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THE LEADING URBAN ELITE OF SOPRON IN THE 15–16th CENTURIES
THE COMPARATIVE INSTITUTIONAL AND SOCIAL HISTORY OF
THE MAYORS AND TOWN JUDGES

– theses of dissertation –

I. Challenging the traditional approach, new questions and methods

The most well-known, and probably most popular research field of the scholarship on late medieval and early modern Sopron is the so-called Lackner-era, the first decades of the 17th century. According to the unanimous belief of the research on this topic, the period was a time of great economic and cultural prosperity. This undivided opinion is even less surprising taking into consideration that the leading urban group of this era – embracing councillors with humanistic traditional and self-education, noble titles and commercial success – immensely contributed to this image through its own verbal and visual self-fashioning. This representation emphasized the cultural superiority of these decades over the previous ages. Nevertheless, the latest studies of social history concerning the 17th-century challenging this mainstream positions revealed that even the career of the most glorious, name-giving protagonist of this era, Cristoph Lackner showed indeed the success of a family trying to strengthen its positions throughout various generations (see VIII.5.5.). Yet, the story of the burghers leading the town as judges and/or mayors in the 14–16th centuries lies still in the cultural shadow of the Lackner-era.

Accordingly, the historiography concerning these centuries did not produce a comprehensive and analytic study on the above mentioned personnel and its town-leading activity. On the one hand, – not taking into account some smaller analyses – this topic did not play a considerable role in the general summaries on this epoch. On the other, the existing research results – due to tendentious methodological approaches involved – produced a distorted and one-sided account on the judges and mayors of Sopron, whom which the dissertation regards as the political elite of the town. Hence, some of the works on social and political history of Jenő Házi reflects the parochialist and Christian-conservative values of interwar-Sopron, while the study of Jenő Szűcs was highly influenced by the methodology and terminology of Marxist social history. Finally, in the excellently meticulous works of Károly Mollay the political leaders of the urban community virtually splitting into small

mosaics because of his main research themes, i.e. the study of language, topography and occupational groups.

As a result, in the works of the above mentioned authors the judges and mayors – instead of having served as objects of a complex and comparative research on their social history – showed up either as a circle of local Christian heroes standing shoulder to shoulder in the disturbances of the age (Házi), or the selfish oppressors of the local community cut into pieces by antagonistic differences (Szűcs), or simply as merchants of commerce holding the local wealth and power in their hands letting craftsmen only scarcely into their circles (Mollay). Furthermore, all of the three authors took the German concept of patriciate without any criticism or self-reflection as an analytic and descriptive tool. This concept in its original context implicates a special institutional framework (centralised government) and an unconventional system of rule and recruitment of elites (a system of legally defined and kinship-based closed rule). The authors mentioned before were, however, not the only ones doing so. The research on the urban elites of the Carpathian basin took the same problematic methodological and descriptive choice as early as the 1960–1970s and publications echoing the same ideas appeared even in the early 1990s.

Accordingly, writing about Sopron in a comparative framework, it was highly necessary to correct the above described ideas utilising the research results of the latest German-speaking and Hungarian scholarship. Considering Sopron itself, in the dissertation the institutional background of the positions of power were explored in order to present the context relevant to the members of the urban political elite. However, the main research goal of the dissertation was the comprehensive analysis of the groups of mayors and judges in the above mentioned period using the methods of social history. In order to reach this research aim the already edited and unedited archival sources, as well as the relevant secondary literature were explored and consulted in order to answer the research questions on the social and occupational background, internal structures and dynamics of the political elite. Furthermore, the characteristic taxation-based and spatial features of the burghers were also explored and analysed.

In these methodological efforts the traditional aspects and methods (the town as a parochial separate universe and field of curiosities) of the so-called town-biographical approach were willingly refused. Opposed to this, the methods and tools of the social science history on the research of urban institutions and elites enjoyed a widely perception in this dissertation. Additionally, some of the analyses and presentation techniques involved in this work were highly inspired by the so-called new social history, which prioritises the choices

and alternative strategies of the individuals and the internal groupings and relations of the burghers, so focusing on socio-political continuity and change.

II. The fruits of the comparative approach

In the dissertation the research results on Sopron were intended to be embedded into the context of the urban history of the Holy Roman Empire and the medieval Kingdom of Hungary, with a special focus on the urban institutions and challenging the concept of patriciate. In the general introduction summing up the most relevant new results on these two regions it was clearly underlined, that on the present-day German, Swiss and Austrian soil the both topographically and demographically overwhelmingly dominant forms of urban existence were the smaller and middle-sized towns. Accordingly, the bigger towns, i.e. cities forming a very prestigious, “shining” group – greatly influencing the Hungarian historiography –, though represented a different quality of urban social co-existence they remained only a very small minority.

In this latter circle of cities the demographic and economic conditions provided considerably special frameworks to the possibilities of self-government and the formation of urban elites. Whereas the demographically smaller and a number of the middle-sized towns – becoming seigniorial settlements until the end of the Middle Ages – enjoyed only a very limited level of self-government. As a result, legally and institutionally an extended urban autonomy only characterised the few demographically speaking (larger middle-sized towns and) cities of the Holy Roman Empire.

Concerning the urban elites, the settlements with smaller population and highly limited self-government also had local leading groups. However, in the case of these towns, on the one hand, the local communal rights and privileges to be potentially seized were already very modest. On the other, the demographical settings of these settlements did not support the multi-generational, strong political continuity of a large number of leading families. In contrast, concerning the German imperial and free cities here the larger number of population was associated with a considerably extended urban autonomy. Therefore, during the formation of the local political elites the strong urban rights intensively lured the potential long-ruling leaders to “capture” them. These socially motivated and power-ridden burghers then could in accordance with the local demographic characteristics maintain and secure the leading positions of their families and descendants. As a result, in these urban communities the local settings helped the ambitious families of the political elite to organise a centralised

inner government and to legally conquer and maintain the local power positions for their families, thus forming a closed system of kinships (patriciate).

Yet, the latter process did not take place in all of the German cities having the aforementioned demographic and legal conditions. In the north-German Hansa-settlements for example the centralisation and a form of oligarchic transformation definitely occurred, but the members of the political elite neither seized the power entirely, nor formed a closed system of kinships. Consequently, the appearance of urban patriciates as closed political elites was not at all a representative phenomenon in the Holy Roman Empire. The social transformations ending in this result took place only in a part of the demographically speaking large imperial and free cities located in the southern and central regions of the Holy Roman Empire.

Concerning the Austrian territories, apart from a period of time of the Viennese history the exclusively small and smaller middle-sized group of princely towns did not enjoy a considerably independent and extended autonomy in the 15–16th centuries. Moreover, the demographical settings were not at all supportive for the formation of an urban political patriciate. In contrast, the settlements of the Swiss Confederation gained in this respect much more independence, though the demographic patterns were almost identical. However, considering these towns a new quality of political context could have been explored here, where a smaller and middle-sized urban setting were associated with an extended level of self-government. Although the local conditions did not support the establishment of multi-generational continuity of power, but exactly these circumstances gave a wider range of opportunities for the individual qualities and ambitions.

Turning to the towns of the Carpathian basin providing the primary comparative context for Sopron, at the end of the 15th century the group of functional urban settlements consisted of approximately 180-200 towns, which representing 8% of the population of the Kingdom of Hungary were – apart from the late medieval capital Buda – all small or smaller middle-sized towns. In regard to the level of autonomy, a smaller part of these settlements enjoyed a considerably high level of self-government, while the rest lived under a far more modest autonomy. The first group consisted almost exclusively of royal free towns, where the burghers not only received, but also maintained and extended their privileges. This research result, however, does not intend to turn back to the dogmatic views of the legal definition of towns. Nevertheless, the most successful settlements were those, which not only received – and unlike their German counterparts not captured! – their privileges, but secured and even enlarged them. In this respect, the seigniorial members of the large group of functional urban settlements enjoyed a very minor level of self-government. This legal status most probably

had a huge impact on the formation of local elites aiming to seize the rights of the civic community.

Comparing the above mentioned circle with the royal free towns, the members of the latter group – having been demonstrated and characterised with some examples – lived under much more independent and distinguished conditions. Showing some similarities with their above described non-patrician Swiss counterparts, the smaller middle-sized urban setting here was also associated with a high level of autonomy resulting in a special way of elite-formation. The context of social transformation was therefore a non-conventional combination of limited demographic possibilities and strong local privileges.

In almost all of the demonstrated examples the group enjoying the local rights (the civic community) originally included the whole of the burghers. By the 16th century, however, parallel to the inner centralisation the right to elect the local leaders (commonly the judge and the inner council) passed – similarly to the imperial cities and Swiss towns – to smaller groupings (e.g. so-called outer councils also integrating formal leaders) representing a mighty urban minority. The personnel of the latter showed some integration of the wealthy craftsmen. Still, the dynamics of change again strengthened the institutional position of the already ruling groups. As a parallel process, the influence of the inner council and the role of the ultimate leader of the settlement became even greater.

The establishment of new urban administrative positions (chamberlain, church warden etc.) also supported the ambitions of the existing power groups. Along with the process of inner centralisation during the 15–16th centuries the leading positions became significant urban roles with financial benefits and an ever-growing political influence. Nevertheless, the latter process did not end in the results like in some of the free and imperial cities of the Holy Roman Empire, because not even in the bigger middle-sized town of Buda took the sometimes hereditary rule of leading families a legally and institutionally settled form (see VIII.3.2.2.). How could one then characterise here the formation of urban political elites?

Like the latest research results – challenging the former ideas of Jenő Szűcs, Konrad Gündisch and even the early works of András Kubinyi – showed, in the formation of local elites neither the 14th century (the so-called kinship-based period), nor the 15–16th centuries (the so-called merchant-entrepreneurial period) could be characterised by urban patriciates in the Carpathian basin. The new case studies made the former concepts strongly attached to the not-at-all representative south German examples highly out-dated. In most of the seigniorial towns – due to the weak demographical and political conditions – the internal process of differentiated formation of elites was from the outset very limited. In comparison, in almost

all of the explored royal free towns occurred a dominant, landed-noble, militarised urban political elite in the so-called kinship-based period, which group joined the circle of commercially active burghers in the second half of the 14th century. Not denying some continuities in power, these kinds of groups formed in none of the afore-mentioned royal free cities a long-lasting system of closed kinship-based power circles, which latter pattern is regarded by the German scholarship as the basic criteria of an urban patriciate. Some families managing trans-generational political continuities indeed showed up in Nagyszeben and Kolozsvár, but even these patrician-like persons could not enjoy a legally and institutionally secured position and form a closed kinship.

During the transformation into the second phase the local settings produced a wide variety of changes, but this age of socially and economically speaking new type of leaders brought neither a patriciate-like inner government, nor a closed family-based internal rule. The most important reasons for that were presumably – like in the afore-mentioned Swiss cases – attached to the local rules of politics and the demographic settings. Nevertheless, this not at all meant, that the circle of leaders experienced a considerable enlargement. In the former historiography especially Vera Bácskai and Jenő Szűcs emphasized that the growing appearance of craftsmen – even in the seigniorial towns! – in the leading roles during the 15th century showed the advantageous re-positioning of their occupational groups. As the new case studies showed, the latter phenomenon did not mean evidently the widening of the political elite. In many cases this transformation instead of proving the latter thesis showed simply the social mobility of some of the most successful craftsmen.

Summing up, instead of the previously presumed rule of patriciates the analysed cases in the Carpathian basin showed a much more distinguished and dynamic variation ending in different phenomena of rule. Concerning the recruitment of the most important local leading position, three special dynamics of power relations could have been identified. The first pattern (see VIII.3.2.1–2. and 3.3.1–2.) was a combination of a multi-participative feature with the appearance of strong duumvirates (see: Buda, Kolozsvár, Beszterce and partially Besztercebánya). A second characteristic setting was the one-and-a-half or two decades long, but not continuous leadership of two or even three burghers (see VIII.3.3.2.), who, however, let some minor roles for their less influential local counterparts (see: Pozsony and Kassa). The third type of rule meant the continuously long-lasting single-rule of leaders, who directly followed each other (see: Nagyszeben and Brassó).

In the first period of investigation (see: Buda, Nagyszeben and Kolozsvár), as well as in the second (see: Brassó) there were some urban communities hosting a few families with

patrician features, however, these represented not at all the same phenomenon (urban patriciate) explored by the south German scholarship. Certainly, this did not stop the strengthening of general oligarchic tendencies, however, the transformation led to a strong, but in the personnel-specific sense regularly changing rule of few. The background of this special feature – also present in the Swiss examples, therefore not an east-central European rudiment or remnant – was the presence of an urban combination characteristic neither of the German seigniorial towns and imperial cities, nor the Austrian princely cities: the parallel existence of a small or smaller middle-sized urban setting with highly privileged urban autonomy resulting in a new quality of urban politics. These characteristics caused the appearance of the strong rule of a regularly changing smaller group resulting in the above described patterns.

III. The institutional specifics of the phenomena in Sopron

How do the research results and analysis of the case of Sopron be fitted into the above described processes and patterns? Or the other way round: in which grade could be the institutional features and formation of local elites in Sopron characterised as general or specifically local? Starting with the opportunities guaranteed by the local institutional setting, the urban leaders together with the town notaries established since the 1480s and 1490s the institutional base of an efficient, “modern” and under the contemporary circumstances very centralised urban government. The latter process, the specialisation of the administration and the strong external autonomy, however, were associated with the rule of burghers, who since the 1530s the latest defined the relation of leaders and civic community as a contact between the superior authority and subordinated inhabitants.

Nevertheless, the local protagonists of the power structures based on extended autonomy – similar to the former examples from the Carpathian basin – did not seize the positions of power overwhelmingly and with a legally guaranteed institutional authorisation. However, this did not mean that the institutional transformations were not attached to a concentration of power. Yet, this latter phenomenon took place in Sopron in comparison with the former examples only relatively late, i.e. in the 1530s and 1540s. As a result of these changes the electoral rights were only guaranteed for the burghers of the inner town and a small number of Soproners living outside the city walls. Still, the ways leading to the top positions of urban self-government remained partially open. The outer council became e.g. an appointed administrative body, but its membership came still dominantly from the outskirts.

Accordingly, as in the earlier times this council played a crucial role for the inhabitants of the outer districts, who ambioned having a career leading to the top positions.

Thus, in Sopron – disregarding the ecclesiastical and secular influence of the St George Brotherhood – there was no trace of a different, much more oligarchic type of outer council, which – appearing in a number of previous regional examples – partially consisted of former town leaders. Finally, there is a last institutional feature worth to mention in this respect: in 14–16th-century Sopron beside the twelve councillors there were – in the Hungarian context in an unparallel way – two not identically important, but still very influential top leaders at the peak of urban community. As a result, the potential leading opportunities doubled, which had an essential impact on the local political career patterns.

IV. The economic and kinship-based features of local elite-formation

Between 1277 and 1600 the social history of the political elite of Sopron – defined with the group of mayors and judges – showed a number of similarities and disparities with its above-described counterparts. Summing up the features of the 13–14th centuries, the leading burghers – similar to the international and regional examples – showed a landed-noble, militarised character combined with long-standing urban living and interests. In the analysed personal-familial local political careers the multi-generational presence in power was as typical as the father-and-son-type continuity. Apart from their internal urban influences the burghers maintained strong financial and kinship-based contacts with the surrounding noble and ecclesiastical world.

The members of this ruling elite – involving a large number of families with noble origins – hold the title of “comes” until the mid-14th century, while at the same time the German component started to become more and more significant. The leading burghers had as main basis of living large land-estates gained, maintained or enlarged – like in the other regional examples – through military services, while in the second half of the 14th century as a sign of successful adaptation they let themselves involved in a variety of commercial-financial activities. Nevertheless, after 1400 the latter type of leaders disappeared from the top positions and their places – similar to the regional examples – were taken by a new group of leaders characterised by significantly different socio-economic features.

Starting with the most relevant disparity, in this new era there were no noblemen in the positions of mayors and judges and except an assumedly dubious contact these leaders had no multi-generational paternal presence in the top positions of the local government. Yet, the role of mayor and judge in two generations of a single family represented a strong pattern, either

through a direct father-son contact, or between grandfather and grandson, uncle and cousin, father-in-law and son-in-law. Moreover, a number of cases highlighted the role of the marriage with the daughters or widows of leading burghers, which could transfer not only wealth, but also social prestige and political power (see: VIII.5.2.). Considering the forms of wealth-establishing the patterns of landed-noble agricultural resources almost entirely disappeared and apart from a few examples there is no sign of holding non-civic offices or dignities. Finally, the last distinctive feature was the overwhelming absence of gaining prestige and/or profit through military actions and raids.

Therefore, the mayors and judges between the 1400s and the 1510s were recruited from burghers, who – similar to the other examples in the Carpathian basin – were partly or entirely involved in commercial activities one way or the other attached to wine-trade, cattle-export or grain-production. Interestingly enough though, among the both financially and politically most successful burghers not only merchants could be detected. Considering the latter points, for the very best of these leaders – in contrast to the opinion of Jenő Házi, Károly Mollay and Jenő Szűcs – an economic and financial diversification was mostly characteristic, in which the commercial activities went alongside with a certain craftsmanship, money-lending and banking activities and last but not least with prosperous marriages.

Although representing a minority, Hungarians were also present in the latter group. The former presence in the town or a familial-kinship-based background played a role in many careers ending at the peak of urban power. Nevertheless, these ways were also open to so-called “*homines novi*”, who reached the top positions either based only on their own economic and political success, or with the supportive help of advantageous marriages. Furthermore, as a strongly local feature, partly unparalleled in the region, in Sopron some of the various kinds of craftsmen could also reach the top positions for a shorter or longer time. Finally, in this period the most important feature resulting in economic and political success was – as emphasized above – a wide range of multi-positional investments, which intensively involved financially speaking a highly diversified portfolio management.

Considering the last period of investigation, between the 1510s and 1600s the most significant type of urban leader was only casually a craftsman, since the most relevant roles were played by burghers involved in commerce and wine-producing. Yet, the representatives of the local manual industries could still play some minor roles, while the presence of ethnically Hungarian leaders and the recruitment regions (the wider vicinity of Sopron, Western-Hungary, Eastern-Austria) of the local political elite also showed similarities with the previous era. Nevertheless, this period was distinctively characterised by the immense

success of three new types of leaders: the highly pragmatic and often money-lending agricultural (grain, wine and cattle) merchant-entrepreneurs, the wealthy noblemen entering the town and the graduated “jurist-litterati”.

The burghers featuring the first pattern – being well-informed and highly adaptive – had simply found the most lucrative way of accelerating profit, and their ultimate goal was to optimize the own benefits even through breaking the norms and rules of civic life or using violent methods of self-propagation. The latter was certainly not the one and only conduct of behaviour concerning the leading protagonists. There was a number of other burghers, to whom were given smaller gifts and presents by the council or the civic community for their selfless and generous services towards the town. Considering the second new group, these noblemen were not at all similar to the landed-noble leaders of Sopron two hundred years before. Having almost nothing to do with active military service, these persons chose to become burghers through being motivated by the economic, cultural and religious opportunities the West-Hungarian town could offer them. In the careers of burghers representing the third pattern certain similarities could be detected with the notaries of the 15th century reaching the position of town councillor. Still, considering the long-lasting top roles, which the leaders with intellectual background established this type could be featured as a typical 16th-century pattern of political success. The two latter types, i.e. the arriving noblemen and the ambitious intellectuals were of course present in the urban political elites in the wider region of this age, however, the parallel existence of the above-mentioned three models with the old pattern of the long 15th century proved to be a unique feature of Sopron.

Concerning the “*homines novi*”, i.e. the successful leaders without any local pre-life or kinship-based contacts, the men reaching to the very top represented all three new types, which shows a kind of semi-open characteristic of the ways leading to a long-lasting officiating as a judge and/or mayor (see: VIII.5.2.). Still, the preparing role of previous generations for successive political dominance also proved to be a strong pattern. There was a huge number of re-assuring examples showing the son fulfilling the political career started and/or established by the father. A similar but not that overwhelming model could also be identified, where the position in the local economy of power was maintained more than once in a single family. Analysing all of the so-called “*cursus honorum*” it turned out to be, that the distribution of power among the leaders was highly asymmetric. This phenomenon almost always produced on the one hand more equals among the equals. On the other, smaller or bigger, almost closed power groups re-occurred on a regular basis.

Turning to the interwoven kinship-relations of the leading burghers, i.e. the issue of patriciate or the presence of patrician families, the research results of Sopron showed again some similarities and disparities in comparison with their German, Swiss, Austrian or regional counterparts. Without doubt, concerning the 13–14th centuries some of the leading families of Sopron showed so-called patricians features both in their economic resources and family networks. Moreover, in few of these cases a multi-generational presence in power could be detected. Still, these families could never monopolise the top positions in their hands. In addition, it happened to be a clear pattern to have a preparing grandfather-generation, then an extraordinary success appearing with the son and then a disappearing role in the generation of the grandchild. Evaluating the other examples, a two-generational presence and then vanishing public or even urban role could also be explored. This latter phenomenon leads to the 15th century where almost no top leaders had a kinship-based attachment to the ruling elite of the previous decades.

At the turn of the 14–15th centuries the new socio-economic changes of the age reshaped the image of the leading elite. In contrast with the previous century, in almost all of the analysed towns located in the Carpathian basin – in Brassó and Nagyszeben with some delay – new features of elite-formation arrived. As a conclusion of the research on Sopron it became clear that – challenging the ideas of Jenő Házi, Károly Mollay and Jenő Szűcs – the town did not host a patriciate. Analysing the careers of judges and mayors between 1400 and 1600 there was, however, a clear pattern of a two-generational presence in the top positions. Still, even including the membership in the inner council only three families could be found with more than two generations sitting in the leading positions. Widening the possible power-shifting options, even including such ways as contacts between grandfathers and grandsons or uncles and cousins not more than a simple once and only transfer could have been identified.

In contrast, a huge number of cases proved the model of continuity between father-in-laws and son-in-laws, or the wealth-, prestige- and power-shifting role of marrying the wealthy widows of former leaders. Furthermore, the contacts through nephews or nieces, or apparently even looser ties could have been turned out to be crucial in establishing or maintaining power status (see: VIII.5.4.). Instead of the rule of patrician families – a pattern partly appearing in some minor cases in Brassó and Nagyszeben – in Sopron the reconstructed power structures revealed a much more pluralistic and dynamic variation of phenomena, where the differently featured smaller or bigger groups stayed in power for approximately twenty-thirty years and the shifts to new dominant circles showed both continuities and changes.

V. The social dynamics of the two top positions

In the characteristics of the above mentioned transformations, i.e. the size and internal relations of the power groups played the two-headed (judge and mayor) nature of the inner politics of the town an extremely crucial role. As a result of this unique institutional feature, the top leading roles simply doubled, which produced new opportunities in two ways. On the one hand, the persons later becoming mayors prepared or deepened their power status through officiating as judges. Accordingly, this latter feature made the relations of power sometimes similar to the second regional (Carpathian basin) pattern (see e.g.: Pozsony and Kassa), then in some sub-periods to the third (see e.g.: Brassó and Nagyszében). On the other, taking into consideration the large number of only-judges the unique institutional setting in Sopron helped to widen the circle of leaders (see e.g.: Buda and Besztercebánya).

Namely in this respect – except of some extraordinary careers – among the ones officiating as judges only once or twice a large number of craftsmen could have been identified meaning, that these burghers were helped reaching to the top probably not only by their own efforts but by the special institutional frameworks of local politics. As a result, the social consequence of this latter speciality was twofold: it could help the long-ruling leaders strengthening their political presence, and at the same time the group of leaders was – also in accordance with the local demographic and topographic conditions – regularly widened in this way.

This twofold characteristic lies presumably behind the fact, that two third of the local political elite between 1400 and 1600 enjoyed a limited (between one and four officiating) presence in the top positions, while narrowly speaking (more than eight top officiating) only the tenth, broadly defining (more than six top positions) the fifth of the top leaders played a very dominant role. Considering the inner relations of the groups of power, the case of Sopron showed a combination of the first and second regional (Carpathian basin) pattern, only with a minor comment, namely that after the early 1530s some continuous one-man rules non-regularly appeared not reaching though the level experienced in Brassó or Nagyszében. Therefore, the duumvirates present in the first and the three middle decades of the 15th century, and in the 1530–1540s and 1570–1580s resembled the phenomena revealed in the power structures of Buda, Kolozsvár and Beszterce. In contrast to that, the political matrix of the 1430–1440s, the oligarchic group in the first decades of the 16th century and the almost monopoly of local power in the 1540–1570s showed similarities with the cases of Pozsony and Kassa.

The latter statements could not only reaffirmed but also deepened through the data resulting from the research on the taxations and downtown spatial mobility of the leading burghers. The plurality of power structures from the 1480s until the 1500s had a considerable impact on the taxation and spatial patterns of the top men of Sopron. Moreover, the group of leading persons appearing with average or even smaller sums in the tax registers, still officiating twice or three times between the mid-15th century and the 1570s was in many cases identical with the above-mentioned craftsmen.

The analysis on the presence and mobility of the judges and mayors in downtown Sopron revealed the spatial aspects of the re-occurring extension and change in the power elites. The wide variety of downtown presence in almost all of the leading groups proved, that neither the whole inner town, nor the main square could be identified as a so-called circular square of elites like in the cases of the royal mining towns. The lure of the northern and north-eastern burgages of the inner town had, as a drive, a great impact on all of the different groups of power. Nonetheless, the highly intensive fluctuation in the ownership of these plots resulting exactly from the latter feature made the northern part of the town very unique. Finally, the underlined, until the mid-16th century very characteristic spatial mobility can also be interpreted as the sign of the semi-open nature of the political elite, to which a meritocratic type of career could also lead. The most vivid examples supporting this interpretation were the ones, where the leaders showed prestigious spatial mobility not while already being in the top positions, but indeed as a result of their economic and/or familial success (well) before officiating as judge and/or mayor.

As a summary, considering the uniqueness of the institutional history and elite-formations of Sopron three major features should be emphasized. The structure of internal and successive power relations showed in the context of the medieval Kingdom of Hungary an unprecedented variety of different patterns. The turn of the 15–16th centuries showed a many-fold pluralistic world of internal power relations. Finally, the local political elite was almost always at least partially open to successful local craftsmen and highly ambitious new-comers. The latter features provided Sopron a special position in the urban elite-formation phenomena within the Carpathian basin, which at the local level of the Western-Hungarian town preceded, in a sense even prepared the economic and cultural success of the early 17th-century “golden era” led by Cristoph Lackner.

Short titles and features of the appendices:

VIII.3.2.1.: The officiating in the top positions and the number of participants, 1400–1529: Buda, Nagyszeben and Sopron; blue: known officiating; red: unknown officiating; green: number of persons

VIII.3.2.2.: The distribution of officiating in the top positions, 1400–1529: Buda, Nagyszeben and Sopron; vertical axis: number of burghers; horizontal axis: number of top officiating

VIII.3.3.1.: The officiating in the top positions and the number of participants, 1500–1600: Kassa, Besztercebánya, Nagyszeben and Sopron; blue: known officiating; red: unknown officiating; green: number of persons

VIII.3.3.2.: The distribution of officiating in the top positions, 1500–1600: Kassa, Besztercebánya, Nagyszeben and Sopron; vertical axis: number of burghers; horizontal axis: number of top officiating

VIII.5.2.: The Turnhofer–Schadendorfer-kinship and the Kronperger–Magas-kinship

VIII.5.4.: The Baumgartner–Leinbater-kinship, Grätzer-kinship and Gering–Nagy-kinship

VIII.5.5.: The Kolb–Tölltl-kinship, the Balltram-kinship and the Reiss–Preiss-kinship

THE PUBLICATIONS RELATING TO THE DISSERTATION

A. Publications in Hungarian:

1. Articles in academic journals:

- Goda Károly: *A hatalom szociológiája: közéleti városvezető csoportok a 15–16. századi Sopronban.* [The sociology of power: leading urban political groups in 15–16th-century Sopron] In: *Urbs. Magyar várostörténeti évkönyv*, 3 (2008), 33–53.
- Goda Károly: *A város élén. Sopron polgármesterei a 15–16. század fordulóján.* [Leading the town: the mayors of Sopron at the turn of the 15–16th-centuries] In: *Soproni Szemle*, 58 (2004), 308–328.
- Goda Károly: *A városi igazgatás szerkezete Sopronban a középkor végén.* [The structure of urban administration in Sopron at the end of the Middle Ages] In: *Soproni Szemle* 61 (2007), 255–271.
- Goda Károly: *Jakob Joachim és kora: egy középkori portré körvonalai.* [Jakob Joachim and his age: the features of a medieval portrait] In: *Soproni Szemle* 62 (2008), 143–146.

2. Chapters of books:

- Dávid Ferenc – Goda Károly – Thirring Gusztáv: *Sopron belvárosának házai és háztulajdonosai 1488–1939*. [The houses and house-owners of downtown Sopron 1488–1939] Sopron, 2008, Győr–Moson–Sopron Megye Soproni Levéltára.
- Károly Mollay – Károly Goda: *Gedenkbuch – Feljegyzési könyv, 1492–1543*. Quellen zur Geschichte der Stadt Ödenburg / Sopron Város Történeti Forrásai, Reihe A, Band 3. – A/ sorozat, 3. kötet, Sopron, 2006, Győr-Moson-Sopron Megye Soproni Levéltára.
- Szende Katalin et al.: *Magyar várostörténeti atlasz*. 1. [Hungarian Atlas of Historic Towns no. 1. Sopron] Sopron. 2010.

B. Publications in foreign languages:

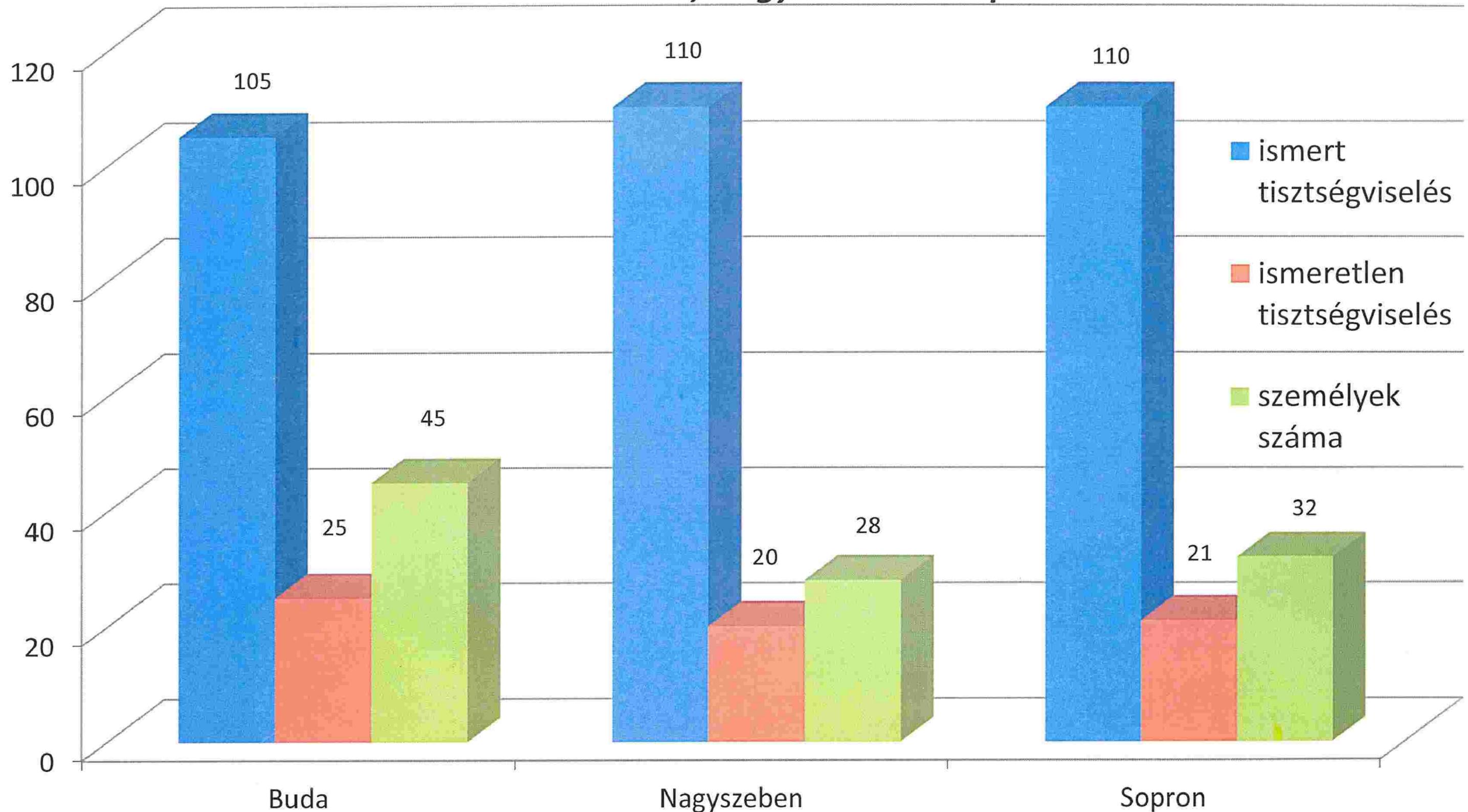
1. Articles in academic journals:

- Goda, Károly: *A Landscape of Power: Spatial and Territorial Dimensions of Urban Leadership in Fifteenth- and Sixteenth-Century Sopron*, In: *Annual of Medieval Studies at CEU* 13 (2007), 133–150.
- Goda, Károly – Majorossy Judit: *Städtische Selbstverwaltung und Schriftproduktion im spätmittelalterlichen Königreich Ungarn: Eine Quellenkunde für Ödenburg und Preßburg*. In: *Pro Civitate Austriae – Informationen zur Stadtgeschichtsforschung in Österreich*, Neue Folge, Heft 13 (2008), 62–100.

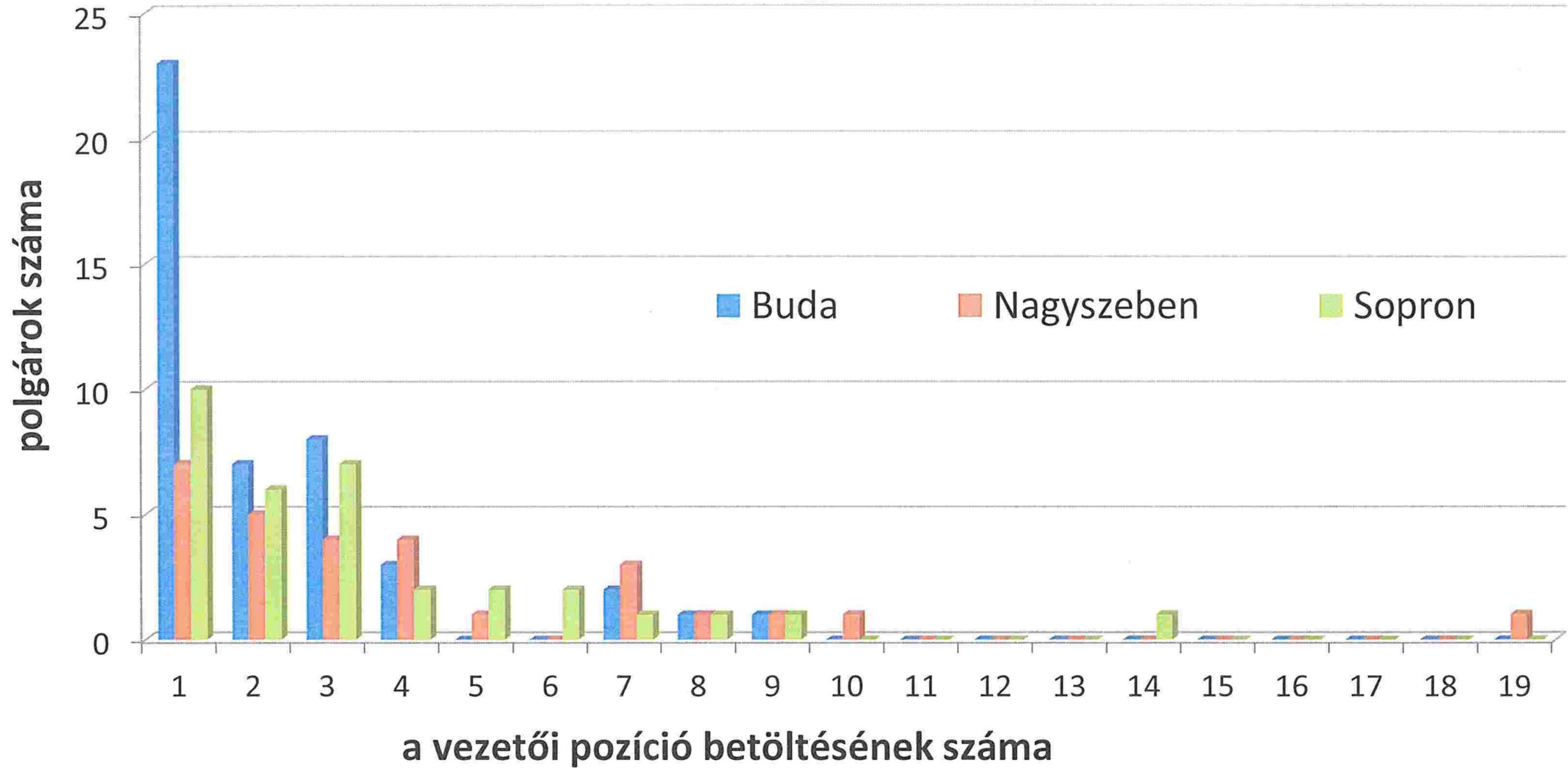
2. Chapter in a book presenting conference proceedings:

- Goda, Károly: *Generations of Power: Urban Political Elites in Sixteenth-Century Sopron*. In: Finn-Einar Eliassen – Katalin Szende (eds.), *Generations in Towns: Succession and Success in Pre-Industrial Urban Societies*. Newcastle upon Tyne, 2009, 232–256.

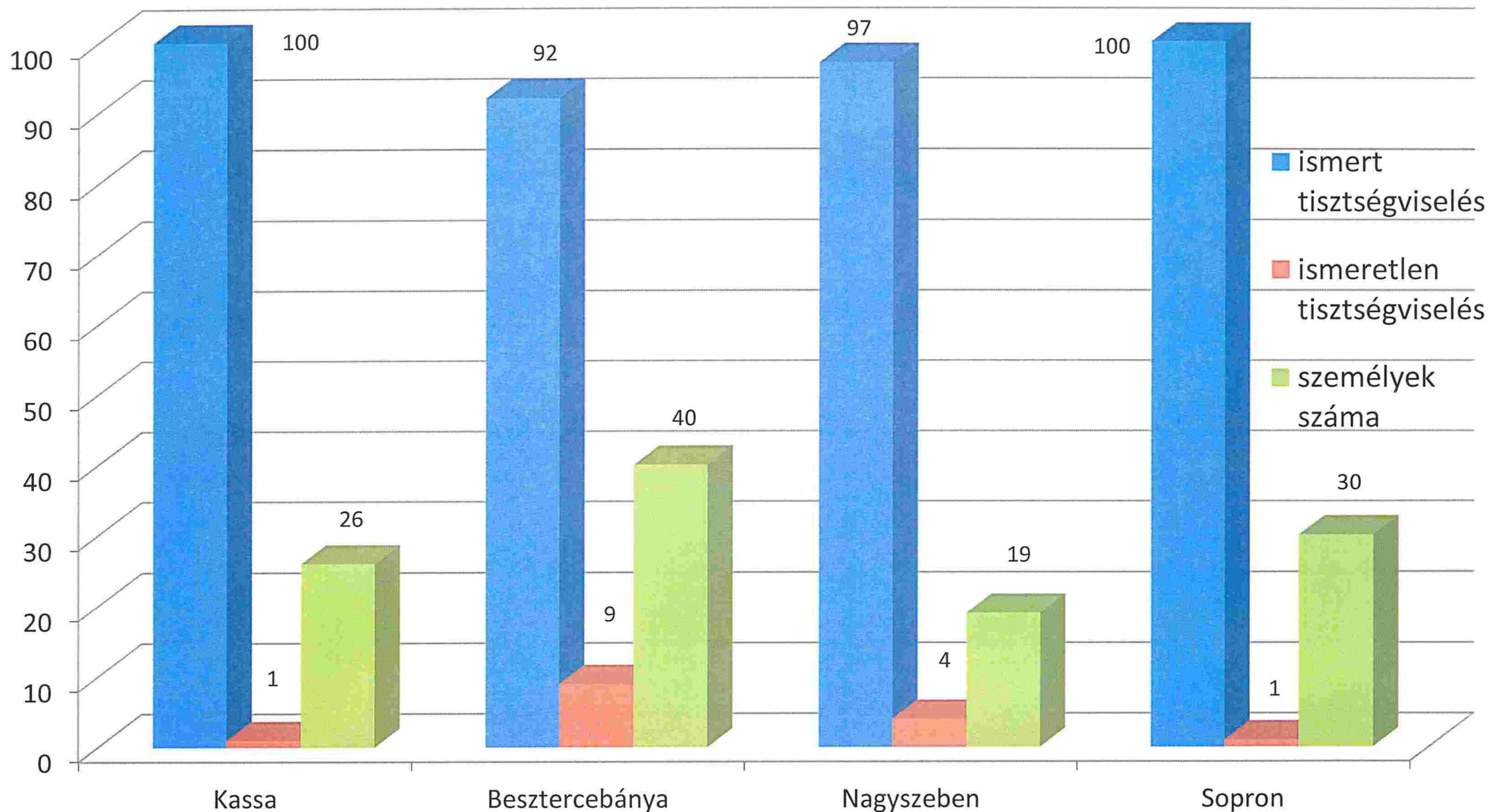
VIII.3.2.1. A főtisztviselések és betöltőik száma,
1400–1529: Buda, Nagyszében és Sopron



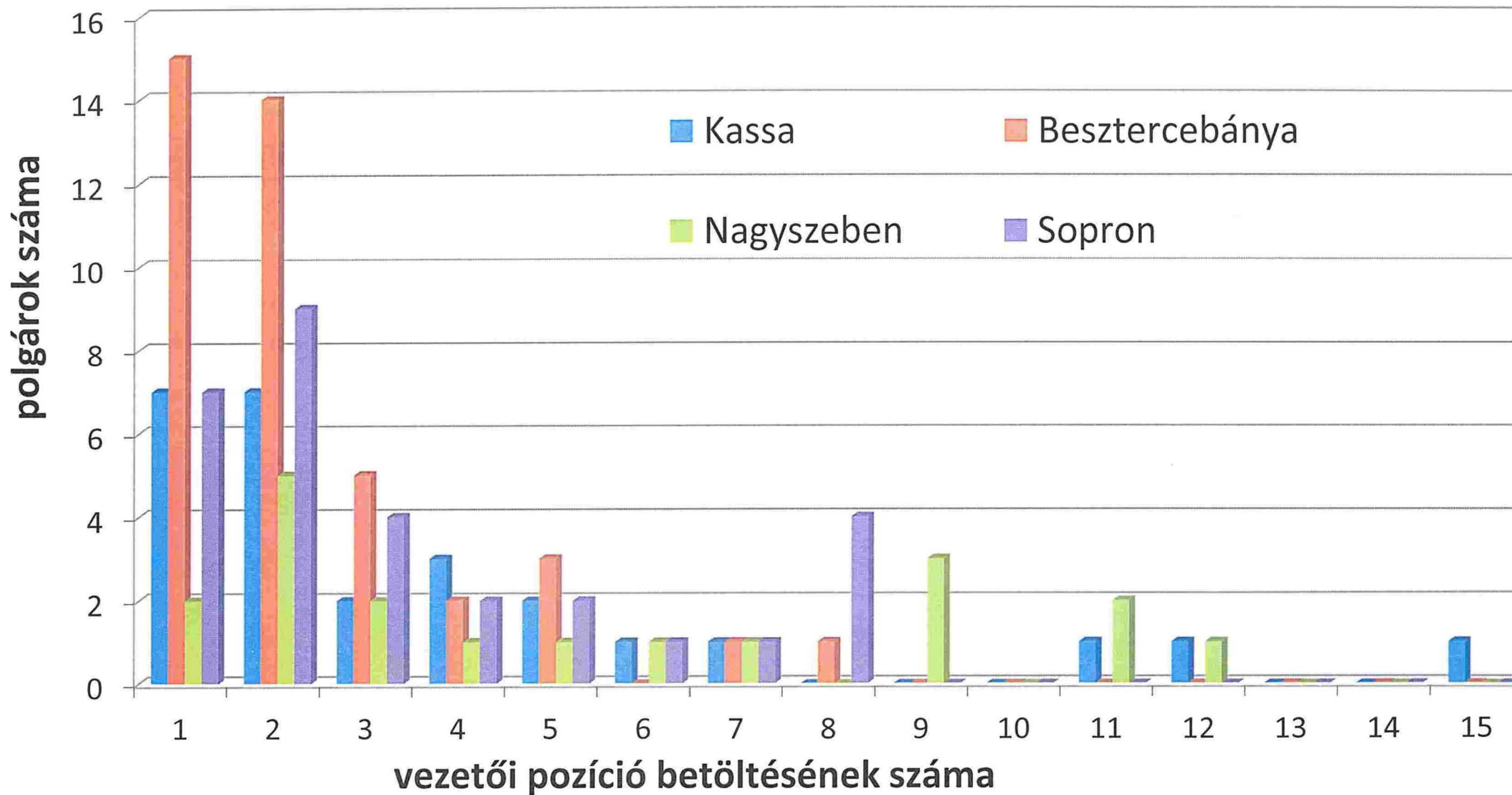
VIII.3.2.2. A főtisztség-viselések betöltésének megoszlása,
1400–1529: Buda, Nagyszeben és Sopron



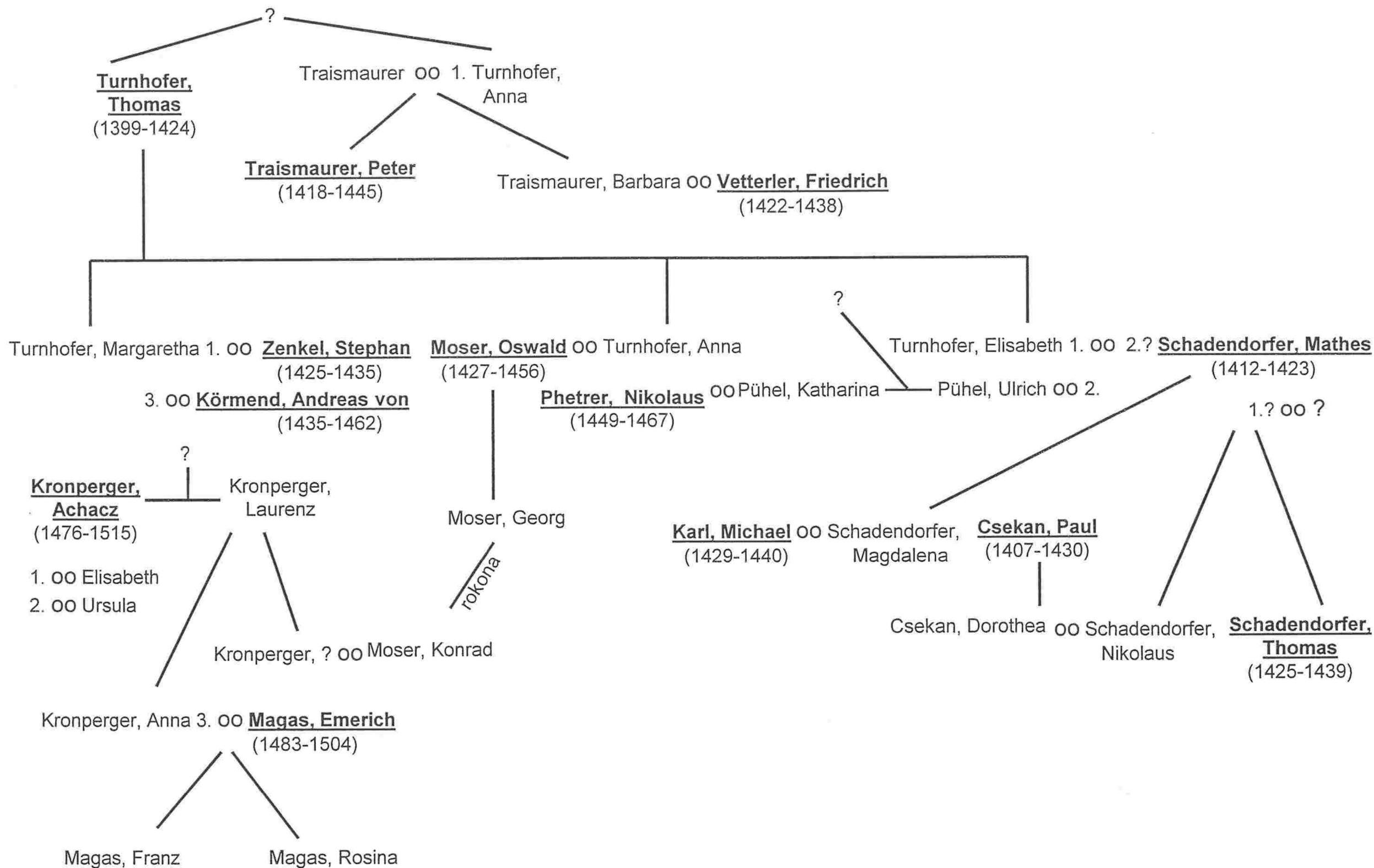
VIII.3.3.1. A főtisztviselések és betöltőik száma,
1500–1600: Kassa, Besztercebánya, Nagyszében és Sopron



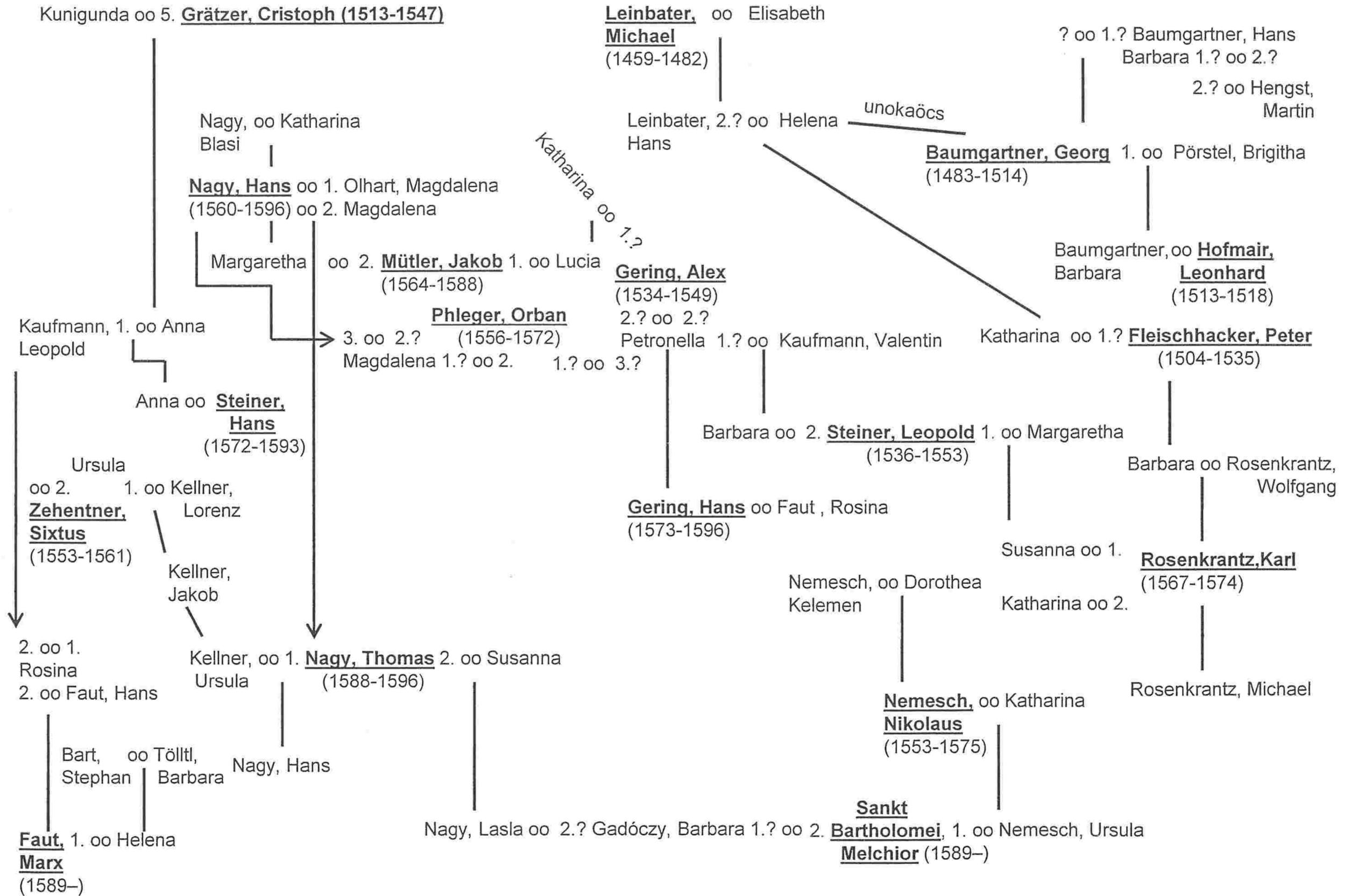
VIII.3.3.2. A főtisztség-viselések betöltésének megoszlása,
1500–1600: Kassa, Besztercebánya, Nagyszeben és Sopron



VIII.5.2. Turnhofer–Schadendorfer-atyafiság és a Kronperger–Magas-rokonság



VIII.5.4. Baumgartner–Leinbater-rokonság, Grätzer-atyafiság és a Gering–Nagy-rokonság



VIII.5.5. Kolb–Tölltl-atyafiság, Balltram-rokonság és a Reiss–Preiss-atyafiság

