

ETHNIC GROUPS IN ZAGREB'S GRADEC IN THE LATE MIDDLE AGES

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This work contains an analysis of the ethnic structure of late medieval Gradec (Zagreb) and the joint organization of urban governance in comparison to other cities of the Hungarian Kingdom. Attention is also accorded to other associations which may have had an ethnic character, such as fraternities and town parishes, and there is an additional analysis of coexistence between ethnic groups and the language spoken in the town's everyday life.

Key words: medieval Zagreb, ethnic structure

Introduction

With the issuance of the Golden Bull of 1242, King Béla IV established a free royal borough, or town, on the hill adjacent to the seat of the Zagreb Diocese, exempting it from the jurisdiction of the Zagreb bishop.¹ Zagreb was thereby divided into two independent jurisdictions: Gradec or Grič (*Mons Grecensis*) became a genuine fortified medieval town, with its own judiciary and autono-

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¹ The most recent archaeological research conducted in 2002 has ascertained the existence of a settlement on Gradec prior to 1242, which confirms the theory of settlement on Grič Hill even before the establishment of the free royal town. See: Z. Nikolić Jakus "Počeci srednjovjekovnog grada", in: S. Goldstein-I. Goldstein (ed.), *Povijest Grada Zagreba*, vol. 1 (Zagreb, 2012), pp. 35. For the published document of the Golden Bull, see: *Povjestni spomenici slob. kralj. grad. Zagreba. Monumenta historica liberae regiae civitatis Zagrabiae* (hereinafter: MCZ), vol. 1 (Zagreb, 1889), pp. 15-18. For contemporary scholarly analysis of the legal character of the Golden Bull, see: M. Apostolova-Maršavelski, *Iz pravne prošlosti Zagreba (13-16. stoljeće)* (Zagreb, 1998), L. Margetić, *Zagreb i Slavonija: izbor studija* (Zagreb-Rijeka, 2000). For a manuscript analysis of the Golden Bull, see J. Barbarić *Diplomatičko značenje Zlatne Bule*, in: Z. Stublić (ed.), *Zlatna Bula 1242 – 1992* (Zagreb, 1992), pp. 11-19.

mous administration, and well-developed trades and commerce, while the diocesan section (Kaptol) based its revenues on its numerous landed holdings, only beginning to significantly develop its own economy toward the end of the Middle Ages.² Nonetheless, a location next to the seat of a diocese with a medieval cathedral chapter and several monastic communities certainly played a role in the development of Gradec, despite the fact that quite often conflicts broke out between the citizens and the canons of Kaptol, which on several occasions escalated into genuine civil wars (1391, 1397, 1422).³ The government in Gradec was headed by a judge (*iudex*), whose term was limited to a single year. Additionally, the government was represented by eight jurors (*jurati*), and 20 councillors, and the composition of the magistrature was elected every year on the Feast of St. Blaise (3 February). Gradec had an estimated population of 3,000 in the mid-fourteenth century, while in the fifteenth century this number stagnated and declined slightly as that century drew to a close.⁴

² Documents from the royal and cathedral chancellery and other diplomatic materials pertaining to Gradec and the town's court documents and land registers were published by Ivan Krstiteļ Tkalčić in the series *MCZ*, vol. 1-11 (Zagreb 1889-1905). The earliest preserved court documents are from 1355, while in 1384 the land registers appeared, so that the societal structure of Gradec can best be followed from the latter half of the fourteenth century. Tkalčić's work on publishing original materials from the sixteenth century was continued by Emilij Laszowski (*MCZ*, vol. 12-16, 1929.-1939.), while the documents from the cathedral chapter and other archives tied to Zagreb's Kaptol and church history were published by Andrija Lukinović in *Monumenta historica episcopatus zagrabiensis. Povijesni spomenici Zagrebačke biskupije*, vol. 5-7 (Zagreb 1992-2004, hereafter *MHEZ*). The publication of sources opened the way for the publication of first editions on Zagreb, of which I shall distinguish those which are better known: Gjuro Szabo *Stari Zagreb* (Zagreb, 1940); Rudolf Horvat *Prošlost grada Zagreba*, (Zagreb, 1942). In the latter half of the twentieth century, the most important researchers were Ivan Kampuš, Nada Klaić and Lelja Dobronić, whose many years of research were rounded off by the following monographs: I. Kampuš-Lj. Karaman, *Tisućuljetni Zagreb: od davnih naselja do suvremenog velegrada* (Zagreb, 1994); Klaić, *Zagreb u srednjem vijeku* (Zagreb, 1982); Dobronić, *Biskupski i Kaptolski Zagreb* (Zagreb, 1991); *Slobodni i kraljevski grad Zagreb* (Zagreb, 1992). Some scholars specifically examined individual aspects from the history of Zagreb: Stjepan Krivošić analyzed demographic trends in: *Zagreb i njegovo stanovništvo od najstarijih vremena do sredine 19. st.* (Zagreb, 1981), Vladimir Bedenko examined medieval urban planning and estate relations in: *Zagrebački Gradec: Kuća i grad u srednjem vijeku* (Zagreb, 1989), while Neven Budak considered social structure and urban development in: Budak-Kanižaj-Vorel, "Kolonije stranaca na Gradecu u 14. st.," *Izdanja HAD* 17 (1996): p. 79-83; "Budući da smo htjeli u Zagrebu na brdu Gradecu sagraditi slobodni grad..." in: Z. Stublić (ed.), *Zlatna Bula 1242 - 1992*. It is also necessary to point out the first modern scholarly book published after the seminar dedicated to the 750th anniversary of the Golden Bull: I. Kampuš-L. Margetić-F. Šanjek (eds.) *Zagrebački Gradec 1242-1850* (Zagreb, 1994). The legal historians were pointed out in the preceding note.

³ There were both Franciscan and Dominican monasteries in the Kaptol area. The Cistercians had an affiliate in Kaptol, while their monastery was in Topusko. The Paulines were accommodated north of Zagreb, on the southern slopes of Mt. Medvednica, which is why this area was called Remete. On the conflicts between Gradec and Kaptol, see Klaić, *Zagreb*, pp. 103-137.

⁴ All of Zagreb, i.e., Gradec and Kaptol, without the surrounding villages, had between four and five thousand inhabitants. See Krivošić, p. 63, 65, 69.

The emergence and establishment of Gradec resulted from the king's policy of creating fortified urban settlements, which acquired a new and intensified dimension after the Mongol incursion, as it became apparent that only soundly-fortified towns or fortresses could resist larger assaults. Thus, after 1242, Béla's privileges to towns followed one after another, and the king issued dozens of privileges to urban settlements.⁵ In general, several common and principal features of towns in the Hungarian Kingdom may be distinguished.⁶ The first feature has already been mentioned: the strong role of the ruler in their establishment and reinforcement. Béla IV and his successors established many towns, and conferred privileges to many settlements, and the greatest degree of autonomy for a settlement was secured by the status of free royal town. The second feature was the movement of "foreigners" into towns as some cities were populated by residents from outside of the Kingdom's borders of the time, who came during the colonization period, attracted by the privileges that could be enjoyed in certain territories (*hospites*).⁷ Since the thirteenth century, this term included not only foreign linguistic groups, but rather all new settlers in cities regardless of their ethnic or status origin, who thus as a rule enjoyed equal rights, while in the course of subsequent urban development a differentiation emerged among town residents between citizens in the full sense of the word (*cives*), who had to have their own real property, and ordinary inhabitants (*inhabitatores*).⁸ Thus, the late medieval towns of Hungary had, besides the "domicile" population – Slavs and Magyars – a high number of residents from the German-speaking lands; most often these were Saxons and Germans from Bavaria and southern Germany, so the towns of the Hungarian Kingdom also developed under the strong influence of German law.⁹ Speaking of real privileges, it is important to point out that Gradec, as a free royal town, enjoyed the right to pronounce the death penalty and criminal prosecution (*ius gladii*) and it had the right to enact statutes. Gradec came under the jurisdic-

⁵ I. Petrovics, "The Role of Town in the Defence System of Medieval Hungary", in: Philippe Contamine, Olivier Guyotjeannin (ed.) *La Guerre, la violence et les gens au Moyen Âge*, Vol. 1 *Guerre et violence* (1996), p. 265. See therein also the cited sources on urbanization of the Hungarian Kingdom in the thirteenth century.

⁶ Excluded from this consideration are the towns on the Adriatic coast, which had entirely different features and historical development.

⁷ The main privileges of settlers were free movement and free use of their own property (Budak, "Budući da smo htjeli u Zagrebu na brdu Gradecu sagraditi slobodni grad...", p. 24).

⁸ I. Petrovics, "Foreign Ethnic Groups in the Towns of Southern Hungary in the Middle Ages" in: D. Keene, B. Nagy, K. Szende (ed.), *Segregation – Integration – Assimilation: Religious and Ethnic Groups in the Medieval Towns of Central and Eastern Europe* (Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2009), p. 68; Ludwig Steindorff "Srednjovjekovni Zagreb – obrazac povijesti srednjoeuropskog grada", in: *Zagrebački Gradec*, p. 25.

⁹ On the influence of German settlers on the development of the legal systems in Hungarian cities, see P. Engel, *The Realm of St. Stephen: a history of medieval Hungary, 895-1526* (London/New York: I.B. Tauris Publishers, 2001), p. 252. The Saxons who arrived from the lower Rhineland mostly settled in Transylvania (Engel, p. 113).

tion of a tavernical court, which put it among the so-called tavernical cities of the Hungarian Kingdom, while the authority of the Tavernicus not only pertained to judicial activity but also the city's administration.¹⁰

A rather important feature of the Hungarian towns is that all major and more significant urban hubs lay on vital commercial and communications routes or they were formed near mining areas.¹¹ Gradec stood at the intersection of the roads that linked the Kingdom's north to its south, and also indirectly the Italian lands, while the other route connected the German lands with Slavonia, Bosnia and Dalmatia, but besides these many other communication routes of local importance also converged on Zagreb.¹² In the fourteenth century trade intensified, thanks mostly to the exports of gold, silver and copper from the mines in today's Slovakia and Romania, while alloys naturally played a considerable role in the exchange of goods, certainly spurring the development of crafts and trade and the overall monetary economy.¹³ Gradec experienced its most potent urban development precisely in the mid-fourteenth century, when a genuine urban elite consisting of craftsmen and merchants gradu-

¹⁰ T. Šek Brnardić "Tavernik, tavernikalni sud i tavernikalno pravo", *Arhivski vjesnik* 40 (1997): 185. The statute of Gradec has not been preserved, so it is impossible to ascertain the influence of Buda's statute (1405), which was the principal legal source which all free royal towns had to use as a model. It is therefore possible to speak of the great influence of the Buda statute on the Ilok statute, as in 1453 King Ladislaus granted the town of Ilok (today on Croatia's eastern border along the Danube River) the same rights and decrees enjoyed by Buda (see: D. Vitek "Povijesne okolnosti nastanka iločkog statuta", in: J. Martinčić, D. Hackenberger (ed.) *Iločki statut i iločko srednjovjekovlje* (Zagreb-Osijek, 2002), pp. 25-37.

¹¹ Petrovics, "Foreign Ethnic...", p. 72; For more on the influence of communication routes on the layout and development of medieval cities of Hungary, see: K. Szende "Towns along the way. Changing patterns of long-distance trade and the urban network of medieval Hungary", *Towns and communication: Communication between towns and between towns and their hinterland. Introductory reflections*, vol. 2 (Galatina, 2011), pp. 161-225.

¹² Budak, "Buduci da smo htjeli...", p. 23.

¹³ Engel, *The Realm*, p. 155. One other feature of Hungarian towns is also noteworthy. The towns of medieval Hungary were considerably smaller than those in Western Europe. In general, towns with 5,000 residents were considered large in Central Europe, while in Western Europe these were deemed small or medium-sized towns. All major European cities had tens of thousands of residents, while not one town (or just one) in the medieval Hungarian kingdom had a population that exceeded ten thousand. See: D. Keen, "Towns and the growth of trade", in: D. Luscombe and J. Riley-Smith (ed.), *The New Cambridge Medieval History*, vol. 4/1: c. 1024-c. 1198 (Cambridge, 2004), pp. 50-53; László Kontler, *Povijest Mađarske: Tisuću godina u srednjoj Europi* (Zagreb, 2007), p. 114. Also, here we are largely speaking of towns in the true sense of the word (*civitas*), which were fortified and normally enjoyed a certain autonomy and privileges, while market towns (*oppidum*), which generally means unfortified settlements or larger villages, were often under the authority of a noble or the Church, and they could enjoy certain privileges (mostly tied to commerce and fairs). For more on this see: V. Backsai, "Small Towns in Eastern Central Europe", in: P. Clark (ed.), *Small Towns in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, 1995), pp. 77-89; N. Budak, *Gradovi Varaždinske županije u srednjem vijeku: urbanizacija Varaždinske županije do kraja 16. st.* (Zagreb-Koprivnica, 1994).

ally formed, while the city became vital to international mercantile trade due to its links with Senj and Italy.¹⁴ Gradec was entitled to hold – besides a weekly fair – two major (fortnightly) fairs: around the Feast of St. Mark (1256), while in 1372 it was granted the right to hold another major fair in July (corresponding with the Feast of St. Margaret). The Kaptol fair on the Feast of St. Stephen (in August), which was also probably the largest, should also be counted here.¹⁵ Also, it is important to note that practically from its very establishment, Gradec opened a mint in which the silver *denar* (denarius) was coined, so that it was also one of the Kingdom's financial centres up to the end of the fourteenth century.¹⁶ Gradec was additionally the main station in medieval Slavonia for collecting the one-thirtieth tax, and many of the Gradec's citizens were collectors of the one-thirtieth tax.

In any case, Gradec was the most highly developed and most important town in medieval Slavonia, which would experience its "golden age" precisely in the latter half of the fourteenth century thanks above all to auspicious economic circumstances in the Kingdom, as well as the "Mediterranean orientation" of the Angevin dynasty, whereby Gradec was a vital point on the route to Dalmatia and the Adriatic Sea. In 1335 Charles Robert commissioned the construction of a royal palace in the town, in which Stephen, the brother of Louis and the Croatian duke (*dux*) at the time, lived from 1350 until his death (1354), while at the end of the fifteenth century John Corvinus, bearing the same title, also resided there often.¹⁷ Sigismund of Luxembourg also initially favoured Gradec, awarding it in 1387 with two estates in its vicinity for its support in the struggle against the Neapolitan party, but the king ultimately conferred these same estates to local nobles.¹⁸ Despite the fact that at the onset of the fifteenth century Sigismund initiated an intense "urban" policy with the objective of according a greater role

¹⁴ Z. Herkov, *Povijest zagrebačke trgovine* (Zagreb, 1987), pp. 10-11.

¹⁵ *MCZ* 1, lxxx.

¹⁶ It is possible that the mint lost its importance after 1326 and the introduction of gold coins (florins), but it still functioned despite the reforms instituted by Louis in the 1350s, which were aimed at closing local mints and unifying the currency (Engel, 265). Thus, in 1353 Petrus Ligerius was mentioned as *comes camerarum domini Stephani ducis* (CD, 12, p. 194-195), while in 1357 the *comes camere* was a certain Gregorius (*MCZ* 4, p. 102), and somewhere at the same time there was also Marketus as *comes camere* (*MCZ* 4, pp. 190, 362). In 1384 Queen Mary sent Simon *de Talentis* and Azcon *Galicus* to the town in order to take over the mint (*MCZ* 1, p. 301). Nonetheless, it would appear that by the end of the fourteenth century the mint ceased operating, because there were no further reports of it until its restoration in 1525.

¹⁷ *MCZ* 1, p. 206.

¹⁸ Since the town had difficulty functioning without the accompanying landed estates, it held plough-fields and vineyards and several villages in the immediate vicinity. Some of the wealthiest citizens owned entire villages or they held several landed plots with villeins (*jobagiones*). Nonetheless, not only did Gradec not manage to expand its holdings in the fifteenth century, it had difficulty retaining its previous holdings for which citizens engaged in long-lasting lawsuits with the local nobles and the Zagreb bishops to restore them, in which they did not always succeed. For a map of the Zagreb environs with the town's estate holdings, see: Klaić, *Zagreb*, p. 296.

to towns within the Kingdom's political system, circumstances in Bohemia and the Holy Roman Empire distracted his attention from the south of his Kingdom, resulting in the loss of Bosnia and Dalmatia, which certainly had a negative impact on Zagreb to some extent.¹⁹ In the fifteenth century, Sigismund pawned Gradec to Zagreb Bishop Eberhard Alben, which did not deviate from his tendency to raise money; as he did the same thing with a dozen more urban settlements in Hungary.²⁰ However, while Eberhard and later John Alben were "only" entitled to the royal taxes on Gradec without any other prerogatives or rights to intervene in the town's affairs, not long after Sigismund's death, the Counts of Celje (*Cili*) took Gradec in 1441 by military force, exploiting the weakness of royal authority. The Celje counts thus became the supreme lords of Gradec, which they held until the death of the last member of this noble family in Belgrade (1456). Despite the restoration of royal authority under Matthias Hunyadi, the latter half of the fifteenth century was a time of stagnation in the town's development, mostly due to the threat of the Ottomans, who came within striking distance of Zagreb in 1469, and the constant raids in Zagreb's immediate and farther environs engendered uncertainty among the town's residents.²¹

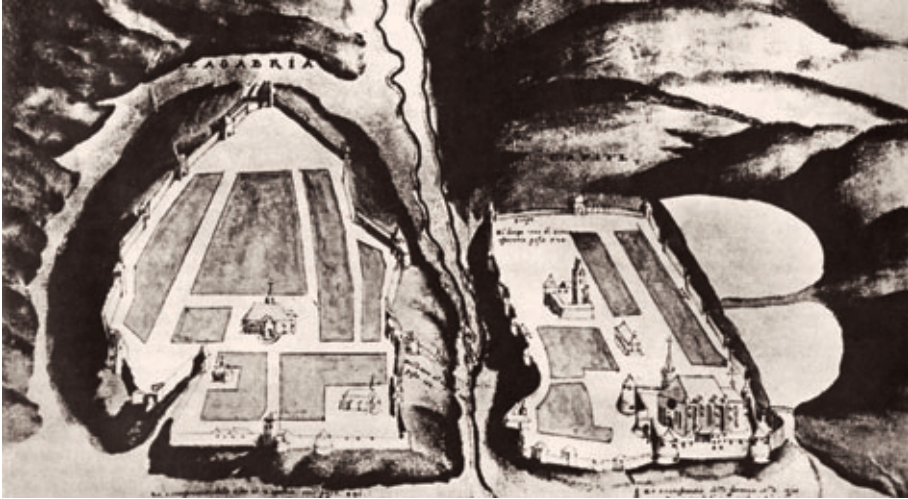
In other words, these general features show the many similarities and complementarity of Gradec in medieval Hungary's urban system, which is not surprising given that the entire territory of medieval Slavonia was almost entirely incorporated into the Hungarian legal and political system, as opposed to the territory of medieval Croatia and Dalmatia.²² In this work, this is additionally

¹⁹ On Sigismund's urban policy, see: K. Szende "Between Hatred and Affection: Towns and Sigismund in Hungary and in the Empire", M. Pauly-F. Reinert (ed.) *Sigismund von Luxemburg-Ein Kaiser in Europa: 20 Tagungsband des internationalen historischen und kunsthistorischen Kongress in Luxemburg, 8-10 June 2005* (Mainz 2006), pp. 199-210.

²⁰ Klaić noted that already in the first years of the fifteenth century, Sigismund had pledged Gradec with all accompanying rights, which he acknowledged in an introductory letter to Eberhard in which he notified the bishop that he nonetheless returned the town to the crown's authority, and prohibited Eberhard from exercising any judicial authority in the town. Even so, in his will in 1433, John Alben, Eberhard's brother who succeeded him as Zagreb bishop, returned the town to the king, which he had received as collateral for a loan (Klaić, *Zagreb*, p. 132; *MCZ* 2, pp. 11-12; For John Alben's will, see: *MCZ* 2, p. 72). Therefore, from this it would follow that Sigismund truly relinquished the town to Eberhard with all rights, but that he subsequently renegeed on this and only granted the Albens the right to collect royal taxes in return for money. Also, in the court records, which are unfortunately absent precisely for the early fifteenth century, none of the Albens bear the title *dominus noster*, which, for example, was the case with the Counts of Celje after 1441.

²¹ The Ottoman threat was not the sole cause of economic and demographic decline. Increasing competition from Kaptol, which began to attract residents and enhance its crafts and commerce as of the mid-fifteenth century, as had a negative impact on Gradec, while even nobles became involved in commerce, and from the mid-fifteenth century onward they began to impede the town's merchants by seeking that they pay tolls.

²² A. Zsoldos "Hrvatska i Slavonija u srednjovjekovnoj Ugarskoj Kraljevini", in: M. Kruhek (ed.), *Hrvatsko-Mađarski odnosi 1102. – 1918: zbornik radova* (Zagreb, 2004), p. 21.



Gradec and Kaptol in 16th century

supported by an analysis of the ethnic divisions of the town's administration, which besides Gradec were also introduced to certain other towns in the Hungarian Kingdom.²³

²³ The political circumstances from more recent history and the linguistic barrier between Hungarian and Croatian historians are the reasons for insufficient knowledge of Gradec's history on one hand, and meagre and insufficient knowledge of the history of urban settlements in today's Hungary, Slovakia or Romania on the other. Thus, even scholarly monographs on Gradec or Zagreb (by Kampuš, Klaić, Dobronić, and others) do not contain or say very little about the urban context in the Hungarian kingdom. Also, much foreign research done in the latter half of the twentieth century failed to acknowledge the Central European character of Zagreb, rather they left Zagreb to researchers concerned with south-eastern Europe (Steindorff, p. 19). An exception to this standpoint, according to Steindorff, was Klaus-Detler Grothusen, *Entstehung und Geschichte Zagrebs bis zum Ausgang des 14. Jahrhunderts: Ein Beitrag zum Städtewesen Südosteuropas im Mittelalter* (Wiesbaden, 1967). Hungarian historians, judging by their list of towns ranked by importance as compiled by András Kubinyi, also did not initially take into consideration many facts and features of Gradec and Kaptol, so all of Zagreb was relegated to a group of Hungarian towns with secondary importance. Nevertheless, Kubinyi subsequently refined his methodology, so that Zagreb was later assessed as a more important city (A. Kubinyi, "Városfejlődés és vásárhálózat a Középkori Alföldön és az Alföld szélén", *Dél-alföldi évszázadok* 14, Szeged, 2000, pp. 7-11). Kubinyi's methods, developmental stages and criticism using the example of Zagreb was presented to Croatian readers by Szabolcs Varga. See S. Varga, "Uloga grada Zagreba u gradskom sustavu Ugarske u kasnom srednjem vijeku – The city of Zagreb in the urban network of Hungary in the late middle ages", *Podravina* VIII (2009), No. 16: 67. All of these aspects are the reason why this work contains an extended introduction to the main topic.

Ethnic Groups in Gradec

Therefore, *hospites* in four different languages were present in Gradec, which administered the city from 1377 to 1436 based on the principle of parity. Something that may be underscored as a minor specificity of Gradec in comparison to other Hungarian towns is the numerous and influential colony of so-called Latins. In the pre-urban period, these Latins, mainly from northern France, Flanders and Lorraine, were – besides Zagreb – also settled in Fehervar, Esztergom, Eger and Varadin, thus obviously favouring diocesan seats.²⁴ However, after 1242, it would appear that Latins (now mainly from Italian countries) only arrived in Gradec in greater numbers. To be sure, Italian merchants were present in Buda and Pest and certain other towns; they did not, however, become members of town councils, rather preferring to successfully expand their activities vis-à-vis the Court by rendering taxation and monetary services in the royal administration.²⁵ In Gradec, the Latins were also most often merchants or goldsmiths, but not only were they members of the magistrature, they also often became town judges, meaning that they had permanently settled in Gradec.²⁶ Italians, or rather settlers from the Italian lands, can often be found under the term *Latinus* from the thirteenth century onward, and in the sources the terms *Latinus* and *Gallicus* are often interchangeable, or at least in the case of Gradec they were synonyms, because the same citizens were often cited in combinations of both ethnicities.²⁷ If we were to seek certain sub-groups among the Latin settlers, then we would first speak of a Venetian, and then later a Florentine colony. The first resident of Gradec known by

²⁴ Petrovics, "Foreign Ethnic Groups", p. 70.

²⁵ Engel, 261. For more on this, see: K. Arany, "Success and Failure, Two Florentine Merchant Families in Buda during the Reign of King Sigismund (1387-1437)", *Annual of Medieval Studies at CEU* 12 (2006): 101-123; "Generations Abroad: Florentine Merchant Families in Hungary in the First Half of the Fifteenth Century", in: Finn Einar Eliassen, Katalin Szende (eds.) *Generations in Towns: Succession and Success in Pre-industrial Urban Societies* (Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2009), pp. 129-152; K. Prajda "The Florentine Scolari family at the Court of Sigismund of Luxemburg in Buda", *Journal of Early Modern History* 14 (2010): 513-533. Latins were present in more significant numbers in Pécs as well (I. Petrovics, "The Cities and Towns of Medieval Hungary as Economic and Cultural Centres and Places of Coexistence. The Case of Pécs", *Colloquia XVIII* (2011): 5-26.

²⁶ The Gradec Italians were also apothecaries or bathhouse owners. The bathhouse owners were Mafeo Biondo from Venice, Gerinus de Spinal and the Florentine Martin Renis. The first apothecary mentioned in Gradec (1355) was *Jakmo Latinus* (MCZ 4, pp. 41, 45, 50, 58), while a pharmacy in 1399 was also owned by the great-grandson of Dante Alighieri, Niccolo, the son of Bernardo. See Čale, "Gli Alighieri a Zagabria nei Trecento" in: *Radovi Međunarodnog simpozija Dante i slavenski svijet*, F. Čale (ed.), vol. 1, Simpoziji – JAZU, bk. 3, (Zagreb, 1984), pp. 71-80.

²⁷ It was only in the fifteenth century that the term *Italicus* appeared more frequently to refer to members of the Latin linguistic group. Thus, the Florentines Cion, Pero, and Rugerius were recorded as belonging to the *Gallicus* ethnicity, while their fellow Florentine from the fifteenth century, Anthonius Appardi, was an *Italicus*, as this term had completely pushed aside *Gallicus* by the fifteenth century. In this article, names of citizens will be written in Latin.

name was Perin from Venice, a merchant and minter who was the administrator of the mint (*comes camere domini regis*) with very good ties to the Royal Court.²⁸ The Venetian colony has been linked to the dedication of the central church in Gradec, St. Mark's.²⁹ It is possible that certain very powerful Gradec Latins in the mid-fourteenth century were originally Venetians who were otherwise quite interested in Gradec as a key point in their mercantile activities throughout the kingdom.³⁰ As of the mid-fourteenth century, Florentine merchants also appeared, of whom a goodly portion remained in Gradec and joined the magistrature, while from the end of that century until the abolishment of language groups, all of the judges of the Latin group were Florentines.³¹

German settlers in Gradec arrived in higher numbers only in the latter half of the thirteenth century. Given that the charter of Andrew II from 1198 mentions only Latins, Slavs and Magyars, there is no basis to claim that Germans were present in higher numbers in the Zagreb area prior to the thirteenth century.³² Actually, the scant sources for the thirteenth century also contain no direct information on German settlers in the Zagreb area, rather it is assumed that the German *hospites* had to have been a significant group among the first settlers after 1242, given that Gradec also developed under the influence of German law and that the town's name quite often appeared in documents in its German form (*Grež, Grech*).³³ As opposed to Vukovar, whose privileges from 1231 mention, besides Magyars, Slavs and Germans (*Teutonicis*), Saxons, in Gradec, judging by the known locations mentioned, Germans largely came from Bavaria or the southern regions of German Austria, as well as Bohemia, and some came from other Hungarian cities.³⁴ Besides the Latins, the Germans

²⁸ T. Smičiklas, *Codex diplomaticus regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae: Diplomatički zbornik Kraljevine Hrvatske, Dalmacije i Slavonije*, vol. I-XVIII, vol. 6, p. 329.

²⁹ Klaić, *Zagreb*, p. 99. To be sure, besides Perin and his relatives from the Torusti family, who lived in Kaptol, there are no other records of settlers from the area of Venice.

³⁰ Pal Engel stated that the Venetians did not go farther than Zagreb in their activities (Engel, p. 258). Some of the better known members of the Latin colony in the mid-fourteenth century were from the *de Medzo, de Medio, Quirin*, and *de Spinal* families; for none are there any clear data as to whence they came to Gradec.

³¹ Thus far two works have been written about the Florentines in Gradec: N. Klaić, "O firentinskoj 'koloniji' na zagrebačkom Gradecu potkraj 14. Stoljeća", *Balkanika. Radovi Instituta za balkanološke studije* 13-14 (1982-1983); N. Budak, "I fiorentini nella Slavonia e nella Croazia nei secoli XIV e XV", *Archivio storico italiano* 153 (1995) no. 566./IV: 681-695.

³² This is one of the first preserved documents of the Zagreb Diocese in which Duke Andrew specified that only the bishop or his judge could pass judgment on these settlers. To be sure, the term *hospites* (*hospites de vico Latinorum*) was only mentioned in 1244, *MCZ* 1, pp. 2-3, 19.

³³ N. Budak, "Budući da smo htjeli", p. 25.

³⁴ Probably the most distant city from which several Germans came to Gradec was Cologne. Bedenko, *Zagrebački Gradec*, p. 69.

also named a town section: a Gradec suburb is called *Vicus Teutonicorum*, first recorded in the sources in 1356.³⁵ Although there were Germans who were merchants, they generally predominated in the trades, particularly esteemed in the stonemasonry (*lapicidae*), and perhaps also as cobblers, since the *Vicus Teutonicorum* is also often called *Vicus sutorum*.³⁶ Although Gradec was also under German influence in the fields of law and administrative development, it cannot be said that with their mercantile measures and customs German citizens played a dominant role as they did at the same time in other Hungarian towns, mostly due to the existence of other ethnic groups, above all the wealthy Latins and also Slavs.³⁷

The Slavs were probably the most numerous population. In the sources they are mostly accompanied by the attribute *Sclavus*, although in town documents this ethnicity appears very rarely (except in the compositions of the magistrature during the era of linguistic divisions). The term *Croacus/Croatius*, which appeared several times, referred to citizens who came from the Kingdom's far south, i.e., the territory of medieval Croatia, and their numbers were increasing in the latter half of the fifteenth century, which has been linked to the Ottoman threat.³⁸ There were also Slav inhabitants from the territories of the Holy Roman Empire, i.e., Carniola and Carinthia. No typical occupations are specified for the Slavs, although it would appear that among them craftsmen also predominated.³⁹ It is interesting that at several points during the era of linguistic division, the Slavs were more highly represented than the other languages: they often had more than the customary five councillors.⁴⁰ The Hungarians mainly came from Buda, Pest, Pécs and Varadin, and they were

³⁵ MCZ 4, p. 47.

³⁶ It is entirely certain that German stonemasons from the Parler workshop in Prague made the southern portal of the Church of St. Mark, which is the most important preserved monument of medieval Gradec. See: F. Buntak, "Da li su praški Parleri klesali južni portal Crkve Sv. Marka", *Iz starog i novog Zagreba* 3 (1963): p. 65-76; N. Klaić, "Johannes lapicida parlerius ecclesie Sancti Marci", *Peristil* 22 (1979): p. 45-54.

³⁷ Thus in 1425 the town magistrature stipulated that German weight measures (*pondus theuthonicensem*) be used exclusively for certain goods, while according to Tkalčić, the custom of "God's peace" (*treuga dei*, popularly *frangya*), which existed in Gradec during the July fair, also came from German territory (MCZ 6, vii.)

³⁸ Krivošić, p. 59. Bedenko, "Društvo i prostor", p. 38.

³⁹ Among the trades, only butchers and carpenters may be distinguished as those in which the Slavs were the most numerous linguistic group. Two Slav-language judges from the end of the fourteenth century (Franciscus filius Marci and Johannes Bozo) were goldsmiths, while only one (Nicolaus Odolas) was a merchant. In the fifteenth century, two prominent Slavs (Michael Saronich, Martin Tomich) were tailors (*sartor*), although it is a possibility that they were not actual craftsmen but rather involved in the fabric trade.

⁴⁰ In 1416, 1417, and 1420, seven councillors were Slavs, in 1419 and 1421 eight were Slavs, while in 1422 there were as many as 11 Slav councillors. See the entire composition of the magistrature in MCZ 6.

mostly minor merchants and craftsmen.⁴¹ Although the Magyars were also equal in the election of town councillors during the division of the magistrature by language, one cannot escape the impression that they formed the weakest colony in terms of numbers or influence.⁴² Among the Magyars and Slavs, a not insignificant number of lower nobles can be discerned who were completely incorporated into urban life and whose noble status was not at all emphasized in town documents. Thus the Slav Valentin Saronich, the son of Michael the tailor (in turn the son of Šimun), was a noble from Gora (*de Gara*), while Valentin's successors also became affirmed nobles of Zagreb County in the sixteenth century. The Angeli brothers (*filius Angeli*), who were among the Hungarian representatives, claimed to be *nobiles nationes hungarice...*, *districtus de Zala*.⁴³

Fraternities and Parishes

From the mid-fourteenth century onward, ethnic fraternities (*colendinum, confrateritas*) – i.e., fraternities that bore ethnic designations – appeared in Gradec. The first mentioned was the Slav fraternity (1356), followed by the German (1359) and then Latin (1384) ones, while there are no traces of any Hungarian fraternity in the sources.⁴⁴ However, nothing much can be learned of the ethnic fraternities: most often plots of land are mentioned, mainly plough-fields and vineyards, owned by individual fraternities.⁴⁵ However, there is interesting information on individual fraternity deans. The dean of the Slav fraternity was Duch Sydow, whose son Paulus was a member of the magistrature in the Slav group.⁴⁶ However, the goldsmith Brumen is mentioned as the dean of the Latin fraternity in 1384, although in 1377 he was mentioned as a member of the Slav group in the magistrature.⁴⁷ By the same token, the dean of the Slav fraternity in 1439 was Petrus Hungarus (*filius Pauli*), the former Hun-

⁴¹ Bedenko, *Zagrebački Gradec*, p. 69.

⁴² For example, the Magyars did not have their own fraternity, as opposed to other ethnic groups. Moreover, from 1377 until 1415, only two citizens held the post of judge in the Hungarian group (Johannes Vasas and Johannes Pauli). At this same time, it was similar in the German group, where Miklin Teutonicus and the Bole family dominated, while in the Slav and Latin groups there were nonetheless more candidates for the judicial function and only two citizens in these language groups managed to hold the post of judge twice during this time.

⁴³ MCZ 4, p. 279. For Symon *de Gara*, see: *Mater Amabilis Maria Miraculosa Virgo Remetensis...*, (manuscript), Arhiv HAZU, Zbirka kodeksa [Croatian Academy of Arts and Science Archives, Codex Collection], II.d.104.

⁴⁴ MCZ 4, pp. 36; 76; MCZ 9, p. 2.

⁴⁵ MCZ 9, pp. 257, 309, 343.

⁴⁶ MCZ 9, p. 89.

⁴⁷ MCZ 9, p. 2; MCZ 5, p. 75

garian language judge.⁴⁸ Given that the Hungarians did not have their own ethnic fraternity, this information indicates that possibility that they were involved with the Slav fraternity. The ethnic fraternities were active even after the abolishment of the division into languages. In the mid-fifteenth century, the dean of the Slav fraternity was Martin Tomich (*filius Tome*), who had already served as town judge earlier, while the dean of the Latin fraternity was Petrus Zudrov, and the dean of the German fraternity was Clemens the son of Blasius.⁴⁹ Thus, only in the case of Martin Tomich and Petrus Hungarus, can we see the “merger” of the reputation of the dean and the highest town function, although both Martin and Paulus first became judges, and only later fraternity deans. Nonetheless, it would appear that performance of the highest functions in the ethnic fraternities did not simultaneously enable holding the highest post, the office of judge, meaning that the deans of these fraternities were not some sort of “chiefs” of specific ethnic groups, which points to the conclusion that the ethnic fraternities were not directly linked to the linguistic division of the magistrature. However, an interesting fact shown above is that in a minimum of two cases, the deans of the ethnic fraternities were not even members of the same linguistic group, so the question arises over the extent to which these fraternities were even truly ethnic in character, i.e., did these ethnic fraternities have more in common with craftsmen's fraternities?⁵⁰

Other institutions which may have had a linguistic character were parishes and churches.⁵¹ In medieval Budapest, there were also “national” churches, that is churches which exclusively gathered Germans (Our Blessed Lady) or Hungarians (St. Petar, St. Mary Magdalene).⁵² In examining the relevant sources, such a phenomenon cannot be ascertained in Gradec, rather one may only assume that the Church or Chapel of St. Martin located in the *Vicus teutonicorum* was serving the religious needs of the German population.⁵³ The main parish church in Gradec was St. Mark's, while the remaining churches – St. Catherine's and the Blessed Virgin Mary – were once very closely associated

⁴⁸ MCZ 9, p. 335.

⁴⁹ MCZ 7, p. 81, MCZ 10, p. 3. MCZ 10, p. 36.

⁵⁰ The citizen Janko (Jaxinus) Bole stole the candelabras from the fraternities of the Slavs, butchers and carpenters, which were obviously kept in the same place (MCZ 6, 404), since butchers and carpenters were usually Slavs.

⁵¹ Medieval Gradec had two parish churches. The main church was St. Mark's, over which the citizens had patronage rather than the Zagreb bishop, and the other parish church was St. Margaret's in the suburbs. The town also had the Churches of St. Catherine and the Blessed Virgin Mary, and the Chapel of St. Ursula, while there was the Church (or Chapel) of St. Martin in the suburbs. The Chapel of St. George was located on the northern side of the city outside of the walls.

⁵² M. Rady, *Medieval Buda: A study of Municipal Government and Jurisdiction in the Kingdom of Hungary* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1985), p. 108.

⁵³ N. Budak, “Budući da smo htjeli...,” p. 24



Churches of medieval Zagreb

Churches in Gradec: 1. St. Mark's Church, 2. Blessed Virgin Mary's Church,
 3. St. Catherine's Church, 4. St. Margaret's Church, 5. St. Martin's Church
 Churches in Kaptol: 6. St. Mary's Church, 7. St. Emeric's Church, 8. Franciscan monastery,
 9. St. Stephen's Cathedral, 10. Dominican monastery of St. Nicholas

with Zagreb's monastic communities rather than any linguistic groups.⁵⁴ The parish Church of St. Mark had, besides its rector, three priests or pastors (*plebanus*), and one may only speculate as to whether this number had any connection to the languages or whether they were individually charged with

⁵⁴ The Pauline monastery in Remete was dedicated to the Blessed Virgin Mary, just like the aforementioned church. Not far from this church was the royal palace, of which John Corvinus was the last resident. Since Corvinus was a major benefactor of the Pauline order (and he was buried in the Pauline monastery in Lepoglava), it is possible that he left them this palace after his death in 1504. The Dominicans had an estate next to the Church of St. Catherine already in the fourteenth century, and in 1473 they moved their monastery right next to this church (*MCZ* 2, 352-353).

some of these languages.⁵⁵ The Church certainly ensured that members of the clergy had a sound knowledge of the language spoken in their surroundings, for otherwise they could not adequately perform their duties, above all administering the sacraments and hearing confessions, which is demonstrated by the example of Evangelista de Fano, an Italian physician from Slavonia, who precisely for this reason requested from Pope Calixtus III (1456) that he permit him and the members of his household to select a priest themselves who would be an Italian *quod ibi sunt sacerdotes littere Sclave, qui eum non possunt intelligere nec ipse illos*.⁵⁶ The second example from this same series of documents mentions a pastor from the vicinity of Čazma, Andreas Hungarus, who left his own parish in 1450 because he did not speak the required language.⁵⁷

Division of the Town Magistrature into Languages (*lingue*)

From 1377 to 1436, the town magistrature of medieval Gradec was organized by a division into four language groups which administered the town based on the principle of parity.⁵⁸ The judge came from a specific group, and the next year he would be from another group, which means that a language group elected its judge once every four years. Additionally, each language group provided two jurors and five councillors.⁵⁹ After the introduction of the language-based organization of authority, the order for providing judges (Slav, Hungarian, German, Latin) was generally observed with only two deviations noted: at the beginning of the fifteenth century and in 1429, when there was no judge from the German group, rather the post was held by a Slav, to be succeeded the next year by a Latin; thus, for some reason the German judge was passed over.⁶⁰ Even though there were no longer language-based divisions among councillors and jurors after 1436, judges continued to be elected ac-

⁵⁵ *MCZ* 2, p. xiii.

⁵⁶ *MHEZ* 7, pp. 295-296.

⁵⁷ *MHEZ* 7, pp. 163-164.

⁵⁸ The composition of the magistrature at the time of its division by language, from 1377 to 1436, is known based on the data published in the fifth and sixth volumes of *MCZ*. Unfortunately, the data were not preserved for the entire period, but only for 22 out of the total 60 years (1377, 1382, 1384-1385, 1388-1391, 1413, 1414, 1416-1417, 1419-1423, 1431-1436). The data for town judges, which is necessary to follow the order of languages, were supplemented by other data from other volumes of *MCZ* (list of judges from 1352 to 1500 is in the first volume).

⁵⁹ The list of all citizens in the magistrature from 1377 to 1450 can be seen in the appendix to the work: B. Škreblin, "Etničke i političke skupine u srednjovjekovnom gradu: Primjer gradečkih lingui", *Povijesni prilozi: Historical contributions* 35 (2008): 91-148.

⁶⁰ After 1402 and the Hungarian Johannes Pauli (*filius Pauli*), the first known judge was the German Petrus Saffar, who was mentioned as a judge in January 1406, which means that his term began in 1405. According to the old order, the judge in 1405 should have been from among the ranks of the Slav-language group. Thereafter the composition of the magistrature was preserved up to 1413, when the judge according to the old order should have been a Slav, but count-

ording to the earlier language-based order until 1440 or 1441.⁶¹ Additionally, the number of councillors increased to 24, and it was notable that there were no longer former judges serving as councillors.⁶² Thus, it was only in 1441 that the linguistic principle disappeared entirely, which could best be seen in 1442, when the Hungarian Nicolaus Petri (*filius Petri*) performed the judicial function, although he had held this post previously in 1440, so that only a single term passed between his own two terms. Regardless of the Hungarian Nicolaus, members of the former Slav “lingua” dominated at judicial posts during this period – until 1448, when the knights of the Celje counts removed the aforementioned Tomich from the judicial post and appointed the German Konrad (*Conrad*) Rawsar.⁶³ Henceforth, until the fall of the Counts of Celje in 1456, the domination of German citizens in judicial functions, while the strength of the Latin colony had already dissipated even before this.⁶⁴ Already in the 1430s, during the language-based organization of government, it became apparent that the same citizens in the Latin group generally held town functions. It would appear that the abolishment of linguistic divisions also prevented the Latins from having their judge, and even the Italian merchants who were still present in Gradec, albeit in a smaller number, no longer joined the

ing from Petrus Saffar (1405), the order was observed, and the judge in 1413 was once more Saffar (for references, see Škreblin, p. 110).

⁶¹ The judge in 1437 was the German Jacobus Bole, followed by the Latin Marin Clarius, the Slav Martin Tomich, the Hungarian Nicolaus Petri and, in 1441, Blasius Pauli, whose linguistic group could not be ascertained.

⁶² During the period of linguistic division, most former judges (*seniores iudices*) were quite often among the ranks of the councillors, which was not the case for the juror function, which future judges performed at least once, but they never returned to this post once they became judges. After 1437, the sole exception was Johannes *judex* (Bolsak or Perovich), who was mentioned as a councillor in 1457 (*MCZ* 7, p. 220).

⁶³ Judges who were not Slavs included the former member of the Hungarian language group Nicolaus Petri and Andreas, who appeared under the ethnic term *Latinus*, although he was from Volavje, near Jastrebarsko (*MCZ* 10, p. 5).

⁶⁴ The only judge of whom one may be certain that he was not from the German language group is the Slav Valentin Saronich. The other is Nicolaus, son of Demetar from Zlat on Petrova Gora mountain, which would also indicate first and foremost a member of the Slav language group (*MCZ* 10, p. 91). Conrad Rawsar from Landeshut was present in Gradec even before the Counts of Celje took over the town. The other two Germans were the Nuremberg merchant Johannes Bolsak and the scribe Anthonius Roth, and they appeared after Gradec came under the Celje counts, so it is possible that the counts had something to do with their settlement in the town. The only citizen directly tied to the Counts of Celje was Jacobus Eberspeck, the former *magistar conquin*e of the Celje counts, who twice served as town judge during this time (*MCZ* 10, p. 38). Nonetheless, it is noteworthy that these German citizens with the exception of Eberspeck, who died during Celjski rule, remained in the town even after it was restored to royal authority, and they continued to be respected citizens. For more on this see: B. Škreblin, “Nijemci na Gradecu sredinom i u drugoj polovici 15. Stoljeća”, *Godišnjak njemačke zajednice – DG Jahrbuch* 17 (2010): 33-54.

magistrature as frequently by that time.⁶⁵ The former judge of the Latin group, Johannes Pero (*Perovich*), once more assumed the town's top post in 1459, while his son Dominicus also served as a judge in two terms. But these descendants of the Florentine merchant Pero (or *Piero*), who were after all born in Gradec, were elected before because they were already members of the town's elite. That attention was still accorded to language even in the latter half of the fifteenth century, at least occasionally, is suggested by another example: the German Anthonius Roth, elected judge in 1467, but since he died in that same year, he was replaced by another German, Conrad Rawsar.⁶⁶

In speaking of the reasons for the introduction of this linguistic division, I shall cite the view of Nada Klaić, since she was the only one to arrive at a direct cause for this division, which she saw in increasing violence and deteriorating interethnic relations, mostly between Hungarians and Latins, which she linked to the conflicts between the Neapolitan and Luxembourg parties, in which a part of the Gradec Latins supported the Angevins.⁶⁷ However, the town documents say nothing of any major conflicts between the various language groups, and one may not speak in general terms about increased violence within the town walls, because no analysis of such phenomena has been done for the medieval period.⁶⁸ One of the most critical events occurred in 1386, when the Hungarian judge Johannes Vasas was killed by two Latins; the sources do not offer sufficient information to allow for an interpretation of this incident as an ethnic conflict, and in any case this happened after the division of the magistrature into language groups.⁶⁹

⁶⁵ Most of the Gradec Latins mentioned in the mid-fifteenth century came from Venice, and *Apulya* and *Fano* were also mentioned. It was only at the end of the fifteenth century that the merchant Johannes Pastor from Florence came to Gradec.

⁶⁶ *MCZ* 10, p. 265.

⁶⁷ Klaić *Zagreb...*, pp. 223-224; "O firentinskoj 'koloniji'", p. 70.

⁶⁸ In 1382, the town magistrature issued a directive stipulating that any citizen who comes across a non-citizen in the town or its territory who is an enemy of the town and who kills him in self-defence will not be punished (*MCZ* 5, p. 159). But this may have primarily referred to Kaptol and its subjects. By the end of 1370s, conflicts began to break out with the canons from diocesan Zagreb, which on several occasions became armed confrontations in which there were fatalities. The root of these conflicts usually involved ownership of estates, payment of a tithe to the Zagreb canons, and the question of the boundary between Gradec and Kaptol on individual estates. The largest conflicts broke out at the end of 1396 and then in 1422, when citizens attacked Kaptol's territory, both times "earning" excommunication.

⁶⁹ Philipus Gallicus and Augustin Irtulantis killed the judge Vasas in broad daylight in 1386, for which they were sentenced to death, while a certain Andreas Gallicus had to swear that he was innocent (*MCZ* 5, p. 252; 272). Besides the murder of judge Vasas, Nada Klaić also saw arguments to back her thesis in the fact that Ladislav of Lučenac, the supreme captain of the Kingdom of Slavonia, Dalmatia and Croatia, confiscated the property of the Gradec Florentine and former customs levy collector Gyan, the son of Benedict, due to some fraud he had committed. Ladislav came to Gradec and asked its citizens to attack neighbouring Kaptol because it was linked to the rebels. Sigismund's opponents were in Kaptol at the time, headed by Bishop Paul

Even before 1377, it can be seen that each language group had a judge, except that there was not a uniform order, so that any theory of dissatisfaction by a specific language group may be discounted.⁷⁰ It is also worthwhile pointing out that the whole composition of the magistrature only existed since 1377, and after this point that one may for the first time learn the identity of the town councillors and how many there were and that the magistrature was divided into language groups. It is therefore not unlikely that the decision to designate all members of the magistrature was a component of a broader reform of town administration whence the magistrature's division by language also ensued, just as the abolishment of the linguistic division in 1437 led to certain other changes that have already been indicated.

The Gradec division of the magistrature by language was not the only such case in the Hungarian Kingdom. Not long after Gradec (1381), there was news of an identical solution in the Slovak town of Žilina (Zsolna, Sillian), except that there the town administration was divided between Slavs (Slovaks) and Germans.⁷¹ Then in the fifteenth century a conflict broke out between the Germans and Hungarians in Buda, since the Germans had dominated urban administration, because in general terms they were wealthier than the Hungarians. However, since the number of Hungarian-speaking citizens began to grow by the fifteenth century, during and after the death of Sigismund of Luxembourg and the election of Albert of Habsburg as king, animosities between the two ethnic groups intensified, culminating in the murder of a Hungarian citizen in 1439, after which a revolt against the Germans erupted.⁷² After these events, an agreement was reached between the leaders of the ethnic groups, and it was decided that equal participation in town functions would be introduced, and the judge would alternate each year between the two language groups. Not long afterward, a similar principle was adopted in Cluj (Klausenburg, Kolosvár) in Transylvania, where as in Buda the Hungarians managed to attain equality with the then dominant Germans.⁷³ It is

Horvat, and the citizens were already at odds with the Kaptol canons even before. Otherwise, in 1391 Gyan returned to the magistrature, and a year later he was the town judge (for more, see Klaić, "O firentinskoj koloniji", p. 69).

⁷⁰ In 1365, the judge was a Latin, Petrus Ligerius, while in 1368 the judge was another Latin, Petrus Donatus (de Medzo), and it would appear that judge Mikech Francisci was also a Latin speaker. In 1362 and 1371, the judge was the Hungarian Nicolaus, son of Benedict, whose language is known because he also appeared among the Hungarian group of councillors as *condam iudex*. The only German-language judge, given his name, would have been Mikech, *filius Hench* (see The list of judges in addendum).

⁷¹ K. Szende "Integration through Language: The Multilingual Character of Late Medieval Hungarian Towns", in D. Keene, B. Nagy, K. Szende (eds.), *Segregation - Integration - Assimilation: Religious and Ethnic Groups in the Medieval Towns of Central and Eastern Europe* (Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2009), p. 205-233;

⁷² Rady, *Medieval Buda*, pp. 105-109.

⁷³ Á. Flóra "From Decent Stock. Generations in Urban Politics in Sixteenth-Century Transylvania", in: *Generations in Towns*, p. 214.

possible that these were not the only cases in Hungary, nor in Europe. János Bak noted that in addition to a Hungarian judge in one Transylvanian village in 1594, authority was also exercised by two Hungarians and two Romanians as *jurates*, while Buzás and Szöke, in their study on medieval Visegrad architecture, mentioned that the town was divided into two ethnic districts, and that both ethnic communities (Hungarians and Germans) elected separate councillors.⁷⁴ Sofija Gustafsson pointed out that in late medieval Stockholm, half of the council consisted of Swedes, while the other half were Germans, which lasted until 1471, when the Germans were excluded from the council.⁷⁵

It is worthwhile recalling that linguistic organizations were not unknown institutions in the Middle Ages, because the medieval universities had divisions into *nationes* that gathered students from the same regions, and these enjoyed a certain degree of autonomy. Even so, these institutions were basically organized more on the regional principle than the ethnic, so, for example, students from the Croatian lands at the Viennese university were members of the Hungarian group, while on the other hand the Saxons and Austrians were in separate groups, just as in Paris there were, besides the French and English, Norman and Picardian nations as well, while in Prague there were German and Bohemian nations.⁷⁶ However, this still shows that organizations based on the linguistic principle were not unknown in the Middle Ages in complex systems which encompassed several different languages.

Due to the high number of foreign settlers in a goodly portion of towns in the Hungarian kingdom, it is not illogical that certain cities opted for the division of town administration based on the ethnic principle. Katalin Szende thus introduced the classification of towns based on ethnic composition and organization of governance distinguishing three types of towns. The first encompassed those towns which ignored the ethnic structure and where the city councils consisted of the most distinguished citizens regardless of ethnicity (Szeged, Sopron). The second included towns in which a specific group was

⁷⁴ J. M. Bak, "A Kingdom of many languages: The case of Medieval Hungary", L. Löb-I. Petrovics-G. E. Szönyi (eds.), *Forms of Identity: Definitions and Changes* (Szeged, 1994), p. 53. For Visegrad, see G. Buzás, M. Szöke "Houses in the fourteenth century town of Visegrad", *Varia Archaeologica Hungarica IX* (2000): 120.

⁷⁵ S. Gustafsson, "Succession in Medieval Swedish Town Councils", in: *Generations in Towns*, p. 196. As seen by the title, Gustafsson placed the focus of her research on the local urban elite, so she did not explain this phenomenon in greater detail.

⁷⁶ For more on this see: J. Le Goff, *Intelektualci u srednjem vijeku* (Zagreb, 1982), p. 89. Due to poor relations between the Germans and Czechs, German students and professors left the Prague University in 1409 and established a university in Leipzig. J. Le Goff, "Les sources médiévales de l'université européenne: Sredovječni izvori europskog sveučilišta", in: *I. Hrvatska obzorja: časopis Matice hrvatske Split VIII* (2000), No. 3: p. 513; see also M. Tanaka "Hrvatski studenti na pariškom sveučilištu u 14. i 15. st.", *Croatica Christiana Periodica* 9 (1985), No. 15: 36-42; S. Andrić, "Studenti iz Slavonsko-Srijemsko međurječja na zapadnim sveučilištima u srednjem vijeku (1250-1550)", *Croatica Christiana Periodica* 20 (1996), No. 37: 117-152.

privileged. Such towns were mainly in Transylvania, where the Germans (Saxons) accounted for the majority, such as Braşov, Sibiu, Sighişoara, and Bistriţa. The third encompassed those towns which decided on parity in governance.⁷⁷ A specific feature of the Gradec division by languages, besides being the oldest thus far known, is its complexity in comparison with other cities, where only two ethnic groups alternated, while in Gradec four did so.

Language Groups and Membership in the Gradec “linguae”

A salient question is whether the linguistic division truly reflected spoken languages, i.e., whether the members actually belonged to that group to which they should have based on their ethnic origins. However, if there were no linguistic divisions, then it would be no simple matter to identify a given citizen as a member of one of the language groups. This would then only be possible based on the name, insofar as it is typical for a given ethnic group, such as Cion (Chon, Chuln), Gyuan, Wolfram, Hench, Hans, Fritche, Dragoslav, Iwan, Vasas, Farkas and so forth.⁷⁸ Greater caution is warranted for surnames, due to the frequent practice of “Slavification” of individual surnames. For example, if there had been no linguistic division, the citizens surnamed Blančić (*Blanchich*) in the Hungarian group or Ortofych and Wrouich in the German group would be deemed Slavs.⁷⁹ The already mentioned Florentine family (*filius Pero*) was similarly Slaviced into Perović, as was the German Bole in to Boletić. That the town notary played a role in adapting certain surnames to his own language is demonstrated by the case of the already mentioned Hungarian Johannes Vasas, who also appeared as *Johannes Ferreus*.⁸⁰

Another identification method is possible insofar as a citizen’s name is accompanied by designation of ethnicity or the town from whence an individual

⁷⁷ Szende, “Integration...”, p. 214.

⁷⁸ To be sure, traditional Christian names, for which each language has its own form (such as Johannes or Georgius, to cite the most frequent), may appear in their “original” form, but also in Latin. Thus, in Gradec there were variants such as Johannes *dictus* Hans, Johannes *dictus* Gyaun, Johannes *dictus* Iwan. However, it is precisely these names which sometimes do not offer genuine information on origin, i.e., the name may be Slaviced, which can be seen in the case of Johannes, son of Jacomellus Latin, who often appeared as Iwan (*MCZ* 9, p. 334, 343). By the same token, Mathyas Farkas, son of Egidije, had the Hungarian form of the name (or rather surname in this case), Mathyas was a member of the Klokoč clan, and in the mid-fifteenth century their fortification, Klokoč, was near the border with medieval Croatia, so it would be somewhat unexpected if Matija truly were a Hungarian (*MCZ* 9, p. 128). Women’s names in Gradec in the fifteenth century were traditional Christian names in a vast majority of cases. The most frequent were Katarina and Margareta, followed by Elena (or Jelena, Magdalena), Ana, Elizabeta, Barbara, Ursula, Lucia and Clara.

⁷⁹ *MCZ* 5, p. 76, 159, 218.

⁸⁰ *MCZ* 5, p. 84.

resident came, e.g. *gallicus, latinus, italicus, teutonicus, alemanus, hungarus, corintianus, de Florentia, de Apulya* and so forth. Although designation of an ethnicity in principle demonstrated the language as well, one must take into account the historical circumstances, since – as already noted – both Hungarians and Germans (and probably Slovaks) came from the Hungarian kingdom, and Germans frequently also came from Bohemia and the territory of modern-day Slovenia. Thus, a judge from the German group who had come to Gradec from Prague was named *Johannes Pehem (Bohemus)*, and if there were no linguistic divisions, it would be uncertain as to whether he was a German or Czech.⁸¹

It is indicative that sons and grandsons were also “faithful” to the ethnic groups of their predecessors, even though they were born in Gradec and often tied by marriage to the members of other language groups. The Bole family thus provided judges for the German group over three generations, the Saffars, who were tied by marriage to the Florentine family of Gyan, son of Benedict, provided judges over two generations, while the Slav family of the judge Sebastianus remained true to the Slav group despite familial ties to all language groups – and many more such examples may be cited.⁸² In other words, the *lingue*, to the extent that can be seen, were mostly patrilineally inherited, while sons-in-law were also loyal to their “core” group, regardless of the language of their fathers-in-law. As to the movement from one language group to another, only one such case may be discerned. In the first magistrature list from 1377, there is a *Jacomellus condam judex* in the German language group. Already in the next year, this same citizen was recorded in the Latin group,⁸³ for it is entirely certain that the *Jacomellus Quirinus* from the Latin group was the same individual. It is difficult to say whether this was an error on the part of the notary or even the initial ‘trial run’ of the entire linguistic system, since such a move was never later recorded, particularly not at such a “high” level.

It is entirely certain that in the town's everyday life languages did not correspond to the town government and the latter's linguistic division was not reflected in other segments of medieval urban life. This is additionally confirmed by the fact that the *lingue* were actually never mentioned in court and title deed files, except in a few cases when substitutions were made for deceased members of the magistrature, i.e., jurors who died during the course of a given year. Thus, in 1413, a certain Sigismund replaced Johannes (*filius Luce*) in the Latin group, while Blasius (*filius Alexandri*), replaced Petar Hungarus in

⁸¹ MCZ 6, p. 100

⁸² The goldsmith Sebastijan, who was a judge in the latter half of the fourteenth century, married Margareta, the sister of Marcus Gallicus. After the death of her first husband, she remarried, to Ivan, the son of Pavao, who was a distinguished member of and judge for the Hungarian group. Margareta's son from her first marriage, Mihael, married Klara, the daughter of a Latin. Mihael's sons were members of the Slav group, while his sons-in-law were, besides a Slav, also a Hungarian and a German. For references, see: Bedenko, “Društvo i prostor.” p. 40.

⁸³ MCZ 5, p. 76.

the Hungarian group. In 1417, Laurentius and Fritz were expelled due to some sort of infringements, i.e., they were dismissed from the post of juror: Lovro was a member of the Hungarian group, while Fritz was in the German group. Their places were ceded to Stephanus Petri (in the German group) and Ladislaus Marci (Hungarian group).⁸⁴ It is entirely certain that the citizens who assumed the posts in the aforementioned cases were from the same language group as the persons who vacated said posts. And finally, it is worthwhile noting that when citizens expressed unity in passing certain decrees using the customary phrase “*jurati, cives, et tota communitas, pauper et dives*”, there was no need to additionally emphasize the languages separately. This is why the theory that the *lingue* may also be deemed political parties cannot be accepted, because “nobody could join the magistrature if he was not a member of a certain linguistic group”.⁸⁵ Namely, the aforementioned reasons indicate that there are no grounds to assert that belonging to a language group had an official character, like membership in a fraternity, and that the *lingue* were a separately developed institutional category inside Gradec society in general, much less that some common politics and platforms (besides language) of the ethnic groups could be identified.

Marginal Language Groups

The primary marginal language group in Gradec were the Jews, who otherwise preferred to settle in larger and more important urban centres. They could not become full citizens, but generally speaking Jews rarely stayed in the same place for extended periods, rather they were accustomed to frequent changes in residence, which is why they generally did not acquire real property. In the towns they were most often involved in money-lending, which also contributed to their unpopularity, but regardless of this their services and monetary acumen were often used not only by citizens but also by members of the nobility and even by Hungarian kings.⁸⁶ The first mention of Jews in Gradec also dates to the mid-fourteenth century (1355), and later they were sporadically mentioned in court documents, but nothing more can be learned of their activity during this time. It would appear that Jews became more important in the mid-fifteenth century, when a few Jewish citizens appeared in the sources, and the *domus judeorum* was mentioned at that time (1444).⁸⁷ Jewish settlers included Ilija, who was most often mentioned, followed by Salamon (Saul), son of Moses, his wife Mateja, Marcus, son of Abraham, Ana, Jacobus, and Andreas, thus a small group of Jewish

⁸⁴ MCZ 6, p. 13, 34, 50

⁸⁵ This is only the second work dealing with the Gradec linguistic division. See: N. Budak-K. Kanižaj-S. Vorel, “Kolonije stranaca na Gradecu u 14. st.”, *Izdanja HAD* 17, (1996): 79-83.

⁸⁶ E. Brugger “Loans of the Father: Business Succession in Families of Jewish Moneylenders in Late Medieval Austria”, *Generations in towns*, p. 113.

⁸⁷ MCZ 6, p. 401.

citizens, perhaps only a few families who all certainly lived in *domus judeorum*, which included a synagogue.⁸⁸ Their greater role in the town's economy may have also been tied to the Counts of Celje, who were the supreme lords of Gradec at the time. The Celje counts also had business ties with the Steiermark Jews, who formed very powerful ethnic communities in Maribor, Celje and Ptuj, so it is possible that the Gradec Jews came from these towns.⁸⁹ Jews in Gradec were also involved in money-lending, and on several occasions instances were mentioned of real estate being sold due to debts owed to Jews.⁹⁰ This may have been one of the reasons or the direct cause for their expulsion sometime around 1455.⁹¹ Jews in Gradec were always designated as *Judeus*, while the Slav variant Židov (Sydow, Sydowchic) can be found in the surname of a citizen who was the dean of the Slav fraternity, as already noted. It is possible that this *Duch* earned his nickname due to his business activities or some other reason, and the possibility that this was a citizen who converted to Christianity cannot be discounted, either.⁹² Also noteworthy that a pair of citizens in the latter half of the fourteenth century appeared with the nickname "Kun", which may mean that there were also some Cumans in Gradec.⁹³ Nevertheless, as already noted, these may be nicknames, which – besides Duch Sydow and Jacobus Kun – was probably also earned by a member of the Slav group, Nicolaus *Cygan* ('Gypsy').⁹⁴

⁸⁸ MCZ 7, pp. 137, 140, 145, 148, 150, 151, 171. Goldstein believes that the *Domus judeorum* was probably a small synagogue (I. Goldstein "Židovi na Gradecu od 14. stoljeća do 1848", in: *Zagrebački Gradec 1242 – 1850*, p. 295). Jews in Gradec also lived in a single place, which was a customary practice in other European cities, which allowed the settlement of Jews in specifically determined locations (ghettos). The entry and settlement of Jews in the town were normally preceded by negotiations between the city government and the Jews with the objective of establishing the rights whereunder the Jews could reside and do business in the town, for example, the number of houses and shops they could use, the right to a synagogue, the location of the ghetto and so forth. See D. Calabi-D. Nolde-R. Weinstein p. "The 'city of Jews' in Europe: the conversation and transmission of Jewish culture", D. Calabi-S. Turk Christensen (ed.), *Cities and Cultural Exchange in Europe 1400-1700* (Cambridge, 2007), p. 88-89.

⁸⁹ Brugger, p. 123. An exception would be Andrija, who came from Modruš in medieval Croatia (MCZ 10, p. 79). The respected rabbi Israel Isserlein lived in Maribor, and he communicated with many Jewish communities in Europe, but his documents contain no information on Zagreb's Jews (Goldstein, p. 294).

⁹⁰ MCZ 10, p. 137, 149, 151.

⁹¹ Bedenko, "Društvo i prostor..." p. 39, Goldstein, p. 296.

⁹² One of the "better known" Jews who converted to Christianity was Johannes Ernest, called 'Hampo'. As the king's banker, Johannes was granted many estates, among them Čakovec in north Croatia, and in 1473 he was appointed the ban of Slavonia. Together with his brother Sigismund, he owned a mine in Banska Bistrica, which the brothers leased to Johannes Thuz and his business partner Jacob Fugger. In the latter half of the fifteenth century, this Slovakian copper was exported to Italy via Zagreb and Senj (Herkov, p.10-11).

⁹³ Petrovics, "Foreign Ethnic..." p. 78. See MCZ 4, p. 60, 116, 334.

⁹⁴ MCZ 5, p. 172, 246. Here it may be noted that one of the representatives of Gradec in 1296 was Mihael Bissen (MCZ 1, p. 76). Krivošić had already pointed out that this was a member of the Bissen, or Pecheneg, ethnic group (Krivošić, p. 44, see also Engel, p. 23).

Topography of Ethnic Groups

Considering the entire territory of medieval Zagreb, in principle one may speak of a higher concentration of individual ethnic groups in a given space, since there are toponyms such as the Kaptol settlement *Vicus Latinorum* and the Gradec suburb *Vicus Teutonicorum*. However, since the mid-fourteenth century when, thanks to the sources, the ethnic structure can be observed to some extent, it became apparent that these settlements were not ethnically homogenous, although their names persisted.⁹⁵ Within the walls of Gradec there were no signs of considerable consolidation of the main language groups in a given area, as opposed to Buda.⁹⁶ Social topography, which has been largely carried forward to the extent that the sources allow, has not ascertained specific “ethnic quarters”.⁹⁷ Even so, Bedenko ascertained an affinity for individual social classes to settle in certain parts of the town.⁹⁸ The more elite parts of the town, besides the town square, were also two blocks in the central urban space, i.e., the first and ninth insulae, where the houses were generally larger and stone-built, while their residents were mostly wealthier citizens who were often members of the magistrature. The first and ninth insulae were intersected by a street which links the square and the main town gate (*Porta lapidea* – the Stone gate), which is why this street became a commercial thoroughfare with many shops installed.⁹⁹ Given that the wealthiest merchants were from the Latin ethnic group, it was in fact citizens of the Latin language group who often had their houses and shops there, so the term *Porta Latina* very likely pertained to the Stone Gate.¹⁰⁰ Essentially this was not an ethnic, but rather a commercial or elite consolidation, because the wealthier citizens aspired to have larger and better (stone-built) houses, while merchants wanted to be as close as possible to the main gate and residents from the suburbs and Kaptol. Thus, according to the 1368 census, there was one large house (palace) each on the northern and southern side of the Stone Gate, both owned by Latins (the *de Medzo* and *Vido* families).¹⁰¹ In the ninth insula in 1368, the largest plot was

⁹⁵ It is pertinent to mention that the name *Vicus Latinorum* persisted to the modern era, in the form of a street name (today Vlaška street in Zagreb).

⁹⁶ The Hungarians mostly lived in the northern part of Buda in the latter half of the fifteenth century, while the Germans lived in its central part. See: András Vég, “Buda: The Multi-ethnic Capital of Medieval Hungary”, *Segregation-Integration-Assimilation*, pp. 95-96.

⁹⁷ To be sure, the Gradec Jews lived in a specific location, which has been noted. This location cannot be ascertained, but based on its description, it is certain that it was inside the town walls and not in one of the suburbs.

⁹⁸ See Bedenko, “Društvo i prostor”, pp. 37-49.

⁹⁹ On the location of the insulae and medieval shops, see Bedenko, *Zagrebački Gradec*, pp. 30, 107.

¹⁰⁰ *MCZ* 4, p. 295.

¹⁰¹ According to a description from 1396, the *de Medzo* estate was the largest private holding in Gradec, and it encompassed a palace, another house, shops and the Chapel of St. Ursula. It is interesting that for a century and a half, the palace was generally owned by Italian settlers. After

owned by Petrus Ligerius (de Medio family), and his neighbours were Luca Bonioli, the goldsmith *Cosma*, *Pintikachy* and *Puchocy*, who were all members of the Latin group, which is not surprising, since in the latter half of the fourteenth century, the Latins were the wealthiest citizens. However, a certain *Jurglin* also lived there, and judging by his name he was not a Latin, nor were certain other home owners in the ninth insula (Michael Hudlep, Johannes Anthoni, Martinkus, Elya Stachunarius and Lackonis), whose language cannot be ascertained.¹⁰² Until the mid-fifteenth century, the owner of most of the houses of Ligerius and Bonioli was Cion from Florence, and not far from him was the palace of Katarina, the widow of the Latin Sigismund, an heir of the de Medzo family. Gaspar, the son of the aforementioned goldsmith Cosma, also lived in this insula, and besides Gašpar and Cion, shops there were also owned by the Florentines Gyuan, son of Benedict, and Johannes, son of Pero (Perović).¹⁰³

Butchers were situated on the opposite, western side of the town, so this section was called *Vicus carnificum*. Among the nobility, one may also note an affinity to reside in the south-eastern part of the town, particularly in houses along the south-eastern stretch of the walls.¹⁰⁴ The poorer parts of the town were the northern and western sections, where there were smaller plots, and the poorer sections included the suburb *Vicus Teutonicorum*, where a considerable portion of the craftsmen's workshops were located, and it was often also referred to as *Vicus sutorum aut lutifigulum*.¹⁰⁵

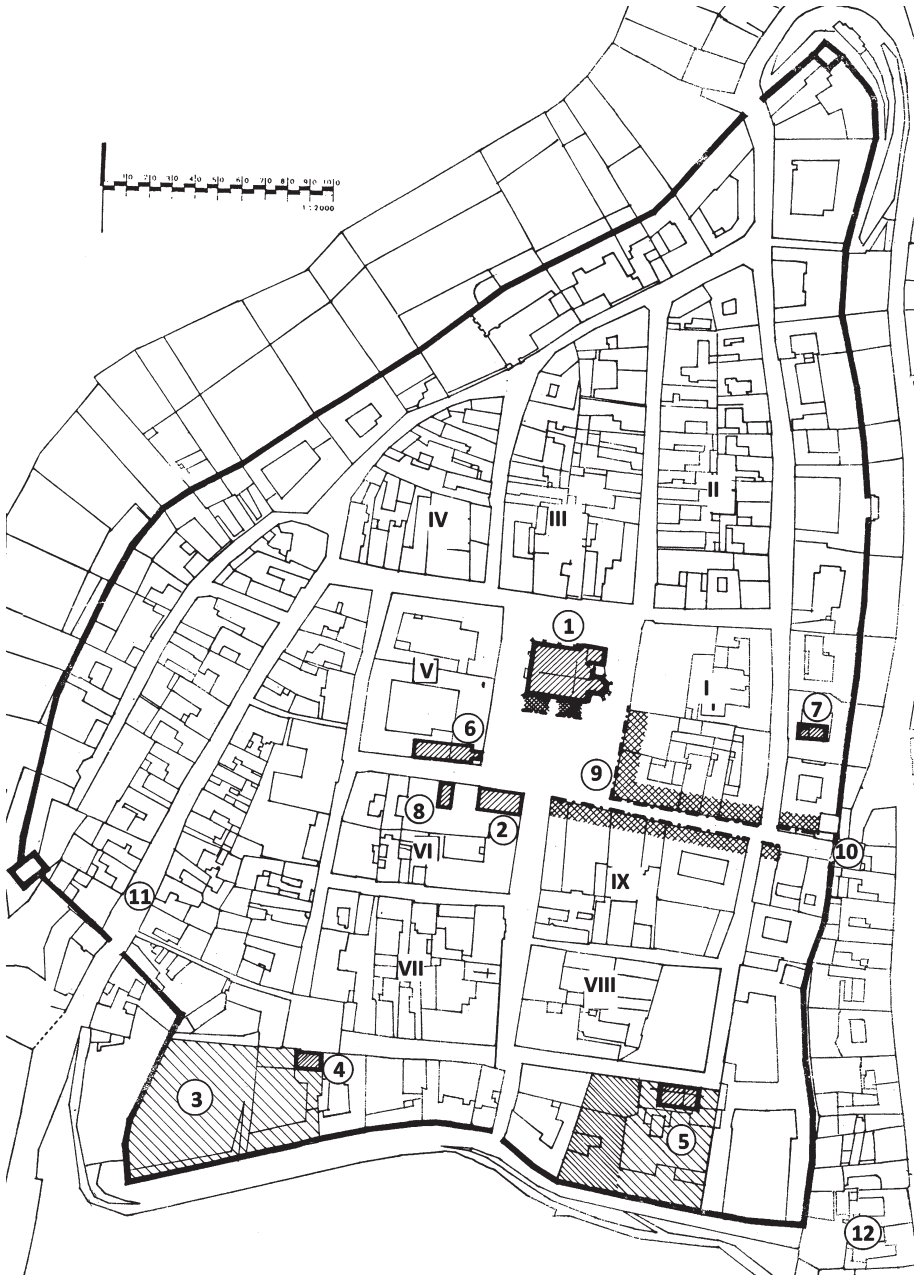
the de Medzo family heirs, Antun Appardi de Ricci, a merchant from Florence, lived there, and after that the Perović family, also originally from Florence. The other palace situated on the south side of the Stone Gate changed hands at the beginning of the fifteenth century to the Slav Mihael, son of Sebastijan, who married the daughter of the aforementioned Antun Vido, and this property also remained in the hands of Mihael's heirs practically until the end of the fifteenth century. See B. Škreblin, "Vlasnici palača na srednjovjekovnom Gradecu", forthcoming.

¹⁰² MCZ 11, p. 231. The owner names in the first insula have only been partially preserved, so they shall not be considered.

¹⁰³ At the end of the fifteenth century, there were almost no Latins left in this part of the town, only Johannes Pastor from Florence still had a house in the ninth insula, Bedenko, *Zagrebački Gradec*, pp. 56-57.

¹⁰⁴ Slightly south of Mihael Sebastijan's palace was the house of the Čupor nobles, while Pavao Zrinski had a house along the southern stretch of the wall until 1432 (Bedenko, "Društvo i prostor...", p. 45). The palace at the very south-east corner was owned by nobles throughout the Middle Ages. First, in 1368, Ivan of Brezovica lived there, and the grandson of Ban Mikac, Stjepan Vrag Prođavić, lived next to him. The sons of the prefect from Brezovica sold the palace in 1400 to Toma Obreški, the vicar of Bishop Eberhard, while the palace was purchased from Toma's widow by the noble Marcus of Čava. Ulrik of Celje seized this palace from Marko and gave it to his wife, Katarina. The last known owners were the Bradač family. See B. Škreblin "Vlasnici palača na srednjovjekovnom Gradecu", forthcoming.

¹⁰⁵ As shown by the complaints lodged by citizens in 1457 against Sebold Meyer, the main familiar of the Celje counts in Gradec, blacksmiths were also concentrated in this area (MCZ 7, pp. 133-136). In the fifteenth century, instead of *Vicus Teutonicorum* the term *Plathea Theutonicali* also began to be used with increasing frequency.



The plan of medieval Gradec with the positions of town's insulae (I – IX), according to V. Bedenko

1. St. Mark's Church, 2. Town hall, 3. Royal palace, 4. Blessed Virgin Mary's Church, 5. St. Catherine's Church (Dominican Monastery from 1473), 6. Hospital, 7. The Chapel of St. Ursula, 8. School, 9. Storages, 10. Stone gate, 11. Vicus Carnificum, 12. Vicus Teutonicorum

Ethnic Groups and the Use of Language in the Town's Everyday Life

Given the multilingual character of urban hubs in the Hungarian Kingdom, the question arises as to the language citizens used to communicate with one another. This is naturally difficult to reconstruct due to the dearth of adequate sources to study oral communication. The official language was, of course, Latin, in which all town documents were written.¹⁰⁶ Most medieval written communication was done in Latin, since Latin was the language of royal documents, cathedral chapters, urban administration and the courts, liturgy and education, which is why it may be assumed that a portion of the more affluent citizenry also understood Latin, while the rest probably knew only certain words and phrases, but few besides notaries and the wealthy town Latins could understand Latin documents well.¹⁰⁷ Thus, a certain *Črne* from the immediate environs of Zagreb took possession of the Cistercian monastery, but he then returned it to the Cistercians after the Latin document was interpreted for him in court in his mother tongue (*materna lingua*).¹⁰⁸ Also, regardless of the broad and universal application of Latin, in general terms it was not the spoken language in Gradec, even though it may have served in certain situations as a means of communication between the better educated class of citizens from different language groups. The main spoken languages were those of the ethnic groups: Slav, German and Hungarian. Even though the Gradec Italians certainly knew Latin the best, among themselves they primarily spoke Tuscan or Venetan, given their geographic origins.¹⁰⁹ It was precisely in the late Middle Ages that “national languages” began to threaten the monopoly and universality of Latin almost everywhere in Europe, not just in literature but also in texts with a legal and sacral character.¹¹⁰ Thus, in 1483 the first book in the Croatian language (in the Glagolitic script) was printed in the territory of medieval Croatia, *Misal po zakonu rimskega dvora* (Missal According to the Law of the Roman Curia), but it was only in the sixteenth century that the first chronicles, dictionaries and even literary works in the Croatian language began to appear.¹¹¹

¹⁰⁶ In the town documents, two written in German have been preserved, and both were from the office of the Counts of Celje (MCZ 2, pp. 135, 230).

¹⁰⁷ As far back as 1360 a *scolasticus* was mentioned in Gradec, while in 1428 there was also a *pallacium scole nostre communitatis*, so the wealthier citizens had a place to obtain a rudimentary knowledge of Latin (MCZ 4, p. 164., MCZ 9, p. 154.)

¹⁰⁸ MCZ 1, p. 79.

¹⁰⁹ The only example of use of Italian expressions can be identified with the Florentine Gyuan, who is mentioned as “*ser Gyaun*.”

¹¹⁰ P. Burke, *Languages and Communities in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. 15-16.

¹¹¹ Naturally, the first Croatian works were written in one of the three main Croatian dialects, depending on where (or from which literary circle) the authors came. For more on this see: Milan Moguš, *Povijest hrvatskog književnog jezika* (Zagreb, 1993). Even so, it should be stressed that Latin remained the official language in Croatia until 1847.

Judging by the non-Latin words and phrases which appear in the official documents of late medieval Gradec, the most widespread spoken language was Slav, or rather Croatian in its local dialect. Thus, Anthonius *arcupar* also appears as Anthonius *lukar* (bow-maker), and Slavic words were also frequent in the terms for craft and trade occupations.¹¹² A stonewall house is called *domus murata aliter Zydanica vocata (zidanica – stonewall house)*, while the term *koucha* (from the Croatian *kuća – house, home*) was often used for utility buildings or sheds.¹¹³ Jurors one year had to resolve the problem of *fecibus vulgo smethy* (garbage), while some other examples include *glebas vulgo grede* (beams) or *offendiculum vulgo zthopycza* (impediment).¹¹⁴ On two occasions it was recorded that a citizen in trouble shouted out *Pomagaj* (Help).¹¹⁵ Many more such examples could be cited, and speaking of the Slav language, something may also be said about the Glagolitic script, which was probably brought to Gradec by residents from the territory of medieval Croatia. Several early sixteenth-century documents have been preserved that were written in the Croatian language in Glagolitic, but the use of this script in the Zagreb area was nevertheless marginal, and its appearance may be linked to migrations of populations from the south due to the Ottoman threat.¹¹⁶

The German and Hungarian terms rank after the Slav, and in individual cases they surfaced in Latin documents. A garret on the façade of a house or tower (*erker*) was known by citizens as *cenaculi vulgo jarkyl*, or *propugnaculis vulgo erkel*, crafts guilds were called *ceh (societatem vulgariter czeh)*, peddlers were called *kramari* and many castellans were called *porkolab*.¹¹⁷ It would appear that Hungarian came to the fore mostly in topography, such as Donji

¹¹² Of course, in the case of crafts and trades, Hungarian and German influences also appear with the Slav language. For example, *pistor* appears as *hlebopek* or *pechohleb, purgator gladiorum – mechtob, sutor - varga, bursipar – taskar, institor – kramar*.

¹¹³ MCZ 6, p. 248, 415; MCZ 10, p. 67; MCZ 11, p. 91.

¹¹⁴ MCZ 7, p. 261. MCZ 6, p. 224, MCZ 8, p. 153,

¹¹⁵ MCZ 7, pp. 373, 407. Tkalčić noted that the town court stipulated this term in cases of peril (MCZ 7, p. xvi).

¹¹⁶ At the end of the fifteenth century, Ivan de Glagolya was mentioned, a pastor from Klokoč who was assigned at the extreme south of the Zagreb diocese, which practically bordered medieval Croatia. Two documents in Croatian written in Glagolitic script in the Gradec area in the sixteenth century have been preserved. The first document is the will of a noblewoman who left the Remete monastery a piece of property. In the other, Ban Krsto Frankopan issued a receipt for borrowed money to citizens in 1526, on the eve of the Battle of Mohacs (MCZ 3, pp. 24, 252-253). A notebook of a pastor from the Zagreb environs (Šćitarijevo) written in Glagolitic dates to roughly the same period. See Zoran Ladić-Goran Budeč, "Glagoljska bilježnica Šćitarijevskog župnika od 1524. do 1526. godine. Prilog proučavanju crkvenog i seoskog života u zagrebačkoj okolicu u ranom novom vijeku", *Zbornik Odsjeka za povijesne znanosti Zavoda za povijesne i društvene znanosti Hrvatske akademije znanosti u umjetnosti* 29 (2011): 149-189.

¹¹⁷ For *erker* see: MCZ 7, p. 497; MHEZ 6, p. 389; For guilds see: MCZ 2, p. 307-309, For *porkolaba* MCZ 9, p. 241.

Novaki – *Also Novaki*, *Nagh Kemlek* for Veliki Kalnik (*Maior Kemlek*), while other settlements were designated with attributes from the Hungarian language (*Zentmiklos*, *Zenth Iwan*).¹¹⁸ The narrower area of Gradec includes such toponyms as *Harmica* and *Siget*, which have persisted, and *Kerec* and *Fajz*, which rather quickly disappeared.¹¹⁹ Also noteworthy is the expression *aldomašnik* (*aldomasari*), which came into use to refer to a witness in a legal dispute, as well as *societatem vulgo kethwsyna* for a mercantile concern.¹²⁰ Of course, these are only some of the most visible examples from the Zagreb area – a genuine etymological and linguistic study would certainly reach many more interesting conclusions.¹²¹ In conclusion, an examination of town documents shows that an apparent strong influence of the domicile language, which could have already been noted above in the examples of Slavicized surnames, and the impression that emerges is that the German language was not as dominant in medieval Gradec as it was in the not-too-distant Varaždin in the northern part of medieval Slavonia. The influence of German would intensify in the early modern period after 1527, when a new wave of expansion of the German language came due to political circumstances.¹²²

Besides Latin, another important language in other medieval towns of the Hungarian kingdom was German, which was partly the language of urban administration. The Buda city law code was written in German (*Ofner Stadtrecht*) as were the by-laws of the guilds. However, as in Zagreb, other languages also came to the fore, primarily Hungarian of course, as well as Slav languages

¹¹⁸ MHEZ, 6, 359, MHEZ 7, p. 389; pp. 160, 86.

¹¹⁹ *Fajz* is a good example of how the original Hungarian toponym was replaced with a Slavic one; *vila Faiz olim nunc Craleuch vulgariter nuncupata* (Nikolić Jakus, pp. 34, 60). *Kerec*, which was even mentioned in the Golden Bull, may have been identical to the toponym *Krog*, which appeared later. *Harmica*, of course, designates a place where the one- thirtieth tax was paid. At Gradec, it was once the boundary with Kaptol, and this is the area of today's central square in Zagreb, the first known name of which was in fact *Harmica*. By the same token, *Harmica* is even today the name of a settlement along the border with Slovenia, not far from the Sutla River, which in the Middle Ages was the border with the territory of the Holy Roman Empire. *Siget* is also a toponym which has been preserved to the present day, situated – naturally – near the Sava River, since this river, prior to its regulation in the modern era, had numerous offshoots and river islets.

¹²⁰ MCZ 5, p. 47; For *ketuševina* see MCZ 2, p. 495. See also L. Hadrovics, "Mađarski elementi u srednjovjekovnom latinitetu Hrvatske", *Starine* 54 (1969): 15.

¹²¹ The oldest borrowings from the Hungarian language can be seen precisely in the Kajkavian dialect which was the dominant spoken language of medieval Slavonia, particularly the Zagreb environs. By the same token, German words were considerably more present in northern Croatian dialects. See K. Puškar, "Tragom njemačko-mađarsko-hrvatskih dodira; problematika jezika posrednika", *Cris* 1 (2010): 132.

¹²² Puškar, p. 130. On the Germans and German influence in medieval Varaždin, see: M. Karbić, "Nijemci u Varaždinu tijekom srednjeg vijeka", *Godišnjak njemačke narodnosne zajednice-VDG Jahrbuch* (2001): 11-17.

(Czech, Slovak, Polish) in the north and Romanian in the east.¹²³ Regardless of the dominant language, in everyday communication it was important to know the other languages as well, above all the language of one's immediate milieu. This is partially demonstrated by the aforementioned Buda law code, which stipulated that when departing from their posts, the judge, councillors and city notary had to deliver a speech, first in German and then in Hungarian.¹²⁴

The number of individual ethnic groups in Gradec points to the conclusion that the more rapid assimilation of individual ethnic groups could not have transpired, rather each one retained its language without the ability of imposing it upon others. Of course, ethnic groups are subject to assimilation by the majority, in this case the Slavs, particularly in the second or third generation, but as long as there were new settlers, generally speaking their languages did not disappear and assimilation proceeded more slowly. Ties of kinship, business and friendship between the members of different language groups, but above all the need for everyday communication, indicate that some citizens knew or at least to some extent understood the language of their neighbours. Therefore, Gradec also fit well into the picture of multilingual Hungarian towns in which several spoken languages were in parallel use.¹²⁵

Concluding Considerations

Many similarities between Gradec and other continental towns of the Hungarian kingdom may be ascertained. The town owed its beginnings to Béla's commitment to build fortified settlements to which, in order to attract new settlers, he granted far-reaching autonomy, and the favourable locations of towns at the intersections of trade routes set the economic foundations for further development. Naturally, within the generally similar characteristics, there are some specifics of which only those that touch upon the theme of this work shall be highlighted: since the beginning of the fifteenth century, Gradec had a robust Latin colony, while the Germans, despite exerting a strong influence, were not as dominant as in most other towns of the medieval Hungarian kingdom. One may conclude that the Slavs were also a very significant urban population in terms of both their number and economic strength. As a group the Hungarians were strong enough not to be bypassed in the linguistic division. The direct cause for the division of the magistrature in Gradec is – as opposed to Buda – not known, but the Gradec division was more complex than in the

¹²³ Szende, "Integration...", pp. 217-220.

¹²⁴ Szende, "Integration...", p. 216.

¹²⁵ Sociolinguists define this phenomenon, in which the speaker uses two or more languages depending in the situation, as diglossia. However, the languages in use most often do not have the same importance, i.e., one language always has more prestige than the others. See Burke, p. 7. For more on diglossia in other Hungarian towns see Szende, "Integration...", p. 225-232.

other towns of the Hungarian kingdom, where two language groups always alternated in urban administration, while in Gradec there were four. The actual linguistic division did not come to the fore in everyday life in the town, and there were quite often kinship, business and friendship ties between the members of different language groups, which is why it is believed that a part of the citizens spoke or understood members of other language groups and that several languages were in parallel use in spoken communication.

Certainly, something missing from this work is an analysis of coexistence between ethnic groups, medieval “national” consciousness, and the ethnic conflicts which may have broken out in a medieval town, as shown by the examples of Buda or Prague in the fifteenth century. Since there are no direct data on this in Gradec (actually, the research has not been conducted), perhaps in the future it would be pertinent to re-examine this largely ideal picture, but for the moment this goes beyond the scope of this work. It would certainly be interesting to use the example of Gradec in order to discern how the ethnic groups perceived each other, and whether evidence for ethnic conflict can be found.¹²⁶

In the end, it would be worthwhile to recall that besides the division by languages, the town community was also an integrative factor *per se*. In conflicts with Kaptol, according to the bishop's roll of the excommunicated from 1397, members of all of the main ethnic groups in Gradec can be found, as on another, shorter list from 1422.¹²⁷ In these conflicts, it is apparent that there were citizens who had not resided in the town for very long, but who nonetheless demonstrated solidarity with the others. During the conflicts with the Celje counts, one may truly gain the impression that mistrust of German citizens arose, since after 1437 the first armed clash broke out with the Celje knights and familiars, and there were no judges from the German ethnic group until 1448, when a German (Rawsar) was elected with the “help” of Celje soldiers and officials. Then, from 1448 until the fall of the Celje counts, German citizens often appeared in the judicial post, which could also be interpreted as the Germans now being privileged in the election of the town judge.¹²⁸ However, prosopographic analysis has determined that these German judges during the reign of the Celje counts followed the customary path to integration in a new community and in the urban elite in medieval towns – by marriage to women citizens from reputable families, and

¹²⁶ Here no attention has been accorded to marginal groups such as the Jews, but speaking of prejudice, one more example may highlight the negative image of the Jews. In a dispute between two town dwellers, Dominicus Perovich and Michael Oprasnich, insults were hurled which were mostly recorded in the minutes. Thus, Mihael addressed Dominicus by asking, “Why do you spit and cough upon me when I'm not a Jew?” (*Cur spuis aut tussitas ad me quid non sum Judeus*; MCZ 8, p. 192).

¹²⁷ For the list of excommunicants, i.e., citizens who participated in the attack on Kaptol, see: MCZ 1, pp. 378-384; MCZ 2, p. 39.

¹²⁸ See note 64.

their prestige remained even after the Celje counts departed.¹²⁹ Also interesting is a lawsuit between one of these German judges, Conrad Rawsar, and another citizen, Paulus, who left the town together several other citizens during the Celje era. Rawsar called Paulus an *infidelem et falsari* of the entire municipality, because he fled from Celje rule, so Rawsar had to pay a fine for this insult.¹³⁰ Thus, when analyzing ethnic groups, their integration and coexistence, one should never lose sight of the citizenry, i.e., the citizens who, regardless of origin, developed a feeling of belonging to the urban community, particularly those who experienced social success.

Addendum: List of town judges in medieval Gradec

| iudex | lingua | year | reference |
|--|--------|-----------|----------------------------|
| Marcus filius Ligerii | L | 1352. | MHLRCZ, 1, p.203 |
| Anthonius | | 1355. | MHLRCZ, 4, p. 2 |
| Petrus | L | 1356. | MHLRCZ, 4, p. 46 |
| Mikech filius Francisci | | 1357. | MHLRCZ, 4, p. 78 |
| Petrus filius Ligerii de Medio | L | 1359. | MHLRCZ, 4, p. 109 |
| Johanes filius Gregori | | 1360. | MHLRCZ, 4, p. |
| Petrus iudex filius Rubini, condam | L | 1361. (?) | MHLRCZ 5, p. 44 |
| Nicolaus filius Benedicti | H | 1362. | MHLRCZ, 4, p. 202 |
| Mikech filius Hench | T | 1363. | MHLRCZ, 4, p. 257. |
| Petrus | L | 1365. | MHLRCZ, 4, p. 351 |
| Petrus Donatus de Medzo | L | 1368. | MHLRCZ, 11, p. |
| Nicolaus filius Benedicti | H | 1370. | CD 14, p. 305. |
| Jacomellus | T/L | 1374. | MHLRCZ 5, p. 10; 1, p. 245 |
| Micusius filius Ivan | S | 1375. | MHLRCZ 1, p. 248 |
| Franciscus filius Mark | S | 1377. | MHLRCZ 5, p. 75 |
| Johannes filius Mar(tini) dictus Vasas | H | 1378. | MHLRCZ 5, p. 113 |
| Jacobus Bole | T | 1379. | MHLRCZ 1, p. 274 |
| Luca Bonioli filius Iacobi | L | 1380. | MHLRCZ 1, p. 279 |
| Johannes Vasas filii Mark | H | 1382. | MHLRCZ 5, p. 159 |
| Myklinus filius Johannis | T | 1383. | MHLRCZ 5, p. 187 |
| Laurencius filius Thome | L | 1384. | MHLRCZ 5, p. 217 |
| Nicolaus filius Odolas | S | 1385. | MHLRCZ 5, p. 230 |
| Johannes filius Pauli | H | 1386. | MHLRCZ 9, p. 29 |
| Myklinus filius Johannis | T | 1387. | MHLRCZ 9, p. 33 |
| Luca Bonioli filius Iacobi | L | 1388. | MHLRCZ 5, p. 287 |
| Franciscus filius Marci | S | 1389. | MHLRCZ 5, p. 291 |
| Johannes filius Pauli | H | 1390. | MHLRCZ 5, p. 318 |
| Johannes filius Jacobi dicti [Bole] | T | 1391. | MHLRCZ 5, p. 335 |

¹²⁹ See B. Škrebliin, "Nijemci." pp. 43-50.

¹³⁰ MCZ 7, pp. 350-351.

| iudex | lingua | year | reference |
|-------------------------------------|---------------|-------------|-----------------------------|
| Gwan filius Benedicti de Boncarnisa | L | 1392. | MHLRCZ 9, p. 66 |
| Petrus filius Gregori | S | 1393. | MHLRCZ 9, p. 73 |
| Johannes filius Pauli | H | 1394. | MHLRCZ 1, p. 352 |
| Myklinus filius Johannis | T | 1395. | MHLRCZ 9, p. 85 |
| Marcus filius Mykech filii Leonardi | L | 1396. | MHLRCZ 9, p. 89 |
| Johannes filius Stephani dicti Bozo | S | 1397. | MHLRCZ 9, p. 92 |
| Johannes filius Pauli | H | 1398. | MHLRCZ 9, p. 100 |
| Myklinus filius Johanni | T | 1399. | MHLRCZ 9, p. 107 |
| Cion filius Johannis | L | 1400. | MHLRCZ 9, p. 112 |
| Michael filius Sebastiani | S | 1401. | MHLRCZ 9, p. 116 |
| Johannes filius Pauli | H | 1402. | MHLRCZ 2, p. 6 |
| Petrus filius Petri Saphar | T | 1405. | MHLRCZ 2, p. 9 |
| Petrus filius Petri Saphar | T | 1413. | MHLRCZ 6, p. 5 |
| Cion filius Johannis | L | 1414. | MHLRCZ 6, p. 15 |
| Mychael filius Symonis | S | 1415. | MHLRCZ 6, p. 26; 2, p.19 |
| Andreas filius Nicolai de Zwinaria | H | 1416. | MHLRCZ 6, p. 29 |
| Johannes Prauz | T | 1417. | MHLRCZ 6, p. 43 |
| Cion filius Johannis | L | 1418. | MHLRCZ 6, p.60 |
| Michael filius Sebastiani | S | 1419. | MHLRCZ 6, p. 62 |
| Johannes filius Nicolai | H | 1420. | MHLRCZ 6, p. 82 |
| Johannes Pehem filius Johannis | T | 1421. | MHLRCZ 6, p. 100 |
| Cion filius Johannis | L | 1422. | MHLRCZ 6, p. 108 |
| Michael filius Symonis | S | 1423. | MHLRCZ 6, p. 114 |
| Andreas filius Petri Sapahr | T | 1425. | MHLRCZ 2, p. 47 |
| Anthonius filius Appardi | L | 1426. | MHLRCZ 2, p. 55 |
| Briccius filius Benedicti | S | 1427. | MHLRCZ 2, p. 62 |
| Georgius filius Valentini | H | 1428. | MHLRCZ 9, p. 167 |
| Michael filius Sebastiani | S | 1429. | MHLRCZ 9, p. 184; 2, p. 67 |
| Anthonius filius Appardi | L | 1430. | MHLRCZ 9, p. 204 |
| Nicolaus filius Fabiani | S | 1431. | MHLRCZ 6, p. 134; 9, p. 222 |
| Petrus filius Pauli | H | 1432. | MHLRCZ 2, p. 70 |
| Stephanus filius Michaelis | T | 1433. | MHLRCZ 6, p. 186; 9, p. 258 |
| Johannes filius Perovich | L | 1434. | MHLRCZ 6, p. 203 |
| Nicolaus filius Fabiani | S | 1435. | MHLRCZ 6, p. 271 |
| Petrus filius Pauli | H | 1436. | MHLRCZ 6, p. 248 |
| Jacobus filius Johannis Bole | T | 1437. | MHLRCZ 6, p. 266; 9, p. 315 |
| Marinus filius Clarus | L | 1438. | MHLRCZ 6, p. 281 |
| Martinus filius Thome | S | 1439. | MHLRCZ 6, p. 304 |
| Nicolaus filius Petri | H | 1440. | MHLRCZ 10, p. 1 |
| Blasius filius Pauli | | 1441. | MHLRCZ 6, p. 342; 10, p. 8 |
| Nicolaus filius Petri | H | 1442. | MHLRCZ 6, p. 359; 10, p. 16 |
| Benedictus filius Michaeli | S | 1443. | MHLRCZ 6, p. 380; 10, p. 32 |
| Martinus filius Thome | S | 1444. | MHLRCZ 10, p. 48 |

| iudex | lingua | year | reference |
|---|---------------|-------------|-----------------------------|
| Valentinus filius Michaeli dicti Saronych | S | 1445. | MHLRCZ 6, p. 414; 10, p. 59 |
| Martinus filius Thome | S | 1446. | MHLRCZ 6, p. 438; 10, p. 77 |
| Andreas filius Michaeli | | 1447. | MHLRCZ 6, p. 446 |
| Martinus filius Thome | S | 1448. | MHLRCZ 6, p. 453 |
| Conradus Rawsar filius Wlrici | T | 1448. | MHLRCZ 10, p. 102 |
| Johannes filius Nicolai Bolsak | T | 1449. | MHLRCZ |
| Jacobus Eberspeck filius Vlrci | T | 1450. | MHLRCZ, 7, p. 1 |
| Nicolaus filius Demetri | | 1451. | MHLRCZ, 7, p. 18 |
| Jacobus Eberspeck filius Vlrci | T | 1452. | MHLRCZ, 7, p. 32 |
| Conradus Rawsar filius Wlrici | T | 1453. | MHLRCZ, 7, p. 50 |
| Valentinus filius Michaeli dicti Saronych | S | 1454. | MHLRCZ, 7, p. 66 |
| Nicolaus filius Demetri | | 1455. | MHLRCZ, 7, p. 85 |
| Conradus Rawsar filius Wlrici | T | 1456. | MHLRCZ, 7, p. 104 |
| Anthonius filius Thome | S | 1457. | MHLRCZ, 7, p. 121 |
| Valentinus filius Michaeli dicti Saronych | S | 1458. | MHLRCZ, 7, p. 144 |
| Johannes filius Petri | L | 1459. | MHLRCZ, 7, p. 169 |
| Blasius filius Georgi | S | 1460. | MHLRCZ, 7, p. 186 |
| Anthonius filius Thome | S | 1461. | MHLRCZ, 7, p. 199 |
| Valentinus filius Michaeli dicti Saronych | S | 1462. | MHLRCZ, 7, p. 217. |
| Martinus filius Thome | S | 1463. | MHLRCZ, 7, p. 235 |
| Nicolaus filius Petri | H | 1464. | MHLRCZ, 7, p. 248 |
| Anthonius filius Thome | S | 1465. | MHLRCZ, 7, p. 265 |
| Thoma filius Andre | S | 1466. | MHLRCZ, 7, p. 289 |
| Anthonius Roth filius Johannis | T | 1467. | MHLRCZ, 7, p. 314 |
| Conradus Rawsar filius Wlrici | T | 1467. | MHLRCZ, 10, p. 265 |
| Andreas filius Symoni | | 1468. | MHLRCZ, 7, p. 331 |
| Benedictus filius Georgi | | 1469. | MHLRCZ, 7, p. 348 |
| Conradus Rawsar filius Wlrici | T | 1470. | MHLRCZ, 7, p. 365 |
| Benedictus filius Georgi | | 1471. | MHLRCZ, 7, p. 382 |
| Valentinus filius Michaeli dicti Saronych | S | 1472. | MHLRCZ, 7, p. 398 |
| Blasius filius Gregori | | 1473. | MHLRCZ, 7, p. 424 |
| Johannes filius Michaeli | | 1474. | MHLRCZ, 7, p. 433 |
| Blasius filius Petri | | 1475. | MHLRCZ, 7, p. 437 |
| Mathias filius Marci | | 1476. | MHLRCZ, 7, p. 451 |
| Johannes filius Sebastiani | | 1477. | MHLRCZ, 7, p. 462 |
| Paulus filius Stephani | H | 1478. | MHLRCZ, 7, p. 469 |
| Blasius filius Lazarin | T | 1479. | MHLRCZ, 7, p. 475 |
| Laurencius institor filius Valentini | | 1480. | MHLRCZ, 7, p. 491 |
| Dominicus filius Johannis Perovich | L | 1481. | MHLRCZ, 8, p. 1 |
| Georgius filius Withkonis | | 1482. | MHLRCZ, 8, p. 12 |
| Johannes filius Sebastiani | | 1483. | MHLRCZ, 8, p. 23 |

| iudex | lingua | year | reference |
|--|---------------|-------------|-------------------|
| Paulus filius Stephani | H | 1484. | MHLRCZ, 8, p. 27 |
| Blasius filius Lazarin | T | 1485. | MHLRCZ, 8, p. 31 |
| Laurencius institor filius Valentini | | 1486. | MHLRCZ, 8, p. 37 |
| Valentinus frenipar filius Emerici Nadulen | | 1487. | MHLRCZ, 8, p. 45 |
| Emericus filius Marci | S | 1488. | MHLRCZ, 8, p. 50 |
| Dominicus filius Johannis Perovich | L | 1489. | MHLRCZ, 8, p. 58 |
| Georgius filius Viti | S | 1490. | MHLRCZ, 8, p. 66 |
| Jacobus filius condam Vlrici | T | 1491. | MHLRCZ, 8, p. 70 |
| Gaspar Kysewych filius Pauli | | 1492. | MHLRCZ, 8, p. 77 |
| Martinus filius Vrbani | | 1493. | MHLRCZ, 8, p. 89 |
| Fabianus filius Martini | | 1494. | MHLRCZ, 8, p. 93 |
| Paulus filius Valentini | | 1495. | MHLRCZ, 8, p. 101 |
| Mathias filius Ladislaus | | 1496. | MHLRCZ, 8, p. 108 |
| Fabianus filius Martini | | 1497. | MHLRCZ, 8, p. 116 |
| Michael Oprašnić filius Anthoni | | 1498. | MHLRCZ, 8, p. 120 |
| Emericus Mikulić filius Demetri | | 1499. | MHLRCZ, 8, p. 122 |
| Jacobus filius Vdalrici | T | 1500. | MHLRCZ, 8, p. 129 |
| Johannes filis Anthoni | | 1501. | MHLRCZ 8, p. 131 |
| Mathias filius Ladislaus | | 1502. | MHLRCZ 8, p. 139 |
| Michael Oprašnić filius Anthoni | | 1503. | MHLRCZ 11, p. 79 |
| Emerik Mikulić filius Demetri | | 1504. | MHLRCZ 11, p. 81 |
| Michael Oprašnić filius Anthoni | | 1505. | MHLRCZ 8, p. 159 |
| Emerik Mikulić filius Demetri | | 1506. | MHLRCZ 11, p. 84 |
| Gregorius filius Andre | | 1507. | MHLRCZ 11, p. 88 |
| Johannes Posegaj filius Georgi | | 1508. | MHLRCZ 11, p. 89. |
| Emerik Mikulić filius Demetri | | 1509. | MHLRCZ 11, p. 91 |
| Michel Oprašnić filius Anthoni | | 1510. | MHLRCZ 11, p. 93 |
| Felix Petanyi filius Deodati | | 1511. | MHLRCZ 8, p. 201 |
| Johannes Pastor | L | 1512. | MHLRCZ 13, p. 3 |
| Michel Oprašnić filius Anthoni | | 1513. | MHLRCZ 13, p. 4 |
| Michael filius Mathei | | 1514. | MHLRCZ 13, p. 6 |
| Emerik Mikulić filius Demetri | | 1515. | MHLRCZ 13, p. 9 |
| Marcus Pozegaj filius Georgi | | 1516. | MHLRCZ 13, p. 14 |
| Johannes Pastor | L | 1517. | MHLRCZ 13, p. 17 |
| Michael Oprašnić filius Anthoni | | 1518. | MHLRCZ 13, p. 20 |
| Emerik Mikulić filius Demetri | | 1519. | MHLRCZ 13, p. 22 |
| Michael filius Mathei | | 1520. | MHLRCZ 13, p. 31 |
| Stephanus filius Michaelis | | 1521. | MHLRCZ 8, p. 212 |
| Michael filius Mathei | | 1522. | MHLRCZ 8, p. 215 |
| Michael Oprašnić filius Anthoni | | 1523. | MHLRCZ 8, p. 221 |
| Michael filius Mathei | | 1524. | MHLRCZ 8, p. 229 |
| Stephanus filius Michaelis | | 1525. | MHLRCZ 8, p. 237 |

Ethnische Gruppen in Gradec (Agram) im späten Mittelalter

Zusammenfassung

Im spätmittelalterlichen Gradec lebte unter den Slawen eine beträchtliche Zahl der Latiner (Italiener), Deutschen und Ungaren und es waren da auch wenige jüdische Ansiedler. Die Mitglieder der vier genannten ethnischen/sprachlichen Gruppen nahmen zwischen 1377 und 1436 an der städtischen Verwaltung auf dem Prinzip der Parität teil. In der Praxis sah das so aus, dass der Stadtrichter jedes Jahres aus einer anderen ethnischen Gruppe gewählt wurde und die Zahl der Gemeinderäten und Geschworenen nach dem Kriterium sprachlicher Zugehörigkeit proportionell geteilt war. Sprachliche Verteilung kam im städtischen Alltagsleben jedoch nicht zum Ausdruck und die verwandtschaftlichen Beziehungen, Geschäfts- und Freundschaftsbeziehungen zwischen den Sprechern verschiedener Muttersprachen waren ziemlich häufig. Deswegen überwiegt unter den Forschern die Meinung, dass eine beträchtliche Zahl von Bürgern mehrere Sprachen gesprochen hat oder die Mitglieder anderer sprachlichen Gruppen wenigstens verstanden hat und dass ihre Sprachen in mündlicher Kommunikation parallel verwendet wurden. Nach demselben Kriterium waren auch die städtischen Verwaltungen auch in Sillein (Žilina), Ofen (Buda), Klausenburg (Cluj) und Plintenburg (Višegrad) organisiert. Während in diesen Städten die Positionen in der Verwaltung zwischen den Mitgliedern von zwei sprachlichen Gruppen geteilt wurden, wechselten in Gradec Angehörige von vier ethnischen Gruppen gleichmäßig unter sich in der Stadtverwaltung.

