

*Marija Karbić**
*Bruno Škreblin***
*Tone Ravnikar****
*Ratko Vučetić*****

Elites and Space in the Towns of Medieval Slavonia: The Cases of Gradec/Zagreb and Varaždin¹

The paper focuses on the leading layer in the urban societies of medieval Slavonia, seeking to answer the following questions: Who comprised the urban elite in Slavonian towns? What were their professions and what properties did they own? What was the significance of family relations for the formation of elites, and what other factors could help an individual to join their ranks? An important issue regarding the urban elites is the relationship between the elites and urban space; thus, the spatial development of Gradec and Varaždin are discussed in the second part of the paper.

Keywords: urban elites, spatial development, medieval Slavonia, Gradec/Zagreb, Varaždin

The leading layer of every society, including the urban ones, determines various aspects of life in that society to a significant extent. Therefore, knowing the characteristics and activities of urban elites in the towns of a particular area con-

* Marija Karbić, Croatian Institute of History, Opatička 10, 10000 Zagreb, Croatia, E-mail: mkarbic@isp.hr

** Bruno Škreblin, Croatian Institute of History, Opatička 10, 10000 Zagreb, Croatia, E-mail: bruno@isp.hr

*** Tone Ravnikar, Faculty of Arts, University of Maribor, Koroška 160, 2000 Maribor, Slovenia, E-mail: anton.ravnikar@um.si

**** Ratko Vučetić, Institute of Art History, Ulica grada Vukovara 68, 10000 Zagreb, Croatia, E-mail: rvucetic@ipu.hr

¹ This study has been sponsored by the Croatian Science Foundation, project “Cities of the Croatian Middle Ages: Urban Elites and Urban Spaces (URBES)”, no. IP-2014-09-7235.

tributes significantly to our understanding of the past societies, and also of the situation in the wider territorial communities whose part they were, which gives an additional meaning to the research on elites. On this occasion, we shall address some questions related to the urban elites in the area of medieval Slavonia, and thus further highlight its history.

How should we define the urban elite in the towns of medieval Slavonia? Whom did it consist of? What kind of professions did its members have and what was the economic basis of their position? What was the significance of owning real estate in the formation of medieval elites? What was the importance of family and other types of social connections for positioning an individual within the society, and what other factors could influence the entry of an individual into the ranks of the elite? These are the issues that will be addressed here. In the context of research on urban elites, the question of their relation to urban space cannot be bypassed, which is why it is also necessary to have a look at the spatial organization of the towns in question.

Although there were a number of towns in the area of medieval Slavonia, today's north-western Croatia, on this occasion our attention is focused on Zagreb's Gradec and Varaždin, for two reasons. Firstly, these were the most advanced towns in this area, and secondly, their written sources are the best preserved.² Court books of the free royal town of Gradec are preserved from the mid-14th century, and later in the same century books of possessions emerge as well, providing a good insight into the organization of urban space and the financial power of individual citizens.³ As for the Varaždin sources, the town's records are preserved from the 1450s and 1460s, as well as the second half of the 16th century.⁴

The characteristics of urban settlements in medieval Slavonia, as well as their elites, were determined by the way in which they emerged and developed, whereby the ruler played an important role in their establishment and empowerment. Another important circumstance is that these towns were inhabited by settlers

² There is abundant scholarly literature on the significance of medieval Gradec. For an analysis of the importance of Gradec as compared to Hungarian towns, see Szabolcs Varga, "Uloga grada Zagreba u gradskom sustavu Ugarske u kasnom srednjem vijeku" [The role of the city of Zagreb in the Hungarian municipal system during the late Middle Ages], *Podravina* 8 (2009), no. 16: 56-72. On Varaždin, see e.g. Neven Budak, *Gradovi Varaždinske županije u srednjem vijeku* [Towns of the Varaždin County in the Middle Ages] (Zagreb; Koprivnica: Nakladna kuća "Dr. Feletar", 1994).

³ Medieval sources on medieval Gradec have been published in: *Povijesni spomenici slob. kralj. grada Zagreba / Monumenta historica liberae regiae civitatis Zagrabiae*, vol. 1-16, ed. Ivan Krstitelj Tkalčić and Emilij Laszowski (Zagreb: Grad Zagreb, 1889-1939) [hereafter: MCZ].

⁴ Varaždin's town records from the mid-15th century have been published in: *Povijesni spomenici slobodnoga kraljevskoga grada Varaždina. Monumenta historica liberae regiae civitatis Varasdini*, vol. 1-2, ed. Zlatko Tanodi and Adolf Wissert (Varaždin: Grad Varaždin, 1944), 2/1 [hereafter: Tanodi, vol. 2/1]; and those from the second half of the 16th century in: *Zapisnici poglavarstva slobodnog i kraljevskog grada Varaždina* [Records of the municipal administration of the free royal city of Varaždin], vol. 1-3, ed. Josip Barbarić et al. (Varaždin: Historijski arhiv Varaždin, 1990-1992) [hereafter: ZPGV].

who had come from different regions, attracted by the privileges and in search of a better life.⁵ The consequence was their multi-ethnic nature,⁶ but the composition of their population also depended on which trade routes they were located on.⁷ Trade routes influenced the formation of an urban elite to a significant extent, since many of its members were involved in international trade. The important characteristic of the towns of the Central European type, to which the urban settlements of medieval Slavonia belonged, was the fact that their elites were not closed: there was no closed group of patricians holding all of political power in their hands, as was the case in the contemporary Dalmatian communes after the closure of the communal councils: instead, the urban elites were open to receive new members.

As the basic criterion of belonging to the urban elite, we have chosen membership in the town magistrate and performing a prominent public function (judge, juror, or councillor). Although in the medieval cities not all distinguished or wealthy citizens had to be members of the city magistrate, in smaller medieval towns such as Gradec or Varaždin, the political elite was indeed most closely connected with the socio-economic elite: that is, those belonging to the economic elite were also social elite, and those who were in the ranks of the social elite, were most often active in the political life of the town. An analysis of the composition of the town magistrate of Gradec suggests that it rarely happened that a wealthy, distinguished, or educated citizen was not at least a member of the town council (*consiliarius*), which was the lowest political function in the usual organization of power in medieval cities (judge-juror-councillor). The entry of an individual into the town magistrate was a consequence of his financial power, family and social connections in the town, his personal ambitions and skills, and his expressed concern for

⁵ Cf. Tomislav Raukar, "Gradec i grad na hrvatskom prostoru" [Gradec and town in general in the Croatian lands], in: *Zagrebački Gradec 1242.-1850.*, ed. Ivan Kampuš, Lujo Margetić and Franjo Šanjek (Zagreb: Grad Zagreb, 1994), 13-17; Bruno Škreblin, *Urbana elita zagrebačkog Gradeca* [The urban elite of Zagreb's Gradec] (Zagreb: Hrvatski institut za povijest, 2018), 21-36.

⁶ A similar situation can be observed in Hungarian towns. Cf. e.g. István Petrovics, "Foreign Ethnic Groups in the Towns of Southern Hungary in the Middle Ages", in: *Segregation – Integration – Assimilation: Religious and Ethnic Groups in the Medieval Towns of Central and Eastern Europe*, ed. Derek Keene, Balázs Nagy and Katalin Szende (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009), 68.

⁷ Cf. Marija Karbić, "Szlavón városok a Magyarország, az Adria térsége és a Német Császárság közötti kereskedelemben / Slavonski gradovi u trgovini između Ugarske, Jadrana i Njemačkog Carstva" [Slavonian towns in trade between Hungary, the Adriatic, and the German Empire], in: *A horvát-magyar együttélés fordulópontjai: intézmények, társadalom, gazdaság, kultúra / Prekretnice u suživotu Hrvata i Mađara: ustanove, društvo, gospodarstvo i kultura*, ed. Pál Fodor, Dinko Šokčević, Jasna Turkalj and Damir Karbić (Budapest: MTA Bölcsészettudományi Kutatóközpont, Történettudományi Intézet; Hrvatski institut za povijest, 2015), 257 and 308-309. On the influence of communication lines on the layout and development of medieval Hungarian towns, see: Katalin Szende, "Towns along the Way: Changing Patterns of Long-distance Trade and the Urban Network of Medieval Hungary", in: *Towns and Communication: Communication between Towns and between Towns and Their Hinterland. Introductory Reflections*, vol. 2, ed. Hubert Houben and Kristijan Toomaspoeg (Galatina: Mario Congedo Editore, 2011), 161-225.

the urban community, which is why the mentioned factors must be taken into account in the research on urban elites.

Participating in the work of the town magistrate

As already mentioned, the participation of a citizen in the magistrate of a medieval city was usually a result of his previously acquired reputation, which was then formalized in a public function. Assuming that the reputation of a citizen was greater if his function was higher and more important can be taken as generally correct. In Gradec, entering the town administration usually started with the lowest office of a councillor, and depending on the reputation, capability, and ambition, an individual could then reach the position of a juror and eventually a judge. Although there may have been deviations from this practice, especially in the late 15th and early 16th centuries, we can say that the judges in Gradec were mostly elected from the ranks of citizens who were previously jurors,⁸ and the Varaždin sources confirm that it was common to appoint judges from among those persons who had previously performed the duty of a juror.⁹

There is no simple answer to the question of how much time it took for a reputable and politically active citizen to become a judge, since that depended on many factors, his personal ambitions and merits, and also some specific circumstances at a given time, such as the division of urban administration into “languages” (*lingue*), which was in effect in Gradec from 1377 to 1436.¹⁰ Citizens who were linked to a higher authority, such as Duke Stephen of Anjou, the Counts of Celje, Duke John Corvinus, or King Vladislav II Jagello could climb to the position of a judge quite quickly – which means that it was possible to influence the election of a citizen to an office from outside. For example, Petar *Ligerii* was first the manager of Duke Stephen’s mint, and his brother Marko must have been in some way connected to the Duke as well. Ivan Pastor and Feliks Petančić were familiar with the royal court, while Jakov Eberspeck stood close to the Counts of Celje, and Gašpar Kušević to John Corvinus. Petar Šafar was probably known and apprecia-

⁸ Škreblin, *Urbana elita*, 67-73.

⁹ Zlatko Tanodi, “Uprava grada Varaždina u srednjem vijeku” [The municipal administration of Varaždin in the Middle Ages], *Obnovljeni život: časopis za filozofiju i religijske znanosti* 21 (1940), no. 5-6: 251.

¹⁰ During this period, the city administration was divided between four “languages”: Latin, Slavic, Hungarian, and German (*lingue Latinorum, Sclavorum, Hungarorum, Teutonicorum*). The town judge was appointed every year from a different group, and only when all *lingue* had come to their turn, the circle started anew. Also, the same number of magistrate members came from each of the four groups. More on the language division in: Bruno Škreblin, “Etničke i političke skupine u srednjovjekovnom gradu: Primjer gradečkih lingui” [Ethnic and political groups in the medieval city: The case of Gradec’s *lingue*], *Povijesni prilozi* 35 (2008): 91-148; idem, “Ethnic Groups in Zagreb’s Gradec in the Late Middle Ages”, *Review of Croatian History* 9 (2013): 25-59.

ted by Eberhard, Bishop of Zagreb.¹¹ But such cases were exceptional and most of the judges in 15th-century Gradec needed about a decade, some even two, to climb from the councillor's post to that of a judge.¹²

Some of those who served as judges were elected only once and others several times, which indicates that they were particularly reputable citizens. In Gradec, these included the abovementioned Petar *Ligerii*, Cion, Ivan, son of Pavao, Mihael, son of Sebastijan, Mihael and Valentin Šaronić, Konrad Rawsar, Antun, son of Toma, Martin Tomić, Nikola Petrov, Mihael Oprašnić, and Emerik Mikulić.¹³ In Varaždin, Matija Pognar and Andrija Privarić were elected judges four times each during the period from 1454 to 1464.¹⁴

The significance of family, friendship, and business ties for the formation of urban elite

It was the family ties, by creating a network that interconnected the most prominent members of the urban community, that had the greatest importance in shaping an urban elite, as evidenced by the fact that out of the 94 citizens who acted as judges in Gradec in the period from 1350 to 1525 at least one third was related to former jurors and/or judges.¹⁵ It should be emphasized that marital bonds were particularly important, as also evidenced by the data on the members of the city magistrate in Gradec and Varaždin. Judges and jurors were often sons-in-law or husbands of widows of former judges or jurors.¹⁶ Thus, in Gradec, Margareta, daughter of juror Brcko, a fisherman, was married to judge Benedict, son of Mihael, and Brcko's widow, also called Margareta, was first married to judge Jakov Eberspeck and then to the councillor and juror Akacije.¹⁷ The sources also inform us of four sisters, daughters of judge Mihael and granddaughters of judge Sebastijan, who were all married to judges or jurors: Katarina to juror Leonard, son of Henrik from Bavaria, Magdalena (or Jelena) to judge Valentin Šaronić,

¹¹ On Petar *Ligerii*, see: Škreblin, *Urbana elita*, 231-232; on Petar Šafar, see: *ibid.*, 268-269; on Jakov Eberspeck, see: *ibid.*, 303-305; on Gašpar Kušević, see: *ibid.*, 328-329; on Feliks Petančić, see: *ibid.*, 335-336; on Ivan Pastor, see: *ibid.*, 336-337.

¹² *Ibid.*, 72-73.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 65-66.

¹⁴ Zlatko Herkov, "Organizacija uprave grada Varaždina i njezin djelokrug od 15. do 18. stoljeća" [Organization of the municipal administration of Varaždin and its scope from the 15th to 18th centuries], in: *Varaždinski zbornik 1181.-1981.*, ed. Andre Mohorovičić (Varaždin: JAZU; Skupština općine Varaždin, 1983), 222.

¹⁵ Škreblin, *Urbana elita*, 95.

¹⁶ On the importance of marital bonds, see: Marija Karbić, Bruno Škreblin, "Prikrivena moć. Uloga pripadnica gradske elite u političkom, društvenom i gospodarskom životu zagrebačkoga Gradeca" [Concealed power: The role of female members of the urban elite in the political, social, and economic life of Zagreb's Gradec], *Povijesni prilozi* 53 (2017): 7-28.

¹⁷ MCZ, vol. 9: 235; vol. 10: 69, 71, 105, 163, 208. Cf. Karbić, Škreblin, "Prikrivena moć", 11.

Uršula to Pavao, a goldsmith from Chişinău in Western Transylvania, who was the town judge in 1478 and 1484, and Barbara first to juror Benedikt, a goldsmith from Baranja, and later to the former city judge, Toma Horvatin.¹⁸ Well-matched marriages were especially important for those who were newcomers in the town and only began to rise in the society. This is evidenced by the fact that the new members of the magistrate were sometimes identified in the lists of town officials as sons-in-law of prominent citizens. Thus, in Varaždin, a list of members of the magistrate from 1587 includes bootmaker Antun, a son-in-law of butcher Šimun, bootmaker Petar Čopak, a son-in-law of Laperšak, Premuž, a son-in-law of Herlić, bootmaker Matija, a son-in-law of Rosman, and butcher Mihael, a son-in-law of Kolar.¹⁹

Generally speaking, the number of patrilinear connections in the magistrates was lower than that of the affine ones, and it is important to note that it was rare for both father and son to function as judges. The judges' sons mostly remained mere jurors or councillors, which may indicate that the urban elite was, after all, more inclined to see a new person with certain connections in the earlier magistrates in the post of a judge, than a former judge's son. The reason for this development may be in the fact that the fathers were often no longer alive at the moment when the sons began their political career, so they could not help them with their connections. In addition, whether someone became a judge depended, after all, primarily on his ambitions, talents, and abilities, even though belonging to a respectable family certainly provided a good basis for starting a political career.²⁰

Some families were especially prominent in terms of their reputation and the place they occupied in the urban society. In Gradec, one of the families whose several descendants or relatives served as judges was that of Sebastijan, son of Mladen. The example of this family also shows that the most distinguished families were interrelated. Namely, the descendants of judge Sebastian were related to other judges' families, such as the Šaronić.²¹ Thereby it should be said that there were few families that persisted in the male line through several generations. In Gradec, only two families were present in the city administration for four generations, and several families had members in the magistrate for three generations in a row.²² The reasons for the disappearance of certain families were partly biological in nature – the high mortality rate in medieval cities – and partly economic.

¹⁸ Karbić, Škreblin, "Prikrivena moć", 12.

¹⁹ ZPGV, vol. 1, 60-61.

²⁰ More on the family relations between the members of the town's magistrate in: Bruno Škreblin, "Uloga obiteljskih veza u formiranju gradske elite zagrebačkog Gradeca (od 1350. do 1526.)" [The role of family ties in creating the urban elite of Zagreb's Gradec (1350-1526)], *Zbornik Odsjeka za povijesne znanosti Zavoda za povijesne i društvene znanosti HAZU* 34 (2016): 39-87.

²¹ Škreblin, *Urbana elita*, 88-90.

²² *Ibid.*, 84-94.

The latter reason was often related to the hereditary right that was in effect in the towns of medieval Slavonia, according to which all children (sons and daughters) had claims to the same part of inheritance, which led to the fragmentation of property.²³ Rarely were there cases where an individual had no brothers or sisters, and thus inherited the entire patrimony. Therefore, the sons of prominent and wealthy citizens had to be successful in business themselves if they wanted to maintain their social position, which sometimes made them emigrate to other cities in search of better business opportunities.

The disappearance of “ancient” families was compensated by the arrival of new ones, who could relatively quickly, if they met other conditions, enter the ranks of the elite, which is also shown by the fact that nearly a third of the town judges in the considered period were newcomers.²⁴ In the inclusion of these newcomers into the society, as was mentioned before, marital bonds with older, esteemed families often played a major role, as it facilitated their social upswing. Moreover, such connections between the members of old and new elites renewed the leading layer of urban society by amalgamation.²⁵ In this process, the crucial role of women in the creation, integration, and consolidation of urban elites becomes evident.²⁶

In addition to family relations, the formation of urban elites in medieval Slavonia was largely influenced by other forms of relating among the leading members of urban society, which could lead to specific associations within the town’s elite. Friendly, neighbourly, and business relations were of great importance, but this time we shall only look at the issue of interconnection by ethnic origin. This type of association flourished with the previously mentioned division of the magistrate into “languages,” but it should also be noted that there were confraternities on ethnic basis in Gradec (a *confraternitas Sclavorum* is mentioned in 1355, and a *confraternitas Teutonicorum* and *confraternitas Latinorum* somewhat later).²⁷ Members of particular ethnic groups were undoubtedly also connected with other members of the same group in private life, but they also built contacts with

²³ On the forms of inheriting property in the towns of medieval Slavonia, see: Lujo Margetić, *Hrvatsko srednjovjekovno obiteljsko i nasljedno pravo* [Medieval Croatian family and inheritance law] (Zagreb: Narodne novine, 1996), 286-294, 321-338; Magdalena Apostolova Maršavelski, *Iz pravne prošlosti Zagreba (13.-16. stoljeće* [From the legal history of Zagreb (13th-16th c.)] (Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 1998), 26-27, 133-160; Marija Karbić, “Women and Property in Medieval Slavonian Towns”, in: *Towns and Cities of the Croatian Middle Ages: Authority and Property*, ed. Irena Benyovsky Latin and Zrinka Pešorda Vardić (Zagreb: Hrvatski institut za povijest, 2014), 439-454.

²⁴ Škreblin, *Urbana elita*, 107.

²⁵ An illustrative example is that of Luka, son of Jakov, who came to Gradec from Italy and married a daughter of juror Marko Bonioli, even adopting the family name of his father-in-law. Škreblin, “Uloga obiteljskih veza”, 45.

²⁶ On the role of women in the creation of urban elites, see: Karbić, Škreblin, “Prikrivena moć”, 7-28.

²⁷ Cf. Nada Klaić, *Zagreb u srednjem vijeku* [Zagreb in the Middle Ages] (Zagreb: Sveučilišna naklada Liber, 1982), 292-293; Škreblin, “Ethnic groups”, 35.

members of other ethnic groups. Cion from Florence, along with “his” Florentines, was well acquainted with Buda’s judge Mihael Nadler as well as with Jörg Öcssel, a nobleman from Brežice.²⁸ There were also marriages between persons of different ethnic backgrounds, as evidenced by those of the abovementioned daughters of Mihael, son of Sebastijan, a Slavic language judge, whose husbands came from the German, Slavic, and Hungarian groups.²⁹ A newcomer to the city would often first marry within the group to which he belonged, and then, if he became a widower, the second marriage was primarily determined by his status in the society, rather than by origin. A fine example of is again Cion from Florence, whose first wife was Benika, daughter of the Florentine Luka Bonioli, and the second Katarina Klarić, of Croatian origins, whose brother Marin was a prominent citizen and a judge, same as Cion.³⁰

What qualities were expected from the members of urban elite?

Members of urban elite often saw themselves as a better and more important part of the urban community (*maior et sanior pars communitatis*).³¹ Therefore, there were certain moral qualities that were not only required and expected from the members of the leading social class, but they were also part of the ideology of the ruling elite striving to consolidate its authority.³² This is clearly expressed in the Statute of Ilok, which among other things prescribed that the citizens in governing positions should have good reputation and that they should never be defamed as traitors, libellers, mockers, perjurers, rebels, and slanderers, while the Statute of Buda lists the following desirable characteristics required of the city officials: wisdom, fairness, goodness, prudence, diligence, cautiousness, decisiveness, honour, reputation, and that the person is the head of a household.³³ In other words, wealth or family and social connections were in principle not helpful for one’s success in the magistrate if one had bad reputation. We can assume that the moral characteristics and the public expression of piety or charity, such as donating mo-

²⁸ More on Cion in: Škreblin, *Urbana elita*, 263-265.

²⁹ Cf. Karbić, Škreblin, “Prikrivena moć”, 12.

³⁰ On his marriage with Benika, see: MCZ, vol. 9, 101; and with Katarina: Klaić, *Zagreb u srednjem vijeku*, 250.

³¹ Katalin Szende, “Power and Identity: Royal Privileges to the Towns of Medieval Hungary in the Thirteenth Century”, in: *Urban Liberties and Citizenship from the Middle Ages up to Now*, ed. Michel Pauly and Alexander Lee (Trier: Porta Alba Verlag, 2015), 46.

³² Charlotte Carpenter, “The Formation of Urban Élites: Civic Officials in Late-Medieval York 1476-1525” (PhD diss., University of York, 2000), 84.

³³ Néda Davori Relković, *Buda város jogkönyve (Ofner Stadtrecht)* (Budapest: Stephaneum Nyomda R.T., 1905), 152; Škreblin, *Urbana elita*, 180. The provisions from the statutes of Buda and Ilok come from the tavernical law, applicable to those towns where the court of appeal was that of the royal *tavernicus*. For this reason, they are of special interest here, since Gradec also belonged to this type (on classifying Gradec as a tavernical town, see: Apostolova Maršavelski, *Iz pravne prošlosti*, 25).

ney to the poor or for building a church may have provided additional wind in the back of ambitious citizens, as this created a favourable image of one's value for the community.³⁴ Moral characteristics may have added to the importance and good reputation of those citizens who were not among the richest, although it should be said that members of distinguished families were able to maintain a prominent position even in cases when they violated the law. Thus, Janko, a descendant of Gradec's family Bole, held important offices in the town administration although he was involved in a series of crimes.³⁵

As for the education, it seems not to have played such a crucial role before the second half of the 15th century. Nevertheless, it can be assumed that in the previous period, those merchants who dominated the town also belonged to a more educated part of the municipality, owing to the nature of their work. From the mid-15th century, it is noticeable in Gradec that persons serving as judges often carry the attribute *litteratus*. This is particularly noticeable in the late 15th and early 16th centuries, when the town judges were mostly characterized as *litterati*.³⁶ In Varaždin, one finds *litterati* in the town magistrate from the second half of the 15th century.³⁷ We may infer from this was the point at which education gained on importance.

For the time being, one cannot make any judgment on the influence of the noble status on the social reputation of petty nobles who decided to live in the town, but the sources show that small and medium nobility was present in the ranks of the urban elite from the mid-14th century. Along with the petty nobles, richer and mightier noblemen lived in the towns as well, or at least spent some time there, but they did not actively engage in the life of the town.³⁸ The presence of nobility is also recorded in the towns of other areas close to Slavonia, such as Ptuj.³⁹ Here the sources reveal the presence of noblemen staying in Ptuj as officials of the

³⁴ On the pious deeds of the members of Gradec's urban elite, see: Škreblin, *Urbana elita*, 177-180.

³⁵ More on the Bole family and Janko's case in: Marija Karbić, "Obitelj Bole. Istaknuti predstavnici *de lingua Theutonicorum* na zagrebačkom Gradecu u 14. i 15. stoljeću" [The Bole family: Prominent representatives of *lingua Theutonicorum* in Zagreb's Gradec during the 14th and 15th centuries], *Godišnjak Njemačke narodnosne zajednice / VDG Jahrbuch* 14 (2007): 11-19.

³⁶ Škreblin, *Urbana elita*, 188-190.

³⁷ *Litteratus* Juraj was a juror in 1454 (Tanodi, "Uprava grada Varaždina", 254).

³⁸ Even though some of them, such as Juraj Bradač in Gradec, applied for citizenship, they often did not take active part in the town administration. On the presence of nobility in Gradec, see: Škreblin, *Urbana elita*, 42 and 191-196; Klaić, *Zagreb u srednjem vijeku*, 259-261. Varaždin's sources likewise testify to the presence of noblemen in the town: e.g. the families of Vragović, Tačin, Herković and Ratkaj. Cf. ZPGV, vol. 1.

³⁹ The source materials linked to medieval Ptuj is preserved in the archives of Graz, Vienna, and Maribor. The regesta have been published by the Austrian historian Norbert Weiss as an appendix to his monograph *Das Städtewesen der ehemaligen Untersteiermark im Mittelalter* (Graz: Histor. Landeskomm. für Steiermark, 2002). Both preserved statutes of Ptuj have been published (the one of 1376 in 1998, and the one of 1513 in 1999). Another important set of sources for the history of Ptuj consists of documents related to the Salzburg properties in Styria, published by Alois Lang.

Ptujski or the Archbishop of Salzburg, who did not settle there permanently.⁴⁰ It is significant that there is almost no mention of noble houses/towers in the town, such as found in considerable numbers in Brežice, Slovenj Gradec, and elsewhere.⁴¹

The material basis of urban elites

The main income of the town elites in Gradec and Varaždin came from crafts or trade, that is, one's own work.⁴² The prevalence of artisans or merchants in the magistrature was a consequence of the economic situation in the country, mirrored in the structure of the town elites.

If we look at the situation in Gradec, we shall see that from the mid-14th approximately to the mid-15th century, the town judges mainly came from the ranks of merchants, which coincided with the favourable economic situation in Hungary, driven by an increase in exports of gold, silver, and other metals from the Hungarian mines in the mid-14th century.⁴³ With a decline in international trade towards the mid-15th century, the Florentine and generally Latin colony in Gradec disappeared. Although trade did not disappear, of course, the possibility of large profits obviously decreased, so small merchants and artisans started to dominate in the town magistrature from that point.⁴⁴

From that time, one can also follow the composition of the Varaždin magistrature. Namely, the first compositions are known only from the mid-15th century. Although we do not know the occupations of all members of the Varaždin magistrature during this period, a considerable number of artisans can be identified. The town jurors, for example, included blacksmiths Juraj Kovačić, Mihael, Lovro, and Ivan, and cobblers Ivan and Barnaba; Matija Pugnar, a maker of arches, was a juror and also a judge on three occasions. In the Varaždin magistrature, one finds tailors

⁴⁰ Boris Hajdinjak, "Mesto Ptuj in njegove elite od 12. do 15. stoletja" [The town of Ptuj and its elites from the 12th to 15th centuries], in: *Mestne elite v srednjem in zgodnjem novem veku med Alpami, Jadranom in Panonskom nižinom / Urban elites in the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Times between the Alps, the Adriatic and the Pannonian Plain*, ed. Janez Mlinar and Bojan Balkovec (Ljubljana: Zveza zgodovinskih društev Slovenije, 2011), 272-278.

⁴¹ Tone Ravnikar, "Mestne elite v srednjeveških Brežicah in Sevnici" [Urban elites in medieval Brežice and Sevnica], in: *Mestne elite v srednjem in zgodnjem novem veku* (see above), 250-263; idem, *Slovenj Gradec v srednjem veku* [Slovenj Gradec in the Middle Ages] (Maribor: ZRI dr. Franca Kovačiča, 2018).

⁴² On the involvement of Slavonian towns in trade, see e.g. Karbić, "Szlavón városok"; Jasmin Medved, "Trgovina grada Varaždina u XV. stoljeću" [Varaždin and its trade in the 15th century], *Radovi Zavoda za znanstveni rad HAZU Varaždin* 24 (2013): 457-478 (with bibliography). On the artisans of Zagreb and Varaždin, see: Klaić, *Zagreb u srednjem vijeku*, 278-290; Jasmin Medved, "Obrtništvo grada Varaždina u XV. stoljeću" [Artisans in 15th-century Varaždin], *Radovi Zavoda za znanstveni rad HAZU Varaždin* 24 (2013): 423-456.

⁴³ Pál Engel, *The Realm of St Stephen: A History of Medieval Hungary 895-1526* (London; New York: I.B. Tauris, 2001), 155-156; Petrovics, "Foreign Ethnic Groups", 72.

⁴⁴ Škreblin, *Urbana elita*, 128.

Ivan Wild and Pongrac, as well as several butchers.⁴⁵ The significant presence of artisans in the Varaždin magistrate corresponds to the situation in the contemporary Gradec magistrate. However, it should be noted that some artisans also engaged in trade or had an additional source of income. Thus, butcher Emerik Gomboltović, a juror, was also involved in trade,⁴⁶ while blacksmith Mihael, likewise a juror, had a mill on the Drava River.⁴⁷ In addition, Andrija Plivarić, the most distinguished member of the magistrate and a judge with several mandates, traded with oil and spices.⁴⁸

With the surge in international trade at the turn of the 16th century, judges such as Ivan Pastor from Florence or Emerik Mikulić once again appear as judges in Gradec and involved in international trade, this time exporting Hungarian cattle to the Venetian market.⁴⁹ Nevertheless, it should be noted that even in the periods of trade domination, some judges in Gradec came from the more lucrative artisan branches such as goldsmithing or textile processing.⁵⁰

All in all, one may conclude that in the times of blooming economy and trade, the authority in towns was largely, although not exclusively, in the hands of merchants. This is confirmed by the example of Ptuj, a significant point on trade routes, which was dominated by merchants, as evidenced by the list of its judges, with only a few artisans among them,⁵¹ while for most of them it is explicitly said or probable that they were involved in trade. Ptuj's merchants, who amassed significant wealth by using their exceptional position at the Drava crossing, completely overshadowed the significantly poorer nobility.⁵²

In addition to trade or crafts, members of the urban elites received their income from the properties they had in town, or the estates they had in its territory. Thus, shops and houses could bring rental income, and fields, gardens, or vineyards yielded agricultural produce.⁵³ As for the real estate owned by the citizens, the best sources are last wills and inventories, which list their property in detail. These documents show that the urban elite had significant properties. For example, a

⁴⁵ Medved, "Obrtništvo", 426, 428, 431-432, 436.

⁴⁶ Tanodi, vol. 2/1, 155-156.

⁴⁷ Medved, "Obrtništvo", 426.

⁴⁸ Medved, "Trgovina", 467.

⁴⁹ On the impact of international trade on the structure of Gradec's elite, see: Škrebliin, *Urbana elita*, 123-133.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 134.

⁵¹ A good example is stonemason Janez, a judge before 1369. Cf. Dejan Zadavec, *Ptujski meščani do uničujočega požara leta 1684. Biografsko-prosopografski priručnik* [Ptuj's citizens before the devastating fire of 1684: A biographical-prosopographical handbook] (Ptuj: Zgodovinski arhiv, 2017), 106.

⁵² On the exceptional importance of Ptuj's citizens, see also: Otmar Pickl, "Pomen Ptujja kot mednarodnega trgovskega mesta od 14. do 17. stoletja" [The significance of Ptuj as an international trade centre (14th-17th centuries)], *Ptujski zbornik* 6 (1996), no. 1: 463-490 (with bibliography).

⁵³ On the landed properties of the members of Gradec's elite, see: Škrebliin, *Urbana elita*, 165-170.

document on the division of property between the heirs of Mihael Sebastijan in Gradec reveals that he owned houses and shops in the town, a bathing resort with accompanying plot, eight gardens in the suburb near Manduševac, fifteen peasant holdings (*sessiones*) with tenant peasants in Pobrežje, three vineyards, and one forest.⁵⁴ Documents on the division of property between Katarina, widow of juror Sigismund, and their daughter Margaret show that they owned numerous vineyards, gardens, stables, lands and peasant holdings with tenant peasants in Pobrežje, and solid and wooden houses with accompanying plots.⁵⁵ From the last will of Benedikt Travinić from Varaždin, we learn that he owned a vineyard, arable land, hayfields, a house, and a plot with a garden in the town.⁵⁶

The possession of valuable real estate in the town was, moreover, a matter of prestige.⁵⁷ An analysis of property relations has shown that the citizens who acquired wealth and became members of the magistrate tended to move to representative, larger and solid houses in the elite part of the town. On the other hand, selling a representative property and moving to a smaller one usually indicated loss of financial power, which had repercussions on the political status of the person. In addition to houses and shops, some wealthier citizens owned towers as well, for business needs or simply prestige.⁵⁸

When we talk about the urban elite in relation to real estate, there are two questions to be addressed: first, a question of the elite's influence on the shaping of urban space, and second, that of the spatial distribution of its members within the town, as will be discussed in the next chapter.

Spatial development of towns and the urban elite

In case of both Gradec and Varaždin, even though one can talk about the beginnings of urbanity, i.e. the existence of an early form of towns even prior to obtaining privileges, the basic urban structure emerged by acquiring the features of an "institutional" town, in the 13th century and later. The town's spatial structure was determined or asserted by its basic morphological elements: the fortifications, the position of the church, the structure and layout of streets or communication lines, the definition of public and private space, and the partition of land into plots, consolidated by the construction of solid houses. The formative elements of towns were subject to change over time, due to different influences, but their

⁵⁴ MCZ, vol. 10, 34-35.

⁵⁵ MCZ, vol. 9, 242, 245, 270-272, 278-279.

⁵⁶ ZPGV, vol. 1, 80-81.

⁵⁷ For a reconstruction of the location of houses in Gradec and identifying their owner, see Vladimir Bedenko, *Zagrebački Gradec: kuća i grad u srednjem vijeku* [Zagreb's Gradec: House and town in the Middle Ages] (Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 1989).

⁵⁸ Cf. Škreblin, *Urbana elita*, 144-165.

persistence and the importance of their functions made them recognizable in the town even after their disappearance.

The formation of Varaždin was determined by its strategic position on the intersection of two communication routes: the Drava route, which ran in the east-west direction, and the Zagreb route, which ran from north to south. At their juncture, there was a count's castle in the 12th century.⁵⁹

In the spatial structure of Varaždin, the position of the original county's castle can be recognized at the site of the later Gothic and Renaissance castle in the northwest corner of the city. Today's situation is a result of the gradual fortification of this area, which reached its pinnacle in the 16th century. Archaeological research, however, has not provided any material evidence concerning the existence of a castle in the 12th century, and therefore the position of the original castle has remained a matter of debate.⁶⁰ Still, the spatial situation and the continuity of the castle in the position of the later castle speak for the existence of an earlier structure, most probably earthen, which was rebuilt in solid material after the Tatar invasion. The lack of archaeological findings can be, in that case, explained by a series of later interventions in this area. It was these early castles, as county centres, and especially those located in favourable traffic positions with a pronounced centrality, that formed the nucleus of towns. Given the traffic and demo-geographical position, castles were the centres of power for the surrounding, dispersed settlements. Artisan hamlets evolved around them, and usually also marketplaces. The emergence of towns next to a castle, as the seat of the ruling social layer, is common in the Central European area and represents the basic principle of town development.

The town of Varaždin was formed longitudinally between two focal points, the fortification and the parish church. In the north, in front of the gate tower, on the east-west road, there was a marketplace. The tower with *sedilia* also served for collecting market fees. In the Central European area, transit gate towers were built from the 13th century (in medieval Slavonia, a similar example is Samobor). They were the starting point of town fortifications, and the range of the fortified area is recognizable even today, in the system of streets, which follow the line of the fortification in the east and in the south. In the 13th century, there was a Franciscan monastery with a hospital at the southern access. In the second half of the 13th century (1270), the palace of citizen Kurej is mentioned, but its exact position is not known. According to the present research, the original settlement seems to

⁵⁹ The short overview of the spatial development of Varaždin and Gradec largely relies on: Ratko Vučetić, "Prostorni razvoj privilegiranih srednjovjekovnih gradova u sjeverozapadnoj Hrvatskoj do kraja 18. stoljeća" [Spatial development of the privileged medieval towns in north-western Croatia until the late 18th century] (PhD diss., University of Zagreb, 2005).

⁶⁰ Zorislav Horvat, "Gotička kula varaždinskog Starog grada" [The Gothic tower of Varaždin's Old Town], *Godišnjak spomenika kulture Hrvatske* 6/7 (1980-1981): 78.

have been organized as a series of smaller hamlets along the access roads, with the castle as its centre, at which a marketplace emerged as well. During the 16th century, Varaždin obtained a new ring of solid Renaissance fortifications, rectangular in shape, with contours that defined the shape of the settlement and are still identifiable. The town was functionally divided into two parts in the 16th century: while that on the west was predominantly under the military administration, the part on the south and east of the original castle were the civic area; the castle was divided from the town by a separate fortification system. The new functions resulted in the creation of a new, rectangular square by the street connecting the northern and southern town gates. At the northwest edge of the square, at the point where it met the street, was the town hall.

The presence of an urban elite can be traced in Varaždin from the second half of the 13th century. As mentioned earlier, in 1270 a citizen called Kurej is mentioned, who bought a palace from the queen's official Dionysius.⁶¹ The position of the palace is not known: it may have been located in the original market area, and since the first owner was a queen's official, there is a possibility that it was within the castle. The meaning of the term "palace" (*palacio*) can be related to the status of its owner or to the fact that it was a luxurious and complex structure built of solid material. The time of its construction and the analogous examples in the Central European area indicate that it may have been Gothic in style, but without material evidence such presumptions must be voiced with caution. The change of ownership and the transfer of the house from the queen's official to the citizens of Varaždin certainly indicate the existence of a more prosperous layer of citizens, which could afford a more luxurious way of living.

Another key moment in the construction of Varaždin that is interesting regarding the influence of urban elite on the shaping of the town's area is related to the aforementioned formation of a new centre after the fortification of Varaždin in the 16th century and the emergence of a rectangular square along the main axis, a commercial street that connected the northern and southern town gates. During the 16th century, the nobility and the wealthy merchants, members of the town elite, erected solid houses along the square, which thus became an elite area, but solid houses were also built along the main road in the north-south direction, which ran by the square, and also along the street leading from the square to the west. In all these cases of higher quality construction, members of Varaždin's urban elite were undoubtedly involved.

The fact that Varaždin became the key stronghold in the defence of Styria brought soldiers to the town, as well as merchants and artisans supplying the troops. Functional changes in the city resulted in a different design of houses.

⁶¹ Mira Ilijanić, Slavko Kapustić, "Prilog istraživanju stanovništva i urbanog razvoja Varaždina do zaključno 16. stoljeća" [A contribution to the research of the population and urban development of Varaždin up to the 16th century], in: *Varaždinski zbornik 1181.-1981.* (see above), 169-170.

A new type of Renaissance houses occupied the entire street front, its lateral wing extending along the northern or western edge of the plot. The already mentioned houses of merchants and artisans, erected in the central square and along the main axis, had two storeys, a tripartite division, and steep roofs. They were built of quarried stone and usually had cellars. The ground floor served economic purposes and had shops, while the first floor was intended for housing. The doorway was set laterally and a stone staircase led to the first floor, with a porch shaped by Tuscan columns on the top. The façade was plastered, with a partition cornice indicated by a different colour. The decorative system is mostly not preserved, but the houses seem to have had porches along the street front. The portals and window frames were made of stone, and richly carved double-arched windows have also been documented. The typological origin of these Renaissance houses can be identified in Styria, primarily Graz and the masons' workshops related to the Del Allio family.

In each period, the forces that play a leading role in the town show their status by intervening in the urban tissue. In the early stages of urban development, these leading forces were royal officials and counts, and their power was manifested and embodied in the first earthen castle, which can be considered as an architectural reflection of their power and the nucleus of the town. At the turn of the 15th century, the gate tower, the most representative construction of the Middle Ages, was still linked to the castle, but from the 16th century, the financial power and social position of the citizens grew, predominantly that of merchants and artisans, and the town centre moved to the market and the main communication line, which now acquired a commercial-representative function.

Gradec, a town founded after the withdrawal of the Mongols in 1242, stands out among the medieval towns of continental Croatia, as it was conceived as a planned town with a regular grid (the first such example in the kingdom) and the only one surrounded by stone walls.

In the earlier times, during the period after the town's foundation, the sources mention the castle, the parish church of St Mark, the Ban's Palace, and the royal *castrum*, and somewhat later the royal palace and the *castellum* of the Counts of Celje. The town consisted of three parts. In the north, there was the royal *castrum*, next to which there was a settlement of the *iobagiones*, which extended to the northern front of St Mark's Square. In the central part, there was St Mark's Square, and the southern part developed along today's Ćirilometodska Street (with four blocks), which entered the square centrally from the south. Due to the configuration of the terrain, the streets were running in the north-south direction. The preserved medieval architecture includes the Lotrščak tower, the parish church of St Mark, and Priest's (Popov) Tower – along the same axis as the direction of the main street and St Mark's Square. The main gate and the access streets – Kamenita

and Mesnička – were laid out differently than the rest of the town – from east to west. Considering the position of Ćirilometodska Street and the suburb around the parish church of St Margaret, one can also reconstruct the original main entrance to the city, namely the Lotrščak Gate.

Public buildings were located along the central square. Shops and wealthier residential houses, owned by the urban elite, were built along the access streets or at the town gate, while the representative architectural layer was located along the southern line of the city walls. According to the historical sources, the solid houses in today's Ćirilometodska Street had cellar entrances from the street; this type of merchant house with a basement, i.e. storage rooms, is also found in other Central European towns and cities. As for the southern representative line along the ramparts, no architecture from the medieval period has been preserved, but since the same owners or holders of the Ban's honour (Celjski, Gorjanski, Mikac) who owned houses in Gradec are also mentioned as owners of houses in Visegrád and Buda during the same period, it is possible to reconstruct at least to some extent the missing layer of medieval architecture in Gradec: with the help of written sources, preserved architecture, reconstructions of building, and analogies. Among the earlier examples of preserved urban architecture, one should mention the house at the corner of Kamenita and Opatička, with an L-shaped shop entrance and a preserved system of vaults. The orientation of this house in the block is different from what has been previously proposed, and therefore the issue of reevaluating the previous research and its supplementation is also raised here.

The possible position of the 12th-century royal *castrum* in Zagreb's Gradec has often been discussed by scholars, with the prevailing opinion that the earthen castle was situated at its highest position, at the site of the later Priest's Tower.⁶² The Gradec castle preceded the emergence of the planned town, and was at the same time the starting point for the later ramparts. In the second half of the 13th century, the town became a stronghold of the royal government, and the defence system was transferred from the royal *castrum* to the ramparts. During the 14th century, Gradec was flourishing. Noblemen moved to the town and various crafts emerged, there was an increase in trade, and the first documented solid houses were built. At that time, the royal palace was erected in the southwest corner of Gradec, and along the southern section of the ramparts there were the Ban's Palace and the Dominican estate. The area at the southern wall was the representative part of the town, with the largest plots and representative houses. In the 15th century, a *castellum* of the Counts of Celje is mentioned in Gradec, although its exact position is not known. Scholars have looked for it at the site of the Arpad *castrum*

⁶² Neven Budak, "Budući da smo htjeli u Zagrebu na brdu Gradecu sagraditi slobodni grad..." [Since our wish was to build a free town in Zagreb, on the Gradec hill...], in: *Zlatna bula 1242.-1992.* (Zagreb: Muzej grada Zagreba, 1992), 24-30.

and the royal palace, but another possible locality is Visoka Street.⁶³ Documents from the 15th century mention a *domus* (house), a *palatium* (palace), and a *turris* (tower).⁶⁴ Besides the area along the southern line of the ramparts, solid houses are documented in Ćirilometodska Street, in the main town square, in Kamenita Street, and in the access street from the Stone Gate to St Mark's Square. One should also mention the specific *erker* type of bay window, an element borrowed from the fortification architecture, which appeared in urban secular architecture as a representative decorative element of the house façade at the turn of the 15th century, and which is first mentioned in Gradec in 1480.⁶⁵

In an attempt to examine the urban structure of continental Croatian towns on the examples of Varaždin and Gradec, common elements have been identified in the given periods. In the 12th and 13th centuries, these included the castle as the king's or count's seat and the nucleus of the future town. During the 15th century, the Counts of Celje had their buildings in both towns: the tower in Varaždin and the *castellum* in Gradec. Almost nothing is known anything about the latter, but the tower in Varaždin certainly had a defence function along with the representative one, and possibly also served for housing.

In both Gradec and Varaždin, the urban elites settled in the vicinity of the town gates, the square, and the main shopping street, choosing a position next to the focal points in urban space and the visual highlights of the town, either public or sacral: the magistrate building, churches, chapels, and so on. Their houses were usually more luxurious, with a more complex ground plan, often built of solid materials, with a partially buried cellar that served as a storage or workshop, shops on the ground floor, and a residential first floor. Along the edge of the plot, residential and economy buildings were added. The simpler house type was usually built at the edge of the plot, laterally positioned with regard to the street, and the entrance was from the plot. The more elaborate house type had its longer side and its entrance facing the street. Lack of space resulted in denser distribution of structures in a plot and in vertical construction, which also added to the representativeness of the house. The corner position was considered favourable, and so

⁶³ Bedenko, *Zagrebački Gradec*, 2, 22-24; Vučetić, "Prostorni razvoj", 184.

⁶⁴ Bedenko *Zagrebački Gradec*, 82. This book refers to the medieval houses and the basic house typology. At the present state of research, it is possible to establish some more accurate facts, based on the comparative material from the Central European context, but that would go beyond the scope of this paper. Since the publication of Bedenko's book, no medieval house in Zagreb's Gradec has been identified.

⁶⁵ Bedenko *Zagrebački Gradec*, 51,75. With time, individual architectural elements may change their functions. A house with a tower appeared in Central Europe in the 12th century, as a fortification element at the time when towns were still unfortified. In the earlier periods, it was situated in the rear of the plot, with an entrance in the upper floor, accessed over a ladder, and almost without other openings. In the 15th centuries, towers were built facing the street, had large openings, and had a representative function. The situation with the *erker* type of bay window is similar: they were an architectural element from the fortification architecture, yet became a decorative element in urban façade in the 15th century. They rested on a relief-ornamented column or console, and often housed chapels.

were the positions at the intersection of two streets or the point where a street met the square. Typically, houses in such positions belonged to the wealthier citizens. The corner position defined the area of two streets or blocks, and dominated the urban space; the house could face the street with its longer front, which meant more shops and thus higher incomes. Often the corner houses were made of solid material, which offered better protection against fire.

In addition to these similarities, one can observe various differences in the urban structures of Gradec and Varaždin. A different development defined a more complex and elaborate urban structure of Gradec, with a clearer differentiation of its inhabitants and consequently also constructions in the 14th and 15th centuries, while similar processes occurred in Varaždin only in the 16th century. However, in both cases, the influence of social structures and different lifestyles on the town's spatial development can be observed.

Considering the limited scope of this paper, we have only broadly addressed the issue of the urban elites of medieval Slavonian towns, and the connection between them and urban space in that region. Nevertheless, our intention was to point out the essential characteristics of these elites and their dynamics. We have drawn attention to the importance of family relations as well as other types of connections in the formation of elites, to the fact that members of the elite could be both merchants and artisans, whereby merchants prevailed in the economically favourable periods, and that significant real estate was in the hands of the elite. We have also indicated various other factors that were important for the rise of an individual in the society. The second part of the paper also discussed the spatial development of Gradec and Varaždin, the situation of real estate owned by the elites in the urban area, and impact of the elites on urban development.

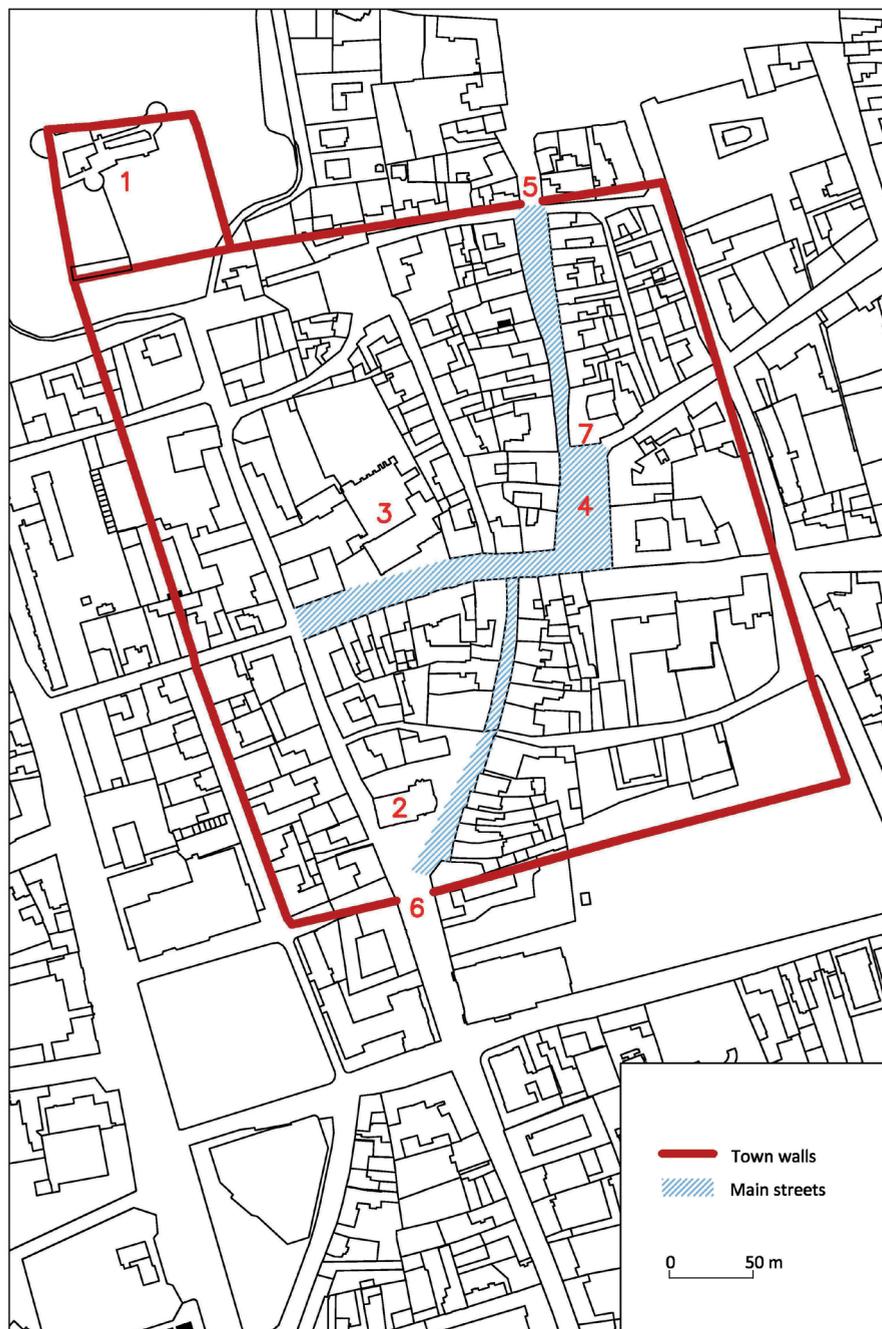
APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1

Gradec

1. Parish church St Mark and Main Square, 2. King's palace, 3. Ban's palace, 4. Castrum, 5. Bishop's Tower, 6. Parish church St Margaret, 7. Lotrščak Tower, 8. Dominican monastery, 9. Town Hall, 10. Hospital, 11. Town Gate

APPENDIX 2

Varaždin

1. Castrum – Celjski Tower, 2. Parish church St Nicolas, 3. Franciscan monastery and Hospital, 4. Main Square, 5. North Town Gate, 6. South Town Gate, 7. Town Hall

Published sources and literature

Apostolova Maršavelski, Magdalena. *Iz pravne prošlosti Zagreba (13.-16. stoljeće)* [From the legal history of Zagreb (13th-16th c.)]. Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 1998.

Bedenko, Vladimir. *Zagrebački Gradec. Kuća i grad u srednjem vijeku* [Zagreb's Gradec: House and town in the Middle Ages]. Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 1989.

Budak, Neven. "Budući da smo htjeli u Zagrebu na brdu Gradecu sagraditi slobodni grad..." [Since our wish was to build a free town in Zagreb, on the Gradec hill...]. In: *Zlatna bula 1242.-1992.*, edited Zlatko Stublić, 21-32. Zagreb: Muzej grada Zagreba, 1992.

Budak, Neven. *Gradovi Varaždinske županije u srednjem vijeku* [Towns of the Varaždin County in the Middle Ages]. Zagreb; Koprivnica: Nakladna kuća "Dr. Feletar", 1994.

Carpenter, Charlotte. "The Formation of Urban Élites: Civic Officials in Late-Medieval York 1476-1525". PhD diss., University of York, 2000.

Davori Relković, Néda. *Buda város jogkönyve (Ofner Stadtrecht)*. Budapest: Stephaneum Nyomda R.T., 1905.

Engel, Pál. *The Realm of St Stephen: A History of Medieval Hungary 895-1526*. London; New York: I.B. Tauris, 2001.

Hajdinjak, Boris. "Mesto Ptuj in njegove elite od 12. do 15. stoletja" [The town of Ptuj and its elites from the 12th to 15th centuries]. In: *Mestne elite v srednjem in zgodnjem novem veku med Alpami, Jadranom in Panonskom nižinom / Urban Elites in the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Times between the Alps, the Adriatic and the Pannonian Plain*, edited Janez Mlinar and Bojan Balkovec, 264-307. Ljubljana: Zveza zgodovinskih društev Slovenije, 2011.

Herkov, Zlatko. "Organizacija uprave grada Varaždina i njezin djelokrug od 15. do 18. stoljeća" [Organization of the municipal administration of Varaždin and its scope from the 15th to 18th centuries]. In: *Varaždinski zbornik 1181.-1981.*, edited Andre Mohorovičić, 219-232. Varaždin: JAZU; Skupština općine Varaždin, 1983.

Horvat, Zorislav. "Gotička kula varaždinskog Starog grada" [The Gothic tower of Varaždin's Old Town]. *Godišnjak spomenika kulture Hrvatske* 6/7 (1980-81): 75-82.

Ilijanić, Mira; **Kapustić**, Slavko. "Prilog istraživanju stanovništva i urbanog razvoja Varaždina do zaključno 16. stoljeća" [A contribution to the research of the population and urban development of Varaždin up to the 16th century]. In: *Varaždinski zbornik 1181.-1981.*, edited Andre Mohorovičić, 169-190. Varaždin: JAZU; Skupština općine Varaždin, 1983.

Karbić, Marija. "Obitelj Bole. Istaknuti predstavnici *de lingua Theutonicorum* na zagrebačkom Gradecu u 14. i 15. stoljeću" [The Bole family: Prominent representatives of *lingua Theutonicorum* in Zagreb's Gradec during the 14th and 15th centuries]. *Godišnjak Njemačke narodnosne zajednice / VDG Jahrbuch* 14 (2007): 11-19.

Karbić, Marija. "Szlavón városok a Magyarország, az Adria térsége és a Német Császárság közötti kereskedelemben / Slavonski gradovi u trgovini između Ugarske, Jadrana i Njemačkog Carstva" [Slavonian towns in trade between Hungary, the Adriatic, and the German Empire]. In: *A horvát-magyar együttélés fordulópontjai: intézmények, társadalom, gazdaság, kultúra / Prekretnice u suživotu Hrvata i Mađara: ustanove, društvo, gospodarstvo i kultura*, edited Pál Fodor, Dinko Šokčević, Jasna Turkalj and Damir Karbić, 250-257, 302-309. Budapest: MTA Bölcsészettudományi Kutatóközpont, Történettudományi Intézet – Hrvatski institut za povijest, 2015.

Karbić, Marija. "Women and Property in Medieval Slavonian Towns." In: *Towns and Cities of the Croatian Middle Ages: Authority and Property*, edited Irena Benyovsky Latin and Zrinka Pešorda Vardić, 439-454. Zagreb: Hrvatski institut za povijest, 2014.

Karbić, Marija; **Škreblin**, Bruno. "Prikrivena moć. Uloga pripadnica gradske elite u političkom, društvenom i gospodarskom životu zagrebačkoga Gradeca" [Concealed power: The role of female members of the urban elite in the political, social, and economic life of Zagreb's Gradec]. *Povijesni prilozi* 53 (2017): 7-28.

Klaić, Nada. *Zagreb u srednjem vijeku* [Zagreb in the Middle Ages]. Zagreb: Sveučilišna naklada Liber, 1982.

Margetić, Lujo. *Hrvatsko srednjovjekovno obiteljsko i nasljedno pravo* [Croatian medieval family and inheritance law]. Zagreb: Narodne novine, 1996.

Medved, Jasmin. "Obrtništvo grada Varaždina u XV. stoljeću" [Varaždin's artisans in the 15th century]. *Radovi Zavoda za znanstveni rad HAZU Varaždin* 24 (2013): 423-456.

Medved, Jasmin. "Trgovina grada Varaždina u XV. stoljeću" [Varaždin and its trade in the 15th century]. *Radovi Zavoda za znanstveni rad HAZU Varaždin* 24 (2013): 457-478.

Petrovics, István. "Foreign Ethnic Groups in the Towns of Southern Hungary in the Middle Ages". In: *Segregation – Integration – Assimilation: Religious and Ethnic Groups in the Medieval Towns of Central and Eastern Europe*, edited Derek Keene, Balázs Nagy and Katalin Szende, 67-87. Farnham: Ashgate, 2009.

Pickl, Otmar. "Pomen Ptuja kot mednarodnega trgovskega mesta od 14. do 17. stoletja" [The significance of Ptuj as an international trade centre (14th-17th centuries)]. *Ptujski zbornik* 6 (1996), no. 1: 463-490.

Poviestni spomenici slobodnoga kraljevskoga grada Varaždina. Monumenta historica liberae regiae civitatis Varasdini, vol. 1-2, edited Zlatko Tanodi and Adolf Wissert. Varaždin: Grad Varaždin, 1944.

Povjestni spomenici slob. kralj. grada Zagreba. Monumenta historica liberae regiae civitatis Zagrabiae, vol. 1-16, edited Ivan Krstitelj Tkalčić and Emilij Laszowski. Zagreb: Grad Zagreb, 1889-1939.

Raukar, Tomislav. "Gradec i grad na hrvatskom prostoru" [Gradec and town in general in the Croatian lands]. In: *Zagrebački Gradec 1242.-1850.*, edited Ivan Kampuš, Lujo Margetić and Franjo Šanjek, 13-17. Zagreb: Grad Zagreb, 1994.

Ravnikar, Tone. "Mestne elite v srednjeveških Brežicah in Sevnici" [Urban elites in medieval Brežice and Sevnica]. In: *Mestne elite v srednjem in zgodnjem novem veku med Alpami, Jadranom in Panonskom nižinom / Urban Elites in the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Times between the Alps, the Adriatic and the Pannonian Plain*, edited Janez Mlinar and Bojan Balkovec, 250-263. Ljubljana: Zveza zgodovinskih društev Slovenije, 2011.

Ravnikar, Tone. *Slovenj Gradec v srednjem veku* [Slovenj Gradec in the Middle Ages]. Maribor: ZRI dr. Franca Kovačiča, 2018.

Szende, Katalin. "Power and Identity: Royal Privileges to the Towns of Medieval Hungary in the Thirteenth Century". In: *Urban Liberties and Citizenship from the Middle Ages up to Now*, edited Michel Pauly and Alexander Lee, 27-67. Trier: Porta Alba Verlag, 2015.

Szende, Katalin. "Towns along the Way: Changing Patterns of Long-distance Trade and the Urban Network of Medieval Hungary". In: *Towns and Communication: Communication between Towns and between Towns and Their Hinterland. Introductory reflections*, vol. 2, edited Hubert Houben and Kristjan Toomaspoeg, 161-225. Galatina: Mario Congedo Editore, 2011.

Škreblin, Bruno. "Ethnic Groups in Zagreb's Gradec in the Late Middle Ages". *Review of Croatian History* 9 (2013): 25-59.

Škreblin, Bruno. "Etničke i političke skupine u srednjovjekovnom gradu. Primjer gradečkih lingui" [Ethnic and political groups in the medieval city: The case of Gradec's *lingue*]. *Povijesni prilozi* 35 (2008): 91-148.

Škreblin, Bruno. "Uloga obiteljskih veza u formiranju gradske elite zagrebačkog Gradeca (od 1350. do 1526.)" [The role of family ties in creating the urban elite of Zagreb's Gradec (1350-1526)]. *Zbornik Odsjeka za povijesne znanosti Zavoda za povijesne i društvene znanosti HAZU* 34 (2016): 39-87.

Škreblin, Bruno. *Urbana elita zagrebačkog Gradeca* [The urban elite of Zagreb's Gradec]. Zagreb: Hrvatski institut za povijest, 2018.

Tanodi, Zlatko. "Uprava grada Varaždina u srednjem vijeku" [The municipal administration of Varaždin in the Middle Ages]. *Obnovljeni život: časopis za filozofiju i religijske znanosti* 21 (1940), no. 5-6: 250-265.

Varga, Szabolcs. "Uloga grada Zagreba u gradskom sustavu Ugarske u kasnom srednjem vijeku" [The role of the city of Zagreb in the Hungarian municipal system during the late Middle Ages]. *Podravina* 8 (2009), no. 16: 56-72.

Vučetić, Ratko. "Prostorni razvoj privilegiranih srednjovjekovnih gradova u sjeverozapadnoj Hrvatskoj do kraja 18. stoljeća" [Spatial development of the privileged medieval towns in north-western Croatia until the late 18th century]. PhD diss., University of Zagreb, 2005.

Weiss, Norbert. *Das Städtewesen der ehemaligen Untersteiermark im Mittelalter*. Graz: Histor. Landeskomm. für Steiermark, 2002.

Zadavec, Dejan. *Ptujski meščani do uničujućega požara leta 1684. Biografsko-prosopografski priručnik* [Ptuj's citizens before the devastating fire of 1684: A biographical-prosopographical handbook]. Ptuj: Zgodovinski arhiv, 2017.

Zapisnici poglavarstva slobodnog i kraljevskog grada Varaždina [Records of the municipal administration of the free royal city of Varaždin], vol. 1-3, edited Josip Barbarić, Ivan Kolander, Adolf Wissert, Kolanović, Josip. Varaždin: Historijski arhiv Varaždin, 1990-1992.

*Marija Karbić**
*Bruno Škreblin***
*Tone Ravnikar****
*Ratko Vučetić*****

Elite i prostor u gradskim naseljima srednjovjekovne Slavonije. Primjer Gradeca/Zagreba i Varaždina

Sažetak

Rad se bavi vodećim slojem gradskih društava srednjovjekovne Slavonije analizirajući urbane elite zagrebačkog Gradeca i Varaždina, najrazvijenijih gradskih naselja na tom području. Istraživanje je bilo prvenstveno usmjereno na osobe koje su bile nosioci neke od istaknutih gradskih funkcija (sudac, prisežnik, vijećnik) i članove njihovih obitelji, jer su u manjim srednjovjekovnim gradovima poput Gradeca ili Varaždina osobe koje su bile uključene u politički život grada najčešće bile i dio društvene i gospodarske elite. Rad čine dvije veće cjeline, od kojih je prva posvećena analizi urbanih elita Gradeca i Varaždina. U njoj se govori o zanimanjima kojima su se pripadnici elite bavili i posjedima koje su držali, a posebna je pažnja posvećena pitanju značenja rodbinskih veza u oblikovanju elite, pri čemu se ističe i važna ulogu žena u tim procesima. Osim na važnost rodbinskih veza, upozorava se i na značenje drugih oblika društvenih veza (poslovnih, prijateljskih, etničkih) u formiranju elite, a raspravlja se i o drugim čimbenicima koji su mogli pomoći uključivanju pojedinca u redove elite. Drugi dio rada je, za razliku od prvog koji je usmjeren na same urbane elite, posvećen prostornoj organizaciji Gradeca i Varaždina, položaju nekretnina u vlasništvu pripadnika elite u gradu i odnosu elite s urbanim prostorom.

Ključne riječi: urbane elite, prostorni razvoj, srednjovjekovna Slavonija, Gradec/Zagreb, Varaždin

* Marija Karbić, Hrvatski institut za povijest, Opatička 10, 10000 Zagreb, Republika Hrvatska, E-mail adresa: mkarbic@isp.hr

** Bruno Škreblin, Hrvatski institut za povijest, Opatička 10, 10000 Zagreb, Republika Hrvatska, E-mail adresa: bruno@isp.hr

*** Tone Ravnikar, Filozofska fakulteta, Univerza v Mariboru, Koroška 160, 2000 Maribor, Republika Slovenija, E-mail adresa: anton.ravnikar@um.si

**** Ratko Vučetić, Institut za povijest umjetnosti, Ulica grada Vukovara 68, 10000 Zagreb, Republika Hrvatska, E-mail adresa: rvucetic@ipu.hr