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# East of Leipzig: great annual markets and fairs in Poland and Muscovy up to the 17th century

## Introduction

In international trade fair research, the focus is mostly on western Europe and its innovative developments.<sup>1</sup> This begins with the Fairs in Champagne, which are seen as the nucleus of an almost year-round fair system, and ends with the Bisenzone fairs which, highly specialised in cashless payments and the credit transactions of European high finance, can be characterised as the culmination of the development of innovative and elaborate financial techniques. The western European fair system essentially comprises France, Italy, Castile, and the Netherlands, whose fairs in their heyday were timed to coincide in a “*système de correspondance*”<sup>2</sup> and represented an almost year-round cycle. According to this perception, the fairs at Frankfurt am Main were initially—at least until the fifteenth century—the easternmost outpost of this system,<sup>3</sup> and the Frankfurt fairs were then gradually replaced by those in Leipzig in this function from the sixteenth century onwards.<sup>4</sup> And further east? What about the fairs east of Leipzig, in eastern-central Europe—in Poland, Bohemia, and Hungary—and beyond that in eastern Europe—in Muscovy—and in the Ottoman Empire?

To put it in a nutshell: in all these countries of eastern Europe, there were more or less large, supra-regionally important markets. Whether these can be described as ‘fairs’ in a sense comparable to those in western Europe, however, is an open question that requires further discussion. In the Ottoman Empire, for example, the ‘fair tradition,’ so to say, was based on the continuation of the great

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1 In particular, *La foire*. Brussels: Édition de la Librairie Encyclopédique, 1953; Peter Johanek, Heinz Stooß (eds.). *Europäische Messen und Märktesysteme in Mittelalter und Neuzeit*. Cologne, Weimar, Vienna: Böhlau, 1996.

2 Henri Lapeyre. *Une famille de marchands: les Ruiz*. Paris: S.E.V.P.E.N, 1955, 285.

3 Michael Rothmann. *Die Frankfurter Messen im Mittelalter*. Stuttgart: Steiner, 1998.

4 Peter Beyer. Leipzigs Auseinandersetzung mit Frankfurt am Main (1706–1726). Symptom des Aufstiegs zur führenden deutschen Messestadt. In *Leipzigs Messen 1497–1997. Gestaltwandel. Umbrüche. Neubeginn, vol. 1: 1497–1914*, Hartmut Zwahr, Thomas Topfstedt, Günter Bentele (eds.). Cologne, Weimar, Vienna: Böhlau, 1999, 193–204.

fairs of the Byzantine period<sup>5</sup> which, in turn, had their roots in the regular markets of the Roman Empire. The Ottoman market and fair system extended from the Balkans (the so-called “Balkan fairs”<sup>6</sup>) far into Anatolia, but only reached its greatest development in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Until the end of the seventeenth century, there were rigid trade restrictions between the Ottoman Empire and the Habsburg Empire, which were not conducive to the development of an international trade fair system on the Balkan Peninsula. The great annual markets and the fairs of the southern Russian-Ukrainian region and Siberia did not experience their peak until the eighteenth and especially the nineteenth century, when these economic areas were given much greater economic value than had ever been the case before.

Thus, Poland and Muscovy (as well as Hungary, which will not be the subject of this study<sup>7</sup>) remain the areas of study for supra-regional-international trade fair activities in the later Middle Ages and the early modern period, both of which will be examined in the following sections from their medieval origins to the seventeenth century. The seventeenth century was a time of significant changes in both Poland and Muscovy, so that this caesura lends itself as the end point of the research to be given here. At the end of the article, there will be some reflections on the comparison of the Polish and Muscovian great markets with the western European fairs, which will also lead to a conceptual classification of the various market opportunities.

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5 Basilike Papoulia. Jahrmärkte in Byzanz. In *Messen, Jahrmärkte und Stadtentwicklung in Europa/Foires, marchés annuels et développement urbain en Europe*, Franz Irsigler, Michel Pauly (eds.). Trier: Porta Alba, 2007, 41–49; Mihailo St. Popović. Jahrmärkte im europäischen Teil des Byzantinischen Reiches und deren neuzeitliches Nachleben. In *Europäische Messegeschichte, 9.–19. Jahrhundert. Forschungsstand und Forschungsperspektiven*, Markus A. Denzel (ed.). Cologne, Weimar, Vienna: Böhlau, 2018, 43–53; Klaus-Peter Matschke. Commerce, Trade, Markets, and Money: Thirteenth-Fifteenth Centuries. In *The Economic History of Byzantium, from the Seventh through the Fifteenth Century*, vol. 2, Angeliki E. Laiou (ed.). Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2002, 771–806.

6 Suraiya Faroqhi. The Early History of the Balkan Fairs. *Südost-Forschungen* 37 (1978): 50–68. For Moldova, see Arno Mehlan. Die großen Balkanmessen in der Türkenzeit. *Vierteljahrschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte* 31:1 (1938): 17–18; for Macedonia, see Mihailo St. Popović. New Insights into the History of Balkan Fairs in the Historical Region of Macedonia (13<sup>th</sup>–19<sup>th</sup> Centuries). *Bulgaria Medievalis* 2 (2011): 757–776.

7 Boglárka Weisz. *Markets and Staples in the Medieval Hungarian Kingdom*. Budapest: Research Centre for the Humanities, 2020; Norbert Spannenberger. Märkte im Königreich Ungarn, Kroatien und in Siebenbürgen. In *Europäische Messegeschichte*, Denzel (ed.), 267–283; András Kubinyi. Die Märkte Ungarns im Spätmittelalter. In *Messen, Jahrmärkte und Stadtentwicklung*, Irsigler, Pauly (eds.), 253–262.

# 1 The emergence of a “network of great annual markets” in Poland

In the Kingdom of Poland, a first annual market system emerged during the era of the founding of cities in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries which then expanded southwards and eastwards until the sixteenth century. According to Maria Bogucka and Henryk Samsonowicz, 340 annual market privileges were issued between 1320 and 1530: 19 in the fourteenth century, 72 in the fifteenth century, and 249 in the first three decades of the sixteenth century, whereby the dates of the individual market events were in each case aligned and adjusted with those of neighbouring markets.<sup>8</sup> This first Polish annual market system was characterised by a prominent role of the Crown, which was instrumental in establishing these market events, and the weighty importance of the *szlachta*—the magnates and the small landed nobility—as privileged agricultural ‘entrepreneurs’ and landowners within the trade events, who became increasingly important in the grain and cattle trade from the middle of the fifteenth century onwards.<sup>9</sup>

The most important annual markets were those in Thorn, Gniezno, and Poznan, then Warsaw and Łęczyca (exactly on the border of the Wielkopolska and Mazovian Lowlands). The markets in Wrocław provided a link to Leipzig and the central German (great) annual markets and thus to the west of Europe. In addition, in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, there were Vilnius and Grodno (Hrodna) in Lithuania in the north-east, as well as the village of Mohylew (Mogiljow, today Mahiljou on the Dnjepr) in present-day Belarus as a border market to Muscovy. After the annexation of the Republic of Novgorod in 1478 and the Russian expansion to the west, the standard of living had risen in Muscovy, and trade between western Europe and Moscow had expanded. This allowed a system of annual and cattle markets to develop in Belarus, among which Mohylew, Szklów, and Vilnius were the most important. In the south, Wrocław, Kraków, Jarosław, Lublin, and Lviv were the most important annual markets. At least until the end of the fourteenth century, Lviv was only a cattle market and only became more important in the second half of the fifteenth century after the granting of the first stacking

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8 Maria Boguczka, Henryk Samsonowicz. *Dzieje miast i mieszczaństwa w Polsce przedrozbiorowej*. Warsaw: Zakład Narod. im. Ossolińskich Wyd., 1986, 182–197.

9 Werner Scheltjens. North-Eurasian Fairs from the Late Middle Ages to the Nineteenth Century. In *Europäische Messegeschichte*, Denzel (ed.), 329–330; Henryk Samsonowicz. Die Handelsstraße Ostsee–Schwarzes Meer im 13. und 14. Jahrhundert. In *Der hansische Sonderweg? Beiträge zur Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte der Hanse*, Stuart Jenks, Michael North (eds.). Cologne, Weimar, Vienna: Böhlau, 1993, 27.

rights, and then replaced Włodowicz and Volhynia as the gateway to the east.<sup>10</sup> The aforementioned markets were essentially located on the long-distance trade routes through Poland until the end of the fourteenth century, of which the first two in particular were of international relevance:

1. on the southern route from Wrocław via Kraków and Jarosław to Lviv and further east on the *via tatarica*;
2. on the central route from Gdańsk via Toruń to Kraków on the one hand and on the so-called *via nova* via Łęczyca and Sandomierz to Lviv on the other;
3. on the rather supra-regionally important, so-called Great Polish Road from Frankfurt an der Oder via Poznań and Gniezno to Toruń, where the route branched off to the Baltic port of Gdańsk on the one hand and via Grodno to Vilnius on the other;
4. on the route from Toruń via Konin and Kalisz to Wrocław.

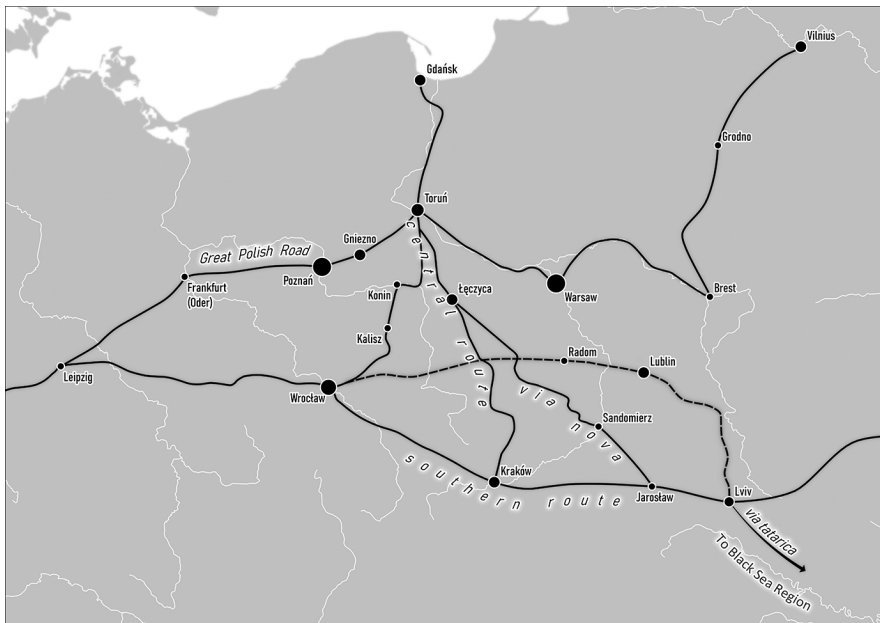


Fig. 1: Commercial routes through Poland at the end of the fourteenth century.

<sup>10</sup> Scheltjens, North-Eurasian Fairs, 330–331, 334. On the Polish cattle markets, see Jan Baszanowski. Ochsenszuchtgebiete und Ochsenausfuhr aus Polen vom 16. bis 18. Jahrhundert. In *Internationaler Ochsenhandel (1350–1750). Akten des 7<sup>th</sup> International Economic History Congress, Edinburgh 1978*, Ekkehard Westermann (ed.). Stuttgart: Steiner, 1979, 129–130.

<sup>11</sup> Antoni Czacharowski. Jahrmärkte und Messen im mittelalterlichen Polen. In *Messen, Jahrmärkte und Stadtentwicklung*, Irsigler, Pauly (eds.), 235.

In this context, the *via nova*—the main trade route between the Baltic Sea and the Black Sea, which was established as the ‘newest’ in the fourteenth century—was considered a distributor road to the *via tatarica*, and the abovementioned trading centres were all located at the crossroads of the *via nova* with main trade routes in the west-east direction.<sup>12</sup> In general, during the reign of King Casimir III/I the Great (1310–1370, reigned from 1333), Poland gained considerable importance in European transit trade between Silesia, Hungary, and Russia from the mid-fourteenth century onwards. Then, in the fifteenth century, grain, furs, and oxen as international merchandise were decisive enough that Poland “fut incorporée [. . .] dans l’orbite du développement de l’Europe.”<sup>13</sup> This development strongly promoted the annual markets in Poland—and subsequently also in Lithuania—in the long term.

Among the numerous Polish annual markets, whose attendance ranged from two or three hundred to one or two thousand,<sup>14</sup> the following stand out in particular, as they were also frequented by foreign visitors and could therefore claim a kind of supra-regional or even international relevance. In this sense, they—or, at least, most of them—could with some probability be described as great annual markets, while the others were of more local or, at best, regional significance:

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<sup>12</sup> Samsonowicz, *Handelsstraße*, 24, 28–29. The *via nova* was thus part of the trade route from Danzig to Kaffa, on which trade was conducted in stages—from the Black Sea to Lemberg predominantly by Italians and Armenians, from Lemberg to Thorn by Germans with the participation of Ruthenians and Poles, and from Thorn onwards exclusively by German merchants.

<sup>13</sup> Henryk Samsonowicz. *Les foires en Pologne au XV<sup>e</sup> et XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle sur la toile de fond de la situation économique en Europe*. In *Der Außenhandel Ostmitteleuropas 1450–1650. Die ostmitteleuropäischen Volkswirtschaften in ihren Beziehungen zu Mitteleuropa*, Ingomar Bog (ed.). Cologne, Vienna: Böhlau, 1971, 254–255 (citation at 255). See also Henryk Samsonowicz. *Przemiany osi drożnych w Polsce późnego średniowiecza. Przegląd Historyczny* 64:4 (1973): 711; Henryk Samsonowicz. *Niektóre cechy charakterystyczne sieci jarmarcznej w Polsce późnego średniowiecza*. In *Studia nad dziejami miast i mieszczaństwa w średniowieczu*, vol. I, Maria Bogucka, Antoni Czacharowski (eds.). Toruń: Uniwersytet Mikołaja Kopernika w Toruniu, 1996, 9–14.

<sup>14</sup> Maria Bogucka. *Fairs in early modern Poland*. In *Messen, Jahrmärkte und Stadtentwicklung*, Irsigler, Pauly (eds.), 248.

**Tab. 1:** Great Annual Markets in Poland and Lithuania, twelfth to sixteenth centuries.<sup>15</sup>

Place	Starting at or around
Wrocław (3)	John (24 June), Bartholomew (24 August), Elizabeth (19 November)
Lviv (1)	21 January (only cattle)
Toruń (2)	<i>Trium Regum</i> (6 January), Exaltation of the Holy Cross (14 September)
Gdańsk (1)	Dominicus (8 August)
Kraków (2)	Jacob the Younger (3 May) or Stanislaw (8 May), Michaelis fair (29 September)
Lublin (3)	Candlemas (2 February), Pentecost, Simon and Judae (28 October)
Gniezno (2)	Adalbert (23 April), Bartholomew (24 August)
Poznań (4)	<i>Invocabit</i> (first Sunday of Lent), Johannes (24 June), Dominicus (8 August) or Michaelis (29 September; since the sixteenth century), Luciae (13 December; since the sixteenth century)
Warsaw (4)	<i>Misericordia Domini</i> (second Sunday after Easter), John (24 June), 1 August, 15 October
Łęczyca (2)	16 July, St. Nicholas (6 December)
Vilnius (3)	<i>Trium Regum</i> (6 January), 4 March, Assumption

In Polish cities, the existence of annual markets often competed with the staple right which, as in Wrocław, was only suspended on the respective market dates. The holding of annual markets was often associated with guest trading—that is, the time of the fairs was the only time when merchants from outside the town were allowed to do business with each other without a resident merchant acting as an intermediary. It was possible for great annual markets to exist in two cities as comparatively close to each other as Poznań and Gniezno, because the trade at

<sup>15</sup> Czacharowski, *Jahrmärkte und Messen*, 236–240; Bogucka, *Fairs in early modern Poland*, 246–247; Adelheid Simsch, *Posener Marktztettel aus den Jahren 1579/80. Eine bisher unveröffentlichte Quelle zur Geschichte des Posener Handels in der zweiten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts. In Beiträge zur Stadt- und Regionalgeschichte Ost- und Nordeuropas. Herbert Ludat zum 60. Geburtstag*, Klaus Zernack (ed.), Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1971, 155. On the duration of the Polish great annual markets, which could range from two to three days to six weeks, see Bogucka, *Fairs in early modern Poland*, 247: “In practice the officially fixed duration was often prolonged by a longer stay in the city of some foreigners, who tried to conclude their business on the basis of fair’s freedom.” See also with some different information Hermann Kellenbenz (ed.) *Handelsbräuche des 16. Jahrhunderts. Das Meder’sche Handelsbuch und die Welscher’schen Nachträge*. Wiesaden: Steiner, 1974, 63 (but only Wrocław, Poznań, and Lublin); <https://fairs-in-history.huma-num.fr/collection/COL0041> (date of access: October 31<sup>st</sup> 2023).

the fairs was so extensive that both could profit from it in good cooperation, not in competition.

The expansion of the fair system of the fifteenth century was accompanied by the rise of Lviv to become the most important connecting place between the Orient and the west via the land route. From the first decade of the fifteenth century, the city endeavoured to enforce not only its ancestral staple right, but also the compulsory road traffic on the *via tatarica* and the road through Moldavia. Here, merchants from the west and north had to lay down their goods for a fortnight before they were allowed to travel further into Moldavia on the *via tatarica*. The Polish king had granted the city this right in the second half of the fourteenth century as well as the *Straßenzwang*, so that “for decades it would have a monopoly on the intensive exchange of goods between the West and the Orient and the significant income that flowed from it.” For this reason, Lviv had no particular interest in a fair or annual market privilege.<sup>16</sup> Lviv thus became an important trading partner for Bessarabian, Moldavian, and Wallachian princes as far away as Kaffa (present-day Feodosija), the centre of the slave and grain trade on the Black Sea.<sup>17</sup>

According to Maria Bogucka, Poznań, Gniezno, Toruń, Gdańsk, Kraków, Brest-Litovsk, Jarosław, Lublin, and Zamość can be considered the most important and thus probably the largest annual markets in sixteenth-century Poland. They are characterised by the fact that they were all located on the borders of the Polish-Lithuanian state, while in the interior of the country, smaller annual markets served as intermediaries and local trading centres. A special concentration of great annual markets can be found in the south-east (Lublin, Zamość, Lviv, and Jarosław) and in the north-west (Poznań, Gniezno, and Toruń). Therefore, Gniezno, Poznań, and Lublin were particularly prominent within this market network, as the first two cities were located on important inland trade routes and close to western Europe, while Lublin was close to the ‘border triangle’ between Poland, Lithuania, and Ukraine. Lublin, like Wrocław, was a hub of exchange with the Belarusian markets as well as the Ukrainian ones. Gdańsk played a special role as a seashore market, where goods were transferred from sea to land and vice versa: the Dominicus Market, which was visited by more than 400 ships in the second half of the sixteenth century, can almost be classified as a kind of ‘sea fair’ (while the other

<sup>16</sup> Czacharowski, *Jahrmärkte und Messen*, 236.

<sup>17</sup> Scheltjens, *North-Eurasian Fairs*, 331–333. See also Maurice Lombard. *Caffa et la fin de la route mongole. Annales. Histoire, Sciences Sociales* 5:1 (1950): 100–103; Marian Małowist. *Kaffa—kolonia genueńska na Krymie i problem wschodni w latach 1453–1475*. Warsaw: Tow. miłośników historii, 1947.

annual markets held here were at best regionally relevant).<sup>18</sup> Gdańsk was thus considered the Polish gateway to the entire Baltic Sea region and integrated into the west European trade network.<sup>19</sup> For Lithuania, Vilnius and—on the route from Lublin to Smolensk—Mohylew and Szklów (Shklow), less than 40 kilometres away, should be mentioned, of which Mohylew was the most important of the Belarusian and Lithuanian towns around 1600.<sup>20</sup>

Moreover, with the granting of an annual market privilege in 1528, Warsaw gained importance among the great annual markets of Poland, which should enjoy the same rights as the traditional markets in Poznań, Gniezno, and Lublin: “Il me semble que ces foires avaient une certaine analogie avec les fameuses foires de Champagne qui se tenaient dans plusieurs endroits et représentaient ensemble le centre principal des échanges entre le Nord et le Sud.”<sup>21</sup>

All in all, the (great) annual markets in Poland-Lithuania in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries essentially fulfilled two functions: first, they served to exchange local products; second, they were intermediaries on the land route between western Europe, Moscow, and Central Asia on the one hand and the Black Sea region on the other. On the northern route, mainly furs, skins, wax, and honey were traded for textiles, metals, and goods from overseas, while on the

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18 Bogucka, *Fairs in early modern Poland*, 244, 246; Maria Bogucka, *Jarmarki w Polsce w XVI–XVIII wieku*. In *Studia nad dziejami miast*, Bogucka, Czacharowski (eds.), 25 (the overview map of Polish fairs is not included in the English version); Jerzy Topolski, *Faktoren der Entstehung eines internationalen Jahrmarktnetzes in Polen im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert*. *Studia Historiae Oeconomicae* 5 (1970): 107–108, 110.

19 Zsygmunt Pál Pach, *Zur Geschichte der internationalen Handelswege und des Handelskapitals vom 15. bis 17. Jahrhundert*. *Jahrbuch für Wirtschaftsgeschichte* 10:3 (1969): 179–192; Johannes Schildhauer, *Zur Verlagerung des See- und Handelsverkehrs im nordeuropäischen Raum während des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts: Eine Untersuchung auf der Grundlage der Danziger Pfahlkammerbücher*. *Jahrbuch für Wirtschaftsgeschichte* 9:4 (1968): 187–211; Johannes Schildhauer, *Der Seehandel Danzigs im 16. Jahrhundert und die Verlagerung des Warenverkehrs im Nord- und Mitteleuropäischen Raum*. *Jahrbuch für Wirtschaftsgeschichte* 11:3 (1970): 155–178; Marian Małowist, *Les produits des pays de la Baltique dans le commerce international au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle*. *Revue du Nord* 42:166 (1960): 175–206.

20 Topolski, *Faktoren der Entstehung*, 105–108, 113; Scheltjens, *North-Eurasian Fairs*, 334. The markets in Poland mentioned by Topolski (*Faktoren der Entstehung*, 108–109), which specialised in livestock trade (Jarosław in Lesser Poland, Łęczyca, Lowicz, Jarocin, and Kobylin in central and western Poland) are probably not to be regarded as great annual markets despite the high numbers of livestock traded. These Polish livestock markets were only connected with the Belarusian markets to a small extent, but much more strongly with the Ukrainian ones, because their existence was conditioned by the demand for meat from the Ukraine in western Europe. According to Bogucka (*Fairs in early modern Poland*, 247), larger cattle markets also took place in Warsaw and Lublin.

21 Samsonowicz, *Les foires en Pologne*, 256.

southern route—through Armenian, Greek, and Jewish merchants—primarily Oriental goods were traded. Gdańsk was connected to both routes via the Vistula. The annual markets were also the places at which the members of the *szlachta* obtained their central income from grain sales and bought luxury goods such as textiles, wine, fruit, or spices (as the Moscow nobles did further east).<sup>22</sup> Thus the international annual market network in Poland played a central role in the pan-European west-east trade over land until the early seventeenth century. Although the multitude of smaller and large annual markets does not allow a clear network and a stringent sequence of the individual markets to emerge one after the other, the Polish ‘fair system’ extended from the fifteenth century onwards from Leipzig in the west via Gdańsk in the north and Lemberg, the gateway to the Oriental trade, in the southeast to the markets in Vilnius in Lithuania, Mohylev in White Ruthenia, and Kamenec Podolski in the Ukraine. This close-meshed network of annual markets is virtually a characteristic of the Polish economy at the end of the Middle Ages and the beginning of the early modern period.<sup>23</sup>

The increase in the number of large annual markets and their rising turnover is also due to the fact that, given the growing income of the middle classes and peasants in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, many goods, although still expensive, lost the characteristic of being luxury products. This made larger markets all the more necessary, as there was not enough cash available. For here, on the one hand, there was the possibility of mutual credit for the time of a market; on the other hand, there was the cyrograph, “a kind of primitive bill of exchange,” as a cashless payment medium in which the debtor undertook to pay the creditor the debt on a certain date and at a certain place—for example, at another market. To guarantee liability, such credit transactions were usually entered in the municipal official books.<sup>24</sup> According to Henryk Samsonowicz, ‘classical’ Italian-style bills of exchange could also have circulated and been used as credit papers at individual great annual markets—for example, by Italian and German merchants in Gniezno, Toruń, and Kraków.<sup>25</sup> In the sixteenth century, up to 60% of all transactions at the Dominicus Market in Gdańsk could have been financed by credit and, in addition, the various great annual markets were used by merchants not least to grant loans to members of the *szlachta* or to have their debts repaid.<sup>26</sup> In

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22 Scheltjens, North-Eurasian Fairs, 333–335.

23 Topolski, Faktoren der Entstehung, 101.

24 Topolski, Faktoren der Entstehung, 102–103.

25 Henryk Samsonowicz. Jarmarki w Polsce na tle sytuacji gospodarczej w Europie w XV–XVI w. In *Europa—Słowianszczyzna—Polska. Studia ku uczczeniu Profesora Kazimierza Tymienieckiego*, Juliusz Bardach (ed.). Poznań: Uniwersytet Mikołaja Kopernika w Toruniu, 1970, 524.

26 Bogucka, Fairs in early modern Poland, 247.

contrast to the Polish great annual markets, the sixteenth-century annual markets in royal and ducal Prussia cannot claim more than regional significance.<sup>27</sup>

This extensive network of great annual markets in Poland rapidly lost both its importance and its function in the wake of the devastating wars between 1647 and 1667, neither of which could be revived despite the renewed economic boom in the eighteenth century. The Polish annual markets sank to local transshipment centres with agricultural and forestry goods, where trade was no longer primarily handled by city-based merchants, but by members of the *szlachta* with the support of their Jewish commercial agents. This process, which had already begun in the second half of the fifteenth century but intensified significantly from the seventeenth century onwards, hindered commercialisation in Poland in the long term, since the *szlachta* promoted the production and distribution of goods but not their trade. The nobles traded and consumed primarily for their own needs and increasingly displaced the merchants as the actual mediators of the exchange of goods until the eighteenth century. The previous nature of the Polish great annual markets as a kind of fairs thus changed significantly, so that they often degenerated into small markets.<sup>28</sup>

The decisive structural changes—indeed, the destruction of the previous system of Polish-Lithuanian great annual markets—occurred in the second half of the seventeenth century due to the military invasions of foreign powers in the Russian-Polish War (1654–1667) and above all in the parallel Polish-Swedish War (1655–1660), the so-called Swedish Deluge (*Potop szwedzki*), with its devastating consequences for the country and its population, its economy, and foreign trade, comparable to the Thirty Years' War in the Holy Roman Empire.<sup>29</sup> The available trade credit was no longer sufficient for further growth. Not least due to the years of war, land trade through Poland was severely impaired, and the sea route to Arkhangelsk and later to Saint Petersburg gained considerably in importance—to the detriment of the great annual markets in Poland.<sup>30</sup>

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27 Piotr Paluchowski. Miejsca i terminy jarmarków na terenie prus królewskich i książęcych w końcu XVI wieku na podstawie wykazówz Gdańskich kalendarzy. *Czasynowożytne* 24 (2011): 37–59.

28 Bogucka, Fairs in early modern Poland, 248–249; Scheltjens, North-Eurasian Fairs, 334. On Thorn, see the dissenting opinion of Jürgen Sarnowsky. Märkte im mittelalterlichen Preußen. *Hansische Geschichtsblätter* 120 (2002): 60–61, who assumes a fully functioning annual market only after the Thirty Years' War and sees the first introduction by the Polish king in 1472 rather as a failed attempt.

29 See Hilmar Sack, Tomasz Łopatka. Thirty Years' War and Potop. Heroism and “barbarian savagery”: Existential War Experiences in the 17th Century. In *Deutsch-Polnische Erinnerungsorte*, vol. 3: *Parallelen*, Hans Henning Hahn, Robert Traba (eds.). Paderborn: Schöningh, 2012, 147–165.

30 Scheltjens, North-Eurasian Fairs, 335. See also Topolski, Faktoren der Entstehung, 116.

## Great annual markets or fairs in Muscovy

In the area of the later Tsarist Empire, the oldest annual markets on the banks of the Volga can be traced back to the early Middle Ages—that is, to pre-Russian times, especially in Itil, the capital of the Khazar Empire from the mid-eight to the end of the tenth century, and in Bolgar (or Bulgar), the capital of the Volga Bulgars between the eighth and fifteenth centuries.<sup>31</sup> After the collapse of the Volga trade during the Mongol invasion in the first half of the thirteenth century, new annual markets were established between the mouth of the Mologa into the Volga and Sarai, the capital of the Golden Horde, at the latest in the fourteenth century. One of these annual markets was located in the immediate vicinity of what later became Nizhni Novgorod on the Balakhonskaia peninsula at the confluence of the Oka and Volga rivers, which has been documented since 1366 and was frequented by Muscovite, Tatar, Armenian, Bukharian, and Khiva merchants.

From 1257, a one-day market was held on 24 June (Saint John's Day) on the so-called Great Field (*arskoe pole*) near Kazan, the capital of the khanate of the same name. This 'Kazan Fair' was the most important and largest annual market in the area of the Russian rivers in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Merchants from central Asia, China, Siberia, India, Moscow, Novgorod, Pskov, and numerous other cities came together here. However, their visit was very dangerous, especially for Russian merchants during this period of the Moscow-Kazan Wars (1439–1552). A massacre of Russian merchants and envoys in Kazan in 1521 prompted Grand Prince Vasily III of Moscow (1479–1533, reigned from 1505) to ban his subjects from attending the fair in 1524 and, at the same time, to establish a new competing great annual market at the outermost border of his fiefdom, in the small fortress of Vasilsursk at the confluence of the Sura and Volga rivers, which had just been conquered in 1523.<sup>32</sup> Vasilsursk lay a good 230 kilometres northwest of Kazan on the Volga and could thus have been seen as a staging post on the way from the Russian cities to Kazan, but these new annual markets were not visited by Oriental merchants and died out. Thus, there were no significant annual markets on the Volga in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centu-

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31 Anne Lincoln Fitzpatrick. *The Great Russian Fair. Nizhnii Novgorod, 1840–90*. London, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan/New York: St. Martin's Press, 1990, 14; James Thal. Schiffahrt und Handel des russischen Reiches im Jahre 1849 nebst den neuesten statistischen Daten über Bevölkerung, Cultur und Industrie. In *Mittheilungen über Handel, Gewerbe und Verkehrsmittel, so wie aus dem Gebiete der Statistik überhaupt, nach Berichten an das k.k. Handels-Ministerium*, 2. Jahrgang, Direction der administrativen Statistik (ed.). Vienna: Kaiserl.-Könlgl. Hof- und Staatsdruckerei, 1851, 118–119.

32 Fitzpatrick, *The Great Russian Fair*, 14–15.

ries, not least because of the ongoing wars with the Tartarians, the uprisings of the Cheremisses against Russian rule, the so-called period of turmoil (*smuta*, 1598–1613) with the reign of the false Dimitri (Dimitri II, c. 1580–1606, reigned from 1605) and the trade monopoly of the English.<sup>33</sup>

When Kazan was finally conquered by Ivan IV the Terrible (1530–1584, reigned from 1533) in 1552, however, another place on the Volga became the most important market centre of this area in the long term—the annual market at Makarev Monastery, located about 500 kilometres northwest of Kazan. The monastery there, founded in 1439 by the monk Makarios (1349–1444), had been destroyed before the middle of the fifteenth century by Ulug Mehmed, Khan of Kazan (1438–1445, formerly Khan of the Golden Horde from 1419–1424 and 1427–1438) and was rebuilt by the monk Avraami from 1620–1624, thereby reviving the pilgrimage. At this supra-regional pilgrimage centre, an annual market was held on the anniversary of the death of St. Makarios (25 July), which in the first half of the seventeenth century was still a simple farmers' or local market to supply the pilgrims, but where linen, wooden goods, hats, and fur boots, furs, and devotionalia were also traded. Initially, the monastery had sole sovereignty over the market, which was confirmed in 1641 by Tsar Michael I (1596–1645, reigned from 1613) and whereby the monks received permission to collect a market levy. However, this annual market quickly acquired all-Russian significance and lasted for a fortnight as early as the 1660s, as it had become the meeting place for merchants from Moscow and Kazan, and the Kazan trade had been transferred here from the Great Field. In 1667, Tsar Alexei I (1629–1676, reigned from 1645) tried for the first time to exert more influence on the market by granting five days of free trade but then demanding a levy to the state. However, the Tsar failed because of Abbot Theodore's refusal. Makarev was ideally suited geographically as a fairground site, because in the late seventeenth century, shipping on the Lower Volga to and from the south began and ended there, and Oriental products came there on boats from as far way as Astrakhan, which on their return journey took with them European goods that had come into the country on the Upper Volga via Arkhangelsk and Vologda.<sup>34</sup> From 1666, the great annual markets used about 1,400 stalls or booths and 1,800 shops.<sup>35</sup> In the wake of the conquest of Siberia, the now great Makaryev annual markets continued to gain importance “in the hinterland of European Russia,” becoming “a major vehicle” for trade with the cities of Siberia and with China and “a commercial intermediary between East

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<sup>33</sup> Thal, *Schiffahrt und Handel*, 119.

<sup>34</sup> Fitzpatrick, *The Great Russian Fair*, 15–17.

<sup>35</sup> Michal Wanner. The Russian-Chinese Trade in Kyakhta, its Organisation and Commodity Structure, 1727–1861. *Prague Papers on the History of International Relations* 18:2 (2014): 47.

and West, an important market in Russia's trade with Asia." Towards the end of the seventeenth century, the annual turnover of goods is said to have been about 80,000 roubles.<sup>36</sup> The great annual markets in Makarev lasted from 1 to 30 July.<sup>37</sup>

Arkhangelsk, built in 1584 on the Tsar's orders and belonging to the north Atlantic region, was the first Russian seaport. The Ostrog was originally called Novocholmogory after the nearby trading post Cholmogory and subsequently 'Archangel City' from 1613 onwards. Situated on the lower reaches of the Dwina, 40 kilometres from its mouth on the White Sea, Arkhangelsk was considered Moscow's port on the White Sea because the port, blocked by ice from October to May, was connected to the Volga and its tributary, the Kama via two canals, so that the city and port had a huge hinterland—ultimately as far as Moscow.<sup>38</sup> The decisive advantage of the Arkhangelsk route for the northwestern European trading nations was ultimately the greater security compared to the Baltic route and the elimination of the Sound tariff. Shipping to the White Sea started from the northwest European ports in April or July. With a sailing time of four to six weeks, they arrived in May or August, stayed for the time of the annual market there,<sup>39</sup> and returned south with the onset of autumn. There was also the so-called 'early voyage,' which was profitable because goods from the previous season that had been stored in Arkhangelsk over the winter could be bought more cheaply. Trade took place in Arkhangelsk in the form of fairs or great annual markets. Similar to Kaffa in the fifteenth century and Gdańsk in the sixteenth century, such maritime fairs were held in Arkhangelsk to handle foreign trade, the first being held when the ice melted on the Vistula or the Northern Dwina, the second at harvest time:

Archangel'sk had maritime fairs which depended on the arrival and departure of foreign ships at the time when the White Sea was not frozen, on one hand, and on the arrival of commodities produced from the Russian interior, on the other.

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<sup>36</sup> Fitzpatrick, *The Great Russian Fair*, 17; Thal, *Schiffahrt und Handel*, 119.

<sup>37</sup> Scheltjens, *North-Eurasian Fairs*, 336.

<sup>38</sup> Walter Kresse. *Die Fahrtgebiete der Hamburger Handelsflotte, 1824–1888*. Hamburg: Museum für Hamburgische Geschichte, 1972, 13.

<sup>39</sup> This was reported in the late seventeenth century by Johann Philipp Kilburger. *Kurzer Unterricht von dem russischen Handel, wie selbiger mit aus- und eingehenden Waaren 1674 durch ganz Russland getrieben worden*. Hamburg, 1769, chap. IV, quoted in Christoph F. Menke. *Die wirtschaftlichen und politischen Beziehungen der Hansestädte zu Rußland im 18. und frühen 19. Jahrhundert*. PhD diss., University of Göttingen, 1959, 379–380.

According to older literature, the fairs lasted until September or even longer.<sup>40</sup> While a positive boom of the Arkhangelsk fairs could already be observed in the first half of the seventeenth century, the protectionist-oriented New Trade Statute (*Novotorgovyĭ ustav*) of Tsar Alexei I of 1667—the year of the great city fire—fixed a new, economically even more important role for Arkhangelsk and its seashore fairs. The Trade Statute of 1667 established Arkhangelsk's position on the White Sea as the gateway to the west and the orientation of the other markets towards its seashore fairs whereby, with a few exceptions, foreigners were forbidden to trade within Russia.<sup>41</sup> At the Arkhangelsk seashore fairs, arriving Russian and foreign merchants tried to sell everything they had with them. This trade was largely conducted as a barter transaction (*baratto*), but those who paid cash received more favourable prices.<sup>42</sup>

In 1667, when Ukraine east of the Dnieper became part of Russia with the Treaty of Andrusovo, the most important annual markets of the entire southern Russian-Ukrainian area were held at the Svinsky or Svensky Monastery, at the confluence of the Desna and Svin rivers, three miles from Bryansk. In the early years of the Great Northern War, Tsar Peter I the Great (1672–1725, reigned from 1682) forbade 'Greeks' and the inhabitants of southern Russian towns to travel to Moscow, to the Svinsk or other fairs, and to trade among themselves (1701). A fair was held for them in Azov for the first time from 20 August 1701, and at the same time, the Svinsk fair was discontinued. The Polish merchants were 'diverted' to the fair in Smolensk for their Russian trade. However, this measure was not successful in the long term, for the Svinsk fair was restored on 25 June 1711, as Azov had proved unsuitable for its intended function as a gateway to the west, and Peter I had also turned increasingly to the north-west. To this end, in addition to the founding of Saint Petersburg in 1703, the great annual markets of Riga (20 June–10 July), which had been interrupted for several years, were re-established for merchants from land and sea. Indeed, as Werner Scheltjens has observed, "a shift towards the Baltic Sea coast was undeniable in the North-Eurasian system of fairs of

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40 Scheltjens, North-Eurasian Fairs, 335–336 (citation at 336). See also Topolski, *Faktoren der Entstehung*, 116.

41 Stefan Troebst, *Isfahan—Moscow—Amsterdam. Zur Entstehungsgeschichte des moskauischen Transitprivilegs für die Armenische Handelskompanie in Persien (1666–1676)*. *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas* 41 (1993): 195–205.

42 Troebst, *Isfahan*, 77; Hermann Kellenbenz, *Marchands en Russie aux XVII<sup>e</sup>–XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècles*. In *Europa, Raum wirtschaftlicher Begegnung. Kleine Schriften I*, Hermann Kellenbenz (ed.). Stuttgart: Steiner, 1991, 213.

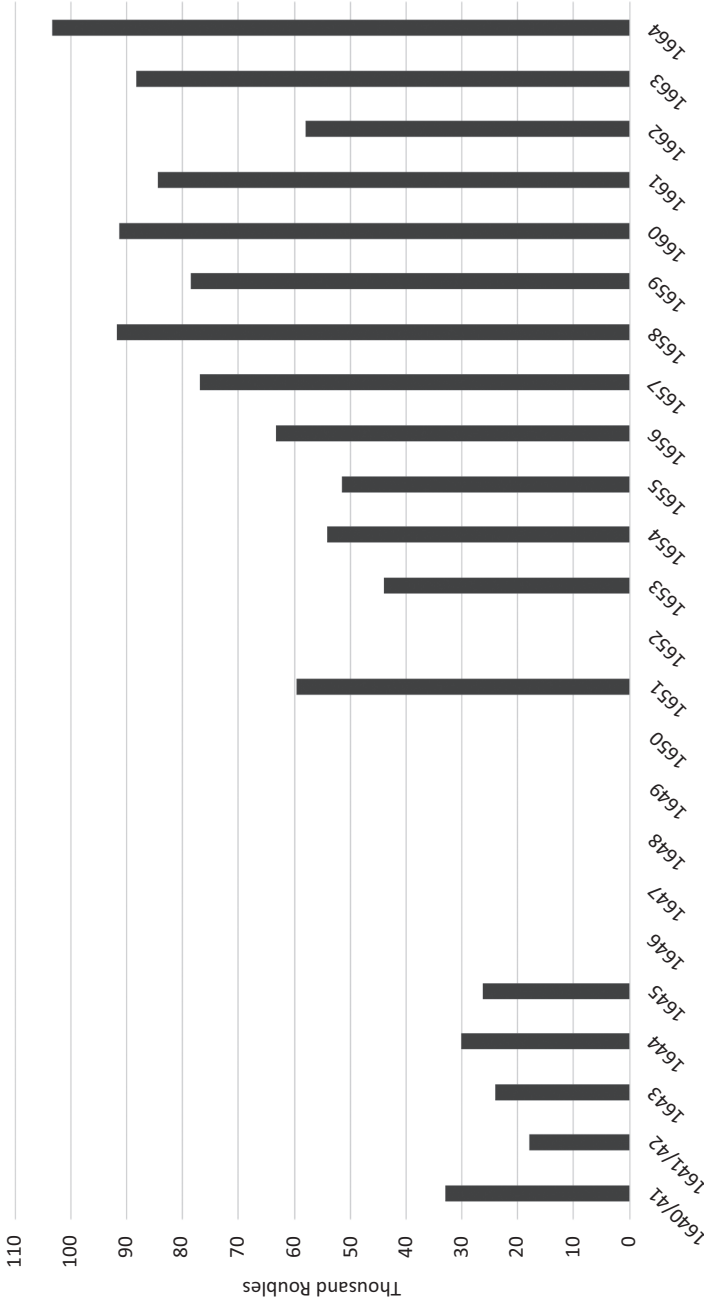


Fig. 2: Toll revenues at the Arkhangelsk Fairs, 1640/41 to 1664, per thousand roubles.<sup>43</sup>

<sup>43</sup> Stefan Troebst. *Handelskontrolle, "Derivation", Eindämmung. Schwedische Moskaupolitik 1617–1661*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1997, 535.

the early eighteenth century.”<sup>44</sup> This fair policy, which was primarily oriented towards the Baltic Sea region, was also directed by a magistrate’s ordinance of 1721 to further increase the number of fairs in the country, especially in those places where it was necessary to transfer from water to land transport and vice versa. As a result, it should be noted that due to the rise of Saint Petersburg and the economic expansion of its hinterland, Makarev became the largest Eurasian fair in Russia even before the end of the Great Northern War (1700–1721). When the Vyshni Volochok canal between the Msta and Tverza rivers north of Tver and the Volga and Neva river systems was completed in 1722, goods from the Urals or Astrakhan could reach Saint Petersburg by water via the Makarev fairs, which further increased the already significant importance of these fairs.<sup>45</sup>

In the late seventeenth century, in addition to numerous locally or at best regionally important fairs, a good half dozen can be considered great annual markets or even fairs. In addition to the fairs in Makarev, these were the ‘maritime fairs’ in Arkhangelsk, then the great annual markets at the Svinsky Monastery or in Azov, in Tikhvin, Irbit, and Smolensk, which were particularly singled out due to their high relevance in Tsarist tax legislation between 1684 and 1700 or through privileges. In this context, the two fairs in Tikhvin (13 January–13 February and *velikij post* in Lent), which were privileged in 1607 and 1622, and the one in Smolensk were seen as exchange points for contact with neighbouring Swedes and Poles respectively, while Svinsk and Azov were seen as gateways to central Asia. Makarev and Irbit were regarded as starting points for trade with Siberia and China, especially since the Russian-Chinese Treaty of Nerchinsk (27 August 1689) had provided for the establishment of regular trade relations, as a result of which trading posts were then established on both sides of the Russian-Chinese border in Kyakhtha and May-Ma-Chen. Further, the network of annual markets in Siberia, where local markets had been held along the land and water routes since the Russian land seizure in the sixteenth century, became increasingly dense in the course of the seventeenth century and especially after 1689.<sup>46</sup>

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44 Scheltjens, North-Eurasian Fairs, 337.

45 Scheltjens, North-Eurasian Fairs, 338–339.

46 Scheltjens, North-Eurasian Fairs, 336–337. The Treaty of Nerchinsk is discussed in detail in C. Bickford O’Brien. *Russia under two Tsars 1682–1689: The Regency of Sophia Alekseevna*. Berkeley, Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1952, 105–124 (trade relations, in particular, are discussed at 119). See also Michal Wanner. First Russian-Chinese Diplomatic and Business Relationship 1689–1728. *Prague Papers on the History of International Relations* 17:2 (2013): 66–76.

## The specific nature of annual markets and fairs in eastern Europe

The overview of Polish and Muscovite market opportunities shows a certain variety of types, which would be even richer if one were to include the markets of the Ottoman Empire, which extended far to the south. The functionality of the east-central, eastern, and southeastern European markets was in many respects similar to that of the western European markets and fairs: the catchment area of the individual markets could be local, regional, supra-regional, or international, and they served as trans-shipment centres for goods, money, and information, as centres of communication and cultural exchange, and as points of attraction for a usually comparatively large number of people of different origins, cultures, and religions. However, common to the large market opportunities of western Europe, the fairs of eastern Europe also had their border market function, which also played an essential role here in all centuries for the topographical location of larger markets. They functioned as border markets between economic areas of different levels of development, and as such contributed in the long term to the rapprochement and integration of these economic areas. They could also function, albeit not regularly, as credit markets for merchants and other private individuals, albeit to a much lesser extent than was the case in western Europe.

However, there is another specific aspect: the eastern European markets or fairs, however large they might be and however many people they might attract, were not centres of cashless payment transactions or extensive state financing, at least not until the late eighteenth century. They were and always remained commodity markets or commodity fairs. Commodity trade in whatever goods constituted the core business at all these markets, while money and credit transactions had at best an accompanying function—that is, supporting commodity trade. This is a (if not *the*) fundamental difference with the western European fairs where, starting with the Fairs in Champagne and culminating in the Bisenzone fairs, an increasing specialisation towards cashless payment transactions and international credit business in the sense of a European high finance can be observed.

Nevertheless, the question remains to be discussed whether the larger of these markets were fairs in the full sense of the word, which is the assumption of previous literature, especially in the English language. How can these periodic markets of eastern Europe be defined terminologically? Market events in eastern Europe generally lack two essential characteristics of fairs: firstly, there is no cashless payment system pointing beyond the market, so that the markets, however large, would not have represented a money or capital market or even a central element of state financing; secondly, in none of these markets was trade between merchants

the dominant one, but rather between wholesalers and retailers or even end consumers. This also explains the very large numbers of visitors to these fairs as compared to western European markets or fairs, which could reach several tens of thousands, even hundreds of thousands of people per event at the great annual markets in this region. Therefore, the range of goods on offer was not limited to long-distance trade or commercial goods, but also regularly included livestock and agricultural products from the immediate surroundings. Further, this finding applies not only to the many small annual markets, but also and especially to the large fairs, which were often referred to as ‘commodity fairs’ in the habitual language use of the nineteenth century in order to characterise their rather limited function compared to the western European fair tradition. Examples include the Polish annual markets of the eighteenth century, where the minor nobility sold their agricultural products or had them sold and stocked up on consumer goods. In addition, a high degree of internationality can be postulated for fairs, at least in the western European tradition, which can be regularly proven at the large fairs from Champagne to the Bisenzone.

In order to escape the terminological difficulties resulting from these considerations, Manfred Straube proposed the term ‘great annual markets’ (*Große Märkte*) primarily in the case of Leipzig<sup>47</sup> (which until the eighteenth century had only a rather small number of international guests) in order to emphasise not only the supra-regional relevance of the Leipzig markets on the one hand, but on the other hand also to refer to their (still) non-existent internationality and their lack of function as an international capital and financial market. The concept of a great annual market seems extremely suitable to characterise this intermediate position between regionally important markets, which existed in abundance in almost all European countries, and the large fairs with their international visitor, goods and payment traffic, and the resulting capital and financial market. Understood in this way, however, the supra-regionally important markets of eastern Europe in particular can be characterised as great annual markets. At best, the term ‘fair’ seems appropriate for the markets of Makarev in the late seventeenth century and the sea fairs of Arkhangelsk. Makarev developed into a centre of ‘international’ exchange between European Russia and the central Asian countries in the last decades of the seventeenth century—not before!—and thus had by far the widest catchment area of all the Muscovite great annual markets, but remained a genuine commodity fair throughout. As a seaport, Arkhangelsk was

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47 Manfred Straube. *Geleitswesen und Warenverkehr im thüringisch-sächsischen Raum zu Beginn der Frühen Neuzeit*. Cologne, Weimar, Vienna: Böhlau, 2015, 11; Manfred Straube. Aktuelle Fragen der deutschen und internationalen Messegeschichte. In *Europäische Messegeschichte*, Denzel (ed.), 19–20.

*per se* a place of international exchange, but its ‘fairs’ were not the typical, precisely timed, periodically held market events, but extended over the entire summer months, as long as shipping across the White Sea was possible. Thus, the term ‘fair’ seems to be of rather limited use for these two fairs and only partially comparable to western European market events of this type.

Perhaps this differentiation, which the German language in particular allows—or even provokes—may be perceived as artificial and subtle, and it may not be so decisive for the understanding whether a large market of supra-regional relevance is called a ‘trade fair’ or only an ‘annual market.’ However, such a differentiation can sharpen the view of the different types of fairs and make it clear that a pure commodity fair (such as Makarev) had a very different character than a highly specialised exchange fair of high finance (as was the case in Bisenzone). There were many mixed forms in between, at which the different branches of business were represented in diverse combinations and which made up the individual character of the respective fair.

## **Conclusion: The trade fair system east of Leipzig and Leipzig’s function in it**

While the ‘long’ sixteenth century in western Europe marks the climax of the international fair system with several innovations in the money and credit sector, in eastern Europe, the actual phase of the upswing and heyday of the great annual markets only began in this century, initially in the area of the Polish-Lithuanian Union (since 1569) with its connections to Russia and the Black Sea region. This topographical concentration shows a new geographical orientation of the European annual market and fair trade: if the medieval annual market systems and the later fairs in western Europe mediated primarily between south and north or vice versa—between Italy or Spain and northwestern Europe—the main axis of the annual market and fair trade in eastern Europe changed from west to east and vice versa from the sixteenth century onwards. In the south-north traffic between the Mediterranean region and the emerging region of northwestern Europe, fairs and great annual markets had become more and more obsolete after the level of economic development of the different economic areas had converged and the commercial intercourse had been increasingly taken over by sea transport between the Mediterranean ports and those of the Atlantic coast or the North Sea, not least in the wake of the numerous land wars of the sixteenth century in this region. Even though in eastern Europe, in the Baltic Sea region, sea transport between west and east was also increasingly com-

mon, this only applied to the northern route which, if one wanted to sail to the Atlantic, was also made more expensive by the Sound toll. As a result, land trade in eastern-central Europe, which was conducted via fairs and markets, was able to survive even over long distances into the nineteenth century and for much longer than was the case for most goods in western Europe.

Thus, “[the] early modern trade fair and annual market system [. . .] was characterised by a renewed east-west shift,”<sup>48</sup> and this development is closely linked to Leipzig’s rise in becoming an international trade fair city. With the re-orientation of European trade routes in the sixteenth century and the increasing importance of Polish annual markets as transit hubs, Leipzig began to replace Frankfurt am Main as the western starting point of this trading system. In this function, Leipzig became the most successful commodity fair in Germany until well into the nineteenth century and survived much longer than its German competitors in the Holy Roman Empire. However, Leipzig was not only the western gateway to trade via Warsaw, Brody,<sup>49</sup> and Berdichev into the vastness of the Russian area, but from the eighteenth century onwards, increasingly also to the southwest via Vienna and then Belgrade or Braşov (Kronstadt) into the regions of the Serbian, Wallachian, Moldovan, and Bulgarian merchants trading in Leipzig under the name of ‘Greeks,’<sup>50</sup> as well as occasionally even the Armenian diaspora in the western Balkans<sup>51</sup>—that is, in the broadest sense, into the Ottoman sphere of influence, be it to either Skopje and Salonika or to Bucharest, Rusčuk (Ruse), and Constantinople and from there further into the Levant or as far as Egypt (Cairo).<sup>52</sup> Via Leipzig, the great annual markets of eastern Europe in particular were connected to the central European trade routes and structures. The connec-

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48 Michael Rothmann. Überall ist Jahrmarkt und Entwicklungstendenzen der Institution des periodischen Marktes in Zentraleuropa vom 14. bis zum 17. Jahrhundert. In *Fiere e mercati nella integrazione delle economie europee, secc. XIII–XVIII*, Simonetta Cavaciocchi (ed.). Florence: Le Monnier, 2001, 106.

49 Katharina Middell. Brody, Leipzig, Lyon: Europäische Handelsbeziehungen und ihre Träger (1770–1820). In *Leipzig, Mitteleuropa und Europa. Festgabe für Manfred Straube und Manfred Unger zum 70. Geburtstag*, Hartmut Zwahr, Uwe Schirmer, Henning Steinführer (eds.). Beucha: Sax, 2000, 531–533.

50 Virginia Paskaleva. Economic and Cultural Relations of Bulgaria with the City of Leipzig from the End of the 18th Century to the Russo-Turkish War of 1877/78. *Yearbook of History of the USSR and the People’s Democratic Countries of Europe* 6 (1962): 392, note 13. See also Gheron Netta. *Die Handelsbeziehungen zwischen Leipzig und Ost- und Südosteuropa bis zum Verfall der Warenmessen*. Zürich: Univ. Diss., 1920, 41.

51 See Olga Katsiardi-Hering. Commerce and Merchants in Southeastern Europe, 17th–18th Centuries: ‘Micro-Districts’ and Regions. *Études balkaniques* 51:1 (2015): 19–35.

52 Paskaleva, Economic and Cultural Relations, 394.

tion of the larger periodic markets of eastern Europe via the Leipzig fairs was thus one of the decisive criteria of the European trade fair system since the sixteenth century and reached its peak in the later eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

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