

SEGREGATION, INTEGRATION AND ASSIMILATION IN MEDIEVAL TOWNS

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ABSTRACTS

ZONING, SEGREGATION AND DESEGREGATION IN MEDIEVAL TOWNS

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During the Middle Ages towns were not characterized by the high degree of zoning and spatial segregation which have been a familiar feature of European cities since the mid-nineteenth century. The modern pattern is primarily the outcome of economic forces, the great growth of cities in size and wealth, and the development of mechanized transport systems which have reduced the time and cost of travel within the city. As cities grew, so specialization in the use of areas within them became more marked. Moreover, political developments, along with the accumulation of capital and administrative capacity, have reinforced that tendency, above all through attempts to provide solutions to the problems associated with large, densely-populated cities: congestion, pollution, sanitary matters, housing, and social and political disorder. Thus, topics familiar to historians of industrial and post-industrial cities include the planning or reordering of areas within the city, sometimes with a primarily political intent; the public regulation of land use; investment in publicly-funded housing schemes which tend to reinforce social segregation; suburbanization; and the migration of the prosperous to the urban fringes.

Nevertheless, many of the forces which underlie zoning in modern towns were also present in their medieval predecessors. The paper aims to describe the balance of spatial intermixture and separation which characterized the occupational and social geography of medieval towns. It discusses fundamental material and economic factors that determined the pattern, including natural topography, land values, the organisation of manufactures, and the need for access to markets and transport. It also deals with other factors that had a significant influence, such as life-cycle, gender, ethnicity, religion, political status and the common preference for space and air. In addition, it attempts to characterize the impact of religious and military precincts and of other physical barriers on the pattern of social geography. Some alternative forms of spatial organisation from outside Christian Europe will also be considered as a way of setting our cities in context.

PAGANS, CHRISTIANS, SCHISMATICS: SEGREGATION AND ASSIMILATION IN FOURTH-CENTURY ROME

Marianne Sághy (Paris/Budapest)

The presence of the dead within the walls is one of the most salient differences which distinguishes the medieval town from the classical city. The cult of the saints, introduced in the fourth century in cities throughout the Roman world, took a different form and meaning in each community conforming not only to local traditions, but also to everyday political needs.

How and why did Rome become a Christian city in the late antique period? Did this transformation take place at all? This paper examines the topography of the cult of the martyrs in Rome and the role cemeteries played in urban politics and urban violence during the pontificate of Pope Damasus (366–384), the “impresario” of the cult of the martyrs and of apostolic shrines in the Urbs.

BETWEEN THE CITY AND THE DESERT: DEFINING A PROPER PLACE FOR MONKS IN THE EARLY BYZANTINE WORLD

Cristian Ga^opar (Bucharest)

Most of the literature produced in monastic circles during the late fourth and early fifth century, whether for internal consumption or for the benefit of lay audiences, is adamant that the proper place for a monk is the desert. Only there, far from the cities of the Eastern Roman Empire and their innumerable temptations, could a monk find the peace and tranquility he needed in order to attain perfection and save his soul through relentless ascetic efforts. This traditional conception, which described the uninhabited desert as the cradle and the most congenial environment of Christian monasticism, went unchallenged for a long time and was also taken over by some modern scholars.

This paper examines evidence that paints an entirely different picture. During the early Byzantine period in many places throughout the Roman East, and most prominently in Constantinople, the early monastic movement was closely associated with the urban milieu. This view, increasingly present in recent works of scholarship (such as studies by Dagron, Wipszycka, and Goehring) pays particular attention to different types of interaction between monastic circles and the urban environments in which these appeared and evolved.

I will argue that, compared to the classical model of desert asceticism, the monks who dwelled in cities appear as extremely problematic figures. They tended to interfere with the proper functioning of state institutions and often challenged the authority of the bishops. Such activities soon caught the attention of the civilian authorities and, eventually, of the ecclesiastical hierarchy. The first attempts to prevent unwanted monastic interference in secular affairs and to define a proper relationship between the monks and the cities date from the end of the fourth and the beginning of the fifth centuries A. D.

To support this interpretation I will present an analysis of data extracted from different types of sources dated to this period. They will be drawn from legal texts (*constitutiones* of several Roman emperors preserved in the *Codex Theodosianus*), monastic writings (the *Apophthegmata patrum*, the works of John Cassian and St Jerome as well as the hitherto unexplored *Logos asketikos* of St Nilus of Ancyra), and hagiographic texts (the *Lives* of Hypatius and Alexander the Sleepless).

DIFFERENT ETHNIC GROUPS, DIFFERENT CULTURES, DIFFERENT RELIGIONS: THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL INFORMATION ON AL-ANDALUS FROM THE EIGHTH TO THE ELEVENTH CENTURIES

Juan Zozaya (Madrid)

The Islamic invasion of Hispania is still not a well understood process. Regarding the colonization and the military aspects of the operation, from an archaeological point of view it may be said that the real numbers of invaders and their attitudes towards the local population seem to be rather different from the classical hypothesis stated by historians.

We do not have much more information regarding the early years than place names, well preserved mostly in their Latin forms in the northwest of the Iberian Peninsula, and early coins. Some early remains datable to the phase between 711 A. D. and 756 A. D. include graveyards, reused churches, some inscriptions and what is probably one of the earliest minarets in Islam: that of the church of San Salvador in Toledo. Fortifications include a watch-tower system, a land-owners' defensive tower system and town walls in Toledo, Maqueda, Talavera de la Reina, the city of Vascos (Toledo Province) or Idanha a Velha and Elvas in present day Portugal. More information may be gathered from the first structures constructed under `Abd ar-Rahman I, like his mosque, the walls at Agreda, or the castles at Gormaz or Marbella. Under Al-Hakam I there is evidence of socio-economic structures organized under the Qal`a(s), as part of a "*commandatus*" strategy to populate and defend the areas near the marches.

Under Muhammad I a new system was widely used: that of the *husun* to control the country in the name of the state, eliminating thus the need for the *commandatus* system, which was probably suppressed under his government. During his reign an important technical innovation took place: the use and manufacture of lead-glazed pottery, an oriental invention brought to al-Andalus around the mid-ninth century A.D. and used for the first time in Europe. Tin, pottery, and glass of this phase are known, giving us an idea of what life in various circles must have been like.

During the tenth century some new fortifications were built, but the hallmark of this period was the common use and manufacture of polychrome glazed pottery in white, green, and purple. Oriental influences in shapes and decoration as well as symbolism were brought from the Orient. Textiles, amongst which the Oña Yuba is important, are essential to understanding this process. Around the end of the century the difference between various pottery production centers is noteworthy as it practically announces the centrifugal forces that would tear apart the kingdom in the following years.

The `Amirids did manage to produce some rather experimental art elements, but little is really known, as there doesn't seem to be much difference between the material products of the middle of the tenth century and those of the early eleventh century.

The eleventh century is well known for its poets, but little is said about the techniques used in the everyday connection between the country and the monarchy. What does seem evident is that design in objects becomes regionally individualized, so as to underline the differences relating to the existence of each one of the petty Kingdoms. This does have its differences and may be found throughout al-Andalus.

Thus the remains of material culture may be used to differentiate different levels of development, of policies within the realm of al-Andalus and the creation of a culture imbued with a distinctive personality, giving a new image of al-Andalus.

FOREIGN MERCHANTS IN EARLY MODERN TOWNS AND INTERNATIONAL MARKET INTELLIGENCE SYSTEMS

Ian Blanchard (Edinburgh-Budapest)

Anyone who has perused the mercantile correspondence from the period of Antwerp's commercial prosperity, c. 1470-c. 1570, cannot but have been struck by the similarities between the content of these epistles and that of the present-day financial press. At the foot of each letter were the quotations of exchange rates and commodity prices prevailing in the city from which the dispatcher had sent his letter. This was a simple BI-LATERAL exchange of relevant information, which was usually effected within the organisational structures of his merchant house. At the height of Antwerp's prosperity these involved the use of "free market" institutions but later, as commercial activity within that city waned they became more bureaucratic. An examination of the van Bombergen (1532-3)¹ and Van der Molen (1538-44)² papers reveals, amongst these houses that continued to dominate the overland trade to Italy, the organisational forms within which such exchanges of information took place. Both of these firms acted at Antwerp on commission for Venetian merchant houses, buying and selling commodities for their clients and organising the transportation of these wares, arranging the transmission of funds on the exchange and gathering relevant mercantile intelligence. Antoine van Bombergen in 1532-3 undertook most of these operations himself, personally selling his client's wares at the Brabant fairs and buying there the English kerseys and long cloths which he would ultimately dispatch to Italy. He also visited the Bourse in person, some times to put out money on the exchange for transmission to Italy but more often simply to gather commercial and financial market intelligence. At every turn he used free market institutions to undertake his transactions and when such local facilities at Antwerp proved inadequate he had recourse to a series of occasional correspondents to extend the markets within which he could operate. His operations were conducted on the basis of excellent market intelligence in conditions of near-perfect competition. Van der Molen on the other hand in 1538-44 operated at Antwerp within a much more bureaucratically organised trading system. He spent most of his days in his office where his perception of market conditions was formed from a constant and voluminous stream of correspondence delivered by rapid postal service from his customers and agents. On the basis of this information he formulated purchase and sales strategies, which were implemented through a commercial system which encompassed all aspects of the cloth trade from producer to customer. The house maintained factors in each of the main cloth producing areas. Adam van Riebecke was situated at Bruges to buy Flemish cloths. Jacob van der Tombe bought at Hondschoot the says woven in the small town and the adjacent countryside, as well as the finer products of the Bergues - Saint Winoc sayetterie. In London they dealt with Italian

¹ Brulez, W., "Lettres commerciales de Daniel et Antoine de Bombergen à Antonio Grimani 1532-43," *Bulletin de l'Institute Historique Belge de Rome*, XXXI (1958)

² Edler, F., "Winchester Kerseys at Antwerp, 1538-1544," *Economic History Review*, VII (1936); "Le commerce d'exportation des says d'Hondschoote vers l'Italie, d'après la correspondance d'une firme anveroise, entre 1538 et 1544," *Revue du Nord*, XXII (1936); "The Van der Molen, Commission Merchants of Antwerp: Trade with Italy, 1538-44" in *Medieval and Historiographical Essays in Honour of James Westfall Thompson* (Chicago, 1938)

cloth agents like Martino de Frederico or Maurizio de Marini, a Genoese whose activities at the English capital span almost the whole ambit of this paper.³ In Lille and Valenciennes they had agents through whom they could order worsteds. Whilst, therefore, they enjoyed some flexibility in purchasing by being able to shift orders between their agents, their overall pattern of cloth acquisition was more rigid and divorced from the free-play of the market which had itself been marginalized. A similar rigidity may be observed, moreover, in their provision of transport services. At Arnemuiden they maintained a forwarding and shipping agent, one Piero di Negrino, but his major duties were confined to the trans-shipment of incoming cloths into *shouts* for passage to Antwerp where they were stored and subsequently transported, in the care of professional carriers, to Italy. Once again a fixed pattern, this time of transportation, had imposed itself on their trade. Cloth (without passing through a market) was despatched to Italy by land and in the absence of any demand alternative modes of transport withered and died. Thus when the land route was cut and the van der Molen sought other ways of getting their goods to market they found no satisfactory alternative and were forced to embark their wares on “tramps” which would wend a long and circuitous route to Italy. Under the guidance of houses like the van der Molen the free-market institutions, from which van Bombergen had gained such strength, were disappearing or becoming buried under a welter of bureaucratic organisations.

An analogous process affected those MULTI-LATERAL informational systems that yielded the merchants the political and commercial news, which was entered at the head of their letters. At each of the nodes of the prevailing trading system, which extended from London via Antwerp to northern Italy and the Levantine ports beyond at the height of the contemporary trade boom, the mercantile houses maintained their offices. The daybooks of the traders inhabiting these offices, like those preserved in the Hengrave Hall MSS.,⁴ reveal the throng of people who visited these offices each day. Tendering bills-of-exchange to be honoured, making payments for goods which had been delivered to them and eagerly awaiting the cancellation of their outstanding debts, or demanding payment for wares they had supplied, men flocked to the counting houses of the international traders. They also brought with them news of events that had occurred in their hometowns. Passing from office to office or to recognised sites for conducting their business, like the steps of St Pauls in London, information was picked up and rapidly disseminated. Within an area only a little larger than a small village within each of the great commercial emporia, like London or Antwerp, everyone knew everyone else’s business not only within the “city” but also from within each of those settlements which were embedded within its commercial hinterland. At the end of each day, moreover, this information was sifted and præcised and despatched by letter to the agents’ masters across Europe. At each of the nodes of the prevailing commercial system the merchants had at their finger tips each day information provided by agents within their own commercial hinterland and transmitted to them by their agents from across Europe. The value of this intelligence-system was not only recognised by the merchants, moreover, but also by their political masters. Thus when spy-masters, like Walsingham, wanted information of clandestine military movements

³ A Ruddock, *Italian Merchants and Shipping in Southampton, 1270-1600* (Southampton, 1951), pp. 233-54

⁴ Cambridge University Library, Hengrave Hall MSS., 78/1-2.

in the Low Countries, he utilised the services of Thomas Gresham who through his commercial agents was in a position to gather such intelligence.⁵

At the periphery of this extended European intelligence network moreover were towns, like Kaffa, which were at the interface of other equally efficient trans-continental commercial intelligence networks. Kaffa was a city inhabited by different ethnic and religious communities, such as Westerners (mostly people from present-day Italy, France, and Spain, in a word, Latins), but also Orientals, who probably formed the vast majority of the city population; among them were Greeks, Armenians, Muslims, and, later, Jews.⁶ The two “groups” enjoyed intimate and amicable relations with each other and as such the “Latins” were privy to information circulating in the city concerning trading conditions prevailing in trans-Asiatic Islamic trading systems-information which they quickly despatched home. At one remove, the merchants of Genoa, Marseilles and Barcelona, thus received intelligence of trading conditions on the “Silk Road” or at the ports of the Red Sea, Indian Ocean and beyond. And from these nodes of the European informational system embedded deep in the European intelligence network the information was disseminated outward for all to share.

When, however, mercantile activity was deflected away from Antwerp (c.1527-c.1570) and merchants at London and other centres began to trade directly with their suppliers and customers, the advantages of access to such an intelligence network were lost. During the years 1527-9 in English trade, for instance, there was an organisation of commercial activity within networks of “direct” trade. A system of permanent factors was established not only in the French and Levantine trades but also in the commerce to Hamburg and Danzig.⁷ The factor permanently located abroad was in a position, at least theoretically, to explore market opportunities and accordingly through better information evolve more effective business strategies. He could discover where and at what time of the year goods were best bought or sold thereby diminishing price fluctuations in commodity markets and allowing price maximisation on the goods despatched to him and cost minimisation in the acquisition of the commodities he wished to obtain for shipment home. He could explore the merits of local money markets and credit systems as a source of loans or as an outlet for the balances he often held on an intra-annual basis, again widening his options and affecting his finance costs. Overall, in theory, permanent factorage resulted in an improvement in the

⁵ See the *Gresham Letters*, which I am currently editing for the London Historical Society

⁶ Stanchev, S., “The Economic Relations Between the Italian Sea States and the Bulgarian Black Sea: A Historiographical Overview” (unpublished MA thesis for Sofia University, 2000) and his CEU masters thesis of 2001 together with the paper “Business and the limits of tolerance in a multi-ethnic society : Caffa in the late Middle Ages” at this workshop.

⁷ On the establishment of permanent factors at Chios see *L&P, Henry VIII*, IV (3), No.6357; Hakluyt, R., *The Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation...* 3 vols. in 2 (London, 1599-1600); II , p.96.; the Lisle Correspondence preserved in the State Papers: *L&P, Henry VIII*, VI, Nos. 1147, 1353, 1462; VII , Nos. 191, 233, 274, 428, 436, 461, 587/23; VIII , 83 and 88 subsequently edited by M St C Byrne (ed.), *The Lisle Correspondence* (Chicago and London, 6 vols., 1981). *L&P, Henry VIII*, VIII , Nos. 1051.; X , No.538. R Hakluyt, op. cit., II , pp.96-9; *L&P, Henry VIII*, IV (3), No. 506/3; *Ibidem*, VII , No. 938; *Ibidem*, X , No 538. There are also references to similar practices at Bordeaux and Hamburg in Webb, J., *Great Tooley of Ipswich. Portrait of an Early Tudor Merchant* (Ipswich, 1962), p.48; Ipswich and East Suffolk Record Office, C13/15/1 fo. 131 together with the unfoliated sheets of voyages of the *Mary Walsingham*.. In 1528 merchants, like Howell, were also establishing permanent factors at Danzig (Drapers' Company, London. Howell's Ledger, 1522-7, fo.74). On the impact of a permanent factorage system upon transactions costs see D C North and R P Thomas, “An Economic Theory of the Growth of the Western World”, *Econ. Hist. Rev.*, Second Series, XXIII, 1 (1970), pp. 12-3.

market situation confronting the merchant abroad. Yet in reality such gains were not so instantaneously achieved for with the establishment of such permanent factors in an alien environment the host merchants consistently tried to maintain market imperfections, restricting the incomer's movements and limiting his access to information. The location of a permanent factor abroad thus normally signalled the beginnings of a long and protracted process of negotiations. From these he only at best slowly, and sometimes never, achieved the reductions in transactions costs inherent in his position to the levels that had been achieved in the great metropolitan emporia.

The years, c. 1470-1570 thus saw the new metropolitan emporium of Antwerp assume the mantle of the great medieval fairs.⁸ Merchants frequenting that city benefited from their access to an economic intelligence system which drew information, directly or indirectly, from within the bounds of a commercial system encompassing the whole of the known world. When, however, within that system factors' access to information was restricted, as in contemporary Transylvania,⁹ or merchants abandoned the emporia to engage in trade directly with their suppliers and customers the advantages of access to such an intelligence network were lost, transactions costs rose and trade was impeded.

⁸ J Munro, 'The "New Institutional Economics" and the Changing Fortunes of Fairs in Medieval and Early Modern Europe: the Textile Trades, Warfare, and Transaction Costs', *Vierteljahrschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, 88:1 (2001)

⁹ The paper of Maria Pakucs "'Greek" merchants in the Saxon towns of Transylvania in the late Middle Ages' presented at this workshop.

BUSINESS AND THE LIMITS OF TOLERANCE IN A MULTIETHNIC SOCIETY: CAFFA IN THE LATE MIDDLE AGES

Stefan Stantchev (Sofia)

Late medieval Caffa has been attracting scholars' attention for a long time. Business and interethnic relations have been the two main reasons for this interest – not by chance. On the one hand, Genoese Caffa was one of the biggest commercial centers in Europe because it was both a beginning and ending point of the international trade through the Mongol empire and a collecting point for local Black Sea area resources, exported from Caffa to the West. At the same time, Caffa was a city inhabited by different ethnic and religious communities, such as Westerners (mostly people from present-day Italy, France, and Spain, in a word, Latins), but also Orientals, who probably formed the vast majority of the city population; among them were Greeks, Armenians, Muslims, and, later, Jews.

The documented development of Genoese Caffa starts in the thirteenth century, when the settlement was nothing more than a small commercial emporium, but it grew quickly and in the fourteenth century Caffa was one of the most important economic centers not only in Eastern Europe, but in the whole Mediterranean as well. When the Ottomans finally conquered it in 1475, Caffa was probably one of the largest European cities. In this period, which covers roughly two centuries, the Genoese maintained their rule over a city in which non-Latin population was increasingly growing. The preserved documents shed some light upon the way these different communities lived and interacted together in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

Using available published source material, the goals of this paper are as follows:

- To briefly examine the patterns of economic behavior of the different ethnic groups as they appear in notarial deeds, which form the bulk of the available source material;
- To examine how the Genoese treated the Oriental population in their statutory laws and administrative correspondence, and thus,
- To show the Genoese tolerance towards the other ethnic groups and to discover the reasons for this attitude, but also:
- To compare Caffa with other parts of the Mediterranean and with Genoa's great rival – Venice, which will show two different answers to the problem of how to deal with the Others so as to have profitable business in the East.

Finally, the purpose of the paper is to demonstrate that business interests in the Middle Ages could bring different ethnic and religious groups closer to each other. Moreover, it also aims at demonstrating the limits of this policy of tolerance, in order to show the peculiarity of a medieval cosmopolitan city, which was similar but at the same time different from a modern one.

“GREEK” MERCHANTS IN THE SAXON TOWNS OF TRANSYLVANIA IN THE LATE MIDDLE AGES

Maria Pakucs (Bucharest/Budapest)

The Saxon towns of southern Transylvania, namely Bra^oov (Brassó/Kronstadt) and Sibiu (Nagyszeben/Hermannstadt) developed into major economic centers of the commercial traffic between Central Europe and the Balkan Peninsula, having Wallachia as a significant trading partner within a regional trade. Strongly supported by the economic policy of Ludovic of Anjou, these two towns, in 1369 and 1378 respectively, were granted privileges against all foreign merchants arriving at their markets. Diplomatic sources, however, give the impression that the staple right was held important particularly in connection with traders coming from Wallachia, who were dealing in the what is called “oriental trade”.

The staple right was closely connected with:

1. mandatory roads, the official roads as opposed to the *vias falsas*
2. customs points
3. the mandatory deposit of goods
4. the exclusive sale of the merchandise wholesale
5. the *Vorkaufrecht* of the local (Saxon) merchants.

The towns organized the necessary framework for the proper functioning of all mechanisms needed for the staple and made sure to regulate how the goods brought by foreign merchants were sold and bought in the town. Beginning with the sixteenth century, the foreign merchants par excellence were the Wallachian and “Greek” (i.e. Ottoman subjects living in Wallachia). Both Bra^oov and Sibiu established a merchants’ house (*Wirt*), a sort of a *fondaco* for these Wallachian and “Greek” merchants. This presentation will focus on how these merchants’ houses functioned and on how the town notables strove to control the exchange of goods between foreign and local merchants.

The reluctance of the Transylvanian Saxon towns to accept foreigners in their community is a more complex issue and will not be treated in depth, however it must be mentioned that this closedness of the cities was very strict towards certain foreigners and very permeable to others. I will illustrate this point with examples of foreign families, although of German origin, which managed to enter the upper layers of the social structures of these towns and occupy leading positions in their government within the first generation. The success story of the Haller family is one of the most significant ones.

LABOR MIGRATION IN WESTERN EUROPE AFTER THE BLACK DEATH: ABANDON OR INTEGRATION?

Robert Braid (Paris)

Migration patterns and policy in Western Europe experienced a dramatic change in the fourteenth century. In the pre-plague era, urban labor markets tended to be relatively closed. Local authorities sought to keep out foreign workers who might jeopardize both the quality of workmanship and the balance of supply and demand. The Black Death changed all this quite radically. Many literary sources describe the Black Death as causing unprecedented breakdown of social ties and increased mobility. Husbands left wives, parents abandoned children, servants deserted masters. Workers in particular began to migrate with greater frequency and over longer distances in order to take advantage of the favorable imbalance on the labor market and seek out higher wages. This increased mobility brought together people from different regions and forced authorities to deal with new questions of migration and immigration.

Many ordinances promulgated by both central and local authorities indicate that labor migration became a major problem in the post-plague era and included measures to prevent such mobility. Yet other statutes from the period, and sometimes from the very same governments, seem to encourage certain types of labor migration. Some historians observe increased numbers of foreigners mentioned in labor contracts after the plague and consider employment a means of social integration. My presentation will analyze the labor policies of various authorities relative to mobility and migration, and try to establish to what extent these policies helped or hindered social integration of foreigners.

IMMIGRANTS IN EARLY TUDOR LONDON

Andrea Velich (Budapest)

Immigration to London in the Late Middle Ages played a major role in the demographic development of the city. Under the Tudors, the population of London rose from about 50,000 to about 200,000 between 1485 and 1603, at a disproportionately faster rate than the overall English population growth from 3 million to 4.5 million in the same period. Immigrants flooded London as they thought that “the roads to London were paved with gold,” i.e. with possibilities, and thus caused difficulties both for the kings and the municipal authorities.

If we examine early Tudor documents of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century (The Repertories of the Court of Aldermen, of the Common Council, the Letter Books, guild and parish records, and wills) we can differentiate three broad categories among the immigrants or aliens: foreigners, denizens (who provided a permanent source of income both for the city and the court with their regularly reissued royal patent) and countrymen. Of course, these different groups represented different values and interests and the London authorities took different measures against (rarely for) them. Stow and Hall speak about the ever-growing number of “vagrants” from the country, but recent research has found no record of these dangerous wandering gangs, except for young artisans looking for jobs and entering town, preferably alone for better chances.

Some immigrants, especially skilled artisans like dyers and weavers, were welcome for their skills, while others, especially traders and merchants, were looked upon as potential rivals and were hindered and restricted in their activities. In the field of the textile and luxury industry there was a great demand for cheap, skilled artisans, thus we can see contradictory legislation both at state and municipal levels. The London Bakers provide an excellent example of this, as the nearby Stratford Bakers were banned from town unless demand made their work and bread necessary, then they were even offered an escort to town to feed hungry Londoners to prevent famine and disturbances.

The growing pressure of Londoners led to the passage of laws against foreigners, but in reality they were not banned from the town and were rather tolerated as settlers in nearby suburbs with inferior standing as they meant profit for the Londoners. For the liverymen especially, the elite of late medieval London society with whom they ran joint enterprises more and more often tolerated them. For instance, E. Shorle, a London merchant who worked with a Hansa merchant and a country merchant, settled in the London suburb of Southwark in 1504 and were were fined by the mayor of London, but not banned from town. However, there were more severe restrictions aimed at stopping the flood of poor immigrant beggars, who were feared both for their diseases and the social burden the involved. Executing restrictions was all the more difficult as often even the mayor of London himself had a counter-vested interest in doing business with foreigners, for instance, Mayor of London Sir John Shaa, who rented and ran a dyehouse with George Morelly from Lucca.

Considering the laws and measures taken against immigrants we see a highly diversified picture. The first impression created seems to be discrimination and a series of restrictions preventing them from being apprentices, settling in different districts (where they were strictly checked on, eg. the host or hostess had to report the arrival of a foreign guest to the mayor and aldermen within 24 hours and taverns and inns were not allowed to accommodate foreigners for more than three days). However, immigrants were gradually provided some rights: from 1480 they could reclaim debts, from 1484 they could claim compensation if burgled, from 1547 they could sue in English courts, from 1552 they could rent property freely and could legally make wills. By 1500, at the reception of Katherine of Aragon to London, foreigners were even allowed to take part in lining the London streets; although they had to line the poorer eastern parts of the city their presence was made clear as well as their subdued role in society visually emphasized.

Nevertheless, the London guilds made many complaints against foreigners to the municipal authorities. In most cases the guilds complained about inferior quality of goods and weights and measures. Among the complainants were the fishmongers and the goldsmiths blaming foreign competition for not keeping the correct measures, but a few of the guilds, like the tailors, acknowledged the superior skills of their foreign rivals, thus claiming that foreign craftsmen could be employed if it served the reputation of their guild. Some of the guilds explained banning 'foreign labour' with social reasons, eg. the pinner said that the foreign pinner did not pay alms to old or sick guild members, and the goldsmiths referred to the decaying friendliness of guild "community spirit". The London marblers claimed that the amount of fraud increased because of the wave of immigrants flooding their city. Certainly it was more difficult to check on people and fraud when there were joint enterprises. Although the number of immigrants kept rising, the general impression we get from contemporary documents of the overwhelming presence of foreign artisans and merchants might be attributed to their segregation.

In times of crisis there were even attacks on foreigners; after the ill-famous 1381 attack, when the Flemish weavers were attacked during the peasant revolt, in the Tudor era there were three attacks, in 1493 the Hansa merchants were attacked at their headquarters, the Steelyard, as a result of the commercial decline during the Anglo-Burgundian embargo, then in 1517 the French secretary was attacked in his London home during the Anglo-French war, and finally in 1595, when foreigners became targets during and because of crop failure and famine. Although the kings and London authorities tried to prevent attacks and disturbances by providing basic food and drink besides peace and favourable working and trading conditions (Henry VII is known for keeping peace and his several commercial treaties with neighboring countries), from time to time this was not enough.

Therefore, London authorities claimed that restrictions against foreign immigrants were inevitable. On the one hand, they passed laws and took measures against immigrants for economic and social reasons under pressure from both the crown and the guilds, while as the merchant elite of the country and London they did not want to encourage competition in trade. On the other hand, as employers and early capitalist

entrepreneurs, they had some vested interest in increasing the labour market to loosen the limited profit margins of the tight medieval guild structure. Thus the series of steps Londoners took in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century were from time to time either against the royal legislation or in line with it depending on the interest of the city, even leading to tension and conflict with the crown.

I find these series of contradictory measures by the London guilds and authorities as well as by the court significant enough to elaborate on in my paper. Among these and other interesting issues I am looking for answers to the following questions: How did the mayors and aldermen of London walk a tightrope between these two contradictory spheres of interest? And how did this result in further enterprise and point in the direction of the rise of capitalism in England?

THE VISUAL IMAGE OF THE OTHER IN MEDIEVAL URBAN SPACE: PATTERNS AND CONSTRUCTION

Gerhard Jaritz (Krems/Budapest)

To recognize and to be recognized may be seen as one of the main criteria of medieval culture and communication. This holds particularly true with regard to the perception and construction of signs of social equality and differences, of oneself and others, with the help of outer appearance. Dress, accessories, gestures, and so on, that is, generally all kinds and aspects of the language of material signs and its dialects made the creation and utilization of identification marks possible.

The pictures of the late Middle Ages especially, which were often produced in and for urban space, allow the recognition and discussion of the representation of such visual signs and means of social identification of the members of diverse groups of medieval society. There, the well-known matters of contrast were used regularly. The difference and opposition of acceptance and rejection, of integration and segregation, of positive and negative, of the good and the bad played an important role. Material patterns were created that often could be generally applied for such categorization. These were clearly more relevant than any type of individual identification, which one may regularly find in the written text that was used as the basis for the visual representation.

Identification through images meant for general categorization was made possible and done through the representation of specific objects of outer appearance, with color and shape, with the opposition of light and dark, with orientalization or its imagination, with body language and gesture, and so on. In this way, an idealized knowledge about oneself and the other was created and intensified; this made it possible to evaluate, to connote, and to recognize cases that made necessary the identification of others and of the members of one's own group.

INTEGRATION THROUGH RELIGION? DONATIONS FOR THE HOSPITALS OF MEDIEVAL BRATISLAVA

Judit Majorossy (Budapest)

This paper aims at presenting some conclusions drawn mainly from fifteenth-century civic wills of Bratislava (Pozsony/Pressburg) and, to a certain extent, its close neighbouring town, Sopron (Ödenburg). More than six hundred wills from Bratislava and the so-called account book of its Saint Ladislav hospital, two hundred and fifty wills from Sopron, and five accounting documents, also from Sopron during this period were investigated with regard to some specific questions.

Firstly, the number, location and status/dominance of the hospitals are discussed and compared among the towns, that is, how these charitable institutions were physically integrated into the life of the towns. Secondly, analysing the data collected from last wills raised another question, namely, what place the hospitals occupied in people's minds, and what the ratio of donations given to them was in comparison with other ecclesiastical institutions in the town, that is, how were the hospitals mentally integrated into the life of the towns. Moreover, the issue of how the poor were handled outside these institutions is also investigated (mainly the so-called household poor, but also the poor relatives, priests, students, etc.). The nationality and social status of the donators as well as the inmates of the hospitals will also be discussed, although only insofar as information is available in the wills themselves.

Altogether, the central question of the paper is: On the basis of their special function, to what extent and in which social segment, were hospitals integrated into the life of these two towns?

JEWES IN EARLY MEDIEVAL TOWNS AS DESCRIBED BY GREGORY OF TOURS

Mónika Mezei (Budapest)

The position of Jews in Merovingian towns in the second half of the sixth century is examined through the only extensive narrative source of the period, the *Libri Decem Historiarum* written by Gregory of Tours. Though Gregory himself does not deal much with this particular question his description is important for us because of the general scarcity of sources in that time.

In the *Libri Decem Historiarum* we can perceive the daily life of the Jewish communities in cities through Gregory's eyes: their clothing, behaviour, and religious customs. It is clear that Jews formed a quite closed and separate community within towns, though, of course, it does not mean that they had another living space separated from that of the Christian population.

As a consequence of their separation there were many conflicts between them and the Christians. This presentation will focus on and discuss the conflicts faced by the population of the cities as well as the reasons Gregory gives for their outbursts.

Based on the written stories of the *Libri Decem Historiarum*, it can be ascertained that almost all the conflicts happened around the great Christian feasts (Easter, Pentecost), and one of the reasons is to be found in the psychology of the crowds gathering for such religious celebrations.

The disaffection of the Jews was provoked by the Christian attempts at converting them by force. One of the most famous cases happened in 576 in Clermont-Ferrand and was led by a bishop called Avitus. This and similar other actions did not help the peaceful co-existence and overture of the two religious groups. It is also worth examining Gregory's standpoint on the issue.

Another source besides from Gregory's work is an epic that concerns the life of the Jewish people at that time. The poems of Venantius Fortunatus, although produced at Gregory's request, represent a different point of view about the conversion of the Jews in Clermont-Ferrand.

A JEWISH CONSPIRACY IN WROCLAW IN 1453

Hanna Zaremska (Warsaw)

On May 2, 1453, the civic authorities of Wroclaw ordered the imprisonment of all the Jews and the confiscation of their properties (source No. 1). In a letter of June 22, addressed to the authorities and all the inhabitants of Silesia, King Ladislas V (the "Posthumous") entitled his emissaries to arrest all Jews accused of desecrating the host and to confiscate their property throughout the entire province (source No. 2). Between July 24 and August 13, 1453, Jews were burnt at the stake in Wroclaw and Swidnica, others died in the fire at the prison in Legnica, and persecutions also affected the Jewish communities in Jawor, Strzegom, Lwówek, Dzierzoniów, and Olesnica. In 1455 the king ordered all Jews to leave Wroclaw. A similar decision was made in Swidnica and several smaller places. From a report made by the inquisitor Grzegorz Heyncze in 1464 it follows that in that period there were also no converts left in Silesia. The dynamics of the persecutions shows the determination of the judges and suggests that they believed they were struggling against one and the same crime committed collectively, i.e. they thought Jews from various Silesian towns had been cooperating.

The events which took place in Silesia in 1453 are well documented. The source material consists of the correspondence between the king and the authorities of Wroclaw, the letters of the royal plenipotentiaries (source No. 3), fragments of the defendants' depositions (sources No. 4a, 4b), registers of the Jewish properties confiscated in various towns (source No. 1), a detailed story of Jews capturing the host, including a description of their execution in Wroclaw – probably written for the use of priests (source No. 5), preaching exempla (sources No. 6, 7), passages from the life of John Capistran, records in annals and chronicles (source No. 8). Even though far from being coherent, this documentation allows us to see how the popular conviction of Jewish conspiracy against Christians was reflected in the legal proceedings, biased the investigation and persecution and inspired attempts (not always successful) to extend it to Jews from other regions.

ON THE ORIGINS OF THE WALLED JEWISH QUARTER OF MARRAKESH

Emily R. Gottreich (Berkeley)

Informed by recent trends and debates in the field of Islamic Urban Studies, this paper proposes an integrated approach to the ethnic quarter generally and Jewish space specifically within the context of Moroccan urban history. It does this by arguing that Moroccan society (like any society) acts on its environment in real, readable ways, one of which is the disposition of space. The ethnic quarter, long considered the foundation of city life in the Arab-Islamic world, is one such space. Of the 24 quarters (*hawma*) that historically comprised Marrakesh, few were more explicitly “ethnic” than the *mellah*, the Jewish quarter, at least insofar as the Jews have long constituted Morocco’s only indigenous religious minority. Thus an inquiry into the circumstances of the *mellah*’s creation – exactly when and why it came into being – not only reveals valuable information about the relationship between Jews and Muslims (as well as many resident Christians) in a major Moroccan capital and trade emporium, it also more broadly suggests that Jewish space can be read as a manifestation of the underlying social order of the so-called “Islamic city” model. As such, the *mellah* is not merely an exception to the model’s rule of religious homogeneity, as many scholars of Moroccan urban history suggest, but rather must be understood as an organic expression of its logic.

Ultimately, the *mellah*’s origins are found to be inextricable from the evolution of the Sa’dis, the dynasty responsible for single-handedly transforming Marrakesh from what Le Tourneau called “a phantom capital, a moribund city of nostalgia” (Deverdun, 1959) into one of the largest and most glorious capitals in all sixteenth-century Africa, and themselves into *Marrakshi*-s par excellence in the process. As this paper goes on to show, the creation of the *mellah* played an integral part in both of these transformations. It was intertwined with all the exigencies of sharifian rule in Marrakesh: tumultuous relations with Europe and locally resident Europeans, particularly the Iberians; the struggle for legitimacy against the prevailing image of Fassi orthodoxy; the creation of a royal capital worthy of the title. Though locally manifest, the origins of the *mellah* are also shown to be linked to many of the larger historical themes of the Mediterranean world in the sixteenth century. A general rise in population, the expulsion of Jews and Muslims from Spain, and the gradual institutionalization of the walled Jewish quarter all had a hand in its creation. Moreover, once in existence, the *mellah* continued to reverberate with the defining events of the period. Epidemics, famines, and earthquakes did not stop at its gate, nor were the opportunities of the trans-Saharan trade or the early mercantilist exchanges with Europe foregone by the *mellah*’s capable merchants.

The paper concludes by outlining how the Jews of Marrakesh not only withstood the difficulties of relocation, but also managed to invest the *mellah* with Jewish meaning, transforming it into Morocco’s “*capitale juive*.” Firmly grounded in space and endowed with meaning by its early history, the *mellah* gave Marrakesh Jewry a distinctive locus –

indeed a home – from which they would interact with the rest of the city, region, country, and even the larger Mediterranean, European, and Jewish worlds for the next four centuries.

NOBILES, CIVES ET POPOLARI: THE POPULATION OF THE FOUR TOCCO TOWNS (FOURTEENTH TO FIFTEENTH CENTURIES)

Nada Zeèevia (Belgrade/Budapest)

Around the mid-fourteenth century, the Neapolitan family of the Tocco established themselves on Ionian islands, ruled until then by the family Orsini and the Neapolitan Angevins. During the rule of Carlo I Tocco (b. c. 1375 – d. 1429), the family's power spread to the continental regions of Epiros, which was a Greek-oriented territory with strong claims for autonomy and independence.

The Greek Tocco possessions, although mostly of rural character and organized either according to the western feudal model or the Byzantine *pronia* system, also included several towns, the most significant being St. Maure (Leukas), St. George (Kefalonia), Arta, and Ioannina. All were different from each other in their geographical location, architectural organization, and functions. Also, their urban character was not as apparent as that of the nearby Adriatic towns, widely known for their institutions, concentration of power in the circle of the urban elite (automatically implying a degree of social conflict), personal freedom of the majority of population, and (relative) independence from aliens (Krekia 1987). Yet documentary identification of the four Tocco towns as *civitas/polis* clearly demonstrates that they cannot be perceived only as seigniorial castles (*castrum/kastron*). Several features further point to the differentiation of the four towns from both the town-castles of the Tocco Neapolitan background (Benaiteau 1997) and those of their new Greek-Frankish surrounding. These included elements of independent decision-making in internal and external affairs, elements of monetary economy, and remarkable heterogeneity in the towns' populations, in ethnic groups (Greeks, Franks/Italians, Slavs, Albanians, Jews, Spanish, others), religious groups (Orthodox, Catholic, Jews), socio-professional groups (tripartite division into *nobiles, cives* and *popolari*, but also into *archontes*, soldiers, clergy, merchants/craftsmen and indigent), and in terms of wealth (rich, middle class, poor).

Researching the political, administrative, and juridical position of the towns' populations in the light of insider relationships (among various population groups) and relationships with outsiders (the ruling family and other foreigners), this paper investigates how the processes of integration and segregation influenced the urban character of the four towns during their subjection to a magnate family of foreign origin. The results of the inquiry yielded four principal conclusions. Firstly, the relationship between the towns and the Tocco family cannot be described as a simple subjection of their inhabitants (who received certain privileges in exchange for their consent to the family's rule), and it went through several stages, from initial harmony to final feelings of conflict in some parts of the urban elites towards the ruling family. Secondly, the Tocco restrained and dismantled the existing urban elites, mostly by confronting the Greek Orthodox secular town-based nobility with their clerical and alien counterparts, and also by favoring merchants and soldiers, among whom many were foreigners. Thirdly, the *de*

facto powers of the new Greek privileged circle were very limited, not only with respect to the ruling family, but also to the privileged Frankish/Italian military nobility. Finally, the favored Greek urban elites received particular attention from the family, mostly during the Tocco conflicts with their neighbors, which further suggests that the socio-political varieties of the four Tocco towns cannot be regarded as consequences of spontaneous urban development due to loose state organization (as demonstrated by *Årkoviæ* 1987, for Bosnian and Serbian towns), but rather as direct consequences of Tocco regional politics.

FOREIGN ETHNIC GROUPS IN THE TOWNS OF SOUTHERN HUNGARY

István Petrovics (Szeged)

It is a general statement of Hungarian urban historical research that foreign guests (*hospites*) contributed greatly to the creation of medieval towns in the Middle Danube Basin. In the eleventh and twelfth centuries the guests came primarily from Flanders, northern France (Walloons), Lorraine, and Lombardy. Hungarian sources refer to them as *Latini* (*Latins*) or *Gallici* and *Italici*. They were followed in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries by Germans (*Teutonici* and *Saxones*). From the second half of the thirteenth century German ascendancy became obvious in most of the towns of the Hungarian kingdom. It is important to note, however, that from the thirteenth century onward the term *hospes* referred primarily not to *foreign immigrants*, but to persons who during the process of colonisation had acquired a special legal status and were not necessarily of foreign origin.

This paper investigates the complex question of town development in the southern parts of the Hungarian kingdom. The conclusion is that urban growth in this region differed to a certain extent from the general pattern of Hungarian medieval town development, and that the number and impact of foreign settlers was not so significant in the southeastern part of Hungary as in other regions of the realm. This conclusion is based on the author's research into the history of the following towns: Pécs, Szeged, Cenad (Csanád), Timișoara (Temesvár) and Lipova (Lippa). He also makes efforts in order to clarify the role of Cumans, Serbians and Rumanians in the life of south Hungarian towns.

BUDA: THE MULTI-ETHNIC CAPITAL OF MEDIEVAL HUNGARY

András Vég (Budapest)

At the time of Buda's foundation (1244) most of the citizens were German; the number and economic importance of the Hungarian citizens lagged far behind. From the last quarter of the fourteenth century, the struggle for power between the Germans and Hungarians increased, to be settled finally in 1439 by a treaty covering a parity-based division of power. From that time on the judge was elected alternately from the Germans and the Hungarians, and the council of the city consisted of six German and six Hungarian aldermen. At the same time, the church of the Hungarians, St. Mary Magdalene's, became an independent parish and got its own parish boundaries. Despite the lack of statistical data, it can be inferred that the changes were facilitated by demographic and social changes, that is, an increase in the number of Hungarian inhabitants and their economic and social power. This process can also be observed in changes in topography.

In the earliest sources Germans are mentioned almost exclusively as house-owners. Searching for this information is difficult, since the survival of source materials has been rather accidental, but it is worth mentioning that houses owned by Germans are known from all over the city, their distribution on Castle Hill was even, and in some instances they occurred in the suburbs as well. This supports the conclusion that in the beginning, when the plots were distributed, the Germans were present all over the *castrum* and they did not live separately from the Hungarians because of the latter's small number.

The sources and data from the second half of the fifteenth and the first quarter of the sixteenth centuries show a different picture. In that period most German citizens dwelt in the streets around the marketplace north of the St. John and St. Sigismund Gates or to the north up to the boundaries of the two parish churches of Our Lady (the parish church of the Germans) and St. Mary Magdalene. The same situation can be observed in St. Nicholas Street, in the 'Italian' Street, and in All Souls Street. Of course, exceptions can be found, too, and there were some areas where Hungarian inhabitants could be found in the German part of the city as well. Nevertheless, it can be stated that in the late Middle Ages the two leading ethnic groups of the city were separated from each other in parallel with the division of the two parish churches and the division of executive power. Regarding the process as a whole, we can say that within the walled town on the hilltop, the Germans drew back to the central part of their former territory, to St. George Square and its neighbourhood, whereas the Hungarians inhabited the whole northern part of the *castrum*. There are few data for the suburbs, therefore it is difficult to give a fair picture. Nevertheless, it can be said that at the end of the Middle Ages beside the significant number of Hungarians there were still German people living, especially within the parish boundary of the Church of Our Lady, and they could also be found near the parish church of St Peter Martyr.

The two other minorities, the Jews and the Italians, were small in number, and they could be found, with a few exceptions, exactly along the streets or street sections named after them. The Italian long-distance traders used to live in the middle of the *castrum* between the two main market places, supposedly from the fourteenth century on, although there are hardly any data on their house-ownership. According to previous scholarship, they did not strive to obtain citizenship in Buda and did not take part in ruling the city. However, this seems somewhat contradictory because according to the regulations of the city they could not have owned houses without being citizens, and in fact, the Italian owners of houses mentioned in charters were all citizens of Buda.

As for the Jewish ownership of houses, there are even less data than in the case of the Italians, despite the fact that they are known to have been present since the foundation of the city. There are two street names indicating their changing living quarters. At first, Jews' Street was the name of the street leading southwards from the Jewish Gate. Even if there are no data of Jewish house-ownership from here, the synagogue is known, therefore we can infer that there could have been a small community around it. Sources related to the later Jews' Street, which ran between the Saturday Gate and the old royal house in the northeastern part of the *castrum*, date back only as far as the second quarter of the fifteenth century, and they exclusively mention the plot of the later synagogue. There is no further information on other real estate; it was only after Sultan Süleyman I expelled the Jews from the city that sources increase related to the donation of the former houses of the Jews. Eleven private properties are known. The houses were built in a block, but they were not strictly separated from the houses of Christians. For example, there was a house that had two gates, one opening to the two sides of the block, one to Jews' Street and the other to St. Paul Street.

VARIOUS ETHNIC AND RELIGIOUS GROUPS IN MEDIEVAL GERMAN TOWNS? SOME EVIDENCE AND REFLECTIONS

Felicitas Schmieder (Frankfurt am Main)

The question posed in this workshop about “segregation, integration, and assimilation” of religious and ethnic minorities in medieval towns is rarely asked in German urban history. Except for the Jews – whose existence and diminishing acceptability was intensively discussed in Medieval Latin Europe – religious minorities were not to be tolerated in principle, and only on the rim in practice, for the time being. No Muslims or heathens, no heretics or even schismatics lived in German towns if we look to official or unofficial perceptions.

There is more chance of finding evidence when it comes to ethnic groups. After considering briefly the possible definitions of ethnicity, linguistic or legal, in this context, the paper will turn to some examples of ethnic minorities that were really to be found – different in time, situation, and status. When urban centres developed in the high Middle Ages, very often people of different legal status and sometimes explicitly different ethnic origin migrated together.

This initial difference was widely levelled out in the further legal and social development of many towns. Linguistic and even ethnically defined differences remained, however, or were renewed time and again at the edges of the “German” area, close to the “Sprachgrenze” between Germans and Romance-language speaking inhabitants, and in the former Slavic regions, where Germans and “others” lived side by side permanently. While the existence of Slavic minorities in the East created legal and social discrimination in the later Middle Ages, no such problem seems to have existed in the West and South, at the Roman-German frontier. A short glance over the frontiers, on Germans in foreign urban environments of different kinds, may provide hints to what would have been possible in terms of German experiences as well as possible explanations.

In the later Middle Ages, also, immigration created ethnic minority groups, among them a Romance-language speaking minority in the West of Germany. These were the so-called Lombards or “Cawerschen”, money-lenders with a special legal status who were often driven away in the fifteenth century, together with the Jews.

At this point we might finally discover a type of religious minority not yet considered. The Lombards, living permanently in a town, were usually not accepted as members of the local parish, but discriminated against. On the other hand, foreign merchants, who regularly visited the important markets and created a kind of welcome recurrent minority group, could and would not become members of the parish, and built up their own religious communities in foreign towns.

RUSSIANS IN LIVONIAN TOWNS IN THE THIRTEENTH AND FOURTEENTH CENTURIES

Anti Selart (Tartu)

Medieval Livonia, the territory in Northeastern Europe corresponding approximately to the present-day republics of Estonia and Latvia, was conquered by crusaders during the thirteenth century. Towns were among the new institutions introduced in Livonia by the crusaders. Because most of the crusaders, new vassals, clergy, and so on, were of German origin, the towns were also German-like municipalities with Middle Low German-speaking merchant elites. Three “big” Livonian towns Riga (Latvian: Rīga), Reval (Estonian: Tallinn), and Dorpat (Estonian: Tartu) became members of the Hanseatic League and played important roles in the Hanseatic trade with Russia. The majority of the urban population was, however, of local origin. The lower classes were called “Non-German” to contrast them with the “German” upper classes. Legislative discrimination against “Non-Germans” developed after the fourteenth century. The third group of the population in Livonian towns in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries was Russians. Their percentage was rather small and there were two groups of Russians: people settled permanently in Livonian towns and having the rights of citizenship and property, and Russian merchants visiting Riga, Reval, Dorpat and other towns.

Riga and Reval had Russian Orthodox churches in the Middle Ages and Dorpat even had two Russian churches. The owners of the churches were Russian merchants from Novgorod, Pskov, and Polotsk, thus the churches actually played the role of merchant agencies (*factoratus*). It seems that in Reval the Russian church had no connections with few local Russians; in Riga and Dorpat the Russian churches were perhaps also some kind of center of the local Russian community. In Riga and Dorpat a part of the town around the Orthodox churches was named “Russian Square”. However, at least in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, when we have some records of it, it was only a toponym. In Riga the Russians had their property in all regions of the town, and in the “Russian Square” there were many German house-owners as well. The percentage of citizens of Russian origin in the Livonian towns can be estimated at about one to three percent. Among the Russians in Livonia were merchants, shopkeepers, handicraftsmen, laborers, and so on.

In fifteenth and sixteenth century sources we no longer find so many Russians permanently settling in the Livonian towns. I suggest that the reason for this was the development of the cartel functions of craft organizations after the fourteenth century. The life of urban citizens had strong ties with the Catholic Church, too. Thus the emancipation of the Russians meant assimilation, depending on their social status, into the upper “German” or lower “Non-German” classes. The Russians were not numerous enough to have independent significance as a social class or ethno-social group.

LIVING IN A MULTIETHNIC COMMUNITY: ASPECTS OF URBAN LIFE IN LATE MEDIEVAL AND EARLY MODERN LVIV

Olha Kozubska (Lviv/Budapest)

Lviv (Lemberg) was founded as a stronghold against the Mongols in the mid-thirteenth century. Its history is a clear-cut example of how a princely stronghold involved in the system of long-distance trade developed into a fully-fledged town during the late thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The location of Lviv on the trade route between the Baltic and the Black Seas resulted in the presence of merchants' colonies and determined the multi-ethnic character of the town, which became the main trading centre of Red Rus'. Its heyday came with obtaining full staple rights confirmed by King Louis I of Hungary in 1380.

The presence of foreign settlers can be traced from the late thirteenth century. A tombstone dated to 1298 serves as a *terminus ante quem* for the presence of Armenians, and probably Jews came at approximately the same time. A charter from 1352 mentioning the first advocatus (*Voht*) Bertold Steher shows that a community under German law consisting of Germans and possibly of Bohemians, Poles, and Hungarians already existed in Lviv at the beginning of the fourteenth century. These groups, representing ethnic minorities in relation to the dominant Ruthenian population, were located within the "old Princely" centre of the town.

Around the mid-fourteenth century, the town centre shifted from the "old town" to the "new" ("German") town. The emergence of the latter is usually connected to the earliest preserved Magdeburg law privilege (1356) issued by King Cazimir the Great of Poland. The town's multi-ethnic character was reflected in urban topography through the presence of "ethnic streets" in the new town: Jewish (first mentioned in 1382), Tartar (1382, 1405), Armenian (1441), Ruthenian (1470). These streets indicated the ethnic and legal differentiation of the urban community.

From the mid-fourteenth century, after Red Rus' was incorporated into the Kingdom of Poland, the adoption of the German (Magdeburg) law became part of a broad colonisation programme of Polish kings. At that time this legal system lost its "ethnic" character and became the basis for the life of urban communities of re-formed Ruthenian towns. The German law that developed within Latin civilisation and was originally connected to Catholic Christianity now spread in the territory dominated by Orthodoxy. Moreover, it was an intrinsic feature of Magdeburg law that it favoured newcomers in contrast to autochthons. Therefore, it is not a coincidence that the autochthonous population, the Ruthenians, appeared to be a "minority" within the town walls of Lviv. The multi-ethnic urban community of the town was alien to the ethnically and religiously homogenous countryside. However, the first preserved Lviv privilege for Magdeburg law (1356) did not yet have a particularly "segregation character". It was granted *toti civitati predictae et omnibus habitantibus et commorantibus in ea*,

while *aliis gentibus habitantibus in eadem civitate, videlicet Ormenis, Iudeis, Saracenis, Ruthenis* were allowed to use their own laws (although the Magdeburg law had supremacy).

The history of the co-existence of different ethnic groups in late medieval towns of Red Rus' demonstrates very different practices – from total exclusion of “the others” (i.e. non-Catholics) to full equality for all groups. The level of accessibility to rights and benefits of the German law for non-Catholics depended on the number of Catholics in a town and their position. Every town had its own experience in dealing with the problem of segregation and in its efforts to harmonise the life of a heterogeneous urban community. In general, the direction of changes was towards overcoming segregation and towards the elimination of the exclusive character of the town law. Nevertheless, ethnos and religion were the most important criteria of social stratification of the urban population in Ruthenian towns, and Lviv is a prominent example of this.

The sources for this paper are related to the exclusion of the non-Catholic population (Ruthenians) from certain fields of urban life and economy. The sources mostly state the prohibition on obtaining real estates (houses) in the most prestigious part of the town – the Market Square. With staple rights and privileges of economic character, Lviv secured the status of commercial emporium. The exclusive commercial rights of Lviv citizens made it necessary for foreign merchants to seek local citizenship. This may be an explanation of the demand for property in the town. In addition, the local population – Ruthenians from the surrounding countryside – were coming to Lviv, thus increasing the number of this group in the town.

LEGAL PLURALISM AND SOCIAL CONTROL: HARWICH'S COURT LEET IN LATE-MEDIEVAL ENGLAND

DeLloyd Guth (Manitoba)

In this paper I present a quantitative analysis of the annual local law court for Harwich, a small port town at the mouths of the Stour and Orwell Rivers. Its leet court records survive completely from 1441 to 1518, identifying who operated the court (i.e., the persons serving as presentment jurors), who the defendants were (i.e., by class, gender and employment), and what offenses were and were not prosecuted (i.e., market, manufacturing and social). This defines the variety of uses that local people made of their law, alongside and in competition with the law applied to them from “outside” (i.e., the jurisdictional pluralism presented by church and royal courts). Such legal realities reveal how law acted to “segregate” persons through judgments and punishments, as well as to “integrate” them by enforced conformity to local customary or universal religious or central secular standards (e.g., for price, quality and measurement controls over bread, beer or personal status and enforceable obligations).

THE COLONIAL TOWNS OF WALES IN THE LATER MIDDLE AGES

Michael Richter (Constance)

The Western part of Britain, the area which in the early Middle Ages received the name 'Wales', had been part of the Roman Empire and as such had had *castella*, some remains of which have survived to the present day. The post-Roman society, British-Celtic speaking, was a rural society with agriculture and animal husbandry as their economy, with single farmsteads and hamlets as the predominant forms of settlement. The country was characterised by small-scale political units under the leadership of kings (W. Brenhin). In the early medieval centuries one sees no tendency towards political unification, on the contrary (W. Davies).

The Scandinavian invasions did lead to some permanent settlements along the coast which developed into trading stations (e.g. Swansea), but in general Wales did not appear to hold much attraction for the Vikings. A new phase in the course of Welsh history began with the arrival of the Normans after 1066, who at an early stage also began to settle in Wales, predominantly in the southern half. These Marcher Lords brought with them the idea of castles, which sometimes became subsequently the nuclei for later (small) towns. In the course of the thirteenth century the northern part of the country was gradually unified and the Principality of Wales emerged under Welsh leadership.

This in turn created the preconditions for a relatively easy military conquest by England, which was realised by Edward I between 1282 and 1284. The principality remained, even though under English rule. It was secured by strong castles, particularly along the coast, and subsequently by the establishment of boroughs. The Welsh population was largely excluded from these boroughs. The boroughs were one of several means of controlling the newly conquered territory. Some of these boroughs developed into major towns, but most remained subsequently quite insignificant. Still, they represent a lasting innovation in the settlement patterns of Wales.

REMEMBERING ISABELLE OF BAVARIA'S ENTRY INTO PARIS: THE "SEPARATE CITY (*VILLE SÉPARÉE*)" OF SAINT GERMAIN AND ITS GUILDS

Edna Ruth Yahil (Paris)

In February, 1273, Philip III issued a patent letter outlining and defining the abbey of Saint Germain des Prés' rights to temporal justice and demarcating the streets and territories under the abbey's jurisdiction. In 1296 the Parliament officially recognized Saint Germain as a city distinct from Paris when it ruled that the inhabitants of Saint Germain as well as those of Saint Marcel did not have to share in a 100,000 l. p. tax imposed on the city of Paris since they did not live in *faubourgs* (suburbs) but rather in independent territories and thus were not responsible for Parisian taxes.

As with the other ecclesiastical jurisdictions of Paris, the abbey's powers were not always clearly defined in the Middle Ages. Even residents of the bourg were often confused about the exact status of the land upon which they lived. By the beginning of the fifteenth century, many of the inhabitants of Saint Germain knew that they lived in an area that was separate and distinct from Paris despite its proximity, and this distinct self-identity lasted well into the seventeenth century. However, their knowledge of the unique role of Saint Germain stemmed not from forged Merovingian charters or decisions of the Parliament but rather from either social memory or practical experience relating to the world of work or to taxation.

During the course of a 1400 inquest held at the Châtelet concerning guilds, many inhabitants of the bourg testified as to whether Saint Germain was a city that was separate from Paris or simply a suburb. The witnesses diverged in their responses and some were unable to give definitive answers. All the witnesses were certain that Saint Germain was somehow distinct from Paris, but some, namely those who relied on their own memory of what they had heard and seen, either thought that Saint Germain was a *faubourg* or could not definitively state that it was separate from the city of Paris. The renowned historian Françoise Lehoux valued the testimony of certain witnesses over that of the men who were less clear about the legal status of the bourg Saint Germain, writing:

Si les charges et les privilèges des bourgeois de Saint-Germain sont différents de ceux des bourgeois de Paris, c'est évidemment que le bourg forme une ville absolument distinct de la capitale et dépend uniquement de l'abbaye qui lui a donné naissance.

I would argue, instead, that one cannot dismiss the vagaries of the testimonies of some of the witnesses and that in the early part of the fifteenth century not all the inhabitants of the bourg realized the significance of the Saint Germain's position. People who needed to know understood the special privileges accorded to the abbey and knew how they themselves could benefit from these privileges. Others, who did not directly benefit

from Saint Germain's unique position, may not have understood its significance. Over the course of the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, as the seigneurial court, Saint Germain's administrative and policing instrument, developed, the inhabitants of the bourg became more knowledgeable about the independence of Saint Germain and the privilege it bestowed upon them.

In this workshop, we shall consider the testimonies given before the Châtelet in 1400 (Archives Nationales de Paris, L 762 n. 1) in order to see how local inhabitants viewed Saint Germain and Paris in the beginning of the fifteenth century.

FOREIGNERS AND MINORITIES IN MEDIEVAL BULGARIAN TOWNS: WRITTEN AND ARCHAEOLOGICAL FRAGMENTS

Kazimir Popkonstantinov – Rossina Kostova (Veliko Trnovo)

A paper dealing with foreigners and minorities in a society must start with the notion of a “foreigner” and more generally, with the definition of the “other” developed and applied throughout the period under question. Unfortunately, the evidence for such a concept in Bulgarian medieval society is not so apparent and definitely not abundant. The aim of the present paper, however, is far from approaching this vast problem. Rather we will undertake the modest task of making a comprehensive presentation of the contribution of the “others” to the spatial and architectural appearance of Bulgarian medieval towns and the attitude of the natives towards foreigners and minorities there in light of the available written and archaeological data.

The statement of the archbishop of Ohrid, Demetrios Chomatenos (1216–1230), seems to provide the best statement of the problem. By answering the question whether the Armenians were free to built churches in Christian towns, he states that “...it is permitted and possible that Jews, Armenians, Ismalians, Agarians, and others... live free in the Christian towns, yet not together with the Christians, but separately.” To what extent may this reference to the status of the non-Greek-speaking population and the “infidels” on the territory of the Byzantine Empire be applied to the status of the ethnic and religious minorities in Bulgaria at that time?

Concerning the Jews, hagiographic works and dynastic history provide sufficient evidence of the influential position of the Jewish community in the capital of the Second Bulgarian Kingdom, Turnovgrad. On one hand, mass Jewish attacks against Christian churches and priests provoked the assembly of a Church Council in 1359, when three Jews were subjected to the court, and, on the other hand, Theodora-Sara, the second wife of Tsar John Alexander, was of a Jewish origin. Surviving material traces from the powerful Jewish community in Turnovgrad, however, are rather poor: an inscription in Hebrew and 15 graves at the northwest foot of the hill of Trapezitsa, occupied by the medieval town, are attributed to Jews. The literary evidence for a minority in a town, however, is not always confirmed by archaeological data and vice versa. For instance, a so-called *ascama* issued by the Jewish community in Vidin (a strong fortified town on the Danube) in 1376/1377 demonstrates considerable rights in practicing Jewish customs in deciding everyday legal cases. Not a scrap of evidence for the location and architectural setting of this powerful Jewish community in the town itself, however, is attested.

The presence of Armenian communities in Bulgarian medieval towns is also demonstrated by indicative, though scarce, sources. For instance, a marginal note from 1258 tells of an Armenian pope ordained in Turnovo who was given financial support by two Armenian laymen there. Local tradition about the existence of an Armenian church in the town is argued to have been confirmed through archaeological excavations in the late 1980's. The ruins of a church on the left bank of the river Jantra outside and south

of the fortress on the hill of Tsarevets have been identified as the medieval Armenian church.

While Jews and Armenians can be considered somewhat traditional minorities in medieval Bulgaria, the formation of Venetian and Genoese quarters in Bulgarian medieval towns must be seen as a result of the active economic and political role played by the two Italian cities in the eastern Balkans in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. However, while attesting the place and role of those communities in particular towns one faces the same discrepancy between written and material evidence. Thus, literary evidence indicates Venetian and Genoese quarters in a number of towns on the Western Black Sea coast (e.g. Varna, Messembria, Anhialo-Azilo, Sinopoli-Sizopoli, etc.), but no archaeological or toponymic evidence is available for the exact location of distinctive quarters or buildings related to those minorities in the towns. Only in Turnovo has local tradition transmitted to the present the memory of a medieval Latin quarter in the city, the so-called *Frank-hissar*.

The place of the late nomads (Cumans and Tatars) in Bulgarian medieval towns, either given or occupied, might seem to provide one more point of view towards the “others” in urban space. Besides the well-known and well-studied active role both Cumans and Tatars played in the political life of late medieval Bulgaria, however, one can hardly add anything more precise about the way they lived in Bulgarian towns, if they lived there at all. The few Bulgarian inscriptions found in towns (e. g. Preslav and Shumen in northeastern Bulgaria) referring to Cumans and Tatars show rather the fear and hostility of the locals. In contrast, various kinds of literary sources provide witness for the relatively high social position of Jews in the towns, as learned people, and for the numerous privileges of the Venetians and Genoese given them by the Bulgarian rulers.

In sum, if, following the formula of the title of the present workshop, we must find a keyword for defining the way foreigners and minorities were treated in medieval Bulgarian towns and in medieval Bulgarian society, we will choose the word “tolerance” as the most appropriate.

THE ETHNIC STRUCTURE OF THE MEDIEVAL CONTINENTAL TOWNS OF TODAY'S SLOVENIA

Boris Golec (Ljubljana)

The ethnic structure of Slovenia's towns has not been adequately dealt with in historiography. Although the assertions of nineteenth and twentieth century German publicists about the Germanic character of the towns built on Classical ruins have rightly been refuted, it seems as if Slovenian historians have lacked the strength and the will to proceed with analytical and comparative studies. The main obstacle lies no doubt in the sources which are all written in foreign languages, the older ones mostly in Latin, and a great majority of the others in German. It was in these languages that even the Slovenian first names (as well as the surnames, which began to appear in the late Middle Ages) were usually recorded.

This research comprises all continental towns (*civitates, Städte*) of today's Slovenia, 20 in number, which at the time in question belonged to the German Empire. (The three Romance language-speaking towns on the Bay of Trieste, in the Middle Ages part of the Venetian Republic, are not included.) This study is based on the analysis of the rare contemporary reports about the languages spoken in those towns and the townspeople's names, traced in the original documents, especially in the tax registers from about 1500. Findings relative to the linguistic situation in modern times are likewise taken into consideration.

This research has shown that that the ethnic-linguistic structure prevalent throughout modern times originated in the Middle Ages. All but two of the thirteen towns in Carniola were then distinctively Slovenian, whereas seven towns in the Slovenian part of Styria were much more heterogeneous (from predominantly Slovenian to distinctively German).

The third significant ethnic group, the Jews, disappeared from the Slovenian regions for several centuries just at the break from the Middle Ages to modern times. In 1496, Emperor Maximilian I expelled the already declining Jewish community from Styria and Carinthia, and in 1515 from Ljubljana (Carniola). The expulsion was simultaneous with a more extensive settlement of the Italians, i.e. the Italian merchants.

DIVERSIFIED DIFFERENCES: ETHNIC AND RELIGIOUS MINORITIES IN MEDIEVAL DUBROVNIK

Zdenka JanekoviæRömer (Zagreb)

The medieval society of Dubrovnik (Ragusa) displayed different criteria towards different cultural, religious, ethnic or professional groups, and also towards individuals, depending on their social status, origin, and behaviour. Full acceptance of the values and norms of the community enabled an individual to be fully accepted by that same community. Partial acceptance of established norms and values led to marginalization to a greater or lesser degree. Most welcome outsiders were those arriving from the neighbouring cities of Dalmatia and Italy, mainly craftsmen, merchants, and educated people. The Slavs, who, by the thirteenth century, increasingly outnumbered the rest of the population of Dubrovnik, were also generally approved of. The Republic was only cautious about Slavic rulers for fear of their political aspirations. Members of other European nations were equally welcome in the city unless they violated domestic laws and if they had been “of benefit to the Republic's welfare.”

A much firmer government policy was adopted on non-Catholic outsiders. In the Middle Ages and later Dubrovnik was a strong Catholic centre surrounded by religions other than its own: the heresy of the Patarens, Orthodoxy, Islam, and Judaism. The Patarens and the Orthodox Christians who found themselves within the borders of the Republic as a result of the new territorial acquisitions in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries were allowed to stay under the condition that they converted to Catholicism. Muslims, however, who arrived in Dubrovnik particularly after the Ottoman Empire had invaded Bosnia and thus immediately bordered the Republic, were not even allowed to stay in the city overnight. The Jews were the only religious community, apart from the Catholic, which could practise its religion freely in the Republic. The Jewish community acted independently, being a society within the society.

Non-Catholics could not be granted Dubrovnik citizenship, although everyday business and personal communication was marked by tolerance and openness irrespective of differences in religious identity. For example, the Statute included an article according to which heresy was to be punished by death, but the Patarens, adherents of the heretical Bosnian Church, traded regularly with the merchants of Dubrovnik and visited the city freely until the very last of the Bosnian Christians withdrew before the massive spread of Islam.

The attitude of medieval Dubrovnik towards foreigners was contradictory: the city offered protection to many people and prided itself on the rights of political asylum seekers and refugees. Though small and on the periphery of essentially different civilizations, the only way the Republic could maintain its identity and future was to keep these cultural differences beyond its own borders. The possibility of integration exhibited a high level of gradation in terms of religious or political identity, common civilizational features, and economic interests. Diversity was differentiated and under strong control.

HUNGARIAN TOWNS IN THE ACCOUNTS OF FOREIGN TRAVELLERS

Balázs Nagy (Budapest)

A good number of reports have survived from travellers who visited Hungary from the tenth to the fifteenth centuries or who had reliable information on the country. These persons arrived from various parts of the continent and were of different origins and religions, some being Christians, others Muslims or Jews. Having different traditions, they accordingly had different preconceptions of towns and urban life.

This paper starts from the hypothesis that a comparative analysis of their experience, as described in their reports, can help us not only to understand differences in the civilisations they were coming from, but also to gain more knowledge of the towns and the nature of urbanisation in the region.

The earliest distinct group of sources, mainly from the tenth and eleventh centuries, consists of the notes of Arab and Jewish travellers: Ibn Khordadbeh, Ibrahim Ibn Yaqub, and Abu Hamid Al-Gharnati,. The reports of crusaders who travelled through Central Europe from the eleventh to the thirteenth centuries constitutes the next group, Abbot Guibertus, Odo de Deoglio, and Bishop Otto of Freising being the most important among these. They arrived in a region inhabited by fellow Christians, but their remarks give some evidence of the special characteristics of local urbanisation. From the later Middle Ages more detailed reports have survived, e.g. the *Anonymi Descriptio Europae Orientalis* and the report of Bertrandon de la Brocquière.

On the basis of these authorities the paper will discuss the nature of the information the travellers recorded and the ethnic composition of urban society as they reflected it.

THE DUKE OF EGYPT AND THE EASTERLINGS: ASSIMILATION OR SEGREGATION OF IMMIGRANTS, MERCHANTS, VAGABONDS AND GYPSIES IN MEDIEVAL DUTCH TOWNS, WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO LEIDEN

Dick de Boer (Groningen)

Although migration as such through the development of the early territorial state became an identifiable problem, immigration remained the only means for medieval towns to grow. This was especially true in the Low Countries, where – first in Flanders, later in Holland and Brabant – the development of a dense urban network led to a high degree of urbanization. In Holland the take-off of the towns started round 1250. A first period of rapid growth ended around 1350. After some 60 years of almost stagnation during the period of the echo-epidemics, a second phase of explosive growth lasted from about 1410 until 1490, when a renewed stagnation of a different kind started. Especially during the second half of the fourteenth century, even huge numbers of newcomers could hardly prevent the urban population from shrinking. This resulted in very dynamic social mobility and a process of rapid assimilation. The town of Leiden offers an excellent example of this development.

During the first period of growth almost everyone was welcome, due to the active policy to establish a market oriented textile industry. Besides a strong recruitment of immigrants from the surrounding countryside, and from the county of Holland as a whole, especially people from Flanders were attracted by the new opportunities. Gradually the circle of attraction widened, especially during the fifteenth century. In the town the development of a well-structured system of social and charitable institutions contributed to the assimilation of newcomers.

Both the functioning of old networks of origin, and the establishing of new networks can be traced. Sometimes clear concentrations of newcomers (like the ‘*Easterlings*’), however, indicated a lack of integration and/or a need to express the original identity.

During the fifteenth century, tolerance versus non-productive migrants rapidly dwindled. This can be observed in the changing attitude towards beggars and vagabonds. The best example, however, is the attitude towards *gypsies*, who shortly after 1400 appeared in Southern Germany, and no later than 1420 arrived in the Low Countries. The ‘duke of Egypt’ and his followers at first were treated mercifully in the towns of the Netherlands, with reference to their status as religious refugees, but from the mid 1440ies increasingly were regarded as vagabonds. The official ban on *gypsies* in 1524, ordering their expulsion, was the inevitable result.

At the end of the sixteenth century, a new period of mobility started, when the effects of the Dutch Revolt forced tens of thousands of people from Brabant and Flanders to flee to the north. The combination of economic advantage and religious compassion led to a rapid primary integration. The question whether or not this was followed by real assimilation, belongs to the discourse about the real or would-be tolerance of the Low Countries, which however clearly lies outside the scope of this paper.

INTEGRATION THROUGH LANGUAGE: THE MULTILINGUAL CHARACTER OF LATE MEDIEVAL HUNGARIAN TOWNS

Katalin Szende (Budapest)

The fact that the urban population in the medieval Kingdom of Hungary was far from homogeneous ethnically has been a subject of research and discussion for more than a century. The roles of the indigenous (Hungarian, Slovak, Croatian, etc.) and immigrant (German, Italian, Walloon, etc.), Christian and non-Christian elements in the process of urbanization have been investigated both on a countrywide basis and on the level of individual towns. In these studies, however, (except in some articles by András Kubinyi) the question of language has not been given much attention; rather it was taken for granted that each language was only used by people who had it as their mother tongue.

The aim of this paper is to show, within the limits of sporadic references in diverse written sources, that the situation was more complex and that the inhabitants of towns were practically compelled to cope with a differentiated use of several languages. The main factors contributing to this situation were:

1. that the towns, due to their negative demographic balance, were dependent on constant immigration from the closer or farther countryside, often involving other ethnic groups than the (original) majority of the population
2. the need for communication with business and political partners within and outside the urban community, which made it necessary to use common language(s)
3. the wide discrepancy between the oral and written means of communication, so that practically all local vernacular languages, apart from German, were not put into writing until the end of the Middle Ages.

Through selected examples from the second half of the fourteenth to the first half of the sixteenth century, this paper will discuss the main areas of urban life where language became an issue, namely urban administration, pastoral care, and the spheres of crafts and commerce. Examples will be taken from law codes, court cases, travellers' accounts, glossaries, and poetic fragments from a range of towns including Buda, Bratislava (Pozsony/Pressburg), Brasov (Brassó/Kronstadt), Cluj (Kolozsvár/Klausenburg), Prešov (Eperjes/Preschau), Sopron (Ödenburg), and Zagreb (Zágráb), and will serve as a basis for surveying the various responses to the tension between socially and administratively fixed structures and the ongoing processes of ethnic change. The range of responses was extremely varied, from simply neglecting any rules to entering into open conflicts. The most usual solution, however, was neither complete assimilation nor total segregation or discrimination, but various degrees of integration. The gradual or abrupt changes in this process mirror the local interests as well as the internal and external power-relations of the towns examined.