

ON THE ECONOMIC HISTORY OF ZAGREB IN THE 17TH CENTURY

Hrvoje Petrić

Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, University of Zagreb

ABSTRACT

The paper provides general information on the 17th century Zagreb and its economic activities, as the key player in Kingdom of Croatia, Slavonia and Dalmatia. The author presents its basic demography, trade and commerce, crafts, mining and other economic activities.

Seventeenth-century Zagreb was the main and the most important town of the Kingdom of Croatia, Slavonia and Dalmatia (hereinafter, the Kingdom), with its two main administrative units: the free royal borough (also known as Gradec) and the seat of the bishops - Kaptol. The importance of such administrative division resulted from the fact that this diocese covered almost the entire Kingdom. Majority of the 17th century parliament sessions was held in Zagreb, and this showed its importance. During that period, 155 out of 217 parliament sessions were held in Zagreb (71%), and only 49 (23%) in the second most important town, Varaždin.¹ Additional relevance of the 17th century Zagreb was given by settlement of the viceroy Nikola Frankopan in Zagreb in 1621, thus making Zagreb the official seat of the most important political figure in the Kingdom.² Beside these indications, the 17th century Zagreb was the leading economic center of the Kingdom. Being just a few dozen kilometers away from the Ottoman border, Zagreb was well fortified against Ottoman incursion, with a buffer zone known as the Military Border region. Taking into account importance of all factors relevant to the economy of the Kingdom, safety and security were paramount. Security of Zagreb was helped and solidified by fact that, despite proximity of the Ottoman border, no major combat activities were reported between 1606 and the end of the 17th century.

As the guilds' manufactures developed, crafts in Zagreb and master artisans started supplying a greater area with their products. Several trade fairs held in Zagreb also helped its importance – both Gradec and Kaptol equally. Landlords held multiple authorities – economic, administrative and judicial powers over

¹ *Hrvatski saborski spisi*, ed. Ferdo Šišić, no. 5 (Zagreb: JAZU, 1918) (henceforth HSS), 4, 5; *Zaključci Hrvatskog sabora*, ed. Josip Butorac et al., no. 1 (Zagreb: Arhiv SR Hrvatske, 1958) (henceforth ZHS).

² Rudolf Horvat, *Prošlost grada Zagreba* (Zagreb: August Cesarec, 1992), 18.

church-owned estates and estates owned by the free royal borough³ thus making both the lay Zagreb's Gradec and the archbishop-ruled Kaptol ruling settlements against the serfdom settlements in the greater area.

Many obstacles threatened the two Zagreb nuclei settlements and their inhabitants: growing royal powers over towns and settlements, as part of centralization that the Habsburgs intentionally organized and conducted. At the same time, citizens, especially those in trades, were burdened with re-feudalization, the nobility getting involved in the trade. Also, Gradec's traders were endangered with Kaptol's official politics, successfully attracting foreign traders. Finally, Gradec was, like all major towns in a wider region, in the 17th century facing oligarchy rule.⁴ Control of power was even more important as the most important features in administrative and economic rule were taxes and excises from citizens; collection and payments into the royal treasury; public law and order; allocation of citizenship status; care for churches and schools, township institutions and trust funds.⁵ An important privilege of the free royal borough of Gradec and its citizens was that they had the right to choose their own magistrate, and a right to free trade.⁶ At the same time, in Kaptol all power was in the hands of bishops and clergymen. However, municipalities like Vlaška Ves, Opatovina and Nova Ves had their own magistrates and statutes, for administration and regulation of economy.⁷

Precise records on the 17th century population of Zagreb's urban areas are scarce. One of the rare records, that of Paulist monk Ivan Benković, provides insight into the population of Zagreb of 1668: "The town of Zagreb, Croatia, is situated on a hill, a small settlement of some 400 houses and 2.000 believers in Christ, residing there. I know it for a fact, being frequently in this town." Ivan Babić, a priest from Samobor, describes it like this: "The town of Zagreb is up on the hill, and the air is fresh there; it is medium-sized, not small, not big either; roughly, it holds some 400 homes, inhabited by some 2.000 Catholics." Martin Štetari, the dean from Križevci, witnesses the same.⁸ During the 16th century, the population of Gradec had decreased in numbers. Around 1600, population number hit the

³ Josip Adamček, *Agrarni odnosi u Hrvatskoj od sredine XV do kraja XVII stoljeća* (Zagreb: JAZU, 1980), 427.

⁴ Nevan Budak, "Gradske oligarhije u 17. stoljeću u sjeverozapadnoj Hrvatskoj" in *Međunarodni kulturnopovijesni simpozij Mogersdorf 1988*, ed. Ivan Kampuš (Zagreb: Kratis, 1995), 90-91.

⁵ Ivan Beuc, *Povijest institucija državne vlasti u Hrvatskoj (1527-1945)* (Zagreb: Arhiv Hrvatske, 1969), 93.

⁶ Nada Klaić, "Pogled na razvitak srednjovjekovne Slavonije," in *Arheološka istraživanja u sjeverozapadnoj Hrvatskoj* (Zagreb, 1978), 225.

⁷ Franjo Buntak, *Povijest Zagreba*, (Zagreb: Nakladni zavod Matice hrvatske, 1996), 278.

⁸ Janko Borković, "Prilog povijesti biskupa Martina Borkovića i zagrebačke biskupije u drugoj polovici XVII. vijeka", *Starine* 35 (1916): 375-395; Emilij Laszowski, *Stari i novi Zagreb. Historičke i kulturno-historičke crtice o Zagrebu* (Zagreb, 1925), 69.

bottom. Decline of the town was illustrated by the fact that in late 16th century it had more than 125 deserted *funduši* (serfs' plots of land).⁹

We can assume that in the early 17th century, the royal borough of Gradec and the bishops' part of Zagreb, Kaptol, had at least 2.700 inhabitants, and some 3.600 by the end of the century. From these numbers, the Gradec's greater area contributed with over 2.000 inhabitants, majority residing in the town itself; the Zagreb of the bishops, Kaptol, had around 1.600 people.¹⁰

Revival of economy in towns, near the Ottoman border, began right after the war with Ottoman Empire had ended (1593-1606). These trends were first seen in growth of guilds and trades; towns were rebuilt and extended, becoming more Baroque-like in appearance, owing to the town traders and craftsmen becoming richer, return of the clergy that had fled, or arrival of the new ones, and the settlement of nobility. In addition, although the Ottomans throughout the 17th century were not as threatening as before, still the towns were investing a lot of resources into fortification and bulwark of the town walls.¹¹

Despite the fact that the 17th century economy was poised to high taxes, the townspeople could not pay regular taxes and contributions to the king. The free royal borough of Gradec had, in the period between 1593 and 1625, a debt in delayed taxes of 4.368 Rheine forint (1 Rheine forint was worth 80 denari), and 66 (and one-third) of denari, or, at average level, an annual tax debt of 136,5 forint.¹² For example, in 1609 the town was taxed 600 Rheine forint of taxes.¹³ A comparison with the prices is needed, to fully appreciate the vastness of the tax debt; in 1620, a standard Varaždin portion of wheat was worth 20 denari; in 1622, 10 castrated and fattened roosters were 20 denari worth; a goose 28 denari; in 1666, 12 denari was paid for half a pound of oil.¹⁴

There are no royal tax records after 1614. In 1636, Gradec was freed and exempted from royal taxation for the period of 10 years; from 1647 to 1675, the town was in tax debt of some 2.400 Rheine forint. The non-payment was due to money spent on rebuilding the walls, the town itself and the churches. In 1640, the

⁹ Emilije Laszowski, *Povijesni spomenici slob. kralj. grada Zagreba* (Zagreb: Muzej grada Zagreba, 1937, 1941, 1949, 1952) (henceforth PSZ), 16, 12.

¹⁰ Stjepan Krivošić, *Zagreb i njegovo stanovništvo od najstarijih vremena do sredine XIX. stoljeća* (Zagreb: JAZU, 1981), 70, 80-81.

¹¹ Neven Budak, "Pogranična gradska naselja sjeverne Hrvatske u 17. stoljeću," *Radovi Zavoda za hrvatsku povijest Filozofskog fakulteta* 25, no. 1 (1992): 37-38.

¹² HDA, Popis dimnice, Prot. 2 – V/b, br. 28. Izvatci o zaostacima u isplati taksi (poreza) kod hrvatskih gradova od 28. siječnja 1628. (Hearth taxes, Extracts from tax debts in Croatian towns dated 28 January, 1628)

¹³ PSZ, 17, 213-214.

¹⁴ Rudolf Horvat, *Povijest trgovine, obrta i industije u Hrvatskoj* (Zagreb: AGM, 1994), 118, 147, 149.

town senators concluded that all citizens and inhabitants, particularly the nobility and landlords, should pay taxes into the town treasury.

Townfolk were paying a third of their regular taxes, and the rest had to pay full amount of taxes, collected by the town captain. As “collections” were slim, in 1676 the re-imposed decree for property tax was forced upon townspeople, nobility and the rest of owners of house, homestead or a land plot. Tax evaders faced a property seizure after 3 years of non-payment of taxes if properties were within town limits.¹⁵

Only the town revenue records of the free royal borough for the years 1614, 1639, 1650, 1656 and 1669 were salvaged and kept to the present day. From them, we have learned that the average revenue was 711 Rheine forint. At first glance, it seems sufficient to pay the 600 forint tax. However, an average expenditure was in exceeding amount of 748 Rheine forint. Anyway, during four out of the five audited years (!) the town budget seemed in deficit; the only surplus year was in 1614. That year, the free royal borough had extremely high revenues, with pretty high expenditure as well; the remaining surplus minimum was obviously kept for the “dried budget” years.

Economic processes of the greater area influenced trades of Zagreb a great deal.¹⁶ Both Gradec and Kaptol from the early 17th century tried to lure and attract new traders and entrepreneurs with various tax relief - exemptions, concessions and benefits – in efforts to revive economic activities.¹⁷ Trades were mainly based on purchase and sale, but other legal transactions were optional too, like barter. These trades were not only for traders, but other entrepreneurs too. Domestic and foreign trading in Zagreb also included domestic and foreign craftsmen, nobility and local peasants, even resellers and distributors, peddlers of bread and foods.¹⁸

The Gradec town administration prevented outside circle of town entrepreneurs from appointment to various administrative posts, yet making rules to prevent competition from other traders, especially travelling peddlers. The statutes from the year 1609 have strict prohibitive restrictions against foreign traders. Furthermore, foreign traders with stores in Gradec in 1676 were forbidden to sell outside local fair events, either to townfolk or foreigners like themselves. Such measures

¹⁵ Ivan Kampuš, *Prilog poznavanju gospodarskog položaja Gradeca kraj Zagreba u 17. st. na osnovi varoških računa prihoda i rashoda, Zagrebački Gradec 1242-1850.* (Zagreb, 1994), 203.

¹⁶ *Europäische Wirtschafts- und Sozialgeschichte vom ausgehenden Mittelalter bis zur Mitte des 17. Jahrhundert*, ed. Herman Kollenbenz, vol. 3 (Stuttgart, 1986), 1137-1140; *Europäische Wirtschafts- und Sozialgeschichte von der Mitte des 17. Jahrhunderts bis zur Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts*, ed. Ilja Mieck, vol. 4 (Stuttgart, 1993), 1042-1044; Rainer Gömmel, *Die Entwicklung der Wirtschaft im Zeitalter des Merkantilismus 1620-1800* (Munich, 1998).

¹⁷ Igor Karaman, “Zagrebački trgovci u 17. i 18. stoljeću,” *Historijski zbornik* 29-30 (1976-1977): 251-252.

¹⁸ Zlatko Herkov, *Povijest zagrebačke trgovine* (Zagreb: JAZU, 1987), 1.

virtually forced the foreign traders from Gradec to the other part of the town, to Kaptol, thus increasing their presence in the Kaptol's market.¹⁹

The trader named Lucius Calcinelli owed his trade success to Kaptol at first; later, he moved to Gradec; however, he managed to keep his trade in Kaptol still, through a partner. He made his initial capital as an army supplier during the Long Turkish War (1593-1606). Afterwards, he enjoyed the king's support – for example, in 1609 the king Mathias II of Austria decreed that Lucius is exempted from taxes while providing war supplies to the Military Border regiments. Besides trading, Lucius engaged in other activities: for example, accompanied by a Gradec senator and a judge Matija Posarello, in 1617 he leased a copper mine outside Samobor from the mine owner Tomo Erdödy for a period of six years.²⁰

Local traders in the free royal borough of Zagreb (Gradec) were mainly lacking great ambitions. However, the senator and one-time judge Martin Kovačić differed. He owned a store next to the St. Mark Church (and a leased storage in Dverci) and was selling cloth, hardware tools, spices and other mercantile products. He got rich, accumulating substantial wealth, as there are records of his 100 gold coin-loan to the Jesuits, and they borrowed to help build a monastery. The well-known noble family of Zrinski had its stores in the Zagreb area, too.²¹

Petar Zrinski kept an inn just outside of town walls (south of Gradec), selling his own wine; he also had a store in Zagreb's Ilica Street, selling metal ware made on his own estates. After his execution by the state, the entire inventory, worth 1.400 gold coins, was taken out from these stores.²² His surviving wife, Katarina, kept a store with overseas goods in Zagreb; she also traded in Sicilian salt. Gradec municipality objected these trading practices, as Zrinski never paid any taxes or other town levies. Their exemption from taxes was granted by the king Leopold I in 1668, allowing them free trade of overseas goods across entire kingdom, without any taxation.²³

A main competitor to the Zagreb twin towns of Gradec and Kaptol was Varaždin, the town that in 1629 already had a trader's guild.²⁴ Following the Varaždin's example, in 1698, Gradec traders joined forces and formed their own guild.²⁵ However,

¹⁹ Vjekoslav Klaić, *Statut grada Zagreba od god. 1609. i reforma njegova god. 1618.* (Zagreb: Tiskara i litografija C. Albrechta, 1912.), 77; PSZ, no. 18, 237; Karaman, "Zagrebački trgovci": 252-253, 255.

²⁰ PSZ, no. 17, 378-380; Karaman, "Zagrebački trgovci", 257; Herkov, *Povijest zagrebačke trgovine*, 51.

²¹ Buntak, *Povijest Zagreba*, 419-420.

²² Buntak, *Povijest Zagreba*, 293, 414; Rajka Modrić, *Povijesni spomenici obitelji Zrinskih i Frankopana. Popisi i procjena dobara, (1672-1673)*, no. 1 (Zagreb: JAZU, 1974), 244.

²³ *Historija naroda Jugoslavije*, vol. II, 714, 716.

²⁴ Herkov, *Povijest zagrebačke trgovine*, 128.

²⁵ Horvat, *Prošlost grada Zagreba*, 367.

their union was protested by the craftsmen guild under accusation of disloyal competition. Namely, they manufactured, made and sold their own products (i.e. footwear, bread, etc.), while traders only engaged in the sale. The town administration, greatly influenced by small businesses, partially recognized this complaint. The Magistrate decreed that traders should keep sufficient stock of goods at all times, to alleviate shortage. If local traders would not have sufficient stock, then foreign traders would be allowed to import such goods for unrestricted sale.²⁶

The second half of the 17th century saw Kaptol attracting more and more traders, especially foreign. Outstanding figures among them were Josephus Hyroldi (around the year 1660), Blasius Schnedic (in 1670-ies), and especially Hans Leonhard Mülbacher, better known as the duke Lenard. With his main market store and storage facility in the southwest part of the Kaptol's main square (corner of the main square and Dolac market), he nevertheless owned properties in Gradec as well. He entered the business as an assistant to Schnedic; after becoming independent in 1684, he started supplying nobility and wealthy town families with manufacture and colonial goods, and engaged in banking business, too. During the Great Vienna War (1683-1699), he managed to substantially multiply his wealth. Lenard also held public offices, like, for example, an assistant to the royal treasurer Juraj Plemić.²⁷

In 1610, the Croato-Slavonian parliament decreed that special, export-import squares (*loca depositionis*) are to be established; all exporters had to bring their goods (honey, pigs, cattle, grains, etc.), while other traders had to buy or export these goods. This is how the parliament intended to resolve dispute between Croatian nobility with Styrian and Carniolan nobility on customs duties, levies and toll-collection in Styria and Carniola.²⁸ This square was one of the most important ones in this sense in the area of Zagreb.

Trade fairs were of great importance to economy of early medieval towns.²⁹ A regular daily fair and two special week-fairs (on Mondays and Thursdays) were granted in 1242 by the Golden Bull decree of King Bela IV. Daily fair was restricting trade to groceries and daily provisions; weekly fair was more important, as local traders and craftsmen were selling all their products, not just the one for daily use. The biggest role in strengthening trade had annual fairs, as foreign traders were allowed to participate without paying taxes. The Kaptol's annual fair was held on

²⁶ Herkov, *Povijest zagrebačke trgovine*, 132-135.

²⁷ Josip Matasović, "Knez Lenard kaptola zagrebačkoga kramar," *Narodna starina* 11, nos. 28-29 (1932): 99-114, 169-204; 12, no. 32 (1933): 187-252; 13, nos. 33-34 (1934): 15-32, 125-138; 14, no. 35 (1935): 59-64.

²⁸ HSS, no. 5, 36-37, 56.

²⁹ On trade fairs in Europe and Habsburg lands cf. Heinz Stoob, Peter Johaneck, eds., *Europäische Messen und Märktesysteme in Mittelalter und Neuzeit* (Köln: Böhlau Verlag, 1996).

St. Stephen the King's Day, so-called King's Day (August 20), while the Gradec's oldest annual fair was held around St. Mark's Day (April 25), lasting 15 days. Since medieval times, Gradec had an annual fair on St. Margaret's day (July 13/20); in 1569, Gradec was given its proper fair during the festivities of Blessed Virgin Mary of Immaculate Conception.³⁰

In the first half of the 17th century, a tradition of Christmas fair was initiated; the King's Day fair in 1633 became the joint annual fair of both Zagreb towns – Kaptol and Gradec.³¹ In 1650, the records show that Zagreb held five fairs.³² In 1655, king Ferdinand III approved two more fairs: on Tuesdays, during the Pentecost catholic holiday (trade fair), and on Sundays before St. Jude the Apostle and Simon the Zealot (October 28).³³ The growth of annual fairs from four to seven per year, is one of the indicators that trading in Zagreb grew throughout the 17th century.

The main market squares in Gradec were located around St. Mark church; in Kaptol, it was in front of the cathedral. The square of St. Mark had wooden shacks and booths for lease to local traders. In 1639, it was decreed that the booths have to be removed. After 1674, they were re-built on the ground floor of the new Kaptol town hall. During these annual fairs, travelling peddlers and traders used the space outside town walls, near the Manduševac well. During St. Margaret's Day, the fair was set up around the church of the saint. The Gradec town administration tried to expand marketplace around the Manduševac well, so in 1641 it expropriated parts of private gardens and house plots. As the same market square held a toll-house for tax and toll collection, called the Thirtieth-bit Toll-house (part of taxation), in Hungarian "Harminc," the square was named Harmica.³⁴

The authorities of Gradec issued municipal ordinances to regulate trades, but also to protect local trades from competition. So, in 1640 the authorities decreed that market supervisors have to strictly weigh food, groceries and control the prices, especially those of meat and bread. In 1660, the population of Gradec was under threat of 4 forint fine in order to prevent purchase of wheat outside the local market. On the other side, the authorities of Kaptol, banned their own townfolk from visiting daily and annual fairs in Gradec.³⁵

³⁰ PSZ, knj. 15, 59; Emilij Laszowski, "Prilog za povijest sajmova u Hrvatskoj i Slavoniji," *Vjestnik kr. Hrvatsko-slavonsko-dalmatinskog Zemaljskog arhiva*, 4 (1902): 79.

³¹ Herkov, *Povijest zagrebačke trgovine*, 24.

³² PSZ, knj. 19, 162-163.

³³ Laszowski, "Prilog za povijest sajmova," 79.

³⁴ Herkov, *Povijest zagrebačke trgovine*, 24; Karaman, "Zagrebački trgovci u 17. i 18. stoljeću," 258-259.

³⁵ Horvat, *Prošlost Zagreba*, 425; Buntak, *Povijest Zagreba*, 420-421.

Thirtieth-bit toll-houses in the Croato-Slavonian Kingdom were located not only along border crossings and main roads, but also in the towns that had large trade fairs; the same applied to Gradec, which in the year 1600 was granted the right to collect 'Thirtieth-bit' tax.³⁶ Along with locally made products, markets of Zagreb sometimes offered foreign goods from Western Europe and overseas as well. This included iron and other metal ware, various sorts of leather, cloth, spices, resin and rubber, tobacco, pottery, flint etc.³⁷

Although the 17th century trade in Zagreb was still oriented toward west and north, trading roads to other destinations like North Adriatic seaports, were established too. Most of these alternative trading routes were cut off, or taken over, by the Ottomans in 16th century, or otherwise made insecure for travel. North Adriatic seaports were used for export of wheat, cattle and fur, and import of salt and other marine products. Links between Hungary and the Adriatic Sea, via Zagreb, were revived, also due to weakened traffic of the so-called Ljubljana road. However, Zagreb close commercial ties with Carniola and Styria remained, especially with towns like Ljubljana, Ptuj and Graz. Ljubljana was also an intermediary in Zagreb trading with Rome, Venice, Trieste, but also with Rijeka too (despite direct trading route to Rijeka, this travel was difficult until modern roads were built in the 18th century); Ljubljana merchants were also establishing their affiliates in Zagreb. As for the opposite direction of commerce, the goods were transported by Sava River and by land routes, too. Mostly, it was wheat, fur, honey, wine and cattle that got exported. Ptuj was one of the most important cattle export points, while Graz was well-known for its trade fairs. Merchants of Zagreb revived their old trading connections with Italy (Venice, Rome, etc.), and traded with more distant parts of the Holy Roman Empire – Vienna, Nürnberg, Augsburg, etc. The imported goods from the Ottoman Empire included multi-colored shirts, boots, blankets, belts and harnesses, etc.). The records of Ottoman furrier and merchant from Sarajevo, Petar Franić and his membership in Gradec guild of furriers, dating to 1692, speak of this importance.³⁸

Sava River in the 17th century had a particular importance to Zagreb trade and commerce, as the river was navigable and as such was an important traffic route, especially in commercial exports to the west. In those times, the goods were ferried downstream on boats and rafts; in the opposite direction, upstream, it was carried in sacks on horseback, along both banks of Sava River – via Samobor or Susedgrad. In heavy rain, the roads were difficult to thread, especially via Susedgrad.

River transport was safer, as road bandits would often hijack the cargo. In order to protect the caravan, traders and merchants would gang up in convoys, carried guns, but also paid holly masses before the voyage.³⁹

³⁶ Herkov, *Povijest zagrebačke trgovine*, 48-50.

³⁷ Buntak, *Povijest Zagreba*, 423-424.

³⁸ PSZ, 18, 313; Buntak, *Povijest Zagreba*, 422-423; Karaman, "Zagrebački trgovci", 260.

³⁹ Matasović, "Knez Lenard", Karaman, "Zagrebački trgovci", 259.

Sava River had an important role as a “boat route,” organized transport of people and goods across the river, or, further south of Zagreb. However, the river often flooded the villages under jurisdiction of Gradec, hence weakening its economic strength and drop in the town’s revenue. The area of Zagreb was also flooded by Mt. Medvednica creeks, causing grave damage. Frequent meandering of Sava River also endangered arable lands.⁴⁰

There is a record of a great flood from July 1651 – a big rainstorm caused Medveščak Creek to flood the valley between Kaptol and Gradec. The flood stream rolled rocks and broken trees. A mill, owned by St. Xavier Jesuits was ruined, and 80 of Jesuits’ haystacks were swept by the flooding into the river. Potok Street (today’s Tkalčićeva Street) has all houses damaged and 18 homes demolished to the ground. Since the flooding occurred overnight, saving lives from flooded houses was extremely difficult. As a result, 52 people drowned.⁴¹

In the 17th century, the neighboring suburban residents tried to protect from flooding by building up embankments and causeways and protective wooden barriers along Medveščak Creek. In general, anti-flooding was organized by peasant-built palisade and bulwarks from Jarun to Ščitarjevo. Sometimes the parliament prescribed protective measures; for example in 1630, serfs in Sava valley were ordered to build a bulwark near Ščitarjevo, as Sava River previously had flooded the neighboring villages.⁴²

In the 17th century, the riverbed of Sava had several main streams and many sleeves. Some of them contained water at all times, others only in flood high stage. In the area of Zagreb, toponymy preserved then-riverbed routes (Savica, Stara Savica, Savišče); dry grounds that never flooded (Gredice); river islets (Siget, Sigečica, Otočec, Otok). Some of the toponymy indicate what the riverbanks’ flora looked like (Vrbani, Vrbik, Savski gaj, Trnsko, Trstik, Trnje), or what panoramic features the river landscape had (Peščenica, Zaprude, Struge), etc. The places where the river had wide stream, had boat crossings, and the carts were taken across by rafts. People could wade shallow and narrow parts of the river, during low water.⁴³ In the 16th century, there was some kind of bridge to the other side of Sava in the greater zone of Prečko; by the 17th century it was already gone.⁴⁴ This is why Sava River was being crossed on rafts, which had a main rope stretched across the river and a second, auxiliary rope used to anchor the rafts. One of the oldest Sava River rafts in the greater Zagreb area was near the place called Kraljev brod, managed

⁴⁰ PSZ, 17, 210; Buntak, *Povijest Zagreba*, 408.

⁴¹ Horvat, *Prošlost grada Zagreba*, 24.

⁴² HSS, 5, 467.

⁴³ Branko Vujanović, “Uloga rijeke Save u povijesnom razvoju grada Zagreba,” *Ekonomska i ekohistorija* 3, no. 1 (2007): 127-128.

⁴⁴ PSZ, 17, 210.

by the Medvedgrad nobility. Due to the river meandering, river docks (“brodišča” piers) changed often. However, it seems piers were mostly close to Sava Bridge, where today Savska Street ends. From the border with Carniola to Zagreb there were several „brodišča” piers – Tentas (Tintas), Susedgrad, Resnik etc.⁴⁵ In 1664, there was a raft crossing near Orešje (Susedgrad was across Sava, on the other side); this was a direct competition to Susedgrad raft crossing. This is why the owner had a permit to operate it for personal needs, forbidding a commercial transport of other people’s goods and carts, and/or passengers.⁴⁶

By the end of the 17th century, the free royal borough of Zagreb (Gradec) had no own piers or Sava crossings. The city authorities were interested in establishing control of river traffic – not only for its own commercial trade, but because of loss of import levies and taxes due to transit that avoided the city. Sava River was used for transit of lumber from Carniola and Styria, so Gradec tried to impose inspection at the Kraljev brod crossing pier.

When lumber from Sava River got to Zagreb, taxes like thirtieth bit and toll were collected before it was fished out of the water and delivered to city lot. Then, lumber was set aside for the Gradec’s heating and building, and the rest was left for sale to general population.⁴⁷

In the 17th century, Sava River was used for transport of mercantile goods, lumber and wooden building material from Carniola and Styria,⁴⁸ including even artwork. For example, Celje sculptor Wilhelm Meder pledged in 1653 to deliver his artwork, the great St. Catherine altar, by the river route from Celje to Zagreb. It is obvious that by the end of 17th century Sava was navigable, probably to all types of river boats. Later on, the riverbed and the banks with piers were neglected.⁴⁹

Sava River was used for ferrying the salt. Even in the medieval times, Gradec was an important distribution center for salt. The authorities imposed special levies on sea salt, charging salt weighing, that was done in trade and sale of salt. It was an import tax. Town authorities even provided a special warehouse for salt and stores where it was sold. The town extracted revenues and immediate income from these transactions. Kaptol also got involved in sea salt commerce, ferrying it from Dubovec or from Carniola. Beside sea salt, rock salt was also merchandized, being imported from Austrian lands and from Hungary.⁵⁰

⁴⁵ Herkov, *Povijest zagrebačke trgovine*, 86.

⁴⁶ ZHS, 1, 152.

⁴⁷ Herkov, *Povijest zagrebačke trgovine*, 86; PSZ, 20, 20.

⁴⁸ DAZ, Regestrum tricesimae liberae et regiae civitatis Zagrabiensis, anno 1645.

⁴⁹ Tadija Smičiklas, *Povijest hrvatska*, vol. 2 (Zagreb: Matica hrvatska, 1879), 383; Herkov, *Povijest zagrebačke trgovine*, 92.

⁵⁰ PSZ, 19, 57, 61, 72, 246, 248, 265 and passim.; Herkov, *Povijest zagrebačke trgovine*, 94.

Even though wheat and grains were usually transported by road from the Kingdom of Slavonia to Zagreb, sometimes shipping rout was Sava River, too.⁵¹ Wheat was further transported to Brežice and Krško; then, it was even ferried by Krka River to Kostanjevica, where it got swapped for salt. In the mid-17th century, Slavonian wheat export to Carniola was increased, and at a certain point even dominated on the market and defeated the competition from Lower Styria.⁵²

At that time downstream Sava was navigable only to Sisak, near the border with the Ottoman Empire. In general, the 17th century commercial relations of Croatia with the Ottomans were somewhat difficult. Nevertheless, for example, the Winckler's map from 1639 marked five routes from Croatia to the Ottoman Empire in the vicinity of Zagreb, which could have also been used for cross-border trade. These were the roads: Petrinja-Kostajnica, Čazma-Kutina, Severin-Pakrac, Severin-Stupčanica and Đurđevac-Virovitica.⁵³

In the greater area of Zagreb, payment transactions were usually in currencies like denari, groschen, silver škude, talir and krajczár; yet, the market was familiar with German, Venetian and Polish money, too. Exchange rates were calculated in Rheine and Hungarian forint. The Croato-Slavonian parliament was deciding on payments in foreign currency. It seems there was lack of trust in some foreign currencies, so the parliament in 1611 decreed that the Croato-Slavonian Kingdom would recognize the currency of Polish Kingdom; in 1621, it decreed that all German currencies, used in Carniola, Styria and Carinthia would be used as official money. In later years similar decisions were made – i.e., Vienna and old German currencies had to be used in payments to hussar and haramija soldiers; taxes ought to be paid in talir and gold coin. In 1633, the parliament again approved use of Venetian škuda, old groschen still in use in the Croato-Slavonian Kingdom, regardless of the fact that many people would not accept it for payment.⁵⁴

Autarky of a self-sufficient economy and different foreign influences helped create several measurement systems, which made commerce difficult, and tax collection even more. The parliament often discussed measurement and brought decrees on the subject, e.g., in 1629, when it decreed that measurement for wine and wheat should be uniform for the entire country, those that were already in use in Gradec, were now approved by the kingdom seal. The parliament also decreed that the

⁵¹ Herkov, *Povijest zagrebačke trgovine*, 96.

⁵² Vlado Valenčić, "Žitna trgovina na Kranjskem in Ljubljanske žitne cene od srede 17. stoletja do prve svetovne vojne," *Razprave SAZU X/4* (Ljubljana, 1977), 288-289.

⁵³ Hrvatski državni arhiv, Ujedinjena Bansko-Varaždinsko-Karlovačka generalkomanda, Uvezeni spisi Varaždinskog generalata, 1578-1848.

⁵⁴ Rudolf Horvat, "Hrvatski sabori u 17. vijeku," *Hrvatsko kolo* 19 (1938): 264-265; Buntak, *Povijest Zagreba*, 425.

measurement must be verified by the same kingdom seal. Previously, it was a custom that free royal boroughs used their own seals. In any case, imposing measurement norms was a necessary precondition for strengthening of commercial trade in all towns, Zagreb urban settlements included.⁵⁵

However, the parliament's decrees on measurement norms were not enforced in practice, so the parliament in 1640 charged a clerk with a task to establish measurements for wine and wheat in each county of the Croato-Slavonian Kingdom; in 1641, it concluded that weight measurement for wheat must be publicly displayed in Zagreb, Varaždin and Križevci. The problem was that Gradec used measurements different from those of Kaptol, so the parliament in 1649 decreed that both Zagreb settlements must use a uniform set of measurements for wheat, and a special panel for setting up such measurements was formed.⁵⁶

Throughout the 17th century, Zagreb's merchants developed post office services as well. Lucius Calcinelli in 1598, took over the post office in Gradec, running it all the way until 1632, when he was replaced by the Gradec's senator and magistrate Abraham Fröchlich. By the end of the century, several distinguished men from Gradec served as postmasters. There is little information on actual postal carriers; usually, they were carriage drivers, commercial coachmen (*Fuhrmans*), like merchant Jakob in 1695. Postal connections and regular routes led to Styria via Brežice to Carniola – arriving to Metlika, Novo Mesto and Ljubljana, etc. However, the Zagreb area postal service grew stronger in the mid-18th century.⁵⁷

Crafts and guilds played an important role in the economy of Zagreb. For instance, in 1605 all jurors and senators in Gradec were artisans and craftsmen, which proved that the free royal borough of Zagreb (Gradec) was predominantly a town of crafts and trades, run by them, too.⁵⁸

Since the beginning of the 17th century, the two Zagreb settlements were continuously settled by skilled workmen of different crafts: in Gradec, they were given civic rights (unlike in Kaptol, as it did not have the status of a town). Gradec and Kaptol were attractive because these two settlements became the most important economic centers in the Croato-Slavonian Kingdom. Arrival and settlement of new craftsmen since the 15th and 16th centuries led to establishment of guilds,⁵⁹ which continued in 17th century as well. Some skilled workers abandoned their

⁵⁵ *Enciklopedija hrvatske povijesti i culture* (Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 1980), 374.

⁵⁶ ZHS, 1, str. 89, 149-150; Neven Budak, "Društveni i privredni razvoj Križevaca, do sredine 19. stoljeća," in *Umjetnička topografija hrvatske, križevci grad i okolica*, ed. Žarko Domljan (Zagreb: Institut za povijest umjetnosti Sveučilišta u Zagrebu, 1993), 422-423.

⁵⁷ Velimir Sokol, *450 godina pošte u Zagrebu 1529-1979* (Zagreb: PTT, 1979), 78-81; Matasović, "Knez Lenard": 194-196; Buntak, *Povijest Zagreba*, 425-426.

⁵⁸ Herkov, *Povijest zagrebačke trgovine*, 20.

⁵⁹ *Enciklopedija hrvatske povijesti i kulture*, 55-56.

workshops in other towns or marketplaces to come to Zagreb; others were vassals or tenants with nobility, who had workshops in villages. However, they needed to be set free of their feudal obligations prior to becoming citizens.⁶⁰

Before the 17th century Gradec had six guilds with the following craftsmen: tailors, shoemakers, furriers, belts and harness makers, saddlers, goldsmiths, spur makers, locksmiths, blacksmiths sword makers and butchers.⁶¹

In 1617, a new guild of boot makers, barbers, pharmacists and glaziers was established. However, barbers managed to split up from the guild in a peaceful manner and formed their own guild in 1642. Goldsmith guild ceased to exist somewhere between 1621 and 1635, and the guild members joined the guild of blacksmiths, locksmiths and sword makers instead. Button makers, for example, until 1644 were the members of tailors' guild, but in 1644 they separated and established their own guild; two years later, their guild privileges were confirmed by King Ferdinand III. A guild of loom weavers was first mentioned in 1698; its original statues, however, were not kept, while the first records date back to year 1758. Beside the guilds of craftsmen and artisans, after 1698 we find records of guilds for traders and merchants.⁶²

By the end of the 17th century, guilds of Gradec increased to ten: the first were belt and harness makers, furriers and saddle makers; the second guild included blacksmiths, locksmiths' sword makers and goldsmiths; the following eight guilds were: tailors, shoemakers, butchers, boot makers, barbers, button makers, weavers and of traders and merchants.⁶³

Unlike Gradec, Kaptol did not have any organized guilds before the 17th century. Shoemakers from Kaptol in 1609 organized themselves in a religious and charitable association; in 1627, shoemakers with residence in Potok, Nova Ves and the Kaptol fort received their first rules of the shoemakers' guild. This was the oldest guild in Kaptol. A great guild, that initially had road menders, grinders and sharpeners, furriers, rein and harness makers, saddlers, locksmiths, pike and spear makers, was established in 1632. At later stage, other guilds like boot makers, tailors and button makers, were formed too.⁶⁴

⁶⁰ Ivan Kampuš, Igor Karaman, *Tisučletni Zagreb*, (Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 1994), 121.

⁶¹ Šercer, *Stari zagrebački obrti*, 25-34.

⁶² DAZ, Acta cehalia, Zbirka čizmarskog ceha, Cehovska pravila gradskog suca Jakoba Gasparinija izdana čizmarima, brijačima, ljekarnicima i staklarima od 3. veljače 1617 (Boot makers guild compilation; Town magistrate Jakob Gasparini's Guild Rules for boot makers, barbers, pharmacists and glaziers of 3 February 1617); DAZ, Acta cehalia, Cehovske knjige, br. 9 (Guild books, vol. 9); Šercer, *Stari zagrebački obrti*, , 30, 36-39.

⁶³ Šercer, *Stari zagrebački obrti*, 25-39.

⁶⁴ NAZ, Acta capituli antiqua, fasc. 83, br. 52; Horvat, *Spomenica na kaptolske obrtne cehove*, 1-2, 23, 55; Šercer, *Stari zagrebački obrti*, 50-52; Herkov, *Povijest zagrebačke trgovine*, 8-9; Buntak, *Povijest Zagreba*, 427.

Guilds were not accepting members from unlawful marriage, and a new craftsman applying for guild membership had to submit proof of his skills. After his acceptance to a guild, he had to pay a membership fee and a luncheon for all guild members. Guild members were not subject to town magistrate ruling, or to physical punishment. Strict rules prohibited others outside a guild, to run a business. Each guild had its own patron saint, and on the saint's day they would hold its guild annual meeting. In the 17th century Zagreb, only Roman Catholics could apply to and become members of a guild. The guild was run by its superior, usually an experienced craftsman who oversaw the quality of guild products. Guild master was in charge of work supervision (assistants and novices), and provision of board and housing to young apprentices during their *vandranje* (apprenticeship). However, this obligation existed only for guilds in Gradec. A young guild member as the youngest in experience would watch over the order of business at meetings and trade fairs. A supervisor, called *bijarmeštar* would also supervise the apprentices and novices. In a meeting, guild members would round up by the guild's chest (*ladica*), where the official guild signet, made of silver or brass, with engraved logo of the craft was kept. The guild signet is first mentioned in 1646 privileges to the guild of button makers in Gradec. Guilds also had their protocols, business books and ledgers, recording all revenues and expenses; they also kept minutes of the guild meetings.

Guild novices and apprentices (locally known as *navučalniki*, *inaši*, *sluge*) were taken up for 3–5-year schooling at their guild masters. Kaptol's guilds required that all novices younger than 20 take a 3 year schooling; older "students" would need a 2,5 year training. Novices were trained "for service" by apprentices, and in return they had to make their beds every night and wash their feet every Saturday.⁶⁵

Apprentices were given a strict set of duties within a guild and all guilds had their "youth guilds" (made of apprentices). They had their own rules (aimed to protect them; instead, masters benefited from them); they also had their own chest (*ladica*), and a wine cup to ceremonially drink to brotherhood. Among themselves, they voted up a dean who served as a judge and referee; they also voted on the guild master protector ("guild father").

A formal acceptance of novices into the rank of apprentices required a special ceremony. In 1699, the town administration of Gradec decreed that a prerequisite for a craftsman was a minimum of 2-3-year residence in the Kingdom (or, in apprenticeship abroad), and a submitted proof for that. Apprentices had to lead exemplary life of obedience; being the main workforce in the guild manufacture,

⁶⁵ DAZ, Cehovske knjige, br. 9 (Guild records, vol.9), MGZ, Zapisnik gradečkoga postolarskog ceha 1663-1876 (Minutes of the meeting of the Gradec's shoemakers guild); Rudolf Horvat, *Kako su nekada živjeli hrvatski obrtnici* (Zagreb, 1929); Rudolf Horvat, *Spomenica na kaptolske obrtne cehove u Zagrebu* (Zagreb, 1936); Šercer, *Stari zagrebački obrti*, 6-19.

their work would start up early (3 or 4 A.M.) and end late (9 P.M.). The Kaptol's guild rules from 1674, for example, regulated that in case of an urgent order, apprentices had to work by midnight, and even longer into the night. Their pay depended on their knowledge, skills, and hard work. In the 17th-century Gradec, apprentices would earn anything from 16 denari (apprentices in belts and harnesses crafts) to 25 denari (road menders and blacksmiths) per week; they also were entitled to "drink money" (*zapitek*).⁶⁶

An apprentice could become a guild craftsman in Gradec only after passing a professional test and making a model product from his line of work (no such obligation existed in Kaptol). After the examination, the guild master would provide him with his master certificate, charging a fee that went to guild treasury. Guilds used high fees and strict, rigid testing to prevent becoming flooded with too many master craftsmen.⁶⁷

Meanwhile, in the 17th century, the mountain Medvednica, just north of Zagreb, had signs of mining activity. The administration of the free royal borough of Zagreb (Gradec) in 1608 allowed the magistrates Juraj Matija Cinaberski and Jakob Gasparini to excavate - dig gold and silver ore on Medvedgrad nobility estates on Medvednica. However, soon after the permit had been issued, Ana Marija Ainkern, the widow of late Nikola Gregorijanac, sued them. Yet a year later, the mining business of Cinaberski and Gasparini expanded, as they got partners in the Zrinski brothers - Juraj (V) and Nikola (VI) Zrinski. The contract of 1622 was confirmed by King Ferdinand II. The mining expanded to iron, lead and zinc ore. It had high percentage of galena, the lead sulfide natural mineral that also contained other ingredients, like silver. At that time, the mine had some thirty miners in total. After 1671, the estate with the mines was taken over by the Royal Chamber, trying expropriation and relief from the authority of the Croato-Slavonian-Dalmatian parliament. This attempt failed, and in 1695 the parliament sovereignty over this land was reconfirmed.⁶⁸

CONCLUSION

From the beginning of the early modern times, changes in economic trends in Central-East Europe took place that did not bypass Zagreb. There was an economic downturn in Croatia at the beginning of the 17th century, followed by a temporary recovery from around 1610 to around 1620. During the Thirty Years' War,

⁶⁶ Marija Šercer, "Čehovska pravila gradečkih i kaptolskih djetića (kalfi) 17. stoljeća," in *Zagrebački Gradec 1242-1850*. (Zagreb, 1994), 149-166.

⁶⁷ Kampuš, Karaman, *Tisućljetni Zagreb*, 122.

⁶⁸ PSZ, 17, 294-295, 349-352; Kampuš, Karaman, *Tisućljetni Zagreb*, 114; Nada Klaić, *Medvedgrad i njegovi gospodari*, (Zagreb: Globus, 1987), 280.

the economy gradually declined. The agrarian boom stopped, and from 1620 there was a huge drop in prices of cereals and cattle. In addition to international developments, economic developments have been affected by internal instabilities, too. Economic development of the Croatian-Slavonian Kingdom during the 17th century was dependent on the neighboring Inner Austrian provinces and northern Italy. Therefore, some merchants from these areas immigrated and settled permanently in Zagreb. Zagreb sought to attract new traders and other entrepreneurs with various facilities, in order to strengthen or revive economic activities. Commercial transactions were most often based on sales, but included other legal transactions like exchange, which included not only traders but other entrepreneurs, as well. Participants in the trade were local and foreign merchants, craftsmen (domestic and foreign), nobles and nobles (and in principle every landowner), peasants from the area, and resellers and sellers of bread and food in the square.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

UNPUBLISHED ARCHIVAL SOURCES

Državni arhiv Zagreb (State archives Zagreb) (DAZ)

Acta cehalia.

Regestrum tricesimae liberae et regiae civitatis Zagradiensis, anno 1645.

Hrvatski državni arhiv (Croatian national archives) (HDA)

Popis dimnice, Prot. 2 – V/b, br. 28.

Muzej grada Zagreba (Zagreb City Museum) (MGZ)

Zapisnik gradečkoga postolarskog ceha 1663-1876.

Nadbiskupijski arhiv Zagreb (Archdiocesan archives Zagreb) (NAZ)

Acta capituli antiqua.

PUBLISHED SOURCES

Borković, Janko. "Prilog povijesti biskupa Martina Borkovića i zagrebačke biskupije u drugoj polovici XVII. vijeka." *Starine* 35 (1916): 375-395.

Hrvatski saborski spisi. Edited by Ferdo Šišić, no. 5 (Zagreb: JAZU, 1918). (HSS)

Modrić, Rajka. *Povijesni spomenici obitelji Zrinskih i Frankopana. Popisi i procjena dobara, (1672-1673)*, no. 1. Zagreb: JAZU, 1974.

Laszowski, Emilije. *Povijesni spomenici slob. kralj. grada Zagreba*. Vols. 15, 17, 18, 19. Zagreb: Muzej grada Zagreba, 1937, 1941, 1949, 1952. (PSZ)

Valenčić, Vlado. "Žitna trgovina na Kranjskem in Ljubljanske žitne cene od srede 17. stoletja do prve svetovne vojne." *Razprave SAZU X/4*. Ljubljana, 1977.

Zaključci Hrvatskog sabora. Edited by Josip Butorac et al., no. 1. Zagreb: Arhiv SR Hrvatske, 1958. (ZHS)

LITERATURE

Adamček, Josip. *Agrarni odnosi u Hrvatskoj od sredine XV do kraja XVII stoljeća*. Zagreb: JAZU, 1980.

Beuc, Ivan. *Povijest institucija državne vlasti u Hrvatskoj (1527-1945)*. Zagreb: Arhiv Hrvatske, 1969.

Budak, Neven. "Društveni i privredni razvoj Križevaca, do sredine 19. stoljeća." In *Umjetnička topografija hrvatske, križevci grad i okolica*, edited by Žarko Domljan, 41-49. Zagreb: Institut za povijest umjetnosti Sveučilišta u Zagrebu, 1993.

Budak, Neven. "Gradske oligarhije u 17. stoljeću u sjeverozapadnoj Hrvatskoj." In *Međunarodni kulturnopovijesni simpozij Mogersdorf 1988*, edited by Ivan Kampuš, 89-109. Zagreb: Kratis, 1995.

Budak, Neven. "Pogranična gradska naselja sjeverne Hrvatske u 17. stoljeću." *Radovi Zavoda za hrvatsku povijest Filozofskog fakulteta* 25, no. 1 (1992): 27-38.

Buntak, Franjo. *Povijest Zagreba*. Zagreb: Nakladni zavod Matice hrvatske, 1996.

Enciklopedija hrvatske povijesti i kulture. Školska knjiga: Zagreb 1980.

Europäische Wirtschafts- und Sozialgeschichte vom ausgehenden Mittelalter bis zur Mitte des 17. Jahrhundert. Edited by Herman Kollenbenz, vol. 3. Stuttgart, 1986.

Europäische Wirtschafts- und Sozialgeschichte von der Mitte des 17. Jahrhunderts bis zur Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts. Edited by Ilja Mieck, vol. 4. Stuttgart, 1993.

Gömmel, Rainer. *Die Entwicklung der Wirtschaft im Zeitalter des Merkantilismus 1620-1800*. Munich, 1998.

Herkov, Zlatko. *Povijest zagrebačke trgovine*. Zagreb: JAZU, 1987.

Historija naroda Jugoslavije. Vol. 2. Zagreb, 1959.

Horvat, Rudolf. *Povijest trgovine, obrta i industije u Hrvatskoj*. Zagreb: AGM, 1994.

Horvat, Rudolf. *Prošlost grada Zagreba*. Zagreb: August Cesarec, 1992.

Horvat, Rudolf. *Kako su nekada živjeli hrvatski obrtnici*. Zagreb, 1929.

Horvat, Rudolf. *Spomenica na kaptolske obrtne cehove u Zagrebu*. Zagreb, 1936.

- Horvat, Rudolf. "Hrvatski sabori u 17. vijeku." *Hrvatsko kolo* 19 (1938): 261-276.
- Kampuš, Ivan, Igor Karaman. *Tisućljetni Zagreb*. Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 1994.
- Kampuš, Ivan. *Prilog poznavanju gospodarskog položaja Gradeca kraj Zagreba u 17. st. na osnovi varoških računa prihoda i rashoda, Zagrebački Gradec 1242-1850*. Zagreb, 1994.
- Karaman, Igor. "Zagrebački trgovci u 17. i 18. stoljeću." *Historijski zbornik* 29-30 (1976-1977): 251-262.
- Klaić, Nada. *Medvedgrad i njegovi gospodari*. Zagreb: Globus, 1987.
- Klaić, Nada. "Pogled na razvitak srednjovjekovne Slavonije." In *Arheološka istraživanja u sjeverozapadnoj Hrvatskoj*, 223-229. Zagreb 1978.
- Klaić, Vjekoslav. *Statut grada Zagreba od god. 1609. i reforma njegova god. 1618*. Zagreb: Tiskara i litografija C. Albrechta, 1912.
- Krivošić, Stjepan. *Zagreb i njegovo stanovništvo od najstarijih vremena do sredine XIX. stoljeća*. Zagreb: JAZU, 1981.
- Laszowski, Emilij. *Stari i novi Zagreb. Historičke i kulturno-historičke crtice o Zagrebu*. Zagreb, 1925.
- Laszowski, Emilije. "Prilog za povijest sajmova u Hrvatskoj i Slavoniji." *Vjestnik kr. Hrvatsko-slavonsko-dalmatinskog Zemaljskog arhiva*, 4 (1902): 67-79.
- Matasović, Josip. "Knez Lenard kaptoloma zagrebačkoga kramar." *Narodna starina* 11, nos. 28-29 (1932): 99-114, 169-204; 12, no. 32 (1933): 187-252; 13, nos. 33-34 (1934): 15-32, 125-138; 14, no. 35 (1935): 59-64.
- Šercer, Marija. "Cehovska pravila gradečkih i kaptolskih djetića (kalfi) 17. stoljeća." In *Zagrebački Gradec 1242-1850.*, 149-166. Zagreb, 1994.
- Šercer, Marija. *Stari zagrebački obrti*. Zagreb: Povijesni muzej Hrvatske, 1994.
- Smičiklas, Tadija. *Poviest hrvatska*, vol. 2. Zagreb: Matica hrvatska, 1879.
- Sokol, Velimir. *450 godina pošte u Zagrebu 1529-1979*. Zagreb: PTT, 1979.
- Stoob, Heinz, Peter Johaneck, eds.. *Europäische Messen und Märktesysteme in Mittelalter und Neuzeit*. Köln: Böhlau Verlag, 1996.
- Vujasinović, Branko. "Uloga rijeke Save u povijesnom razvoju grada Zagreba," *Ekonomska i ekohistorija* 3, no. 1 (2007): 121-155.