had fully

entered the system of international commodity exchange current in the thirteenth century, and some authorities even state that as early as the twelfth century Poland was a very important transit country for trade between Eastern and Western, Northern and Southern Europe. The network of commercial arteries traversing the Poland of those times in any case fully corresponded with the exigencies of such intercourse.

The great trade routes in medieval Poland swept from west to east, and from the Baltic to the Black Sea and Hungary. The former were undoubtedly the older, since the north-south and north-southeastern routes were established during the period of Hanseatic supremacy on the shores of the Baltic and the era of prosperity which visited the Italian trading settlements in the Crimea and at the mouth of the Don. One of the oldest of the trade routes traversing Poland led from England through Flanders and western Germany to Frankfurt-on-the-Oder, and thence by way of Międzyrzecz, Poznań, Gniezno and Włocławek to Danzig.⁴ This route bifurcated in Saxony, where a branch passed through Kottbus, Guben and Poznań to Danzig.⁵ Both routes, however, lost their importance as early as the thirteenth century. At about the same time another great route sprang into prominence — running from Italy through Austria, Bohemia, and Silesia to Wrocław (Breslau), where it connected with a route from Germany penetrating through Cracow and Ruthenia to the Euxine and the Sea of Azov.

The oldest north-south route was that which ran from Toruń via Bobrowniki to Płock and Kazimierz-on-the-Vistula, and thence by way of Lublin and Chełm to Włodzimierz Wołyński (Vladimir-Volynski).⁶ It was in all probability already in operation in the thirteenth century. Somewhat later, another route was opened up; it also issued from Toruń but led to Lwów and not to Włodzimierz, passing through Brześć Kujawski, Łowicz, Rawa, Radom, Opatów, Sandomierz, Rzeszów, Lubaczów and Gródek.⁷ In addition there was the 'New Route'

¹ S. Kutrzeba, 'Handel Krakowa w wiekach średnich' (Cracow's Trade in the Middle Ages), *Rozprawy Polskiej Akademii Umiejętności* (Publications of the Polish Academy of Sciences), Philosophy and History Series, Cracow 1903, Vol. 44; and id., *Handel Krakowa ze wschodem*, Cracow 1903.

² Charewiczowa, *Handel średniowiecznego Lwowa* (The Trade of Medieval Lwów), Lwów 1923.

³ Małowist, 'Le développement des rapports économiques entre la Flandre, la Pologne et les Pays limitrophes du XII-e

au XIV siècle', *Revue belge de Philologie et d'Histoire*, Brussels 1932, Vol. X.

⁴ Haepke, *Brügges Entwicklung zum mittelalterlichen Weltmarkt*, Berlin 1908, p. 36.

⁵ *Codex diplomaticus Maioris Poloniae*, Poznań 1867, Vol. I, No. 237.

⁶ *Hansisches Urkundenbuch*, Halle 1882-86, Vol. III, No. 559, List of Polish customs houses in 1350-60.

⁷ Ibid.

from Toruń to Lwów, mentioned by King Casimir the Great in a charter issued in the middle of the fourteenth century. This route, probably first used just before the royal charter was issued, linked up Brześć Kujawski, Przemyśl, Łęczyca, Inowrocław, Opoczno, Radom, Opatów, Sandomierz, Jarosław and Przemyśl.⁸ On the whole, however, these commercial highways differed but little amongst themselves, for they all served to join the Baltic with the Black Sea. Their southern extensions were no less important. The 'Prussian Route' left the Ruthenian highway at Łęczyca, passed through Piotrków to Cracow, and then ran on through Nowy Sącz to Košice, in Hungary. Another branch led from Sandomierz to Żmigród and Dukla to Bardiów.⁹ This network of commercial arteries afforded regular communication with Ruthenia, Tartary and Hungary. Other, less important routes joined Toruń with Wrocław.¹⁰

All the above-mentioned routes took no account of the inland waterways of the country. Medieval Poland had no commercial waterways of international importance. The Vistula played virtually no part in foreign trade, chiefly because the volume of the

principal commodities in relation to value was so small (cloth, copper, spices, etc.) that transport by land was not over-expensive. Moreover, the Vistula froze over in winter, and navigation during the spring floods was far from safe. The Vistula was not transformed into an important channel of communication until the development of the timber and corn trade in the sixteenth century.

From the above cursory review of Poland's medieval trade it is clear that the foreign trade borne along the commercial arteries was markedly transit in character. The task facing the Polish merchants was to take advantage of Poland's unusually favourable geographical situation in this respect. This, however, was no simple matter. There were enormous difficulties to be overcome and, as we shall see later in this article, the Poles had to contend with powerful rivals — competitors who enjoyed at once infinitely greater financial resources and, for many years, crushing political predominance. They checkmated Poland's efforts to act as an intermediary in the wide stream of commercial intercourse between Tartary, Hungary and Flanders.

II

RISE OF POLISH-FLEMISH COMMERCIAL RELATIONS

SILESIAN TRADE

The absence of original source-materials makes it impossible to determine precisely when Poland first entered into direct commercial relations with Western Europe. It will therefore be necessary to adopt some more or less well founded hypotheses. One of these, proposed by K. Maleczyński, suggests that Polish merchants journeyed to Western Europe as early as the thirteenth century when they visited the fairs of the Champagne country.¹¹ He supports his supposition by reference to the archives of the Archbishop of Cologne under the year 1251, where mention is made that merchants from Bohemia, Poland and other neighbouring countries were forbidden to continue their journeys westwards from Cologne.¹² Maleczyński's contention does not appear to be fully acceptable, however, in that the thirteenth century archi-episcopal record is supported by no evidence from other sources that Poland traded direct with Western Europe at that early epoch. Such distant ventures were then extremely hazardous and required considerable pecuniary outlays which the Polish merchants had great difficulty in meeting, even in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Of course it is not impossible that Polish merchants made sporadic journeys to the markets of Western Europe, and in this connexion the Wrocław traders primarily enter into consideration. There is reliable evidence that the capital of Silesia maintained commercial relations with thirteenth century Flanders, great quantities of cloth being imported¹³ from the principal textile centres — Bruges, Poperinghe, Ypres, Ghent, Malines, Courtrai, Brussels, Louvain, etc.¹⁴ In many cases the cloth was imported in an unfinished state and

was finally processed by the shearmen of Wrocław¹⁵ — presumably in order to reduce costs, as the Flemish artisans received much higher wages than their Silesian colleagues. Great quantities of Flemish cloth were sold in Wrocław as the Silesian capital maintained extensive and animated commercial relations with other regions of Europe.

Only a part of the products imported by Wrocław from Flanders was absorbed by local buyers; probably most of the goods in question ultimately found their way to Central Poland, Ruthenia, Bohemia and Austria. It is difficult to state what other goods, apart from cloth, were brought to Silesia from Flanders, but we may assume that they comprised Spanish, French, Italian and Greek wines, as also other western and southern produce. Still greater uncertainty exists as to the nature of the goods exported by Silesia to Flanders, as no direct indications have been handed down for our enlightenment in this respect. Goods imported by Flanders are cited in a document drawn up at the end of the thirteenth century, and this record *inter alia* contains the following mention: 'dou Royaume de Polane vient or et argent en plate, cire, vairs et gris (skins and furs) et coivre (copper).'¹⁶ Many historians consider that the chronicler was in error when he included gold and silver ware as Polish goods imported by Flanders; it is maintained that in reality these must have been of Hungarian provenance and had merely passed through Poland in transit.¹⁷ This contention has already been opposed by the present writer in a previous work, in which the following counter-arguments were advanced:¹⁸ (1) Noble and semi-base metals extracted in Silesia were still an object of trade during the second half

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Kutrzeba, *Handel Krakowa w wiekach średnich*, p. 8.

¹⁰ *Hansisches Urkundenbuch*, Vol. III, No. 559.

¹¹ K. Maleczyński, *Najstarsze targi w Polsce i stosunek ich do miast przed kolonizacją na prawie niemieckim* (The Earliest Fairs in Poland and their Relation to the Towns prior to Settlement based on German Law), Lwów 1926.

¹² Ibid.

¹³ *Codex diplomaticus Silesiae*, Breslau 1867, Vol. VIII, No. 4. The act of 1303 regulates the retail sale of cloth. Mention is also made of cloth from Ghent and Ypres.

¹⁴ Ibid. and No. 39, Act of 1360.

¹⁵ *Codex diplomaticus Silesiae*, Vol. VIII, No. 78. Kladerbuch.

¹⁶ *Hansisches Urkundenbuch*, Vol. III, No. 624.

¹⁷ Kutrzeba, op. cit., p. 22.

¹⁸ Małowist, op. cit., p. 8.

of the fourteenth century, when they were exported to Bohemia; there were large stocks of copper, certainly from the Silesian mines, on the Wrocław market at the time.¹⁹ (2) The name 'Polane', signifying Silesia, appears in some sources as late as the latter half of the fourteenth century.²⁰ This is quite understandable when it is considered that Silesia ceased to be an integral part of the Polish State only at the beginning of that century. It appears, therefore, that the reference in the list of Flemish imports is reliable and corresponds to the state of affairs then current. Thus at the end of the thirteenth century Poland exported to Flanders not only furs and bees-wax but also copper, gold and silver of Silesian origin.

Transit trade did of course exist, and comprised goods transported from the Italian trading settlements on the Euxine and on the Sea of Azov (cotton, pepper, etc.).²¹ In all probability Wrocław, as the largest commercial centre in Poland, carried on a lively export to Flanders. But this does not imply that the merchants of Wrocław necessarily had direct commercial relations with that part of Europe. The distance between the two regions was a considerable one for those times, and the journey both risky and expensive. Such considerations were probably sufficient to discourage the merchants of Wrocław from direct, active participation in trade with Flanders. They evidently preferred to leave this function to foreign traders; in recompense the Wrocław merchants barred such traders from proceeding farther south and strove to maintain the retail trade as their local monopoly.²²

The tendency to introduce the principles of staple trade actually provoked a sharp conflict with the Prussian towns towards the end of the fourteenth century.²³ The outcome was unfavourable for the Silesian metropolis, which was obliged to content itself thenceforth with the restricted application of staple rights. Foreigners continued to play a dominant rôle in Silesian-Flemish trade during the second half of the fourteenth century. The prolonged wars between Poland and the Teutonic Order in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries must have proved detrimental to Silesia's trade with Flanders, if only because of the dislocation of communications with Danzig and Toruń.²⁴ Since staple trade was also enforced at Frankfurt-on-the-Oder, the Wrocław merchants had only one route available for dealings with Flanders — that by way of Leipzig and Erfurt. It is not known, however, whether advantage was taken of this amenity. In any case, if the Wrocławers did journey to Flanders in the fifteenth century, such ventures were very few and far between. The best proof of the city's small share in direct trade with Flanders is afforded by its slight interest in the affairs of the Hanseatic League. Thus Wrocław sent no delegates to the assemblies of the Hansa, where the Prussian merchants at times represented its commercial interests.²⁵

The foregoing remarks serve to indicate that Silesia's trade with Flanders was not a major item in the economic life of these regions. Direct business relations were undeveloped, but Wrocław had some standing as a capacious market for Flemish cloth.

III

PRUSSIAN TRADE WITH FLANDERS AND POLAND

LÜBECK TRADE AT THE VISTULA MOUTH

The importance of Polish territories as a transit area has already been pointed to. This function was realized by the Hansa merchants as early as the thirteenth century. It may be surmised that the support lent to the Teutonic Order by the Lübeckers was not designed solely to extend the sphere and scope of their influence on the Baltic; they were quite evidently desirous also of penetrating inland to the basins of the Vistula and the Niemen. At first the influence of the Lübeck merchants at the mouth of both rivers was very strong, and in 1242 they received a charter from the Teutonic Order empowering them to found a town at the mouth of the Pregola,²⁶ probably in connexion with the export of amber. The project, however, was never realized. The Lübeckers entered into touch with the dukes of Pomerania somewhat later and subsequently with some of the Polish princes. In every case they met with a favourable reception: from the rulers of Pomerania they were granted considerable reductions in customs dues,²⁷ while Ladislas the Short gave them extensive

rights in the hope that Lübeck would furnish him with financial help for the prosecution of the war with the Teutonic Order. He granted the right of passage through Poland to the merchants of the Hansa in 1296; two years later he exempted them from the payment of customs dues, besides assuring them security of trade and transit and relinquishing his rights as sovereign to the property of ship-wrecked mariners. In addition, he permitted the Hansa to establish a warehouse in Danzig; this *palladium* was to serve as a kind of Hanseatic trading post, enjoying both the right of sanctuary and its own judicial system.²⁸ Although the plan failed to materialize, it serves to indicate the general tendency of the Lübeckers to gain control over the mouth of Poland's principal waterway. Their anxiety to secure transit rights through Poland was probably the expression of their aspiration to establish contacts with Hungary, Ruthenia and the Italian settlements on the Black Sea and at the mouth of the Don. The consummation of these intentions, by promoting them to the position of middlemen between the Asiatic East and Western Europe, would

¹⁹ *Codex diplomaticus Silesiae*, Vol. XX, No. 39.

²⁰ Peter Suchenwirt, Von Herzog Albrechts Ritterschaft, *Scriptores Rer. Pruss.*, Vol. II, p. 161.

²¹ *Hansisches Urkundenbuch*, Vol. III, No. 559. Polish customs duty tables of 1350-60 record that such goods were transported from Wrocław to Prussia whence some of them were possibly carried to Flanders.

²² *Codex diplomaticus Silesiae*, Vol. VIII, No. 39. Staple rights of 1360.

²³ Malowist, op. cit., pp. 10-11. *Hansisches Urkundenbuch*,

Vol. IV, Nos. 810, 818, 830.

²⁴ Malowist, op. cit., p. 11.

²⁵ *Hansisches Urkundenbuch*, Vol. III, No. 285. Toruń proposed in 1360 that Wrocław and Cracow should draw up a detailed account of their losses suffered in Flanders.

²⁶ Voigt, *Codex diplomaticus Prussicus*, Vol. I, No. 66.

²⁷ Hirsch, *Danzigs Handels- und Gewerbeschichte unter der Herrschaft des Deutschen Ordens*, Berlin 1858, p. 6.

²⁸ *Codex diplomaticus Maioris Poloniae*, Vol. II, Nos. 792, 793. Ladislas the Short's acts of 1296 and 1298.

have been an enormous gain to the Lübeck merchants, and would have still further re-inforced their predominance on the markets of Flanders. Lübeck could then have seriously challenged the economic supremacy of Venice and Genoa in Europe. But the rapid development of the Prussian towns and the seizure of Pomerania by the Teutonic Order effectively destroyed all chances of Lübeck's expansion at the mouth of the Vistula. The merchants of Toruń and of the other towns under the Order took over the ambitious plans of the Lübeckers.

PRUSSIAN TRADE WITH FLANDERS AND POLAND

The development of the Prussian towns under the rule of the Order was remarkably rapid, owing to the favourable geographical situation enjoyed by Toruń, Danzig and Elbing, their adherence to the Hanseatic League, and to the protection of the Teutonic Order which on many occasions found means of exacting commercial rights and privileges for its subjects. The three towns began to assume an important rôle in Hanseatic affairs and in the trade of Northern Europe. Merchants from Toruń appeared in Bruges in 1280²⁹ and shortly afterwards were already taking a lively share in Flemish trade. The Elbing traders remained rather less prominent and we first hear of their visiting Bruges in the year 1295.³⁰ The Danzigers were not outdistanced in this respect, but it must be borne in mind that their type of trade was fundamentally different from that pursued by Toruń and Elbing.

Whilst the Danzig merchants concentrated all their efforts on maritime trade, their colleagues in Toruń and Elbing earned their livelihood by dealing with the extensive hinterland served by them. The inhabitants of Toruń already maintained animated relations with Poland in about 1240,³¹ and we may assume therefore that they were interested in the trade route leading to Hungary or Ruthenia.³² The Toruń merchants secured right of passage through Poland in 1286,³³ and it can now be taken as certain that they were concerned with reaching Hungary and Ruthenia. Simultaneously with this advance they succeeded in establishing direct relations with Flanders. It would seem, therefore, that the Prussian merchants were already at this time planning to become the sole middlemen in trade between Tartary and Hungary on the one hand and Flanders on the other, the more so that their geographical situation certainly favoured such ambitious aspirations.

The war between Poland and the Teutonic Order, by putting enormous difficulties in the way of communication with the interior of Poland, had adverse repercussions on the economic fortunes of Toruń and Elbing. This state of affairs endured until the Peace of Kalisz, concluded by Casimir the Great in 1343, brought better times for the merchants of the two cities. The King of Poland, perceiving that there was no immediate hope of retrieving Pomerania, and well aware of the benefits to be secured by gaining control of the routes to the Crimea and the mouth of the Don river, launched in 1345 his campaign for the annexation of Red Ruthenia (Red Russia); in the

same year he took steps to encourage the Toruń merchants to include Ruthenia in their itineraries and saw to it that they were assured safety of person and merchandise on the way and during the sojourn at their destinations.³⁴ Casimir planned to increase the volume of his customs receipts in this manner, and at the same time to invigorate and extend Polish trade. His policies soon yielded fruit: the Royal Treasury profited gratifyingly, and so did the merchants of Toruń who flocked to Ruthenia, and especially to Lwów, in great numbers. These enterprising traders actually made determined efforts to reach the distant 'lands of Tartary', or rather the Italian settlements at Tanais and Kaffa. Toruń's trade reached its zenith in the middle of the fourteenth century. The citizens of the town not only secured extensive rights in the Kingdom of Poland but also managed to consolidate their position in Flanders. Thus on the reorganization of the Hanseatic factory at Bruges in 1347 the Prussian towns were included in the Westphalian-Prussian quarter.³⁵ It is true that Cologne and Dortmund were at first supreme in this region, but as the Westphalian towns withdrew from trade within the Hanseatic system soon after, the Prussian merchants were left in undisturbed possession of the field.³⁶ Thenceforth Danzig and Toruń exercised more and more influence on the policies of the Hansa. Elbing and Chełmno, on the other hand, abandoned large-scale trading during the latter half of the fourteenth century and so lost all significance in the domain of international commodity exchange. Splendid prospects of becoming the sole middlemen in the trade between Flanders and the Black Sea and Azov trading depôts now opened up for the merchant adventurers of Toruń. The fulfilment of these aims required, however, that Poland should assume a state of economic passivity, but it so happened that the reign of Casimir the Great ushered in the beginnings of very rapid economic development.

COMMERCIAL ACTIVITIES OF THE TEUTONIC ORDER

No description of the Prussian towns would be complete without some mention of the commercial activities of the Teutonic Order. The Order had an excellent organization for the conduct of trade, directed by two Schäffer — one at Malborg and the other at Königsberg. The Order's commercial turnovers were pre-eminently based on the export of corn grown on the warrior-knights' estates at the mouth of the Vistula. Ligger, the commercial representative of the Order at Bruges, sold Prussian farm produce and bought cloth, salt, spices and other commodities. Much amber was sent from Königsberg to Bruges. Both stewards maintained relations with Lwów and so competed with the burgher merchants. The members of the Hansa bore this with patience as the Order was their semi-official protector; but the steady growth in the commercial turnovers of the Order provoked grave dissatisfaction amongst the Prussian merchant class towards the end of the fourteenth century. In later times, however, during the wars with Poland in the first half of the fourteenth century, the volume of trade effected by the Order declined to a minimum.³⁷

²⁹ Haepke, op. cit., p. 91.

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ *Codex diplomaticus Prussicus*, Vol. I, No. 90.

³² Ibid.

³³ *Codex diplomaticus Poloniae*, Vol. II, No. 130.

³⁴ *Hansisches Urkundenbuch*, Vol. III, No. 147, p. 28.

³⁵ Haepke, op. cit., pp. 112 foll.

³⁶ Ibid., pp. 90-91.

³⁷ 'Der Handel des Deutschen Ordens in Preussen zur Zeit seiner Blüte', *Hansische Geschichtsblätter*, Leipzig 1877.

IV

POLISH-FLEMISH TRADE IN THE XIV AND XV CENTURIES

CONDITIONS FOR DEVELOPMENT OF POLAND'S FOREIGN TRADE IN THE XIV AND XV CENTURIES

We have so far dealt only with the commercial relations of Flanders with Prussia and Silesia — provinces which had not, at the beginning of the fourteenth century, been restored to the resurgent Kingdom of Poland. It has been shown likewise how important were the territories of Poland for Prussian and Silesian trade in view of their geographical situation: trade with Poland herself, however, was not so attractive to the Prussian and Silesian merchants as the transit facilities which that country offered. The merchants sought in such wise to establish direct contacts with Hungary and Ruthenia, and the Polish rulers at the turn of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries showed themselves on the whole favourably disposed to this transit traffic, for they appreciated that it greatly swelled the revenue accruing from the customs duties. The commercial policies of the Kings of Poland at this epoch, as in the whole of medieval Europe, were based solely on fiscal considerations. This situation, however, could not endure indefinitely; sooner or later Polish merchants were bound to appear and, in the pursuance of their own policies, could not but put forward their claims and postulates. In fact, this happened towards the end of the era of regional particularism in Poland, during the reigns of the last two kings of the Piast dynasty. The cities began to make rapid progress as early as the middle of the thirteenth century; the influx of German immigrants undoubtedly gave an impulse to this development, but favourable geographical location was one of the most vital conditions and whenever Polish or alien settlers decided to found a city they naturally chose a site which afforded guarantees of commercial progress. Hence, too, the enormous influx of foreigners to Cracow, Lwów and the other South Polish and Ruthenian towns lying on the routes to Hungary and the Black Sea. Hungary exported large quantities of Slovakian copper, whilst relations with the Italian settlements on the Euxine opened up alluring prospects of participation in the Levant trade.

Not all of Poland was so felicitously situated from the point of view of international trade in medieval times; the country in this respect was divisible into two zones — a northern and a southern zone. The latter offered much greater facilities for trade owing to the proximity of Hungary and the Black Sea countries. Southern Poland's foreign trade coupled with that of Ruthenia was primarily one of transit during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. It follows that every major disturbance in the general political or economic structure of Europe of necessity reacted adversely on the prosperity of the towns of southern Poland and of Ruthenia. The northern provinces of Poland, on the other hand, were in quite a different position. They had no maritime port of their own and so lacked convenient connexions with the principal trade routes from Western Europe to Russia; moreover, owing to their distance from the southern commercial centres of the country, the possibility of developing transit traffic inevitably

remained a secondary consideration. Northern Poland at the turn of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries still produced no commodity which could serve as a staple product assuring it any standing in the great markets of the world. It was only in later years, with the rapid development of agriculture, that a growth in foreign trade was accelerated. Prior to then, during the fourteenth century, such commerce was of very minor importance in the economic life of Great Poland and Kuiavia.

SOUTH POLAND'S TRADE WITH FLANDERS

The available information on the foreign trade of southern Poland during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries is extremely sparse. It is certain, however, that the Cracovian merchants already traded with Hungary at that era. Cracow's receipt of 'Magdeburg' rights in 1257 and its subsequent personal union with Bohemia contributed to bring about a tremendous development in its trade, as the merchants of the city thereby secured better contacts with Southern Europe. This auspicious state of affairs continued during the first few years of the reign of Ladislas the Short, and prosperity was in particular assured when the latter granted Cracow staple rights in 1306. It would appear from the text of his charter that the burgesses of Cracow sought to secure a monopoly of the Hungarian copper export trade to Northern Europe.³⁸ It is probable that the Cracovians already traded with Flanders at that early period; we do not know, however, whether they actually journeyed thither themselves or whether they utilized the services of the Toruń merchants as middlemen. The latter must in any case have been more frequently the practice since the long journey to Bruges required a considerable outlay of money and was much more hazardous. It is recorded that a party of Cracovian merchants proceeded to Bruges in 1310 by way of the Vistula and via Danzig.³⁹ Quite possibly such undertakings were of more frequent occurrence but we have no evidence to confirm this supposition.

Cracow enjoyed its staple rights for barely two years. The burgesses of southern Poland engineered an uprising against the King, and when Ladislas the Short crushed the revolt he deprived the capital of many of its previous rights and privileges. Further, he lent his support to the smaller towns and in particular favoured Nowy Sącz, permitting the merchants of that city to use the Dunajec and the Vistula as a waterway to Danzig, and empowering them to organize an annual eight-day fair (July 13—20).⁴⁰ Menacing though these steps were to the trade of Cracow, they apparently gave rise to no serious consequences; Casimir the Great, Ladislas's successor, reverted in fact to the old policy of supporting the trade of the capital. Nor could such disturbances impede the continued development of Cracow's trade. Its burghers went more and more often to Flanders in pursuit of their commercial ventures. Galhardus de Carceribus, the Papal nuncio, handed the sums collected as Peter's Pence in Poland to Nicholas Viarsing and Wigand of Lubczyce in 1335 so that they could deposit the money

³⁸ *Codex diplomaticus Civitatis Cracoviensis*, Vol. I, No. 44.

³⁹ Kutrzeba, op. cit. p. 22.

⁴⁰ *Codex diplomaticus Minoris Poloniae*, Volume I, Numbers 160, 173.

with the Italian bankers at Bruges.⁴¹ Other merchants undertook a similar mission in 1348.⁴² The performance of such services for the Nuncio was of course only an incidental purpose of the journey and it can be confidently surmised that the Cracovian merchants carried goods for sale in Bruges where they purchased other commodities. Rather later sources permit us to state with absolute certainty that cloth manufactured in Bruges, Ypres, Ghent, Malines, Brabant and Wallonia was easily the chief article imported by Cracow from Flanders.⁴³ As in the case of Wrocław, the cloth was imported in an unfinished state for the most part.⁴⁴ In addition, Grenadan, southern French and Greek (Malvoisie) wines and other Western products were imported from Flanders.⁴⁵ Only a part of these goods was consumed in Cracow, the remainder being exported to Hungary and Ruthenia. We lack details concerning Cracow's export trade to Flanders but it is almost certain that Hungarian copper, Hungarian and Polish lead, gold and silver, silks, pepper, saffron, ginger, furs, etc., were sold to Flanders.⁴⁶ These data refer to the year 1403, however, and some slight inaccuracies are therefore possible. We must again stress the transit character of Cracow's export trade with the Flemish market. In any case it is certain that Polish produce (bees-wax, timber, hides, meat, etc.) was of minor importance in the trade and that Hungarian copper was the chief commodity dealt in.⁴⁷

It has already been stated that Casimir the Great had more understanding for the needs of the towns than his predecessors. Nevertheless, at the beginning of his reign he based his commercial policy on fiscal considerations, and encouraged the Prussian merchants to visit Poland and the newly acquired Ruthenian territories.⁴⁸ But shortly after 1350 the King radically changed his policy. He determined to take advantage of the fact that the overland routes to the Black Sea lay under his control and to make Cracow a great emporium acting as an intermediary between Western Europe, Hungary and the East.⁴⁹ There is no evidence to show whether the King conceived this idea himself or whether it was suggested to him by the wealthy burgesses of Cracow: in any case, he began to realize it with great energy. The merchants of Toruń soon felt the painful effect of the new policy. Customs duties were raised and the conditions of safety on the roads greatly deteriorated;⁵⁰ Poland could not openly declare economic war as this would have roused the Teutonic Order to intervene on behalf of its subjects. Casimir showed no less energy in his dealings with the merchants of Wrocław, whom he wished to exclude from the Ruthenian lands. Here, too, he practised chicanery and obstruction,⁵¹ and when the Silesians protested he affirmed that the Ruthenian trade routes had been conquered by him for the good of his own subjects.⁵² This frank and interesting declaration indicates that

for the first time in Polish history we are dealing with a consciously conceived and executed commercial policy.

Casimir's ambitious plan did not, however, withstand the test of life. Neither the Prussians nor the Silesians were prepared to resign from the territories they had selected for their economic expansion. The Teutonic Order met the situation by concluding a treaty with the Grand Duke of Lithuania, whereby the Prussian merchants were permitted to cross Lithuania in transit to the Black Sea coast (1355).⁵³ This effective counter-stroke forced Casimir to abandon his design, since he feared that the treaty would deprive Poland of her privileged position as a transit country. The project for making Cracow the intermediary between Hungary, the Black Sea countries and Western Europe (particularly Flanders) had to await a more auspicious opportunity; its realization would, indeed, have evoked fundamental and far-reaching changes in the structure of the commercial relations of medieval Europe.

Data are lacking on Cracow's trade with Flanders during the second half of Casimir's reign and that of his successor, Louis of Hungary. We know, however, that in this period Cracow further consolidated its hold over trade with Hungary and Ruthenia; the prosperity of the city grew steadily and with it the aspiration to overcome the predominance of the Toruń merchants who barred access to the Baltic and continued to compete with Cracow for the foreign trade of Hungary. But for the time being there was no hope of eliminating or mastering the power of the Prussian traders; the latter were shielded by the might of the Teutonic Order, whilst the rulers of Poland were aware that the time was not yet ripe for a decisive settlement of the deep-rooted conflict between the Order and Poland. Thus the fate of Cracow's trade became inextricably bound up with the great political problems presented by the Teutonic Order. For this reason, the coronation of Ladislas Jagiello as King of Poland and consort of Queen Jadwiga, as also the Polish-Lithuanian Union, had not only far-reaching political but also economic consequences. The predominance of the Order over its southern neighbours was thereby seriously undermined. Poland's new monarch initiated a bolder line of policy, and in 1387 the Cracow merchants recovered all their rights of staple trade both as regards the competition of Prussian and of Silesian traders.⁵⁴ Some years later, an agreement was concluded whereby the 'Flanders Road' was inaugurated; the new route branched off from the old one at Łęczyca, thence ran along the Warta and the Oder to Stettin, Anklam, Wolgast and to the other nearby ports on the Baltic.⁵⁵ The promoters of the scheme, in all probability members of the commercial classes, desired in this manner to avoid Toruń, to secure free access to the Baltic and thus to Flanders. The plan yielded no results as the new route was too roundabout and arduous; but

⁴¹ Kutrzeba, *Wzrost w historii gospodarczej Polski* (The Vistula in the Economic History of Poland), Lublin 1918, p. 53.

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ *Codex diplomaticus Civitatis Cracoviensis*, Part. 2, Nos. 2, 62.

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ *Hansisches Urkundenbuch*, Vol. IV, Nos. 1017, 1018, 1034. Agreement between Poland and West Pomerania in 1390 relating to the 'Road to Flanders'.

⁴⁶ Toeppen, *Acten der Ständetage Ost- und Westpreussens*, Vol. I, No. 66. Decree issued by the Grand Master in 1403 relating to the Prussian ports and directed against Cracow's trade.

⁴⁷ *Hansisches Urkundenbuch*, Vol. IV, Nos. 1017, 1018, 1034.

⁴⁸ Ibid., p. 10; and Vol. III, Nos. 156, 159, 171.

⁴⁹ Kutrzeba, *Handel Krakowa w wiekach średnich*, p. 30.

⁵⁰ *Hansisches Urkundenbuch*, Vol. III, No. 532.

⁵¹ Ibid., Vol. III, Nos. 231, 287.

⁵² Ibid., Vol. III, No. 231. The King of Poland is presumed to have said: 'se terram Russye propriis suis hominibus expugnasse et quod illa via solum suis hominibus et mercatoribus patere debet'.

⁵³ Ibid., Vol. III, Nos. 347, 532.

⁵⁴ *Codex diplomaticus Civitatis Cracoviensis*, Part. 2, No. 63.

⁵⁵ *Hansisches Urkundenbuch*, Vol. IV, Nos. 1017, 1018, 1021, 1034. Agreements concluded in 1390 between Bogusław, Duke of Pomerania, and his towns.

the very fact that this treaty was signed in 1390 shows how greatly Poland prized her commercial relations with Flanders.

The merchants of Toruń endeavoured to oppose such action of their Cracow colleagues and in 1403 secured staple rights from the Grand Master of the Order for all Hungarian products passing through their territory in transit from Poland.⁵⁶ The Cracovians tried every means to evade the workings of the staple system, but there can be no doubt that the rivalry with Toruń greatly hindered the normal development of trade with Flanders. In spite of this, the merchants of Poland's former capital visited Flanders more and more often at the turn of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Special companies were formed for trade with that distant land in order to reduce the risk run by individual merchants. Sometimes several companies would send a single representative to Flanders and so reduce their travelling expenses. A large part of the goods bought at Bruges was sent through Cracow to Košice,⁵⁷ then the principal centre for Polish-Hungarian trade. In fact, this period was marked by the closest economic relations between southern Poland and Flanders. Poland's decisive victory over the forces of the Teutonic Order at the Battle of Tannenberg (Grunwald) stirred up tremendous enthusiasm amongst the burghers of Cracow: they probably expected to gain unhindered access to the Baltic as a result. Yet their hopes were doomed to disappointment. The victorious outcome of the great war in 1410, though it broke the power of the Order, merely inaugurated a protracted war of attrition between Poland and the Knights. The duel lasted until 1466 (Second Peace of Toruń) and placed enormous obstacles in the way of all communications with the Baltic coast. The Cracow merchants became more than ever disinclined to undertake the long and costly journey to Flanders. Whilst trading expeditions to Flanders and back had been successfully undertaken from time to time during the first half of the fifteenth century, absolutely none were made in later times⁵⁸ — this as a result not only of the wars between Poland and the Teutonic Order but in even greater measure of the fundamental change in the commercial relations of Europe. For Bruges lost its former significance during the latter half of the fifteenth century and the centre of international commodity exchange was transferred to Antwerp. The Flemish cloth trade declined and was supplanted by that of its Dutch rivals, particularly with regard to the Baltic countries. The situation of the Cracow merchants also took a turn for the worse. Nuremberg ousted them from the Hungarian market, whilst a sudden and sharp decrease in the output of Hungarian copper struck a heavy blow at the bases of Cracow's trade. Flanders was no longer attractive to the Cracovians and it proved necessary to seek fresh fields of economic activity.

We know little about commercial relations between Flanders and the smaller towns of southern Poland. Nowy Sącz was in direct contact with Prussia at the end of the thirteenth century: timber and small shipments of copper were drifted down the rivers to that market.⁵⁹ It does not seem likely that

the commercial aspirations of Nowy Sącz aimed farther than this, and the city presumably purchased its supplies of Western European products through Cracow or Toruń and not direct from Flanders.

Resuming the foregoing, it is necessary to stress the transit character of South Poland's trade with Flanders. The merchants of Cracow were extremely anxious to establish and consolidate commercial relations with Flanders — then the economic centre of Northern and Western Europe. In this they failed, in spite of the help given them by the rulers of Poland, owing to the effective counteraction of Toruń backed by the powerful support of the Teutonic Order. The absence of unhindered access to the Baltic was the supreme factor weakening Poland's commercial status. Relations between South Poland and Flanders were most intimate during the closing years of the fourteenth and the opening years of the fifteenth century. Then decline set in, occasioned by the difficulties of communication and by the basic changes in the trade of Northern Europe.

RUTHENIAN TRADE

The foreign trade of the Red Ruthenian (Red Russian) territories and of Wołyń (Volhynia) was similar to that of southern Poland in structure, and it was likewise characteristically transit in nature.

The largest commercial centre in Ruthenia during the thirteenth and the early fourteenth century was Włodzimierz Wołyński (Vladimir Volynski). We have already drawn attention to the trade routes connecting this town with the Genoese and Venetian settlements on the Black Sea. Its geographical location was therefore favourable and its commercial development should have been rapid. The first indication of relations with Flanders dates back to the year 1324.⁶⁰ Probably the Prussians acted as middlemen in this trade, but in the absence of reliable data we cannot be certain of this.

The trade of Włodzimierz Wołyński was rapidly declining by the middle of the fourteenth century owing to the keen competition of Lwów. The latter city had been granted the extensive local-government rights known as the 'Magdeburg Law' on its incorporation with Poland, and it received staple rights in 1372, although with the reservation that it was not to hinder the operations of other Polish and Hungarian merchants.⁶¹ Eight years later, however, even this condition was removed: all outside merchants passing through Lwów on their way to the East or on the return journey were obliged to call a halt at that city and publicly to offer their goods for sale during the term of fourteen days, after which they were permitted to proceed on their way.⁶² Some time later, the Lwów merchants attempted to lay an embargo on other persons trading with the 'Tartar lands'; but the opposition of the Cracovian merchants proved too strong and the former were forced to abandon their plan, especially when a verdict of the Royal Tribunal of Justice declared against it. The city still enjoyed its rights of staple trade inasmuch as these applied to the route leading to the mouth of the Don, but the Cracovians were allowed to use the south-eastern route running through Moldavia to

⁵⁶ Małowist, *op. cit.*, pp. 35-36.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 36-37.

⁵⁸ Kutrzeba, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

⁵⁹ *Codex diplomaticus Civitatis Cracoviensis*, Part. 1, Nos. 4.

²⁹ Cracow issued staple rights to prevent this (1306, 1354).

⁶⁰ Haepke, *op. cit.*, p. 105, footnote 4.

⁶¹ Kutrzeba, *Handel Krakowa ze wschodem*, *op. cit.*, p. 109.

⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 110.

Kaffa (Feodozia).⁶³ The latter trading centre became of paramount importance after Tanais and Astrakhan had been sacked by Tamerlane: these former flourishing commercial settlements never recovered, the trade being transferred to Kaffa and the Italian ports of Cetatea Alba (Akkerman) and Chilia. The Lwów merchants secured far-reaching privileges from the rulers of the Danubian principalities in 1390 and 1407,⁶⁴ and strove to concentrate the whole of Moldavia's export to Western Europe in their own hands. But the firm opposition of the Cracovians prevented these plans from materializing.

Lwów early realized the importance of the south-eastern lands served by it and concentrated all its efforts upon trade with those regions. This proved detrimental to trade with Western Europe, in which field the Lwów merchants showed little initiative. There are no records of trading expeditions being undertaken from Lwów to Flanders, and in all probability Flemish goods were imported through the mediation of the Prussian, Wrocław and Cracovian merchants. Customs tariff lists issued by Casimir the Great in about 1360 indicate that Lwów was supplied by the Toruń merchants with cloth from Bruges, Poperinghe and the other Flemish towns.⁶⁵ Much of this cloth was presumably sold to customers from the East, mainly to Armenians from Cetatea Alba and Kaffa:⁶⁶ the Armenians supplying Lwów with pepper, ginger, saffron and other spices, and with Oriental fabrics which were then exported in great quantities to Prussia,⁶⁷ and probably also to Flanders, where bees-wax from Lwów was also in great demand.⁶⁸ All these observations show that the trade of Lwów was eminently a transit one and that the burgesses of the town scrupulously took full advantage of their favourable geographical position. But it would be wrong to suppose that Lwów exercised any major influence on the capacious Flemish market. The great majority of the Oriental and Near Eastern goods reached Bruges not via Lwów but through the mediation of the Italians, who used the maritime route around Western Europe, or the overland road leading from Italy through the Alps to the Rhine valley and thence along that river to the north. With regard to Kaffa, its needs of Western products were virtually fully satisfied by the Italian traders who used the great maritime route from the Mediterranean through the Bosphorus and so to the Black Sea.⁶⁹ Thus Lwów was of significance only for the trade of Poland and the neighbouring countries — Prussia, Silesia and Moldavia.

The wars between Poland and the Teutonic Order were as disastrous for Lwów's trade with Flanders as for Cracow's. In addition, great changes took place in the East: Kaffa, Cetatea Alba and Chilia fell into the hands of the Turks towards the end of the fifteenth century and lost all significance as commercial emporiums; these events were accompanied by the gradual decline of Lwów's importance as a great commercial centre, whilst the smaller

Ruthenian towns never played any rôle to speak of in commercial intercourse with Flanders.

FLEMISH TRADE WITH GREAT-POLAND AND POMERANIA IN THE XIV AND XV CENTURIES

Great-Poland and the other northern provinces of Poland were in a much worse position than the southern territories. The trade routes between Germany and the mouth of the Vistula lost much of their economic importance during the fifteenth century. Further, the great development of the large towns in Pomerania (Toruń, Danzig, Chełmno and others), their financial predominance and the monopolistic policies applied by them with the support of the Teutonic Order, all served to inhibit the progress of the small trading centres within the frontiers of Poland. The Great-Polish merchants often journeyed to the mouths of the Vistula and Oder in the thirteenth century,⁷⁰ the burgesses of Solec and Bydgoszcz, then small towns on the Vistula and the Brda below Toruń, being particularly enterprising in this respect. They drifted timber rafts down the rivers to Elbing,⁷¹ and in all probability to Danzig as well. Both hamlets were transloading points for goods brought in from the above-mentioned ports for delivery inland. Chełmno and Toruń felt threatened by this initiative, and it must have been the merchants of these cities who induced the Grand Master of the Teutonic Order to issue an order forbidding Prussian vessels to load or discharge goods on the Polish bank of the Vistula.⁷² Solec and Bydgoszcz as a result very soon had to surrender their status as commercial centres and it was not until 1402, during the conflict between Toruń and Cracow, that their shipping trade again attracted notice. The Cracovian merchants desired to avoid Toruń and transported their goods by side roads to Solec and Bydgoszcz, and thence along the Vistula to Danzig.⁷³

However the Teutonic Order applied restrictions and forbade its subjects to form partnerships with the citizens of these two towns,⁷⁴ in all likelihood justly considering that the companies were formed merely to mask the smuggling of Polish goods in contravention of the Prussian staple trade system. The conflict lasted during the whole of the fifteenth century and even after the Peace of Toruń (1466) required the intervention of the King of Poland on more than one occasion.⁷⁵ Toruń was, however, finally forced to surrender its privileges. It is difficult to state whether the merchants of Solec and Bydgoszcz took any share in trade with Flanders, and in any case their modest needs for Western produce were almost certainly covered through the medium of the Prussian merchants. Mention has already been made that these towns maintained commercial relations with Cracow.

There is no information to hand concerning the commercial relations between Poznań and the other Great-Polish towns with Flanders. They must have been buyers of goods from Western Europe but

⁶³ Ibid., pp. 111-112.

⁶⁴ *Akta Grodzkie i Ziemskie* (Borough and Country Acts), Lwów 1878, Vol. VII, Nos. 1, 2, 3.

⁶⁵ *Hansisches Urkundenbuch*, Vol. III, No. 559.

⁶⁶ Charewiczowa, op. cit., p. 53.

⁶⁷ *Hansisches Urkundenbuch*, Vol. III, No. 559. Customs duty tables of Casimir the Great.

⁶⁸ Ibid., Vol. IV, No. 767.

⁶⁹ I have arrived at this conclusion after a thorough study of the economic situation of the Genoan settlements in the

Crimea. This problem will be discussed in my forthcoming work on Kaffa.

⁷⁰ *Codex diplomaticus Brandenburg*, Vol. XVIII, No. 3.

⁷¹ *Codex diplomaticus Prussicus*, Vol. I, No. 135.

⁷² Ibid.

⁷³ *Hanserecesse*, Vol. V, Nos. 118, 119, Małowist, p. 47.

⁷⁴ Ibid.

⁷⁵ Oesterreich, 'Die Handelsbeziehungen der Stadt Thorn zu Polen', Part 2, *Zeitschrift des Westpreussischen Geschichtsvereins*, Danzig 1894, XXXIII.

these were certainly imported through Danzig and Toruń, via Stettin or even through Germany via Frankfurt-on-the-Oder. If the attempt to establish a new road to Flanders in 1390 had been successful, Great-Poland's commercial relations with Flanders would have been greatly strengthened. But the

commercial policies of King Ladislas Jagiełło in that year had ended in failure and Great-Poland's foreign trade could not be developed upon a large scale. It was only the great progress later effected in agriculture which improved the situation of the north-western provinces of the Kingdom of Poland.

V

POLAND'S TRADE WITH FLANDERS AT THE TURN OF THE XV AND XVI CENTURIES

The first symptoms of the collapse of international commodity exchange based on the Novgorod-Bruges axis appeared during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The Dutch began to participate to an ever greater extent in foreign trade; they bought corn and timber from Prussia and Livonia and their cloth drove the Flemish product from markets where it had reigned supreme. Their commercial expansion, while menacing to the interests of Lübeck and Flanders, encouraged the rapid economic progress made by the Prussian and Livonian towns. In vain did the Lübeckers strive to force the Dutch merchants to respect the regulations of staple trade in Bruges, and thus to prevent the Netherlands from penetrating on to the Baltic. To make matters worse the Zwin began to silt up very rapidly; fearing the dangerous sandbanks, vessels began to avoid touching at the port. Moreover, the Prussian, Livonian, English and other merchants showed less and less interest in trade with Bruges. Antwerp became the centre of Western European trade, aided by the fact that foreign merchants were not incessantly hampered at every step by the regulations of medieval regimentation of trade. The old Hanseatic factory at Bruges, symbol of the former power of the proud association of German towns, was virtually deserted by the end of the fifteenth century. Probably the first to abandon Bruges were the Danzigers, who began to export Polish and Lithuanian timber and corn to England and the Netherlands in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries; by the end of the latter century this trade had assumed a position of fundamental importance for the prosperity of the city. Relations with Flanders dwindled into insignificance in Danzig's economic life. Only two vessels entered Danzig from Écluse (Sluys) in 1474—76 and three from Antwerp, whilst seventy came from Amsterdam.⁷⁶ The import trade from Flanders at that period comprised tropical and other produce (oils, figs, raisins, various kinds of wines, and small quantities of cloth and salt).⁷⁷ The volume of Danzig's export trade to Flanders decreased in like proportion: only one vessel left Danzig for Écluse in 1490—92 as against fifteen to Amsterdam.⁷⁸ About one last of rye was exported to Écluse during these years, but some 973 lasts were shipped to Amsterdam,⁷⁹ evidence the more striking in that rye was already then one of the chief items in Danzig's trade.⁸⁰ The Fuggers exported fairly large consignments of Hungarian copper to Antwerp through the great Polish port towards the end of the fifteenth and at the beginning of the six-

teenth century, but this was all. On the whole the Danzigers evinced very little interest in trade with Antwerp, as is evidenced by the fact that they were most unwilling to transfer the Hanseatic factory from Bruges to that port.⁸¹ As Danzig was then the chief export port of the Polish Commonwealth, and as its burgesses supplied the country with the great majority of the Western goods consumed by the population, we may safely assume that at the close of the fifteenth century Flanders had already dropped out of Poland's trade; economic relations between the two regions being finally liquidated in the sixteenth century.

CONCLUSION

The history of Poland's economic relations with Flanders has been roughly outlined in the present paper. The data given herein do not justify our drawing definitive conclusions, however, if only because this study is based solely on published material. Archival research would undoubtedly divulge much new information, but would be hardly likely to effect any radical change in the picture presented above.

It is certain, however, that commercial relations between Poland and Flanders were established at the latest towards the end of the thirteenth century, and that the merchants of Wrocław (Breslau) and to some extent of Cracow were instrumental in bringing this about. Cracovian traders appeared in Bruges as early as the beginning of the fourteenth century, and later years furnished indisputable evidence of their having showed much energy in consolidating direct relations with Flanders as the chief centre of trade in Western Europe. The largest turnover in Polish-Flemish trade was noted during the closing years of the fourteenth and the beginning of the fifteenth century, after which a decline set in. This drop in trade was due as much to the changes which took place in the international system of commercial relations as to the wars between Poland and the Teutonic Order, impairing communications between the Baltic coast and the inland centres of Polish trade.

The greater part of Poland's trade with Flanders was accounted for by the commodities transported through Poland from Hungary and the East; in this connexion, only the southern regions of Poland, lying upon the main trade routes, were engaged in commercial dealings with Flanders. The northern provinces on the other hand showed little interest in maintaining trade relations with Flanders.

⁷⁶ Lauffer, 'Danzigs Schiffs- und Warenverkehr am Ende des XV. Jh.', *ibid.*, pp. 21-22.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*

⁸⁰ Simson, *Geschichte der Stadt Danzig*, Danzig 1918, Vol. II, p. 149.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*