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Dedicated to my wife and children, without whom everything else is pointless.

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1 Introduction

Between the 11th and 14th centuries, Europe experienced sustained population growth, urbanisation, an increase of economic and social complexity as well as fundamental societal, political and institutional changes. Many scholars argue that this period was not only crucial for the formation of a distinct European (and by extension, Western) identity¹ but also laid the foundations for the subsequent centuries of European expansion and hegemony.² These developments were also both substantial drivers for a rapid intensification of interconnections with Asia and Africa - as well as being directly influenced and shaped by these exchanges.

However, it was not only Europe undergoing formative developments, instead it (re-)connected³ to dynamic systems, themselves experiencing significant changes: By around 1250 the Mongol Empire had created a single political and economic sphere encompassing much of Eurasia – but long before that, trade networks, political connections and religious ties had been steadily developing across much of the old world. Various scholars have acknowledged the crucial importance of the period around the 13th-14th centuries, dubbing it the *Age of Intensification*⁴, the *Eurasian World System*⁵ or even a form of globalisation.⁶

The increasing integration of Europe into this larger and arguably more sophisticated economic system not only had profound effects on the economy, the political geography and society in Europe; it also fundamentally changed its outlook and horizon: Most of Europe at the beginning of the 11th century was economically underdeveloped, under pressure from external threats and inwardly looking. By the mid-14th century, it had been firmly integrated into a political and economic system stretching from Portugal to the Philippines. European polities, merchants and elites were now confident and outward-oriented. In this period, Central Europe developed from a

¹ British medievalist Robert Bartlett referred to this centuries long process of expansion of Latin Catholicism and Frankish style institutions and norms, settler colonisation and economic expansion from the Carolingian / Latin core of Europe across the continent as the „*Europeanisation of Europe*“. See Bartlett, R. (1993), 269.

² For a detailed discussion of possible medieval roots of European expansion in the Early Modern Era see Mitterauer, M. (2004) or Bartlett, R. (1993).

³ Recent scholarship has shown that the Roman economy was much more deeply interconnected with Asia and Africa than previously assumed. For a more detailed discussion see for instance: Cobb, M. (2018) or Fitzpatrick, M. (2011)

⁴ Moore, R. (2016), 92.

⁵ Abu-Lughod, J. (1989), 8-9.

⁶ The question to what extent this period of growth and interconnection in Eurasia can be defined as – a form or precursor to – globalisation is complex and will be discussed in Chapter 2.

relative backwater at the edge of the former Roman and Carolingian cores of Latin Europe into an important economic region, firmly integrated into the European economy and by extension into the larger intercontinental trade system. Similarly, Vienna, located at the heart of the continent, evolved from a comparatively insignificant settlement plagued by Magyar raids into a vibrant city and trade hub at the centre of the Habsburg domains, which would dominate Central Europe until the 20th century.

Placing European medieval⁷ history in the larger Afro-Eurasian context is a relatively new approach. Within the context of the larger scholarly effort in the last decades to detach world history from dominant Eurocentric perspectives, the historiography of medieval Europe has moved from traditional, insular national histories (or even nationalistic narratives) to an increasing contextualisation within the larger political, social and economic developments of the Afro-Eurasian landmass. This development has gone hand in hand with the “global turn” in history: With the start (or at least the origins) of globalisation now sometimes placed before 1500, global history developing as a distinct approach and concepts such as the *Global Middle Ages* being debated, there is intense ongoing scholarly debate how useful and applicable these perspectives and concepts are for the medieval era – and where the limitations are. But it seems that in a time when the epicentre of the world economy is again shifting toward Asia, the study of an era when contemporary European sources speak in admiration of the wealth and sophistication of the “East” seems particularly appealing and relevant to both scholars and the wider public.

Global perspectives⁸ on medieval polities, societies and economies have thus become more common, especially for those areas and cities that were the most heavily involved in exchanges with the larger world (e.g., Venice) or the later colonial powers (France, England or the Netherlands). However, more peripheral regions such as Central Europe - and Austria in particular – have so far largely been neglected. This thesis will contribute to closing this gap by discussing how Vienna evolved from a comparatively insignificant settlement on the fringes of Latin Europe

⁷ It is worth noting from the outset that the concept of a “Middle Ages” as well as its periodisation are fundamentally based on outdated readings of the history of parts of Latin Europe, which are hard to apply even to the rest of Europe and of little use for the whole of Eurasia. The issue of periodisation is tied to the debate about the usefulness and limitations of the concept of the *Global Middle Ages* and will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 2.1, see for example Moore, R. (2016) or Wickham, C. (2016), 3-6.

⁸ This encompasses the study and discussion of interconnection, the question of globalisation in this era, as well as the application of global history as a method and perspective. See Chapter 2 for detailed discussion.

to a regional hub of long-distance trade and place this development into the context of the larger Afro-Eurasian economy and trade system in which it was embedded. It will thus address the relative lack of global perspective on trade and economic development of the medieval Austrian lands⁹ and provide an update on the existing body of literature which is largely several decades old and almost exclusively in German. Furthermore, it will draw upon a relatively recent and rapidly growing body of research on the complex history of trade and interconnection in Eastern Central Europe, especially Hungary and the Czech lands, to adequately analyse Vienna's position as a trade hub within a larger regional context.

Studying the interconnections and networks a relatively small entity (e.g., a city) is embedded in – as well as pursuing their underlying causes up to the global level - is a hallmark of global history, both as a perspective and an approach.¹⁰ *“The history of connectedness, strictly, perhaps, of uneven or differential connectedness, is, finally, the most distinctive terrain of the global historian. It follows that global history must be centrally concerned with the history of mobility—the movement across space of people, goods, and ideas. Indeed, it might well be argued that one of the most compelling insights that global history has to offer is to insist that the systematic investigation of the forms of mobility is an indispensable part of historical inquiry in every place and period.”*¹¹ However, it faces distinct challenges and pitfalls, and a careful balance between necessary detail and a global birds-eye view must be found. Understanding any form of exchange also requires an analysis of the infrastructure it took place upon: *“If exchange and migration required human vectors they also depended upon, and necessarily created, a more or less dense set of networks, the infrastructure of transmission. That infrastructure was determined in part by the constraints of the physical world, since networks need routes over land or sea.”*¹²

Thus, to understand Vienna's development as a node within a larger, intercontinental network, this thesis must discuss geography and the history and development of trade routes, roads, infrastructure, tolls, mountain passes etc. A trade network also consists of formal and informal institutions, norms and agents facilitating, regulating, influencing or curtailing exchange: Social

⁹ It is important to note here, that there is a discrepancy between what is now generally understood as Austria and what the term historically may have meant, especially in the Middle Ages. What sources in the 12-15th centuries refer to as Austria would have comprised merely parts of modern Upper and Lower Austria, with Babenberg and later Habsburg dukes referring to themselves as rulers of Austria, Styria etc.

¹⁰ Conrad, S. (2016), 9, 67 as well as Belich, J., Darwin, J. & Wickham, C. (2016) 3.

¹¹ Belich, J., Darwin, J. & Wickham, C. (2016), 15.

¹² Belich, J., Darwin, J. & Wickham, C. (2016), 16.

norms, currencies and exchange mediums, policy, personal ties and partnerships.¹³ All these factors will be considered here and literature ranging from monetary history to political history consulted.

This thesis will analyse medieval long-distance trade of a variety of goods, including luxury items, foodstuffs, cloth or livestock, however there will be a particular focus on metals, due to their significance for Vienna's role in the larger network of exchange across Eurasia and Africa. While this trade undoubtedly grew significantly within the period and region discussed, the analysis of primary source material will show that there is virtually no quantitative data available for this period and no way to quantify volumes of long-distance trade and adequately contextualise it in the overall economy of the period. And while there is still much scholarly debate about the extent, impact and significance of medieval long-distance trade, it must be emphasised that even at the height of the medieval commercial revolution, urbanisation and monetarisation, most trade and economic relationships in Europe were still predominantly local.¹⁴

Thus, like in any other analysis of global exchange and interconnections, it is necessary to resist the temptation of overestimating the significance of long-distance trade vis a vis local factors and be prepared to ask "*hard questions*" about its extent, frequency, volume and intensity.¹⁵ It is not the scope of this thesis to give a definitive or quantitative answer to these questions regarding Vienna's involvement in long-distance trade (as far as available sources would even allow this). However, it will show that both primary sources and the scholarly literature not only suggest a significant intensification of interconnection in the period analysed and argue that a global perspective on the issue provides a useful contextualisation and contribution to the historiography of medieval Vienna.

To address and understand how a city is embedded within a transcontinental system, it is also necessary to consider a city as an object of historical scholarship, as its buildings and infrastructure, by themselves, carry little meaning without human agency. There are many complex and interrelated aspects: A city is simultaneously an administrative unit, a legal entity, a governed

¹³ Belich, J., Darwin, J. & Wickham, C. (2016), 16.

¹⁴ See for instance Wickham, C. (2017), 137. It is also worth mentioning that, although hard to quantify, the supplying of monasteries and other religious institutions with food, cloth, wine or salt was a significant factor in regional medieval trade and local economic activity. This is evidenced by the abundance of surviving charters granting exemptions from tariffs and tolls, as well as export-oriented economic activities on church lands such as mining. It is however beyond the scope of this thesis to discuss this in detail.

¹⁵ Belich, J., Darwin, J. & Wickham, C. (2016), 17.

polity, a (physical) marketplace, a crossroads, an infrastructure node, a point of transit and a place of residence and business of inhabitants, foreigners, elites, minorities or merchants. These, in turn all interact in numerous ways, are embedded in their own networks and have – complex and conflicting interests. As will be discussed, Vienna had a complex and multifaceted role in medieval long-distance trade, being the origin, destination and transit point for various goods. Similarly, the Viennese themselves took on a variety of roles: consumers, middlemen, brokers and merchants on the road – as well as political agents enhancing, restricting or regulating trade in, out and through their city. All of these aspects are interrelated and will be considered within this thesis; however, the primary focus will be on connections, (physical and social) infrastructure as well as the goods that were exchanged. Also, despite the tendency of global history not to overemphasise the agency of states and their governments, any discussion of a city's history is inevitably intertwined with the history of the polities it is embedded in, their ruling dynasties and their policies.

A final point must be made about the time frame discussed here. Aside from its Roman origins, the roots of current, continuously inhabited Vienna can be traced to the early 11th century, with the settlement only gradually gaining relevance in the 12th century.¹⁶ This fact, together with the paucity of relevant written records before the 13th century constrict any meaningful discussion of “medieval” Vienna or its economy. Thus – despite some references to earlier events - the period discussed in this thesis will begin around 1200 and end roughly around 1450 – a time when both the economic and political landscape of most of Eurasia were undergoing massive changes.

1.1 Research questions

In order to address the research gap discussed in the previous pages this thesis will be guided by four interrelated research questions:

- What was the role of medieval¹⁷ Vienna within the larger Afro-Eurasian economy?

¹⁶ The post-Roman centuries of Vienna and its surroundings are poorly understood due to a relative lack of sources. Despite archaeology showing that the former Roman settlement of *Vindobona* and its surrounding area were occasionally used by various peoples, any form of continuity of habitation from late antiquity into the Middle Ages is unlikely. Archaeological evidence points toward some habitation recommencing in the 9th century and minor Slavic settlements within the current city limits. It is unclear to what extent the area was used or settled during Magyar domination in the 10th century. For details see Harl, O., Huber, E. & Ranseder, C. (2015) and Csendes, P. (2015).

¹⁷ Notwithstanding the larger historiographical debate around the periodisation and utility of the term *medieval* which this thesis can't discuss in detail: As stated above, due to the lack of earlier sources and a clear picture of the (economic) history of Vienna pre-1200, the term here - as well as in the title – refers to the time period covered ca. 1200-1450.

- What role did Vienna and its merchants play in the Eurasian metal trade?
- What measures did the rulers of the city and the Austrian lands undertake to secure and expand the position of Vienna in this trade system?
- What are the benefits and limitations of the “global approach” to this problem?

1.2 *Methods and primary sources*¹⁸

The research questions will be answered in two steps. First, a thorough analysis of a wide range of literature will be conducted (Chapter 2). This literature review will be split into six segments ranging from the theoretical scholarly discussions of medieval Eurasian interconnection to works on medieval Vienna and its economic ties. It will then be followed by a discussion and analysis of a total of 166 selected relevant primary sources. These were chosen via (1) consultation of the scholarly literature (2) searching through various primary source collections and regesta as well as (3) keyword searches within various digitalised archives.

Criteria for selection were their relevance for Viennese long-distance trade connections, e.g. discussing or mentioning relevant roads and infrastructure, merchant activities, trade goods, legal frameworks such as rights and tolls as well as relevant correspondence from various political figures. The sources fall into four rough categories, which somewhat overlap (1) Primary sources related to trade rights, tolls and regulations within Vienna and the surrounding lands (2) Primary sources providing information on trade connections with Venice and northern Italy (3) Primary sources on trade relationships to other lands and (4) Primary sources placing Vienna in the larger context of the Eurasian trade system.

After a descriptive overview of the selected body of primary sources, four selected, particularly relevant documents will be subjected to an in-depth analysis roughly following the three-step methodology by N. Fairclough¹⁹. Then, the entirety of the primary source material will undergo a

¹⁸ See Chapter 3 for a detailed discussion of primary sources selected as well as the references for a full list of primary sources.

¹⁹ According to Fairclough’s methodology of discourse analysis both sources and their analysis are three-dimensional: Any source (written, visual or other) consists of three layers: (1) the text or raw data (2) the information it transmits and (3) the larger (social and historical) context it is embedded in. These three layers are in turn analysed in three steps: In the first, the source is merely described for its form, appearance and other basic characteristics (such as type, length, language etc.), which Fairclough refers to as the source’s *data*. In the second step, which Fairclough describes as the analysis, the source is described as a process: Who made it, what for, who is addressed and what content is transmitted. The third step, the results, is the contextualisation of the source in its larger socio-historical setting. However, as these categories can be blurred and primary sources are extremely diverse, Fairclough himself insists that

horizontal analysis, identifying (1) Vienna's role as a network node by analysing roads, infrastructure, connections and trade partners mentioned in the sources, (2) goods and items traded (3) medieval Vienna's role in the medieval Afro-Eurasian metal market and (4) the global dimension of the source material.

These categories as well as the discussion of results and contextualisation with the existing scholarly literature in Chapter 4 are informed by a global history approach based on S. Conrad (2016). His six-part framework²⁰ serves as a guideline to analyse phenomena, sources and literature from a perspective of global history, and will guide the analysis of both the primary sources: What global or macro-level developments and trends can be identified within the sources? What do the sources say about economic relationships, networks and systems was medieval Vienna (and its people) embedded in?

1.3 Limitations

It is worth noting possible limitations to this approach, especially given the nature of the selected primary source material: (1) While these have been selected diligently according to the method previously described, the selection inevitably inherits biases and priorities from previous research. (2) Compared to later periods, primary sources on the role of Vienna and its people in long-distance trade in the Middle Ages are limited and lack detail, especially before 1300, after which available sources increase significantly. This means that parts of the period discussed are less well covered than others, which needs to be taken into account especially when analysing primary source content: Absence of written evidence does not mean evidence of absence but merely a lack of documentation, cultures of accounting and other factors. (3) The sources of the period generally don't contain any quantitative data, giving any statements about quantity, frequency or volume of trade an inevitable degree of uncertainty (4) The sources used (charters, administrative documents,

this method must be applied with flexibility, subtlety and common sense, rather than being rigidly forced onto texts, images or other objects of analysis. See Fairclough N. (1998), especially pages 72-73 and 225.

²⁰ (1) Non-exclusivity of the macro-level: Global developments are not merely discussed on a large scale but also serve as contextualisation of the local/micro level. (2) Alternative notions of space and units: Shift of focus away from state actors such as empires, nations etc. toward systems, spaces or networks. (3) Focus on the relational: Civilisations, nations or other social units (in the case of this thesis a city) do not develop in isolation but are entangled in relationships and networks with other entities. (4) A focus away from ideas of development and teleological or linear notions of development and progress toward interactions, exchange and cooperation within complex systems. (5) A balance between diachronic and synchronic perspectives. (6) Self-reflexive on the issue of Eurocentrism. For this thesis, 1-3 are particularly pertinent. See Conrad, S. (2016), 65-67.

correspondence etc.) all have inherent biases, problems and perspectives attached to them, which require caution: As we shall see, the primary sources selected frequently only discuss problems, interruptions and re-establishing of trade, while the extent to which it functioned smoothly was possibly not always worth writing about (or archiving). Thus, it is important to utilise and analyse them with caution and adequate contextualisation. (5) Additionally, few sources in this period were actually written by individuals directly involved in mercantile activities.

Furthermore, applying global history to the medieval period is relatively new and there is no consensus on method or even agreement on what certain terminology – such as global – are to be defined. This means that there is a notable lack of methodological discussions specifically addressing global history and global economic history for the period pre-1500, likely due to the already mentioned novelty of the subject. Textbooks and introductory works on global history and global economic history tend to either outright start in the 16th or 17th century or to summarise pre-1700 economies under terms such as “agricultural”, “pre-industrial” etc.²¹ As will be outlined in Chapter 2.1, there is an ongoing debate among historians and more specifically medievalists on how to apply global history to the medieval period and whether the terms *global* or *globalisation* are even applicable. By leaning on the framework according to S. Conrad this thesis is building on solid theoretical foundations of what global history as an approach implies and can be applied to this timeframe. But it must be noted that this thesis, by addressing a research gap in a burgeoning field, cannot build on an established scholarly field with tried-and-tested methods built on an overwhelming consensus. Global history has its biases and limitations which need to be kept in mind continuously, especially when approaching a medieval problem. The sources themselves reflect this: The relative lack of literacy and private record-keeping in most of medieval Europe²² inevitably biases our views toward the perspectives and interests of elites or state actors, a problem which this thesis must be very aware of.

²¹ See for instance: Komlosy, A. (2011) or Allen, R.C. (2011).

²² This generalising statement should of course not brush aside significant regional or social differences as well as significant variation over time. For example, widespread literacy among professional classes and certain forms record keeping and correspondence occurred in parts of Italy centuries before this was the case in the rest of Europe, or Muslim Spain, where literacy was likely higher than in most of Europe. Certain social groups or communities, such as the Jews, the aristocracy, monks or members of the clergy were also disproportionately literate. For a detailed discussion see: Clanchy, M. (2007).

2 Literature review

2.1 *Theoretical discussions of medieval Eurasian interconnection, pre-modern globalisation and the “Global Middle Ages”*

The intensification of trade and interconnection across Eurasia in the period from the 11th to 14th century has been subject to scholarly debate for decades, often placing it into larger theoretical and conceptual frameworks on globalisation, interconnection and periodisation, as well as larger debates and trends within social sciences and historiography. Building on I. Wallerstein’s World Systems Theory as well as earlier scholarship such as F. Braudel’s work on early capitalism²³, J. Abu-Lughod’s argued that the interconnected Eurasian polities of the 13th and 14th centuries constituted a world system consisting of eight interdependent subsystems.²⁴ As the title *Before European Hegemony* implies, Abu-Lughod was one of the first major proponents of a larger historiographical trend of wanting to break out of Eurocentric readings of progress, globalisation as well as its periodisation. With the intensification of global interconnection from the 90s, theoretical debates on globalisation spilt into the historical sciences. The central question was - and remains - from which point in history, something which could be defined as globalisation occurred.

Defining the intensification of Afro-Eurasian interconnection in this period as globalisation is by no means uncontested. Many scholars remain sceptical of any application of the term to the pre-modern or even pre-industrial age. K. O'Rourke and J. Williamson for example analysed the impact of global interconnection on various economic indicators, and according to them, the measurable impact of interconnection was so inconsequential, that any idea of economic globalisation before the 1820s is to be rejected. *“Globalisation did not begin 5000 years ago, or even 500 years ago. It began in the early nineteenth century. In that sense, it is a very modern phenomenon.”*²⁵ Others, such as J. de Vries, argue that the beginning of globalisation can be placed in the 17th and 18th centuries, when European capitalism (especially via trading companies) gained

²³ See for example Braudel, F. (1977).

²⁴ Abu-Lughod, J. (1989) 33-38. Wallerstein himself rejected this interpretation, arguing that despite interconnection there was no clear division of core and periphery.

²⁵ O'Rourke, K. & Williamson, J. (2002), 47.

a foothold in India and Africa, and China and the Americas were integrated into the Western-dominated world economy, which in the 19th century would transform into colonialism.²⁶ D. Flynn and A. Giraldez proposed a slightly earlier start, according to them globalisation started in 1571, when the Spanish colonies in the Americas (and their silver exports) began to be directly economically linked to China via Manila, thus integrating the Pacific into the global economy and directly connecting Asia and the New World.²⁷ 1492, 1498 or 1500 (often equated with the end of the medieval era) are also frequently proposed starting dates for globalisation, as the start of continuous European expansion into the Americas now not only firmly connected all major world regions and complex societies in one political and economic system but also linked the biospheres of America and Eurasia via the Columbian Exchange.²⁸

However, many scholars now propose pre-1500 starting dates for globalisation: Authors such as A. Hopkins²⁹, D. Northrup³⁰ or C. A. Bayly³¹ argue that the interconnection across Eurasia in the period from the 11th to 14th century should indeed be understood as a unique and essential phase in the development of global interconnection, calling it *archaic globalisation*.³² P. Stearns refers to this period as *early globalisation*, emphasising its crucial role in shaping interconnection in the later stages of globalisation.³³ The appeal of such an approach resonated with the larger effort to reduce the focus on European agency in the study of world history: According to such a periodisation, globalisation (and thus to some extent any notions of modernity) didn't begin purely through the actions by Western nation-states from ca. 1500 onward but was a process which had already been initiated when Europe was little more than a peripheral region of the world's economy. Building on this idea of European expansion being based on the impetus and innovations of the larger, more advanced "East", J. Hobson coined the term *oriental globalisation*, which produced networks, technologies and innovations on which Western expansion was fundamentally

²⁶ See for example: de Vries, J. (2010).

²⁷ Flynn, D. & Giraldez, A. (2004), 82.

²⁸ See for example Zinkina, J. et al. (2019), 71-85, McKeown, A. (2007), 221 or Vanhoute, E. (2013), 67-70 and 122-134.

²⁹ Hopkins, A. (2002), 4-7.

³⁰ Northrup, D. (2005), 253.

³¹ Bayly, C.A. (2017), 14-15.

³² Later periods being named *proto-globalisation*, *early modern globalisation* etc.

³³ Stearns, P. (2024), 33-68.

built.³⁴ Expanding on his work, J. Nederveen Pieterse proposed an extensive model of phases of globalisation, which are characterised by distinct dynamics and phases of expansion (as well as contraction). He defines the period from around 1100-1500 as the second phase of oriental globalisation, characterised by the dominance of Asia, the silk routes and urbanisation across Eurasia. More recently, work on the decisive role of the Mongol conquests in fostering Eurasian exchange in this period has also led some scholars to use the terms *Mongol Exchange*³⁵, *Chinggis Exchange*³⁶ or *Mongol Globalisation*³⁷. These terms were intended to replace inaccurate concepts of a *Pax Mongolica* and to counter Eurocentrist narratives around global interconnection.³⁸

With definitions and discussions about globalisation stretching well into the pre-1500 era, a debate centred around the term and concept *Global Middle Ages* has developed in the last decade, primarily among British historians, centred around a working group of over 30 prominent medievalists and global historians. It includes lively scholarly debate to what extent globalisation existed in the medieval period or to what extent of global trends in this time frame can be identified – but also the applicability of global history as a method and perspective to medieval studies. The question of the Global Middle Ages is intertwined with the discussion and deconstruction of the term Middle Ages itself, as its periodisation is inextricably linked to a uniquely Western European historical context. The *Past- and Present Supplement* which was the outcome of this large collaboration avoids offering definitive theoretical or methodical answers but rather represents an extensive collection of the existing arguments, best illustrated by the nuanced introduction by C. Holmes and N. Standen.³⁹ The debate is by no means settled: Eminent medievalist R. Moore⁴⁰ is sceptical of the usefulness of the term *global*, while however being supportive of applying global history to medieval history and acknowledging both significant interconnections and the limitations of existing periodisation. Similarly, P. Frankopan argues for the utility of global history

³⁴ See Hobson, J. M. (2004). It is worth noting, that various reviewers criticised Hobson for making exaggerated claims of Eastern influences on developments in late Medieval Europe and – in his desire to counter Eurocentrism – downplayed Western agency and innovation.

³⁵ Favereau, M. (2021), 20.

³⁶ May, T. M. (2012), 22.

³⁷ Fiaschetti, F. (2020), 180.

³⁸ However, reducing this period of interconnection to the actions of Mongols also seems problematic, as it negates the role which other non-European agents or systems had (e.g., the Song dynasty, the Muslim world or the Indian Ocean trade system).

³⁹ Holmes, C. & Standen, N. (2018), 2-44.

⁴⁰ Moore, R. (2016), 92.

for this time period, while acknowledging both the problems associated with the term global and the temptations of drawing parallels as well as constructing commonalities between fundamentally diverse people, places, periods and phenomena.⁴¹ N. Berend criticised the use of the concept of *global* for the medieval context as “*both too vague and too misleading*” and argues for the use of concepts according to the world views and motivations represented in contemporary sources, rather than trying to make modern ones fit to the time period.⁴² The work of G. Heng, an anthropologist and post-colonial theorist, in turn, illustrates that the question of what constitutes global connection and interaction in the Middle Ages – as well as the problem of Eurocentrism in periodisation – is much more than a problem of definitions and periodisation that fascinates historians or medievalists. It is a contentious issue of how (Western) scholars should approach the past considering that Western agency did not only disproportionately shape modernity and globalisation but Western historiography continues to dominate scholarly methodology, tools and perspectives.⁴³ However, Heng’s work – while offering a good discussion of the problem of Eurocentric perceptions of the Middle Ages and globalisation - in turn suffers from its own shortcomings which are not unusual when broad historical problems are approached by social sciences: Strong reliance on secondary literature and theoretical constructs from non-historians, neglect of contemporary primary sources and the related vast body of historical scholarship as well as a tendency toward generalisations and essentialisation.⁴⁴

It is important to note that discussions of the *Global Middle Ages*, pre-1500 globalisation or the application of global history are not limited to the English-speaking world. German historian M. Borgolte’s work⁴⁵ on the *Globalgeschichte* of the Middle Ages arguably predates the (internationally more influential) debate among English-speaking historians. *Die Welten des Mittelalters: Globalgeschichte eines Jahrtausends* in particular represents one of the most

⁴¹ Frankopan, P. (2023), 5-10.

⁴² Berend, N. (2023), 285–314

⁴³ See for example Heng, G. (2021).

⁴⁴ Additionally, post-colonial theory tends toward a moralisation of historical human interaction and interconnection based on modern conceptualisations of phenomena such as race, nation-states, colonialism, social classes or gender, which are not simply applied onto the pre-modern age. It seems at least questionable what explanatory power such an approach has to a time in which no serious scholar would suggest any form of European dominance.

⁴⁵ See for example: Borgolte (2012, 2013, 2014, 2022 & 2023).

comprehensive syntheses of the literature on Afro-Eurasian exchange in the Middle Ages.⁴⁶ Similarly, Italian and French historians, such as M. Montesano, F. Cardini or J. Baschet are part of developing debates within their respective national scholarly communities and historiographical traditions.⁴⁷

The overwhelming evidence for interconnection and exchange in the 11th-14th century led to decades of theoretical debate on conceptualisation, avoiding Eurocentrism as well as the applicability of the usefulness of concepts such as globalisation and global. However, while there seems to be a growing interest and openness for the application of global history to the Middle Ages, the arguments about precise definitions or what utility global or globalisation as terms and concepts have, are still ongoing. As stated earlier, this means that applying global history to a medieval context is a comparatively untested approach and there is neither a definitive consensus on its methods nor the extent of its utility and applicability.

2.2 Trade, interconnection and exchange across Eurasia

Many of the previously discussed theoretical works not only represent contributions to theory but are also syntheses of the rapidly expanding body of academic work on long-distance trade and interconnection in medieval Eurasia. As authors such as J. Abu-Lughod or M. Borgolte have shown, the Eurasian trade network consisted of numerous subsystems, a large variety of goods traded and countless (state and non-state) actors. Thus, it is far beyond the scope of this thesis to provide a comprehensive overview of the entirety of the literature covering all aspects and regional details.

Aside from the works already mentioned, examples of good overviews of the development of the Eurasian economic interconnection include contributions by R. Smith⁴⁸ as well as A. Schottenhammer.⁴⁹ Much of the attention of the literature is centred around the network of roads and routes in Central Asia generally referred to as the *Silk Road(s)*⁵⁰, usually specifically referring

⁴⁶ Despite its comprehensive nature, *Die Welten* avoids theoretical discussions on the concepts and definitions of the *global* and what they potentially mean in the context of the medieval era. In a book encompassing over 1000 pages, the term and its theoretical implications are only briefly mentioned on one.

⁴⁷ E.g. Cardini, F. & Montesano, M. (2023), Cardini, F. & Vanoli, A. (2017) or Baschet J. (2012).

⁴⁸ Smith, R. (2015).

⁴⁹ Schottenhammer, A. (2011).

⁵⁰ It is important to note, that both the concept of a distinct trade network or road system, as well as the term *Silk Road* being applied to it, is an invention of 19th century historiography and not discernible in contemporary sources.

to the overland trade system, however, sometimes including maritime connections in the Indian Ocean. Noteworthy overviews were provided by D. Christian⁵¹, X. Liu⁵², V. Hansen⁵³, F. Cardini and A. Vanoli⁵⁴ as well as P. Kalra.⁵⁵ All these contributions utilise diverse definitions of what constitutes the Silk Road(s) and vary widely in the centuries covered. P. Frankopan's *The Silk Roads: A new history*⁵⁶ is particularly unusual, as the term serves as an umbrella for the entirety of Eurasian history, while however maintaining a distinctly Western perspective on events in this region. As some scholars like K. Rezakhani argue, the (increasingly fashionable) overemphasis of European interconnection with China in this period often downplays the relevance, complexity and agency of the peoples and states in between. Thus, the term *Silk Road* implies a (planned) connection from a starting point and a destination, instead of a network and system involving multiple peoples and states.⁵⁷ Such (unintentional) Eurocentrism (or Sinocentrism) is not only a general problem with much of the discussion around the Silk Road but also important to be conscious of when applying global history to medieval interconnection, especially when approaching a European phenomenon.

When discussing Eurasian trade in the 13-15th centuries, the influence of the Mongol Empire can hardly be overstated. The work of M. Biran⁵⁸, T. May⁵⁹ and C. Ho⁶⁰ provide general overviews of the Mongol impact on trade, while M. Favereau⁶¹, V. Ciociltan⁶² and N. Di Cosmo⁶³ offer important contributions to the Mongols' impact on trade with Europe (especially via the Black Sea). However, for this thesis A. Kuroda's work⁶⁴ on the wider impact of the Mongol Empire and its monetary policies is especially important. It demonstrates how certain Mongol policies such as the backing of Chinese paper money with silver, the standardisation of certain exchanges, weights and tributes across the empire, as well as the removal of trade barriers between regions already

⁵¹ Christian, D. (2000).

⁵² Liu, X. (2010).

⁵³ Hansen, V. (2012).

⁵⁴ Cardini, F. & Vanoli, A. (2017).

⁵⁵ Kalra, P. (2021).

⁵⁶ Frankopan, P. (2015).

⁵⁷ Rezakhani, K. (2010).

⁵⁸ See for example Biran, M. (2015), although he has published and edited extensively on the topic.

⁵⁹ May, T. (2012).

⁶⁰ Ho, C. C. (2022).

⁶¹ Favereau, M. (2021).

⁶² Ciociltan, V. (2012).

⁶³ Di Cosmo, N. (2005).

⁶⁴ For this thesis Kuroda, A. (2009, 2020 & 2023) are most relevant.

familiar with silver currencies, created a boom in the Eurasian silver market from around the 1270s well into the latter half of the 14th century.⁶⁵

2.3 *Medieval history of money, minting and mining*

As a specialist in the history of Asian currencies, Kuroda also made important contributions to monetary history by breaking teleological Eurocentric perspectives on how currencies developed and how various forms of monies existed and interacted in parallel. This work culminated in the *Global History of Money*⁶⁶, which, arguably not only offers the only major synthesis of currency history, which is not written from a Western perspective, but also manages to shift focus away from merchants and bankers toward the practices of peasants and workers.⁶⁷

Medieval monetary history is inexorably tied to the history of mining and metallurgy and for this thesis, understanding both larger Eurasian trends and local European developments in these fields is crucial. I. Blanchard's three-volume opus magnum *Mining, Metallurgy and Minting in the Middle Ages*⁶⁸ is unparalleled in its scope and depth, not only because of the vast amount of data and literature it moulds into a coherent picture across three continents within roughly a millennium but also the detail it provides on local and regional developments and how they relate to larger, long-term trends. Regarding general medieval European minting and mining history, as well as metal trade through Europe, this thesis will also draw from the work of P. Spufford⁶⁹, J. Day⁷⁰ and J. Graulau⁷¹. For trade through and by medieval Vienna however, the mining history of Bohemia and Hungary are most relevant, but only recently have publications in English (and to a lesser extent in German and Italian) made scholarship from these countries accessible to the international community. Outstanding recent contributions to the mining history of Bohemia were made by P. Hruby⁷² and R. Zaoral⁷³, with the latter also analysing the trade toward Venice. *Mining in Medieval*

⁶⁵ Kuroda argues that this "First Silver Century" laid the foundations for the second global silver boom in the late 16th century, which saw silver from Spanish South America flood Europe and Asia. By then, China's currencies had been firmly based on silver. See Kuroda, A. (2009, 2020 & 2023).

⁶⁶ Kuroda, A. (2020).

⁶⁷ See also the review of Kuroda's work by R. Spang in the *International Review of Social History*: Spang, R. (2020).

⁶⁸ For the timeframe discussed in this thesis, Volumes II & III are relevant: Blanchard, I. (2001 & 2005).

⁶⁹ From his extensive work on medieval European economic and monetary history Spufford, P. (1988, 2006 & 2008) are most pertinent for this thesis.

⁷⁰ Day, J (1978).

⁷¹ Graulau, J. (2019 & 2023) are most relevant.

⁷² See Hruby, P. (2022) as well as Hrubý, P. et al (2021).

⁷³ Zaoral, R. (2014, 2018 & 2019).

*Hungary*⁷⁴ by Z. Batizi offers the most complete overview for Hungary and the only such synthesis available in English. Much of the metal – especially silver - mined in Central Europe in the 13th and 14th centuries ended up in Venice, being minted into Venetian silver currency at the *Zecca*. The most detailed discussion on such Venetian imports can be found in A. Stahl's work⁷⁵ as well as R. Mueller's *The Venetian Money Market*.⁷⁶ Venetian metal imports from (German) Central Europe are also discussed in detail in the (older, but still relevant) work of H. Simonsfeld⁷⁷, W. von Stromer⁷⁸ and G. Rösch.⁷⁹

2.4 Trade connections and infrastructure of medieval Vienna and the Austrian lands

To adequately discuss the economic history of medieval Vienna and its position as a network node, this thesis will build on a large body of scholarship which also covers trade and infrastructure in the lands surrounding it. Much of the relevant literature is several decades old or even dates back well into the 19th or early 20th century when relevant sources were first systematically documented and long-distance trade connections were painstakingly pieced together. The earliest such works are F. Kurz' *Oesterreichs Handel in älteren Zeiten*⁸⁰ from 1822, with later works such as *Der auswärtige Handel des Herzogtums Österreich im Mittelalter*⁸¹ by T. Mayer expanding on it. J. Winkler's *Wien und die Entwicklung des Donauhandels*⁸², first covered Vienna's role in the west-east trade along the Danube, while detailed research on trans-alpine trade to Venice (and thus by extension into the larger Eurasian trade system) began with H. Simonsfeld's already mentioned *Der Fondaco dei Tedeschi in Venedig und die deutsch-venetianischen Handelsbeziehungen*⁸³ and C. Schalk's *Rapporti commerciali fra Venezia e Vienna*.⁸⁴ The first English-language publications

⁷⁴ Batizi, Z. (2018).

⁷⁵ Stahl, A. (2001 & 2016).

⁷⁶ Mueller, R. (2019).

⁷⁷ Simonsfeld, H. (1887).

⁷⁸ W. von Stromer discusses metal trade between the German speaking lands with Venice in various works, for this thesis von Stromer, W. (1978 & 1999) are most pertinent.

⁷⁹ See for example Rösch, G. (1979, 1982 & 1995).

⁸⁰ Kurz, F. (1822).

⁸¹ Mayer, T. (1909), reprinted in 1973.

⁸² Winkler, J. (1872).

⁸³ Simonsfeld, H. (1887).

⁸⁴ Schalk, K. (1912).

on the topic by J. Hoffmann⁸⁵ heavily built their work. A. Luschin v. Ebenreuth's extensive work on Viennese medieval trade and minting remains relevant, especially *Münzwesen, Handel und Verkehr*⁸⁶ and *Münzwesen in Österreich im ausgehenden Mittelalter*.⁸⁷ During this period around the late 19th and early 20th century, the histories of local trade centres and infrastructures were also first systematically researched and reconstructed, with contributions by O. Kende on trade via the Semmering Pass⁸⁸, by H. Reutter on the road networks of the Vienna basin⁸⁹ or T. Mayer's work on medieval trade via the town of Krems⁹⁰ being relevant to this thesis. Despite being limited by somewhat nation-state-centred perspectives, the research in this era has made invaluable contributions such as the transcription and collection of primary sources, thus forming an important basis for the subsequent decades.

Despite limited new source material being discovered and research interests shifting elsewhere, the field continued to develop from the mid-20th century. Scholars such as H. Hassinger⁹¹ and P. Csendes⁹² provided important research on the medieval history of Austrian road infrastructure, while others such as M. Mitterauer⁹³ or H. Knittler⁹⁴ began approaching trade in medieval Austrian lands from the newer perspectives of socio-economic history. The extensive work of O. Pickl on trade and infrastructure history deserves mention (although much of it covers later centuries), especially because of his focus on metal trade in the broader European context.⁹⁵

Simultaneously, new research outside Austria began to improve our understanding of medieval long distance trade connections to Vienna and the surrounding lands. While W. von Stromer⁹⁶ provided valuable evidence of substantial business connections with Venice even before the 1220s, G. Rösch's work offers an extensive overview of the intense economic connections that developed

⁸⁵ See for example Hoffmann, J. (1923 & 1932).

⁸⁶ Luschin, A. (1905).

⁸⁷ Luschin, A. (1917)

⁸⁸ Kende, O. (1907).

⁸⁹ Reutter, H. (1909).

⁹⁰ Mayer, T. (1914).

⁹¹ H. Hassinger made significant contributions to the study of trade, the economy and infrastructure of the medieval Austrian lands and beyond. For this thesis Hassinger, H. (1965 & 1979) are most relevant.

⁹² See for instance Csendes, P. (1969 & 2001).

⁹³ From his extensive body of work M. Mitterauer (1971, 1977 & 2004) will be used for this thesis.

⁹⁴ H. Knittler's work covers a wide range of socio-economic topics, his publications on certain trade tariffs provide valuable insights on trade goods and routes. This thesis will draw from Knittler, H. (1977a, 1977b & 2017) in particular.

⁹⁵ E.g. Pickl, O. (1977, 1992a, 1992b & 1992c).

⁹⁶ See for example the already mentioned Stromer, W. (1978 & 1999).

between Venice and the German-speaking world.⁹⁷ Both scholars highlight the importance of metal trade in these economic relationships. Similarly, a new internationally connected generation of scholars in the Czech Republic and Hungary extensively researched the economic interconnectedness of their countries in the medieval era and thus helped improve and modernise our understanding of the role of Vienna as a transit hub, business partner and competitor.⁹⁸

With regards to understanding the medieval economy of Vienna itself (and the history of Vienna in general), the significance of the work of P. Csendes and F. Opll (both their individual work and cooperations) can hardly be exaggerated and forms a solid basis for much of this thesis. P. Csendes also made important scholarly contributions to the research of medieval Austrian road infrastructure⁹⁹, while F. Opll's work on Vienna as a medieval trade hub and marketplace¹⁰⁰ are especially relevant for this thesis.

While more recent overviews of (long distance) trade in medieval Austrian lands and Vienna are included in the works by F. Butschek¹⁰¹, R. Sandgruber¹⁰² or E. Gruber¹⁰³, the topic has so far not been studied from a global perspective. The literature introduced here shows that the rapid economic development Vienna and Austrian lands underwent in the 13-14th centuries and the intensification of interconnections with the rest of Europe – especially Venice – are well understood. However, they are not contextualised within the larger political and economic developments which shaped Eurasia and were described in the first parts of this literature review. Key sources for this larger context, such as the *Pratica della Mercatura*, (see Chapter 3.2.1) are generally not considered. The economy and trade relationships of medieval Vienna (and by extension Austria) have thus so far been subjected to a somewhat insular perspective, which severely limits our comprehension of them. As this thesis will show, Vienna's economic rise in the high Middle Ages was significantly influenced by developments spanning the entire landmass and decisions made 1000s of kilometres away.

⁹⁷ See for example the already mentioned Rösch, G. (1979, 1982 & 1995).

⁹⁸ Notwithstanding language barriers, this thesis Nagy, B. (2018), Nagy, B., Schmieder, F. & Vadas A. (2019), Pál Pach, Z. (2007) as well as the already mentioned work by Zaoral, R. (2014, 2018 & 2019) are most relevant.

⁹⁹ From his extensive work on Viennese and Austrian history this thesis will build on Csendes, P. (1969, 1979, 1998, 2001, 2015) as well as Csendes, P. & Opll, F. (2015 & 2021).

¹⁰⁰ E.g. Opll, F. (1979, 1980, 1993, 1995, 1996 & 2005) as well as Csendes, P. & Opll, F. (2015 & 2021).

¹⁰¹ Butschek, F. (2012).

¹⁰² Gruber E. (2012).

¹⁰³ Sandgruber, R. (2005).

3 Primary sources on long-distance trade connections of medieval Vienna

3.1 *Introduction and overview of sources*¹⁰⁴

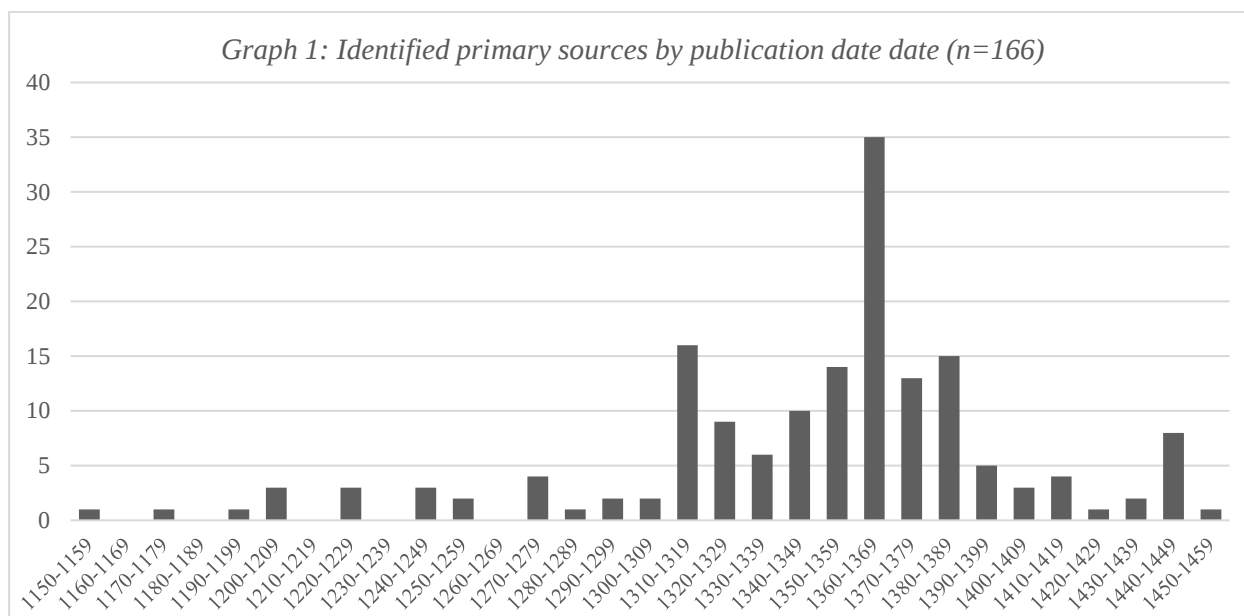
Relevant sources from the period discussed were identified using three different methods: (1) Consultation of the literature presented in the previous chapter, (2) the review of general primary source compilations and regesta as well as (3) keyword¹⁰⁵ searches within digitalised archives. In total, 166 directly relevant primary sources were identified, forming the basis of this analysis. The relevance of a source was based on its content; meaning it (1) describes or mentions trade or mercantile activities to, from or through Vienna or along relevant routes (2) decrees relevant policy or such intent, (3) contains information on the trade routes or the relevant physical or social infrastructure or (4) contains information about the movement or regulation of goods.¹⁰⁶

The majority of the sources are written in Latin (61.8%), followed by Medieval German (37.9%) and others (1.2%). Around half (51.5%) of the documents can be categorised as charter or official correspondence decreeing policy (e.g. enforcing the use of certain roads or granting or confirming rights and privileges). Around a fifth (20.0%) is comprised of administrative documents or notes from Italian sources, mainly various institutions in Venice (e.g. the Senate), while the rest is largely made up of documents related to tolls (6.1%) or other direct correspondence between entities or individuals (21.2%). Unfortunately, so far at least, we lack any written evidence created by the merchants themselves conducting the long-distance trade from or to Vienna, as merchant handbooks only start appearing in the German speaking world towards the end of the time period discussed here. Furthermore, source material contains little in terms of numbers or quantitative data, making any statements about the exact volume or frequency of trade impossible.

¹⁰⁴ A complete list of primary sources can be found in the references (Chapter 6.3), a complete list of primary source collections and regesta can be found in Chapter 6.1.

¹⁰⁵ A variety of keywords were used including Latin and German variants of the following words: *Merchant(s)*, *trade*, *trader*, *goods*, *silver*, *gold*, *silk*, *copper*, *pepper*, *Venice*, *Vienna*, *road (s)*, *toll(s)* etc.

¹⁰⁶ It is worth noting that despite application of objective criteria some sources are more obviously directly relevant than others and, ultimately, the inclusion and exclusion of some sources was the author's decision.



The primary sources on long-distance trade connections of medieval Vienna are dated within four centuries, from the mid-12th century to the early 15th. However, their temporal distribution is highly uneven (see Graph 1). Only 12.7% of the relevant primary sources identified are from before 1300, from which point they become significantly more abundant. 26.1% of the sources fall into the decades 1300-1349, while almost half (49.7%) were created in the second half of the 14th century. In the first half of the 15th century, there is again a decrease in relevant source material, with 11.5% falling into these decades.

This unequal distribution and increase from 1300 inevitably raises questions: To what extent does this indicate an actual intensification of trade? Or is it rather a reflection of the increase in literary culture and public and private record keeping that occurred simultaneously in Central Europe? While this thesis cannot definitively settle this question, the following analysis will show that both answers are likely applicable.

Similarly, to what extent can the decrease in source material from the late 14th century be interpreted as a decline in the volume or importance of long-distance trade? Here again the sources don't allow for a final answer, yet the horizontal analysis in Chapter 3.3 as well as the contextualisation of the source material with the secondary literature in Chapter 4 may hint toward a downturn of overall economic activity as well as decreased trade with Venice, and thus by extension, the larger Afro-Eurasian economy.

To better understand Vienna's role within the European trade network, the trade routes and directions to which these primary sources are related must be identified. Due to its location at the intersection of two significant trans-European routes (west-east along the Danube and north-south from the Baltic to the Adriatic – See Chapter 4.3 for a discussion of geographical factors), documents are related to one (or more) of the four main directions of trade - or to Vienna itself as a trade hub and marketplace. Sources related to trade heading south toward Venice make up around 60.0% of the sources, followed by trade toward Hungary and further East (20,6%) while primary sources related to trade toward the West to the German lands and beyond (6.1%) and North to Bohemia, Moravia and Poland (10.3%) are significantly fewer. Primary sources related to trade rights, tolls and regulations in Vienna and the surrounding Austrian¹⁰⁷ lands make up 25.5% of the selection. However, it must be pointed out that these categories overlap as sources may mention several trade directions (and thus the sum of the percentages also exceeds 100%). The numbers presented here therefore must be understood as approximations illustrating rough proportions rather than exact figures. This is not least because Vienna was a transit point rather than a final destination and its merchants played an important role as intermediaries, so that information contained in a source primarily related to one direction may also have implications for others.

The following section will offer an overview of the sources within the directional categories presented above. Then, four selected primary sources will be discussed in depth, after which a horizontal analysis of the sources will be conducted.

Finally, must again be noted that while this list of primary sources serves as a good representation of the surviving source material as collated by the relevant source collections as well as the discussed secondary literature – and thus of the status quo of research, scholarly interest and availability - it can't be considered final or complete.

¹⁰⁷ As already mentioned, the term Austrian here is somewhat misleading, as the medieval territory then understood to be Austria would have comprised only a fraction of the modern nation state. The town of Wiener Neustadt for example was considered part of Styria (See Mayer, T. (1912) 361-362), which sources and contemporaries considered a separate entity.

3.1.1 Primary sources related to trade rights, tolls and regulations within Vienna and the surrounding lands

The intensification of long-distance trade in Europe during the 11th-14th centuries went hand in hand with growing economic complexity and urbanisation, developments which not only led to the increasing codification of customary laws but also new legal frameworks for towns and trade within the European feudal system.¹⁰⁸ Numerous such documents have been preserved and help establish a picture of the trade in which medieval Vienna and its inhabitants were involved in. Five types of sources fall into this category:

- (1) Two charters granting privileges in Vienna to specific merchant communities from the years 1192 and 1208 for merchants from Regensburg¹⁰⁹ and Flanders¹¹⁰ respectively, indicating growing importance of long-distance economic relationships. The decree granting privileges to Regensburg merchants also indicates trade contacts with the Rus principalities.
- (2) Various town rights charters spanning from 1221 to 1443, which introduce, alter or confirm the rights of the city of Vienna. Most crucially, these include staple rights (German: *Stapelrecht*, *Niederlage* or *Niederschlagsrecht*) which require foreign merchants to stop in Vienna and offer their goods for sale for certain number of days, significantly enhancing both the role of Vienna as a regional hub and the position of its merchants as middlemen. This was first only instituted for the initially dominant east-west trade along the Danube, and then - according to most interpretations¹¹¹ - expanded to all directions. At various points, these staple rights also included an obligation to sell exclusively to Viennese merchants, these attempts at monopolising trade were, however, usually abandoned – possibly due to detrimental effects or foreign pressure – and were likely enforced with varying degrees of severity. From 1281, staple rights were also explicitly tied to the mandatory use of specific roads for long-distance trade (*Straßenzwang*).

¹⁰⁸ For these developments in what would become Austria see for instance Butschek, F. (2012), 38-40, 50-51.

¹⁰⁹ Rechte und Freiheiten der Stadt Wien I, doc. Nr. I, 1-3.

¹¹⁰ Rechte und Freiheiten der Stadt Wien I, doc. Nr. II, 4.

¹¹¹ For a detailed discussion see Mayer, T. (1912).

- (3) Within the timeframe discussed, various tolls were levied within Vienna itself (or in its direct vicinity). Several documents provide insights on goods being traded and merchants involved, they include gate tolls (*Burgmaut*)¹¹², wagon tolls (*Wagenmaut*), river tolls (*Wassermaut*)¹¹³ or later bridge tolls (*Brückenmaut*).¹¹⁴ Earlier and later versions of these tolls survive, however, there is no consensus on their precise age. They are usually dated to the early 13th and early to mid-14th century respectively.¹¹⁵ As different tolls applied to various merchant communities, these documents also provide evidence of trade connections with various parts of Europe, such as Venice, Bohemia, Hungary, Flanders and Poland.
- (4) Similarly, three primary sources on trade tariffs in towns around Vienna have survived, which not only help to reconstruct the development of trade routes but also offer information on goods traded and merchants involved. The tolls at Hainburg¹¹⁶, frequently dated at around 1200 as well as Stein (close to Krems)¹¹⁷ from around 1250 help shape our understanding of the west-east trade along the Danube through Vienna, while the tolls in Wiener Neustadt (1244)¹¹⁸ mentions Venetian merchants (as well as their glassware), providing early evidence for established trade connections toward the South, while the later tariffs at Sollenau¹¹⁹ offer an insight into south-bound trade in the late 14th century.

In total, this category of sources makes up 25.5% of the total selection. They are essential for the understanding of medieval Vienna's long-distance trade connections not only because they offer information on trade goods, merchant communities and long-term developments but also provide evidence of policy measures affecting Vienna's position as a trade hub.

¹¹² Spelled as *Purkhmaut* in the original source material. See Rechte und Freiheiten der Stadt Wien I, docs. Nr. IV, 7 and Nr. XXVIII, 90-93.

¹¹³ Spelled as *Wazzermaut* in the original source material. See: Rechte und Freiheiten der Stadt Wien I, doc. Nr. XXX, 95.

¹¹⁴ Spelled as *Pruckenmaut* in the original source material. See: Rechte und Freiheiten der Stadt Wien II, doc. Nr. CXXXVII, 43.

¹¹⁵ Lohrmann, K. & Opll, F. (1981), 374-375.

¹¹⁶ *Rerum Austriacarum Scriptores*, 206-212.

¹¹⁷ Knittler, H. (1977b), 71-75.

¹¹⁸ *Ausgewählte Urkunden zur Verfassungsgeschichte der Deutsch-Österreichischen Erblände im Mittelalter*, doc. Nr. 39, 84-85.

¹¹⁹ Rechte und Freiheiten der Stadt Wien I, doc. Nr. LXXXVIII, 184-188.

3.1.2 *Primary sources providing information on trade connections with Venice and Northern Italy*

Within this largest category of identified sources, there are four major subgroups:

- (1) Various 14th-century administrative records and notes from Northern Italian polities (the vast majority from Venice) which include both scraps of relevant information as well as more detailed documents, offering valuable insights. They include records of the Venetian Senate, the Venetian judiciary as well as the councils of Udine or Treviso, and are an expression of more advanced literary culture and record-keeping in medieval Italian states within the 14th century. Within this group of sources, a decree by the lord of Treviso¹²⁰ stands out and will later be analysed in more detail, as it not only offers proof of Viennese merchants (organised into a mercantile company) active in Northern Italy but also provides details on their role in the metal trade.
- (2) Surviving international correspondence between political entities or rulers, dating from the mid to late 14th century. Many of these represent interventions by state leaders in merchants' (seemingly) personal matters such as inheritances or legal disputes, which in one case even escalated to a high-level political crisis involving several states. Such correspondence is not only valuable to understand the type and value of goods traded but also illustrates the importance of mercantile activity and the tight links between political leadership and the mercantile class. Another surviving piece of correspondence of significance (and will be discussed in more detail) is a letter¹²¹ from Duke Rudolf IV (1339-1365) to Doge Lorenzo Celsi (1310-1365), in which he formally informs him of his acquisition of Tyrol, mentioning that he now controls all roads from Germany to Italy. This (somewhat overlooked) source is noteworthy, as illustrates the 14th century Habsburg strategy of funnelling Central European trade towards Venice through Vienna and the Semmering Pass while stifling or in this case controlling any alternative routes.
- (3) The third type of document in this category consists of decrees and domestic correspondence related to this aforementioned policy of restricting trade toward Italy to

¹²⁰ Storia della Marca Trivigiana e Veronese. Tomo Quinto. doc. Nr. DXXXI, 143-144.

¹²¹ See the analysis in Chapter 3.2 for source details.

certain (taxable) routes, favouring Vienna as a trade hub. They are all dated from the mid to late 14th century and are either related to prohibiting the use of other Northern Alpine passes for non-Austrian merchants or represent attempts at restricting trade toward Hungary via Pettau (Ptuj).

- (4) The remaining relevant sources related to southbound trade, which does not neatly fit into any other subcategory, are a variety of documents related to the trade route from Villach through the *Val di Canale* (German: *Kanaltal*) from Carinthia to Friuli. This crucial part of the route between Central Europe and Venice (the gateway to the larger Afro-Eurasian market) was beset with robberies, undue taxation and various attempts by towns such as Venzone and Gemona to introduce tolls and extract profits from the wealth of goods streaming through their lands – all while the Patriarchate of Aquileia was trying to maintain control with powerful neighbours such as Venice, Hungary and the expanding Habsburg domain encroaching on their territory. These documents include various letters related to merchants being robbed or having their goods seized¹²², a bilateral agreement from 1343 between the City of Vienna and the Town of Venzone¹²³ or pledges by various Patriarchs of Aquileia to guarantee safe passage of (Viennese) merchants.¹²⁴ It also includes a decree by Bishop Otto II (1132-1196) from Bamberg waiving taxation for the monastery of Arnoldstein in 1179. This document is relevant because it implies usually abundant merchant traffic from Italy through the Val di Canale which had been interrupted by heavy rainfall impairing the roads and shows that trade from Italy toward Carinthia was already well established in the late 12th century.¹²⁵

60.0% of the primary sources identified by this thesis fall into this category, making it the largest by a significant margin. The dominance of sources related to trade toward Italy has four potential explanations, which are not mutually exclusive: (1) The larger abundance of available written sources for the Italian context: As mentioned, the 14th century represents the period in which the availability of written sources for Central Europe begins to significantly increase. In the case of Italy, however, this process occurred at least a century earlier, which provides

¹²² E.g. *Fontes Rerum Austriacum* II-XL, docs. Nr. 24, 35-36, Nr. 41, 57-58 or Nr. 71 83-84.

¹²³ Municipal and Provincial Archives of Vienna (*Wiener Stadt und Landesarchiv* / *WStLA*), doc. Nr. 269.

¹²⁴ *Fontes Rerum Austriacum* II-XL, docs. Nr. 16, 29-30, Nr. 27, 38, Nr. 40, 50 or Nr. 41, 50-51.

¹²⁵ Provincial Archive of Carinthia (*Landesarchiv Kärnten*), doc. Nr. AT-KLA 418-B-A 1512 St.

historians with a much larger quantity of potential sources. (2) A relative lack of previous research related to trade connections between Vienna and the other regions (e.g. Bohemia, Hungary, Poland or southern Germany), which leads to possibly relevant sources being overlooked for collections and publications. (3) Trade along the Danube as well as north towards Bohemia or Poland may have worked comparatively seamlessly according to an established formal and informal framework (e.g. the already mentioned privileges of Regensburg merchants or staple rights) and thus did not require frequent policy interventions or other measures, leading to less formal correspondence. (4) Trade between Vienna and Venice was of particular relevance, due to the unique role of Venice connecting Central Europe with the larger Eurasian market and thus has produced a more substantial written footprint.

While the first three explanations likely play a role, it is hard to not interpret the abundance of primary source evidence as an expression of relevance, especially as sources on Habsburg attempts to influence or regulate trade and road use are almost exclusively southward oriented. It is also worth noting that the references to trade connections with Vienna in Italian sources began occurring at a time when record-keeping and literary culture in Italy were already established, ergo it is hard to interpret their sudden appearance as a mere expression of overall higher source availability.

It must be mentioned again here that this categorisation of sources somewhat overlaps and that trade connections with Venice are also mentioned in other documents, such as Vienna's various tolls from the 1220s for example, or those of Wiener Neustadt from 1244 which explicitly mention Venetian merchants. As will be discussed in Chapter 3.2, the 14th century Florentine trade manual *Practica della mercatura* also provides details on this trade axis.

3.1.3 *Primary sources on trade relationships west, north and east.*

While evidence for trade south dominates, sources directly related to long-distance trade relationships between Vienna and lands to the west, north and east are much less numerous, together making up roughly 37.0%. This category includes already mentioned documents such as the privileges granted to Regensburg merchants or the various surviving tariff regulations, which provide information on goods traded and various trade partners. Several towns in Flanders and the German lands are mentioned, as well as Bohemia, Poland, Hungary or the lands of the Rus.

Aside from these documents, this category consists of a variety of decrees and correspondence: In the direction of Hungary, these are largely declarations and subsequent confirmations of trade rights, issued 1260, 1270, 1297, 1318, 1345, 1388 and 1402.¹²⁶ It is noteworthy that in the 13th century these rights are granted to all German merchants, however, from 1318 onwards they specifically address the rights of Viennese merchants, which may indicate that the stricter staple rights enacted in the early 14th century had the desired effect to supplant the previously dominant Regensburg merchants. However, numerous surviving documents from the mid-to-late 14th century also indicate frequent issues with harassment of merchants by local authorities, with Kings and Queens of Hungary attempting to enforce trade agreements – or reinforce them after periods of strife or war.

This category also includes primary source evidence for the economic impact Viennese staple rights caused and how on occasion neighbouring rulers tried to establish alternative routes. At the Council of Visegrád in 1335-1336,¹²⁷ The kings of Bohemia and Hungary established a trade agreement openly directed against Vienna, while that same year, in a surviving letter¹²⁸ to the city of Frankfurt, the Bohemian King again stated his intention to divert trade toward Hungary through Brno instead of Vienna.¹²⁹ Similarly, a letter¹³⁰ dated to 1383 from the council of Prague to the town of Wiener Neustadt south of Vienna, expresses displeasure with the Vienna staple rights and suggests circumventing Vienna (likely via Pressburg/Bratislava).

Other documents falling into this category include an agreement from 1375 between the Dukes of Bavaria and Austria¹³¹ to improve the overall state and security of the roads between their lands in order to foster trade, an agreement between the King of Poland and Rudolf IV¹³² from 1362 to resolve trade issues between the merchants of Vienna and Kraków as well as various pieces of

¹²⁶ Municipal and Provincial Archives of Vienna (Wiener Stadt und Landesarchiv / WStLA) docs. Nr. 4a, Nr. 7, Nr. 13, Nr. 23, Nr. 299, Nr. 1155 and Nr. 1518.

¹²⁷ Rácz, G. (ed.), 165.

¹²⁸ Codex diplomaticus mœnofrancofurtanus II, doc. Nr. 548, 418

¹²⁹ This trade war must be seen in the context of the armed conflict between Austria and Bohemia in 1336, ignited by the Habsburg acquisition of Carinthia.

¹³⁰ Kende, O. (1907), 44-46.

¹³¹ Ausgewählte Urkunden der Verfassungsgeschichte der österreichischen Erblände, doc. Nr. 131, 159.

¹³² Quellen zur Geschichte der Stadt Wien II-I, doc. Nr. 144.

correspondence addressing the issues of individual merchants, specific deals or concerns about road safety.

3.1.4 *Primary sources placing Vienna in the larger context of the Eurasian trade system.*

This last category of identified sources is the least numerous but the most pertinent for the global contextualisation of Vienna as a medieval trade hub. It includes two primary sources:

- (1) The *Nuzhat al-mushtāq fī ikhtirāq al-āfāq*, also known as the *Tabula Rogeriana* is an atlas created around 1154 by Arab geographer Mohammed Al-Idrisi (1100–1165) at the court of Roger II Sicily. Vienna is noted as a relevant town along the Danube (other German towns along the Danube mentioned are Ulm, Regensburg, Passau and Krems) and distances to nearby towns are listed, but no other information provided.¹³³
- (2) The *Practica della Mercatura*¹³⁴, completed around 1340, is a handbook to international trade in 14th-century Eurasia and North Africa by Florentine banker Francesco Balducci Pegolotti (1290-1348). It offers a unique insight into West-Eurasian trade connections in the first half of the 14th century and helps to place medieval Vienna into the global context. Due to its outstanding importance as a source, it will be discussed in more detail in the following subchapter.

3.2 *In-depth analysis of selected primary sources*

3.2.1 *La pratica della Mercatura*

The previously introduced *Practica della Mercatura* (originally titled *Libro di divisamenti di Paesi e di Misure di Mercatantie*) is a comprehensive guide to international trade in 14th-century Eurasia and North Africa which was created by Florentine banker Francesco Balducci Pegolotti. It was likely completed around 1340, however, synthesises several years' worth of experience and practical knowledge as well as probably building on earlier sources. Pegolotti himself was an experienced and well-travelled merchant and banker, but few details on his career are definitively

¹³³ Jaubert, P-A. (ed.) (1975), 370-372.

¹³⁴ Evans, A. (ed.) (1936), see the following subchapter for details.

known. There are no surviving manuscripts written by himself, with all surviving transcripts based on a copy from the late 15th century.¹³⁵

The text is written in medieval Florentine Italian and is several hundred pages long. It starts with a short introduction (*Dichiarigioni*) and is then split into around 250 chapters (*Robriche*) related to various trading locations and the goods to be sold or bought there. Most of the text is not written in continuous prose or narrative, but represents a collection of facts, numbers and information compiled in short sentences or notes. The text also contains a few hand-drawn sketches and tables, which were copied into the various transcriptions. The chapters themselves follow no standard format or content; some are more extensive, consisting of several pages, and some are barely more than a bullet point. Some trading locations are covered extensively across various chapters, some are only briefly mentioned.

The text begins describing preparations for the overland journey from Tana to Beijing, then starting from Tana various Black Sea ports are covered, then Constantinople, the Eastern Mediterranean, Greece, the Adriatic, the Western Mediterranean, North Africa, Italy, Sicily, and finally Flanders, Burgundy, France and England. The text closes with a variety of practical tips, e.g., how to identify spices, gauge the quality of merchandise or correctly weigh them. Goods mentioned in the *Practica della Mercatura* range from foods and products for everyday use to luxury items. As much of the text consists of information about exchange rates, prices and weights it is clear it was intended for a relatively small, specific audience already familiar with long-distance trade as it contains little introduction or explanation to contextualise the information and numbers presented.

While some locations in Central and Northern Europe are mentioned (and Pegolotti was likely decently informed about them, as he spent some of his career there), the text heavily focuses on Italian markets and their connections to the Eurasian market via the Eastern Mediterranean and, to a lesser extent, Northwestern Europe. It is illustrative for the relative strength of contemporary economies that from the perspective of a Florentine banker in the early 14th century, it made sense to dedicate around half of a merchant's handbook to the trade hubs of the Black Sea and Eastern Mediterranean, while largely ignoring most of the European landmass.

¹³⁵ See for a detailed discussion Evans, A. (ed.) (1936), ix-xxx.

Vienna is mentioned three times in the text. Where Pegolotti lists trade connections from Venice, he describes the exchange rate for silver coming from Vienna, while also stating that 88 Bohemian silver coins are equivalent to one Venetian mark: “*Con Vienna: Marco 1 d'argento di Vienna fae in Vinegia once 8, denari 3, di denari 24 pesi per 1 oncia. 88 buemini d'argento a conto sono 1 marco peso in Vinegia.*”¹³⁶ Then, Viennese silver coinage is listed in a compilation of silver exchange rates: “*Viennari della Magna*¹³⁷ *a once 7, denari 14*” as well as in the list of copper coin exchange rates: “*Viennari della Magna once 7, denari 21*”. Unlike other trade destinations from Venice, other goods are not listed.

On the one hand, it may be concluded that from a temporary global economic perspective, Vienna was comparatively insignificant, as it did not merit its own chapter or any detail, suggesting that it was not an attractive market or economic player. It is also possible that from a Florentine perspective, it wasn't easily accessible (e.g. due to strict staple laws, restrictions for foreign merchants, long travel times, etc.). However, this would not explain why other Central European locations where Florentine bankers were certainly active, such as Southern Germany, Bohemia or Hungary are also not mentioned, suggesting Vienna simply shared their relatively peripheral status within the larger, intercontinental economy.

On the other hand, Vienna is the only Venetian trading partner in this region mentioned and the commodity it is associated with is particularly noteworthy. For Pegolotti's work, heavily oriented toward the larger Eurasian market, Vienna was significant as an intermediary for Bohemian silver (which he describes as coming via German lands).¹³⁸ For understanding the important role of silver in the early 14th century Eurasian economy, the *Practica della Mercatura* is a particularly insightful source: Pegolotti provides his readers with extensive details on exchange rates and buying power of silver in virtually all locations and dedicates several pages to the refinement and weighing of silver as well as quality assessment. This source also hints to toward a small, but significant role of Vienna within the larger Afro-Eurasian economy in the first half of the 14th century: That of an intermediary in the trade of Central European precious metals, moving them from the periphery into the core of the economic system.

¹³⁶ Evans, A. (ed.) (1936), 147.

¹³⁷ *Magna* refers to *Germania*.

¹³⁸ Evans, A. (ed.) (1936), 147.

3.2.2 Decree by Rizzardo da Camino, Lord of Treviso on the compensation of Viennese merchants robbed at Cadore

This Latin document from 1311 which is preserved in the *Archivio di Stato di Treviso* discusses a robbery of Viennese merchants belonging to a mercantile company and how they should be compensated for their loss. The issuer is Rizzardo da Camino (1274 – April 12, 1312), member of a noble family which ruled Cadore as well as Treviso for many decades, until these territories were incorporated into the Venetian *Terraferma*. It represents a decree and statement of intent by the town's ruler.

The text starts with a salutation to Holy Roman Emperor Henry VII (1273-1313) and the co-ruling Austrian Dukes Frederik I (1289-1330) and his brother Leopold I (1290-1327) and then states that their Viennese citizens, who were robbed of their gold, silver and other merchandise worth 850 pounds of Venetian silver currency, in the district of Cadore will to be compensated.¹³⁹ The text goes on to state that based on the correspondence with the Council of Vienna and agreement with those affected, the compensation will be based on an exchange rate at 13 Venetian marks of silver per mark of gold as well as 10 Venetian grossi per mark of silver.¹⁴⁰ Then the merchants to be compensated are listed (one of whom - Henricus Longus - would later become mayor of Vienna¹⁴¹) and are described as part of a Viennese mercantile company ("*confocietate mercatorum*"). Rizzardo then states that it was agreed to finance the compensation from road tolls and vows to do his utmost to ensure the security of German merchants in his territory.

Rizzardo's decree offers crucial evidence for Viennese mercantile activity in Italy and for the role the city played in the Eurasian trade system. By 1311, a Viennese mercantile company was apparently moving significant amounts of precious metals into Northern Italy (the destination was almost certainly Venice), from where much of it would be minted and used to conduct the trade toward the Eastern Mediterranean, which Pegolotti covered in his handbook in such detail. The Viennese merchants enjoyed relatively high status, illustrated by the seeming eagerness of the

¹³⁹ "*specialiter super satisfactione facienda quibusdam suis Civibus de Vienna at rentibus se fuisse in districta nostro Cadubrii argento, et auro, ac mercimonialibus quampluribus derobatos valoris per totum usque ad summam octingentarum et quinquagintarum librarum denariorum Venetianorum grossorum.*" Verci, G. (ed.) (1787), 143.

¹⁴⁰ "*computata marca auri tresdecim inarcas argenti, et marca argenti decem foldos denar. Venet. Grossos*" Verci, G. (ed.) (1787), 143.

¹⁴¹ Lampl, J. (ed.) (1914), 68.

Lord of Treviso to accommodate them, as well as the future political career of one of the merchants. The location of the robbery within the “*districta nostro Cadubrii*” is interesting, as it suggests the merchants took a slightly longer route via the Drava valley, Innichen/San Candido and then along the Piave toward Venice, rather than through the Val di Canale. The plausible reasons why this ca. 80km longer route was chosen are numerous: As shown the previously introduced source from 1179¹⁴², the road through Val di Canale could be rendered impassable due to heavy rainfalls. But various documents from Friuli the early 14th century show that issues with robberies, tolls and harassment of merchants were frequent along this route.¹⁴³ This detail also illustrates how medieval merchants as well as the trade networks they worked in were flexible, adaptable and responsive to challenges.

3.2.3 Letter from Rudolf IV to Doge Lorenzo Celsi regarding the acquisition of Tyrol

This piece of surviving correspondence from February 1st 1363 by Duke of Austria Rudolf IV (1339-1365) to the Venetian Doge Lorenzo Celsi (1310-1365) not only provides insight into Venetian and Habsburg trade policy but serves to contextualise Vienna's role within the larger systems it was embedded in. The letter itself is written in Latin and starts with Rudolf IV referring to the Doge as “his dear friend” (“*amico suo carissimo*”). He then goes on to thank the Doge for his compassion and support regarding the death of Count Meinhard III (1344-1363) and then explains how he succeeded in peacefully asserting his rightful claim (from his father's side of the family) to Tyrol, which both nobility and commoners have immediately accepted and confirmed with their oaths.¹⁴⁴ Rudolf goes on to explain that the issue raised by the Doge's envoy - the renewal of the previously existing guarantees for safe passage for Venetian merchants – has not yet been settled but he intends to return to business as normal.¹⁴⁵ He then, emphasises that now all

¹⁴² Provincial Archive of Carinthia (Landesarchiv Kärnten), doc. Nr. AT-KLA 418-B-A 1512 St.

¹⁴³ See the various documents from *Fontes Rerum Austriacum* II-XL, docs Nr. 1 to 80, 1-95 where various issues robberies, roadblocks, (illegal) tolls as well as the various attempts by local authorities, the Patriarch of Aquileia and foreign rulers to stop them are collected.

¹⁴⁴ “...prout ex vestris literis cognovimus, celsitudini vestrae gratiarum referimus uberes actiones, vestrae amicitiae sub singulari confidentia intimantes, quod licet dicti comitatus et terrae Attasi virtute paternae consanguinitatis verus et proximior haeres simus et fuerimus, ad laudes tamen eximias tenemur altissimo, quod eandem haereditatem omnis contradictionis semoto scrupulo sumus tam pacifice assecuti. Nam mox post ingressum nostrum in terram praedictam communitas incolarum tam nobilium quam ignobilium nos dominum suum recognoscentes nobis iuramenta fidelitatis, obedientiae et homagii praestiterunt, et sic dictos comitatum et terram possidemus corporaliter et potenter..” Huber, A. (1984), 226.

¹⁴⁵ „Et quia super causa Camini, pro qua nobis discretum virum Minellum de Viterbio cum vestrae excellentiae destinastis literis, vobis ad praesens plenum re- sponsum remandare non possumus, tum propter multa ardua in exor-

roads between Germany and these parts of Italy are under his control by the grace of God: “*cum omnes stratae et transitus de Germania ad partes Italiae porrectae nostrae dominationi subsint ex omnipotentis dei*”¹⁴⁶

To begin with, it is noteworthy that Rudolf sent the letter within days of securing the acquisition of Tyrol and – notwithstanding any other correspondence which may have been lost – it seems to be the first official communication Rudolf sent to another head of state regarding the matter, implying a certain priority. While the tone is amicable, the letter is a thinly veiled demonstration of the Duke’s much improved bargaining position toward Venice: Rudolf now controls all Alpine crossings from Northern Italy to Germany, greatly enhancing his territory’s position as an intermediary in European trade. Venice had longstanding agreements with Tyrol for the safe passage of its merchants,¹⁴⁷ but now its economic relationships and commerce were heavily dependent on the goodwill of its neighbour to the north. Especially when considering the events of the subsequent decade, the connection between the Habsburg acquisition of Tyrol and their attempts to expand their position in the European metal market becomes clear. When a conflict between Venice and their potential competitor Trieste broke out in 1368, the Habsburgs pounced on their opportunity to expand their holdings to the Adriatic. Two decades of open hostilities and trade wars followed, in which Venetian supply of metals was so severely impacted that it led to a significant reduction of trade with the Eastern Mediterranean.¹⁴⁸

All this context illustrates the importance of this source for understanding the position of Vienna in the European trade network. Previously discussed sources showed how Vienna and its merchants had developed a niche in the Eurasian metal market as intermediaries by moving of Bohemian (as well as Hungarian and Alpine) metals toward Venice, from where much of it was moved toward the East. Now that Tyrol was under Habsburg control, the attempts to avoid Vienna’s staple rights by using the Brenner Pass had been dealt a serious blow.

dio dicti ingressus nobis incumbencia tum etiam ob defectum fidelium nostrorum et absentiam eorum, quibus conditiones et circumstantiae eiusdem negotii plene constant, nostrae intentionis et voluntatis existit.” Huber, A. (1984), 226.

¹⁴⁶ Huber, A. (1984), 226.

¹⁴⁷ See Stolz, O. (1909) for a detailed discussion of these agreements in the 13th and 14th century.

¹⁴⁸ Mueller, R. (1997), 150-151.

3.2.4 Albrecht III orders his officials to assist in the enforcement the exclusive use of the lawful road for trade with Venice.

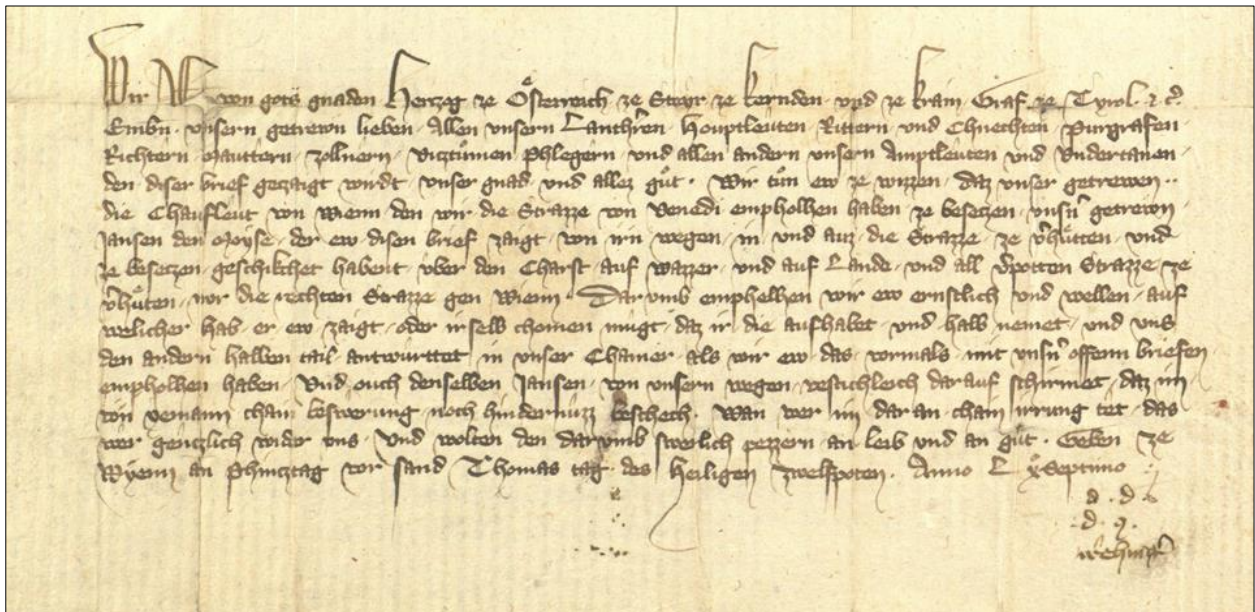


Image 1: Albrecht III's instructions for the enforcement of trade routes, 1367.

This surviving decree written in medieval German in 1367 is one of several examples of Habsburg attempts to protect the position of Vienna and its merchants as key intermediaries within the Central European trade network. It starts by listing Albrecht's titles and the officials being addressed. He then states that against the interests of the Merchants of Vienna, illegal roads and waterways are being used (specifically the ones via modern Slovenia) instead of the only the rightful road toward Vienna. The envoy he is sending with this letter is to be assisted in his investigation of this matter. Furthermore, any merchant caught using illegal roads is to have his goods confiscated and split between the Duke and local authorities.¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁹ „Wir Albrecht von gotes gnaden, Hertzog ze Oesterreich, ze Steyr, ze Kernden, und ze Krain, Graf ze Tyrol etc. Embieten unsern getrewen lieben, allen unsern Lantherren, Houptleuten, Rittern, und Chnechten, Purgrafen, Richtern, Mauttern, Zollner, Vitzuomen, Phlegern, und allen andern unsern ampleuten und undertanen, den diser brief getzaigt wirdt, unser gnad, und alles guot. Wir tuon ew ze wizzzen, daz unser getrewen die Chaufleut von Wienn, den wir die Strazze von Venedi empholhen haben, ze besetzen, unsern getrewen, Jansen den Moyse, der ew, disen brief zaigt, von irn wegen, in, und auz, die Strazze ze verhuetten, und ze besetzen, geschikchet habent, ueber den Charst, auf Wazzer, und auf Lande, und all verpotten Strazze, ze verhueten, vor die rechten Strazze gen Wien. Darumb emphelhen wir ew ernstlich und wellen, auf welicher hab, er, ew, zaigt, oder ir selb chomen muegt, daz ir die aufhalet, und halb nemet, und uns den andern halben tail, antwurtet, in unser Chamer, als wir ew, das, vormals, mit unsern offenn briefen empholhen haben, und ouch denselben Jansen, von unsern wegen, vestichleich darauf schirmet, daz im

This letter not only illustrates the harsh enforcement of the already discussed obligatory use of the road across the Semmering Pass toward Villach as the only route for trade with Venice, but also directly states, that this was to be enforced in the interest of the Viennese merchants. The fact that Venice is specifically mentioned as the destination of trade emphasises the role of this city the dominant entrance point of Central Europe into the larger Afro-Eurasian market. Here – and in many similar documents – it is visible that was thus explicit Habsburg policy to enforce Vienna's position as an intermediary of this trade. Pettau (Ptuj), which was located on a more direct route between Italy and Hungary was seen as a direct competitor and threatened to offer an alternative route for Hungarian exports, especially metals, endangering Vienna's position as an intermediary. While this route across the Dinaric Alps (*ueber den Charst*) never managed to jeopardize Vienna's role as the primary intermediary in Venetian-Hungarian trade with luxury goods and metals¹⁵⁰, it became the primary route for the trade of livestock from the mid-14th century.¹⁵¹ This is confirmed by another source, a letter in which the council of the town of Linz writes Duke Albrecht III, that to the best of their knowledge, "Venetian goods" as well as copper and tin were never traded via that road and instead always take the route via the Val di Canale and the Semmering Pass. According to them, the only ones taking that road were the merchants of Pettau and their livestock.¹⁵²

3.3 Horizontal analysis

3.3.1 Routes, roads, and passes: Vienna as a network node

Understanding how a polity is interdependently embedded within networks of exchange is a hallmark of global history. Thus, in order to determine the role of Vienna as a node within the European - and by extension the larger Afro-Eurasian - trade system, trade routes, mercantile connections as well as physical infrastructure such as roads, rivers and mountain passes mentioned in the sources will be identified and discussed in this part of the analysis.

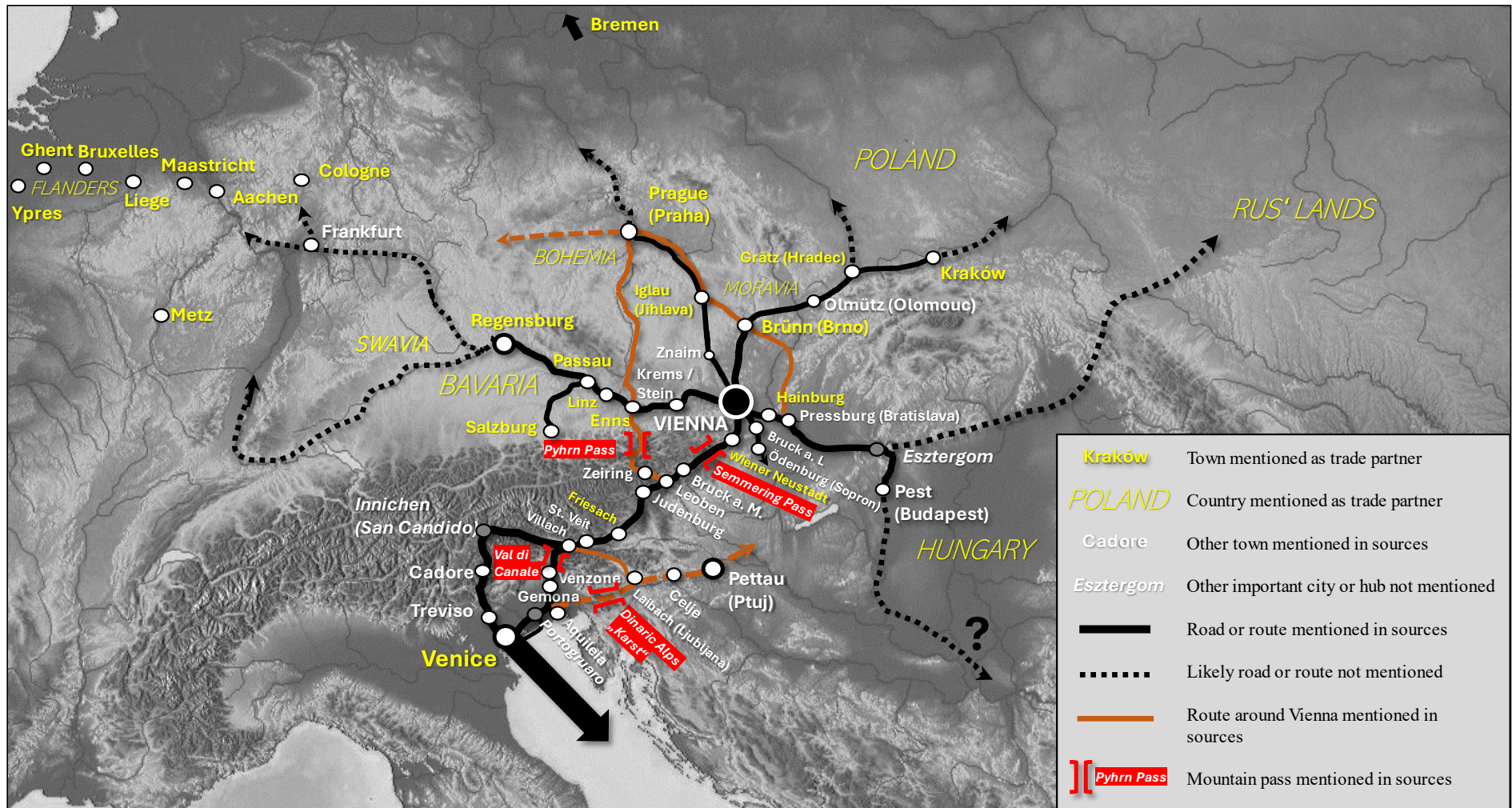
von yemann chain beswerung, noch hindernuzz beschech.“ Municipal and Provincial Archives of Vienna (Wiener Stadt und Landesarchiv / WStLA), doc. Nr. 712.

¹⁵⁰ Pål Pach, Z. (2007), 10-13.

¹⁵¹ Blanchard, I. (1986), 434.

¹⁵² *“alle welhische hab von Venedii heraus komen ist durch den Kanal und durch den Amss und nie über Charst, und auch kuppher und zin und kochsilber zu allen Zeiten von Wienn gen Venedii uber den Semerinkch gangen ist und anderswo nindert, dann nur allain die Petauer mügen hin über den Charst viech treiben, oxsen und swein und schof“* Municipal and Provincial Archives of Vienna (Wiener Stadt und Landesarchiv / WStLA), doc. Nr. 733b.

Image 2: Medieval Vienna's long distance trade relationships in the 13th and 14th centuries, based on trade partners, trade routes, roads and mountain passes mentioned in the primary sources.



The body of primary sources allows a reconstruction of Vienna's position in this network, as illustrated in Image 2. On the one hand, they include information about markets, trade partners and destinations of Viennese trade efforts. Documents such as tolls or town rights charters provide information on various merchant communities operating in and through Vienna under specific legal circumstances; trade agreements or official correspondence offers direct evidence of exchange and various pieces of correspondence and administrative records provide information on the activities of Viennese merchants themselves and their activities. As visible in Image 2, these documents show that Vienna was embedded in a sizable network, stretching west from Flanders east to Hungary, and at times beyond, and north from Poland to the Adriatic. Mentioned towns include Venice, Prague, Brno, Regensburg, Passau, Krakow, Metz, Aachen, Maastricht and many others, while specifically mentioned countries¹⁵³ include Hungary, Bohemia, Poland, Flanders, the Lands of the Rus, Bavaria or Swabia,¹⁵⁴

On the other hand, not only the cities toward Vienna traded and the origins of foreign traders are described in the sources but also the routes, roads, physical infrastructure as well as geographical obstacles such as mountain passes and rivers. To some extent, these were geographically predetermined: Vienna's location along the Danube provided it a favourable position along a major European west-east axis, especially for the movement of bulk goods. However, its position at the eastern end of the Alps also proved beneficial for a prominent role for a privileged position in the north-south trade, not least due to the proximity to the Semmering pass (See Chapter 4.2 for a detailed discussion of the impact of geography).

As discussed, trade connections from Vienna to Venice are the most frequently referenced in the source material. The route across the Semmering Pass, Styria toward Villach, is attested in several sources, such as the tolls in Wiener Neustadt from 1244¹⁵⁵ referencing Venetian merchants, the later tolls from Sollenau (around 1375),¹⁵⁶ as well as numerous documents related to Habsburg attempts in the second half of the 14th century to secure Vienna's position as the main intermediary

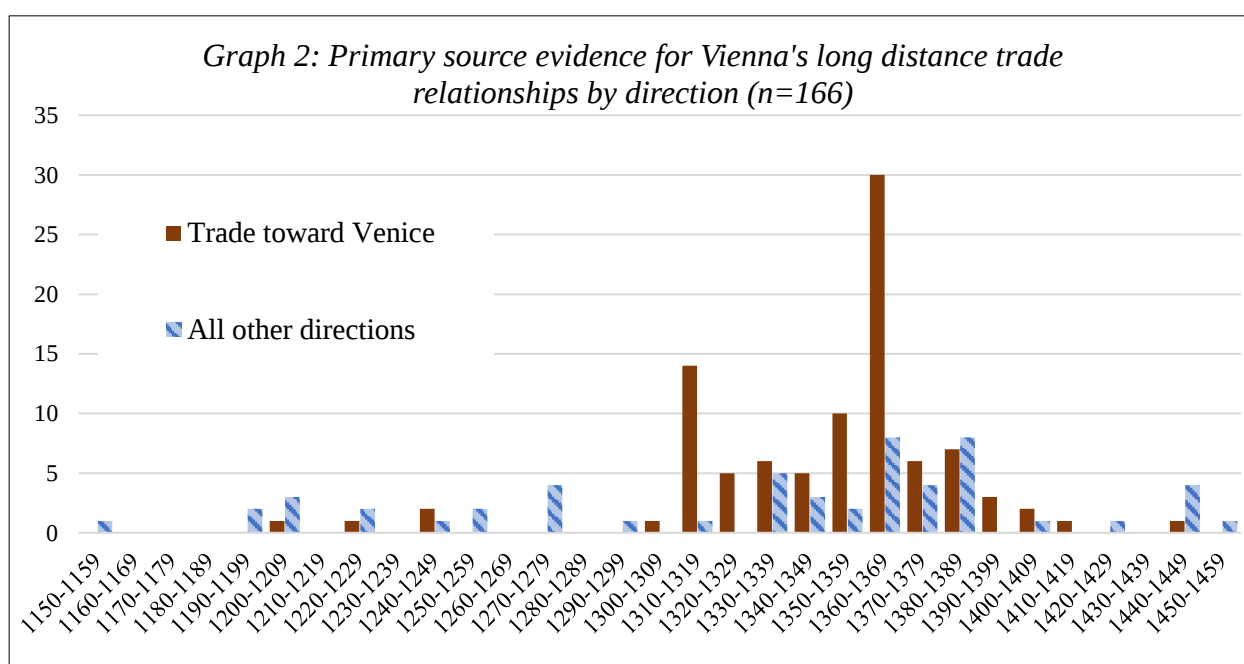
¹⁵³ These denote geographical regions rather than polities.

¹⁵⁴ See complete list of primary sources in Chapter 6.3. for trade partners and trade connections associated with individual sources.

¹⁵⁵ *Ausgewählte Urkunden zur Verfassungsgeschichte der Deutsch-Österreichischen Erblände im Mittelalter*, doc. Nr.39, 84-85.

¹⁵⁶ *Rechte und Freiheiten der Stadt Wien I*, doc. Nr. LXXXVIII, 184-188.

for Central European trade by restricting long distance trade to this road¹⁵⁷, referring to it as the “right” or “lawful” road (*rechte Strazze*)¹⁵⁸. From Villach, the sources indicate that merchants used one of two options: (1) The shorter route through the Val di Canale, which, the sources show, may have been obstructed by floods,¹⁵⁹ robberies or arbitrary tolls and harassment by local towns and lords seeking to profit from the wealth passing through their lands.¹⁶⁰ (2) The longer road via Innichen (San Candido), Cadore and Treviso, which as seen in Chapter 3.2.2, wasn’t free of potential risks. However, the fact that officials in Friuli complained about merchants taking this route instead of paying tolls at their towns¹⁶¹ illustrates that it was a viable alternative for merchants heading to Venice.



The sources analysed in this thesis span more than two centuries and when considering certain temporal developments, the dynamic, continuously shifting nature of the network Vienna was embedded in becomes more apparent: As Graph 2 illustrates, evidence for trade toward Venice is

¹⁵⁷ See for instance: Municipal and Provincial Archives of Vienna (Wiener Stadt und Landesarchiv / WStLA), docs. Nr. 590a, 592a, 676a, 677a, 689a, 710, 712, 720a, 733a, 733b, 1172a, 1176a and 1382.

¹⁵⁸ Municipal and Provincial Archives of Vienna (Wiener Stadt und Landesarchiv / WStLA), doc. Nr. 712.

¹⁵⁹ Provincial Archive of Carinthia (Landesarchiv Kärnten), doc. Nr. AT-KLA 418-B-A 1512 St.

¹⁶⁰ See the various documents from *Fontes Rerum Austriacum II-XL*, docs Nr. 1 to 80, 1-95 where various issues robberies, roadblocks, (illegal) tolls as well as the various attempts by local authorities, the Patriarch of Aquileia and foreign rulers to stop them are collected.

¹⁶¹ *Fontes Rerum Austriacum II-XL*, doc. Nr.62, 73-74.

comparatively scarce before 1300; then it rapidly increases only to again drop significantly toward 1400, while other trade directions are already more clearly documented in the 13th century, with trade along the Danube being implied in the earliest source from 1154, the *Tabula Rogeriana*.¹⁶² In the early 13th century, several sources (e.g. the rights granted to the Regensburg merchants and the surviving tolls) suggest a pre-eminence of trade along the Danube. The staple laws enacted starting from the 1220s were specifically meant to strengthen Vienna's position in this trade and show little indication of North-South trade being of particular importance. Then, from around 1300, primary source evidence for trade connections with Italy increase rapidly and dominates until the late 14th century. However, trade along the Danube continued in the 14th and early 15th century. The *Runtingerbuch*, written between 1383-1407 in Regensburg,¹⁶³ is a particularly noteworthy source for this period, as it arguably represents the first source on Vienna's position in the European trade network written by the merchants directly involved in it. It represents a log of transactions made throughout the years and Vienna is mentioned numerous times in it. Different representatives of the Runtinger trade company travelled to Vienna via the Danube with cloth and clothing from a variety of origins ranging from Flanders, Cologne, Milan or Frankfurt Viennese or Hungarian (gold) currency.¹⁶⁴ The frequent mention of Hungarian gold coins is also noteworthy, as being indicative of Vienna's role as an intermediary toward Hungary still being in place in the late 14th century.

Although we lack quantitative data, it becomes apparent that the trade network shown in Image 2 was not static and various routes gained and lost relative importance. Trade toward Venice started slowly in the 13th century then increased drastically in the 14th century, while trade along the Danube seemed to remain stable throughout the period discussed. However, it would be wrong to assume that these routes were not deeply intertwined and interdependent, as the sources clearly show that some goods such as Hungarian copper would arrive via Hainburg¹⁶⁵ then head south across the Semmering from Vienna.

¹⁶² Jaubert, P-A. (ed.) (1975), 370-372.

¹⁶³ Bastian, F. (ed.) (1935).

¹⁶⁴ An example for a note of such a transaction in Vienna from 1404 would be the following sale of cloth, earning both Viennese and Hungarian currency: "*Item darzue gab ich dem Frantzel 5 tuech von Choeln und zway tuch von Sand Trauten, dy 7 tuech hat er verchaufft ze 14 Ungerisch gld, pringt 98 Unger gold, pringt an gelt 62 lb und 24 Wiener...*" Bastian, F. (ed.) (1935), 211.

¹⁶⁵ *Rerum Austriacarum Scriptores*, 206-212

The sources not only offer information about trade to, from and through Vienna but also show efforts to go around it. Several documents directly reference or imply potential routes avoiding Vienna and its tolls and staple laws favouring its merchants. These include suggestions to divert merchant traffic from Brno to Wiener Neustadt via Pressburg (Bratislava)¹⁶⁶ as well as large scale attempts to redirect Bohemian and Hungarian trade via the German lands, the Brenner Pass as well as the Dalmatian coast.¹⁶⁷ Other alternative routes, which the Habsburgs were evidently concerned about, were the (long established¹⁶⁸) route from Bohemia via Enns and the Pyhrn Pass as well as possible alternative route to Hungary by Pettau (Ptuj)¹⁶⁹.

As visible in Image 2, the surviving source material allows us to reconstruct the position of Vienna as a regional node within a regional network of roads and waterways, with numerous trade partners and routes documented in the sources. When considering temporal developments, the picture of a dynamic and adaptive network emerges in which certain routes increase and decrease in importance, depending on tolls, political circumstances, opportunities and security concerns. The fact that foreign merchants and economic rivals also continuously searched for alternatives to trade via Vienna also underlines the dynamic nature of the trade system Vienna was embedded and competing in within the timeframe discussed. However, to fully understand this network as well as Vienna's role in it and to obtain a global perspective, it is necessary to review the evidence on goods which were moved in it.

3.3.2 *Primary source evidence for the goods traded*

This section will discuss the primary source evidence for goods traded to, from and through Vienna – as well as the goods that Viennese merchants traded. While there is a lack of any meaningful quantitative data on the volume and frequency of goods moved within the period discussed, the available source material does offer insights into the commodities traded and the directions they were moved. In the source material identified as relevant for this thesis, there are a total of 193

¹⁶⁶ Kende, O. (1907), doc. Nr.1, 44-46.

¹⁶⁷ Rácz, G. (ed.) (2009), 165.

¹⁶⁸ Rösch, G. (1982), 87.

¹⁶⁹ See for instance: Municipal and Provincial Archives of Vienna (Wiener Stadt und Landesarchiv / WStLA), docs. Nr. 590a, 592a, 676a, 677a, 689a, 710, 712, 720a, 733a, 733b, 1172a, 1176a and 1382.

mentions of different trade goods, in 66 different primary sources, meaning that over a third (39.8%) of all sources analysed here (in total 166) provide such information.

Trade good category	Number of mentions in the sources ¹⁷⁰	% of all mentioned goods ¹⁷¹	Number of sources with mention ¹⁷²	% of all sources ¹⁷³	% of sources mentioning goods
All metals	56	29.0%	36	21.7%	54.5%
Of which precious metals (Au, Ag)	21	10.9%	12	7.2%	18.2%
Of which other Metals (Cu, Sn, Fe etc.)	35	18.1%	24	14.5%	36.4%
Long distance luxury goods	17	8.8%	16	9.6%	24.2%
Cloth & clothing items	33	17.1%	26	15.7%	39.4%
Foodstuffs & salt	50	25.9%	17	10.2%	25.8%
Livestock & animal products	24	12.4%	10	6.0%	15.2%
Other	13	6.7%	10	6.0%	15.2%

Table 1: Trade goods mentioned in the selected primary sources (n=166)

As illustrated in Table 1, more than a quarter of the mentioned goods fall under the category metals (29.0%), consisting of precious metals (silver and gold, 10.9% of all goods mentioned) and other metals (copper, tin, iron, lead and mercury, 18.1% of all goods mentioned). However, the prominence of metals becomes more apparent when seen in proportion to sources mentioning goods: Over half of sources (54.5%) containing information about goods mention metals. Metals are especially frequent in primary sources toward Venice, almost three quarters (72.2%) of mentions of metals in sources are related to trade going south toward Northern Italy as well as two thirds of mentions of precious metals (66.7%). While medieval Eurasian trade is often associated with high-value luxury goods, such as silk and spices, these only represent a small percentage of goods mentioned (8.8%). Aside from metals, foodstuffs and salt (25.9%) represent the largest category of goods mentioned, followed by cloth and clothing items (16.2%) as well as livestock and animal products (wax, leather etc.) (12.6%).

It is again important to stress that these mentions in sources do not offer quantitative data on volumes, frequencies or market values. But the fact that high-value long-distance trade items only

¹⁷⁰ Many primary sources mention several different goods, often from within one category.

¹⁷¹ This represents the percentage of all mentions of trade goods which fall into this category. Metals for example are mentioned a total of 56 times in the source material, which, from a total of 191 times trade goods are mentioned in the sources, equals 29.3%.

¹⁷² These are the number of primary sources in which the trade good is mentioned at least once.

¹⁷³ This represents the percentage of sources of the total of 165 discussed in this thesis which mention this trade good. In the case of metals, 36 of a total of 165 documents analysed mention metals, which equals 21.8%.

constitute a fraction of the goods mentioned seems to corroborate the cautious attitude many historians have toward overemphasising the importance and prevalence of international trade connections as well as the impact any truly *global* interconnectedness in this period. While this caution is certainly merited, it is also not the full story, as the sources also don't imply purely localised economies. The various surviving documents such as tolls along the Danube show, that the ease of transporting bulk goods by water fostered regional interconnection. Everyday items such as salt or foodstuffs (which arguably were not products meant only for elite consumption) were traded across significant distances. Sources show that during entire time period discussed cloth and clothing made its way across half the continent to and through Vienna, while in the later 14th century, livestock was imported to Vienna or exported to Italy from the Hungarian lowlands across distances of hundreds of kilometres.¹⁷⁴ Around 1200, wax and honey were imported all the way from Eastern Europe¹⁷⁵, while from the later 14th century, certain manufactured goods were exported from Austria via Vienna to Hungary, such as knives, ironware or pottery.¹⁷⁶

To understand Vienna's position in the larger Afro-Eurasian economy, its trade relationship with Venice is of particular importance, due to its dominant economic position in Eastern Mediterranean. Luxury goods are frequently mentioned in this direction¹⁷⁷, as are Venetian glass¹⁷⁸ and cloth. But as discussed, metals are disproportionately frequently mentioned in the sources related to southbound trade and both the mention of silver trade to Venice through Vienna in Pegolotti's handbook and as the robbery of Austrian merchants transporting precious metals near Cadore illustrate the importance of metals being moved along this route. The following segment will discuss metals in more detail, as this category of goods is key to understanding Vienna's role within the larger Eurasian economy.

¹⁷⁴ See numerous primary sources such as: Rechte und Freiheiten der Stadt Wien I, docs. Nr. XXX & XXXI or Municipal and Provincial Archives of Vienna (Wiener Stadt und Landesarchiv / WStLA), doc. Nr. 3698bis or for a more detailed discussion of Hungarian cattle trade Blanchard, I. (1986).

¹⁷⁵ See e.g. Rerum Austriacarum Scriptores, 206-212.

¹⁷⁶ For mentions in primary sources see for instance: Municipal and Provincial Archives of Vienna (Wiener Stadt und Landesarchiv / WStLA), docs. Nr. 979 & 1003 or for a more detailed discussion: Nagy, B. (2018), 480 & 489.

¹⁷⁷ Viennese merchants transporting silk or spices are mentioned numerous times, see for instance: Quellen zur Geschichte der Stadt Wien I-VIII, doc. Nr. 15796, 15799, 15801 & 15807, 69-72 or Der Fondaco dei Tedeschi - Quellen und Forschungen: Band 1, docs. Nr.46, 16. Spices going north are also mentioned in the Sollenau tolls. See also Pál Pach, Z. (2007), 10-13, who identifies this axis as the main origin for Hungarian imports of luxury goods.

¹⁷⁸ E.g. Ausgewählte Urkunden zur Verfassungsgeschichte der Deutsch-Österreichischen Erblande im Mittelalter, doc. Nr. 39, 84-85.

3.3.3 Sources on metal trade

As discussed above, metals represent the largest category of goods mentioned within the primary sources on medieval Viennese trade. From the earliest times, robust primary sources exist in which metals are mentioned as a trade good moving through Vienna. The 1192 privileges granted to Regensburg merchants in Vienna state that they are free to purchase gold.¹⁷⁹ But within two decades, Vienna had developed a more confident position in trade along the Danube as illustrated by the institution of the staple laws in the 1220s, trade with precious metals was restricted to the Duke's chamber.¹⁸⁰ Hainburg's tolls from around 1200 indicate active trade along the Danube in copper and tin from Hungary.¹⁸¹ The tolls from Krems/Stein dated at around the mid-13th century, also reference copper trade along the Danube.¹⁸² It is unclear if and to what extent metals were traded south to Venice via the Semmering Pass, in any case the 1244 tolls in Wiener Neustadt do not provide such information.¹⁸³ Thus, despite very active metal trade along the Danube in the early-to-mid 13th century and evidence for economic ties toward Venice, the sources do not hint toward Vienna being a significant player in the metal trade across the Alps. Conversely, Venetian metal trade with Styria and Carinthia (especially Friesach) is well established for this period,¹⁸⁴ while trade via the Pyhrn Pass is also likely.¹⁸⁵

From the late 13th century, the picture in the primary sources changes significantly. In 1278, building on the earlier restrictions on precious metal trade already mentioned, King Rudolf of Habsburg (1218-1291) grants the *Hausgenossen* (a cooperative with inheritable shares associated with the Ducal chamber) the exclusive privilege of trading gold and silver and minting in Vienna. Members of this cooperative were permitted to buy and trade gold and silver at set rates, effectively establishing a monopoly in precious metal trade through Vienna, as foreigners were specifically forbidden to buy and sell them under threat of severe punishment.¹⁸⁶ Then, from the beginning of

¹⁷⁹ "*Volumus etiam, ut sine omni impedimento emant aurum, cutes et omnia, que voluerint.*" Rechte und Freiheiten der Stadt Wien I, doc. Nr. I, 1-3.

¹⁸⁰ Rechte und Freiheiten der Stadt Wien I, doc. Nr. V, 8-14.

¹⁸¹ *Rerum Austriacarum Scriptores*, 206-212.

¹⁸² Knittler, H. (1977b), 71-75.

¹⁸³ *Ausgewählte Urkunden zur Verfassungsgeschichte der Deutsch-Österreichischen Erblande im Mittelalter*, doc. Nr. 39, 84-85.

¹⁸⁴ See for instance Stahl, A. (2000), 23-24.

¹⁸⁵ Rösch, G. (1982), 87.

¹⁸⁶ „*Es sol auch chain gast golt noch silber noch kainerlai neuer phenning kaufen noch von dem land füren, als er will meiden die pein leibs und guts.*“ Rechte und Freiheiten der Stadt Wien I, doc. Nr. XIV, 37

the 14th century, Viennese merchants begin appearing frequently in Venetian and other Northern Italian sources moving metals toward Venice. For example, in 1301 two Viennese Merchants (*Henghelprettus de Vienna et Fredericus de Vienna*) importing copper and tin were fined for illegal trade practices but following investigation of the matter, officials waived the fine as their barges had taken a detour by accident.¹⁸⁷ While frustratingly poor on details, this note confirms the involvement of Viennese merchants in the copper trade at the start of the 14th century and that they used barges (likely from Portogruaro, Concordia or Latisana) to easily move their goods through the shallow rivers, lagoons and coastline toward Venice. In 1311, the robbery near Cadore previously discussed proves that a Viennese trade company was moving precious metals toward Venice. Later, Venetian records show that a Viennese Merchant had his fine for not declaring his imported silver waived in 1317¹⁸⁸ or a certain *Cristano de Viena* in 1322, who had been too sick upon arrival to properly declare his silver imports.¹⁸⁹

These brief mentions, together with other already presented sources, provide evidence for the involvement of Viennese merchants in the trade with precious metals. However, as we are only left with records of rare legal proceedings – or unusual events such as the large robbery in Cadore - it is impossible to make estimates of the scale and frequency of this trade or the market share of Viennese merchants in Venice. Nor is their relationship with the *Hausgenossen* clear, or how the trade company active near Cadore was associated with them. Furthermore, Venetian sources of course did not inherently distinguish Viennese from other German speakers and in many cases didn't note the specific origin of the merchant, simply referring to him by his name and

¹⁸⁷ “Cum Henghelprettus de Vienna et Fredericus de Vienna destinarent de Aquilegia Venetias quandam quantitatem stagni et ramis per quandam barcham et barcharius levavit in ipsa barcha boves quos volebat portare Clugiam et de Clugia readducere Venetias dictum rame et stagnum, sed per capitaneos postarum factum fuit intromitti3) dictum rame et stagnum ad Sanctum Clementem: volumus esse inter 40 pro facere eis gratiam, quod ipsis reddatur dictum rame et stagnum et sint inde absoluti.” Der Fondaco dei Tedeschi - Quellen und Forschungen: Band 1, doc. Nr. 13-16, 5

¹⁸⁸ “Quod fiat gratia Athemano de Alemania, qui dum venisset quadam die sabbathi Venetias et intrasset fonticum Theutonicorum dimittens unum socium suum Tarvisii cum suo argento, qui socius suus Venetias venit die lune sequenti cum dicto argento et ipsum presentavit die mercurii tunc sequenti officialibus fontici; et quia venit duobus diebus ante et intravit fonticum, dicti officiales dicunt ipsum esse incursum penam quarti dicti auri (sic): quod propter suam ignorantiam absolvetur a dicta pena, quam ipsi officiales dicunt eum incurrisse.” Der Fondaco dei Tedeschi - Quellen und Forschungen: Band 1, doc. Nr. 50, 18.

¹⁸⁹ “Capta, quod fiat gratia cuidam mercatori Theutonico, nominato Cristano de Viena, cui vicedomini fontici Theutonicorum acceperunt pen(am) quarti de una quantitate argenti valoris marcharum 30 vel circa, quod occasione doloris capitis et gravitatis sue persone, qui sibi subito supervenit, presentare non potuit dictis officialibus ad tempus in quo debebat presentari: quod restituatur sibi per dictos officiales totum illud, quod per eos acceptum fuit dicto mercatori, et ab omni pena, quam propterea incurrisset, absolvatur.” Quellen zur Geschichte der Stadt Wien I-VIII, doc. Nr. 15802, 71.

“*Theotonico*”, “*de Germania*” or “*de Alemania*”. Conversely, we have numerous references to Viennese merchants active in or en route to Venice without any information about the goods they were moving and are left guessing how many of them were moving metals.

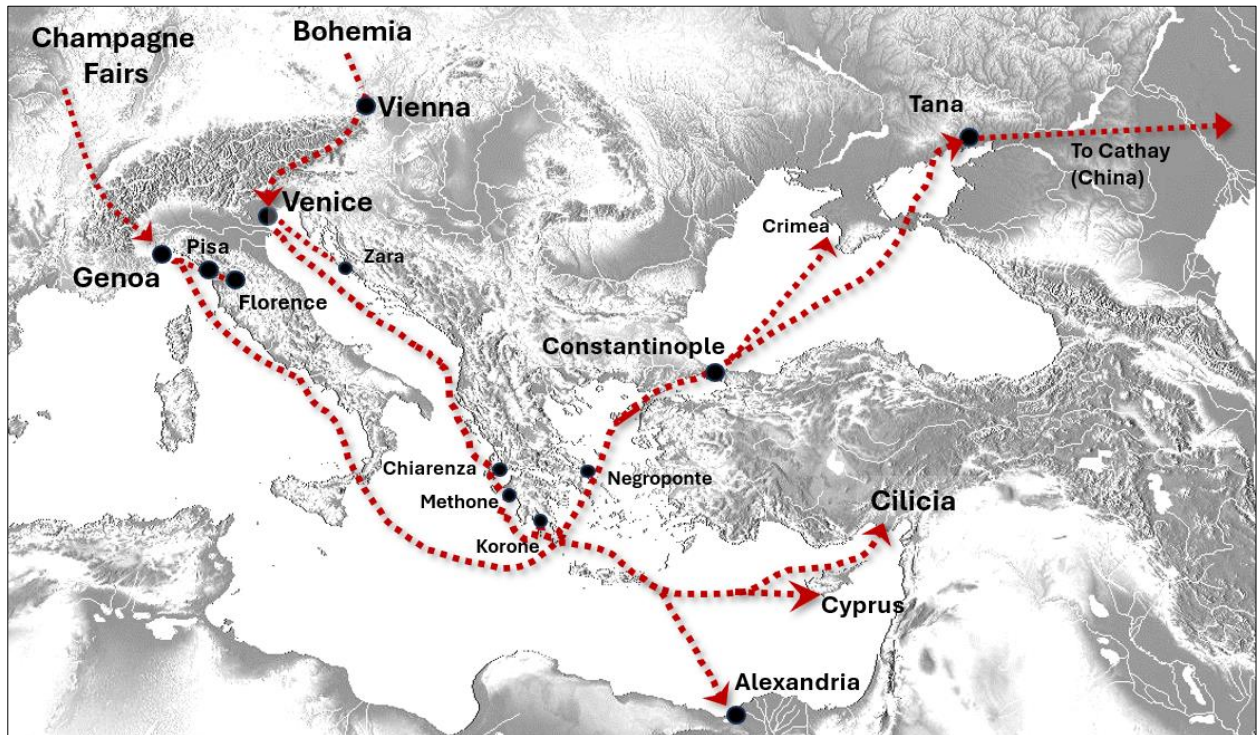


Image 3: Movement of European silver as described in the *Practica della Mercatura* according to P. Spufford.

Whatever the exact scale of Viennese involvement with the metal trade in the early 14th century, the Florentine banker Pegolotti deemed it worth mentioning in this handbook, which – as previously discussed – associates the Venetian trade connection with Vienna solely with Bohemian silver imports. P. Spufford’s detailed analysis of precious metal flows in the *Practica della Mercatura* (see Image 3) puts this in the larger context of a continuous stream of precious metal from Europe to the Near East or the Pontic Steppe, from where it made its way to China.¹⁹⁰

The primary source material shows however, that Bohemia was not the only source of metals which were being traded through Vienna, nor was silver the only thing traded. Copper is the most frequently mentioned metal in the sources, appearing in over a third (33.8%) of all documents that include any form of trade good. Unlike Bohemia, Hungary was rich in copper deposits, located in

¹⁹⁰ Spufford, P. (1988), 154.

the Carpathian Mountains in modern Slovakia and the previously discussed tolls from Hainburg¹⁹¹ and Krems¹⁹² show, that Hungarian copper was already being traded through Vienna along the Danube toward Regensburg in the early 13th century. While the involvement of Viennese merchants is unclear along this trade axis, the discussed predicament of *Henghelprettus de Vienna et Fredericus de Vienna* close to Venice in 1301 proves that they were actively involved here as soon as trade between the cities intensified. According to the updated *Wagenmaut*,¹⁹³ dated around 1320, copper (as well as tin) was also imported from Poland. The fact that this is not mentioned in the older version from 1220 may hint at Viennese merchants expanding their horizons or Venetian demand for metals encouraging more exploration. The importance of the copper trade toward Italy is most drastically demonstrated when the dispute about the inheritance of a large amount of copper from a deceased Viennese merchant escalates to an international crisis, involving the rulers of Austria, Bohemia, Venice as well as the Holy Roman Emperor himself.¹⁹⁴ Like with silver, copper is – especially from around 1300 – strongly associated with sources related to trade toward Venice, where the metal was used in various ways, ranging from coins to cannons.

Gold is another metal from Hungary for which there is evidence along the Danube axis in the earliest available sources, but as discussed, precious metal trade was soon monopolised by the Ducal Chamber and the associated *Hausgenossen*. There is also some evidence for Viennese merchants actively trading this metal toward Venice, beginning with the case of the robbed merchants near Cadore (Chapter 3.2.2) in 1311 or a court record of a Viennese merchant not properly declaring the gold he was importing in 1329.¹⁹⁵ However, despite his interest in the contemporary gold market, Pegolotti does not provide any details on Vienna's role in the Eurasian gold trade, possibly suggesting it had a secondary role to silver.

While the first half of the 14th century saw a significant increase in source evidence for Viennese merchants trading metals toward Venice, especially silver, the picture again changes dramatically from around the mid-14th century. Silver now practically disappears from the sources, with the

¹⁹¹ *Rerum Austriacarum Scriptores*, 206-212.

¹⁹² Knittler, H. (1977b), 71-75.

¹⁹³ *Rechte und Freiheiten der Stadt Wien I*, doc. Nr. XXIX, 93-94.

¹⁹⁴ See the correspondence compiled in: *Quellen zur Geschichte der Stadt Wien I-VIII*, docs. Nr. 15816- 15822 as well as 15824-15827, 74-76.

¹⁹⁵ *Quellen zur Geschichte der Stadt Wien I-VIII*, doc. Nr. 15804, 71.

exceptions of a Viennese merchant in Venice mentioning some silver in his possession in 1359¹⁹⁶ and Duke Rudolf IV himself stating that a lack of silver was necessitating a currency reform as well as a relaxation of the privileges of the *Hausgenossen*.¹⁹⁷ Other metals, especially copper, are however still frequently mentioned, especially in the trade south. The tolls from Sollenau from around 1375 for example show that copper, iron, lead and tin were still being moved south¹⁹⁸, while other documents confirm that iron, copper, tin or mercury were still being moved to Venice by Viennese merchants.¹⁹⁹

Despite the lack of quantitative data, the primary sources show that metals were moved through Vienna even in the early days of trade along the Danube axis, with the role of its merchants being unclear and foreign merchants likely being dominant. The early 14th century saw a drastic increase in Viennese merchants trading metals toward Venice, with precious metals being mentioned frequently, while from the 1350, the focus seems to shift to copper and other metals. The primary source evidence points to Vienna and its merchants being a significant factor in the movement of metals toward Venice, where they were either minted, used or introduced into the larger Afro-Eurasian economy.

3.3.4 *The sources and the global perspective*

So how can the available source material help to establish a global perspective on medieval Viennese trade connections, using the discussed approaches by S. Contrad or J. Belich, J. Darwin & C. Wickham? First, it must be stated that of all the 166 identified primary sources only two, which were created far away from Vienna, were written with anything resembling a global perspective or any awareness of transcontinental interconnectedness. In none of the other primary sources are rulers or administrators concerned with events in the larger world in the context of trade relationships, the origin or destination of long-distance trade items nor the larger network in which these goods were moved. These goods, as far as the sources mentioned them, were primarily of rather regional origin, with some however originating from across Europe or – in the case of silk or spices – from the other side of Eurasia. The two sources that are exceptions this limited

¹⁹⁶ Quellen zur Geschichte der Stadt Wien I-VIII, doc. Nr. 15813, 73.

¹⁹⁷ Rechte und Freiheiten der Stadt Wien I, doc. Nr. LXV, 155.

¹⁹⁸ Rechte und Freiheiten der Stadt Wien I, doc. Nr. LXXXVIII, 184-188.

¹⁹⁹ Municipal and Provincial Archives of Vienna (Wiener Stadt und Landesarchiv / WStLA), docs. Nr. 733b & 1493.

horizon and indeed place Vienna into a larger context are Al-Idrisi's *Tabula Rogeriana* from ca. 1153 and Pegolotti's *Practica della Mercatura* from c. 1340. These two well informed, educated individuals, active much closer to the cultural and economic cores of their worlds, place Vienna on the periphery and provide comparatively little information.

However, the purpose of the global perspective is not only to identify perceptions and theories of the wider world or the global in the source material. According to S. Conrad's approach, global history serves to contextualise the local, to identify networks and systems beyond the dominant perspective of the (nation-)state and identify relationships and connections in which the object of analysis – in this case a city, its economy and its people – are embedded in.²⁰⁰ So, while not providing any quantitative data, the previous segments have shown that the body of available sources allows us to reconstruct the trade network Vienna was embedded in, identify goods that were moved, some of the roles its merchants played as well as certain developments over time. In the 13th century, the sources are comparatively sparse and seem to be primarily concerned with trade along the West-East Danube axis, with trade toward Italy only gradually appearing and in association with Venetian merchants (e.g. in the 1244 tariffs of Wiener Neustadt). Then, from the late 13th century, the Viennese staple laws become more assertive and Viennese merchants begin appearing in Italian sources, frequently in association with metals. Then, in increasing number through the 14th century, various surviving documents illustrate increasing measures by the Habsburg rulers to ensure Vienna's position as an unavoidable intermediary in the trade with Venice as well as involving themselves in various disputes about tolls, inheritances of merchants or any other legal issues a merchant might be facing abroad.

Pegolotti's handbook helps us to contextualise this information in the larger Eurasian system for the early-to-mid-14th century: Bohemian silver changed hands in Vienna, made its way across the Semmering pass, through Styria toward Villach. From there it went through the Val di Canale into the swampy plains of North-Eastern Italy and then - possibly on a barge - into Venice, or alternatively via Cadore and Treviso (if you were lucky enough not to get robbed). From there the silver was shipped eastward across the Eastern Mediterranean and – if not used in one of the Venetian possessions on the Peloponnese, in Cyprus or Constantinople - exchanged for goods in

²⁰⁰ Conrad, S. (2016), 65

Tana, Cilicia, the Levante or Alexandria. The surviving Venetian sources then suggest that these Viennese merchants loaded their empty wagons and barges with spices, cloth, glass products, silk or manufactured goods, returned to Vienna. Here again, they only appear in the sources when things go wrong: In 1314 for instance, Viennese merchants were robbed in Venetian waters carrying silk, fine cloths and other items²⁰¹, while in 1316 and twice 1319 Viennese merchants trading silk were accused of false documentation, but ultimately acquitted.²⁰²

However, Vienna's merchants were more than just middlemen in the Bohemian silver trade: The importance of copper and gold in the sources as well as the evidence for numerous other goods traded with Hungary both show that Vienna also functioned as an important intermediary in the Hungarian-Venetian as well as the German-Hungarian trade, where the competition by German merchants (especially Regensburg and later Passau) was fierce.

In essence, from the late 13th century, Vienna's merchants carved a niche providing Venice - one of its most important Mediterranean hubs of the Eurasian trade system - with metals. For the first decades of the 14th century there seems to have been a focus on precious metals, with copper gaining prominence thereafter. These metals (in the form of minted coins or ingots, refined to varying degree²⁰³) were exchanged for luxury goods, which they moved back toward Central Europe. In Vienna, thanks to the privileged position ensured by geography, jealously enforced staple rights and restricted road use, locals and merchants from Bohemia, Hungary or the German lands, had few alternatives to buying these luxury goods acquired in Venice for a premium.

It is worth noting, that sources themselves leave many questions unanswered (aside from the frustrating lack of tangible quantitative data or available primary sources from the merchants themselves). Why did the trade connections toward Italy intensify around 1300 and not earlier or later? What drove Venetian demand for metals, particularly silver? Why did silver disappear from the sources in the mid-14th century? How successful were the efforts by the various Dukes of Austria to maintain the role of Vienna and stifle competitors and alternative routes? If the Habsburg rulers took such an effort to monopolise the metal trade toward Venice and control its

²⁰¹ Quellen zur Geschichte der Stadt Wien I-VIII, doc. Nr.15796, 69.

²⁰² Der Fondaco dei Tedeschi - Quellen und Forschungen: Band 1, doc. Nr. 46, 16 as well as Quellen zur Geschichte der Stadt Wien I-VIII, docs. Nr. 15799 & 15801, 70-71.

²⁰³ See Spufford, P. (1988) for a discussion of primary source evidence of "German" silver arriving in Venice, this may or may not be specifically referring to silver via Vienna.

access to the North – as can be seen in the letter sent by Duke Rudolf IV to the Doge of Venice – why didn't Venice simply diversify and obtain their silver and other metals from other sources?

By combining the results of the primary source analysis with the large body of literature discussed in Chapter 2, a coherent narrative of the trade history of medieval Vienna can be reconstructed and contextualised within contemporary global developments. The historiographical utility and limits of a global approach to this medieval problem will subsequently also be discussed.

4 Results and discussion: A global perspective on Medieval Vienna's trade connections

4.1 *A chronology of Vienna's long-distance trade connections ca. 1000-1450*

4.1.1 *Babenberg Vienna: Beginnings of a regional trade hub and its global context*

Any reconstruction of the early history of Vienna's economy is severely restricted by a lack of primary sources, meaning that a discussion of the period before the turn of the 13th century (here and in the literature) is based on a mix of extrapolation from later sources and assumptions based on developments in neighbouring lands. It seems certain that the stabilisation and colonisation of the area after the Ottonian defeat of the Magyars in 966 and their subsequent gradual Christianisation around 1000 ushered in the beginning of Vienna's steady development into a settlement of regional significance. From this early period, its geographically predetermined role as a waypoint on the intercontinental West-East Danube axis was conducive, especially as European long-distance mobility of goods and people drastically increased from 1096 onward due to the Crusades. Major contingents of the Second and Third Crusades (and likely of the First) stopped at Vienna before moving through Hungary and the Balkans toward Constantinople and the Near East, with many pilgrims later using the same route.²⁰⁴ Despite the lack of primary source evidence, it is likely this new movement of goods and people also intensified the use of this axis for commercial endeavours and connections between German lands and Hungary as well as beyond. B. Nagy describes 12th-century Hungarian trade toward Western Europe as dominated by Regensburg merchants moving through Vienna, while Hungarian merchants were active toward the Kyivan Rus' and Constantinople. Even at this early stage, Hungarian metals were abundant and sought after, and exported as far West as Flanders and France, likely via the Danube.²⁰⁵

The Crusades represent a watershed moment in European history with global consequences: Latin Europe became significantly more outward-oriented, leading to a drastic intensification of

²⁰⁴ Opll, F. (1980), 50-51.

²⁰⁵ Nagy, B. (2018), 476-477.

political, cultural and economic connections to the Byzantine lands and the Muslim Near East.²⁰⁶ Vienna's development is no exception to this: The Babenberg Dukes, which had moved their seat to Vienna in 1145, were avid Crusaders and subsequently even established marital ties with the Byzantine Imperial family. While there is abundant evidence this ushered in a period of distinct Byzantine influence in Vienna, there are no surviving primary sources providing information on the effects this had on long distance trade nor any evidence for direct trade with Byzantium.²⁰⁷ However, it can be assumed that the necessities of this new court with heightened international prestige and increasing political standing required an ample supply of luxury goods. The mid-12th century not only expanded Vienna's horizon, as evident with Al-Idrisi's *Tabula Rogeriana*. The town itself was now relevant enough to be noticed by the world at large and was – quite literally – put on the map.

One of the most important consequences of the Crusades was the rise of Venice to an economic powerhouse and facilitator of European trade connections with the larger Afro-Eurasian economy. For this, Venice soon required a steady stream of precious metals, especially silver due to its greater availability in Europe compared to gold. This silver not only served as an exchange medium in its rapidly expanding trade with the Eastern Mediterranean but also other purposes, such as value storage or credit medium.²⁰⁸ In order to acquire it, Venice soon established tight economic relationships with Tyrol, Styria and Carinthia (especially Friesach), from where during the 12th century large amounts of silver bullion streamed toward Venice, where it was exchanged for various goods under favourable conditions and reminted into Venetian coinage.²⁰⁹ The previously discussed decree issued by Bishop Otto II in 1178²¹⁰ implying usually busy trade through the Val di Canale further confirms these connections between Northern Italy and the South of what is now Austria.

Despite this trade into the Alpine lands, there is no direct evidence that Venetian trade relationships of notable scale had already extended further north to Vienna in the early 12th century. However,

²⁰⁶ Some scholars argue that the crusades and the proto-colonialism it led to in places such as Crete or Cyprus where an important first step toward European global expansion and dominance in the period post-1500. See for instance Mitterauer, M. (2005), 218-224.

²⁰⁷ Opll, F. (1980), 51.

²⁰⁸ For a detailed discussion of the role of silver in the medieval European economy see Spufford, P. (1988), Kuroda, A. (2020) and Blanchard, I. (2005).

²⁰⁹ Stahl, A. (2000), 23-24.

²¹⁰ Landesarchiv Kärnten (Provincial Archive of Carinthia), doc. Nr. AT-KLA 418-B-A 1512 St.

there are some indications of an intensification of Viennese connections toward the south: The establishment of a hostel on the Semmering pass in 1160 as well as the founding of the town of Wiener Neustadt around 1192 indicate an increased effort to create a secured infrastructure along this route.²¹¹ But to what extent this merely reflects closer ties due to the Babenberg acquisition of Styria in the late 12th century or indeed long-distance trade connections toward Italy remains unclear.

While our understanding of Vienna's trade connections in the 12th century is somewhat speculative, the situation becomes clearer from 1192, thanks to the source material covered in this thesis. The privileges granted to Regensburg merchants in Vienna in 1192 illustrate their dominance in the Danube trade toward Hungary and together with the rights granted to workers from Flanders in 1208 fit the image of a town with a growing economy and increasing significance as a trade hub, which however, still required substantial foreign expertise and capital from the more developed areas of Europe.

This appears to have shifted in the 1220s: Tolls and city rights now indicate enough economic and political weight for Viennese merchants to attempt to usurp the role of the Western European merchants mentioned in the sources (Regensburg, Metz, Aachen, Maastricht etc.). For this, new measures were introduced such as staple rights, privileges on the sale of precious metals and the mandatory use of specific roads creating a legal and infrastructural framework that favoured Vienna. This was immensely aided by its geographic location on the Danube, as medieval travel was significantly faster and cheaper on a river than on roads, even against its flow.²¹² The new trade regime seems to have been mainly focussed establishing Vienna as an intermediary in the German trade with Hungary, but the source material of this time also provides evidence of trade connections to Bohemia and Moravia.

While the first half of the 13th century also undoubtedly saw an increase of the trade connections between the Alpine lands and Northern Italy, we have only sporadic hints in the primary source material regarding economic ties between Vienna and Venice, so a cautious interpretation of the evidence points toward a smaller scale compared to both the trade along the Danube. Regardless

²¹¹ Opll F. (1980), 50-51.

²¹² Denzel, M. (2024), 141-142.

of the scale of these activities, Viennese merchants were undoubtedly active in Northern Italy even at this early stage, as evidenced by one receiving a loan from another, more established German merchant (heavily involved with the already mentioned Alpine-Venetian metal trade)²¹³ in 1200, while in 1240, another named *Heinrich Baumo* receives an imperial order for a large grain shipment.²¹⁴ This shows that by the mid-13th century, at least some Viennese merchants were operating across large distances along this north-south axis and that at least one Viennese merchant had the experience, logistical capability, contacts and capital to manage a large-scale order from an exceptionally important customer. This stands in contrast to the West-East direction, where they contended with well-established Regensburg dominance and required political intervention to get a share of the market. Venetian merchants were also active in Vienna and mentioned in contemporary sources, such as the *Wagenmaut* (dated to around 1220)²¹⁵ or the tolls in Wiener Neustadt from 1244.²¹⁶ The use of Viennese weights and measures as references in Styria and Carinthia beginning around this time also indicates robust connections toward the south.²¹⁷

The economic ties as well as the movement of trade goods mentioned in the available primary sources show that by the early 13th century, Vienna was already well embedded in a large regional network of exchange stretching from Flanders to the Lands of the Rus', which benefitted from the Danube's role as trans-European mobility corridor. While there is some evidence for connections toward the North (Bohemia and Moravia) as well as tenuous links with Italy, the source material implies that these played a secondary role to the dominant Danube axis.

An analysis of the trade connections and goods mentioned in the sources in this period suggest cloth and clothing (as well as capital and know-how) moving from Flanders and the South German Lands east along the Danube, while foodstuffs, animal products and metals from around Vienna, Bohemia, Hungary and beyond moved in the other direction. Despite the beforementioned hints toward economic links with Venice, the only item which can be linked with this axis in the sources

²¹³ v. Stromer, W. (1978), 8.

²¹⁴ Regesta Imperii V/1, doc. Nr. 2713.

²¹⁵ Rechte und Freiheiten der Stadt Wien I, doc. Nr. IV, 7.

²¹⁶ Ausgewählte Urkunden zur Verfassungsgeschichte der Deutsch-Österreichischen Erblände im Mittelalter, doc. Nr. 39, 84-85.

²¹⁷ Opll, F. (1980), 59.

is Venetian glass being imported. Unlike later periods there is no evidence for sizable involvement of Viennese merchants in southward bound metal trade.

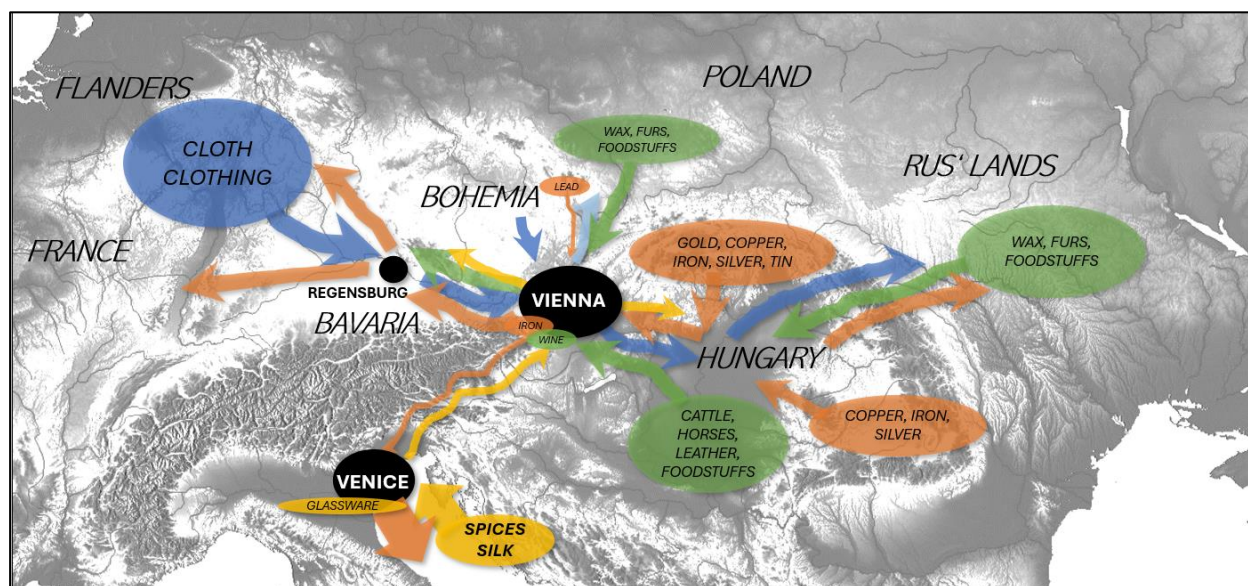


Image 4: Trade connections & movement of goods during the 12th and early 13th centuries, based on the primary sources analysed.

While it is plausible that small quantities of Asian high-value goods such as spices or silks found their way to Vienna via Venice or through intermediaries in Western Europe, the sources provide little evidence for this period.²¹⁸ Together with the seemingly weak ties to Venice – the closest major intercontinental trade port – this implies that Vienna's integration into the larger Afro-Eurasian economy was negligible and peripheral, despite its regional interconnectedness.

4.1.2 The Mongols, Kutna Hora and the Eurasian Silver Century

Around the mid-13th century, several major regional and global changes occurred, that profoundly affected the city's economic development. Around the time Vienna was asserting itself as a noteworthy economic player along the Danube and first connections toward the south were being established, a charismatic leader named Temüjin (1162-1227, later to be known as Ghengis Khan) had united a plethora of peoples and tribes in the East Eurasian Steppe under the banner of the Mongols. He moulded them into a powerful army based on meritocratic leadership and a core of

²¹⁸ The earliest reference in the sources is from Hungarian tolls dated 1250. These imply that "German" merchants were either importing or exporting pepper along the Danube axis: "*Item de curru salium Vngarorum duos sales et dimidium in porcionem Comitis Jauriensis. Item de centum marcis piperis tributarij debent habere vnus marcarum piperis, et de centum chirotecis duas chirotecas, et sic de alijs minutis mercimonijs.*" See: Municipal and Provincial Archives of Vienna (Wiener Stadt und Landesarchiv / WStLA), doc. Nr. 4a.

highly mobile cavalry, supplemented by troops and siege specialists from allies and subjugated countries. By the time of his death, the northern China, Central Asia as well as much of Persia had been conquered. His third son and successor Ögedei (1186-1241) quickly consolidated power, continued the Empire's meteoric expansion in all directions, and in 1241, after the conquest and destruction of the Kievan Rus, two Mongol armies entered Central Europe. While a smaller one invaded Poland and defeated a combined Polish-German army at the Battle of Legnice, a larger Mongol force swept into Hungary, destroyed the Hungarian Army at the Battle of Mohi and occupied the Hungarian Plains.²¹⁹

Soon, the area around Vienna was raided and pillaged by small Mongol probing attacks and the newly founded Wiener Neustadt was burned down; however, the withdrawal of the Mongol forces the following year²²⁰ saved Vienna from the kind of destruction much of Hungary and Poland had experienced. Aside from the upheaval and devastation caused by the Mongols' foray onto Vienna's doorstep, a significant consequence for the city was the drastic change in the political landscape it created. Duke Frederick II (1211-1246), who had distinguished himself against the Mongols, attempted to use the ensuing chaos in Hungary to expand his territory and influence, but instead died in a minor border skirmish, leaving his lands without an heir. In 1251, Vienna and rest of the Duchy of Austria fell under the control of the ambitious Bohemian noble Ottokar II. Přemysl (1233-1278).

Unfortunately, despite Ottokar's frequent use of Vienna as his seat of power, few surviving sources document the period of Přemyslid rule over Vienna²²¹, especially related to long-distance trade. However, several factors seem to point to the crucial role it played in Vienna's later economic boom: First, Ottokar aggressively expanded his realm toward the South and by the 1260s it bordered Venetian territory in Northern Italy. For this, he strategically worked to gain direct control or alliances with towns in key positions on the route to Venice, such as Pordenone, Treviso

²¹⁹ See for a detailed summary of Mongol state formation and the conquests see May, T. (2012) as well as the various contributions in May, T. & Hope, T. (eds.) (2022).

²²⁰ Scholars have proposed several, often conflicting explanations for the Mongol withdrawal from Hungary. The most common is that Mongol leaders and their forces needed to be present in the ensuing power struggle for succession after the Khan's death, however, this has been somewhat called into question by newer research. See Rogers, G. (1996) for a detailed discussion.

²²¹ See Csendes, P. (1996) for a detailed discussion of surviving and possibly lost documents during the Přemyslid period.

or Verona.²²² Thus, for the first time, travelling from Bohemia to Venice (either via Enns and the Pyhrn Pass or via Vienna and the Semmering Pass) did not require passing through multiple states and thus reducing administrative obstacles and security risks for mobility.

According to R. Zaoral, Ottokar's economic reforms, adaptation of weights and measurements and coinage policy also seem directly linked to a desire to foster economic exchange with Venice. *"The coincidence of these measures with legal and administrative reforms in Venice is remarkable. It is beyond doubt that they created the conditions for a more intensive exchange of goods between Prague-Brünn and Venice."*²²³ Generally, the mid-13th century also represents a period in which sources across Central Europe provide evidence of Venetian merchant activity, and trade goods which can be linked to Venice (such as glassware) begin to show up in the archaeological record²²⁴, the aforementioned 1244 tolls of Wiener Neustadt²²⁵ being a good example.

Crucially, Přemyslid rule also saw the intensification of Bohemian silver production at Iglau/Jihlava (mining started around 1220/30) and the deposits at Kuttenberg/Kutná Hora (starting around 1260/70), which was directly incentivised by rapidly increasing Venetian demand.²²⁶ While exact numbers are unclear, silver production increased to possibly as much as 20-25 tonnes per year by around 1300, most of which ended up in Venice.²²⁷ In his work on the Venetian mint, A. Stahl notes a direct correlation between a significant increase in volume and coin quality and the rise in Bohemian silver production in the 1260-70s.²²⁸ As seen in the previous chapter, the Vienna's role as a key intermediary in the trade between Bohemia and Venice becomes evident in the sources from the early 1300s. While it is possible that much of this trade would have also passed through Vienna, there is no primary source evidence of the involvement of Viennese merchants at this early stage yet. While R. Zaoral points out that Venetian and German capital and merchants were in control of Bohemian mining from the beginning²²⁹ (and the miners themselves

²²² Zaoral, R. (2014), 153.

²²³ Zaoral, R. (2014), 155.

²²⁴ See Zaoral, R. (2014, 2018 & 2019).

²²⁵ Ausgewählte Urkunden zur Verfassungsgeschichte der Deutsch-Österreichischen Erblände im Mittelalter, doc. Nr. 39, 84-85.

²²⁶ Spufford, P. (1988), 119, 125 & 138.

²²⁷ Spufford, P. (1988), 125.

²²⁸ Stahl, A. (2000), 170.

²²⁹ Zaoral, R. (2014), 151.

were also of German origin²³⁰) Viennese merchants may have only become involved after staple rights were tightened to apply to all foreign merchants travelling in 1278 and 1281²³¹, and the trade with silver and gold restricted to members of the *Hausgenossen*,²³² effectively legislating a position as a middleman in the Bohemian silver trade.

To contextualise the significant growth of Venetian demand for silver in the second half of the 13th century, it is necessary to return to the Mongols and their newly established transcontinental Empire, which by the 1250s spanned from Eastern Europe to Korea. While the immediate wake of the Mongol conquest often brought massive destruction, the Empire soon became a facilitator of long-distance trade across Afro-Eurasia. It created a vast, unified polity and economic zone, which included the whole Eurasian steppe belt and either encompassed or bordered virtually all centres of the 13th-century Eurasian economic system. The Mongols “*invested in merchants, increased production of valuable commodities like textiles and porcelain, linked formerly unconnected markets, and created new opportunities for commerce. Trade flourished under Mongol rule.*”²³³ It was an empire which “*valued and promoted trade with political and economic policies because steady commercial revenue was imperative for further military campaigns and large projects. As a result, it invested imperial funds in trade, protected merchants, and consumed copious amounts of commodities.*”²³⁴ The result was that during this period merchants could move goods through the vast Mongol domains with a much-reduced risk of extortion or banditry. In his handbook discussed in the previous chapter, Pegolotti describes the overland journey from the Black Sea Port of Tana, across the steppe to Beijing as “*most secure, day and night, according to the merchants that have been using it.*”²³⁵

While the role of the Mongols as a catalyst of Afro-Eurasian trade in the 13th and 14th centuries can thus hardly be overstated, their monetary policy and its profound effect on the silver market were likely more consequential for Vienna. The Mongol conquest incorporated various regions with diverse monetary traditions, and while these systems were kept in place to some degree, they

²³⁰ Mining at Kutna Hora / Kuttenberg was likely opened by Tyrolian miners, who also copied the Tyrolian mining code. Spufford, P. (1988), 124.

²³¹ Rechte und Freiheiten der Stadt Wien I, docs. Nr. XV&XVI, 42-66.

²³² Rechte und Freiheiten der Stadt Wien I, doc. Nr. XIV, 34-37.

²³³ Ho, C. (2022), 496.

²³⁴ Ho, C. (2022), 484.

²³⁵ „Il cammino d'andare dalla Tana al Gattaio e sicurissimo e di dì e di notte secondo che si conta per li mercatanti che l'anno usato.” Evans, A. (1930), 22.

were made convertible to silver, which served as a unit of account for taxes. Thus, the value of Chinese paper money, which previously was only tied to copper, was now bound to silver, as were gold coins in Transoxiana, Persia or Mesopotamia. Additionally, the famous Mongol postal relay system coincided with a system of weights and measurements which was standardised across the Empire, which aided tax collection – but also helped to facilitate long trade based around silver coins and standardised silver ingots as well as currency conversion across the Empire.²³⁶

In their efforts toward creating a standardised tax extraction system across their vast empire, the Mongols both elevated silver to the primary Eurasian exchange medium and ensured the convertibility of virtually all currencies. A. Kuroda emphasises that *“contrary to the popular idea that global economic transformation started only after the European expansion to the Americas, in fact a common unit of account denominated in silver which the Mongol regime happened to establish for long-distance exchanges across the Eurasian landmass had already ignited a global monetary delocalization.”*²³⁷

Both the expansion of long-distance trade and the high demand for silver had profound effects far beyond the borders of the empire, leading A. Kuroda defines the period from the 1270s to the 1350s as *“the Eurasian silver century”*²³⁸: In the second half of the 13th century, silver coin hoards drastically increase in the archaeological record across Eurasia, polities outside Mongol control such as the Delhi Sultanate or the Kingdom of France began introducing new silver currencies, mints in places as diverse as London, Venice or Transoxania increase silver coin production while in other places, silver became the standard for taxes or payments.²³⁹

The physical availability of silver was an important precondition of any such monetary policy. The mid-to-late 13th century also coincided with a significant increase in output in European silver mining,²⁴⁰ especially thanks to the previously mentioned Bohemian silver mines at Iglau (Jihlava) and Kuttenberg (Kutná Hora) as well as on Sardinia.²⁴¹ During the 13th century supply and demand

²³⁶ See Kuroda, A. (2009), 259, Kudoda, A. (2020), 76-78 and Kolbas, J. (2022), 456.

²³⁷ Kudoda, A. (2020), 67.

²³⁸ Kuroda, A. (2009), 245.

²³⁹ See Blanchard, I. (2005), 936-950 and Kudoda, A. (2020), 73-74 for detailed discussions.

²⁴⁰ I. Blanchard refers to this second boom of European silver mining as the *Second Long-Cycle* (the first occurring around 1130-1230, carried by mining in Cumbria, the Harz-Mountains and Friesach). See Blanchard, I. (2005), 925.

²⁴¹ Blanchard, I. (2005), 927-928.

seemed to have somewhat accelerated in unison, with high demand incentivising new exploration and new methods of extraction.²⁴²

The grand territorial ambitions of Ottokar II. in Central Europe were carried by the wealth pouring out of Bohemian silver mines and coincided with the start of a unique period in global monetary and economic history when this metal was in high demand due to the trade opportunities the Mongol expansion caused and the role of silver in their monetary and tax policies. His reign saw Bohemia establish strong economic connections with Venice, while his territory expanded south to the Adriatic. The entire route between the mines and Venice, the gateway to the wider Afro-Eurasian market, was now under his control, and while some of this silver would have likely taken the route through Vienna, the route through Enns across the Pyhrn Pass may have been preferred. While we lack concrete evidence about their role, Viennese merchants may have already been involved in this trade, if they were, they were facing stiff competition from other Germans and Venetian merchants. Ottokar's ambitions and success earned him enemies within the Empire and Hungary, and in 1278, he was defeated and killed at the Battle of the Marchfeld.²⁴³ For Vienna, the dissolution of his empire would lead to economic opportunities.

But Bohemia wasn't the only Central European region which saw a notable upturn in mining in the latter half of the 13th century. Again, it was the Mongol expansion which had set in motion a chain of events which would ultimately prove highly beneficial for Vienna and its merchants. During their invasion of Hungary in 1241-1242, the Carpathian mining regions had been severely devastated with significant loss of life and whole mining communities being wiped out. In the subsequent decades, Hungarian mining operations had to be rebuilt from the ground up, and in an effort to aid the recovery of the devastated the economy, various monarchs invited German miners as well as German and Italian capital into the country to restart its mining operations under attractive conditions. Using the latest technology and with no local aristocracy left to skim off profits, Hungarian mining not only recovered but expanded, and output grew steadily well into the second half of the 14th century. As the previously discussed source material shows, Viennese merchants would become important intermediaries of the Hungarian metal trade.

²⁴² Blanchard, I. (2005), 928

²⁴³ Sometimes known as the Battle of Dürnkrut in German language publications.

The Mongol invasion of Eastern Europe had further consequences for Hungarian foreign trade - and thus Vienna. Up until the 1240s Hungary held close economic links to various Rus' states to its east (such as Halych and Kyiv), trading goods such as metals, furs or honey, some of which were traded on through Vienna as the primary source analysis shows. During the Mongol conquest of Eastern Europe these lands were devastated and subsequently integrated into the Mongol political sphere, which was economically more oriented toward Central Asia as well as the Black Sea trade ports. Like the Latin occupation of Byzantium a few decades earlier, this robbed Hungary of crucial economic ties, forcing an increasing westward orientation of its trade and economy.²⁴⁴ Situated on a dominant position along the Danube, Hungary's main route to Western Europe, Vienna was one of the primary beneficiaries of this development in the 14th century.

4.1.3 All roads lead through Vienna: The early 14th-century zenith

Vienna and the new rulers from the West German Habsburg dynasty got off to a rocky start, with influential parts of the citizenry resisting on occasion until 1288. There is no source material indicating the extent to which economic concerns or the dissolution of the Bohemian-Venetian trade axis played a role in this discontent; however, city rights and privileges (including staple rights) were certainly contentious issues, as these had to be adapted in 1278²⁴⁵, 1281²⁴⁶ and 1296.²⁴⁷ The main outcome was that the citizens' struggle to elevate Vienna status to an Imperial City, with all the political and economic benefits this entailed, had been unsuccessful, with the Habsburgs maintaining direct feudal control.²⁴⁸

Despite the turmoil, the early years of Habsburg rule saw two important policies that were arguably directly aimed at usurping the Bohemian-Venetian silver trade as well as benefiting potential allies in the merchant class: (1) Crucially, staple rights remained in place and were now clearly not only applicable to trade along the Danube but clearly defined Vienna as the primary trade hub, regardless of direction, even if foreign merchants maintained the right to deal with each other. This may have weakened Vienna's position in trade between the rest of the German lands and Hungary along the west-east Danube axis (which could be explained by the Habsburgs' much stronger

²⁴⁴ Nagy, B. (2018), 479

²⁴⁵ Rechte und Freiheiten der Stadt Wien I, doc. Nr. XV, 42-50

²⁴⁶ Rechte und Freiheiten der Stadt Wien I, doc. Nr. XVI, 64-66

²⁴⁷ Rechte und Freiheiten der Stadt Wien I, doc. Nr. XXIII, 69-75

²⁴⁸ Csendes, P. & Opll, F. (2015), 111-114

orientation toward larger, imperial interests) against southern German competitors. However, a position as an intermediary in the north-south trade now had a firm legal basis, which may have been deemed more crucial. Furthermore, a few years later, in 1312, Vienna's staple rights again became harsher, and the prohibition on sales between foreign merchants was re-established.²⁴⁹ (2) The 1278 privileges of the *Hausgenossen*, building on earlier limitations on silver & gold purchases for German merchants²⁵⁰ now established this cooperative - which was deeply intertwined with the Ducal court - as a monopolist for trading precious metals and minting coins. Any trade of precious metals was now restricted to them - and trade by and with foreigners explicitly forbidden.

It is important to note that we have no primary source evidence that confirms that these measures were indeed specifically intended to strengthen Vienna's position in the North-South trade with silver, which had seemingly been fostered by the previous Bohemian ruler. However, the timing of these measures, together with their content, as well as the overall political and economic situation which a substantial scholarly literature describes makes this at the very least plausible. Regardless of the intent and efficacy of policies introduced, it is indisputable that from around 1300, the Italian primary source evidence for Viennese merchants trading towards Italy rapidly increases (see Chapter 3) and that these sources also frequently associate Viennese merchants with metals, particularly silver, suggesting they had become the intermediaries in metal trade as described by Pegolotti.

As a consequence, Vienna became more firmly integrated into the larger Afro-Eurasian economy: Carried by the intensification of trade and the hunger for silver induced by the Mongols, Viennese merchants moved silver from Bohemia, as well as copper, gold, tin and other metals from Hungary from the Central European periphery to Venice, which functioned as Central Europe's primary entry port into the larger Afro-Eurasian trade system. There, these were exchanged for luxury goods such as spices, silks, high-quality cloth, clothing or glass, which were sold on to Central European trade partners in Vienna upon return. Thanks to a mix of fortunate geography and

²⁴⁹ Rechte und Freiheiten der Stadt Wien I, doc. Nr. XXVI, 88-89

²⁵⁰ See the city rights from 1221: "*Et non emat aurum neque argentum. Si habuerit o aurum vel argentum, non vendat nisi ad cameram nostram.*" Rechte und Freiheiten der Stadt Wien I, doc. Nr. V, 13

prudent policies, Vienna established itself as Central Europe's gateway to the larger Afro-Eurasian economy.

The analyses and conclusions here are constrained by a lack of important details in the source material. There is no evidence regarding the volume, quantity or frequency of the trade connections described here. We get only glimpses of this mercantile activity in the sources, usually only when something noteworthy or unfortunate occurred: Some were robbed, such as the members of the unfortunate Viennese trading company who lost their silver and gold close to Cadore in 1311,²⁵¹ or those who were relieved of their silks travelling back north in Venetian waters in 1314.²⁵² Many would have encountered legal predicaments for not declaring their wares or providing inadequate goods; however, we are left only with the records of those lucky few who were acquitted or had their punishments reduced.²⁵³ But it is clear that the source material indicates a significant increase in Viennese-Venetian trade from around 1300, active participation by Viennese merchants and a clear association with metals, particularly Bohemian silver.

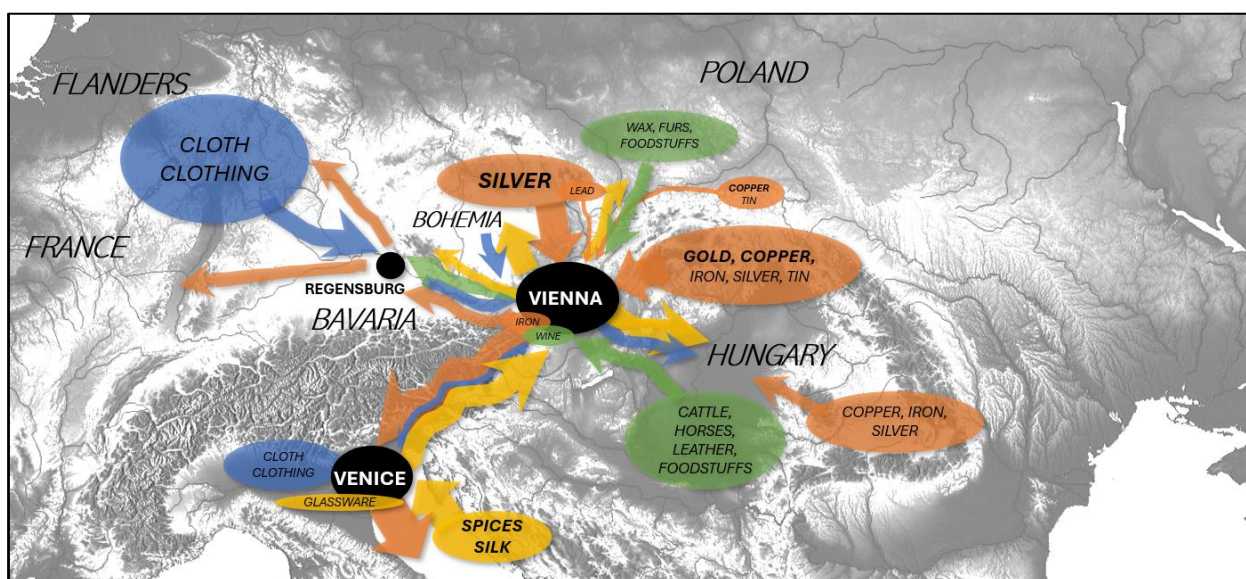


Image 5: Trade connections and movement of goods during early 14th century, based on the primary sources analysed.

The documents also show that trade along the Danube continued to be important during the early 14th century, not least because of Vienna's increasing role as an intermediary in trade with Venice.

²⁵¹ See detailed discussion in chapter 3.2.

²⁵² Quellen zur Geschichte der Stadt Wien I-VIII, doc. Nr. 15796, 69.

²⁵³ See for example: Der Fondaco dei Tedeschi - Quellen und Forschungen: Band 1, doc. Nr. 47 & 50, 17-18 or Quellen zur Geschichte der Stadt Wien I-VIII, docs. Nr. 15799-15802, 70-71.

The updated Viennese tolls dated around 1320²⁵⁴ indicate that cloth and clothing from a plethora of places in Flanders and the German lands continued to move west to east, while Vienna remained a hub for more mundane goods such as foodstuffs, salt, leather, timber, etc., while new trade partners such as Poland emerged as origin of metals.

With some caution regarding the paucity of quantifiable data in our sources, the early 14th century can be interpreted as a particularly prosperous time for Vienna's merchants. They managed to benefit from a unique period in Afro-Eurasian economic history by exploiting their geographic position in the centre of the continent to build trade connections in all directions and become important regional intermediaries for metals as well as high-value goods from Asia. This is corroborated by the fact that, by the 1330s, the rulers of Bohemia and Hungary were becoming increasingly dissatisfied with the profits Vienna's merchants were accruing as middlemen: P. Spufford summarises this frustration: "*The Viennese, by insisting on their 'Stapelrecht', by which all commodities entering the city had to be sold there, made immense profits. They equally alienated and antagonised those on all sides who might have wished to carry goods through Vienna but were frustrated. In the early fourteenth century the Bohemians in particular increasingly came to feel badly about the profits of the Viennese intermediaries in the precious metal trade with Italy.*"²⁵⁵

When a larger dispute about the Habsburg acquisition of Carinthia escalated in 1335, Bohemian King John of Luxembourg (1296-1346) and King of Hungary Charles I Anjou (1288-1342) took drastic measures to cut off Vienna from all trade to economically starve their opponent. At the 1335-1336 Visegrád summit, an economic agreement was signed to divert trade along the Danube on land from Pressburg/Bratislava via Brno toward Southern Germany, while Hungary would attempt to divert trade directly toward the Adriatic via Croatia.²⁵⁶

Lacking quantitative data is hard to gauge if these measures had any impact and, if so, how great it was, especially as the short war was soon followed by a peace agreement in 1336. Some scholars argue that this period indeed led to a stronger orientation of the Bohemian economy toward

²⁵⁴ See the "Burgmaut", "Wagenmaut", "Wassermaut" and "Innere Maut": Rechte und Freiheiten der Stadt Wien I, doc. Nr. XXVIII-XXXI, 90-97.

²⁵⁵ Spufford, P. (1988), 138.

²⁵⁶ Rácz, G. (ed.) (2009), 165.

German cities such as Regensburg²⁵⁷, while others argue that the measures were ineffective at undermining Vienna's role as intermediary.²⁵⁸ In any case, the primary sources analysed here show that Viennese merchants continued to be active in Venice and (on the way there) in Friuli²⁵⁹ (where they had to deal with a variety of problems - see Chapter 3). A recorded incident involving Bohemian merchants in Friuli in 1328²⁶⁰ – well before the pact at Visegrád - also shows that Vienna's strict policies either had loopholes or that alternative routes (e.g via Enns and the Pyhrn Pass or via Western Hungary) remained in operation.

Regardless of this question, by the mid-1340s, the entire Afro-Eurasian trade system in which Vienna had found a profitable niche in during the previous decades would soon be destabilised by a series of dramatic events and monumental shifts.

4.1.4 Transformation and reorientation in the second half of the 14th century

The mid-14th century has often been described as the start of a period of crisis and transition between the High and Late Middle Ages, frequently associated with the end of favourable climatic conditions. These changes likely also played a role in various famines occurring in Europe in the 14th century as well as a significant increase in catastrophic weather events recorded across Eurasia.²⁶¹ Shifts in the climate and weather patterns also may have contributed to a spread of certain rodent populations carrying fleas infected with the bacteria *Yersinia Pestis*. Thanks to the unprecedented surge in Eurasian interconnection during *Mongol Globalisation*, this pathogen spread until it reached a critical threshold and caused the pandemic named *The Black Death* from 1347 to 1353, possibly killing more than half of all Europeans.²⁶²

²⁵⁷ Scheltens, I. (2022), 626.

²⁵⁸ Pál Pach, Z. (2007), 10-13.

²⁵⁹ See for instance: Quellen zur Geschichte der Stadt Wien I-VIII, doc. Nr.15807, 72 or Fontes Rerum Austriacum II-XL, docs. Nr. 40 & 41, 50-51

²⁶⁰ Fontes Rerum Austriacum II-XL, doc. Nr. 23, 35-36

²⁶¹ See B. Campbell's outstanding *The Great Transition* for a detailed description of the climatic shift of the later medieval period, pages 3-18 offer a concise overview. Campbell, B. (2016), particularly 3-10.

²⁶² In his unrivalled opus magnum *The Complete History of the Black Death* O. Benedictow estimates death rates to have been around 60%, based on modern experiences with the disease as well as extrapolation from data from later outbreaks in the 16th and 17th centuries, when population statistics were already much more complete. See O. Benedictow (2021), 869-876 for details. However, it is worth noting there seems to be some regional variation in the severity of the pandemic and it is possible some parts of central Europe were less severely affected. In Hungary for example, the population decline, and economic impact seems to have been comparatively mild. See Nagy, B. (2018), 484 for details.

The Afro-Eurasian economy, already suffering from the wars, instability and economic downturn which the plague and climatic disruption caused, was dealt another serious blow around this time as by the mid-14th century, silver mining output in Bohemia had begun to decline severely.²⁶³ With the biggest European producer now providing less and less silver, prices rose, hoarding intensified, the number of silver coins and ingots in circulation collapsed and the whole system of monetary exchange, on which the previously described *Eurasian silver century* relied, began to unravel. As discussed in Chapter 3.3, the sources associating Viennese merchants with silver disappear at precisely this time, with Duke Rudolf IV himself confirming that silver for coins had now become scarce and unaffordable due to high prices.²⁶⁴

Still, the surviving source material analysed in this thesis only offers hints towards these monumental changes occurring across the world. After the pandemic struck Central Europe in 1348-49, long-distance trade seems to have continued in the subsequent years, as evidenced by abundant correspondence related to troubles Viennese merchants were facing on the way to Venice, as discussed in Chapter 3.3, as well as a confirmation of Vienna's staple rights in 1351, again clearly defining Vienna as the primary trade hub in the Austrian lands.²⁶⁵

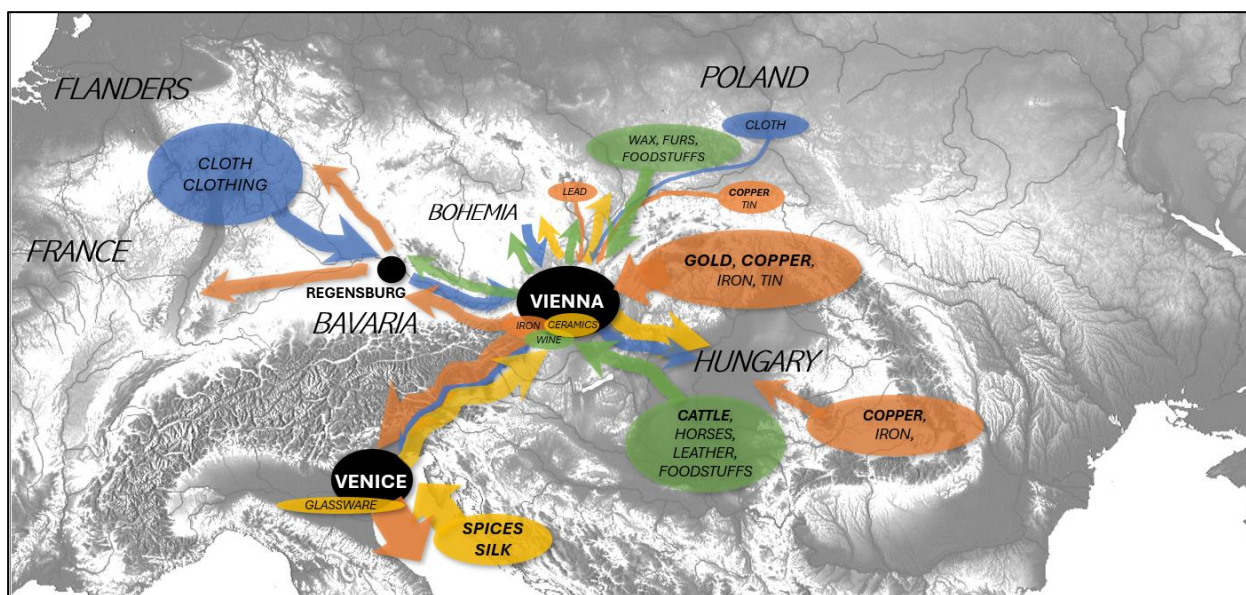


Image 6: Trade connections & movement of goods during the latter half of the 14th century, based on the primary sources analysed.

²⁶³ Blanchard, I. (2005), 925, 934 & 976.

²⁶⁴ Rechte und Freiheiten der Stadt Wien I, doc. Nr. LXV, 155

²⁶⁵ Rechte und Freiheiten der Stadt Wien I, doc. Nr. XLIV, 125

While their involvement in silver trade seems to have been at least drastically reduced (either due to lack of silver or the aforementioned reorientation of the Bohemian economy) the source material does indicate that Vienna's experienced metal merchants shifted their focus toward copper, which remained in high demand in Venice and continues to appear in our sources (see Chapter 3.3) The evidence also shows that apart from copper, other metals such as iron or tin were moved south by Viennese merchants.²⁶⁶

While it is unclear to what extent trade volume to and from Vienna decreased as a direct consequence of the multiple crises the Old World was facing in the mid-14th century, it is evident from the source material that the enforcement of Vienna's staple rights, the control of trade routes as well as the enforcing merchant's use of certain roads now became a political priority. Numerous decrees and letters from the 1350s to the 1380s survive in which Habsburg rulers attempt to uphold strict measures to funnel long-distance trade through Vienna and order their subjects and local deputies to drastically enforce these laws as well as provide regular updates about the matter. These documents also often clearly state that these measures were specifically put in place to uphold the rights and interests of Viennese merchants.

It must be noted again that we lack the quantitative data to clearly determine what share of long-distance trade used which route or if and what success any long-term impact political attempts to strengthen or weaken the economic position had – especially considering the numerous long-term developments occurring at the same time. However, it is clear from the primary source material that Habsburg rulers were significantly preoccupied with two routes in particular: The Pyhrn Pass as an alternative route toward Bohemia²⁶⁷ as well as the road to Hungary via Ptuj.²⁶⁸ From what the sources themselves mention, it seems that these measures were at least somewhat successful. A surviving piece of correspondence by the city administration of Linz is particularly interesting: Responding to the Duke's inquiry regarding the use of roads by merchants, the answer confirms that, as usual, trade with Italy is conducted via the Val di Canale and the Semmering, and that copper, tin and mercury were still being traded through Vienna at all times. The letter also

²⁶⁶ Rechte und Freiheiten der Stadt Wien I, doc. Nr. LXXXVIII, 184-188

²⁶⁷ For Habsburg Efforts to restrict trade across the Pyhrn Pass see for example the following documents: Urkunden-Buch des Landes ob der Enns, VIII. Band, docs. Nr. DVIII, DCXXVII & DCXVIII, 502, 627-628

²⁶⁸ See for instance: Municipal and Provincial Archives of Vienna (Wiener Stadt und Landesarchiv / WStLA), docs. Nr. 590a, Nr. 592a, Nr. 676a, Nr. 677a, Nr. 689a, Nr. 710, Nr. 712, Nr. 720a, Nr. 733a, Nr. 733b, Nr. 1172a, Nr. 1176a and Nr. 1382.

mentions that the only other trade not taking that route, is the livestock trade from Hungary via Pettau (Ptuj).²⁶⁹

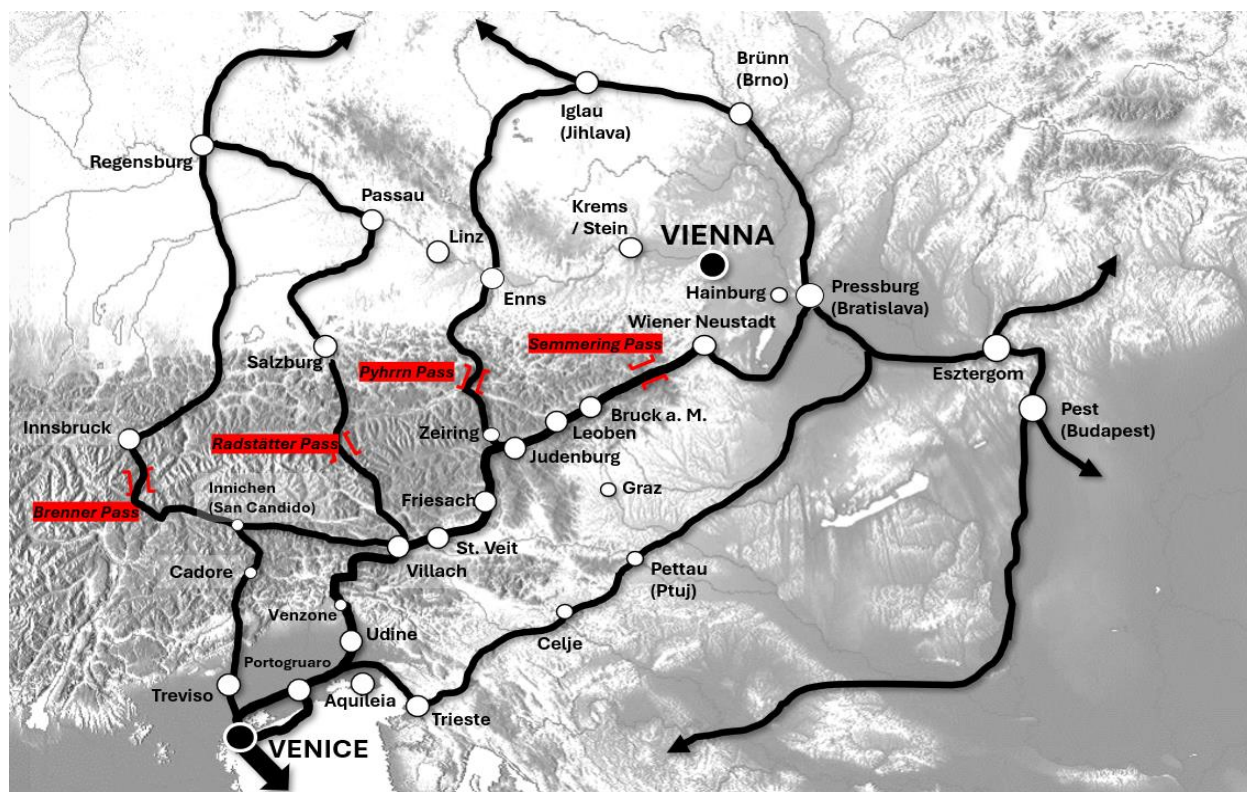


Image 7: Trade routes around Vienna in the 14th century mentioned or implied in the primary sources analysed.

How important Habsburg control of Central European access to Venice was perceived is evident in the Letter from Rudolf IV to Doge Lorenzo Celsi regarding the acquisition of Tyrol from 1363 (see Chapter 3.2.3.), in which he proudly proclaimed that all routes across the Alps into German lands were now under his control. The 1383 letter from representatives of Brno to the city of Wiener Neustadt²⁷⁰ expressing their frustration with Vienna's position further illustrates, that its position as an intermediary could be maintained to some degree during throughout the 14th century.

However, political efforts to influence trade were not limited to road use, numerous trade agreements and declarations to foster trade and leave merchants unmolested survive from the mid

²⁶⁹ „alle welhische hab von Venedii heraus komen ist durch den Kanal und durch den Amss und nie über Charst, und auch kuppher und zin und kochsilber zu allen Zeiten von Wienn gen Venedii über den Semerinkch gangen ist und anderswo nindert, dann nur allain die Petauer mügen hin über den Charst viech treiben, oxsen und swein und schof, si mugen auch gefürn Raival, der hievor wachst, und kain ander welhische hab“. Municipal and Provincial Archives of Vienna (Wiener Stadt und Landesarchiv / WStLA), doc. Nr. 733b

²⁷⁰ Kende, O. (1907), 44-46

to late 14th century. Examples include the Habsburg agreements with Poland from 1362²⁷¹, Bohemia and Moravia from 1366²⁷² as well as the 1375 agreement with Bavaria²⁷³ to guarantee safe travel for merchants. As in the century before, numerous declarations by Hungarian monarchs to enforce trade rights for merchants entering the country from the west also survive.²⁷⁴

The *Runtingerbuch*, written between 1383-1407 and a particularly noteworthy primary source for this period. On the one hand, it is arguably the first surviving primary source related to trade involving Vienna which was written by merchants conducting the trade. On the other hand it shows that, at least to some extent, long-distance trade along the Danube continued flourishing in the later 14th century and Vienna continued to receive cloth and other items from the German lands and Flanders along this route.²⁷⁵

Vienna's trade history in the second half of the 14th century was marked by the decline of the Bohemian silver trade and with it the city's role as its intermediary toward the larger Eurasian precious metal market, which Viennese merchants may have been able to somewhat compensate by shifting to Hungarian (and to a lesser extent Polish) copper, possibly Hungarian Gold (which, unlike copper, is not confirmed by the sources) as well as other metals. Any clear statements of decline of trade or income are virtually impossible due to a lack of quantitative data; however, it is plausible that severe developments such as the Black Death and the decline of transcontinental trade had a lasting impact. In any case, sources clearly indicate long-distance trade continued and that its control and regulation were of major political concern.

4.1.5 *Bouillon Famine, crisis and the dawn of a new era*

As discussed in Chapter 3.1, significantly fewer primary sources were identified toward the end of the time frame covered in this thesis. This inevitably raises questions, as this coincides with the time when literary culture and recordkeeping – and thus the availability of surviving sources – significantly increase across the German speaking areas of Europe, the *Runtingerbuch* being a

²⁷¹ Quellen zur Geschichte der Stadt Wien II-I, doc. Nr. 602, 144.

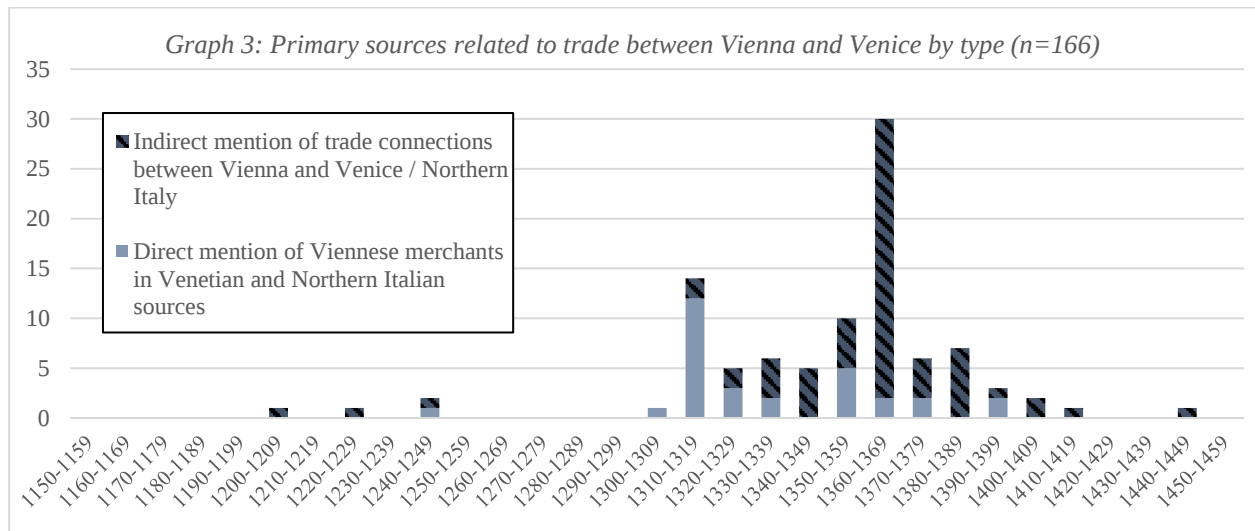
²⁷² Quellen zur Geschichte der Stadt Wien II-I, doc. Nr. 710, 170.

²⁷³ Ausgewählte Urkunden der Verfassungsgeschichte der öst. Erblände, doc. Nr. 131, 159.

²⁷⁴ Municipal and Provincial Archives of Vienna (Wiener Stadt und Landesarchiv / WStLA) docs. Nr. 4a, Nr. 7, Nr. 13, Nr. 23, Nr. 299, Nrs. 1003-1005, Nr. 1155 and Nr. 1518.

²⁷⁵ Bastian, F. (ed.) (1935).

good example. While this decrease in identified sources affects trade in all directions, trade toward Venice is particularly interesting due to the nature of the available source material and the importance of Venice as Vienna's primary entry port into the larger Afro-Eurasian economy.



Apart from the drop in available sources on this trade direction from around 1400, Graph 3 also shows that the direct mentions of Viennese merchants in Venetian sources - judiciary records and administrative notes – which remain relatively consistent throughout the 14th century also cease. Thus, even when considering inevitable flaws in this thesis' method of identifying primary sources, it seems plausible to argue this sudden paucity of sources is at least partially a reflection of either economic downturn or a reduced role of Viennese merchants in long-distance trade. The *Runtingerbuch*, the most detailed source of this period, may also hint toward such an economic downturn. During the last trade missions to Vienna mentioned in the notes of the Runtiner trade company in 1405, the merchants of Regensburg had failed to turn a profit due to a lack of sales and Viennese merchants seemed to have trouble with payments even when sales were made.²⁷⁶

However, if the plague and the disruption in the mid-14th century did not cause an economic collapse and long-distance trade continued (and possibly even expanded) across Europe²⁷⁷, what explains the downturn from the 1390s?

²⁷⁶ Bastian, F. (1935), 543-544.

²⁷⁷ Wickham, C. (2016), 214-215.

The scholarly literature analysed for this thesis suggests two explanations: First, by the late 14th and early 15th century, precious metal mining in Europe had declined so severely that currency systems based on gold and silver could not adequately function as mediums of wealth storage. This caused liquidity shortages for businesses and consumers, slowing down economic activities. Silver production had already plummeted by the mid-14th century, but the European economy had been able to somewhat compensate for this by shifting its focus toward Hungarian gold, which now also declined against increasing demands, making prices for precious metals skyrocket.²⁷⁸ Economic historian J. Day coined the term *Great Bullion Famine*²⁷⁹ for this dearth of precious metals, and while some details and the exact duration are contested, it is clear from mining and minting data²⁸⁰ that this shortage had a severe economic impact. Second, Eurasia and its trade networks were severely disrupted by the destructive rise of the Timurid Empire, which not only devastated Persia but also the territory of the Golden Horde in the Western Eurasian Steppe. With this, the overland trade network to Asia which Europe had accessed via the Black Sea, Cilicia and Syria and Pegolotti had described in his handbook had been irreversibly damaged. This forced Europe (Venice in particular) to rely on the maritime route via the Red Sea and Indian Ocean for Asian goods such as spices and silks, making Mamluk Egypt the only, increasingly expensive intermediary.²⁸¹ Both these developments severely weakened the traditional European position in the larger Afro-Eurasian economy and had lasting long-term effects, as it spurred on economic innovations, renewed mining activities in the Alps and most consequentially, European Atlantic exploration in the search for markets and gold.

The period around the end 14th and 15th century also saw destabilising events closer to Vienna. The primary sources show that constant warfare and instability along the trade route to Venice (involving Habsburgs, Venice and Hungary) caused problems for merchants²⁸², while the Hussite Wars in Bohemia (1419-1434) devastated both the lands of an important trade partner as well as the trade routes toward Northern Europe. But despite this turmoil and downturn, long-distance continued in a diminished form as evidenced by the occasional primary source in this period: In

²⁷⁸ Blanchard, I. (2005), 923-925 & 971-972.

²⁷⁹ Day, J. (1978), 3.

²⁸⁰ Blanchard, I. (2005), 971-972.

²⁸¹ Ho, C. (2022), 495.

²⁸² See for instance these decrees allowing merchants to return to Venice with their goods, due to warfare in Friuli: Der Fondaco dei Tedeschi - Quellen und Forschungen: Band 1, docs. Nr. 252 & Nr. 255, 116-117.

1417 for example, Viennese merchants criticise foreign merchants not adhering to staple laws²⁸³, while a letter from the council of Frankfurt complains about unfair Viennese practices regarding weights and currency exchange.²⁸⁴ Toward the end of the time period discussed in this thesis, trade with Bohemia also seems to have regained momentum, as evidenced by two letters in 1445 and 1446.²⁸⁵

4.2 *The larger trends and the global perspective*

4.2.1 *Vienna and the medieval European trade imbalance with Asia*

As presented in the primary source analysis in Chapter 3 as well as the previous chronological summary and combination with the literature review, the trade in metals must be understood as a decisive aspect of Vienna's medieval trade relationships. According to the source material analysed, the intensification of trade with Venice at the beginning of the 14th century seems clearly connected to the successful exploitation of its favourable geographical position to become a major intermediary for Bohemian and Hungarian precious metal trade.

This development can, however, not be fully understood or explained without an appreciation of the larger Afro-Eurasian economy Vienna was embedded in. The high demand for silver across the old world during the *Eurasian silver century* led Venice - Central Europe's most important trade hub with Eurasia - to find new sources of silver in Europe, in turn presenting an opportunity for Vienna to benefit from newly discovered, abundant Bohemian silver. As discussed, much of this Eurasian silver demand was caused by both the Mongol Empire's tax and monetary policies as well as the relative safety for overland trade it offered. But the *Eurasian silver century* was only the culmination of a larger structural economic problem Europe faced for much of history when attempting to access the larger, more developed Asian markets and acquire their sophisticated products: A structural trade deficit, which left a continuous drain on precious metals.²⁸⁶

Thus, from the late 11th century, when Venice became the dominant economic power in the Eastern Mediterranean, its wealth and success was heavily dependent on a steady influx of silver and (to a

²⁸³ Rechte und Freiheiten der Stadt Wien II, doc. Nr. CXXI, 25.

²⁸⁴ Municipal and Provincial Archives of Vienna (Wiener Stadt und Landesarchiv / WStLA), doc. Nr. 2313.

²⁸⁵ Municipal and Provincial Archives of Vienna (Wiener Stadt und Landesarchiv / WStLA), docs. Nr. 3139 & 3180.

²⁸⁶ See e.g. Lopez, R. (2005), 96 or Campbell, B. (2016), 386.

lesser extent) gold²⁸⁷ to be able to acquire the silk, spices and other manufactured goods and products its European customers desired. To obtain metals, it had to turn north to the Alps, especially Carinthia and Styria.²⁸⁸ By the early 13th century however, around the time when Vienna's long-distance relationships become discernible in the source material, the silver deposits in Friesach and Zeiring had already been severely depleted (like others around Europe). This significantly impacted Venetian ability to conduct trade, as Venice (and the rest of the Latin world) had few other goods to offer in return for silk, spices and other Eastern goods.²⁸⁹ Thus, in a larger Venetian effort to secure the steady stream of precious metals from Europe to Asia, the early 13th century saw an increase in trade links between Venice and Hungary²⁹⁰ as well as the previously described intensification of Venetian-Bohemian contacts in the early and mid-13th century.

From this perspective the involvement of Vienna's merchants in metal trade which is visible in the source material from around the beginning of the 14th century represents the beginning of a form of economic symbiosis with Venice in its continuous effort to keep European precious metal flowing eastward to the sophisticated core of the Eurasian economy, while also making profits as an intermediary for the Asian goods which Venice moved back to Europe in exchange. Pegolotti's handbook (See Chapter 3.2. as well as 3.3.3) is a particularly important source describing this eastward movement of silver in this period as well as the role of Vienna as a supplier of Venice. However, the flow of silver through Vienna dried up around 1350 when Bohemian mines became too unproductive to sustain it, forcing both European monetary systems and Venetian traders to (re-)emphasise gold in the second half of the 14th century.²⁹¹ While Hungary was certainly a major source of this precious metal (the other being West Africa), the involvement of Viennese merchants moving it is plausible, but not attested in the sources. There is evidence for the use of Hungarian gold coins in Vienna (for instance in the *Runtingerbuch*, where they are exchanged for Western European cloth) and it is likely that in their role as primary intermediary in Venetian-Hungarian trade, significant amounts of gold currency were moved south (together with the well

²⁸⁷ While Venetian imports tended to be paid in silver currency, its relative value shifted substantially during the centuries due to fluctuations in supply and demand. At times, gold currencies (or even copper coins) were preferred or only possible method of payment. For the complex monetary history of Venice see Spufford, P. (1988), Stahl, A. (2001 & 2016) and Blanchard, I. (2005).

²⁸⁸ Stahl, A. (2000), 23-24.

²⁸⁹ Lopez, R. (2005), 96.

²⁹⁰ Rösch, G. (1979), 77-79.

²⁹¹ Spufford, P. (1988), 267-288 & Blanchard, I. (2005), 950-953.

attested copper). However, unlike in the case of Bohemian silver, this thesis was not able to identify primary sources to verify this, so Vienna's role remains unclear.

The previously mentioned *Great Bullion Famine* which resulted primarily from decline of Hungarian gold production, not only had lasting economic effects for Vienna and the rest of Europe - but a lasting global impact, as the European hunger for precious metal as well as the search for cheaper access to the more sophisticated Asian market were the main drivers of European expansion in the 15th century. Vienna's heavy economic involvement in the Eurasian metal trade in the early 14th century allowed it to move closer to the core of the Afro-Eurasian trade system by supplying it with silver. However, by the beginning of the 15th century, when Central European mines had been exhausted, its status again became more peripheral.

4.2.2 *The Mongol Empire, its impact on Vienna's medieval trade and global history*

As previously discussed in Chapter 4.1.2. the Mongol Empire had a lasting effect on Viennese economic history, which will again be briefly summarised here. The economic interconnections it fostered as well as its monetary and taxation policies which led to the surge in Eurasian demand in silver enabled Vienna to exploit the lucrative niche as intermediary for Bohemian silver. This tied Vienna's previously relatively regional trade connections to Venice, and thus closer to the core of the larger Afro-Eurasian economy. The Mongol invasion of Europe in 1241-1242 also forced a westward orientation of Hungary and into closer economic dependence of the German speaking world, again making Vienna's position along the Danube trade axis ideal to benefit from this development. It also caused a destabilisation of Central Europe, ultimately leading to Vienna being integrated into the short-lived, but likely influential Přemyslid imperial project, which set the foundation for an intensification of Central European connections with Venice.

The significant impact of the Mongol Empire on medieval Viennese trade not only represents a somewhat surprising finding of this thesis but is also illustrative of both the strength and limitations of global history, especially in a period where written sources are limited both in scope and number. On the one hand, contextualising the relatively local history of Vienna within larger, global developments and illustrating its economic interdependence provides a good example of applied global history. There was also nothing linear or inevitable about the development of Vienna's medieval trade connections, which shifted, changed and later waned – and were profoundly influenced by the Mongols and their imperial legacy. Thus, a Viennese merchant

becoming wealthy from moving Bohemian silver to Venice in the 1320s may have owed as much of his success to decisions made in the felt tents of the Eurasian steppe as those coming from Vienna's *Rathaus*. All of this also illustrates the allure of applying global history to an age, when the world was not disproportionally shaped by anything resembling "Western" agency, and Vienna, Venice and the rest of Europe looked East for their fortunes.

On the other hand, this poses a problem: Global historians tend to want to emphasise networks and interconnectedness beyond the causalities of state agency, yet the Mongol state and its policies undoubtedly decisively shaped these. In that sense, the state-agency problem which global history wishes to avoid is simply transferred to a larger and more powerful polity, if not a Western one. Another problem are the sources: There are no surviving documents to indicate to what extent Viennese merchants or policy makers were aware of Mongol-induced silver demands or the larger Eurasian trade system in general – or quantitative data to determine its precise impact. Contemporary Central European policy makers and educated members of the public such as merchants were quite aware of the scope and influence of the Mongol Empire²⁹², and as Pegolotti's handbook (see Chapter 3.2.1) shows, the mercantile class (at least in Italy) also understood the role of silver within the larger Afro-Eurasian economy and were familiar with trade practices inside the Mongol world. But while it is possible to infer causalities from numerous unconnected sources from across the continent and identify the Mongols as a substantial factor in Vienna's medieval economic history, it is important to remain conscious about the fact that (1) there is no evidence that the contemporary Viennese would have agreed with this assessment and that (2) it is based on a body of sources which – compared to later periods – is severely limited in scope, quantity and quantitative data. Thus, while it seems clear the Mongol Empire had a lasting impact on Vienna's economy and the trade network it was embedded in, without concrete economic data or primary source evidence to qualify or quantify this assertion, the question how large or decisive this impact was, may be challenging to answer definitively.

4.2.3 *Venice as Central Europe's door to the Eurasian trade system*

The unique position of Venice as Central Europe's primary entry port into the larger Afro-Eurasian economy has been continuously alluded to throughout this thesis and merits a short discussion, as

²⁹² For a summary on Latin Europe reception of the Mongols see for instance Ruotsala, A. (2022), 840-849.

it represents a crucial factor understanding and contextualising Vienna's economic development. The primary source material analysed in this thesis shows that from the beginning of the 14th century, Vienna's trade connections with Venice clearly intensify and seem to overshadow other trade directions. While it is possible that a mere quantitative reading of this dominance may be somewhat skewed due to source selection and availability (see Chapter 3.1 for details) the abundance of correspondence and decrees by policy makers which are almost exclusively focussed on this trade direction corroborates its unique importance.

As discussed in Chapter 4.2.1, Vienna developed a symbiotic relationship with Venice as an intermediary of vital precious metals in the early 14th century, which were continuously and irreversibly flowing eastward due to Europe's chronic trade imbalance with Asia. But despite their efforts to dominate Central European trade, Viennese merchants were only one group of many active in and around Venice. The sources provide abundant evidence for merchants from nearby places as Wiener Neustadt²⁹³ or Brno (Brünn).²⁹⁴ These often competed for in the same niche as their Viennese counterparts, moving metals toward the Adriatic and exchanging them for spices, silks and other goods from Asia. When considering that Hungary, despite efforts to the contrary, also remained largely dependent on this import route (primarily via intermediaries in Vienna)²⁹⁵, the unique role of Venice as both the economic centre of gravity of Central Europe and the bottleneck into the Eurasian market becomes apparent.

This dominant position of Venice as intermediary between Central Europe and core of the Afro-Eurasian economy throughout much of the Middle Ages was the result of geography, deliberate policy and fortuitous circumstances. To a large extent, it was a product of the crusades, which, as discussed in Chapter 4.1.1, represent a pivotal moment in world history, as Europe now became politically and economically significantly more outward oriented. As a maritime power with preexisting links to the Eastern Mediterranean, Venice was uniquely suited to exploit this development and dominate the economic connections which formed in its wake.²⁹⁶ But in order to secure access to the markets of the Middle East and Africa and maintain the necessary stream of

²⁹³ E.g. Der Fondaco dei Tedeschi - Quellen und Forschungen: Band 1, doc. Nr. 236, 107.

²⁹⁴ E.g. Fontes Rerum Austriacum II-XL, doc. Nr. 24, 35-36.

²⁹⁵ Pál Pach, Z. (2007), 10-13.

²⁹⁶ See Morrissey J. & Feldbauer P. (2022) or Rösch, G. (1995) for summaries of Venetian economic history in the 12-14th centuries.

precious metals, Venice needed to expand its economic sphere of influence into the Alps and then the Carpathians, thus drawing Central Europe into the Afro-Eurasian market.

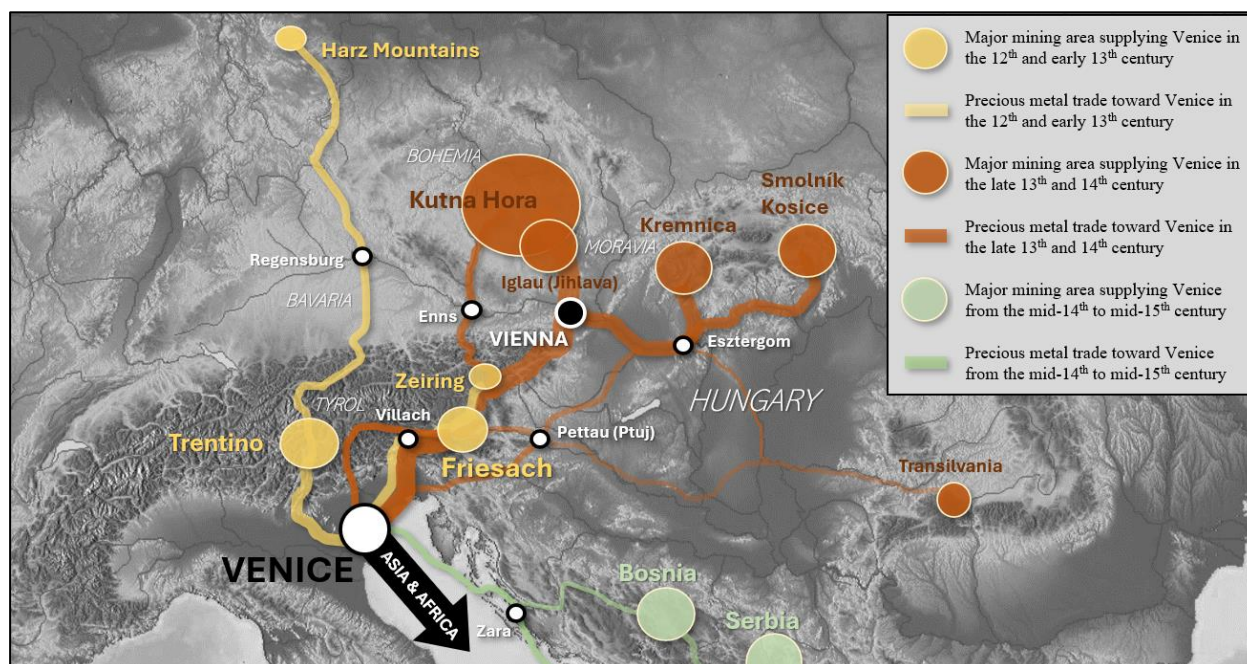


Image 8: Vienna and the Central European precious metal flow toward Venice from the 12-15th century.

As illustrated in Image 8 and discussed in Chapter 4.2.1, Venice progressively expanded its trade connections to secure the flow of metals, first from Trentino, South Tyrol, Carinthia and Styria and by the mid-13th century into Bohemia and Hungary, giving Vienna an ideal position to benefit. By the time of the Great Bullion Famine of the late 14th and early 15th century, Venice had shifted its focus onto the Balkans, allowing it to avoid much of the economic downturn most of Europe was experiencing.²⁹⁷

While Venice expanded its commercial ties with Central Europe, it vigorously protected its mercantile class from any competition and controlled all access to the Afro-Eurasian market. Foreign merchants were not allowed on Venetian ships, and strict staple laws as well as an efficient bureaucracy for monitoring any goods entering and leaving Venice²⁹⁸ ensured that Central Europe – lacking any practical alternatives - remained almost fully dependent on Venetian intermediaries for Asian goods. Interestingly, this bears some similarities with Vienna's role as Venetian

²⁹⁷ Blanchard, I. (2005), 1036

²⁹⁸ Sibylle, E. & Rösch, G. (1991), 148,

middleman in the Central European economy. While Venice controlled the access to Eurasia, Vienna's policy makers attempted to use its favourable geographic position to control Bohemian, Polish and Hungarian access to Venice – and by extension the larger Afro-Eurasian market.

4.2.4 *Medieval Vienna, global history and the question of geographic determinism.*

Questions and awareness of space, scale and geography are central to global history and freeing historical analysis from pre-determined (often arbitrarily constructed) geographic entities such as continents or political regions has been one of its hallmarks.²⁹⁹ At the same time, it tends to be cautious about any suggestions of geographic determinism (as with any teleological readings of history) trumping human agency.³⁰⁰

This necessarily creates a certain analytical tension: Networks and systems of interconnection, the prime focus of the global historian, are fundamentally shaped by the physical geography in which they are located. Furthermore, in the pre-industrial era, they were heavily restrained by the biological limitations of humans and their beasts of burden. Thus, connections through difficult terrain such as mountains, swamps or forests were disfavoured while rivers, waterways and grasslands provided easier mobility.³⁰¹ *“The result was that communications, and the networks that depended on them, have been channelled into corridors, and sucked towards junctions the alternatives to which were costly, inconvenient or dangerous. Human infrastructure was erected on these physical foundations.”*³⁰²

The importance of Vienna's favourable geographic location both for the development of its trade connections as well as its politically enforced role as an intermediary have been mentioned throughout this thesis, posing an interesting problem within this analytical tension in global history. The physical geography of Central Europe played a vital part in Vienna's economic history of the period, but so did the human agency adapting and exploiting it.

²⁹⁹ As S. Conrad admits, even global history grapples with defining spaces of analysis without some element of being arbitrary. The question of inclusion and exclusion such a space ultimately always persists and must be resolved by the historian. See Conrad, S. (2016), 135-136

³⁰⁰ Conrad, S. (2016), 145

³⁰¹ Belich, J., Darwin, J. & Wickham, C. (2016), 16

³⁰² Belich, J., Darwin, J. & Wickham, C. (2016), 16

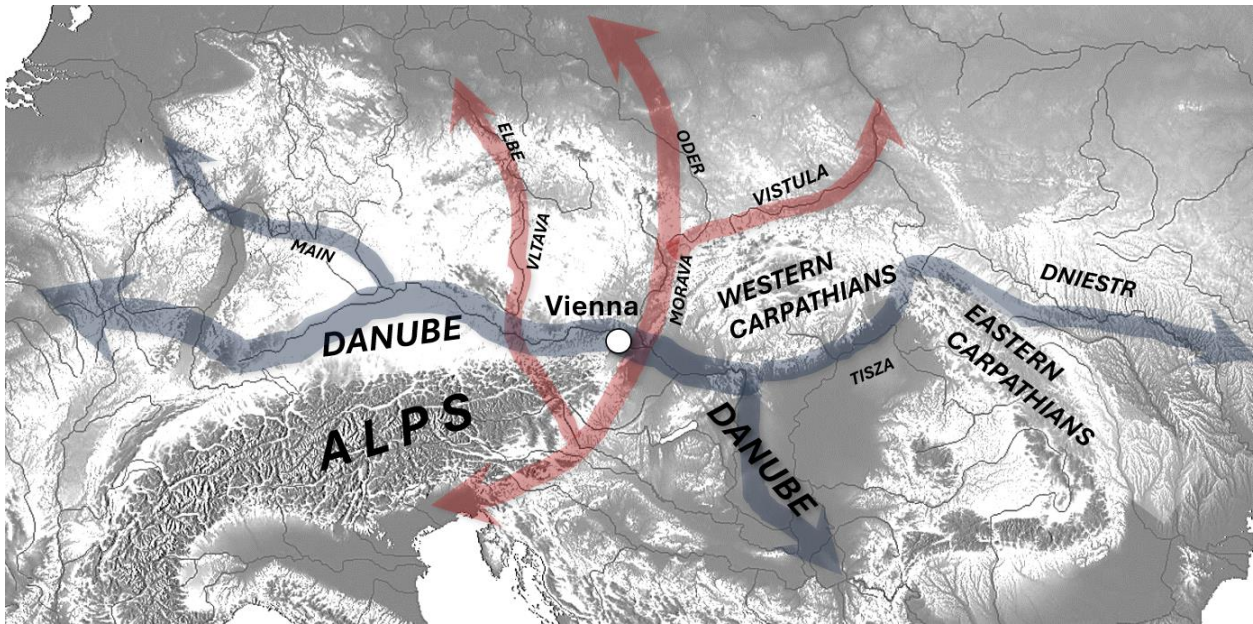


Image 9: Vienna's location within major pre-modern European cross-peninsular mobility routes, based on B. Cunliffe (2005).

Anthropologist B. Cunliffe identified a series of trans-continental mobility corridors based on the geography of the European peninsula, which determined the movement of goods and people across the millennia of its pre-history and history.³⁰³ Within this network of rivers, plains and mountain passes, the location of Vienna lies almost perfectly in the intersection of the West-East “Middle European Corridor” and a North-South route passing east of the Alps (Image 9). The trade network medieval Vienna was embedded in, which emerges from the source material analysed in this thesis (See Image 2 and Chapter 3.3.1) is heavily influenced by these mobility corridors, as it was based on pre-industrial overland travel. Geography was also a decisive precondition for Vienna's attempts and ability to establish and enforce a dominant position of Venetian intermediary: The Alps offered few alternatives to the Pyhrn and Semmering passes, which were close enough for Vienna's rulers to control. The Danube formed an ideal West-East corridor, the travel on the river itself being significantly preferable to road travel (even upstream) in the age of pre-industrial travel, especially for bulk goods such as cloth or metals. Another important geographically predetermined factor was the location of metal deposits, which made travel through the corridors dominated by Vienna almost unavoidable. As previously discussed, Vienna's integration into the larger Afro-Eurasian economy was driven by the efforts of Venice to acquire these precious

³⁰³ Cunliffe, B. (2008), 38.

metals, but it was precisely their favourable locations in Bohemia and the Western Carpathians allowing this in the first place.

While Vienna's relative vicinity (and the Alpine passes leading there) enabled strong economic links to Venice, the latter's geographic location in turn massively favoured its rise as the primary network node connecting Central Europe and the larger Afro-Eurasian networks. In an age where travel by sea was the fastest and cheapest form of transportation, its location in the North Adriatic gave any route via Venice an inherent advantage over any overland route for the movements of goods or people. Additionally, the water-rich Northern Italian Plain offers a plethora of rivers, canals and waterways which facilitated inland movements of goods while the passes in the nearby Eastern Alps are significantly easier to traverse than the Western half, which connected competitors such as Genoa to Western Europe.

As tempting as the explanatory power of geographic determinism may seem in the case of medieval Vienna's trade connections, it is only one side of the story, with human agency playing a decisive role in recognising and exploiting any favourable geography – and adapting to the contrary. Vienna's laws and its people's mercantile activities, which the source material describes, were the result of opportunities realised by individuals and communities, as was the recognition of the importance of the southern trade axis, evidenced by the numerous policy documents analysed in this thesis. On a second glance, many geographical inevitabilities are also less absolute. For example, the westward orientation of Hungary's economy, which significantly benefitted Vienna, was no law of nature but a result of human agency. Had the Eastern Roman Empire not been destroyed by crusaders, it would have geographically been a much more "logical" choice for Hungarian exports which could have effortlessly flown down the Danube, instead of being laboriously hauled over the Semmering. Similarly, both the beginning and end of Přemyslid rule in Vienna were the result of human agency and without its end, it is plausible that the Bohemian silver would have moved past Vienna across the Pyhrn Pass, moved by merchants from Prague, Bohemia or Venice instead, undeterred by Habsburg policies or rigid Viennese staple rights.

The example of medieval Vienna's long-distance trade connections shows, that when focussing on networks and exchange, global historians must tread a fine line of recognising the importance of geography without falling into the trap of determinism and inevitability. Vienna's location, which in many ways was favourable to develop as a regional trade hub, had to be recognised and exploited by human agency, as the source material discussed here illustrates.

When discussing the medieval era from the perspective of global history – which is primarily focussed on later ages with easier and faster communication and exchange - the topic of this thesis also serves as a reminder of the slower and more indirect networks of the pre-industrial age. The question to what extent the medieval era was (or was perceived by the people living in it as) anything resembling “global” is not only linked to knowledge of the world and the networks which ran through it, but also the ease, time and directness in which exchange could traverse physical spaces.

4.3 ‘Provincialising’³⁰⁴ medieval Europe - ‘Globalising’ Vienna’s medieval economy?

While Chapter 4.1 offered a chronological description of medieval Vienna’s long-distance relationships with emphasis on its global context and Chapter 4.2 explored various themes in more detail, this chapter will focus on the merits and utility of the global perspective and global history as well as the context of this question in the historiographic debate. As discussed in the introduction and the literature review, there is neither a scholarly consensus on definitions of the global, what constitutes globalisation, from which period this phenomenon started to occur and what analytical or methodological value its application in the medieval period could have. However, in the context of both the global turn in historical scholarship in the last three decades and the increasing understanding of Afro-Eurasian exchange and interconnection in the centuries before European expansion, the allure of expanding definitions of globalisation to the medieval period increased, as this would allow globalisation and Western power to be more clearly distinguished. For if some form globalisation was indeed occurring during the intensification of Afro-Eurasian trade and exchange in the 12-14th centuries, when even the richest European societies were at best economic equals, it would follow that globalisation came as a result of intercultural exchange and gradual transcontinental interconnection, rather than unique European agency. From this perspective, *globalising* medieval Europe – thus contextualising it as an interdependent part of a larger,

³⁰⁴ The phrase *Provincialising Europe* was coined by D. Chakrabarty (see Chakrabarty, D. (2000)) referring to the necessity to move away from Eurocentric historiography as well as teleological readings of history and social development. Here however the concept of *provincialising* will rather refer to the recognition that a (Western) historic entity was not isolated, independent or a dominant core, but rather a small part of a larger system. For a similar use, see for instance Fitzpatrick, M. (2011), where the Roman economy is “provincialised” within the larger, Eurasian system of exchange.

transcontinental, transcultural system – coincides with *provincialising* it; ergo recognising its non-centrality, both to the system and its historiography.

As this thesis has demonstrated, Vienna's medieval trade connections serve as an example which benefits from this approach. Much of the previous literature on the topic, while often outstanding in quality and academic rigour, has inadequately contextualised these connections within the larger developments of the Afro-Eurasian economy and somewhat overlooked the significance of Vienna's involvement in the precious metal market which the source material suggests - as well as the overarching importance which was placed on Viennese connections to Venice. By applying a global perspective, context essential for understanding various related developments and policy decisions could be gained and additional explanations offered. Without understanding the larger context of the continuous eastward flow of European precious metals via Venice and the demand increase during the *Eurasian Silver Century*, it would be nigh impossible to explain the relatively sudden sharp increase in primary source evidence (both especially in Italian sources) for trade between Vienna and Venice around 1300. Understanding developments such as the Bohemian-Hungarian attempt at a trade embargo in 1335 require an awareness of the niche Vienna developed as a Venetian intermediary in Central Europe, trying to monopolise access to the larger Afro-Eurasian market. The importance of this Viennese-Venetian trade axis and the Afro-Eurasian metal flow add crucial context to both the Habsburg attempts at controlling trade routes in the 14th century as well as the letter written by Rudolf IV to the Doge of Venice (Chapter 3.2.3). Similarly, the economic downturn around 1400 indicated by the source material is hard to explain without considering the (final) breakdown of the Afro-Eurasian trade system from a combination of factors, not least the destruction caused by the Timurid expansion and the *Great Bullion Famine*, which significantly reduced Europe's ability to purchase Asian goods.

While it is important to stay cautious about exaggerating these factors (see the following subchapter on limitations), this “globalisation” of Vienna's medieval economy (or the perspective in which it is analysed), at the very least, adds a significant explanatory dimension. But as previously mentioned, the global perspective also provincialises Vienna's economy – as recognising this embeddedness and interdependence within the larger economy coincides with an acknowledgement of its peripheral status.

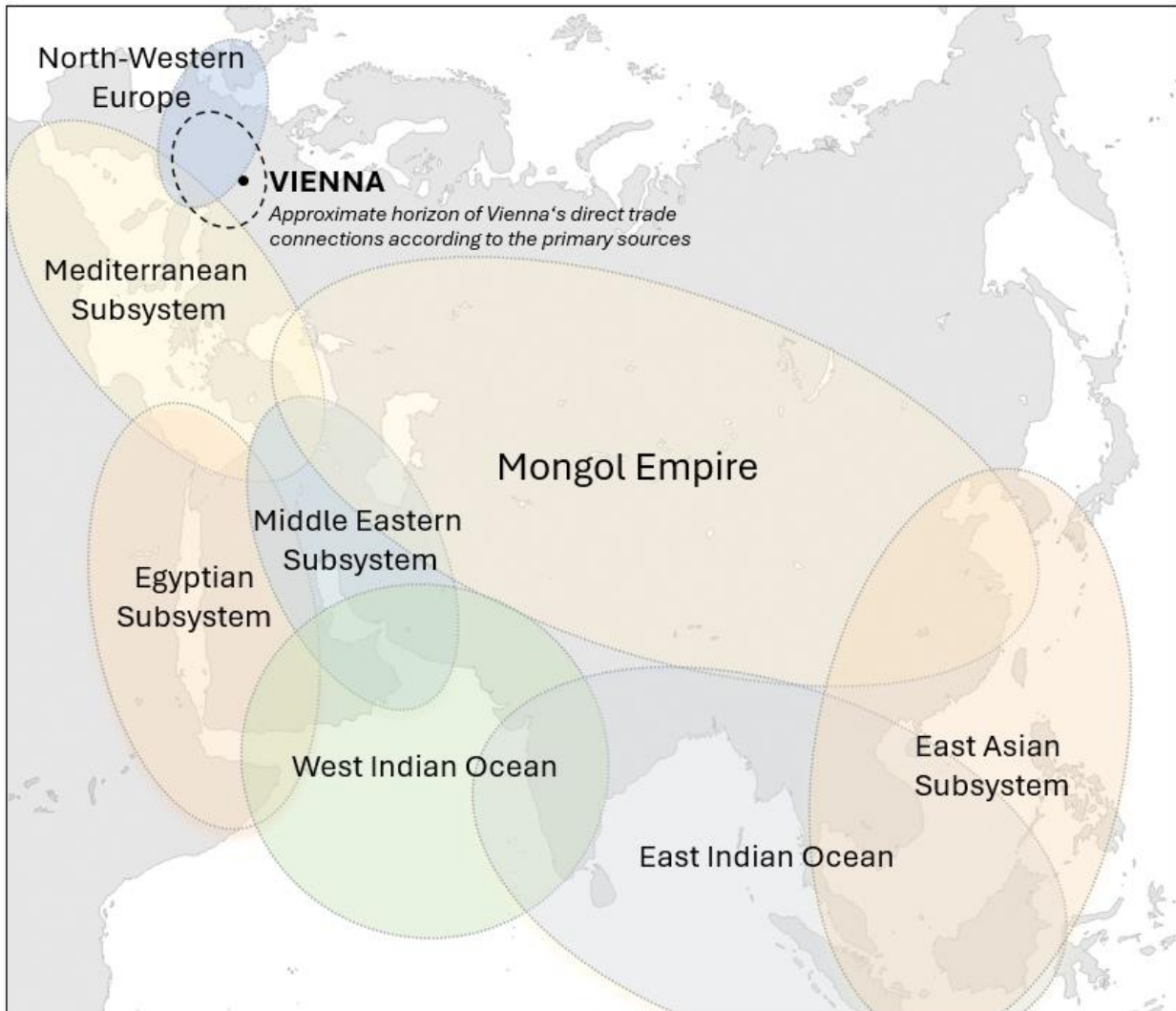


Image 10: Vienna's trade connections within the Afro-Eurasian World System of the 13-14th century according to J. Abu Lughod (1989).

The 13-14th century Afro-Eurasian World System which J. Abu Lughod described was the culmination of a centuries long process of intensification of exchange, urbanisation, commercialisation and monetarisation across most of the Old World. This process resulted in eight distinct, but interdependent subsystems through and between which goods circulated and were also tied together by silver as a transferable and tradable medium of exchange and value storage. While Venice and other parts of the Mediterranean world had been embedded in the Afro-Eurasian economy for centuries, the sources show that Vienna had largely been peripheral to this system until the beginning of the 14th century. Then, thanks to its new role in the precious metal trade, its involvement to the larger Afro-Eurasian economy increased, however not directly but as intermediary between Central Europe and Venice, which controlled access to the Asian markets. To what extent and how quickly the fortunes of Vienna's merchants declined after Bohemian silver

dried up in the mid-14th century is unclear, however by around 1400, Viennese merchants largely disappear from Venetian sources again, indicating that Vienna's economy had returned to its previous more peripheral status. As illustrated in Image 10, the source material analysed in this thesis shows that Vienna's economy was well embedded in an extensive regional network (See also Image 2 in Chapter 3.3) but when viewed from the world system J. Abu Lughod describes, Vienna's trade links seem little more than an appendix of the Western European and Mediterranean subsystems of the Old World economy.

The purpose of the global perspective, however, is not merely the diminishment of medieval Viennese relative economic power or ranking its merchants' achievements against their contemporary competitors. S. Conrad states that global history as an approach derives its value by seeking to "*to situate concrete historical issues and phenomena within broader, potentially global contexts*" and realise "*that a historical unit—a civilization, a nation, a family—does not develop in isolation, but can only be understood through its interactions with others.*"³⁰⁵ As this thesis shows, our understanding of Vienna's medieval long-distance trade connections benefit from this approach.

4.4 *The limits of the global perspective*

Despite the merits of the global perspectives described in the previous subchapter, there are important limitations and caveats which must be acknowledged, some of which have already been noted in the introduction and throughout this thesis.

The first is the available source material, which to a significant extent consists of documents, charters or correspondence by political figures, officials or institutions representing polities. This already poses a challenge from the perspective of global history, which seeks to de-emphasise the perspective of states and their institutions and illustrates an obstacle which global history faces in the European Middle Ages. Only toward the latter half of the time period discussed in this thesis - which itself only really covers the last third of the period conventionally defined as medieval - does the widespread increase of literary culture and record keeping provide us with relevant

³⁰⁵ Conrad, S. (2016), 65.

sources (such as Pegolotti's handbook and the *Runtingerbuch*) that help escape the state's perspective.

The limitations of the source material are particularly apparent when discussing economic ties, long-distance trade and their actual impact. While this thesis has demonstrated that trade networks and systems of exchange can be pieced together and embedded in larger, the lack of any meaningful quantitative data in this time period make it challenging to assess their societal and economic impact. The source material shows for example, that Viennese merchants became involved in the trade with precious metals toward Venice at the beginning of the 14th century, and the global perspective definitely helps to explain and contextualise this – but we simply lack the data and sources to quantify it. Did this phenomenon lead to an economic boom which measurably impacted the lives of the Viennese? Did the mean/median income, life quality or material wealth improve? What percentage of the Viennese economy did this represent? Did a baker or labourer take note of it or was it a mere elite phenomenon? To what extent did it increase monetarisation or lower the prices for items such as pepper? All the sources show beyond doubt, is that trade connections with Venice drastically intensified, metals played a significant part, well informed international economic elites such as Pegolotti took note of it and that Habsburg rulers seemed very preoccupied with maintaining this connection, while competitors wanted to interrupt it.

Sadly, we also largely lack sources to what extent contemporary Viennese, their leaders and the merchants involved in long-distance trade were conscious of the larger Afro-Eurasian economy, the larger trends described in this thesis or if they had world views which fit any current notions of “global”. Here again, Pegolotti's handbook represents a key source, as it shows that an Italian banker's economic horizon stretched from England to China, and the fact that his handbook was meant for wider dissemination implies that this knowledge was not completely unique. Similarly, pilgrimages over long distances were common³⁰⁶, contemporary travel accounts by Europeans in Asia were widely circulated (at least among elites), while surviving European world maps from the 14th century begin to depict the Old World in significant detail.³⁰⁷ So it is plausible that well educated Viennese merchants, constantly interacting with peers in Venice, were at least somewhat

³⁰⁶ For a comprehensive overview of medieval European pilgrimage, see: Webb, D. (2017).

³⁰⁷ The Catalan Atlas (*Mapa Mondí*) represents an example of 14th century European mapmaking which included detailed knowledge of Asia. For a detailed description see: Liščák, V. (2018).

informed about the larger world and its markets. However, again we simply have no source material to corroborate this or confirm if and how it played a role in economic or political decisions.

Aside from the problems with the source material, this thesis has highlighted other potential pitfalls when applying global history to trade in the Middle Ages. The term globalisation by itself implies a victory over the severe limitations on long-distance mobility, exchange and communication which humanity faced for most of history, but in the global age are taken for granted as easy, quick and cheap. As discussed in Chapter 4.2, however, medieval movement of goods and people, the formation of connections and thus economic opportunity were to significant degree shaped by geography and topography. Overland trade was slow, expensive and cumbersome, and while the notion Vienna being embedded in a global economy may imply familiarity, even at its height the medieval Afro-Eurasian economic world system was in essence a complex chain of intermediaries impeded by geography. This form of long-distance trade via middlemen, all driving prices up, represents a stark contrast to later, more direct oceanic, trans-continental trade and must be kept in mind when applying any notion of globalisation in the medieval era. The sources analysed in this thesis show how the flow of goods to and from Vienna as well as the movements of its merchants were heavily restricted by staple rights, protectionism, political interventions and geography. Venice was Vienna's only possible access point to the economic core of the Afro-Eurasian economy and there was no feasible prospect of any more direct route. Therefore, while global history can help contextualise medieval Vienna and its trade relationships within this larger system, one must be cautious of exaggerating its global nature.

The final (more general) point which is worth considering and has been alluded to in the previous chapter is that of global history's desire to move away from Eurocentric perspectives of history, globalisation and development, and why thus globalising the Middle Ages (ergo highlighting the Afro-Exchange and the somewhat peripheral status of Europe) seems like an attractive prospect. However, it contains potential risks, some of which have already been pointed out in the literature review. Medieval Europe may be interpreted solely from the vantage point of Europe's later relative success, distorting the perception of one time period through the lens of another, and thus creating the same teleological perspective that global history wants to avoid in the first place. Overemphasising the de-centrality of Europe may also lead to overlooking, downplaying or

outright denying any uniqueness or medieval divergence³⁰⁸ in an effort to overemphasise Eastern agency or even superiority.³⁰⁹

As argued in the previous chapter, there is inherent value in applying a global perspective to the topic of this thesis, and global history can indeed contribute much to our understanding of the Middle Ages and its economy. However, it also provides an example of where the limitations and practical pitfalls may lie. The academic debate on medieval globalisation and global history outlined in Chapter 2 will need to continue but as this thesis has shown, there is also much methodological insight to be gained by simply putting it into practice. The extent to which these perspectives and approaches add to our understanding of a problem will largely depend on the availability, quality and content of the sources available, which will vary according to location, timing and topic.

³⁰⁸ See for instance Mitterauer, M. (2004).

³⁰⁹ As discussed in the literature review, Hobson's *The Eastern Origins of Western Civilization* is a prime example of this. See Hobson, J. (2004).

5 Conclusion: A global perspective on Vienna's medieval trade connections

Concluding and summarising the results of the primary source analysis and its contextualisation with the scholarly literature, Vienna's medieval trade connections – when viewed from a global perspective - can be roughly divided into seven distinct phases.

The first phase lasts until the 1190s and is characterised by a complete lack of relevant source material, although developments around Vienna hint at it being a relevant waystation for the mobility of goods and people along the Danube. In this period, the crusades increased Europe's embeddedness within the larger Afro-Eurasian economy, with Venice establishing itself as the primary intermediary. The second phase begins in the 1190s with the first available source material, which indicates that Vienna's role is still peripheral, dependent on foreign merchants, capital and specialised workforce. In the following third phase, which starts in the 1220s and lasts until the late 1240s, Vienna's position along the Danube axis had been sufficiently strengthened to allow the introduction of staple rights with the purpose of breaking into German-Hungarian trade previously dominated by Regensburg merchants. An increase of available source material allows us to reconstruct a more detailed picture of goods involved and trade connections flourishing, which at this point already stretched from Flanders to the lands of the Rus'.

The Mongol invasion of Eastern and Central Europe in the 1240s caused a destabilisation which ultimately led to Vienna being integrated into the Přemyslid imperial project. This fourth, transitional phase lasting into the 1280s is characterised by a paucity of relevant sources but significant developments across Europe and Asia. Mongol control of the Eurasian steppe led to a boom of overland trade thanks to trade-friendly policies. Concurrently, their tax policies and monetary reforms led to silver becoming the transferrable base of Afro-Eurasian monetary systems and thus intensifying demand across the Old World. At the same time, Bohemia intensified commercial links with Venice while expanding their silver production, while extending its territory to the Adriatic.

The end of Přemyslid rule marked the beginning of the fifth phase which roughly began in the 1280s and lasted into the 1340s. Thanks to a combination of policy measures and a favourable geographic position, this period saw a significant increase in trade between Vienna and Venice, in

which precious metals played important role. Vienna developed a symbiotic relationship with Venice while establishing itself as the primary Venetian (and thus Afro-Eurasian) intermediary in Central Europe. This development led to Vienna being more directly embedded in the larger, trans-continental systems of exchange via Venice, which remained the only access point for Central Europe.

At the beginning of the sixth phase around the mid-14th century, drastic changes across Eurasia occurred. The Black Death led to widespread depopulation, while the climate began destabilising and cooling. The wars and unrest this caused destabilised the Afro-Eurasian system of exchange. At the same time, European silver production declined, to which Viennese merchants seem to have reacted with a stronger emphasis on copper. According to the source material, long-distance trade seems to have continue in all directions despite calamities such as the plague. Trade toward Venice remained the primary focus of both Viennese merchants and policy makers, evidenced by increasing policy interventions by the Habsburgs to regulate road use in order to maintain Vienna's position as Central European intermediary. However, by the 1390s references in the sources drastically decrease, indicating that Vienna was affected by the overall European economic downturn. But even in this seventh phase, there is still sporadic evidence for long-distance trade by and through Vienna, even if it regained its previously peripheral status.

This thesis identified several larger global trends and themes, as well as their impact on Vienna, which were discussed in more detail: (1) The role of metals in the context of Europe's systemic trade imbalance with Asia, which forced Venice to expand its search for precious metals into Central Europe, thus facilitating Vienna's stronger integration into the Afro-Eurasian economy. (2) The impact of Mongol expansion as well as their tax and monetary policies had on Vienna, which reshuffled the power balance in Central Europe, forced Hungary's economic westward orientation and made silver the basis for Eurasian currencies and trade in the late 13th and early 14th centuries. (3) The symbiotic relationship with Venice, which Vienna developed in the 14th century. Supplying Bohemian and Hungarian metals allowed Vienna's merchants to become important intermediaries for Venice in Central Europe, thus controlling access to Asian goods. This caused significant frustration among their competitors, who attempted to established alternative routes. (4) The question of geographic determinism, which is particularly interesting from the point of global history and its application in the medieval era.

Applying the global perspective to this medieval topic and its source material, numerous insights and aspects previously neglected by the literature could be gained, such as the significance of commercial links toward Venice, the importance of metals in this trade and the Viennese role as Venetian intermediary in Central Europe, as well as contextualising these developments in the larger trends occurring across the Afro-Eurasian networks of exchange. However, this thesis also highlighted several challenges when applying global history to the medieval context, especially due to the nature of source material and the significant difference in how trade, exchange and communications worked and were perceived compared to later periods.

Thus, when studying the long-distance trade connections in which this city and its people were involved with one must resist the temptations of either projecting current notions of globalisation and interconnection onto them or diminishing the scope of their economic horizon and the scale of their ties to the larger world. Instead, the medieval Viennese economy, with its ties across Europe and its important role of supplying Venice, deserves to be studied for what it, in order for us to help us understand a dynamic, fascinating period of human history - with both elements of strong localism and a growing consciousness of connections across larger world.

Phase	Approx. Duration	Summary	Sources	Global context
I	Before 1190s	Vienna becomes significant trade hub along Danube, very few details on economy & trade certain.	No source material on Vienna's trade relationships.	Increasing trade and urbanisation across Afro-Eurasia, Crusades increase economic interconnections between Europe and Asia & North Africa, rise of Venice as primary intermediary.
II	1190s-1220s	First primary sources indicate flourishing Danube trade toward Hungary dominated by Regensburg merchants.	First robust source material.	Temüjin (Ghengis Khan) creates the Mongol Empire and begins its expansion in all directions.
III	1220s-1250s	Vienna and its merchants now more confident, new role as intermediary on Danube ensured by staple rights, evidence for trade links North & South, but still peripheral and regional.	Increasing source availability: First city rights, tolls etc. Primarily (not exclusively) on Danube axis.	Mongol Empire now spans from Eastern Europe to China. First European silver drought leads Venice to expand connections into Central Europe.
IV	1250s-1280s	Vienna becomes part of Přemyslid imperial project stretching from Central Europe to the Adriatic, few details about Vienna's economic development certain.	Virtually no sources on Viennese long-distance trade.	Mongol Empire solidified, tax and monetary policies enacted favouring silver, upturn in precious metal mining in Bohemia and Hungary.
V	1280s-1340s	Significant increase in trade between Vienna and Venice, metals play important role. Vienna develops symbiotic relationship with Venice and becomes primary Venetian (and thus Afro-Eurasian intermediary) in Central Europe.	Sharp increase in available source material, especially toward Venice. Strong evidence for Viennese merchants involved in metal trade. Key sources: <i>Practica della Mercatura</i> (Pegolotti) and decree about robbery near Cadore.	Peak of the medieval Afro-Eurasian trade system and the Eurasian Silver Century, Mongol Empire falls apart into successor states but continue trade policies. First signs of shifting cooling climate.
VI	1340s-1390s	Long distance trade by and through Vienna seems to continue in all directions despite calamities such as the plague, as Bohemian silver runs low, Viennese merchants shift to copper. Continuing emphasis on Venetian axis, increasing policy interventions by Habsburgs in Vienna's favour.	Source material continues to point toward continuing long-distance trade, Viennese merchants seem to shift toward copper. Abundant evidence for Habsburg trade policies. Increasing literary culture, <i>Runtingerbuch</i> first account by merchants involving Vienna.	Black Death, climatic shifts and wars & unrest following in its wake destabilise the Afro-Eurasian system of exchange. End of the first Eurasian silver age.
VII	1390s-1450s	Vienna's involvement in long distance trade seems to decline, breakdown of Afro-Eurasian trade system and Great Bullion famine likely causes. Vienna's economy becomes more peripheral again.	Decline in available sources, Viennese merchants largely disappear from Venetian sources.	Timurid expansion devastates Persia and the Territory of the Golden Horde, effectively ending Eurasian overland trade. European trade with Asia constricted to Mamluks, causing prices to rise. Long term effects are the Atlantic Exploration, rebirth of Alpine mining, increased economic innovation and the rise of Northwestern Europe.

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6.2 List of primary sources

#	Transcript / Archive / Collection	Source Nr.	Page	Date	Relevant Content	Trade destination or merchant origin mentioned	Trade goods mentioned	Document Type	Issuer / Author	Original Language
1	Jaubert, P-A. (ed.) (1975) La géographie d'Édrisi. Traduite de l'arabe d'après deux manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale; traduction complète du Kitāb nuzhat al-muštāq, ou Kitāb ruĵar, terminé en 1154. Amsterdam: Philo Press; Reprint of the Edition of 1836-1840		370-372	1154 ?	Arab-Sicilian Geographer Al-Idrisi mentions Vienna as a significant trade hub along the Danube and describes the distances to other trade hubs.			Other publication	Al Idrisi at the court of Roger of Sicily	Arabic
2	Landesarchiv Kärnten (Provincial Archive of Carinthia)	AT-KLA 418-B-A 1512 St	-	1178	Bishop Otto II grants Monastery of Arnoldsstein Money, as Tax revenue from trade has declined due to harsh weather			Charter / Rights granted / Correspondence / Decree	Bishop Otto II Bamberg	Latin
3	Rechte und Freiheiten der Stadt Wien I	I	1-3	1192	Duke Leopold V grants merchants from the city of Regensburg certain rights and privileges in Vienna	Regensburg, Cologne, Rus' Lands,	Cloth, clothes, gold, leather	Charter / Rights granted / Correspondence / Decree	Leopold V, Duke of Austria	Latin
4	v. Stromer, W. (1978) Bernardus Teutonicus und die Geschäftsbeziehungen zwischen den deutschen Ostalpen und Venedig vor Gründung des Fondaco dei Tedeschi, Graz: University of Graz		8	1200	A Viennese Citizen (Merchant?) receives a substantial loan from a German merchant based in Venice (also heavily involved in international metal trade)	Venice		Administrative record / note	Unknown	Latin
5	Rerum Austriacum Scriptores		206-212	1200 ?	Trade Tariffs from the town of Hainburg, east of Vienna along the Danube, on the Hungarian Border	Ghent, Ypres, Hungary	Grain, leather, timber, wine, wax, fish, copper, clothing items, salt, cattle, cloth, glass	Tolls / Tariffs	Unknown	Medieval German

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6	Rechte und Freiheiten der Stadt Wien I	II	4	1208	Duke Leopold VI grants merchants from Flanders certain rights and privileges in Vienna	Flanders		Charter / Rights granted / Correspondence / Decree	Leopold VI, Duke of Austria	Latin
7	Rechte und Freiheiten der Stadt Wien I	IV	7	1220 ?	The Wagenmaut (wagon toll) defines duties for merchants moving goods to/from various countries e.g Bohemia, Bavaria, Flanders, Venice.	Bohemia, Ghent, Ypres, Liege, Bavaria, Brehmen, Venice, Grätz, March, Enns, Salzburg, Regensburg	Cloth, clothing, fish, oil, fruit, wine	Tolls / Tariffs	Unknown	Medieval German
8	Rechte und Freiheiten der Stadt Wien I	III	5-6	1220 ?	The <i>Burgmaut</i> (castle toll) defines duties for the City of Vienna and mentions various goods and merchant communities	Swabians, Regensburg, Metz, Maastricht, Aachen	Oxen, gold, cloth, clothing, honey, grain, livestock, fruit, wine, timber, skins, wax, eggs, leather	Tolls / Tariffs	Unknown	Medieval German
9	Rechte und Freiheiten der Stadt Wien I	V	8-14	1221	City rights granted to Vienna by Duke Leopold IV. Most crucially, the staple right is introduced for merchants from Regensburg for trade between the German lands and Hungary, which heavily favours Viennese merchants. Trade with Silver and Gold are mentioned is prohibited except for members of the "chamber"		Silver, gold,	Charter / Rights granted / Correspondence / Decree	Leopold VI, Duke of Austria	Latin
10	Regesta Imperii V/1	2713	517	1240	A Viennese Merchant named Heinrich Baumo receives a large order for a Grain shipment from Emperor Henry in Italy	Northern Italy	Grain	Administrative record / note	Unknown	Latin
11	Ausgewählte Urkunden zur Verfassungsgeschichte der Deutsch-Österreichischen Erblande im Mittelalter	39	84-85	1244	Trade tariffs from the town of Wr. Neustadt, south of Vienna (on the way to Venice) Venetian traders are mentioned	Venice	Cloth, livestock, leather/skins, grain, fruit, fish, cheese, glass	Tolls / Tariffs	Fredrick, Duke of Austria	Latin

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12	Rechte und Freiheiten der Stadt Wien I	X	24-30	1244	City rights confirmed by Fredrick II, confirming the Rights from 1221. Again, the staple right toward Hungary is confirmed and trade with silver and gold is prohibited except for members of the "chamber"	Swabians, Regensburg, Bavaria	Silver, gold,	Charter / Rights granted / Correspondence / Decree	Leopold VI, Duke of Austria	Latin
13	Knittler, H. (1977b) Zum ältesten Steiner Zolltarif. Eine handelsgeschichtliche Untersuchung. Mitteilungen des Kremser Stadtarchivs 17/18, 27-76	-	71-75	1250 ?	Trade Tariffs from the town of Stein/Krems, west of Vienna along the Danube		Grain, leather, timber, wine, wax, fish, copper, clothing items, salt, cattle, sheep, pigs, honey, copper, tin, lead and iron.	Tolls / Tariffs	Unknown	Latin
14	Municipal and Provincial Archives of Vienna (Wiener Stadt und Landesarchiv / WStLA)	4a	-	1260	Bela of Hungary defines trade tariffs for German merchants	Hungary	Salt, pepper, gloves, wine, honey	Charter / Rights granted / Correspondence / Decree	Bela, King of Hungary	Latin
15	Municipal and Provincial Archives of Vienna (Wiener Stadt und Landesarchiv / WStLA)	7	-	1270	Stefan of Hungary confirms the trade tariffs for German merchants as stated by his father Bela	Hungary		Charter / Rights granted / Correspondence / Decree	Stefan, King of Hungary	Latin
16	Municipal and Provincial Archives of Vienna (Wiener Stadt und Landesarchiv / WStLA)	13	-	1277	Ladislaus of Hungary confirms the rights of (German) traders, defines tariffs (1/30)	Hungary		Charter / Rights granted / Correspondence / Decree	King Ladislaus of Hungary	Latin
17	Rechte und Freiheiten der Stadt Wien I	XIV	34-37	1278	King Rudolf of Habsburg grants the Hausgenossen (a cooperative with inheritable shares) the exclusive privilege of trading gold and silver, minting coins as well as engaging in promissory exchange. All members of this are to buy gold and silver at set rates. With this, Vienna confirms its ambition to function as a middleman in the precious metal trade.		Gold, silver	Charter / Rights granted / Correspondence / Decree	King Rudolf I	Medieval German

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18	Rechte und Freiheiten der Stadt Wien I	XV	42-50	1278	City rights granted to Vienna by King Rudolf I. Most crucially, Viennese staple rights for trade with Hungary is now extended to ALL merchants. Additionally, trade is restricted to certain roads (via regia). Trade between foreigners is prohibited. The exclusive trade of silver and gold via the chamber is confirmed.	Swabians, Regensburg, Bavaria and "all other lands"		Charter / Rights granted / Correspondence / Decree	King Rudolf I	Latin
19	Rechte und Freiheiten der Stadt Wien I	XVI	64-66	1281	In his Handfeste Albrecht I. lightens restrictions on non-Viennese merchants: They are again allowed to trade with each other and are permitted to reside for longer time periods - however, Vienna is fixed as the primary trade hub in the Austrian lands. The text now implies, that the staple right also applies to trade in all directions			Charter / Rights granted / Correspondence / Decree	Albrecht I, Duke of Austria	Medieval German
20	Rechte und Freiheiten der Stadt Wien I	XXIII	69-75	1296	The Vienna City Constitution (Stadtrecht) defines and confirms previous rights and laws for merchants			Charter / Rights granted / Correspondence / Decree	Albrecht I, Duke of Austria	Medieval German
21	Municipal and Provincial Archives of Vienna (Wiener Stadt und Landesarchiv / WStLA)	23	-	1297	Andreas of Hungary removes tariffs and barriers, according to the Rules under King Bela and allows access by Austrian Merchants	Hungary		Charter / Rights granted / Correspondence / Decree	Andreas, King of Hungary	Latin
22	Der Fondaco dei Tedeschi - Quellen und Forschungen: Band 1	13-16	5	1301	Viennese Merchants transporting copepr and tin are involved in a tariff dispute on their way to Venice	Venice	Copper, tin	Administrative record / note	Senate or Administration of Venice	Latin
23	Fontes Rerum Austriacum II-XL	16	29-30	1305	The Patriach of Aquilea guarantees safe conduct for all (German) merchants toward the sea	Venice		Charter / Rights granted / Correspondence / Decree	Patriarch Ottobonus of Aquileja	Latin

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24	Storia della Marca Trivigiana e Veronese. Tomo Quinto.	DXXXI	143-144	1311	Viennese Merchants are robbed and reimbursed near Cardore. Their goods included silver and gold.	Venice	Silver, gold, other	Administrative record / note	Council of Treviso	Latin
25	Rechte und Freiheiten der Stadt Wien I	XXVI	88-89	1312	Fredrick of Austria stipulates the rules for Merchants trading in Vienna: Weights, Tariffs etc. and again prohibits trade between non-Austrian traders		Pepper, cloth	Charter / Rights granted / Correspondence / Decree	Fredrick, Duke of Austria	Medieval German
26	Der Fondaco dei Tedeschi - Quellen und Forschungen: Band 1	36	13	1313	Viennese Merchant mentioned in a trade dispute	Venice		Administrative record / note	Senate or Administration of Venice	Latin
27	Der Fondaco dei Tedeschi - Quellen und Forschungen: Band 1	37	13	1313	Viennese Merchant mentioned in a trade dispute	Venice		Administrative record / note	Senate or Administration of Venice	Latin
28	Quellen zur Geschichte der Stadt Wien I-VIII	15794	69	1314	Duke Ferdinand of Austria demands compensation for a Viennese citizen (likely a merchant)		-	Other correspondence	Ferdinand III Duke of Austria	Latin
29	Quellen zur Geschichte der Stadt Wien I-VIII	15795	69	1314	The council of Treviso discuss the demand of the Austrian Duke for compensation of the Viennese citizen		-	Administrative record / note	Council of Treviso	Latin

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30	Quellen zur Geschichte der Stadt Wien I-VIII	15796	69	1314	Two Viennese merchants were robbed in Venetian Waters, they receive compensation	Venice	Spices, clothing items, cloth, silks, knives	Administrative record / note	Senate or Administration of Venice	Latin
31	Der Fondaco dei Tedeschi - Quellen und Forschungen: Band 1	42	13	1316	A Viennese Merchant receives a lighter punishment for not declaring wares	Venice		Administrative record / note	Senate or Administration of Venice	Latin
32	Der Fondaco dei Tedeschi - Quellen und Forschungen: Band 1	46	16	1316	The goods of a Viennese Merchant are confiscated due to a lack of documents, then released	Venice	Cloth, silks	Administrative record / note	Senate or Administration of Venice	Latin
33	Der Fondaco dei Tedeschi - Quellen und Forschungen: Band 1	47	17	1316	A Viennese merchant is punished for not declaring goods, however it is later forgiven	Venice		Administrative record / note	Senate or Administration of Venice	Latin
34	Der Fondaco dei Tedeschi - Quellen und Forschungen: Band 1	49	18	1317	German Merchants are allowed to use the road via Treviso due to war	Venice		Administrative record / note	Senate or Administration of Venice	Latin
35	Der Fondaco dei Tedeschi - Quellen und Forschungen: Band 1	50	18	1317	A Viennese Merchant is punished for not declaring goods	Venice	Silver	Administrative record / note	Senate or Administration of Venice	Latin

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36	Municipal and Provincial Archives of Vienna (Wiener Stadt und Landesarchiv / WStLA)	70	-	1318	Carl, King of Hungary confirms the rights and safety for Viennese Merchants	Hungary		Charter / Rights granted / Correspondence / Decree	Carl, King of Hungary	Latin
37	Quellen zur Geschichte der Stadt Wien I-VIII	15799	70	1319	A Viennese Merchant pays a fine for missing documents, receives a lighter punishment	Venice	Cloth, silks	Administrative record / note	Senate or Administration of Venice	Latin
38	Quellen zur Geschichte der Stadt Wien I-VIII	15800	71	1319	The goods of a Viennese Merchant are confiscated due to a lack of documents, then released	Venice	Dried fish	Administrative record / note	Senate or Administration of Venice	Latin
39	Quellen zur Geschichte der Stadt Wien I-VIII	15801	71	1319	The goods of a Viennese Merchant are confiscated due to a lack of documents, then released	Venice	Cloth, silks	Administrative record / note	Senate or Administration of Venice	Latin
40	Rechte und Freiheiten der Stadt Wien I	XXVIII	90-93	1320 ?	Newer version of the Burgmaut, dating again unclear, likely around 1320. Merchants from various parts of Austria, Bohemia, Poland, Bavaria etc. and their respective tariffs are mentioned	Swabia, Regensburg, Aachen, Metz, Maastricht. Styria, Wels, Linz, Enns, Bavaria, Hungary	Salt, cheese, grain, fish, fruit, timber, stone, livestock, mead, beer, wine, linen	Tolls / Tariffs	Unknown	Medieval German

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41	Rechte und Freiheiten der Stadt Wien I	XXIX	93-94	1320 ?	Newer version of the Wagenmaut, dating again unclear, likely around 1320. Merchants from various parts of Austria, Bohemia, Poland, Bavaria etc. and their respective tariffs are mentioned	Bavaria, Bohemia, Poland, Brussels, Ypres, Aachen, Ghent, Venice	Cloth, wax, wine, fish, leather, livestock, furs, copper, tin, clothing	Tolls / Tariffs	Unknown	Medieval German
42	Rechte und Freiheiten der Stadt Wien I	XXX	95	1320 ?	The Wassermaut (Water toll) concerns trade along the river Danube with barges.	Enns, Styria, Wels, Linz, Hungary	Meat, grain, salt, clothing, livestock, copper, fish, honey	Tolls / Tariffs	Unknown	Medieval German
43	Rechte und Freiheiten der Stadt Wien I	XXXI	96-97	1320 ?	The "Innere Maut" specifies regulation for duties for buying and selling within the city, as well as import and export.	Bohemia, Hungary, (Wallonia?), Bavaria, Enns, Linz, Wels, Styria, Wiener Neustadt	Wine, fish, cattle, bread, grain, livestock, vegetables	Tolls / Tariffs	Unknown	Medieval German
44	Quellen zur Geschichte der Stadt Wien I-VIII	15802	71	1322	A Viennese merchant is punished for not declaring goods, however it is later corrected	Venice	Silver	Administrative record / note	Senate or Administration of Venice	Latin
45	Quellen zur Geschichte der Stadt Wien I-VIII	15803	71	1325	A Viennese merchant is robbed, but gets back his goods later	Venice		Administrative record / note	Senate or Administration of Venice	Latin
46	Fontes Rerum Austriacum II-XL	23	35-36	1328	The King John of Bohemia, overlord of Carinthia, guarantees the safety of merchants between Venzone and Latisana. (Relevant for Viennese Merchants)	Venice		Charter / Rights granted / Correspondence / Decree	King John of Bohemia	Latin

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47	Fontes Rerum Austriacum II-XL	24	35-36	1328	The King Henry of Bohemia, demands compensation for a merchant from Brno robbed in Friuli. This illustrates, that Bohemian merchants had not been completely pushed out of business by the Vienna staple or/and alternative routes were at least somewhat effective	Venice		Charter / Rights granted / Correspondence / Decree	King Henry of Bohemia	Latin
48	Quellen zur Geschichte der Stadt Wien I-VIII	15804	71	1329	A Viennese merchant is punished for not declaring goods, however it is later corrected	Venice	Gold	Administrative record / note	Senate or Administration of Venice	Latin
49	Fontes Rerum Austriacum II-XL	27	38	1331	The Patriarch of Aquileia guarantees safe conduct for all (German) merchants toward the sea	Venice		Charter / Rights granted / Correspondence / Decree	Patriarch Paganus of Aquileja	Latin
50	Der Fondaco dei Tedeschi - Quellen und Forschungen: Band 1	91	32	1332	German Merchants receive more favourable silver tariffs	Venice	Silver	Charter / Rights granted / Correspondence / Decree	Senate or Administration of Venice	Latin
51	Rácz, G. (ed.) (2009) Visegrad 1335. State Archives of Hungary	-	165	1336	Hungary and Bohemia make a trade agreement, interpreted as directed against Vienna		Cattle, smaller domestic animals	Charter / Rights granted / Correspondence / Decree	Kings of Bohemia and Hungary	Latin
52	Codex diplomaticus mœnofrancofurtanus	548	418	1336	King John of Bohemia informs the citizens and merchants of the city of Frankfurt that they are guaranteed safe conduct in his lands despite the ongoing war and communicates his intention to divert traffic through Vienna			Other correspondence	King John of Bohemia	Latin

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53	Fontes Rerum Austriacum II-XL	38	48-49	1339	A Viennese merchant provide funding to the Patriarch of Aquilea	Northern Italy		Administrative record / note	Unknown	Latin
54	Quellen zur Geschichte der Stadt Wien I-VIII	15807	72	1339	A Viennese merchant is punished for not declaring goods, however it is later corrected	Venice	Cloth, silks	Administrative record / note	Senate or Administration of Venice	Latin
55	Evans, A. (ed.) (1936) La Pratica della Mercatura. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.	-	147	1340 ?	The Practica della mercatura is a comprehensive guide to international trade in 14th-century Eurasia and North Africa by Florentine banker Francesco Balducci Pegolotti. Vienna is mentioned in connection of Bohemian silver being traded to Vienna	Venice	Virtually all possible goods, in the context of Vienna, bohemian silver is mentioned	Other publication	Francesco Balducci Pegolotti	Other
56	Rechte und Freiheiten der Stadt Wien I	XXXVII	104-116	1340	Albrecht II, Duke of Austria, grants an uptaded version of city's rights. Vienna's staple rights are again mentioned, but specifically related to trade toward Hungary. Foreign merchants are again prohibited from purchasing gold or silver.		Gold and silver	Charter / Rights granted / Correspondence / Decree	Albrecht II, Duke of Austria	Medieval German
57	Fontes Rerum Austriacum II-XL	40	50	1342	Patriarch Berhard of Aquilea promises the safe conduct for Viennese Merchants in Friuli	Northern Italy		Charter / Rights granted / Correspondence / Decree	Bernard, Bishop of Aquilea	Latin
58	Municipal and Provincial Archives of Vienna (Wiener Stadt und Landesarchiv / WStLA)	269	-	1343	Agreement between the City of Vienna and the commune die Venezone to resolve conflict about merchant transit	Northern Italy		Charter / Rights granted / Correspondence / Decree	City council of Vienna	Latin

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59	Fontes Rerum Austriacum II-XL	41	50-51	1343	The Patriarch of Aquileia writes the Doge of Venice to ensure him he will do his utmost to allow the safe travel of Viennese merchants.	Venice		Charter / Rights granted / Correspondence / Decree	Bernard, Bishop of Aquileia	Latin
60	Municipal and Provincial Archives of Vienna (Wiener Stadt und Landesarchiv / WStLA)	271	-	1343	Agreement between the City of Vienna and the commune die Venezone to resolve conflict about merchant transit	Venice		Charter / Rights granted / Correspondence / Decree	Bernard, Bishop of Aquileia	Latin
61	Municipal and Provincial Archives of Vienna (Wiener Stadt und Landesarchiv / WStLA)	288	-	1345	Albrecht II addresses concerns of Merchants trading eastwards regarding robberies and taxations and orders them to travel via Bruck an der Leitha			Other correspondence	Albrecht II, Duke of Austria	Latin
62	Municipal and Provincial Archives of Vienna (Wiener Stadt und Landesarchiv / WStLA)	299	-	1345	King Ludwig of Hungary confirms the rights and safety for Viennese Merchants	Hungary		Charter / Rights granted / Correspondence / Decree	King Ludwig of Hungary	Latin
63	Municipal and Provincial Archives of Vienna (Wiener Stadt und Landesarchiv / WStLA)	318	-	1348	Albrecht II confirms the rules for Merchants trading in Vienna: Weights, Tariffs etc. and again prohibits trade between non-Austrian traders (copy of the privileges granted 1312)		Pepper, cloth	Charter / Rights granted / Correspondence / Decree	Albrecht II, Duke of Austria	Medieval German
64	Municipal and Provincial Archives of Vienna (Wiener Stadt und Landesarchiv / WStLA)	334	-	1349	King Ludwig writes the Count of Ödenburg that he should refrain from taxing Viennese Merchants	Hungary		Charter / Rights granted / Correspondence / Decree	King Ludwig of Hungary	Latin

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65	Fontes Rerum Austriacum II-XL	41	57-58	1350	Greavances between citizens of Venzone and Viennese merchants	Northern Italy		Administrative record / note	Senate or Administration of Venice	Latin
66	Fontes Rerum Austriacum II-XL	62	73-74	1350	Representatives of the City of Gemona write the Austrian governour of Friuli to demand the principal trade route to be moved back to the Val di Canale as well as the reinstatement of staple rights	Northern Italy		Charter / Rights granted / Correspondence / Decree	Unknown	Latin
67	Fontes Rerum Austriacum II-XL	71	83-84	1351	Two citizens of Venzone make a statement denying robbing Viennese merchants	Northern Italy		Administrative record / note	Unknown	Latin
68	Municipal and Provincial Archives of Vienna (Wiener Stadt und Landesarchiv / WStLA)	377	-	1351	The Patriach of Aquilea confirms that he will ensure the safe conduct of Viennese Merchants in his territory	Northern Italy		Charter / Rights granted / Correspondence / Decree	Nicolas, Bishop of Aquilea	Latin
69	Rechte und Freiheiten der Stadt Wien I	XLIV	125	1351	Viennese staple rights are again reformed: In this version they are unmistakably applied to all foreign merchants and geographically clearly defined as the entirety of the dutchy of Austria (most of modern Niederösterreich and Oberösterreich). Vienna now completely monopolises long distance trade in Austria. Additionally, trade is again restriced to specific roads (note the clear plural here)			Charter / Rights granted / Correspondence / Decree	Albrecht II, Duke of Austria	Medieval German
70	Rechte und Freiheiten der Stadt Wien I	XLV	126	1351	An agreement between Vienna and Hainburg, which grants the both citizens a reduction in tolls in the other city.	Hainburg, Hungary	Salt, timber, stone,	Charter / Rights granted / Correspondence / Decree		Medieval German

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71	Fontes Rerum Austriacum II-XL	72	86	1353	Albrecht, Duke of Austria sells the grants the right to levy tolls at Venzone to a Florentine business man. This indicates, that trade through the Canal was ongoing (and that he enough of the citizens of Venzone and their attempts at hindering trade)			Charter / Rights granted / Correspondence / Decree	Albrecht II, Duke of Austria	Latin
72	Rechte und Freiheiten der Stadt Wien I	L	131	1353	Albrecht and Leopold, Dukes of Austria, state that they have recieved complaints by Viennese merchants that foreign merchants were using "unusual" roads and declare they will set measures to impede such practices			Charter / Rights granted / Correspondence / Decree	Albrecht II, Duke of Austria	Medieval German
73	Municipal and Provincial Archives of Vienna (Wiener Stadt und Landesarchiv / WStLA)	464	-	1355	The Doge of Venice asks the council of Vienna for assitance with a financial dispute	Venice		Other correspondence	Giovanni Gradenigo, Doge of Venice	Latin
74	Quellen zur Geschichte der Stadt Wien VIII	15812	73	1358	A Viennese merchant describes his activities as a witness in a larger trial	Venice	Cloth, silks	Administrative record / note	Senate or Administration of Venice	Latin
75	Quellen zur Geschichte der Stadt Wien I-VIII	15813	73	1359	A Viennese merchant named J. Pollo is taking legal action to gain the goods of a deceased colleague	Venice		Administrative record / note	Senate or Administration of Venice	Latin
76	Quellen zur Geschichte der Stadt Wien I-VIII	15814	73	1359	The mayor of Vienna supports the claim of J. Pollo	Venice		Other correspondence	Mayor of Vienna	Latin

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77	Quellen zur Geschichte der Stadt Wien I-VIII	15815	73	1359	Pollo writes the Doge of Venice declaring certain other individuals his legal representatives and caretakers of his goods	Venice	Gold, silver, copper, tin and other metals	Other correspondence	Viennese Merchant named Pollo	Latin
78	Rechte und Freiheiten der Stadt Wien I	LIX	143	1359	Duke Rudolf IV bans the export of timber along the Danube.		Timber	Charter / Rights granted / Correspondence / Decree	Rudolf IV, Duke of Austria	Medieval German
79	Rechte und Freiheiten der Stadt Wien I	LX	144	1360	Rudolf IV allows the introduction of an additional toll for any trade to and from Venice.	Venice		Charter / Rights granted / Correspondence / Decree	Rudolf IV, Duke of Austria	Medieval German
80	Quellen zur Geschichte der Stadt Wien I-VIII	15816	74	1360	The Duke of Austria writes the Doge of Venice, demanding that the goods of a certain deceased J. Smauser are handed him	Venice	Copper	Other correspondence	Rudolf IV, Duke of Austria	Latin
81	Quellen zur Geschichte der Stadt Wien I-VIII	15817	74	1360	The Senate responds to the Duke, saying they would cooperate in this matter, but recommend handing it to the deceased's family	Venice	Copper	Other correspondence	Senate or Administration of Venice	Latin
82	Quellen zur Geschichte der Stadt Wien I-VIII	15818	74	1360	The Senate starts an inquiry over the amount of Copper to be sent to the Duke	Venice	Copper	Other correspondence	Senate or Administration of Venice	Latin

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83	Quellen zur Geschichte der Stadt Wien I-VIII	15819	74	1360	The Chancellor of Bohemia writes the Doge, claiming Smauzer had been a citizen of Prague and the copper was thus property of the state of Bohemia	Venice	Copper	Other correspondence	Chancellor of Bohemia	Latin
84	Quellen zur Geschichte der Stadt Wien I-VIII	15820	74-75	1360	A witness is heard in the case of Smelzer, he helps define the amount and claims the copper belongs to the deceased's family	Venice	Copper	Other correspondence	Senate or Administration of Venice	Latin
85	Quellen zur Geschichte der Stadt Wien I-VIII	15821	75	1360	Duke Rudolf threatens the Doge with an End to their Friendship if the copper isn't sent to him	Venice	Copper	Other correspondence	Rudolf IV, Duke of Austria	Latin
86	Quellen zur Geschichte der Stadt Wien I-VIII	15822	75	1360	The senate makes a decision in the case of the copper hoard	Venice	Copper	Other correspondence	Senate or Administration of Venice	Latin
87	Quellen zur Geschichte der Stadt Wien I-VIII	15823	75	1360	The King of Hungary writes concerning the matter of J. Pollo, claiming he is now a citizen of Pressburg/Bratislavan and should be thus treated as his subject			Other correspondence	King of Hungary	Latin
88	Quellen zur Geschichte der Stadt Wien I-VIII	15824	75	1360	German Emperor Charles VI sides with Bohemia in the issue of Smauzer		Copper	Other correspondence	Charles VI, German Emperor	Latin

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89	Municipal and Provincial Archives of Vienna (Wiener Stadt und Landesarchiv / WStLA)	590a	-	1361	Rudolf IV decrees, that Merchants are only to use the proper road south to Laibach			Charter / Rights granted / Correspondence / Decree	Rudolf IV, Duke of Austria	Medieval German
90	Quellen zur Geschichte der Stadt Wien I-VIII	15825	76	1361	The German Emperor demands Venice awaits the imperial courts verdict on the matter			Other correspondence	Senate or Administration of Venice	Latin
91	Municipal and Provincial Archives of Vienna (Wiener Stadt und Landesarchiv / WStLA)	592a	-	1362	Rudolf IV again decrees, that Merchants are only to use the proper road south to Laibach			Charter / Rights granted / Correspondence / Decree	Rudolf IV, Duke of Austria	Medieval German
92	Quellen zur Geschichte der Stadt Wien I-VIII	15826	76	1362	Rudolf IV of Austria, having reneiged on his claims on the copper hoard, demands it be transferred to he inheritor	Copper		Other correspondence	Rudolf IV, Duke of Austria	Latin
93	Quellen zur Geschichte der Stadt Wien I-VIII	15827	76	1362	The senate writes the inheritor clarifying the formalities of the copper transfer	Copper		Other correspondence	Senate or Administration of Venice	Latin
94	Rechte und Freiheiten der Stadt Wien I	LXV	155	1362	Rudolf IV of Austria, creates new regulation for the Vienna mint, in which he mentions the lack of silver and the declining quality of Vienna's coins			Charter / Rights granted / Correspondence / Decree	Rudolf IV, Duke of Austria	Medieval German

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95	Quellen zur Geschichte der Stadt Wien II-I	608	144	1363	Kasimir, King of Poland and Duke Rudolf IV agree to resolve all disputes between the citizens of Vienna and Krakow and sign a treaty on mutual freedom of movement and trade, as well as mutual unhindered settlement of debt claims	Krakow		Charter / Rights granted / Correspondence / Decree	Kasimir of Poland and Rudolf IV, Duke of Austria	Latin
96	Fontes Rerum Austriacum II-XL	151	198-190	1363	The council of Udine discuss how to deal with the Roadblock by citizens of Venzone			Charter / Rights granted / Correspondence / Decree	Council of Udine	Latin
97	Huber, A. (1864), Geschichte der Vereinigung Tirols mit Österreich und der vorbereitenden Ereignisse. Innsbruck: Verlag der Wagnerischen Universitätsbuchhandlung.	296	226-227	1363	Rudolf IV Duke of Austria writes the Doge of Venice to inform him about adding Tyrol to his realm, noting that he now controls all the roads from the German lands to Italy			Other correspondence	Rudolf IV, Duke of Austria	Latin
98	Municipal and Provincial Archives of Vienna (Wiener Stadt und Landesarchiv / WStLA)	676a	-	1366	Duke Albrecht III writes the Counts of Cilli (Celje) as well as the Govenour of Steyermark that according to Viennese Merchants, foreign Merchants have been illegally using the roads accross the Slovenian Alps. He orders them to stop this.			Other correspondence	Albrecht III, Duke of Austria	Medieval German
99	Municipal and Provincial Archives of Vienna (Wiener Stadt und Landesarchiv / WStLA)	677a	-	1366	Duke Albrecht III reduces taxes for Viennese Merchants as compensation for allowing the road via Laibach			Charter / Rights granted / Correspondence / Decree	Albrecht III, Duke of Austria	Latin
100	Quellen zur Geschichte der Stadt Wien II-I	710	170	1366	Due to a treaty concluded with the Austrian dukes, Emperor Charles IV requests his brother John, Margrave of Moravia, to lift the trade and transport ban in force in his lands with regard to Austrian subjects and, in particular, to permit the export of grain, as well as the import and transit of wine to Bohemia and Poland.	Bohemia, Poland, Moravia	Grain, wine	Charter / Rights granted / Correspondence / Decree	HRE Charles / King of Bohemia	Latin

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101	Municipal and Provincial Archives of Vienna (Wiener Stadt und Landesarchiv / WStLA)	689a	-	1367	Duke Albrecht III prohibits trade from toward Venice via Slovenia (Mariobor, Bad Radkersburg, Feistritz etc.)	Venice		Charter / Rights granted / Correspondence / Decree	Albrecht III, Duke of Austria	Medieval German
102	Municipal and Provincial Archives of Vienna (Wiener Stadt und Landesarchiv / WStLA)	712	-	1367	Duke Albrecht III informs his administrators that he has sent an official to enforce the embargo of the road across the Slovenian Alps. Any merchants caught are to have their assets seized,			Other correspondence	Albrecht III, Duke of Austria	Medieval German
103	Quellen zur Geschichte der Stadt Wien I-VIII	15829	76-77	1367	Albert III of Austria writes the Doge of Venice about the inheretence of the goods of a deceased merchant	Venice		Other correspondence	Duke Albert III of Austria	Latin
104	Quellen zur Geschichte der Stadt Wien I-VIII	15830	77	1367	The Mayor of Vienna writes the Doge about the same issue			Other correspondence	Mayor of Vienna	Latin
105	Quellen zur Geschichte der Stadt Wien II-I	725	173	1368	Emperor Charles IV allows Austrian merchants to transport their wine through Moravia to Bohemia and Poland, but also to sell it in Moravia itself, whereas merchants from Moravia, Bohemia and Poland can transport all kinds of grain, to Austria.	Bohemia, Poland, Moravia	Grain, wine	Charter / Rights granted / Correspondence	HRE Charles / King of Bohemia	Latin
106	Municipal and Provincial Archives of Vienna (Wiener Stadt und Landesarchiv / WStLA)	733a	-	1368	Duke Albrecht III is inquiring about a dispute about transit rights in southern Styria (now Slovenia)			Other correspondence	Albrecht III, Duke of Austria	Medieval German

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107	Municipal and Provincial Archives of Vienna (Wiener Stadt und Landesarchiv / WStLA)	733b	-	1368	Judges in Linz respond to the Counts inquiry, saying that trade only goes via Karinthia and the Val Canale	Venice	Mercury, tin, copper	Other correspondence	City council of Linz	Medieval German
108	Der Fondaco dei Tedeschi - Quellen und Forschungen: Band 1	216	96	1368	A Viennese Merchant named Nicolaus may pay a lower tariff on his imported copper	Venice	Copper	Administrative record / note	Senate or Administration of Venice	Latin
109	Quellen zur Geschichte der Stadt Wien II-I	720b	172	1368	Margravine John of Moravia grants all merchants trading from Austria to Bohemia and from Bohemia to Austria free passage through Znaim and Iglau until a specific agreement has been reached between his cities regarding the staple rights in Olomouc.	Bohemia, Poland, Moravia		Charter / Rights granted / Correspondence	HRE Charles / King of Bohemia	Medieval German
110	Rechte und Freiheiten der Stadt Wien I	LXXII	165	1368	Duke Albrecht III restricts trade with silver and gold to the Chamber or Hausgenossen.			Charter / Rights granted / Correspondence	Albrecht III, Duke of Austria	Medieval German
111	Rechte und Freiheiten der Stadt Wien I	LXXX	175	1369	Duke Albrecht and Leopold promise to adress the complaints by the Merchants of Vienna, that some Merchants are not using the correct roads			Other correspondence	Albrecht III, Duke of Austria	Medieval German
112	Rechte und Freiheiten der Stadt Wien I	LXXXI	176	1369	Duke Albrecht III bans imports of Hungarian and Italian wines	Hungary, Italy	Wine	Other correspondence	Albrecht III, Duke of Austria	Medieval German

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113	Quellen zur Geschichte der Stadt Wien VIII	15832	77	1369	A merchant named Nicolaus is accused of burglary in Venice	Venice		Administrative record / note	Senate or Administration of Venice	Latin
114	Urkunden-Buch des Landes ob der Enns, VIII. Band	1371 I 06	-	1371	Duke Albrecht III orders the Judges of Enns to make sure only citizens of Enns, Linz, Gmunden and Freistadt are permitted to trade toward Venice via the Pyhrn pass.			Charter / Rights granted / Correspondence / Decree	Albrecht III, Duke of Austria	Medieval German
115	Urkunden-Buch des Landes ob der Enns, VIII. Band	1372 XII 22	-	1372	Duke Albrecht III limits the amount of trade toward Venice permittable to citizens of Waidhofen			Charter / Rights granted / Correspondence / Decree	Albrecht III, Duke of Austria	Medieval German
116	Urkunden-Buch des Landes ob der Enns, VIII. Band	1372 XII 23	-	1372	Duke Albrecht III restricts trade of Merchant-Goods to the cities of Oberösterreich and decrees that only citizens of cities are permitted to trade toward Venice	Venice		Charter / Rights granted / Correspondence / Decree	Albrecht III, Duke of Austria	Medieval German
117	Rechte und Freiheiten der Stadt Wien I	LXXXVI	181-182	1373	Duke Albrecht III renews the privileges of the Fehmish from 1208			Charter / Rights granted / Correspondence / Decree	Albrecht III, Duke of Austria	Medieval German
118	Municipal and Provincial Archives of Vienna (Wiener Stadt und Landesarchiv / WStLA)	838	-	1374	King Ludwig of Hungary announces measures against the harassment of Viennese merchants entering Hungary and allows them to use the royal measurement for their vessels	Hungary		Charter / Rights granted / Correspondence / Decree	King Ludwig of Hungary	Latin

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119	Rechte und Freiheiten der Stadt Wien I	LXXXVIII	184-188	1375 ?	Tolls at Sollenau, south of Vienna are defined for Viennese merchants. Various goods are named, specifically for trade with Venice	Venice	Fur, wool, lead, copper, tin, cloth, clothing, fish, salt, wine, iron, timber, fruit, nuts, meat, cattle, oil, stone, bricks, firewood, cheese	Tolls / Tariffs	Unknown	Medieval German
120	Quellen zur Geschichte der Stadt Wien I-VIII	15834	78	1375	A Viennese Silk Merchant is accused of wrongdoing but acquitted	Venice	Silk	Administrative record / note	Senate or Administration of Venice	Latin
121	Ausgewählte Urkunden der Verfassungsgeschichte der öst. Erblande	131	159	1375	The Dukes Bavaria agree with the Dukes of Austria to improve the safety of merchants on the roads between their lands			Charter / Rights granted / Correspondence / Decree	Albrecht, Duke of Bavaria	Medieval German
122	Municipal and Provincial Archives of Vienna (Wiener Stadt und Landesarchiv / WStLA)	853	-	1375	Albrecht III confirms the rules for Merchants trading in Vienna: Weights, Tariffs etc. and again prohibits trade between non-Austrian traders (copy of the privileges granted 1312)		Pepper, cloth	Charter / Rights granted / Correspondence / Decree	Albrecht III, Duke of Austria	Medieval German
123	Quellen zur Geschichte der Stadt Wien I-VIII	15835	78	1376	A Viennese merchant is released from prison	Venice		Administrative record / note	Senate or Administration of Venice	Latin
124	Der Fondaco dei Tedeschi - Quellen und Forschungen: Band 1	242	111	1378	German merchants travelling through Friuli are allowed to return to Venice without paying tolls if the Patriarch of Aquileia prohibits their passage	Venice		Charter / Rights granted / Correspondence / Decree	Senate or Administration of Venice	Latin

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125	Municipal and Provincial Archives of Vienna (Wiener Stadt und Landesarchiv / WStLA)	934	-	1378	King Ludwig of Hungary orders his subjects between Vienna and Budapest to stop any unlawful taxation of merchants	Hungary		Charter / Rights granted / Correspondence / Decree	King Ludwig of Hungary	Latin
126	Municipal and Provincial Archives of Vienna (Wiener Stadt und Landesarchiv / WStLA)	942	-	1378	King Ludwig of Hungary orders his subjects between Vienna and Budapest to stop any unlawful taxation of merchants	Hungary		Charter / Rights granted / Correspondence / Decree	King Ludwig of Hungary	Latin
127	Municipal and Provincial Archives of Vienna (Wiener Stadt und Landesarchiv / WStLA)	979	-	1380	King Ludwig of Hungary orders his subjects between Vienna and Budapest to stop any unlawful taxation of merchants, especially on items such as pepper, weapons or clothes	Hungary	Pepper, lances, gloves	Charter / Rights granted / Correspondence / Decree	King Ludwig of Hungary	Latin
128	Municipal and Provincial Archives of Vienna (Wiener Stadt und Landesarchiv / WStLA)	1003	-	1380	Queen Elisabeth of Hungary (again) orders her subjects between Vienna and Budapest to stop any unlawful taxation of merchants, especially on items such as pepper, weapons or clothes	Hungary	Pepper, lances, gloves	Charter / Rights granted / Correspondence / Decree	Queen Elisabeth of Hungary	Latin
129	Der Fondaco dei Tedeschi - Quellen und Forschungen: Band 1	244	112	1381	The Senat orders the Venetian representative to ask for Venetian merchants to be well recieved in Austria	Venice		Charter / Rights granted / Correspondence / Decree	Senate or Administration of Venice	Latin
130	Municipal and Provincial Archives of Vienna (Wiener Stadt und Landesarchiv / WStLA)	1004	-	1381	Queen Elisabeth of Hungary writes she will take measures to stop the illegal harrasment of Viennese Merchants	Hungary		Charter / Rights granted / Correspondence / Decree	Queen Elisabeth of Hungary	Latin

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131	Municipal and Provincial Archives of Vienna (Wiener Stadt und Landesarchiv / WStLA)	1005	-	1381	Queen Elisabeth of Hungary orders her subjects to stop the harassment of Viennese / Austrian traders and defines how they are to be taxed	Hungary		Charter / Rights granted / Correspondence / Decree	Queen Elisabeth of Hungary	Latin
132	Rechte und Freiheiten der Stadt Wien I	XCVI	196-198	1382	Duke Albrecht III. confirms the right of the city of Vienna to hold two annual fairs and grants exemptions of tolls for these			Charter / Rights granted / Correspondence / Decree	Albrecht III, Duke of Austria	Medieval German
133	Kende, O. (1907) Zur Handelsgeschichte des Passes über den Semmering. Von der Mitte des dreizehnten bis zur Mitte des fünfzehnten Jahrhunderts. Zeitschrift des Historischen Vereines für Steiermark, 5 (JG), 1-49	1	44-46	1383	Letter from the City of Prague to Wr. Neustadt, suggesting to bypass Vienna			Other correspondence	Mayor of Prague	Medieval German
134	Bastian, F. (ed.) (1935) Das Runtingerbuch 1383-1407 und verwantes Material zum Regensburger südostdeutschen Handel und Münzwesen. II. Band: Text des Runtingerbuchs. Regensburg: Bosse			1383-1407	The Runtingerbuch or Runtinger Handelsbuch is a tradelog by the Regensburg Runtinger trade company which compiled countless transactions over the course of several decades. Vienna is mentioned numerous times, as destination of trade for cloth and clothing from various origins	Regensburg, Hungary	Various goods, however only cloth and clothing are traded toward Vienna	Other	Runtinger Trade Company	Medieval German
135	Der Fondaco dei Tedeschi - Quellen und Forschungen: Band 1	252	116-117	1385	German merchants travelling through Friuli are allowed to return to Venice without paying tolls as war has made roads unsafe	Venice		Charter / Rights granted / Correspondence / Decree	Senate or Administration of Venice	Latin

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136	Der Fondaco dei Tedeschi - Quellen und Forschungen: Band 1	255	117	1387	German merchants travelling through Friuli are allowed to return to Venice without paying tolls as war has made roads unsafe	Venice		Charter / Rights granted / Correspondence / Decree	Senate or Administration of Venice	Latin
137	Municipal and Provincial Archives of Vienna (Wiener Stadt und Landesarchiv / WStLA)	1155	-	1388	Sigismud, King of Hungary removes trade barriers for Austrian, especially Viennese merchants	Venice		Charter / Rights granted / Correspondence / Decree	Sigismund, King of Hungary	Latin
138	Municipal and Provincial Archives of Vienna (Wiener Stadt und Landesarchiv / WStLA)	XIV	-	1389	Duke Albrecht III prohibits trade from toward Venice via Slovenia (Mariobor, Bad Radkersburg, Feistritz etc.)	Venice		Charter / Rights granted / Correspondence / Decree	Albrecht III, Duke of Austria	Medieval German
139	Municipal and Provincial Archives of Vienna (Wiener Stadt und Landesarchiv / WStLA)	1172a	-	1389	Duke Albrecht allows trade toward Vienna via the Slovenian Alps	Venice		Charter / Rights granted / Correspondence / Decree	Albrecht III, Duke of Austria	Medieval German
140	Municipal and Provincial Archives of Vienna (Wiener Stadt und Landesarchiv / WStLA)	1176a	-	1389	Duke Albrecht orders his subjects to seize Merchants from Pettau, if they are illegally trading	Venice		Charter / Rights granted / Correspondence / Decree	Albrecht III, Duke of Austria	Medieval German
141	Municipal and Provincial Archives of Vienna (Wiener Stadt und Landesarchiv / WStLA)	1382	-	1389	Duke Albrecht and the Archbishop of Salzburg have agreed to stop the use of illegal crossings of the alps			Charter / Rights granted / Correspondence / Decree	Albrecht III, Duke of Austria	Medieval German
142	Municipal and Provincial Archives of Vienna (Wiener Stadt und Landesarchiv / WStLA)	1184	-	1389	Duke Albrechts states that the trade conditions in Vienna are applicable to all, with the exception of those of his court dealing with this property			Charter / Rights granted / Correspondence / Decree	Albrecht III, Duke of Austria	Medieval German
143	Der Fondaco dei Tedeschi - Quellen und Forschungen: Band 1	264	122-123	1390	A Viennese merchant is accused of false accounting but acquitted in court (Venice)	Venice		Administrative record / note	Senate or Administration of Venice	Latin

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144	Municipal and Provincial Archives of Vienna (Wiener Stadt und Landesarchiv / WStLA)	1199a	-	1391	Duke Albrecht orders Hans Weichselberger to ensure that (foreign and domestic) traders do not use illegal roads for trade south			Charter / Rights granted / Correspondence / Decree	Albrecht III, Duke of Austria	Medieval German
145	Der Fondaco dei Tedeschi - Quellen und Forschungen: Band 1	266	125	1391	A Viennese merchant is accused of false accounting but acquitted in court (Venice)	Venice		Administrative record / note	Senate or Administration of Venice	Latin
146	Municipal and Provincial Archives of Vienna (Wiener Stadt und Landesarchiv / WStLA)	1224	-	1391	Duke Albrechts states that the trade conditions in Vienna are applicable to all, with the exception of those of his court dealing with this property			Charter / Rights granted / Correspondence / Decree	Albrecht III, Duke of Austria	Medieval German
147	Rechte und Freiheiten der Stadt Wien II	CIV	2-3	1396	The rights of the city of Vienna to hold annual fairs are confirmed and trade and tariff regulations for merchants defined			Charter / Rights granted / Correspondence / Decree	Dukes Leopold and Albrecht	Medieval German
148	Municipal and Provincial Archives of Vienna (Wiener Stadt und Landesarchiv / WStLA)	1493	-	1401	Mafeus Aymo, Marcellus Marcello and Petrus Guoro, bureaucrats in Venice, confirm the purchase of iron ore from Johannes Redulfi, who himself purchased it around Vienna.	Venice	Iron	Other correspondence	Administrators in Venice	Latin
149	Municipal and Provincial Archives of Vienna (Wiener Stadt und Landesarchiv / WStLA)	1518	-	1402	Sigismud, King of Hungary removes trade barriers for Austrian, especially Viennese merchants	Venice		Charter / Rights granted / Correspondence / Decree	Sigismund, King of Hungary	Latin

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150	Quellen zur Geschichte der Stadt Wien I-VIII	15846	83	1403	Accused of not having paid tolls, the goods of a Viennese Merchant are confiscated, it turns out this was false however, so he is reimbursed	Venice		Administrative record / note	Senate or Administration of Venice	Latin
151	Rechte und Freiheiten der Stadt Wien II	CXIV	17-18	1412	Duke Albrecht confirms the rights of the city of Vienna	Venice		Charter / Rights granted / Correspondence / Decree	Duke Albrecht	Medieval German
152	Rechte und Freiheiten der Stadt Wien II	CXVIII	21	1413	Duke Albrecht forbids the levying of tolls along the Danube at the castle of Rotenstein close to Hainburg	Hungary		Charter / Rights granted / Correspondence / Decree	Duke Albrecht	Medieval German
153	Rechte und Freiheiten der Stadt Wien II	CXXI	25	1417	The Council of Vienna writes a complaint to Duke Albrecht about foreign merchants illegally selling their goods to foreigners, not locals			Other correspondence	Duke Albrecht	Medieval German
154	Rechte und Freiheiten der Stadt Wien II	CXXII	26	1418	Duke Albrecht of Vienna bans the trade of (not discernible) goods along the Danube toward Hungary	Hungary		Charter / Rights granted / Correspondence / Decree	Duke Albrecht	Medieval German
155	Municipal and Provincial Archives of Vienna (Wiener Stadt und Landesarchiv / WStLA)	2313	-	1428	The city council of Frankfurt complains about exchange rates and the lack of currency transferability	Frankfurt		Other correspondence	City council of Frankfurt	Medieval German

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156	Municipal and Provincial Archives of Vienna (Wiener Stadt und Landesarchiv / WStLA)	2406	-	1432	Albrecht V introduces new regulations for merchants in Vienna, specifically defining the rights of long distance merchants and local traders and peddlers respectively	Venice		Charter / Rights granted / Correspondence / Decree	Albrecht V, Duke of Austria	Medieval German
157	Rechte und Freiheiten der Stadt Wien II	CXXXVII	43	1439	Albrecht V allows the City of Vienna to levy bridge tolls to finance the construction of bridges across the danube and its side arms			Charter / Rights granted / Correspondence / Decree	Albrecht V, Duke of Austria	Medieval German
158	Quellen zur Geschichte der Stadt Wien VIII	15859	86	1441	A Viennese merchant is accused of not paying tolls, however later acquitted	Venice	Cloth, silks	Administrative record / note	Senate or Administration of Venice	Latin
159	Municipal and Provincial Archives of Vienna (Wiener Stadt und Landesarchiv / WStLA)	2823	-	1441	Queen Elisabeth writes the city council of Vienna, informing them that she has sent representatives to Vienna to purchase salts and asks for assistance	Hungary		Charter / Rights granted / Correspondence / Decree	Queen Elisabeth of Hungary	Medieval German
160	Rechte und Freiheiten der Stadt Wien II	CLXI	50-51	1443	King Fredrick III confirms the rights of the city of Vienna	Venice		Charter / Rights granted / Correspondence / Decree	King Fredrick III of Habsburg	Medieval German
161	Municipal and Provincial Archives of Vienna (Wiener Stadt und Landesarchiv / WStLA)	3139	-	1445	The Mayor of Iglau addresses the lack of safety on the road between Austria and Moravia	Iglau (Jihlava)		Other correspondence	Mayor of Iglau	Medieval German

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162	Municipal and Provincial Archives of Vienna (Wiener Stadt und Landesarchiv / WStLA)	3180	-	1446	The Mayor of Brünn (Brno) addresses a dispute between Austrian and Bohemian Merchants regarding the quality of textiles	Brünn (Brno)		Other correspondence	The Mayor of Brünn	Medieval German
163	Municipal and Provincial Archives of Vienna (Wiener Stadt und Landesarchiv / WStLA)	3225	-	1447	John, Regent of Hungary, decrees, that Austrian Merchants who have already paid their import taxes in Pressburg, must not again pay them in Budapest and guarantees freedom of trade	Hungary		Charter / Rights granted / Correspondence / Decree	John, Regent of Hungary	Latin
164	Municipal and Provincial Archives of Vienna (Wiener Stadt und Landesarchiv / WStLA)	3290	-	1449	Friedrich IV informs Viennese Merchants trading with Venice, that he has sent his staff with orders	Venice		Charter / Rights granted / Correspondence / Decree	Duke Friedrich IV	Medieval German
165	Municipal and Provincial Archives of Vienna (Wiener Stadt und Landesarchiv / WStLA)	3306	-	1449	A noble named Ulreich Eiczinger writes the council of Vienna, that his brother confirmed he will not harass merchants from Bavaria, if so, he should be shown this letter	Bavaria		Other correspondence	Ulreich Eiczinger	Medieval German
166	Municipal and Provincial Archives of Vienna (Wiener Stadt und Landesarchiv / WStLA)	3698bis	-	1457	The mayor of Pressburg is addressing two parties in a dispute about tolls	Hungary	Cloth, cattle, horses, iron, pepper, salt, wax	Other correspondence	Mayor of Pressburg (Bratislava)	Medieval German

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7 Appendix

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8 Abstract in English

This thesis takes the comparatively novel approach of applying global history to a medieval context in order to gain new insights about Vienna's long distance trade connections from around 1200 to 1450. For this, a total of 166 relevant primary sources were identified via searches in primary source collections, digitized archives and the scholarly literature. These sources were then categorised and horizontally analysed to identify trade routes, mentioned goods as well as related context such as trade policies. Additionally, particularly relevant sources were subjected to an in-depth analysis. The results show that by applying a global perspective to the available source material and placing the medieval Viennese trade into the larger Afro-Eurasian context, new insights can be gained which have largely been missed by the existing literature.

By the 13th century, Vienna was embedded within a substantial European exchange network but remained peripheral in the larger Afro-Eurasian economy. From the early 14th century, however, thanks to its favourable geographic position and various policy measures, Viennese merchants became important intermediaries for the trade of Bohemian silver and other metals toward Venice, while in turn becoming the dominant intermediary of Venice in Central Europe, controlling access to the goods of the Asian market. When the metal market shifted and various monumental changes occurred in the mid-14th century, Vienna managed to adapt somewhat while Habsburg rulers undertook various measures to protect the position of Vienna as an important Central European trade hub, controlling access to Venice and thus the Afro-Eurasian markets. The analysis shows that, despite its peripheral status, Vienna's trade relationships and the fortunes of its merchants were significantly influenced by global developments, to which they in turn adapted. However, Vienna's involvement in long distance trade declined around 1400.

Despite these insights, this thesis also illustrates the limitations of applying global history to the medieval era, especially due to the nature of the available sources, the significant differences in trade, communications and infrastructure and the risk of interpreting the Middle Ages through the lens of later or current times.

9 Abstract auf Deutsch

Diese Masterarbeit verfolgte den vergleichsweise neuen Ansatz Globalgeschichte in einem mittelalterlichen Kontext anzuwenden, um neue Erkenntnisse über Wiens Fernhandelskontakte im Zeitraum von 1200 bis 1450 zu gewinnen. Hierfür wurden zunächst insgesamt 166 relevante Primärquellen mittels Suche in Quellensammlungen, Digitalarchiven sowie Referenzen in der wissenschaftlichen Literatur identifiziert. Diese wurden dann kategorisiert und horizontal analysiert, um Handelsverbindungen, erwähnte Waren oder zusätzlichen Kontext wie Handelspolitik zu identifizieren. Darüber hinaus wurden ausgewählte, besonders relevante Quellen einer Detailanalyse unterzogen. Die Ergebnisse zeigen, dass durch die Anwendung einer globalen Perspektive auf das verfügbare Quellenmaterial sowie die Kontextualisierung des mittelalterlichen Wiener Handels in den größeren afro-eurasischen Wirtschaft neue Erkenntnisse gewonnen und Zusammenhänge identifiziert werden können, welche in der bisherigen Literatur weitgehend vernachlässigt wurden.

Zunächst nahm Wien bis ins 13. Jahrhundert, obwohl es bereits in ein umfangreiches europaweites Handelsnetz eingebettet war, eine Randlage in der Weltwirtschaft ein. Ab dem frühen 14. Jahrhundert wurden Wiener Kaufleute zu wichtigen Zwischenhändlern für den Handel mit böhmischem Silber und anderen Metallen nach Venedig, während sie gleichzeitig versuchten, den Zugang Mitteleuropas zu Venedig und somit den Waren des asiatischen Marktes zu kontrollieren. Als sich der Metallmarkt veränderte und im mittleren 14. Jahrhundert verschiedene einschneidende Veränderungen stattfanden, gelang es den Wiener Händlern sich einigermaßen anzupassen, während sich Interventionen und handelspolitische Eingriffe der Habsburger häuften um die Position Wiens als dominanter mitteleuropäischer Handelsknotenpunkt zu schützen. Die Analyse zeigt, dass Wiens Wirtschaft und das Schicksal seiner Kaufleute trotz ihres peripheren Status maßgeblich von globalen Entwicklungen beeinflusst wurden, an die sie sich wiederum anpassten. Trotzdem kam es um 1400 zu einem Rückgang des Wiener Fernhandels.

Trotz dieser gewonnenen Erkenntnisse verdeutlicht diese Arbeit auch die Grenzen der Anwendung vom Globalgeschichte auf das Mittelalter, insbesondere aufgrund der Art der verfügbaren Quellen, der grundlegenden Unterschiede im Handel, der Kommunikation und der Infrastruktur sowie der Gefahr, das Mittelalter durch die Linse späterer oder gegenwärtiger Zeiten zu interpretieren.