

## Some Aspects of the Formation of Urban Elites: The Case of Medieval Gradec (Zagreb)\*

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This research focuses on those Gradec citizens who were elected to administrative functions since these were held by the richest and most distinguished citizens. They constituted the political elite of the city as there was only a thin line between the economic, social and political elites in Gradec. This paper deals with many aspects and elements that played a role in the formation of the urban elite, elements such as family ties, wealth, moral values, piety, education and membership of the nobility.

Keywords: Urban Elite. Medieval Gradec (Zagreb). Prosopography. Town Offices.

### Introduction

Medieval Zagreb was divided into two independent communities: Gradec or Grič (in sources Grez or Mons Grecensis) founded in 1242 after the Mongol invasion, while the other part (the Chapter of Zagreb) remained the centre of the Zagreb diocese founded at the end of the eleventh century. These two towns were legally separate, with different types of government. The head of the chapter was the bishop, followed by numerous officials of the diocese and chapter, while Gradec had its own judiciary and autonomous administration based on King Bela's privilege.<sup>1</sup> The chapter had many more characteristics of a privately owned municipality despite having its own urban settlement situated near the cathedral (called Vicus Latinorum), but this settlement was much smaller than Gradec and it was subjected to a Bishop. However, the diocesan centre and cathedral chapter with *locus credibilis* and Franciscan, Cistercian and Dominican monasteries certainly had an impact on the urban development of Gradec and on the everyday medieval life. Given the fact that Gradec had the highest king's privilege, town walls, its own court with *ius gladii*, well-developed crafts and trade, it is no wonder that many historians are still more interested in Gradec for their scientific investigations of the medieval city.

So, from 1242 Gradec had the status of a free royal town, which means that it enjoyed the highest degree of autonomy in its internal legal and political order among the towns and cities of the medieval Hungarian Kingdom. The head of the municipality was the town judge, and there were jurors and councillors holding posts of executive and judiciary power. This paper focuses precisely on those citizens who held such higher administrative offices, since they were chosen from among the wealthiest and most prominent citizens, and since they, as the carriers of urban sovereignty, had the main judiciary and executive power, made decisions on behalf of the entire municipality, and created the town's politics. Even though scholars have used various names for this group of people, such as municipal oligarchy, aristocracy or even patriciate, it has recently become common to use the term "urban elite", even though it is very general

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<sup>1</sup> The Chapter of Zagreb was primarily an ecclesiastical institution but later became also a toponym for the bishop's town of Zagreb. This toponym (Kaptol) has been preserved even today and it is commonly used by Croatian historians for the area of Zagreb that was under the bishop's rule.

and need not as such be linked exclusively to administrative offices. Regarding the fact that Gradec was a town of the Central European type, and therefore lacked a closed group that would continuously hold all public and administrative posts as was the case in the communal cities of the Adriatic, the term "urban elite" is nevertheless the most appropriate name for the group of men ruling over medieval Gradec. Of course, besides the urban political elite, there was also a social and economic elite (of priests, notaries, influential noblemen and the like) which could have an indirect and informal influence on the city's magistrature, but this research will focus primarily on the members of the magistrature – judges, jurors and councillors – as they certainly made up the most significant part of the urban elite in general. Furthermore, membership in the town magistrature is a clear criterion and indicator for identifying a citizen as a member of the urban elite. Also, it should be pointed out that it was very rare that a citizen with prominent status in the town community was not at least present in the town council for one year. It could even be declared that in a relatively small town, those who were part of the economic elite of the town were also considered to be members of the social elite of the town, and a person that was considered to be a member of the social elite consequently became a member of the political elite.<sup>2</sup> In this instance, discussion of theoretical approaches regarding both the term elite in general and historical perspectives on the urban elite more specifically will be skipped.<sup>3</sup>

This paper is mainly based on the doctoral thesis *Urbane Elite of Gradec (Zagreb) from the 14th to the beginning of the 16th century* which was published in 2018.<sup>4</sup> I primarily used the prosopographical method of research in comparison with the results of modern scientific papers. Prosopography has been defined as "the investigation of the common background characteristics of a group" and it is still considered to be a very good and effective methodology for the investigation of the complex systems like cities, ecclesiastical institutions, various social and political movements, etc.<sup>5</sup> However, prosopography *per se* does not deliver us all the information that we would wish to examine, especially not for the medieval period, as the sources (if there are any) are often scanty, revealing just limited data. Therefore, the outcome of prosopographical research has to be put into a historical context by using specific scientific literature as well.

The period covered is basically determined by the extant archival records. The first significant piece of information about the structure of the society of Gradec is found in the court records of Gradec (1355), while records of property deeds began to appear after 1384.<sup>6</sup> Court files also contain the full list of the town magistrature's members;

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2 This article deals only with those members of the town's elite who participated in the magistrature, as the main political elite. The main urban elite outside the magistrature were the members of the nobility and clergy, who also might have had an influence on the town magistrature.

3 The classical elite theory was established by Gaetano Mosca, Vilfredo Pareto and Robert Michels around the end of the nineteenth century and in the first half of the twentieth century. An extended historiographical overview of the theory of elites can be found in: Carpenter, *The Formation of Urban Elites*, 1–40. It is also worth mentioning the review of elite theory in the context of the medieval period written by Martyn Rady. See: RADY, Foreword, IX–XV.

4 ŠKREBLIN, *Urbana elita zagrebačkog Gradeca*. The dissertation was published by the Croatian Institute of History in 2018.

5 STONE, *Prosopography*, 46. Also see: CARPENTER, *The formation of Urban Elites*, 41–42.

6 Documents from the royal and chapter chancellery and other diplomatic materials pertaining to Gradec and the town's court and property documents were transcribed and edited by Ivan Krstitelj Tkalčić in the series

unfortunately many lists of officials were not preserved.<sup>7</sup> However, it was often possible to identify the person in the seat of judge from other documents that in many cases revealed who was the *judex modernus*. This research ends with the first quarter of the sixteenth century, due to the fact that new political and social conditions and circumstances appeared after 1526.

### Town magistrature and the election process

Only fully fledged citizens (*cives*) could become members of the magistrature, and only they could elect delegates into the magistrature. The main precondition for obtaining citizenship was to own land the size of at least a quarter *curiae*.<sup>8</sup> Additional conditions for citizenship included exemplary life, prolonged residence in the town in case of newcomers (probably one year as a minimum), and Christian faith, which meant that Jews, for example, could not become fully fledged citizens. Of course, as in other medieval towns and cities, a newcomer who wanted to become a fully fledged citizen had to take an oath (*coniuratio*) and pay a certain fee. The core of the urban elite was in the fully fledged citizens, as citizenship was the main precondition for entering the magistrature. For further political success, one also needed an adequate reputation in the urban community, a relatively good financial status, and also aspirations for political engagement, which may not have been the case with all wealthy citizens. But, it is interesting to note that the municipal code of Buda did not look benevolently at such persons and defined sanctions for those citizens who refused a public office thrice in a row.<sup>9</sup> Gradec had an estimated population of 3,000 in the mid-fourteenth century, but if we exclude women, children and inhabitants with no citizenship, we might speculate that there were only several hundred full citizens who could qualify for some of the town offices.<sup>10</sup>

It seems that Gradec did not have its own statute or law book to prescribe precise regulations for the election of the town offices. The citizens primarily relied on the main Béla privilege of 1242 which, regarding town offices, only states that the citizens are allowed to choose their leader from "wherever" ("*undecumque*"), but that they have to present this elected judge for confirmation to the King.<sup>11</sup> But, the second Béla privilege of 1266 puts it more specifically: municipal offices could not be held by those citizens who were accused of false testimony or libel: "*Sane, si quis in calumnia vel falso testimonio manifeste convictus fuerit vel etiam deprehensus, ne cin iudicem vel eius assessorem seu consiliarium deinceps admittatur*".<sup>12</sup> The Statute of Ilok, which is largely based on that of Buda from 1405, mostly mentions the moral qualities required of judges and other municipal functionaries:

*Povjestni spomenici slob. kralj. grad. Zagreba. Monumenta historica liberae regiae civitatis Zagrabiae.* Vol. 1–11, Zagreb, 1889–1905 (hereafter MCZ).

7 In the fourteenth century the full lists of officials were preserved only for the following years: 1377, 1382, 1385, 1388, 1389, 1390 and 1391. In the fifteenth century there are no preserved lists until 1413, nor between 1424 and 1430.

8 MCZ 6, 199.

9 RADY, *Medieval Buda*, 88.

10 KRIVOŠIĆ, *Zagreb*, 63–69.

11 Royal privilege see: MCZ 1, 15–18. For a manuscript analysis of the privilege, see: BARBARIĆ, *Diplomatičko značenje*, 11–19.

12 MCZ 1, 42.

Likewise, judges and jurors should be pious men of good reputation, righteous in their behaviour and their deeds, and they should have God before their eyes, judge in respect of God, discuss things in honour and great respect rather than mockery, and be able to tell justice to everyone according to his needs, with right and dignity. They should never be men of faulty reputation or traitors of their brethren or innocent people because of flattery flustered by their rogue counsellors. They should not be calumniators or mockers of either sexes, or per jurors. They should not be rebellious against the Church or have dishonoured either clerics or laymen, or dishonest persons who are constantly in contact with evil and fraudulence in either word or deed. Moreover, such or similar persons should not have any access to the council.<sup>13</sup>

In other words, moral integrity was required and expected of all higher municipal officeholders.

Before we continue, it has to be stressed that Ilok was located in Hungary proper, while Gradec was located in Slavonia. Furthermore, Ilok was a private town (under the supreme rule of the nobleman), while Gradec was a free royal town under the supreme rule of the office of *tavernicus*. However, Ilok accepted the so called "Laws and customs of the Seven Cities" (later eight) which was strongly modelled on the Statute of Buda (*Ofen Stadtrecht*).<sup>14</sup> The tavernical court primarily relied on the customary practice of Buda, especially after the royal law of 1405 (*Decretum minus*).<sup>15</sup> For this reason, the law principles in the Statute of Ilok and Stadtrecht were also important legal sources for the town of Gradec.

The municipal offices of judges, jurors and councillors were not paid, which also made it impossible for some craftsmen or merchants to dedicate themselves to the service. This particularly concerned the offices of judges and jurors, as they demanded far more involvement than that of a councillor. In some cases, a judge could only count on a part of the revenues from communal fines.

The city magistrature was elected on the feast day of St Blasius (3 February) each year. Tkalčić was of the opinion that the elections took place either at the town hall or in the square in front of St Mark's church, and that they were performed orally.<sup>16</sup> It seems that in Gradec all fully fledged citizens participated in the elections. There is no evidence for a special election council in charge of the task as was the case in Buda, Sibiu, Cluj and Ilok, where a group of a hundred citizens (*centum viri, centum personae*) appointed judges and jurors.<sup>17</sup> As for the procedure, the Statute of Ilok says the following:

13 "...Item quod Judex et Jurati Cives, eligantur deifici, et bone fame, in omnibus moribus et factis compositi, deum pre oculis suis habentes, Judicium faciant cum honore dei, causas discutientes cum magno honore, magnaque reuerencia, non cum derisione, vt vnique secundum exigenciam causarum suarum, meram et condignam iusticiam impendere valeant. Non sint amissi honoris, non proditores suorum fratrum, aut proditores rerum innocentum pro blandimento suarum susurracionum nequiciosarum. Non detractores et derisores vtriusque sexus, non periuri. Non Ecclesiam turbantes. Non detrahentes honoribus spiritualum et secularium non reprobi, palpantes indesinenter verbis et factis iniqua et inhonesta. Immo tale set consimiles nec in consilium introundi debent." SCHMIDT, Statut Grada Iloka, book I, chapter 2.

14 RADY, Government of Medieval Buda, 319.

15 The law book of Buda was published in: MOLLAY, Das Ofner Stadtrecht.

16 MCZ 1, LIV.

17 On Buda, see: RADY, Medieval Buda, 109. On Cluj and Sibiu, see: Flòra, "From decent stock", 215.

Thus, first of all, a hundred adequate persons shall be appointed before the election of the judge and the jurors. These hundred persons will gather on the feast day of St George in the court (and they will be summoned individually by means of notes). Once they have gathered, two persons shall be elected among them. One will take a tablet and chalk and have three or four names written down, or more, and then they should go from man to man and ask each of them whom he wanted to have as the judge, listing the names that the jurors have indicated. The man holding the tablet should immediately make a mark next to the name. The man who thus obtains most chalk marks should be appointed the judge in voice, word and act, and in the same manner, in unison, celebration and honour, the appointed judge should be accompanied to his house. The judge appointed by the municipality has the power to select two jurors at his will, those whom he likes. Other citizen-jurors to the number of twelve should be elected by an assembly of one hundred adequate men.<sup>18</sup>

In Gradec, as in many other Central European cities and towns, the judge's office was the highest and most important. As defined by the very function, his primary task was to adjudicate on conflicts and penal trials, but due to the great number of cases and other duties that the judges had to perform, many trials were held and decided by the jurors. Furthermore, difficult cases were decided by the judges and jurors together.<sup>19</sup> The judge did not have to be the citizen who was most knowledgeable in legal norms and customs: thus, Rady mentions the case of medieval Pozsony, where the judge could freely consult with other citizens concerning legal issues.<sup>20</sup> The judge managed all the operations performed by the municipal administration, as well as its finances, and was the main representative of the municipality. Nada Klaić argued that, starting from the fifteenth century, the town judge was far more preoccupied with finances than with court trials.<sup>21</sup> According to a royal decree of 1405, the judge presided over the elections, proclaimed the decrees issued by the king and other dignitaries, and took care that the decisions of the magistrature were implemented.<sup>22</sup> Even though his mandate was limited to one year, the office in itself was a lifelong one as senior judges (*senior iudices, antiquae iudices*) served as the judicial court of the second degree. In records for the period of 1377–1437, senior judges and jurors are often found in the magistrature as councillors with the phrase "*condam iudex*" or "*condam juratus*" added to their names, but in 1437 this practice was abolished. During the entire medieval

18 "*Eligantur itaque primo et principaliter centum persone idonee ante electionem Judicis et Juratorum, que quidem centum persone in die festi beati Georgi martiris, insimul (ipsis nominatis cedulis missis) ad pretorium vnum congregentur, quibus congregatis, inter easdem due persone eligantur, quarum vna tabulam recipiat et aut plurium, et sic de vna persona ad aliam eatur, quamlibet personam interrogando, quem habere velit in iudicem, et quotcumque nomina Jurati, in tabula scriptum nominauerint, statim ille tabulam tenens, ex oppositione nominis in tabula scripti, facia vnum tractum cum creta, et sic super quam personam maior fors, vel tractus crete ceciderit, talis in Iudicem eleuetur, voce, verbo, et facto parique forma, ac vnanimi voluntate, ipsum electum Iudicem, cum solennitate et honorifice ad domum suam per populum, vel cum populo societur et conducat. Item quod Idem Iudex sic per communitatem electus, libertatem habeat duos Juratos eligere ad sui libitum, et libertatem sibi placitos. Reliquos vero Juratos cives, vsque ad numerum duodecim, prescripte centum Idonee persone tenetur eligere."* SCHMIDT, Statut Grada Iloka, book I, chapter 50.

19 Apostolova-Maršavelski, Kazneno i procesno pravo, 81.

20 RADY, Medieval Buda, 49.

21 KLAJĆ, Zagreb, 243.

22 BEUC, Povijest institucija, 132.

period, the judges of Gradec could not be elected to the same office immediately after the end of their mandate; in other words, some time had to pass before a citizen could be re-appointed to the post of judge. In the period when the magistrature was divided into languages groups (1377–1436), this passage of time was at least four years for a judge in charge of any one language, because the magistrature was shared between the four languages of the Slavs, Germans, Latins and Hungarians.<sup>23</sup>

Jurors were sworn citizens who helped the judge perform the tasks in hand. As for Gradec, before the reform of the magistrature in 1609, there were regularly eight jurors.<sup>24</sup> The jurors often presided over trials, either together with the judge or independently, and they could also give verdicts. Besides judicial functions, jurors were entrusted with various other tasks: they cared for the adequate implementation of municipal decisions concerning trade, maintenance of public space, and various other affairs concerning everyday life. Two jurors took care of peace and order during the grand fair (*custos treugarum*). There were several cases of jurors' names appearing in consecutive years, which means that their office was not limited to a single year like that of the judge. From 1472, there was also an office called the "dean of the jurors", which implied that someone presided over them. Even though it is difficult to say that with absolute certainty, it is very probable that in Gradec some jurors were also appointed by the newly elected judge, as is stated in the Statute of Ilok. In medieval Varaždin, the judge would appoint his twelve jurors and the municipality another twelve.<sup>25</sup> The office of councillor was not limited to a single year either. According to a decree of 1383, an individual's political career was likely to begin with that very office. In 1383 the town magistrature decided that a person could become a member of the city council only if he had been a citizen for at least three years.<sup>26</sup>

In the period of 1377–1436, senior judges are often found among the councillors. However, in 1437, when the division according to languages was abolished, the changes also put an end to this practice; that is, the function of the councillors became more separated from those of the jurors or judges.<sup>27</sup> In the seventeenth century, it was decreed that the councillors should meet four times a year, summoned by the judge.<sup>28</sup> It is, of course, difficult to say whether the practice was introduced as early as the Middle Ages, but we have already indicated that the councillor's function was certainly less demanding than the other two. It has often been stated that the number of councillors was twenty, or twenty-four after the reform of 1437. However, their number often varied in the fifteenth century.<sup>29</sup>

23 For more on the linguistic division of the town magistrature see: ŠKREBLIN, *Etničke i političke skupine*, 91–148. ŠKREBLIN, *Ethnic groups*, 25–59. BUDAK – KANIŽAJ – VOREL, *Kolonije stranaca*, 79–83.

24 For more on the reform of 1609 and its consequences see: BUDAK, *Gradske oligarhije*, 89–109.

25 TANODI, *Uprava grada Varaždina*, 253. This would imply that the city magistrature of medieval Varaždin consisted only of the town judge and the jurors, that is, that there were no councillors as in Gradec. It seems jurors were actually councillors (*rathern*) at the same time.

26 MCZ 5, 187.

27 In 1457, there was a *Johannes judex* among the councillors in the magistrature. This could have been Ivan Bolšak or Ivan Perović. However, this was the only case of a former judge being among the councillors again. Cf. MCZ 7, 121.

28 DOBRONIĆ, *Slobodni i kraljevski grad*, 96.

29 Thus, in 1416 and 1417, there were 22 councillors, while in 1419 and 1421 there were 23. After the reform, the number of councillors continued to fluctuate: in 1441, there were 26 and in 1448, there were 29. In 1464,

Other, lower offices subjected to the city magistrature included those of: the city captain (*capetaneus*), who oversaw the city walls, the armoury and the guards, and who was the main military commander in case of a siege; the castellan (*castellanus* or *porkolab*) in charge of the vigils, the prisons and the order of opening or closing the city gate; the herald (*preco*), who proclaimed publicly municipal decisions, and probably also served as a courier; and the "invigilator" (*vigilator*), who cared for public peace and order during the night. The tax collector (*tributarius*) collected property tax and was subjected to a treasurer (*conductor et comes proventum*), of whom we shall say more later on. Another important function was that of the city notary (*notarius*). Notaries belonged to an educated part of the city elite and often represented the municipality in conflicts or were sent on missions to the palatine or the king, or to the assembly of the Zagreb County. The aforementioned "lower" municipal functions could pave the way for a person to enter the magistrature, even for those citizens whose status would have never allowed them to join the city elite in another way.<sup>30</sup> The performance of such lower yet important tasks could also help a citizen enter the magistrature, at least as a councillor, as is evident from the case of the Gradec tax collector (*tributaries* who collected the royal tax called *dacia regis*) Valentin, who had that duty in 1442 and 1445.<sup>31</sup>

Having analysed all of the town records, we have concluded that at least 94 citizens served as judges between 1350 and 1525. This number is certainly not precise, and should not be taken as final, but as the sources are scanty, it is impossible to obtain an accurate number. In any case, within the researched period of 175 years (1350–1525), not more than 100 different citizens held the office of judge. As a matter of fact, many judges held the office only once, yet there were many who were elected several times in a row. Mihael Oprašnić was a judge seven times and Emerik Mikulić six times.<sup>32</sup> In the fifteenth century, Valentin Šaronić, Martin Tomić and Konrad Rawsar served as judges five times each.<sup>33</sup> Earlier, Ivan, son of Pavao, had five mandates, and Cion, son of Ivan, four. Even though it is rather probable that they held an additional mandate each, it is impossible to say that with certainty as the following period lacks in sources, which is why we must leave this number as final.

Despite the scantiness of sources, one may conclude that most judges had previously held the office of jurors, and that their careers, to the extent one may judge from the sources, typically began with the office of councillor, although there is evidence that some citizens appeared directly in the office of juror, skipping the function of councillor.<sup>34</sup> Thus, one may argue that the judge was commonly elected from among the citizens that had served as jurors previously, as implied by the Statute of Ilok. This does not mean that the judges were necessarily elected from those who had been

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there were 19, and only a year later as many as 33. Cf. MCZ 6, 29–30 and 43–44. MCZ 6, 342–343 and 453–454. MCZ 7, 248–249 and 265–266.

30 CARPENTER, *The formation of Urban Elites*, 51.

31 For Valentin *tributarius* see: MCZ 6, 360, 415.

32 This trend continued into the 16<sup>th</sup> century. Apparently, the judge's office was becoming increasingly limited to the narrow circle of the urban elite.

33 With Rawsar, we have also counted the mandate in which he replaced the deceased Roth in 1467, and with Tomić his mandate of 1448, even though the counts of Celje deposed him after only a few months of service.

34 Thus, Gašpar Kušević and Feliks Petančić did not hold the juror's post before they became judges, and perhaps one may add Ivan Pastor and the Požegaj brothers to this group. Antun, son of Toma, and Dominik Perović started their career directly with the juror's office.

jurors in the previous year, but that they had to have held that post in order to become eligible for that of the judge. It can also be observed that, after the end of the judicial mandate, they never returned to the juror's office, but only to the councillor's. This is, however, valid only for the period before 1436, as the practice was discontinued in the following year. The same is valid for the former jurors, who never returned to the councillor's office after 1437. In other words, the reform of 1437, besides abolishing the division by languages and increasing the number of councillors, contributed to the differentiation of municipal offices.

It is also important to stress that holding the function of juror did not ultimately grant the highest function of judge. Citizens like Friche, Jacomell Italicus or Wolfgang held the position of juror for many years but never achieved the highest office. On the other hand, judges had not usually held the office of juror for a long period of time, in many cases having been jurors for only one year. So, one can even get the impression that the future judges tended to hold office as jurors just as a stepping stone to a higher position while, on the other side, it is evident that for some citizens the office of juror was the highest office they could reach.

### Family Ties

In the previous section, we described certain phenomena and features of the city magistrature that could be observed by analysing its structure. However, holding prominent offices actually resulted from one's previously gained reputation in the urban community, and regarding the fact that belonging to an important kinship group or family ensured prominence and high social status, scholarly analysis of urban elites is nowadays unimaginable without analysis of the familial origins of their members.

Of course, family as the basic social group was highly important in medieval towns, in all urban groups including the elites. It was also expected that members of the urban elite should be married and have their own families. A younger councillor, son of a distinguished father, could perhaps remain a bachelor for a while, but further promotion to the functions of juror and town judge was hardly possible were he not to get married.<sup>35</sup> This was particularly so for a newcomer, whose marriage to a citizen woman actually guaranteed his integration into the society. Evidence of this is found in the municipal records of 1699:

Citizens, guild masters, craftsmen and municipal representatives who may not be married yet, are to marry within half a year for the sake of honour, status and reputation, otherwise they may be deposed from their office and incur shame and a fee of 25 Hungarian florins.<sup>36</sup>

Somewhat earlier, in 1635, the town issued a similar regulation:

Wealthy young men who live with women illegally must marry them before the following Ash Wednesday, otherwise they will have to pay a fee of 100 golden coins. The poor ones will have to suffer punishment as decreed by the city magistrature. Those who refuse to obey will have their workshops and shops

<sup>35</sup> Of course, this rule probably was not valid if the citizen in the magistrature was prominent and esteemed, yet remained a widower.

<sup>36</sup> DOBRONIĆ, *Slobodni i kraljevski grad*, 110.



closed, and will be prohibited from engaging in trade until they have completely subjected themselves to this regulation.<sup>37</sup>

Even though these decrees date from the early modern period, similar expectations and rules were typical of medieval Gradec as well. In a regulation referring to the guild of furriers in the Statute of Ilok, each new member had to guarantee, together with honourable men, that he would legally marry and become a family father within a year.<sup>38</sup>

Another important aspect of the family for members of the urban elite was the fact that family ties were almost regularly made within the same or similar status. This is also manifest in cases of entering a second marriage after the death of the first partner. An important role in establishing such links was certainly played by professional confraternities and guilds. Thus, Article 18 of the Statute of Križevci for the guild of spurriers, locksmiths, blacksmiths and road workers ran as follows: "If a married master dies, the others will send a skilful apprentice to the widow in order to run the business, but both must remain chaste. If the widow should marry a master from a different trade, this apprentice will be sent away."<sup>39</sup> Another article says the following: "If an apprentice marries the master's widow, or a master's son takes a master's daughter while serving as an apprentice... they must pay a florin and a half into the guild's treasury."<sup>40</sup> This was only half of the usual tax, as a new master normally had to pay three florins.

Remarrying after the death of a marriage partner was rather common in Gradec. Among the judges, Luka Bonioli, Cion, Petar Šafar, Antun, son of Tomo, Mihael Oprašnić and Mihael, son of Sebastijan, married at least twice, and Valentin Šaronić thrice. Likewise, Elena, daughter of Pavao Vugrin, married at least four times, while Katarina, widow of Žigmund, Katarina Soldinar and Margareta Ribarica married at least thrice. In Gradec, it was not uncommon for newcomers to marry rich widows, thus quickly gaining social success and becoming judges. Thus, judge Blaž Stojimilić was married to the widow of the former juror Augustin Kusne, and Andrija Latin was married to Skolastika, widow of juror Juraj, son of Benedikt, who was brother to judge Brikci. Judge Brikcije was the stepfather of the judge Ivan Perović since he married the widow of Pero from Florence.<sup>41</sup> Jakov Eberspeck married Margareta, widow of juror Brikci the fisherman, Antun Roth married Katarina Soldinar, widow of juror Sebastijan Soldinar, and Blaž, son of Lazarin from Ilok, married Katarina, widow of juror Matija and daughter of judge Blaž, son of Pauli. Margareta, widow of judge Sebastijan, remarried to Ivan, son of Pavao, who subsequently held a post in the magistrature at least five times.

In fact, there are many cases in which reputation was gained or increased by means of affinitive relations or marriages with other families or with widows of deceased citizens as described above. Thus, Ivan Vašaš was a son-in-law of judge Mikeč, son of Hench, Cion was a son-in-law of judge Luka Bonioli, and Bonioli of juror Marko earlier.<sup>42</sup> Judge Matija, a tailor, was a son-in-law of judge Andrija Šimunić,<sup>43</sup> Benedikt

37 DOBRONIĆ, *Slobodni i kraljevski grad*, 97.

38 KARBIĆ, *Obitelj u gradskim*, 35.

39 MCZ 3, XXXIII.

40 MCZ 3, XXXI.

41 On Blaž Stojimilić, see: MCZ 10, 221. On Andrija Latin, see: MCZ 10, 9.

42 MCZ 9, 23.

43 MCZ 7, 457.

Škrinjarić of juror Brikci the fisherman,<sup>44</sup> and Valentine Šaronić, son of judge Mihael, son of Šimun, was a son-in-law of judge Mihael, son of Sebastijan. Another son-in-law of judge Mihael Sebastijan was judge Pavao, son of Stjepan, even though Mihael was already deceased when his daughter married Pavao.

Cases of the patrilineal “inheriting” of offices were frequent, but that was not the case regarding judges. Valentin Šaronić was the son of the judge Mihael, and his father-in-law Mihael, the son of Sebastijan, was also a judge’s son. Andrija Šafar was a son of the previous judge Petar Šafar, Dominik Perović of judge Ivan, and the Bole family produced judges in three generations: Jakov Bole held the office in 1379, his son Ivan in 1391 and grandson Jakov in 1437.

What is interesting, however, is that sons of judges, despite their reputation and wealth, mostly failed to be appointed judges and remained in the office of juror. Those sons of judges who “only” managed to become jurors include Toma, son of Cion, Benedikt and Marko, sons of Mihael Sebastijan, Benedikt and Pavao, sons of judge Gyuan, Jakšin and Pero, sons of Peter Šafar, Janko, son of Ivan Bole, Perenchlo, son of judge Jakomel Quirin, Gašpar, son of Miklin, Ivan, son of Luka Bonioli, Mihael, son of Valentin Šaronić, and Barnaba, son of judge Andrija de Zwinaria. So it seems that other citizens preferred to elect somebody new to the judges seat, if that person was wealthy and prominent. In many cases, these sons of judges were “pushed aside” by a citizen who was often a newcomer, and who achieved success and respect in the community and married a daughter or a widow of a previous member of the elite. The importance of the “son-in-law” principle for entering the councils in medieval cities was already recognized by historians.<sup>45</sup> Finn-Einar Eliassen even asked what came first – the election to office or the marriage? He concluded that these “two events seem to have been two sides of the same coin”.<sup>46</sup>

It seems also that such newcomers as the fresh blood of the elite were even more valuable to the elite than the old blood. It might surely be related to the awareness and consciousness of the elite of their own weakness. Simple (nuclear) families and high mortality in children are usually taken for a reason that no family dynasties ruling for several generations can be identified in Central European cities and towns. Rarely can a family be followed through more than three generations.<sup>47</sup> Even though many judges in Gradec had children and even male heirs, their descendants often failed to secure the continuation of the lineage. Thus, it is highly likely that both sons of Gyuan, Benedikt and Pavao, died childless, and that Jakov Šafar’s children from his two marriages did not live long. Although judge Mihael Sebastijan had many children, only one grandson can be identified in the sources. Gradec’s families who gave judges or jurors in more than one generation, such as those of Mihael Sebastijan, Šaronić and Perović, were also numerous families with more children. Thus, even though securing progeny does not seem so problematic if one takes into account that many judges did have heirs, in a long-term perspective there were obviously biological factors at work that made it impossible to create family dynasties.

44 MCZ 9, 235.

45 Cf. Eliassen, The son-in-law principle, 257–281. GODA, Generations of Power, 232–256. GUSTAFSSON, Succession in Medieval, 194–209.

46 Eliassen, The son-in-law principle, 261–262.

47 CARPENTER, The formation of Urban Elites, 119.

Unfortunately, distant family ties (often rendered as *proximus, cognatus* or *consanguineo*) or godparental relationships are more difficult to identify as the sources include less information on them. Nevertheless, we know that Cion's second wife was a sister of Marin Klarič, who became judge in 1438, that Benedikt, son of judge Gyuan, was a nephew of Petar Šafar, and that Mihael, son of Sebastian, was a relative of Petar Pentera, one of the heirs of the rich Italian de Medzo family. This most certainly speaks of an intricate network of relatives in this relatively small urban setting. Besides, Mihael, son of Sebastian had three sons and four daughters. One of his daughters married Valentin Šaronič, son of the former judge Mihael, son of Šimun. So, when Mihael Šaronič, son of Valentin, enters the town magistrature in 1472 as a juror, he probably has at least dozens of distant relatives who can support his political career, besides his half-brother who is a councillor in the same year.<sup>48</sup>

Among the judges identified in the period 1350–1525, it could be established that a third of them were linked either by family or by marriage ties to former magistrature members. Among these, only a dozen links are patrilineal, while others are affinitive. Moreover, 14 different families could be identified whose close or distant members became judges within a shorter or longer time span:<sup>49</sup> *Ligeriji* (Marko and Petar), *de Medzo* (Petar Donat, Ivan Zigeštak, and Stjepan, son of Mihael Ortoflič), *Hench* (Mikeč, son of Hench, and Ivan Vašaš), *Bole* (Jakov, Ivan, and Jakov Jr.), *Sebastijan* (Sebastijan, Ivan, son of Pavao, Marko, son of Mikeč Leonardov, Mihael, son of Sebastijan, Emerik, son of Marko, and Pavao, son of Stjepan), *Bonioli* (Luka Bonioli, Cion, and Marin Klarič), *Gyuan* (Gyuan, Petar and Andrija Šafar), *Perovič* (Brikcije, son of Benedikt, Ivan and Dominik Perovič), *Šaroniči* (Mihael and Valentin Šaronič), *Šimunič* (Andrija, son of Šimun, and Matija, son of Marko), *Brikcije* (Benedikt, son of Mihael, and Jakov Eberspeck), *Blaž*, son of Paul (Blaž, son of Paul, Blaž Lazarin, and Juraj Vitkovič), *Rawsar* (Konrad Rawsar and Fabijan Czaren), *Soldinar* (Antun Roth and Ivan, son of Sebastijan Soldinar), and *Požegaj* (Ivan and Marko Požegaj).<sup>50</sup> This methodology does not take into consideration only blood or marriage related members but also legal heirs. Thus, Fabijan Czaren is mentioned just as *heredes* of Konrad Rawsar. Czaren could be the son-in-law of Rawsar or his nephew, or perhaps even his adopted son also.<sup>51</sup> In any case, Czaren was the only legal heir that Rawsar had.

### The family and inheritance law

Sons of former judges or jurors often appear as members of the city magistrature not only owing to the reputation and status of their fathers, but also because they inherited their material property. It is therefore necessary to consider some of the basic principles of inheritance. Nevertheless, one should also note that property inheritance in the Middle Ages is too complex a topic to be treated here in an adequate manner. We shall thus offer only a brief outline.

48 ŠKREBLIN, Uloga obiteljskih veza, 56.

49 I have included here only those families that gave more than one judge.

50 Both blood and marriage are counted here. For example, Marko and Petar Ligerije were probably brothers. But, the only heir of Petar Donat was his niece Francesca. Her daughter Lucija married Ivan Zigeštak. Stjepan, son of Mihael Ortoflič, was the son of Cecilia, who was the sister of Ivan Zigeštak. Here the Šaronič and Sebastijan families were counted separately. For more details about the exact relations of these 14 families see: ŠKREBLIN, Uloga obiteljskih veza, 39–87.

51 ŠKREBLIN, Uloga obiteljskih veza, 53.

One of the main features of medieval Gradec, as well as other continental towns in Europe, was the equality of male and female heirs. In tavernical law, which was valid in Gradec as well, both sexes were equivalent in inheritance law: in case of a husband's death, his wife was a first-degree heir together with the children. Likewise, in the division of parental property, women were legally equal to the male heirs.<sup>52</sup> In such circumstances, the principle of primogeniture could not evolve and the eldest son could not count on any advantages in the division of inheritance, and nor could sons with regard to their sisters.

Besides having the right to an equal part in the division of family property, women obtained gifts from their fathers, mothers or third parties upon marrying (*res paraphernales*), and a woman could freely dispose of these things even if the husband died and she remarried. Moreover, when entering a marriage, the husband usually donated a sum of money or a piece of land to his wife, a custom that was legally termed *dos*.<sup>53</sup> The institute of dowry has not been documented in medieval Gradec, but it was customary that the wife should donate her immovable property to the husband. There were many such cases, which is why we shall mention here only those that concerned members of the urban elite: Katarina, widow of Petar Šafar, donated a part of her palace to her third husband, Matija Farkaš; Doroteja, daughter of tailor Blaž, donated her wooden house and a shop to the vendor and juror Toma Cheden; Lucija, widow of judge Ivan Zigeštak, donated a part of the de Medzo palace to her second husband, Mihael, from Božjakovina; Doroteja, daughter of Tomo, donated her part of the palace to her husband, Juraj Vitković, from Modruš; and Katarina, widow of Soldinar, donated all the properties that she had inherited from her second husband to her third husband, Antun Roth, even though she had a son Ivan from her previous marriage.<sup>54</sup> Even though there is no direct mention in the sources, it is most probable that Mihael Sebastijan and Cion, son of Ivan, came to possess their large houses or palaces in the same way.<sup>55</sup> Interestingly, there are cases in which female heirs obtained the most valuable property, which they subsequently donated to their husbands. Heirs to the late Donat divided the property among themselves in such a way that Ivan, son of Mihael Vitez, left to Franciska, daughter of Gyuan and granddaughter of the said Donat, the most valuable part of the family property by far, namely the palace with shops and a chapel stretching over five *curiae*, which she subsequently donated to her second husband, Ivan Gračin.<sup>56</sup> The palace of judge Blaž, son of Pauli, was inherited after his death by his daughters Agneza and Katarina even though they were not his only children: Blaž also had sons, Juraj, Matko and Mihael, as well as another daughter, Doroteja.<sup>57</sup> His palace consequently ended up in the ownership of his sons-in-law.

This practice was certainly closely related to their marriage. This was contrary to the practice in Dalmatian communes, where the patricians preferred by far to give dowry in cash or movable property in order to preserve the family estates in the patrilineal

52 KARBIĆ, *Obitelj u gradskim*, 55. Apostolova-Maršavelski, *Iz pravne prošlosti Zagreba*, 53.

53 KARBIĆ, *Obitelj u gradskim*, 47.

54 BEDENKO, *Zagrebački Gradec*, 51.

55 BEDENKO, *Društvo i proctor*, 40–41.

56 BEDENKO, *Zagrebački Gradec*, 44–45.

57 MCZ 10, 170.

system of inheritance and prevent their dissipation.<sup>58</sup> Thus, one can see that in Gradec the sons-in-law and husbands of widows usually profited from marriage.

In conclusion, it is evident that, in the case of the judge's office, affinitive relations were preferred over the patrilineal. Reasons may be found in the absence of primogeniture, as the eldest sons were not privileged with regard to their brothers and sisters, but obtained an equal share of inheritance. Coming from a prominent family certainly provided the necessary legitimation for the beginning of a political career, but holding the judge's office ultimately mirrored the individual's capacities. The long-lasting families of Gradec were an exception rather than a rule, which may be partly explained by biological reasons, as it was difficult for the families to secure heirs through several generations, but also by economic ones, as the heirs found it difficult to repeat their fathers' success, especially if inheritance had been divided among various persons. Since the income of the urban elite basically came from crafts or trade, that is, from one's own work, the heirs of judges and jurors had to make a successful career in order to gain social esteem; otherwise they could be side-tracked by others, especially newcomers who asserted themselves through their wealth or capacities and who, moreover, entered into matrimonial ties with older and respectable families. Thus, one may argue that a new prominent family was mostly created by associating itself to an older one, and that this process was continuously at work in Gradec during the medieval period.

### **Structure of the urban elite by profession**

As in other medieval towns, the elite of Gradec consisted of the wealthy stratum of merchants and craftsmen. In the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, Gradec apparently had the features of a highly developed trade centre, and its urban elite consisted mostly of merchants. Around the mid-fourteenth century, there was an increase in trade-related activities in medieval Hungary owing to the development of international trade and the export of gold, silver and copper from the mines in present-day Slovakia and Romania, which additionally stimulated the growth of crafts, trade and the monetary economy in general.<sup>59</sup> A very important characteristic of Hungarian towns is that all of the nation's major urban centres were situated on important trade and communication routes, or created in the vicinity of mining areas.<sup>60</sup> Gradec was located on the crossroads between the major route that connected the north of the kingdom with the south, in particular with Italy, and another that connected German lands with Slavonia, Bosnia and Dalmatia. But besides these routes, there were other communication lines of local importance that flowed into Zagreb. The surge of trade and the exploitation of raw materials attracted many foreign businessmen and professionals to the kingdom, people who occupied posts such as mine or mint managers. They came primarily from the German lands, but from the mid-fourteenth century onwards, the heads of mines and mints were increasingly Italians, mostly coming from northern Italy.<sup>61</sup>

58 NIKOLIĆ, *Rođaci i bližnji*, 65.

59 ENGEL, *The Realm*, 155.

60 More on the impact of communication lines on the structure and evolution of medieval Hungarian towns in: SZENDE, *Towns along the Way*, 161–225.

61 ENGEL, *The Realm*, 155.

The development of trade from the mid-fourteenth century also caused a change in the structure of citizenship and many new families involved in trade obtained posts in town councils.<sup>62</sup> To a certain extent, as far as the sources will allow us to conclude, this phenomenon may be observed in Gradec. The most prominent citizens around the middle of the century included the goldsmiths Nikolet and Jakša, the *monetarius* Jakov, and Petar Ligerije, the manager of a mint owned by Duke Stephen of Anjou. Besides the said persons, the judges Petar Donatus, Sebastijan and Ivan Božo in the fourteenth century and Ivan Zigeštak, Nikola, son of Petar, and Pavao, son of Stjepan, in the fifteenth century were also goldsmiths.

Another special feature of Gradec was the existence of a Latin colony, which included citizens from northern Italy. However, for most of the Latin community in the second half of the fourteenth century it is hard to identify the town of their origin. These include, for example, Jakomel Quirin, Filip, son of Marko, and the members of the Pintikachy family. Petar Ligerije was mentioned as *de Medio* (which would imply that he was from Milano), Petar Donat as *de Medzo*, and Gerin as *de Spinal*, but it is difficult to say whether these are family names or their places of origin. They most probably came from northern Italy and some of them possibly from Florence or Venice, which also had their merchants in Gradec.<sup>63</sup> At the end of the fourteenth century, the Latin colony was practically taken over by the Florentines, who included Cion, son of Ivan, Gyuan, son of Benedikt, and Antun Appardi de Ricci, all of them town judges. Pero, son of Angelo, from Florence, did not become a judge, but his son Ivan and grandson Dominik were judges. The Latins of Gradec were involved in textiles, including linen, and various luxury goods imported from Florence and Northern Italy to the Hungarian Kingdom.<sup>64</sup> However, from the 1430s onwards, one can observe a perceptible decrease in the number of the Florentine colonists and the absence of new businessmen from Florence. In 1437, Leonard Atthawantis returned to Florence and Budak has taken that event as the symbolical end of the golden age of trade in Gradec.<sup>65</sup> Nevertheless, towards the end of the century, another Florentine, Gyuan (Johanes) Pastor, arrived in Gradec and launched an export trade in cattle for the needs of the Venetian market.<sup>66</sup>

In many of the cases of Gradec merchants who were at the same time members of the town's elite, their profession is not stated explicitly, which means that we must resort to speculations based on often meagre data from the sources stating those citizens to be engaged in trade on a long-term or occasional basis. The Latin Luka Bonioli, from

62 RADY, *Medieval Buda*, 94.

63 ENGEL, *The Realm*, 258.

64 More on the Florentine business networks in the medieval Hungarian Kingdom: ARANY, *Florentine Families*. PRAJDA, *Rapporti*. BUDAK, *I fiorentini*, 681–695.

65 BUDAK, *Gradec*, 87.

66 Cattle exports increased during the second half of the fifteenth century and the trade routes ran from the area between the Danube and the Tisza river in two directions: towards the lands of the Empire and towards northern Italy. Budak has argued that Pastor was the first to have experimented with transporting cattle over the sea through the port of Bakar, and that the early sixteenth century was actually the golden age of the export of Hungarian cattle through Zagreb, owing to the inaccessibility of other routes (through Ptuj and Ljubljana) during the war between Venice and Maximilian (1508–1516). Various other merchants of Gradec must have participated in business around cattle transportation to Venice. In the sixteenth century, Emerik Mikulić was involved in trade with Hungarian cattle, which is manifest in 1517, when he is mentioned together with citizen Mihael the furrier, with whom he was associated in a trade society. Cf. ENGEL, *The Realm*, 249. BUDAK, *Gradec u kasnom*, 87. On Emerik Mikulić, see: MCZ 14, 19. More on the Pastor family: KRNIC, *Ivan Pastor Zagrepčanin*, 67–174.

Puglia, was probably involved in trade, as well as another Latin, judge Lovro, son of Tomo.<sup>67</sup> Slaven Nikola, son of Odolas, was likewise a merchant. The sources mention him as trading *ad lucrandum*, as well as in the context of trading collaboration with another citizen.<sup>68</sup> The Hungarian Ivan Vašaš was probably also involved in trade, as was Petar Šafar. Regarding the fact that Miklin is mentioned as a shop owner,<sup>69</sup> and Jakov and Ivan Bole in some legal conflicts that may be associated with trade,<sup>70</sup> it may be concluded that they were also members of the trading elite, especially as Miklin and the members of the Bole family are never mentioned in connection with a craft. Another enigma is the profession of Mihael, son of Sebastijan, and his stepfather Ivan, son of Pavao. Mihael was the son of a goldsmith and is attested in the sources as the owner of various lands. Like the members of the Bole family, Mihael may be considered as having drawn his wealth from a large number of estates, whereby he got involved in trade only on specific occasions, when there was an advantageous opportunity, perhaps giving money to other professional merchants who went for the goods in other cities or local fairs. Regarding the fact that professional merchants also invested their profit into various types of real estate in the city and its territory, one may speak of a trading-landowning aristocracy ruling over Gradec almost until the mid-fifteenth century.<sup>71</sup> Towards the middle of the century, craftsmen gradually suppressed the merchants, and then the only merchants mentioned in the magistrature or in the judge's office came from the ranks of petty merchants (*stacchunarius, institor, kramar*). One cannot argue that trade disappeared, but its range and the promise of sizeable profit had diminished. It can also be said that large-scale trade had been replaced by the small-scale, and it would regain ground in Zagreb only at the turn of the sixteenth century, but then only for a short period of time.<sup>72</sup> In the second half of the fifteenth century, petty merchants included Konrad Rawsar, Blaž, son of Pavao, Ivan Bolšak and Blaž, son of Lazarin.

As for the craftsmen, besides goldsmiths, several judges were tailors (*sartores*) during the so-called period of trade domination. Petar, son of Grgur, is mentioned as a tailor, and so are Mihael, son of Šimun, Juraj, son of Valentin, Martin Tomić and Benedikt Škrinjarić.<sup>73</sup> In the second half of the fifteenth century, judge-tailors included Blaž, from Šteničnjak, and Matija, son of Marko.<sup>74</sup> However, what makes us doubt that these tailor-judges were actually craftsmen is the relatively large number of tailors in general in the town's records, as well as in the magistrature's structure. In fact,

67 MCZ 5, 133.

68 MCZ 5, 197, 201.

69 MCZ 9, 112.

70 KARBIĆ, *Obitelj Bole*, 15.

71 The expression "trading-landowning aristocracy" was first used by Nada Klaić (KLAJČ, Zagreb, 254).

72 RADY, *Medieval Buda*, 105. Late in the fifteenth century, copper from the Slovakian mine at Banská Bystrica was also transported through Zagreb, with Venice as its final destination. The actual owners of that mine were the brothers Žigmund and Ivan Ernest "Hampo", from Čakovce, but they had given it in lease to Ivan Thurzo and his business partner Jakov Fugger. Their transaction is documented in the records of Zagreb as well. King Vladislav II demanded of Gradec's citizens to secure the copper trade and prevent possible obstructions by John Corvinus' men. However, according to Herkov, only a minor part of the total copper production in the kingdom was traded through Zagreb and Senj. HERKOV, *Povijest zagrebačke trgovine*, 10–11.

73 Juraj, son of Valentin, Martin Tomić and Benedikt Škrinjarić are clearly identifiable as tailors. On Petar, son of Grgur, being a tailor, see: MCZ 5, 173; and on Mihael, son of Šimun, being a tailor, see: MCZ 9, 212.

74 On Blaž Stojimilić being a tailor, see: MCZ 7, 440.

tailoring was the most common profession in the city after cobblery and butchery.<sup>75</sup> Regarding such competition, it would be logical to conclude that judge-tailors did not gain their reputation by needle and thread, so to say, but that many among them had previously traded in fabric and linen. Thus, judge Matija, son of Marko, was a tailor as well as a petty merchant (*institor*).<sup>76</sup> In the second half of the fifteenth century, when craftsmen and petty merchants already dominated the magistrature, the judges' office was held by two saddlers (*frenipar*) – Toma, son of Andrija, and Valentin, son of Emerik Nadulen; one cobbler – Benedikt, son of Juraj; one locksmith – Lovro (also referred to as *institor*); and one blacksmith – Fabijan Czaren.

Guilds or professional associations of craftsmen were another important feature of the medieval town. In Gradec, they emerged from the fifteenth century, and by the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, all the main crafts had created guilds and issued their own statutes. Even earlier than that, from the fourteenth century onwards, craftsmen had organized themselves in confraternities (*confrateritas, kalendinum*), and besides these professional ones, there were also those formed on the basis of ethnicity (Slavic, Latin, German, yet no Hungarian confraternity mentioned in the sources). But whereas confraternities were mostly voluntary associations of citizens brought together by a particular common trait (profession, ethnicity), their activity being largely religious and caritative, from the mid-fifteenth century guilds evolved as proper professional organizations and membership became practically mandatory for all craftsmen. From the late fourteenth century, in fact, guilds acquired considerable political power in many European towns.<sup>77</sup> In Buda, guild leaders had to be consulted about all major affairs in the first half of the fifteenth century.<sup>78</sup> However, in the period from the mid-fourteenth until the early sixteenth centuries, no close link can be seen between the office of confraternity dean and any function in the magistrature, especially not that of a judge. This may also be due to the lack of sources, that is, the very meagre court records and land registers during the last two decades of the fifteenth and the early sixteenth centuries, which is precisely the time period in which the guilds gained more power in urban life. Before 1450, only 14 citizens in the magistrature are explicitly referred to as deans of a confraternity. It is known that Antun was the dean of the confraternity of butchers, but he managed to hold only the office of councillor, and just once, in 1437. The highest function in the magistrature that a confraternity dean held was that of a juror; a dean of the butchers, Clemens, was a juror in 1448, while all other deans who made the magistrature were councillors.<sup>79</sup> The goldsmith *Brumen* is mentioned in 1384 as the dean of the Latin confraternity, while in 1377 he had been a juror in the Slavic group(!).<sup>80</sup> The butcher Luka, who was a councillor in the Slavic group, is also mentioned as a dean.<sup>81</sup> The only judges who have been attested as deans of confraternities were Martin Tomić and Petar the Hungarian (Hungarus), son of

75 KLAJČ, Zagreb, 287.

76 MCZ 7, 373.

77 Nicholas, *The Later Medieval City*, 113–114.

78 RADY, *Medieval Buda*, 120.

79 One should keep in mind that the deans of jurors are not to be included in this number, since the office emerged only in the 1460s.

80 MCZ 9, 2. MCZ 5, 75.

81 MCZ 6, 230.



Pavao. Both were deans of the Slavic confraternity: Petar in 1439<sup>82</sup> and Martin in 1455.<sup>83</sup> However, Petar became the dean of the confraternity after he had held the judge's office twice, while Martin Tomić had also held the judge's post thrice before 1455, which is why it cannot be claimed that the dean's function helped them additionally in their political careers; it was rather the opposite, and moreover, ethnic confraternities cannot be regarded as proper guilds.

### Wealth

Besides family ties between members of the magistrature, an important feature of the urban elite is their good or excellent financial status. Judges and jurors represented the wealthier part of the urban community. Regardless of whether they gained their wealth by trade or their profession, the aspect they all have in common is that they are documented as owners of more than one estate, including houses in the town and various types of land plots (fields, vineyards, pastures) in the urban territory. Some members of the elite, besides owning houses in the town, also possessed shops, mills and towers. Since it is rather difficult to estimate an individual's personal wealth in the medieval period with precision, research on property relations in the medieval town is the only way of reconstructing the financial status of a citizen or a family. However, a full analysis of the possessions and estates of the members of the urban elites would be far too long on this occasion so we have to convey it in the form of a summary.

Transaction documents very often show that those citizens who had accumulated some wealth strove to move into more impressive (larger and more solid) houses, and that their improved financial status was reflected in their social status: one often comes across them as members of the magistrature. By the same token, if a citizen sold an impressive property and moved into a smaller one it mostly meant that his financial power had diminished, which had an impact on his political status as well. The larger and more luxurious houses in the city were largely distributed around the main square and in the south-east, in the first and ninth insula, and along the south-eastern part of the city walls, from the Stone Gate southwards to St Catherine's church.<sup>84</sup> A similar situation, namely the grouping of wealthy craftsmen and merchants in the town square or around it, can be observed in other Hungarian towns as well.<sup>85</sup> The poorer parts of the town included, besides the suburbium, its northern and north-western parts. Nevertheless, social segregation was not too extreme, as smaller, wooden houses, owned by petty craftsmen at the most, were also present even in the "elite" parts of Gradec. This was, after all, a typical feature of smaller towns, in which there were always better areas, mostly around the town square, yet in which the houses of wealthy citizens did not necessarily stand next to each other, but rather were often surrounded by cottages housing poorer craftsmen or agricultural workers.<sup>86</sup>

Gradec's judges and jurors, regardless of their professions, strove to possess several estates in the city, as well as a range of different land plots cultivated by their servants or serfs (*jobagiones*); similar tendencies can also be observed in some other Hungarian

82 MCZ 9, 335. As the Hungarians did not have an ethnic confraternity, they may have been included in the Slavic one.

83 MCZ 7, 83.

84 More on urban estates and its owners: ŠKREBLIN, Urban elites, 403–443.

85 SZENDE, Some Aspects of Urban Landownership, 151.

86 Eliassen, The mainstays of the urban fringe, 43.

towns.<sup>87</sup> Owning real estate in the urban territory was closely connected to having power in the city, and owning land outside the city walls was an element of power that went beyond urban settings in medieval Hungary, since the population was largely agrarian.<sup>88</sup> That is why even larger Hungarian towns and trading centres partly show the same features as those of smaller, agrarian towns.

Evidence of an individual's financial power can also be found in other types of sources. Thus the census of 1368, which lists houses and their inhabitants, shows that the municipality had exempted some citizens from tax payment since it actually owed them money. Next to the name of Petar Ligerije, a former judge and owner of one of the largest estates in Gradec, there is a note by the tax collector: "I have written off as part of the debt all his curiae, as well as those of his familiars, his friend Gianino and his son Mauro; as well as four pence of goldsmith Jankec and four pence of Jankec the carpenter's widow, and half a curia of Demetrij."<sup>89</sup> Two neighbours of Petar Ligerije, Luka Bonioli and Puhocije (de Carbonis) were also exempted from taxes, and so were the merchant Antonio Renis and some twenty other citizens.<sup>90</sup> In some cases, it can be observed that the municipality also donated real estate to citizens, or exempted them from paying taxes. Thus Antun Renis obtained a shop in 1387,<sup>91</sup> notary Toma Isip a house,<sup>92</sup> Grgur Angeli a shop and exemption from paying taxes for his vineyard,<sup>93</sup> Sebald Mayer exemption from all taxes on all his possessions as a remuneration for his night vigils,<sup>94</sup> and judge Nikola, son of Demetar, exemption from paying "knežija" tax on his vineyard.<sup>95</sup> Mihael, son of Sebastijan, obtained a third of the parish revenues of St Mark's church in 1402.<sup>96</sup> Another interesting document is the book of expenditures of 1462, which describes all payments of the municipality for the year in question. Besides covering repairs in the city, the citizens had to pay far greater sums for various expenditures and gifts for the *ban* – that is, the royal tax collector – and other royal officials. The costliest royal tax collector was Juraj of Kara (*Georgius de Kara*), who obtained 230 florins of taxes as well as expensive gifts (such as *damaskino* fabric) worth almost 16 florins. The taxes and gifts were brought to Juraj of Kara by two prominent citizens, the former judges Konrad Rawsar and Ivan Perović, who also had to have their travel expenses covered.<sup>97</sup> In order to pay the royal tax, the judge borrowed almost half of the sum (127 florins) from various citizens, for which they were later reimbursed. Thus, the municipal administration regularly returned borrowed money, and if it was unable to, it resorted to exemptions from certain taxes or donated estates, probably in agreement with the creditors. Wealthier citizens participated in such monetary interventions more often, and it certainly contributed to their political careers. Thus

87 SZENDE, *Some Aspects of Urban Landownership*, 153.

88 SZENDE, *Some Aspects of Urban Landownership*, 153.

89 MCZ 11, 231.

90 See the list in: MCZ 11, 227–249.

91 MCZ 9, 32.

92 MCZ 9, 98.

93 MCZ 9, 8, 42.

94 MCZ 10, 143–144.

95 MCZ 7, 67.

96 MCZ 9, 126.

97 MCZ 11, 225.

the 800 florins that Gradec lent to Duke John Corvinus most certainly did not come from the town's treasury, but rather from various members of the town's elite. Duke John exempted Gradec from the annual tax in order to pay the interest.<sup>98</sup>

### Tax Collecting

Participating in the collection of taxes could also contribute to one's reputation.<sup>99</sup> The example of Gradec shows this in two functions: Firstly we consider the collecting of the main communal tax called "*knežija*". It seems that this office (*comes*) became identical with the office of treasurer (*conductor et comes proventum*). It was no rarity that future or former judges acted as the *comes*, which means that they leased the collection of taxes on crafts, trade and agricultural activities. Thus, in 1389, the *knežija* tax was collected by the former judge Luka Bonioli and the jurors Antun Juršić and Dragoslav;<sup>100</sup> in 1392, it was collected by the Florentines Cion and Pero, and by Mihael, son of Sebastian.<sup>101</sup> All three were members of the magistrature at the time, and Cion and Mihael would become judges later on. In the fifteenth century, it was collected by the former judge Antun Appardi and by Martin Tomić, a future judge.<sup>102</sup> In 1464, the tax was collected by Benedikt and Andrija, and in the following year Lovro Šporar acted as the *comes*.<sup>103</sup> All of them became judges later on. One should also mention Marko Kranjec, who leased the *knežija* tax in 1494 and became a juror as soon as 1495. Marko signed a contract worth 78 florins with the town, which has remained preserved. Thus we know that Marko collected market fees, controlled the observation of municipal measures, could also seize goods in case of violation, and was also in charge of the town's butcher's shops and the municipal vineyards and fields.<sup>104</sup> The contract also shows that the *comes* obviously had to be skilful and experienced in trade in order to perform this task adequately for the benefit of both Gradec and himself.

Briefly, the office of *comes* should be distinguished from the rest of the lower functions and should not be confused with that of a royal tax collector (*tributarius*), who collected rent for the king's taxes. Since the tax collecting was given in lease, its collectors had to have a good financial status (the initial capital) and probably also skills in monetary dealings and trade, as well as their own employees. In tax collecting, a citizen could demonstrate his skills and utility for the urban community. The office of *comes* or "duke" may therefore be compared to that of a chamberlain or treasurer, which was also common in other continental European towns.<sup>105</sup> A chamberlain (*Kammermeister*) has been recorded in Sopron.<sup>106</sup> As for Ilok, which took over the statute of Buda, a similar function was performed by the "*minor judex*".<sup>107</sup>

98 MCZ 2, 505.

99 RADY, *Medieval Buda*, 91.

100 MCZ 5, 295–296.

101 MCZ 9, 60.

102 MCZ 6, 176.

103 MCZ 7, 252, 302–303.

104 MCZ 2, 494–497.

105 GUSTAFSSON, *Succession in Medieval Swedish Town Councils*, 200.

106 GODA, *Generations of Power*, 235.

107 SCHMIDT, *Statut Grada Iloka*, book V, chapters 1, 2, 5.

Secondly, Zagreb was the main seat of a "one-thirtieth tax" for medieval Slavonia, and so it is not surprising that some citizens of Gradec appear in that office as well. The one-thirtieth tax was paid on goods imported to the kingdom, always in cash. The first collector of the one-thirtieth tax mentioned in Gradec was Saracen, who in 1366 came into conflict with the citizens as he demanded that they should also pay the one-thirtieth tax on wine, salt and corn, which had not been the case previously.<sup>108</sup> In 1369, Franjo the tax collector was murdered in a quarrel with Tadija, Petar, and Puhoci de Carbonis, merchants from Florence.<sup>109</sup> In 1380, the one-thirtieth tax collector Leon Batista, on the other hand, disturbed the citizens by night with his men.<sup>110</sup> It is possible that owing to such problems with tax collectors the citizens demanded that their co-citizens should be entrusted with the post. The sources show that the function of the one-thirtieth tax collector was very attractive to merchants from Italy, particularly Florence. In the fourteenth century, the office was held by Gyuan, son of Benedikt (de Boncarnissa), sometime in the early 1380s, and then by a man called Mafeo, who would in 1384 become a councillor in the town magistrature in the Latin group of councillors.<sup>111</sup> In the early fifteenth century, the Florentines and other Latins in this function were replaced by German officials and the familiars of Herman of Celje, who obviously used his political power in order to position his own people in this office. Nevertheless, in the late 1420s, another Florentine appears as the one-thirtieth tax collector: it was Leonard Atthawantis, who became a juror later on.<sup>112</sup> It is only in 1467 that another citizen of Gradec appeared in this office: it was the former judge Blaž Stojimilić, from Šteničnjak.<sup>113</sup> In the early sixteenth century, there were two future judges among the one-thirtieth tax collectors: Ivan Požegaj, who had been a municipal representative in 1481 at the Noble Assembly of Zagreb,<sup>114</sup> and Ivan Pastor, from Florence.<sup>115</sup> Thus, all in all there were four town judges, one juror, and one councillor that at some time headed collection of the Slavonian one-thirtieth tax.

Participation in tax collection (both the *knežija* tax and the one-thirtieth tax) could bring personal gain and also contribute to one's social reputation or improve one's image as a person who is beneficial to the community. Apparently, this latter aspect was crucial for the judge's office, since in the period considered here this position concerned the functioning of the municipality as a whole, with the town's finances as the most important asset, rather than the legal trials. It is possible that actual financial wealth and financial knowledge were among the crucial factors that separated citizens who were elected to the judge's seat from those who stayed in lower functions. The wealthiest citizens had a much greater ability to intervene in communal financial plans if it became necessary, and many of them did so, as was shown in the book of expenditures of 1462. Of course, the community usually repaid their debts, but in some

108 MCZ 1, 233–234. Saracen may be identical with Jakov or Ivan Saracen, brothers from Padua who came to Hungary in the mid-fourteenth century and became very influential in financ. ENGEL, *The Realm*, 186.

109 MCZ 1, 234–236.

110 MCZ 5, 25, 39.

111 MCZ 5, 171.

112 MCZ 6, 129. More about Leonard Atthawantis see: ŠKREBLIN, *Urbana elita zagrebačkog Gradeca u 15. i početkom 16. st.*, 308–332. ARANY, *Generations Abroad*, 129–152.

113 MCZ 7, 312.

114 MCZ 3, 145.

115 MCZ 3, 147.

cases they rather exempted the lenders from taxes or gave them property instead. By financing communal obligations and other necessities, certain citizens could also show their dedication and care for the town community which was for sure helpful in their political careers and aspirations.

### Formation of the urban elite by political powers outside the city walls

In some cases, it is evident that members of the urban elite were linked to the noble or ecclesiastical elites outside of the town walls. It is therefore logical to ask to what extent this fact helped them in their careers. In 1353, Petar Ligerije (de Medio) was the head of the mint of Duke Stephen (*comitem camerarum domini Stephani*) and the very fact shows that he was trusted by both the duke and his brother Louis of Anjou, who had his royal residence in Gradec where duke Stephen lived from about 1350 until his death in 1354.<sup>116</sup> The good relations between the Ligerije and Anjou families are manifest in the fact that, in 1366, Petar stayed in Venice as the royal emissary while, on the other side, another Latin, Jakomel Quirin was working as an agent of Venice.<sup>117</sup>

A nobleman, Peter Šafar, participated in the defence of the monastery of Topusko when it was attacked from Bosnia, for which they were awarded with four estates in Pokuplje in 1402.<sup>118</sup> Ivan Alben, nephew of Zagreb's bishop, Eberhard, was the abbot of Topusko at the time.<sup>119</sup> In other words, it would be logical to conclude that Peter Šafar, elected judge in 1405, was very well known and respected by Bishop Eberhard at the time when King Sigismund pledged Gradec to the bishop of Zagreb.

A man who most certainly came to the head of Zagreb's Gradec with "outside help" was Jacob Eberspeck, from Constance – the former *magistar conquire* of the Counts of Celje, who became the judge after the Counts of Celje had deposed and incarcerated Martin Tomić in 1448.<sup>120</sup> Similar help may have come the way of three other German citizens who also came to Gradec during the Counts of Celje's regime, namely Konrad Rawsar, from Landeshut, Antun Roth and John Bolsak, from Nürnberg. Similarly, the appointment of the nobleman Gašpar Kušević to the judge's office in 1493 was closely linked to Duke John Corvinus, the sovereign of Gradec at the time, since Kušević was a nobleman from Turopolje and a familiar of Duke John Corvinus. A number of other judges, members of the petty nobility, could also have had good connections to the higher nobility: Andrija Latinus, from Volavje, Blaž Stojimilić, from Šteničnjak, Nikola, son of Demetar, from Zlat, and the noblemen of Klokoč. At the beginning of the sixteenth century two men who were most certainly well known at the royal court were Ivan Pastor, from Florence, and the Dubrovnik humanist Feliks Petančić, who managed to become the city judge of Gradec during his brief stay in 1511.

At first sight, we would conclude that the town's new supreme lords, Stephen of Anjou, the Counts of Cili, and Duke John Corvinus, had interfered in the civic autonomy and put some kind of pressure on the citizens to elect their trusted persons and vassals to the judges seat. However, it might have been quite the opposite: members of the urban elite might have sought for the head of the community to be a person who would have an open door or easy access to their supreme lords and to the king's court in

116 SMIČIKLAS, *Codex diplomaticus*, 194–195.

117 LJUBIĆ, *Monumenta Spectantia*, 88, 90.

118 LUKINOVIĆ, *Povijesni spomenici*, 173–174.

119 KARBIĆ, *Velikaška obitelj Alben*, 18.

120 The Counts of Celje were the sovereigns of Gradec in the period from 1441–1456.

a period when the town was under the protection of the royal crown. During the reign of the Counts of Celje, a former "*magister of conquire*", Eberspeck, who was fluent in the German language, and probably still knew a lot of people in the Celje court, was a much better choice for the judge's seat than some other prominent merchant or craftsmen who didn't know either. Furthermore, despite being a former "master of cuisine" of the Counts of Celje, Eberspeck had already been integrated into the urban elite through marriage: he married Margareta, the widow of a former juror. Also, it is worth reminding that being a judge did not mean having an authoritarian power in the city; the decisions were always made by the consensus of the town's elite, and sometimes even by the whole town community. On the other hand, supreme lords such as Counts of Celje did not have to use the judge or the jurors to execute their power. They, rather, relied on their soldiers and officials.<sup>121</sup> Anyway, it has to be concluded that political circumstances also had an impact on the election of the town magistrature, and especially of the town judge. To have a person at the head of the community with various connections and acquaintances among the nobility outside the city walls might be very useful for the town, so this "foreign" factor has to be included in research into the formation of the urban elite.

### Moral values

In order that a citizen might hold a municipal post, certain moral qualities were essential. As mentioned above, the Statute of Ilok states this very clearly, prescribing among other things that citizens holding administrative offices should enjoy good reputation and by no means be known as traitors, calumniators, mockers, perjurers, rebels or slanderers. In other words, wealth and familial or social ties could not, in principle, help a citizen to make a career in the magistrature unless he also enjoyed high esteem. Carpenter has indicated that the moral qualities of the members of the urban elite were not only required and expected, but were in a sense an aspect of the elite's ideology as it sought to secure its position of power.<sup>122</sup> This may imply that the elite did not experience its own governance as a rule of the rich, but preferred to place an emphasis on good moral qualities such as honour, honesty, piety and so on. This, of course, leads to the following question: how can we assess in the sources who was honourable and a man of high moral principles, or tell him apart from those who did not enjoy such reputation? In order to do that, the best way to proceed is to take a look at the cases of violation of honour and morality, and see to what extent and in what circumstances members of the urban elite were caught red-handed and how that influenced their political careers.

Lovro and Friche were jurors in charge of the securing of order (*treuga dei*) during St Margareth's Fair in 1417, but they themselves committed certain serious violations, so they were deprived of the juror's office and forbidden to hold it ever again.<sup>123</sup> Nevertheless, they were eventually pardoned, and in 1419 Friche held again the post of juror. In 1440, brothers Pero and Jakov Šafar, together with Benedikt, son of Mihael

121 As was already mentioned, the issue of the urban elite outside the town magistrature is skipped in this article. However, it has to be pointed out that soldiers who served the Counts of Celje during their regime definitely qualified for the elite outside the town magistrature due to their unique status. Thus Sebold Mayer, nominally with the duty of captain, was at the same time the main representative of the counts in the city.

122 CARPENTER, The formation of Urban Elites, 84.

123 "...ipsos autem Laurencium et Friche officio privavimus, de ceterque nullus eorum juratus nec assesor noster fieri possent nec ad consilium in medio nostri venire debeant..." MCZ 6, 49.

Sebastijan, broke into the house of Jakov Bole and gravely wounded one citizen there.<sup>124</sup> The attackers were sentenced to a fine of 7 florins and twenty marks.<sup>125</sup> Still, one can clearly identify Benedikt as a city juror in 1448: thus, this violent act did not significantly thwart his political career. However, in 1443, Jakov Šafar committed a murder and fled the city to avoid the death penalty.<sup>126</sup> Janko Bole, a son of the judge Ivan and a brother of the judge Jakov Bole, first stole some candelabra from the confraternities in 1450, for which he was almost sentenced to death, as such an act was not only considered as theft, but also as sacrilege.<sup>127</sup> Due to an intervention by some honourable citizens, Janko was pardoned, but soon afterwards committed another crime and also fled the city (or was evicted).<sup>128</sup> Marko, son of Mikeč Leonardov, certainly belonged to the city's elite judging by his reputation and financial status. However, in the early 1390s, he had to leave the city: he was probably evicted for having killed someone. Marko first undertook a pilgrimage to Rome, in order to ask the Pope for the absolution of his sins.<sup>129</sup> On the way, he even managed to obtain a pardon from King Sigismund in 1392 and the city allowed him to return.<sup>130</sup> In the following year, he was already a juror, and three years later he was appointed to the judge's office.<sup>131</sup> The public notary and councillor Toma Isip likewise killed a citizen, albeit accidentally, and undertook a pilgrimage (*peregrinatio*) to Rome.<sup>132</sup> Furthermore, in 1451, the juror Toma Čeden committed some crime (*pro manifesta culpa et crimine suo*) and was apparently threatened with the death penalty, but due to an intervention by the members of the Pauline, Dominican and Franciscan orders, and subsequently the city's captain, Sebold Mayer, he was eventually pardoned.<sup>133</sup> Three years after the incident, Toma was appointed a juror. In 1466, Konrad Rawsar slandered the juror Pavao as *infidelem et falsarium communi* and was sentenced to a fine of 25 marks; displeased with the verdict, he appealed to the tavernical court.<sup>134</sup> As early as the following year, 1467, Rawsar replaced the deceased judge Antun Roth, and in 1470 he was again appointed judge. According to Tkalčić, if a juror suddenly came under certain suspicion (*infamia*), he was not to be allowed to participate in governance or be present at assembly meetings until he could prove his innocence.<sup>135</sup> In Gradec, bad reputation could be particularly unpleasant, since the town was not so big and rumours spread quickly through all the social strata. And so it was that in 1488 the juror Gal Kudelić lost his good reputation and so raised charges against some citizens for slander. However, he could not prove the case and thus turned to none other than King Matthias Corvinus, who indeed ordered that Kudelić's verdict should be erased from the records and that the citizens who had

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124 MCZ 6, 327.

125 MCZ 6, 328, 337, 341.

126 MCZ 6, 373, 374, 375, 385.

127 MCZ 6, 401, 404.

128 MCZ 7, 13.

129 MCZ 9, 49. MCZ 6, 475.

130 MCZ 1, 340–341.

131 MCZ 1, 348.

132 MCZ 6, 294.

133 MCZ 7, 31.

134 MCZ 7, 294, 300, 351.

135 MCZ 7, IV.

called him a slayer should be punished.<sup>136</sup> As evident from the case of Benedikt, son of Mihael Sebastijan, acts such as personal offences, fights and even woundings were not permanent obstacles to a person's appointment in office. In those cases in which members of the elite committed grave crimes, they theoretically could not count on a milder penalty, but in practice their crimes were often pardoned due to interventions by other distinguished citizens or clerics. In some cases, even serious criminal offences did not necessarily mark the end of a political career, even though the culprits did have to expiate their deeds properly, and give satisfaction to their victims. Of course, members of the urban elite were in a better position than poorer citizens, since they could offer suitable satisfaction to the victims, undertake pilgrimages to Rome, and seek help from various ecclesiastical and secular dignitaries, with whom they were probably in social or business relations. Nevertheless, as shown by the cases of Janko Bole and Jakov Šafar, in instances where they committed serious crimes, they could expect the usual punishments regardless of social status.

### Piety and charity

According to the Statute of Ilok, municipal governors and officials also had to be pious. Piety and various forms of devotional behaviour, such as pilgrimages to Rome, believing in the miracles of the saints, and a powerful sense of human sinfulness, were deeply embedded in the mind of the medieval man.<sup>137</sup> Among the population of medieval Gradec, piety was most visibly expressed in testamentary legations to the benefit of paupers, a church, or a monastery, made for the salvation of one's soul (*pro anima sua*). Wealthier citizens donated money or estates to the Church even during their lifetimes, which raised their social esteem and enabled them to establish good contacts with the clergy. Thus, in 1398, Cion, son of Ivan, gave 117 florins to one parish outside the city walls.<sup>138</sup> Mihael, son of Šimun, donated an altar for the local Pauline monastery.<sup>139</sup> Before making a significant political career, the judge Martin Tomić was the administrator (*rector hospitalis*) of the city hospital.<sup>140</sup> Finally, we shall end this brief overview of pious deeds in medieval Gradec with another interesting case: Martin, son of Urban, mentioned in 1493 as the judge, obviously moved into a clerical career, since in 1497 the sources mention him as the parish priest of Gradec – an example of symbiosis between secular and spiritual powers in the Middle Ages.<sup>141</sup>

### Education

In Gradec, a school is mentioned as early as the fourteenth century, but it provided only a basic education. In order to obtain higher education, one had to attend the cathedral school in the Zagreb Chapter, and the highest education could only be

136 MCZ 2, 467–468, 487–488.

137 ANDRIĆ, *Dopuna saznanja*, 1–2. LADIĆ, *O plemstvu i svećenstvu*, 267.

138 MCZ 9, 101.

139 JURJEVIĆ, *Mater amabilis Maria Miraculosa Virgo Remetensis. In hoc exiguo libello clare proponitur cum sua origine et nonnullis miraculis per quendam Patrem Fratrem Ordinis S. Pauli primi Eremitae professum Monasterii Remetensis in tertium annum inhabitatorem anno Matris Virginis, 1665.* (manuscript), Zagreb, Arhiv HAZU, II. d. 104.

140 MCZ 6, 189.

141 "...provido et honesto viro Martino, seniori judici, nunc vero moderno plebano..." Cf. MCZ 11, 74.



achieved in one of the medieval universities, usually at university in Padova or Vienna.<sup>142</sup> However, in the fourteenth century education does not seem to have played any role in obtaining a position in the municipal administration. Literacy implied a knowledge of Latin, since in the late medieval period most documents were still written in Latin, but writing and interpreting official documents was the task of public notaries. Thus, one can only presume that citizens like Petar Ligerije, Jakomel Quirin, and the various Florentine merchants, bankers and diplomats must have been literate and educated. Here I would like to draw attention to the fact that from the mid-fifteenth century it was standard for the city judges to use the appellation *litteratus* next to their name. Thus, among the literati of the time one finds the judge Antun, son of Toma and a nobleman of Klokoč, Antun Roth, from Nürnberg, Dominik, son of Ivan Perović, Emerik, son of Marko, and Matija, son of Ladislav. The three main judges of the first quarter of the sixteenth century, Mihael Oprašnić, Emerik Mikulić, and Mihael, son of Matija, were all marked as *litterati*. In other words, in the late fifteenth and the early sixteenth centuries, it became more important to acquire a certain level of education, literacy and Latin proficiency. It is not known whether these men attended merely the school of Gradec or continued their schooling at the cathedral school of Kaptol. Among the judges' sons, the juror Mihael, son of the judge Blaž, son of Pauli, was perhaps the one with the highest level of formal education. Mihael was, namely, *baccalaureus arte liberales*, which undoubtedly indicates that he had studied at one of the European universities.<sup>143</sup>

#### Noble status

To end with, I would like to focus on another feature that was characteristic of the urban elite of Gradec: many judges, and even lower officials such as jurors and councillors, belonged to the nobility although they lived in the city and had citizenship. The number of noblemen within the city walls, i.e., noblemen who were also citizens and participated in municipal governance, was far higher than one may suppose at first. Their main characteristic, methodologically speaking, was that their noble status was not explicitly mentioned in the municipal documents, and that one often discovers that a citizen had a noble status from those sources that were not written by the hand of Gradec's notary. In most cases, these were the so-called "petty noblemen", who left their – probably very small – estates and came to the city in order to engage in crafts and trade. Nevertheless, some of them, even though living an urban life, still retained and maintained their estates in their places of origin. Some of Gradec's noblemen were, in fact, former predials, castellans or members of noble communities such as Klokoč, Svetačje or Turopolje. Taking a broader view of the situation, one may say that the increased presence of nobility in urban settings certainly had something to do with the generally high percentage of nobility in the population of the Hungarian Kingdom. Medieval Hungary is considered to have been a land of nobility owing to the high ratio of noblemen in the overall demographic picture, which is estimated at 1–5 %, or even 10 %.<sup>144</sup> Besides, many Florentines of Gradec possessed noble status. They must have been members of the Florentine urban nobility, whose status was also recognized

<sup>142</sup> KLAIĆ, Zagreb, 529.

<sup>143</sup> MCZ 7, 222. MCZ 10, 188.

<sup>144</sup> KARBIĆ, Hrvatski plemićki rod, 73.

in the Hungarian Kingdom.<sup>145</sup> Thus, judge Mihael, son of Šimun, is marked down as a tailor (*sartor*) and there are no indications in the municipal documents that he came from a noble family: neither Mihael nor his son Valentin. However, in the records of the Pauline order of Remete that was mentioned previously (*Mater Amabilis*), the same Mihael is documented as judge Mihael, son of Šimun, nobleman from Gorica. Another example is the Šafar (*Saphar*) family, which in the municipal documents appear only as citizens. However, as was already mentioned, from a donation of Abbot Ivan of Topusko one gathers that the brothers Petar and Stjepan Šafar were actually noblemen who had participated in the defence of the Topusko monastery against an attack from Bosnia, for which they were awarded in 1402 with four estates in the monastery's vicinity. This, of course, means that Šafar's sons – judge Andrija and jurors Pero and Jakov – were also noblemen. As for the goldsmiths Franjo and Mihael Sebestijanov, there is no direct evidence that they had noble status, but both citizens had their daughters married to noblemen from the County of Zagreb. Johannes Pehem, a German from Prague, was married to the noblewoman Agneza.<sup>146</sup> The former *magistar conquire* of the Counts of Celje, Jakov Eberspeck, from Konstanz, must have been a nobleman as well, and so were Petar Ligerije and Jacomell Quirin of the second half of the fourteenth century. From the mid-fifteenth century, noblemen from other areas of medieval Slavonia and Croatia are increasingly documented in the position of Gradec judges: Andrija, son of Mihael, from Volavje (*de Volawyje*), Nikola, son of Demetrije, from Zlat (*de Zlath*), Antun, from Klokoč, Blaž, from Šteničnjak, Emerik Mikulić, from Križ, Gašpar Kušević (or Kišević), from Lomnica, and the brothers Ivan and Marko Požegaj, from Egidovec. Felix Petančić was also a nobleman, probably granted the status by King Vladislav Jagello.<sup>147</sup>

It is too early to claim that the noble title played a decisive role in attaining the highest office: many jurors were also noblemen, such as Nikola Lipovčak, Marko of Čava, Matija Farkaš, Nikola, son of Damjan, and the brothers Petar and Juraj Angeli; Martin Plemenščak, son of Petar, was a nobleman, yet made it only as far as the position of councillor. It may be presumed that there were other members of the petty nobility among the judges, jurors and councillors, only they cannot be clearly identified as noblemen. Perhaps the noble status in itself did not play a crucial role in getting appointed to one of the municipal offices, but it was certainly important if combined with various contacts and connections with other noblemen in the county. In addition, the fact that there were so many petty noblemen among the citizens opens an array of other questions, such as the power and influence of the "real" citizenry in Gradec, as well as other cities in the Hungarian Kingdom, but these issues remain a topic for some future research.

### Concluding remarks

The formation of the Gradec urban elite is in many aspects comparable with the urban elites in other European cities. The elite in Gradec consisted mostly of wealthy merchants and craftsmen who had held economic, social and political power in their community. Besides them, the urban elite also consisted of members of the petty nobility, and of citizens who were connected or associated to the mighty noblemen

<sup>145</sup> On principle, urban nobility was acknowledged only in the territory of that city, but could also be recognized beyond, depending on the city's importance and other circumstances. Cf. KARBIĆ, Plemstvo, 18.

<sup>146</sup> MCZ 9, 184.

<sup>147</sup> JEMBRIH, Feliks Petančić, 116.

of the county, officials and members of the clergy. The appearance of some citizen in the town magistrature of the medieval city is generally a result of his already acquired reputation and status among the other citizens. The social and economic success of a citizen is usually linked with political success.

The political career usually started with the office of councillor, but in some cases with the function of juror also. The function of the town judge was reserved only for those with the highest social status in the community. Wealth and financial skills could be one of the crucial factors that separated citizen-judges from other citizens serving lower functions.

Since the judge was the main representative of the municipality, the other factor that could promote some prominent citizen to the seat of judge was his connections and contacts among important noblemen in the county, i.e., their influence outside the city wall, especially with the *ban* or at the royal court. Piety, moral values and social skills were also of importance in building one's reputation among the others, while certain forms of education became more respected from the second half of the fifteenth century. A special feature of the Gradec urban elite may be the significant number of noblemen in the town's offices which could be related to the generally high percentage of nobility in the population of the Hungarian Kingdom.

Research of the family network of the town's judges showed that at least a third of them between 1350 and 1525 had already had some relative who was in the town magistrature previously. In most cases, it was the affinitive type of relation; i.e., the elected judges were either sons-in-law, or they married a widow of a former member of the elite. There were many cases of patrilineal relations in the magistrature, but very few regarding the office of town judges. Only a few citizens whose father was the judge succeeded to the office thereafter. In fact, many sons of the judges stayed in the position of juror, while the judge's position was held by another citizen who was the son-in-law of a prominent citizen, or who had married the widow of a previous member of the urban elite. In that manner, the existing elite accepted and integrated new members into the urban elite to secure its stability and continuity.

Certain similarities in the creation and development process can be seen between Gradec and other continental towns in medieval Hungary. These include the large role of the king, who granted privileges, the favourable position of the town at trade route junctions, the fact that a good part of the population arrived from outside the borders of the then kingdom, and the establishing of magistracies according to linguistic groups, which was also the case in some other Hungarian towns. Regarding town administration, there were only eight jurors in Gradec, while most other Hungarian towns had twelve. Furthermore, there is no mention of an electoral body of one hundred citizens in Gradec; instead, one gets the impression that judges and jurors were elected by all full citizens. It has also been proven that the formal introduction of the Statute of Buda in 1405 as a sort of template for other tavernical towns didn't leave any notable trace on the form of Gradec's town administration regarding the composition of the magistrature, or in the town sources in general. To what extent these peculiarities of Gradec were merely an expression of the town's individuality, which features were quite typical of a medieval town, and whether some other legal customs applied in Gradec, are questions that need to be studied further.

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