

CEZARY KARDASZ  
(*Society of Arts and Sciences in Toruń*)

ECONOMIC RELATIONS BETWEEN GDAŃSK AND KÖNIGSBERG  
IN THE YEARS 1466–1525\*

**Key words:** Royal Prussia, Teutonic Prussia, trade, credit, craftsmanship correspondence

The peace treaty that ended the Thirteen Years' War between the Teutonic Order and the Kingdom of Poland supported by the Prussian Confederation, divided the former monastic authority in Prussia into two separate, yet still interrelated areas, the so-called Royal Prussia and Teutonic Prussia.<sup>1</sup> Their mutual, political relations are relatively well documented.<sup>2</sup> The issue of economic dealings, however, both in a broader spectrum covering all the territories belonging to the Teutonic Order until 1454, as well as on a smaller scale, focusing on the mutual relations between Gdańsk and Königsberg – both before the Thirteen Years' War and in the period from the Second Peace of Thorn

\* Text prepared as part of the “Handel morski Gdańska na przełomie XV i XVI stulecia” [“Gdańsk maritime trade at the turn of the sixteenth century”] project, no. 2014/13/D/HS3/03691, financed by the Narodowe Centrum Nauki [National Science Centre, Poland].

<sup>1</sup> Literature addressing both the issues of the Thirteen Years' War and the peace treaty is extensive and includes several works that are worth pointing out, such as Marian BISKUP, *Trzynastoletnia wojna z Zakonem Krzyżackim 1454–1466*, Warszawa 1967; idem, *Polityka wewnętrzna zakonu krzyżackiego*, [in:] *Państwo zakonu krzyżackiego w Prusach. Władza i społeczeństwo*, ed. Marian BISKUP, Roman CZAJA, Warszawa 2008, pp. 233–331, with further reading. The content of the treaty is published by Erich Weise: *Die Staatsverträge des Deutschen Ordens in Preussen im 15. Jahrhundert*, Bd. 2: (1438–1467), hrsg. v. Erich WEISE, Marburg 1955; overview of the treaty documents by Maksymilian GRZEGORZ, *Analiza dyplomatyczno-sfragistyczna traktatu toruńskiego z 1466 r.*, Toruń 1970.

<sup>2</sup> Marian BISKUP, *Polska a zakon krzyżacki w Prusach w początkach XVI wieku. U źródeł sekularyzacji Prus Krzyżackich*, Olszyn 1983; idem, *Lenne Prusy krzyżackie w latach 1466–1525*, [in:] Marian BISKUP, Gerard LABUDA, *Dzieje Zakonu Krzyżackiego w Prusach. Gospodarka, społeczeństwo, państwo, ideologia*, Gdańsk 1986, pp. 438–497, here: pp. 462–474.

to the Treaty of Kraków, has not been extensively addressed, despite the demands presented.<sup>3</sup>

The synthetic approach to the history of both cities provided very few inquiries into the economic circumstances of that time. Walther Franz addressed the topic of trade but for the post-1466 period he only pointed to the rivalry between Gdańsk and Königsberg over the Lithuanian hinterland and the role of Gdańsk in the salt trade.<sup>4</sup> A little more information about the trade contacts maintained by Königsberg can be found in Fritz Gause's work, a significant portion of it, however, relates to the period before the Thirteen Years' War.<sup>5</sup> Discussing the trade contacts of Gdańsk, Henryk Samsonowicz concluded that Königsberg, at the turn of the fifteenth and sixteenth century, was one of the primary economic partners of Gdańsk in the Prussian hinterland,<sup>6</sup> right behind Elbląg and Toruń. His study, however, relied on an inaccurate number of references made to individual areas and towns in the surviving correspondence. In the works by Marian Biskup covering the years 1466–1525, little attention was paid to economic considerations, since the historian's main focus was on the domain of politics.<sup>7</sup> The issue of Königsberg trade relations was also addressed by Kurt Forstreuer and Walther Stein, by way of side notes to theses discussing other trade centres.<sup>8</sup> No information of major importance is also found in the works on the trade contacts of Gdańsk, as they are based on "Pfahlgeld" duty books.<sup>9</sup> It was on the basis of this source that Victor Laufer went as far as to put forward a thesis about the collapse of trade between the

---

<sup>3</sup> Janusz MAŁĘK, *Dwie części Prus. Studia z dziejów Prus Książęcych i Prus Królewskich w XVI i XVII wieku*, Olsztyn 1987, p. 18.

<sup>4</sup> Walther FRANZ, *Geschichte der Stadt Königsberg*, Frankfurt am Main 1979.

<sup>5</sup> Fritz GAUSE, *Die Geschichte der Stadt Königsberg in Preussen*, Bd. 1: *Von der Gründung der Stadt bis zum letzten Kurfürsten*, Köln 1966, pp. 130–151.

<sup>6</sup> Henryk SAMSONOWICZ, *Dynamiczny ośrodek handlowy*, [in:] *Historia Gdańska*, ed. Edmund CIEŚLAK, vol. 2: *1454–1655*, Gdańsk 1982, p. 98.

<sup>7</sup> Marian BISKUP, *Królewiec a Polska i Litwa jagiellońska w czasach średniowiecza (do roku 1525)*, [in:] *Królewiec a Polska*, ed. Marian BISKUP, Wojciech WRZESIŃSKI, Olsztyn 1993, pp. 11–34, here: pp. 27–28; idem, *Prusy Królewskie i Krzyżackie (1466–1525)*, [in:] *Historia Pomorza*, ed. Gerard LABUDA, vol. 2: *Do roku 1815*, part 1: *(1464/66–1648/57)*, Poznań 1976, pp. 24–186, here: pp. 127–141.

<sup>8</sup> Walther STEIN, *Vom deutschen Kantor in Kowno*, *Hansische Geschichtsblätter*, Bd. 22: 1916, pp. 225–266; Kurt FORSTREUTER, *Die Memel als Handelsstraße Preußens nach Osten*, Königsberg 1931.

<sup>9</sup> Victor LAUFER, *Danzigs Schiffs- und Warenverkehr am Ende des 15. Jahrhunderts*, *Zeitschrift des Westpreußischen Geschichtsvereins*, H. 33: 1894, pp. 1–44; Curt GEISS, *Der Danziger Salzhandel vom 14. bis zum 17. Jahrhundert (1370–1640)*, Danzig-Langfuhr 1925 (typescript in Archiwum Państwowe w Gdańsku [State Archives in Gdańsk]); Henryk SAMSONOWICZ, *Handel zagraniczny Gdańska w drugiej połowie XV wieku (rejonizacja handlu na podstawie ksiąg cla palowego)*, *Przegląd Historyczny*, vol. 47: 1956, no. 2, pp. 283–352.

two parts of Prussia as a result of the post-1466 separation.<sup>10</sup> More references to the economic, primarily commercial, contacts between Gdańsk and the Königsberg quarters can be found in the works focusing directly on Teutonic Prussia and the role and significance of Königsberg.<sup>11</sup>

The purpose of this study is to analyse the trade contacts – long-distance and retail commerce, credit relations, craftsmanship – between the inhabitants of key urban centres of Royal and Teutonic Prussia, Gdańsk and Königsberg, between the end of the Thirteen Year's War and the secularization of Prussia.<sup>12</sup> The trade relations between the Order and the amber craftsmen from Gdańsk were not the focus of this study.<sup>13</sup>

The fact that hardly any interest was expressed by historians towards these issues might have been due to the lack of available sources that would help quantify the scale thereof. The primary source material that serves the studies of the trade exchange of Gdańsk during that period – the “Pfahlgeld” duty books – contains only one reliable reference to a ship from Königsberg.<sup>14</sup> The relatively large amount of surviving correspondence allows for a somewhat more in-depth analysis of the trade relations between these centres in the second half of the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. Out of the 320 preserved letters sent by the Königsberg quarter councils in the years 1466 to

<sup>10</sup> V. LAUFER, *op.cit.*, p. 10.

<sup>11</sup> Lothar DRALLE, *Der Staat des Deutschen Ordens in Preussen nach dem II. Thorner Frieden. Untersuchungen zur ökonomischen und ständepolitischen Geschichte Altpreußens zwischen 1466 und 1497*, Wiesbaden 1975; Richard FISCHER, *Königsberg als Hansestadt*, *Altpreußische Monatsschrift*, Bd. 41: 1904, pp. 267–356; Dieter HECKMANN, *Königsberg und sein Hinterland im Spätmittelalter*, [in:] *Die preußischen Hansestädte und ihre Stellung im Nord- und Ostseeraum des Mittelalters*, hrsg. v. Zenon Hubert NOWAK, Janusz TANDECKI, Toruń 1998, pp. 79–90.

<sup>12</sup> In the case of Königsberg, references are made to the Old Town of Königsberg and Kneiphof, since the share of Löbenicht in their mutual relations was negligible. In purely legal terms, Gdańsk acted as a single administrative body since 1455. Official confirmation of this decision by king Casimir IV Jagiellon was issued on 15 V 1457. Sources indicate, however, that economic relations were maintained by the residents of the Main City of Gdańsk. The Old Town area did not play a significant role in long-distance trade. See, among other sources, Marian BISKUP, *Stosunek Gdańska do Kazimierza Jagiellończyka w okresie wojny trzynastoletniej 1454–1466*, Toruń 1952, p. 81; Ernst Manfred WERMTER, *Bürgerreinigung und Königsprivileg. Bemerkungen zur Verfassungsrechtsgeschichte von Danzig 1456/1457*, [in:] *Die Stadt in Preussen. Beiträge zur Entwicklung vom frühen Mittelalter bis zur Gegenwart*, hrsg. v. Udo ARNOLD, Lüneburg 1983, p. 90.

<sup>13</sup> Lothar DRALLE, *Der Bersteinhandel des Deutschen Ordens in Preussen, vornehmlich zu Beginn des 16. Jahrhunderts*, *Hansische Geschichtsblätter*, Bd. 99: 1981, pp. 61–72.

<sup>14</sup> Archiwum Państwowe w Gdańsku [State Archives in Gdańsk] (further cit. APGd.), 300, 19/5, p. 236. In 1476, “van Coningesberge” vessel entered the port in Gdańsk, captained by skipper Gert Treylin, customs duty was paid in amount of 20 marks, no reference is made to the cargo. Lübeck “Pfundzoll” duty books confirm that the same skipper also sailed from Gdańsk to Lübeck: *Die Lübecker Pfundzollbücher 1492–1496*, bearb. v. Hans-Jürgen VOGTHERR, Teil 4, Köln 1996, p. 1931.

1525, nearly half (135) dealt with economic matters, mainly trade and cash flow related, while the remainder, in its large part, described various family related and financial issues (heirloom, inheritance).<sup>15</sup> There is much less outgoing correspondence available, as there is merely 32 of those letters known, mostly from the sixteenth century.<sup>16</sup> References contained in the city books of Gdańsk<sup>17</sup> complement the information derived from the analysis of the correspondence. It should be pointed out, however, that these sources often reflect various disputes with one of the parties addressing the municipal authorities with a request to intervene or taking action on their own, sometimes based on effective credentials. The available source materials would thus not allow to determine the scale and intensity of mutual economic relations between the inhabitants of Gdańsk and Königsberg, allowing merely to point to and exemplify the circumstances those materials pertained to.

Building on the earlier advantage in the long-distance trade and the favourable policies introduced by the Polish king in the second half of the fifteenth century, Gdańsk became the most important port city, not only for Prussia, but for the entire Commonwealth of Poland as well.<sup>18</sup> After the year 1466, Königsberg gained in significance as well, becoming the largest urban centre of the territorially restricted monastic authority, the seat of rulers, courts (higher courts of Chełmno law and maritime law) and the location of estate

---

<sup>15</sup> APGd., 300D, 67. 322 letters from Elbląg, 576 from Toruń and 745 from Lübeck survived from the same period in a Gdańsk chancery: *ibid.*, 300D, 29–31, 66, 68, 69. For more information about the correspondence between Gdańsk and other locations, see Marcin GRUŁKOWSKI, *Korespondencja Krakowa i Wrocławia z Głównym Miastem Gdańskiem w późnym średniowieczu*, *Klio*, vol. 23: 2012, no. 4, pp. 35–72.

<sup>16</sup> APGd., 300, 27/6–10, *passim*. For more information about the fonds see Maria SŁAWOSZEWSKA, *Gdańskie „Missiva”*, *Archeion*, vol. 29: 1958, pp. 199–207.

<sup>17</sup> Of key importance here are the court of assessors records from the years: 1466–1476, 1488/1489, 1496, 1499–1504, 1507–1513: APGd., 300, 43/2b, 3, 4, 4b, 5 as well as “*Libri testimonialis*” from the years 1458–1477 and 1477–1507: *ibid.*, 300, 43/196, 197. Various surviving chronicle entries may serve as complementary sources of information to those originating from municipal chancelleries. References to contacts, including economic relations, established between the citizens of Gdańsk and Königsberg are found in the chronicle of Simon Grunau: *Simon Grunau's Preussische Chronik*, hrsg. v. Max PERLBACH, Bd. 1 (*Die preussischen Geschichtschreiber des XVI. und XVII. Jahrhunderts*, Bd. 1), Leipzig 1876. The source was previously considered unreliable, yet recent research points to significant interpretative potential of the chronicle, as well as the credibility of information concerning subject matters connected with everyday life and economy: Sławomir ZONENBERG, *Kronika Szymona Grunaua*, Bydgoszcz 2009, pp. 81–82. The use of Grunau's records, however, calls for a separate study.

<sup>18</sup> Jürgen SARNOWSKY, *Die Entwicklung des Handels der preußischen Hansestädte im 15. Jahrhundert*, [in:] *Die preußischen Hansestädte*, p. 62; Maria BOGUĆKA, *Krakau-Warschau-Danzig. Funktionen und Wandel von Metropolen 1450–1650*, [in:] *Metropolen im Wandel: Zentralität in Ostmitteleuropa an der Wende vom Mittelalter zur Neuzeit*, hrsg. v. Evamaria ENGEL, Karen LAMBRECHT, Hanna NOGOSSEK, Berlin 1995, p. 83.

conventions.<sup>19</sup> The city also kept the status of the Hanseatic League member and was actively involved in trade exchange.<sup>20</sup> Nonetheless, the “Pfahlgeld” records of Lübeck from the years 1492–1496 show that Königsberg’s share in the Hanseatic trade was nearly ten times smaller compared to Gdańsk.<sup>21</sup> Analysis of the available source material serves to prove that the Königsberg merchants engaged in active trade with the citizens of Gdańsk, and through these relations managed to reach out to more distant centres as well.<sup>22</sup> In September 1519, the council of the Old Town of Königsberg addressed Gdańsk authorities with a complaint concerning linen that had been brought on a Gdańsk ship sailing from England by two local councilors, Hans Schulze and Berent Botner, only to be detained soon after.<sup>23</sup> The economic relations between the citizens of Gdańsk and the inhabitants of the towns of Königsberg are widely acknowledged in the available sources.

Several contacts had already been mentioned for the period before the conclusion of the Second Peace of Thorn, since in 1468 Caspar Hoyke and Peter Brand stood before the Gdańsk court of assessors, testifying that during the war (“yn dessem vorgangene kryge”) Jacob Eckman sold the council of the Königsberg Old Town 1 vat of saltpetre for the district.<sup>24</sup> Later on, confirmation may be found for ships (“wiselkan”) cruising between Gdańsk and Königsberg. In 1470, Urban Molner and Andrews Lodewich testified before the court of assessors of the Main City of Gdańsk that they owed 90 marks to one Hinrick Vrven for a ship they decided to buy from him. The terms

<sup>19</sup> D. HECKMANN, op.cit., p. 89. Concerning the changes that occurred in the city post-1466, with no reference to the economic issues: Janusz MAŁĘK, *Królewiec na drodze przemian od stolicy państwa zakonu krzyżackiego do stolicy Księstwa Pruskiego i rezydencji książęcej*, [in:] *Studia nad dziejami miast i mieszczaństwa w średniowieczu*, vol. 2: *Studia ofiarowane Profesorowi Antoniemu Czacharowskiemu w sześćdziesiątą piątą rocznicę urodzin i czterdziestolecie pracy naukowej*, ed. Roman CZAJA, Janusz TANDECKI, Toruń 1996, pp. 113–119.

<sup>20</sup> L. DRALLE, *Der Staat*, pp. 54–59.

<sup>21</sup> J. SARNOWSKY, op.cit., p. 73. This relationship did not undergo a major change compared to the second half of the fourteenth and the beginning of the fifteenth century: conf. R. FISCHER, op.cit., pp. 308–315.

<sup>22</sup> APGd., 300D, 67, no. 343, 345; Königsberg merchants maintained economic relations with more distant centres without the agency of the inhabitants of Gdańsk: L. DRALLE, *Der Staat*, p. 57. Complaints by the inhabitants of Königsberg townfolk against the order putting a limit on trade, filed to the grand master from among the Königsberg contractors, from locations that included: Pomeranian cities – Stralsund, Rostock, Wismar, Szczecin (import of grain), England (import of flax), Zealand (import of herring and linen; export of wood and ash), Livonia (export of hops), as well as Denmark, Sweden and Finland: *Scriptores rerum Prussicarum. Die Geschichtsquellen der preussischen Vorzeit*, Bd. 6, hrsg. im Auftrage der Historischen Kommission für ost- und westpreußische Landesforschung v. Walther HUBATSCH, bearb. v. Udo ARNOLD, mit einer Einl. v. Erich MASCHKE, Frankfurt am Main 1968, pp. 179–181.

<sup>23</sup> APGd., 300D, 67, no. 343.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, 300, 43/2b, f. 102v.

of repayment of subsequent instalments required the use of the transaction object, as the first 10 *marks* were to be paid to the seller having the ship returned from the cruise to Kaunas and back (“van hir to Cauwen und hir wedder”), with all subsequent ones disbursed following the Gdańsk–Toruń and Gdańsk–Königsberg trip, until all dues are paid.<sup>25</sup>

By the end of the fifteenth century, the Königsberg merchants managed to successfully engage in both deriving benefits from the Gdańsk freight, as well as setting up new partnerships with the citizens of Gdańsk.<sup>26</sup> In 1482, the council of the Old Town of Königsberg asked the Gdańsk councillors to support Albrecht Pape in his dispute with the local contractors.<sup>27</sup> In 1484, the Old Town of Königsberg councillors invited representatives of Gdańsk to an assembly organized in Copenhagen, featuring talks on the return of goods belonging to merchants from both cities, seized off the coast of Denmark.<sup>28</sup> In 1497, Kneiphof’s council defended Paul Stantuff and Gabriel Remling, accused of improper settlement of joint venture by their partner from Gdańsk, Vritsche Hagenov.<sup>29</sup>

Among the goods imported to Königsberg, including those managed by partnerships between the inhabitants of the two cities, the references mention fish – herring, reaching Königsberg through Amsterdam and Gdańsk (1479, 1482, 1496)<sup>30</sup> and cod (1468),<sup>31</sup> as well as olive oil (1481)<sup>32</sup> and raisins (1485),<sup>33</sup> cloth (1487),<sup>34</sup> grain (1482)<sup>35</sup> and salt. In 1496, merchants from the Old Town of Königsberg reported that 12 *lasts* and 4 barrels of Lüneburg salt (“traben saltcz”), that were supposed to reach Königsberg aboard a ship handled by a skipper from Gdańsk,<sup>36</sup> were taken over by the ship’s owner, master Ladekop from Gdańsk. Königsberg merchants also participated in the export of salt to the city’s economic hinterland, including Kaunas.<sup>37</sup>

<sup>25</sup> Ibid., f. 200v: “to Thorun und hir wedder ok hir wedder 10 geringe mr. und to Konnigesberge 3 mr. beth der vorscr. summe betalet.” Similar transaction in the year 1473: *ibid.*, f. 308r.

<sup>26</sup> The topic of mercantile companies is covered by Henryk SAMSONOWICZ, *Badania nad kapitałem mieszczańskim Gdańska w II połowie XV wieku*, Warszawa 1960, p. 33 ff.

<sup>27</sup> APGd., 300 D, 67, no. 110. From Gdańsk, the references include: Hans Quawsten, Heinrich Sternenberg and skipper Eler.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid., no. 129.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid., no. 215.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid., no. 224.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid., 300, 43/196, f. 115v.

<sup>32</sup> Ibid., 300, 43/197, f. 42v.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid., f. 54v.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid., 300, 59/8, f. 18r: Symon Dalewin vouched for Bartolomeusa Grote, who exported grain from Toruń to Königsberg, via Gdańsk; *ibid.*, 19r.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid., 300D, 67, no. 211.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid., 300, 43/196, f. 153r.

Königsberg exported primarily goods from its immediate hinterland territories: wood (1473, 1494, 1505, 1512)<sup>38</sup>, ash (1510),<sup>39</sup> tar (1499),<sup>40</sup> hops (1467, 1470, 1490, 1507)<sup>41</sup> and small quantities of grain (1486).<sup>42</sup> In his analysis of the “Pfahlgeld” duty books, Victor Lauffer noted that, in the year 1490, there was one ship heading for Königsberg that left Gdańsk with a cargo of grain, salt, iron, as well as wood, hops, ash and tar – the traditional export merchandise.<sup>43</sup> The name of the skipper (“Cleis von Konigesborgk”) served as the criterion for qualifying the ship as one headed for Königsberg. The skipper is repeatedly referred to in the book cited by Lauffer, with predominantly exportation type of goods recorded.<sup>44</sup> This allows us to assume that the skipper sailed between Königsberg, Gdańsk and, possibly, Lübeck or another port in the Western Europe, with the references in the duty books standing to confirm the ship’s sailing out of the port in that particular direction.

The letter from the councillors of Kneiphof dated 28 June, 1505 provides interesting insight in the context of mutual trade relations. In it, the councillors inform the council of Gdańsk that the wood rafted to Königsberg by a Gdańsk native, Jorg Keding, had been recognized as belonging to a Königsberg-based councillor and merchant, Christoph Stulemacher, who was determined to bring the case to court.<sup>45</sup> What this source material presents is the mobility of Gdańsk citizens that were capable of reaching Königsberg and beyond, into the direct economic hinterland of the city.<sup>46</sup>

The peace treaty concluded in October 1466 guaranteed full economic freedom for the relationships developed between the two parts of Prussia.<sup>47</sup> The rivalry over the Lithuanian hinterland did result in some restrictions introduced with regard to the Gdańsk merchants – limited storage rights applicable to ash exported from the Lithuanian territories and an attempt to impose additional duties on salt exported to Lithuania.<sup>48</sup> This, however, had not real effect on the mutual economic relations. Based on the surviving cor-

<sup>38</sup> Ibid., 300D, 67, no. 87, 197, 248, 299.

<sup>39</sup> Ibid., no. 293.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid., no. 224.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid., 300, 43/2b, f. 64r; 300, 27/ 6, pp. 737–738; 300D, 67, no. 159, 263.

<sup>42</sup> Ibid., 300D, 67, no. 135.

<sup>43</sup> V. LAUFFER, op.cit., p. 31; L. DRALLE, *Der Staat*, p. 57.

<sup>44</sup> Ibid., 300, 19/7, f. 6r, 6v, 77r, 153v.

<sup>45</sup> Ibid., 300D, 67, no. 248.

<sup>46</sup> Conf. Roman CZAJA, *Strefa bałtycka w gospodarce europejskiej w XIII–XV wieku*, [in:] *Ziemie polskie wobec Zachodu. Studia nad rozwojem średniowiecznej Europy*, ed. Sławomir GAWLAS, Warszawa 2006, pp. 234–235. Increased activity of the Gdańsk merchants is also referenced in other sources, as shown further.

<sup>47</sup> *Die Staatsverträge*, pp. 280–281; M. BISKUP, *Trzynastoletnia wojna*, p. 708.

<sup>48</sup> C. GEISS, op.cit., p. 235; L. DRALLE, op.cit., pp. 58–59.

respondence, there were no outstanding disputes on the Hanseatic forum that would relate to the controversy over the seating arrangements for the representatives of the two cities during the conventions, as expressly emphasized in older literature.<sup>49</sup> Königsberg repeatedly appealed to Gdańsk for representation at subsequent Hanseatic conventions,<sup>50</sup> while the Old Town council also asked for support from the king of Denmark with regard to the merchandise belonging to Königsberg merchants detained in Gotland.<sup>51</sup>

The change in policies introduced by the Lithuanian government towards foreign merchants with the aim to limit their access to the economic hinterland in the last decade of the fifteenth century, brought about forced cooperation between Königsberg and Prussian cities, primarily Gdańsk.<sup>52</sup> Gdańsk and Königsberg merchants, who dominated trade with the Lithuanian territories,<sup>53</sup> were among those most severely affected by the new regulations. It should be pointed out that some attempts to limit the rights of visitors to *kontors* in Kaunas were already made in the 30s of the fifteenth century, it was not until 1441, however, that the Hanseatic League members received confirmation of their privileges.<sup>54</sup> In September 1493, Mikołaj Bażyński, Malbork governor at that time, called upon the Gdańsk citizens to negotiate with Königsberg, Elbląg and Toruń the matter of the threat to the Kaunas *kontor* and since they could not count on the king's support, the problem called for an estate convention to be arranged.<sup>55</sup> It was brought up for discussion at the Prussian estate convention in Elbląg in November 1493, with no final decisions reached, however, as the matter was discussed in the following year as well.<sup>56</sup> The issue of trade relations with the Lithuanian territories and the situation of the *kontor* in Kaunas were also repeatedly addressed in the correspondence of municipal authorities that pointed to various obstacles (blockades) introduced from the Lithuanian side.<sup>57</sup> These concerns were also discussed at the Königsberg convention in March 1506. Gdańsk citizens put forward a suggestion at that time

---

<sup>49</sup> R. FISCHER, op.cit., pp. 334–338; Paul SIMSON, *Geschichte der Stadt Danzig in 4 Bänden*, Bd. 1, Danzig 1913, p. 350.

<sup>50</sup> APGd., 300D, 67, no. 142, 166, 168, 174.

<sup>51</sup> Ibid., no. 154; R. FISCHER, op.cit., pp. 338–340.

<sup>52</sup> APGd., 300D, 67, no. 144; W. STEIN, op.cit., p. 260; K. FORSTREUTER, op.cit., p. 34. Königsberg towns informed the Gdańsk council about receiving confirmation of their current privileges from the grand duke, effective until further negotiations are entered into: APGd., 300D, 67, no. 184.

<sup>53</sup> W. STEIN, op.cit., p. 248.

<sup>54</sup> Ibid., p. 230.

<sup>55</sup> *Akta Stanów Prus Królewskich*, vol. 3, part 1: 1492–1497, ed. Karol GÓRSKI, Marian BISKUP, Toruń 1961, pp. 84–85.

<sup>56</sup> Ibid., pp. 93, 97, 115.

<sup>57</sup> APGd., 300D, 67, no. 201, 204, 245.



to limit the disproportionate liberties enjoyed by the Lithuanian merchants in Prussia, while the Hanseatic merchants suffered from having their former laws restricted.<sup>58</sup> The proposed method of opposing Lithuanian competition was to prohibit the transport of goods belonging to Hanseatic merchants on Lithuanian ships, which the representatives of the Old Town and Kneiphof agreed to, provided it meets with the approval of the grand master.<sup>59</sup>

First changes reflecting the deterioration of mutual relations may be observed in the early sixteenth century.<sup>60</sup> During the Royal Prussia estate conventions, grain purchases by the subjects of the Order and the introduction of levy on salt imported to Teutonic Prussia was a topic extensively discussed at that time. The issue of grain exports and the related increase in grain prices was raised predominantly by small towns,<sup>61</sup> yet in 1513 the Gdańsk council raised the very same problem in a letter to the Bishop of Warmia.<sup>62</sup> In the following year, Gdańsk citizens responded to accusations brought against them by the inhabitants of Żuławy, explaining to the king that the grain was being exported by merchants from Königsberg.<sup>63</sup> This subject matter was a recurring theme at estate conventions until the end of the analysed period.<sup>64</sup> During the Prussian estate convention held in Grudziądz in September 1511, the Prussian council went as far as to authorize the citizens of Elbląg to seize vessels exporting grain out to Königsberg.<sup>65</sup> During that period of time, grain, flour and beer were, next to salt, among the most important goods exported from Gdańsk to Königsberg.<sup>66</sup> Martin Reszler, municipal councillor and scribe from Kneiphof, was particularly active in that field having applied four times for an export

<sup>58</sup> "Doddurch irer [of Hanseatic merchants: deutsche couffman in Littauwen – C.K.] freyheit, wie von alders gewest, nicht gebrauchen mogen unnd bey dere nicht gehalten, so doch die Littauwen unnd Rewsen hir im lande groszen willen haben": *Akta Stanów Prus Królewskich*, vol. 4, part 2: 1504–1506, ed. Marian BISKUP, together with Karol GÓRSKI, Toruń 1967, p. 129.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 226.

<sup>60</sup> In matters pertaining to the relationship with the Hanseatic League, the estrangement in the mutual relations between Gdańsk and Königsberg was already evident in the mid 90's of the fifteenth century: R. FISCHER, *op.cit.*, p. 342 ff.

<sup>61</sup> *Akta Stanów Prus Królewskich*, vol. 5, part 1: 1506–1508, ed. Marian BISKUP, Warszawa–Poznań 1973, p. 253; part 2: 1508–1511, ed. Marian BISKUP, Warszawa–Poznań 1974, p. 197.

<sup>62</sup> *Akta Stanów Prus Królewskich*, vol. 6: 1512–1515, ed. Marian BISKUP, Irena JANOSZ-BISKUPOWA, Warszawa 1979, p. 120.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 173–174.

<sup>64</sup> *Akta Stanów Prus Królewskich*, vol. 6, p. 174, 225; vol. 8: 1520–1526, ed. Marian BISKUP, Irena JANOSZ-BISKUPOWA, Warszawa–Toruń 1993, p. 308.

<sup>65</sup> *Akta Stanów Prus Królewskich*, vol. 5, part 3: 1511–1512, ed. Marian BISKUP, Warszawa 1975, p. 111.

<sup>66</sup> Citizens of Gdańsk point to other benefits derived by the Königsberg merchants from the salt trade: *Akta Stanów Prus Królewskich*, vol. 3, part 1, p. 223.

license in the years 1513–1525.<sup>67</sup> Old Town councillors took a great interest in the same topic at that time.<sup>68</sup> In 1523, they addressed Gdańsk authorities several times, asking for permission to export grain (barley and rye) and flour, with an emphasis on the intended purpose of said grain which was reportedly for the exclusive use of the inhabitants of the city, with no further exportation planned.<sup>69</sup> Gdańsk citizens accused Königsberg at that time of maintaining trade contacts with the Danes during the previous war (1522–1523).<sup>70</sup> Apparent estrangement in the mutual relations took place between the years 1518–1521, undoubtedly due to the 1519 introduction of a limited right of storage in Königsberg, applicable to merchants from Lithuania, Mazovia, Moscow, Gdańsk and Toruń, as well as the occurrence of the so-called Prussian War (1519–1521).<sup>71</sup> The retaliatory measures that were taken by Gdańsk citizens focused on the seizure of vessels belonging to Königsberg merchants and the introduction of sale orders on ash imported from Königsberg.<sup>72</sup> In the case of Martin Reszler, who purchased grain and sulphur in Gdańsk, the council of Kneiphof addressed the Gdańsk authorities twice (on 13 September and 16 November 1518), as their first letter remained unanswered.<sup>73</sup> In the same year, the Königsberg authorities addressed the inhabitants of Gdańsk regarding the case of Arnt Frise, a local councillor who had his fish detained (“2 lest herinck und 1 last bergerfisch [...] welche unter sehe und sant kommen”).<sup>74</sup> In the following years the number of similar letters increases (in 1521 – two letters, in 1522 – three letters).<sup>75</sup>

The introduction of duties on salt prices and the ban on trade between the Royal and Teutonic Prussia points to considerable differences in the positions taken by Gdańsk, Toruń, the small towns of Prussia and the Polish

---

<sup>67</sup> APGd., 300D, 67, no. 304, 311, 362, 394. In 1521, the Kneiphof council wrote to Gdańsk asking for the return of flour seized from a different councillor, Valentin Schulte, claiming that the purchase was made prior to the export ban: *ibid.*, no. 351.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*, no. 305, 360, 361, 363, 392.

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*, no. 361, 363, 366, 368.

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*, no. 367.

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*, no. 331; R. FISCHER, *op.cit.*, pp. 351–352; K. FORSTREUTER, *op.cit.*, p. 39. More about the conflict itself Marian BISKUP, *Wojna Pruska czyli Walka Polski z zakonem krzyżackim z lat 1519–1521*, Olsztyn 1991.

<sup>72</sup> *Akta Stanów Prus Królewskich*, vol. 8, pp. 178–179.

<sup>73</sup> APGd., 300D, 67, no. 330, 332. The matter of his ship being seized was also discussed during the estate conventions: *Akta Stanów Prus Królewskich*, vol. 8, pp. 178–179, 257. For more information about him see: Helmut FREIWALD, *Rös(e)ler, Merten (Martin)*, [in:] *Altpreußische Biographie*, Bd. 2, hrsg. v. Christian KROLLMANN, fortgesetzt v. Kurt FORSTREUTER, Fritz GAUSE, Marburg 1967, p. 565.

<sup>74</sup> APGd., 300D, 67, no. 334. The reply from Gdańsk to the 3 December letter was dated 17 December: *ibid.*, 300, 27/9, pp. 199–200.

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.*, no. 347, 351, 355, 356, 357.

king. Gdańsk perceived Königsberg as its competition for access to Lithuanian territories.<sup>76</sup> That did not, however, translate into Gdańsk supporting the restrictions on trade with this city. Gdańsk merchants objected that these had negative economic consequences for their city, since both Königsberg, as the entire territory belonging to the Order, were supplied from Lithuania, other Prussian cities (Toruń), and even by those Gdańsk merchants that chose not to comply with the ban.<sup>77</sup> The complaints expressed by the inhabitants of Königsberg show that they were against the restrictions as well.<sup>78</sup> In August 1522, the Gdańsk council asked the king to remove the customs duties imposed on merchants from the Teutonic Prussia and to allow them to trade, an act which, in the opinion of the council, could result in softening the position of the Order.<sup>79</sup> The king, however, decided to uphold the decisions taken during the convention in Grudziądz.<sup>80</sup>

The flow of capital and credit operations were bound to be closely connected to any commercial activity. Financial settlements between the residents of Gdańsk and Königsberg were one of the topics most frequently addressed in the correspondence of municipal authorities. This particular type of activity was also widely reflected in other source materials. Königsberg merchants applied for loan guarantees in Gdańsk already in the early 60s of the fifteenth century.<sup>81</sup> Those books that contain copies of loan authorizations issued before the court of assessors of the Main City of Gdańsk (“*Libri testimonialis*”) provide a number of references to citizens of Königsberg. In the years 1466–1507, citizens of Königsberg towns were mentioned for a total of approximately hundred times, some of the liabilities, however, resulted from the inheritance related distribution of property.<sup>82</sup> In most cases confirmed on the basis of available sources, there is no information about the circumstances of the debt, and sometimes even about the amount of debt and the debtors involved. In 1471, the council of the Old Town of Königsberg wrote to the Gdańsk councillors asking to support Andreas Gerdener, who wanted to recover some outstanding debts from Gdańsk.<sup>83</sup>

<sup>76</sup> *Akta Stanów Prus Królewskich*, vol. 5, part 1, pp. 234, 238; part 2, p. 219; vol. 6, p. 287.

<sup>77</sup> *Akta Stanów Prus Królewskich*, vol. 7: 1516–1520, ed. Marian BISKUP, Irena JANOSZ-BISKUPOWA, Warszawa 1986, pp. 250, 253, 261–262. The increased importance of land routes connecting the Lithuanian territories with the West was also pointed to by H. SAMSONOWICZ, *Handel*, p. 458.

<sup>78</sup> *Scriptores rerum Prussicarum*, pp. 179–181.

<sup>79</sup> *Akta Stanów Prus Królewskich*, vol. 8, pp. 266–267.

<sup>80</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 268.

<sup>81</sup> H. SAMSONOWICZ, *Badania*, p. 43.

<sup>82</sup> APGd., 300, 43/196, passim; 300, 43/197, passim.

<sup>83</sup> *Ibid.*, 300D, 67, no. 84.

The known amount of debt ranged from a few *marks*, as in the case of Valentin Bretewagen who ordered a settlement of debt in amount of 4 *marks* and 4 *scots* and the return of a pledged cloak to Niclos Smit, a skipper from Gdańsk who never showed up in the city again,<sup>84</sup> up to as much as a few hundred *marks*, owed in 1514 to Hans Croplin by Hans Neuman from Gdańsk. The liability in amount of 232 *marks* was most likely incurred in connection with some type of commercial collaboration, since the creditor took over the goods belonging to the debtor that the creditor had in his possession at that time.<sup>85</sup> The resulting debts that occur in these circumstances constitute another confirmation of close commercial relations between the inhabitants of both cities. In 1490, the citizens of Königsberg took possession of equipment installed on a ship that belonged to a Gdańsk skipper who owed them a certain amount of money,<sup>86</sup> in 1494, Peter Nosberg from the Old Town seized the linen of a Gdańsk merchant, Johann von Dalen, since he owed him 80 *marks*,<sup>87</sup> Hans Spilman decided to act in a similar fashion when seeking to recover his dues by taking over 10 *lasts* of ash belonging to another merchant from Gdańsk.<sup>88</sup>

Seizure of goods belonging to bad debtors presented only one of the possible ways to recover outstanding debt. Creditors often exercised their right to take over all the debtor's assets. The inhabitants of Königsberg and other cities that maintained trade contacts with merchants from Gdańsk, repeatedly went to the court of assessors in Gdańsk demanding seizure of their debtors' property. In 1469, Marcus Otte stood before the court of assessors on behalf of Jacob Michels from Königsberg's Old Town, demanding the properties belonging to Ludeko Butekow to be sold in order to recover the outstanding liabilities.<sup>89</sup> Herman Mellyn, appearing before the court of assessors in 1472, represented Kersten Holsten's creditors from Kneiphof, Słupsk and Wismar.<sup>90</sup>

Information pertaining to the obligations of Gdańsk citizens towards the inhabitants of Königsberg towns point to a relatively high mobility of merchants from Gdańsk. According to a letter dated 1496, sent by the Knei-

---

<sup>84</sup> Ibid., no. 143. What is of note here is that the letter contains a description of the dishonest skipper's place of residence: "eynen Burdingesfarer mit Namen Nickls Smit, ewern Mitteburger, in der Hundegassen wonhafftig."

<sup>85</sup> Ibid., no. 312.

<sup>86</sup> Ibid., no. 155.

<sup>87</sup> Ibid., no. 198.

<sup>88</sup> Ibid., no. 293.

<sup>89</sup> Ibid., 300, 43/2b, f. 161v. Confirmation of this case is also found in "Libri testimonialis": ibid., 300, 43/196, f. 133r, from this reference we know that the debt amounted to 70 *marks* in worse currency.

<sup>90</sup> APGd., 300, 43/2b, f. 288r.

phof council to Gdańsk and asking to inform the heirs of Johann van Dalen about a seizure of his salt (“globsaltcz”) by Hartwic Nyppe (for an amount of 53 *marks*), Peter Nosberg (32,5 *marks*), Borchard Blumenaw, authorized representative of Hans Hoppen (50 *marks*), the goods were stored in Heinrich Marscheden’s granary in Kneiphof.<sup>91</sup> It may be thus concluded that the citizens of Gdańsk made use of commercial infrastructure belonging to the inhabitants of Königsberg. Some references can also be found mentioning several merchants from Gdańsk who became owners of real estate in Königsberg. Two letters from the years 1476 and 1486 refer to a seizure of houses belonging to the citizens of Gdańsk, that were located in the Kneiphof area. In the first case, the overdue rents from the Schuhgasse house (“yn unszer stat Koenigesbergk Kneyphoff in der Schugassen hynder Peter Brawnen gelegen, das Jorgen Langerbauch ewren burger yn Hilgen Geist gassen wohnhafftig sal czugehoren”) were claimed by members of the clergy from Königsberg infirmary (a rent of 4 *marks* from a total value of 40 *marks* owed).<sup>92</sup> There is no information available, unfortunately, as to the circumstances in which the citizen of Gdańsk became the owner of the house, or whether he sold or established the rent himself or if that was already a burden on the property before he became its owner. The fact that it belonged to a clerical institution may indicate the latter.<sup>93</sup> In the second case, Bartholomeus Belitz seized the house at Wassergasse due to an arrearage of 30 *marks*.<sup>94</sup> The inhabitants of Königsberg applied to the Gdańsk court of assessors in 1472 and 1501 as well, claiming outstanding rents (“tyns,” “vorsetenen tyns”).<sup>95</sup> In the years 1474 and 1481, a Gdańsk citizen Heidenrich Rogge, acting as a warden/administrator (“vorweser,” “vorweiser”) of St. Barbara’s chapel in the Church of the Blessed Virgin Mary, sought inhabitants of Kneiphof who owned various properties located in Gdańsk (“bynnender selbigen ewer stadt [Gdańsk], in

<sup>91</sup> Ibid., 300D, 67, no. 209.

<sup>92</sup> No. 92. The seizure had to be effective, since the Gdańsk citizen was not mentioned as the property owner in the “Schoss” tax register issued a year later (1477): Dieter HECKMANN, *Das Schoßregister der Stadt Königsberg-Kneiphof von 1477*, Zeitschrift für Ostforschung, Jg. 43: 1994, pp. 21–23.

<sup>93</sup> Examples from other Hanseatic cities indicate that the rents belonging to church institutions were the longest term transactions: Cezary KARDASZ, *Rady miast nadbałtyckich na rynku renty w XIV i pierwszej połowie XV w. (Elbląg, Ryga, Rewal)*, Roczniki Dziejów Społecznych i Gospodarczych, vol. 70: 2010, pp. 128–142. The long term of the transaction may also be suggested by the interest rate (10%), which was legally effective until the year 1386: idem, *Rynek kredytu pieniężnego w miastach południowego pobrzeża Bałtyku w późnym średniowieczu (Greifswald, Gdańsk, Elbląg, Toruń, Rewal)*, Toruń 2013, pp. 72–73.

<sup>94</sup> APGd., 300D, 67, no. 138.

<sup>95</sup> Ibid., 300, 43/2b, f. 253v; 300, 43/4v, f. 134v.

der Wullewebergassen”) that were encumbered with rents owed to the chapel.<sup>96</sup>

Economic contacts between Gdańsk and the towns of Königsberg were not limited to long-distance trade. Both the citizens of Gdańsk and the inhabitants of Königsberg took active part in various fairs organized in these two locations.<sup>97</sup> The matter of belts requisitioned from Gdańsk craftsmen during the Königsberg fair in 1479 sparked an open conflict between the guilds of these cities. Demands to return the goods and punish the heads of the goldsmiths guild were almost certainly unsuccessful.<sup>98</sup> In subsequent years, Gdańsk craftsmen had their goods confiscated as well, only to hear that they were considered falsified and thus their return was not possible.<sup>99</sup> This turn of events, however, did not deteriorate the mutual relations. In 1483, a goldsmith from Gdańsk named Hans Joen owed Peter Bischof some money and was supposed to deliver the ordered goods to the fair in Königsberg.<sup>100</sup> At the 1491 Königsberg fair, a coat belonging to a Gdańsk market trader was confiscated.<sup>101</sup> In 1501, on the other hand, it was a group of market traders from Königsberg that complained about having their scales/weights impounded during the previous Dominican fair, proceeding to demand the return thereof in their next letter.<sup>102</sup>

Craftsmen from Gdańsk and Königsberg maintained their relations outside the county fair environment as well. These contacts date back to the period before the year 1466 and among the correspondence from that time we find letters recommending various candidates for guild positions in Gdańsk.<sup>103</sup> In the years 1466–1525, there are no references of that kind to be found and although the relationships have not ceased, their nature changed. In a letter dated 1481, the Kneiphof council complains that carpenters from Gdańsk discriminated against those journeymen that had previously worked in Königsberg.<sup>104</sup> A few years later, this particular guild was supposedly prohibiting the

---

<sup>96</sup> Ibid., f. 341r; 300D, 67, no. 107. The court of assessors records may suggest that the citizen of Königsberg inherited a property located in Gdańsk. For more information about the chapel see: Piotr OLIŃSKI, *Fundacje mieszczańskie w miastach pruskich w okresie średniowiecza i na progu czasów nowożytnych (Chełmno, Toruń, Elbląg, Gdańsk, Królewiec, Braniewo)*, Toruń, 2008, pp. 267–268.

<sup>97</sup> For more information about fairs in Prussia see: Roman CZAJA, *Gospodarcze znaczenie jarmarków w państwie zakonu krzyżackiego w Prusach*, [in:] *Studia nad dziejami miast i mieszczaństwa w średniowieczu*, pp. 121–132.

<sup>98</sup> APGd., 300D, 67, no. 101.

<sup>99</sup> Ibid., no. 121, 124.

<sup>100</sup> Ibid., 300, 59/8, f. 25r.

<sup>101</sup> Ibid., 300D, 67, no. 164, 167.

<sup>102</sup> Ibid., no. 231, 235.

<sup>103</sup> Ibid., no. 6, 8, 42.

<sup>104</sup> Ibid., no. 106.

sale of its own goods to craftsmen from Königsberg.<sup>105</sup> In a different letter from 1493, the councillors of the Old Town of Königsberg appealed to the Gdańsk council with a request to persuade a journeyman (“gesellen”) Martin Koell to repay his debt of 40 *marks* to master Lorenz Kale.<sup>106</sup> The exchange of names continued in both directions, as in the year 1487, a goldsmith from Kneiphof complained about his former master – Jorgen Gerdt from Gdańsk, who was supposed to have slandered him and accused him of stealing raw material as early as 1483.<sup>107</sup>

The economic relations between the citizens of Gdańsk and the inhabitants of the towns of Königsberg are widely acknowledged in the available sources. The preserved database does not allow to compare the scale and intensity of these relations prior to the outbreak of the Thirteen Years’ War with the circumstances that occurred after the conclusion of the Second Peace of Thorn. It is also not possible to precisely outline the dynamics of the phenomenon after the year 1466. The large number of references scattered around the source materials that confirm the exchange of goods and the flow of workforce, people and capital between the key economic centres of the Royal and Teutonic Prussia, however, allows us to conclude that the period between the years 1466 and 1525 witnessed intensive economic relations maintained between the inhabitants of Gdańsk and the towns of Königsberg, despite some of the theses put forward in earlier historiography. By the end of the fifteenth century, the relations were mainly focused on long-distance trade between Königsberg’s economic hinterland, i.e. the Lithuanian territories, and Western Europe, which implied financial flows (in the form of credits and rents) and social contacts.<sup>108</sup> In the early sixteenth century, a considerable change occurred in the commercial relations between the economic centres described herein. On the one hand, we see an escalating conflict reflecting the tension between the Order and the Kingdom of Poland, on the other, Gdańsk’s desire to maintain and monopolize its trade relations with Königsberg and, by extension, with the Teutonic Prussia and the Lithuanian territories as well.

The performed analysis also demonstrates that as far as further research on the economic contacts of Gdańsk at the turn of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries is concerned, it is necessary to make use of a wide-ranging catalogue of sources that include more than just the customs records and incorporate

---

<sup>105</sup> Ibid., no. 136. Letter dated 13 July 1486.

<sup>106</sup> Ibid., no. 188. Similar case *ibid.*, no. 213.

<sup>107</sup> Ibid., no. 140, 146.

<sup>108</sup> The social relations between the citizens of Gdańsk and the towns of Königsberg were not discussed herein. However, the analysis of available source materials points to the conclusion that in the fifteenth century these centres maintained close relations that were more than just economic in their nature.

correspondence and court records as well. These reference materials provide an exceedingly valuable source of additional information that may supplement the results of "Pfahlgeld" duty books examinations.

*transl. by Mateusz Graj*

Nadesłany: 10 I 2017

Nadesłany po poprawkach recenzyjnych: 10 III 2017

Zaakceptowany: 15 III 2017

*Dr Cezary Kardasz*

*Towarzystwo Naukowe w Toruniu*

*e-mail: ckardasz@tnt.torun.pl*

STOSUNKI GOSPODARCZE MIĘDZY GDAŃSKIM A KRÓLEWCEM  
W LATACH 1466–1525

Streszczenie

**Słowa kluczowe:** Prusy Królewskie, Prusy Zakonne, handel, kredyt, rzemiosło, korespondencja

W wyniku realizacji postanowień traktatu pokojowego kończącego wojnę trzynastoletnią między zakonem niemieckim a wspieranym przez stany pruskie Królestwem Polskim dotychczasowe władztwo zakonne w Prusach podzielone zostało na dwie odrębne, choć powiązane części, tzw. Prusy Królewskie i Prusy Zakonne. Artykuł omawia relacje gospodarcze: handel dalekosiężny, detaliczny, przepływ ludzi i kapitału między największymi ośrodkami miejskimi obu części – Gdańskiem i Królewcem – w latach 1466–1525. W starszej historiografii pojawiały się tezy wskazujące na załamanie relacji gospodarczych między Prusami Królewskimi i Zakonnymi po podziale władztwa zakonnego. Opinie te wynikały z nieuwzględniania pełnej bazy źródłowej – koncentrowano się na źródłach umożliwiających kwantytatywne ujęcie problemu. Na podstawie analizy korespondencji oraz rozproszonych wpisów w księgach miejskich w tekście udowodniono intensywne kontakty handlowe i finansowe między największymi portami Prus. Relacje handlowe koncentrowały się na wymianie między Europą zachodnią a ziemiemi li-



tewskimi, w których oba miasta odgrywały istotną rolę. Dominował eksport soli, a w początku XVI stulecia także zboża z Żuław do Królewca, główną rolę w imporcie na Zachód odgrywały produkty zapleczka: drewno, popiół, chmiel. Z wymianą towarową nierozłącznie wiązał się przepływ gotówki oraz ludzi. Mieszkańcy Gdańska i miast królewieckich pożyczali sobie wzajemnie gotówkę, nabywali nieruchomości. Wyraźnie widoczny jest także przepływ czeladników, kramarzy. Tekst dowodzi, że w analizie kontaktów handlowych Gdańska, obok ksiąg celnych, konieczne jest wykorzystanie także licznie zachowanej korespondencji.

DIE WIRTSCHAFTLICHEN BEZIEHUNGEN ZWISCHEN DANZIG UND KÖNIGSBERG  
IN DEN JAHREN 1466–1525

Zusammenfassung

**Schlüsselwörter:** Königliches Preußen, Ordenspreußen, Handel, Kredit, Handwerk, Briefwechsel

Infolge der Durchführung der Bestimmungen des Friedensvertrags, mit dem der dreizehnjährige Krieg zu Ende ging, der zwischen dem Deutschen Orden und dem von den preußischen Ständen unterstützten Königreich Polen geführt worden war, wurde die bisherige Herrschaft des Ordens in Preußen in zwei gesonderte, aber noch verbundene Teile getrennt: in das sog. Königliche Preußen und in das Ordenspreußen. Der Artikel behandelt die wirtschaftlichen Beziehungen zwischen Danzig und Königsberg in den Jahren 1466–1525, den Fernhandel, den Kleinhandel, den Fluss von Menschen und Kapital zwischen den beiden größten städtischen Zentren beider Teile. In der älteren Historiographie gab es Thesenbildungen, die auf einen Einbruch in den Wirtschaftsbeziehungen zwischen dem Königlichen Preußen und dem Ordenspreußen hinausliefen. Sie rührten daher, dass die Quellen nicht in vollem Umfang benutzt worden waren; man hatte sich auf Quellen konzentriert, die eine quantitative Erfassung des Problems ermöglichten. Aufgrund einer Analyse von Briefwechseln und verstreuten Einträgen in Stadtbüchern wird im Text der Nachweis geführt, dass es intensive Handels- und Finanzkontakte zwischen den größten Häfen Preußens gab. Die Handelsbeziehungen konzentrierten sich auf den Austausch zwischen Westeuropa und den Gebieten Litauens, wobei beide Städte eine wesentliche Rolle spielten. Im Vordergrund stand der Salzexport und am Beginn des 16. Jahrhunderts auch der Export von Getreide aus dem Weichseldelta nach Königsberg, während die Hauptrolle im Handel mit dem Westen Produkte aus dem Hinterland spielten: Holz, Asche und Hopfen. Mit dem Warenaustausch war untrennbar auch der Durchfluss von Bargeld und Menschen verbunden. Die Einwohner von Danzig und der königlichen Städte liehen sich gegenseitig Bargeld und erwarben Immobilien. Deutlich erkennbar ist

auch der Durchfluss von Menschen, namentlich von Gesellen und Krämern. Der Text zeigt, dass bei einer Analyse der Danziger Handelskontakte neben den Zollbüchern auch die Heranziehung der zahlreich erhaltenen Briefwechsel erforderlich ist.

