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**PLEASURE OR NECESSITY? ZAGREB BATHS IN THE MIDDLE  
AGES**

MA Thesis in Late Antique, Medieval and Early Modern Studies

Central European University

Budapest

May 2019

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by

Ivona Vargek

(Croatia)

Thesis submitted to the Department of Medieval Studies,  
Central European University, Budapest, in partial fulfillment of the requirements  
of the Master of Arts degree in Late Antique, Medieval and Early Modern Studies.

Accepted in conformance with the standards of the CEU.

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Chair, Examination Committee

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Thesis Supervisor

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Examiner

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External Reader

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External Supervisor

Budapest  
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I, the undersigned, Ivona Vargek, candidate for the MA degree in Late Antique, Medieval and Early Modern Studies, declare herewith that the present thesis is exclusively my own work, based on my research and only such external information as properly credited in notes and bibliography. I declare that no unidentified and illegitimate use was made of the work of others, and no part of the thesis infringes on any person's or institution's copyright. I also declare that no part of the thesis has been submitted in this form to any other institution of higher education for an academic degree.

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# **Abstract**

There were two baths operating in Zagreb during the High and the Late Middle Ages. They were owned by people coming from different social groups: aristocrats such as the ban of Slavonia, ecclesiastic institutions, i.e. the Cistercian Order and the Prebendaries of the Zagreb cathedral chapter, citizens of Zagreb and nobles. The visitors' social makeup was diverse as well, from nobles to peasants. This work will focus on the topographical identification and the social components of the baths. Services provided inside, from bathing and shaving to bloodletting, turned these institutions into social places of communal bathing. The challenging part are the sources which are of legal nature – litigations, last wills, and the statutes. Even though this makes the reconstruction of social history harder, it is possible to extract many social aspects from the available information. Comparison and, in the case where needed, the analogy with the baths of Sopron and Pressburg helped me resolve some questions for which the data for Zagreb baths is insufficient.

# Acknowledgments

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# Table of contents

Abstract .....	i
Acknowledgments.....	ii
Table of contents.....	iii
List of Illustrations.....	v
List of Abbreviations .....	vi
Introduction.....	1
Chapter 1. Bathing Culture from Antiquity to its Medieval Revival.....	8
1.1. Baths of the Greek and Roman World.....	8
1.2. The Revival of Bathing Culture in the High Middle Ages .....	13
Chapter 2. A Tale of Two Baths .....	18
2.1. The Bath on the Eastern Bank .....	20
2.2. The Bath on the Western Bank .....	29
2.3. Economic Aspect .....	32
2.4. Bath as a Place of Conflict.....	34
Chapter 3. Social Functions of the Baths.....	37
3.1. Social Component.....	37
3.1.1. <i>Balneatores, rasores, minutores</i> .....	37
3.1.2. Baths as Meeting Places. The Visitors.....	38
3.1.3. Gender Separation.....	41



3.2. Cleaning and Healing.....	42
3.3. Saving the Soul – Religious Aspect.....	47
Conclusion .....	50
Bibliography or Reference List.....	53

# List of Illustrations

Picture 1 Map of Zagreb in the late fourteenth century. The map shows the location of two baths. ....	21
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# List of Abbreviations

MCZ Monumenta historica liberae regiae civitatis Zagrabiae

# Introduction

Baths were peculiar institutions. Primarily, they were established to fulfill the cleaning function. But with time, as I will show, they became much more than that. The communal way of bathing in public baths included not only bathing, but also socialization and healing through the health-related services offered inside their walls. All these aspects contributed towards baths becoming a social factor. Zagreb, which is in the focus of my research, had two public baths. Being more than just cleaning places, these baths were turned from a necessity to pleasure.

The period studied in the thesis is the High and the Late Middle Ages. Delimiting the timeframe, on the one hand, is the fact that the first piece of information about one of the baths, the one located on the eastern side, goes back to the year 1291 when the Cistercian Order acquired the bath after litigation with Canon Petar of Zagreb bishopric<sup>1</sup>. Regarding the fact that the ownership over the baths will be one of the questions raised in the research, the thirteenth century needs to be the starting point. On the other hand, as events occurring in the first half of the sixteenth century were a continuation of the events of the late fifteenth century, I have found it necessary to extend the research in certain respects to the sixteenth century. The Prebendaries who acquired the bath from the Cistercian Order in 1376 still fought for the rights over it in 1516. Therefore, the whole process and changes need to fall within the scope of the research.

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<sup>1</sup> Ivan Krstitelj Tkalčić, ed. and. comp., *Povijesni spomenici slobodnog i kraljevskog grada Zagreba. Monumenta Historica Liberae et Regiae Civitatis Zagradiensis*, vol I (Zagreb: Brzotiskom K. Albrechta, 1880), 68. (Henceforth: MCZ). All the sources used in this thesis are contained in MCZ. The numbers in the references mark the page number, not the document number. Moreover, I am using the Croatian version of the names, except when referring to the monarchs and the members of their family.

Medieval Zagreb consisted of two parts, Gradec and Kaptol, which were separated by the Medveščak Stream.<sup>2</sup> Gradec was the civilian, while Kaptol was the ecclesiastic part. They functioned as two separate components but shared some functions.<sup>3</sup> This is the reason why I will use the uniform term Zagreb in some places, instead of specifying Gradec or Kaptol where the distinction is not necessary. For example, in 1247 some of the canons inhabited Gradec and built a tower there.<sup>4</sup> This shows that Gradec and Kaptol were not completely alien to each other.

Kaptol was the earlier part of the town. The name Kaptol is used for the part of the city under the administration of the bishop of Zagreb, but also for the chapter of Zagreb which was probably established soon after the founding of the bishopric at the end of the eleventh century.<sup>5</sup> After he established the bishopric in 1094, King Ladislaus I (1077-1095) donated the lands east of the Medveščak Stream to the bishops and canons, together with the rights to manage those territories.<sup>6</sup> The main reason why the king became interested in Zagreb was to strengthen the influence of the Arpad dynasty in the region by turning it into an important center of powers.<sup>7</sup> Zagreb bishopric was one of twelve bishoprics established in the eleventh and early twelfth centuries, which were chosen due to their geographical and political importance.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> I have provided a map in the second chapter so that the location of the objects mentioned would be easier to conceptualize and understand.

<sup>3</sup> Neven Budak, "Budući da smo htjeli u Zagrebu na brdu Gradecu sagraditi slobodni grad..." [As we Wanted to Build a Free City in Zagreb on the Hill Gradec...] in *Zlatna bula 1242-1992*, edited by Zlatko Stubić (Zagreb: Muzej grada Zagreba, 1992), 21.

<sup>4</sup> Nada Klaić, *Zagreb u srednjem vijeku* [Zagreb in the Middle Ages] (Zagreb: Liber, 1982), 182.

<sup>5</sup> Nada Klaić, *Zagreb u srednjem vijeku* [Zagreb in the Middle Ages], 22.

<sup>6</sup> There is an ongoing debate about the exact year of the establishment of the bishopric of Zagreb. While Croatian historiography sets it in years after Ladislaus' campaign to this region, Hungarian historians claim that it must have been before the campaign which started in 1091. The broader frame of this debate is that for Hungarian historians, there was an influence of Hungarian kings before 1091, while for Croatian historians there was not and both base their argument on the year of the establishment of the bishopric. The general consensus between Croatian historians is the year 1094, which I will use in this work as well. For more details about the whole debate and different theories about the year of foundation, see Lelja Dobronić, *Biskupski i kaptolski Zagreb* [Bishopric and Chapter Zagreb] (Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 1991), 21.

<sup>7</sup> Zrinka Nikolić Jakus, "Počeci srednjovjekovnog grada" [The Beginnings of the Medieval Town], in Ivo Goldstein and Slavko Goldstein, eds., *Povijest grada Zagreba*, vol. 1, *Od prehistorije do 1918*. [The History of Zagreb. Vol 1., From prehistory until 1918] (Zagreb: Novi Liber, 2012), 23.

<sup>8</sup> The process of establishing bishoprics started with King Stephen (1000-1038) and was continued by his successors in office. For more about the whole process of strengthening the royal authority through this, see: Katalin Szende, "Towns and Urban Networks in the Carpathian Basin between the Eleventh and the Early

The chapter of Zagreb was a body formed by canons whose role was to help the bishop in managing the bishopric. According to Jerković, whose PhD dissertation on the canons of Zagreb was recently turned into a book, the latest and the most comprehensive study on the topic, the community of canons belonging to the chapter of Zagreb probably started to form a chapter already at the end of the eleventh century, soon after the bishopric was founded. He bases his argument on the fact that assistants were sent to the first bishop Duh and soon they assembled into the chapter.<sup>9</sup>

Gradec was the western part of the town. It was granted the status of a free royal town by King Béla IV (1235-1270) through the charter called Golden Bull in 1242.<sup>10</sup> In the previous year, the king spent some time in Zagreb, hosted by the bishop of Zagreb, while he was trying to find refuge from the invading Mongols. Soon, he left Zagreb and continued traveling to the south towards Dalmatia.<sup>11</sup> Motivated by these events, after the Mongols were pushed back, he decided to organize the defense of his kingdom through a system of fortified towns.<sup>12</sup> Therefore, he issued charters to the towns, amongst which was the Golden Bull granted to Zagreb. By this document, the citizens were given many privileges among which the most important ones were the right to elect the town judge as the highest authority in the town and

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Sixteenth Centuries,” in *The Art of Medieval Hungary*, Barral i Altet, Xavier, Pál Lővei, Vinni Lucherini and Imre Takács, eds., (Rome: Viella, 2018): 65-82.

<sup>9</sup> Marko Jerković, “Djelovanje Zagrebačkog kaptola i njegovi kanonici u 14. stoljeću” [The Zagreb Chapter – its Activities and Canons in the 14th Century], PhD diss., (Zagreb, 2011), 34-35.

<sup>10</sup> Ivan Kampuš and Igor Karaman, *Tisućljetni Zagreb* [Zagreb Through a Thousand Years] (Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 1994), 32-33. King Bela IV reigned over Kingdom of Hungary from 1235 until 1270. His influence on territory of Croatia was significant, see Ana Novak. “Vladarska politika Bele IV. (1235.-1270.) i njezin utjecaj na razvoj crkvenog zemljišnog posjeda s obzirom na područje Komarničkog arhidakonata” [The Reign and Royal Policy of Bela IV, King of Hungary and Croatia (In the Period between 1235-1270) and its Impact on Church Land Properties, on the Territory of Komarnica Archdeaconry], *Podravina* IX, no. 17 (2010): 116-123.

<sup>11</sup> Lelja Dobronić, *Slobodni i kraljevski grad Zagreb* [The Free and Royal Town of Zagreb] (Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 1992), 5.

<sup>12</sup> Szende, “Towns and Urban Networks in the Carpathian Basin between the Eleventh and the Early Sixteenth Centuries,” 70.

they were exempted from paying customs duties.<sup>13</sup> In return, they were expected to build and fortify the town on Mount Grič.<sup>14</sup>

The division on Gradec and Kaptol is important in the context of baths for several reasons, above all because both parts had one bath on its territory, even though not under its own jurisdiction. Moreover, conflicts that happened on the borders between the two parts affected the baths in some cases, which will be explained in detail in the following chapters. Therefore, this short contextualization of Gradec and Kaptol is necessary for understanding the analysis of the baths which will follow.

Research on the history and functioning of the baths in Zagreb has never been done systematically. Ivan Krstitelj Tkalčić, the editor of the legal sources, last wills and church statutes for medieval Zagreb, wrote extensive introductions to each published volume explaining many of the sources.<sup>15</sup> All the later research on the topic was based on these introductions by Tkalčić. However, no historian has done a deeper analysis of the baths as a part of the social climate in the town, considering different aspects of their functioning and contextualizing them in the wider framework of flourishing bathing culture. Therefore, this research will be dedicated to reconstructing the social aspects of the Zagreb baths. Legal sources are useful for reconstructing ownership and renting process and changes, while the last wills and statutes can help to determine the services provided. Moreover, the last wills are helpful in the analysis of the visitors' perspective of the significance of the bath.<sup>16</sup>

Regarding works on water and baths in scholarly literature, one of the latest and most extensive studies is *The Nature and Function of Water, Baths, Bathing, and Hygiene from*

<sup>13</sup> Rudolf Horvat, *Prošlost grada Zagreba* [The Past of the Town of Zagreb] (Zagreb: Kulturno-historijsko društvo Hrvatski rodoljub, 1942), 3-4.

<sup>14</sup> Dobronić, *Slobodni i kraljevski grad Zagreb*, 9-15. This document described borders of Gradec. The dividing line between Gradec and Kaptol, as described in the document was Stream Medveščak, still referred to as Crikvenik at this time. See MCZ I, 17.

<sup>15</sup> The sources consisted in Tkalčić's volume will be the ones used in this research since all of them are contained in the eleven volumes of *Monumenta Historica Civitatis Zagrabienis*.

<sup>16</sup> This thesis includes all the material available for the research on baths in Zagreb.

*Antiquity through the Renaissance*, edited by Cynthia Kosso and Anne Scott.<sup>17</sup> The importance of this work lies in the fact that the authors who contributed to the volume cover the period between the Late Antiquity up to the Renaissance period, unlike many other works which focus on one of the periods. Even though this important publication does not primarily focus on baths and bathing, it analyses some elements which will be part of my work as well. For instance, water is positioned in the context of gender and religion, aspects which will also be considered in case of Zagreb.

*Baths and Bathing in Classical Antiquity* by Fikret Yegul likewise offers an inspiring methodological framework for researching the baths.<sup>18</sup> Among others, he analyzed baths in Rome, North Africa, and the Byzantine world in the period of Antiquity. The presumptions which Yegul makes, and which have proven to be correct, helped me to decide for different aspects of Zagreb baths that should be researched: baths as a social institution, places of luxury and enjoyment, apart from their primary, sanitizing function.

Although the history of water as an important phenomenon has been given increasing attention in current historiography, social aspects have not been studied in detail. Historians rather tend to concentrate on the functionalities of the water and its practical use. In the context of the baths, their cleaning and health-related functions are aspects which are emphasized. For this reason, my research intends to redress the balance by making the social aspect the focal point. Based on the primary sources contained in volumes edited by Tkalčić as well as the relevant secondary literature on medieval baths in other towns, I will analyze the baths of Zagreb as a social factor. Although Zagreb will be in the focus of the research, the scarcity of the sources requires analogies and comparisons. For this purpose, some evidence from Sopron

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<sup>17</sup> Cynthia Kosso and Anne Scott, eds., *The Nature and Function of Water, Baths, Bathing and Hygiene from Antiquity through the Renaissance* (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2009).

<sup>18</sup> Fikret K. Yegül, *Baths and Bathing in Classical Antiquity* (New York, Cambridge, and London: MIT Press, 1992).



and Pressburg will be included, since these towns had baths which worked similarly to the baths in Zagreb.

Research on the baths and bathing in the Middle Ages in Hungary has not been conducted in a broader framework. In most of the cases, historians dealt with local examples. András Kubinyi conducted a research on hospitals in medieval Hungary in which the baths were also included, but only partially researched.<sup>19</sup> For Kubinyi, the presence of baths was interesting mainly as an indicator of the urban character of the settlement where they were established.

A more detailed case-study was conducted by Judit Majorossy in her article on four baths of Pressburg. Majorossy raises the same questions as the ones I am going to answer for Zagreb. For her, baths of Pressburg were much more than solely cleaning places. They were also places of socialization and medical care, the same aspects which we find concerning the Zagreb baths.<sup>20</sup> Sopron baths will be worth further investigation in the future for the religious aspect since donations to the baths were given by people for the salvation of their souls. The idea of donating money for saving the soul was a practice in Zagreb as well, but it functioned in a different way, as Chapter Three will show.

The first chapter offers a general overview of bathing culture from the Antiquity through the Middle Ages with relevant examples. By establishing the main characteristics and functions of these institutions, I will later show which features were kept and which were not in the Middle Ages in Europe and especially in the case of Zagreb. Explaining this is necessary because the continuation of some functions, e.g. the health services provided in baths can be

<sup>19</sup> András Kubinyi, "Fragen der städtischen Gesundheitspflege in den mittelalterlichen Städten Ungarns," in *Stadt und Gesundheitspflege*, ed. Bernhard Kirchgässner and Jürgen Sigmaringen (Thorbecke, 1982): 95-107.

<sup>20</sup> Judit Majorossy, "A test és a lélek fürdője. A középkori pozsonyi fürdőkről" [Baths for the Body and the Soul. On the Medieval Baths in Pressburg], in *Köztes-Európa" vonzásában. Ünnepi tanulmányok Font Márta 60. Születésnapjára* [Attracted By "Inter-Europe". Studies in Honour of Márta Font on the Occasion of Her Sixteenth Birthday], edited by Dániel Bagi, Tamás Fedeles, Gergely Kiss (Pecs: Kronosz, 2012), 343-357.

traced to the practices of Late Antiquity. These need to be traced to the moment they began to be practiced in order to understand the changes and adaptations in the later period.

Chapter Two is important in making a clear distinction between the two baths in Zagreb. Ownership and renting were the two ways how baths could be acquired. The analysis of these changes will contribute to avoiding future confusions as to which bath the given source refers, something that has happened in historical works on many occasions. Moreover, I will locate the baths geographically, since one of them has been located wrongly, in my opinion, by the historiography until now.

The third chapter contains an analysis of different social aspects of Zagreb baths. My first task is to determine the social status of visitors, different types of employees of the baths and the way in which the gender separation worked. Apart from that, hygiene, health, and religion are aspects integrated into the bathing culture. How these elements worked in case of Zagreb will be shown in Chapter Three.

# Chapter 1. Bathing Culture from Antiquity to its Medieval Revival

## 1.1. Baths of the Greek and Roman World

The bathing culture in the towns of Europe in the Middle Ages was greatly influenced and partly built on the bathing traditions of Greek and Roman culture. For this reason, in spite of the fact that the focus of this thesis is on the High and the Late Middle Ages, the introduction of the bathing traditions of the Late Antiquity, with the relevant characteristics, is necessary to understand how the baths became an important factor in medieval towns, amongst them Zagreb.

For the visitors of Roman baths, the status they gained through visiting those places was significant. For instance, for the members of the elite, visiting the bath had strong social significance. *Thermae* were places for socialization, playing games, reading books and conducting business.<sup>21</sup> This was not the case in the Middle Ages when people did not visit baths primarily to mark the social distinction. In the case of Zagreb, social status was not determined by going to the bath, since members of different social groups attended the same baths. Therefore, my goal is, rather than comparing two incomparable cultures, to determine what aspects were similar and which differed between the Antiquity and the Middle Ages.

One of the letters of Sidonius, a Roman aristocrat living in the fifth century Gaul, to his fellow Donidius refers to many aspects of bathing culture which I will analyze:

In these vapour-baths we passed whole hours with lively talk and repartee; all the time the cloud of hissing steam enveloping us induced the healthiest perspiration. When we had perspired enough, we were bathed in hot water; the treatment removed the feeling of repletion, but left us languid; we therefore finished off with a bracing douche from fountain, well or river.<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>21</sup> Yegül, *Baths and Bathing in Classical Antiquity*, 128.

<sup>22</sup> Medieval Sourcebook, "Letters of Sidonius," book II, letter IX, accessed May 14, 2019, <https://sourcebooks.fordham.edu/source/sidonius1.asp>.

According to Sidonius, the bath was only a tool which enabled him and his companions to gather. Besides, they were aware of the health benefits of bathing which for them included a steam bath, hot water bath, and a cold bath. Both aspects were preserved and still practiced in the Middle Ages. The difference was, in case of Zagreb, that hot thermal water was replaced by heated since no sources of the thermal water were available there.

Likewise, investing money in baths or even building their own, was a way to demonstrate power and wealth for the people of Late Antiquity.<sup>23</sup> In medieval Zagreb, people wanted to own the bath, but not so much with the purpose of maintaining status in society, but rather for economic reasons.

Apart from the members of the elite, Roman emperors were also investing in building the baths as part of their striving for prestige. A clear example of this is the bath which Emperor Caracalla had built and which had a capacity of one thousand five hundred people. A few decades later, Emperor Diocletian, trying to overcome Caracalla's success, built a bath with a capacity of three thousand people.<sup>24</sup> This very much changed in the Middle Ages when rulers seldom owned the baths.

In the Roman world, bathing was a very important part of everyday life, more than simply fulfilling the function of cleansing. As Virginia Smith precisely describes it, “cleanliness was an integral part of the Roman ‘civilizing process’ and symbol of citizenship.”<sup>25</sup> This characteristic was not kept through the Middle Ages when the communal aspect of bathing was accentuated, but bathing was not seen as citizenship determining function.

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<sup>23</sup> Yegül, *Baths and Bathing in Classical Antiquity*, 128.

<sup>24</sup> Kosso, Scott, *The Nature and Function of Water, Baths, Bathing and Hygiene from Antiquity through the Renaissance*, 333.

<sup>25</sup> See Virginia Smith, *Clean. A History of Personal Hygiene and Purity* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 102-112. As Smith explains, at least twelve million people used the baths regularly. For them it was more than just a cleaning process, it was deeply embedded into the civilization.

Public bathhouses first appeared in ancient Greece during the fifth century BCE, by the term *balneion*. They were open to Greek citizens who were able to afford to visit them.<sup>26</sup> Despite the popularity of the baths, they were still limited to a relatively small number of people, unlike the later period when everyone could go. The aspect which is to be noted is that already in Greek times, regulars of the baths started to be separated by gender.<sup>27</sup> That tradition continued to be applied in the Middle Ages as well. In Zagreb, frequenting the baths was customary regardless of gender and status in society.<sup>28</sup> Everyone was allowed to and did go to the baths.

There were two types of baths according to their use, public and private ones. The public baths prevailed in the earlier period of the Empire, while the private ones became popular due to the development of the asceticism and its idea which marked bathing in public as undesirable.<sup>29</sup> A telling example is Constantinople where in 425 private baths exceeded the number of public baths. For Caskey, the most important factor in this were the church officials for whom public baths were places of immoral behavior.<sup>30</sup> Their preaching obviously influenced people very strongly and as a consequence the private bathing prevailed over going to the public baths.

In public bathhouses, there were two main types based on the accessibility of hot water - *thermae*, and *balneum*.<sup>31</sup> *Thermae* flourished in Italian towns due to the many hot springs. Also, they were popular in Hungary wherever thermal water was available: Buda (Felhévíz north of the Castle Hill and Alhévíz to the south), Esztergom and Várada (Oradea) were the most important locations.<sup>32</sup> On the other hand, *balneum* prevailed in the Middle Ages for

<sup>26</sup> Smith, *Clean. A History of Personal Hygiene and Purity*, 80.

<sup>27</sup> Smith, *Clean. A History of Personal Hygiene and Purity*, 80-81.

<sup>28</sup> Kosso, Scott, *The Nature and Function of Water, Baths, Bathing and Hygiene from Antiquity through the Renaissance*, 10.

<sup>29</sup> Elizabeth Archibald, "Bathing, Beauty and Christianity in the Middle Ages," *Insights* 5, no.1 (2012): 2.

<sup>30</sup> Jill Caskey, "Steam and "Sanitas" in the Domestic Realm: Baths and Bathing in Southern Italy in the Middle Ages," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 58, no. 2 (1999): 183.

<sup>31</sup> Yegül, *Baths and Bathing in Classical Antiquity*, 43.

<sup>32</sup> Kubinyi, "Fragen der städtischen Gesundheitspflege in den mittelalterlichen Städten Ungarns".

practical reasons. It was easier to build a bath not depending on the location of hot springs, but rather on the availability of water, as was the case in Zagreb where both baths were located by the stream and water was then heated by a furnace.<sup>33</sup> Then, firewood needed to be provided which had an impact on the economy of the towns and required logistics to deliver the wood to the baths.

Regarding the interior structure of the baths, it was mostly systematized during the first century CE. An example is the bath of Emperor Nero in Rome whose arrangement of the rooms has been reconstructed. There were five main elements that can be located in most of the baths from the first century on. These rooms fulfilled different functions and what differentiated them was obviously the temperature of the water. Apart from the *apodyterium*, the changing room, all the other rooms probably contained water pools or tubs. There was one cold room, *frigidarium* and three types of warm rooms *tepidarium*, *calidarium*, and *laconica*.<sup>34</sup> In the Middle Ages, when *balneum* prevailed over *thermae*, the interior structure of the baths was no longer so consistent. The main change was that the spaces for recreation were not included in the *balneum* and the number of rooms decreased.<sup>35</sup> In the case of Zagreb, there is only one heated room mentioned, called *stuba*.<sup>36</sup> Obviously, this simplification of the arrangements was part of the health aspect of thermal water in the Roman baths, something that could not be achieved through heated water. These health functions will be described in more detail in the third chapter.

Visiting the baths was also a form of leisure. Relaxing, recreation through exercising a different kind of physical activities and socialization were as important as the cleaning function

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<sup>33</sup> MCZ III, 169.

<sup>34</sup> Deborah Chatr Aryamontri, "Running Water: Advances in Urban Water Supply During the Roman Empire" in Cynthia Kosso and Anne Scott, eds., *The Nature and Function of Water, Baths, Bathing and Hygiene from Antiquity through the Renaissance* (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2009), 333.

<sup>35</sup> Olivia Remie Constable, "From Hygiene to Heresy: Changing Perceptions of Women and Bathing in Medieval and Early Modern Iberia," in *La cohabitation religieuse dans les villes Europeenes, X-XV siècles*, 204.

<sup>36</sup> MCZ I, 230.

of the baths.<sup>37</sup> This aspect was kept through the whole Late Antiquity and transmitted to the Middle Ages which shows that baths did not lose their social function. However, the recreational function was not kept, since the *gymnasium*, the room assigned for exercise in was typically not kept in the medieval bathhouses.<sup>38</sup> When the baths again became an important element of towns in the High Middle Ages, they were still places to relax and socialize with friends or even do business, but they never again acquired the status of places for exercise.

After their peak in the period of Late Antiquity, public baths entered the period of stagnation in the Early Middle Ages. Even though they were not widespread, there is evidence of papal baths operating in the Lateran.<sup>39</sup> Additionally, the bath in Naples in the tenth century functioned on the principles of Roman *thermae*, having hot, mild and cold bathing room.<sup>40</sup> There are many reasons which led to a decrease in the popularity of the baths in this period. However, recent research has changed the perspective of earlier historiography which claimed that there was a rupture in the bathing culture. There was, according to Archibald, a continuity in the usage of the baths in a lesser extent.<sup>41</sup> Furthermore, this decadence of bathing, which especially affected the Western part of the Empire was probably partly due to the arrival of many nomadic tribes that did not embrace this culture. Nevertheless, reduced popularity does not mean that people stopped using the baths in the Early Medieval period and then started using them again in the High Middle Ages. Rather, their popularity decreased but they were never completely abandoned.

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<sup>37</sup> Yegül, *Baths and Bathing in Classical Antiquity*, 32-33.

<sup>38</sup> Paolo Squatriti and Roberta Magnusson, eds., *Working with water in Medieval Europe. Technology and Resource-Use* (Leiden, Boston, Köln: Brill, 2000), 252.

<sup>39</sup> Squatriti, Magnusson, *Water Technologies*, 252.

<sup>40</sup> Squatriti, Magnusson, *Water Technologies*, 253.

<sup>41</sup> Archibald, "Bathing, Beauty and Christianity," 6.

## 1.2. The Revival of Bathing Culture in the High Middle Ages

The culture of public bathing decreased in the Early Middle Ages partly due to the development of Christian thought and the views of its representatives on the public bathing as inappropriate for the moral of visitors. However, some of the baths that still functioned were maintained by the ecclesiastic institutions, which had opposed this culture during the Late Antiquity. Even though this may seem paradoxical, these institutions recognized the economic potential of the baths and used them as places for hosting the poor and enabling them to take a free bath.<sup>42</sup> This change of the perspective of the members of the ecclesiastic structure is what should be pointed out. While there were many cases in the Ancient period where clerics criticized baths as places of immoral behavior, in the Middle Ages they were the ones that owned them. One of the baths in Zagreb is an example of this because it was owned by the Cistercian Order and later by the Prebendaries through centuries.<sup>43</sup>

After the decay of the culture of public baths in the Early Middle Ages, the tradition of bathing was revived during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, partly due to the Crusades that happened in that period. The Crusaders came in contact with the culture of Byzantium and the Islamic lands of the Near East where bathing culture was developed in the form of the *hammam*, the Byzantine type of bathing.<sup>44</sup> In the East, the bathing culture never completely disappeared, but the continuity can be traced up to the High Middle Ages. Starting with the twelfth or thirteenth century, depending on the region, public bathing was being revived in the West as well. In that period, the baths started becoming important institutions again and the idea of bathing as a joint activity in public baths started developing. Moreover, the High Middle Ages

<sup>42</sup> Archibald, "Bathing, Beauty and Christianity," 2.

<sup>43</sup> The change of ownership will be analysed in the Chapter Two.

<sup>44</sup> Sabine Florence Fabijanec. "Prilog poznavanju vode u svakodnevnom životu srednjovjekovne Hrvatske" [A Contribution to the Knowledge About the Role of Water in Daily Life of Medieval Croatia], in *Voda i njezina uloga kroz povijest*, ed. Filip Novosel (Zagreb: Hrvatski studiji Sveučilišta u Zagrebu, 2011), 42. *Hammam* is an Arabic word meaning hot, which implies that the water inside was thermal, and the baths were located on the hot springs.



were the period when people's perception towards the body changed and they became more open in this manner.<sup>45</sup>

The vivid description of Marco Polo of the Far Eastern culture he met in the town of Kinsay (Hangzhou) is an example of how was the bathing perceived in the High Middle Ages and what was desirable in this context:

You must know also that the city of Kinsay has some 3000 baths, the water of which is supplied by springs. They are hot baths, and the people take great delight in them, frequenting them several times a month, for they are very cleanly in their persons. They are the finest and largest baths in the world; large enough for 100 persons to bathe together.<sup>46</sup>

Their size was admirable to him and as pointed out, one hundred people were able to bathe at the same time in one bath. Obviously, the communal aspect was the most impressive thing that Polo had noticed. Coming from Italy, where *thermae* were the most widespread type of bathhouses, it was important for him to mention that hot water enabled people to enjoy the baths often, in the long term.

One other factor which may have influenced the reawakening of public baths was Jewish custom of ritual bathing in baths called *miqveh*, mostly performed by women.<sup>47</sup> In the Jewish religion, it was prescribed for women to take a ritual bath in these *miqveh*, small wells, before the wedding.<sup>48</sup> As these facilities were located near synagogues, in the center of the city, they could have had some influence on Christian society and maybe contributed to the idea of engaging with water in a communal way. It is impossible to reconstruct to what extent this influenced the development of baths in other cultures, but Christians and Muslims were surely

<sup>45</sup> Didier Boisseuil, "Espaces et Pratiques de Bain du Moyen Âge," *Médiévales* 43 (2002): 7.

<sup>46</sup> Medieval Sourcebook, "Marco Polo: The Glories Of Kinsay [Hangchow]," accessed May 14, 2019, <https://sourcebooks.fordham.edu/source/polo-kinsay.asp>.

<sup>47</sup> Olivia Remie Constable, "From Hygiene to Heresy," 203.

<sup>48</sup> Archibald, "Bathing, Beauty and Christianity," 4.

familiar with these Jewish traditions, due to the location of the Jewish baths in the proximity of synagogues. An example is a ritual bath in Sopron in the synagogue.<sup>49</sup>

Spanish and Italian towns, although distant from Zagreb, make it possible to highlight certain general features. The Italian case is interesting because it is well-researched, based on written sources and archaeological evidence. Spanish baths are peculiar as they were places of inter-religious contacts.

The baths in the High Middle Ages were mostly public ones, even though private ones existed as well. For Remie Constable, the public baths in al-Andalus were important urban buildings which marked the landscapes of towns. Moreover, she argues that those baths lost the social function which Roman baths contained.<sup>50</sup> In my opinion, the baths in the Middle Ages kept the social aspect and remained places of gathering. The reduced number of rooms inside the bathhouses and the loss of some functions, e.g. the athletic one, did not imply that people spent less time there or visited them with different purpose, and not to socialize. The same was the case in Zagreb, where we only know about the existence of one heated room.<sup>51</sup> This fact did not automatically make the social aspect less important.

In the case of Spanish towns where the culture was taken from the Arab world and bath were mentioned as *hammam* and *baño*.<sup>52</sup> While *hammam* is the Arabic term, *baño* is Spanish and both can be found in the sources.<sup>53</sup> The example of Spain is specific because of the religious structure of the region. As the Christian, Jewish and Muslim groups coexisted there and in all the groups bathing culture was developed, it can be seen as a meeting point, however, there

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<sup>49</sup> *The Hungarian Atlas of Historic Towns. Sopron*, Ferenc Jankó, József Kücsán and Katalin Szende, eds. (Sopron: Sopron Archives of Győr-Moson-Sopron County, 2010), 19.

<sup>50</sup> Olivia Remie Constable, "Cleanliness and Convivencia: Jewish Bathing Culture in Medieval Spain," in *Jews, Christians and Muslims in Medieval and Early Modern Times: A Festschrift in Honor of Mark R. Cohen-Christians and Jews in Muslim Societies*, vol. 2 (Leiden: Brill, 2014): 258.

<sup>51</sup> MCZ I, 230.

<sup>52</sup> The term *baño* refers to the bathhouse, while *hammam* specifies the Muslim baths of medieval period. For more details, see James F. Powers, "Frontier Municipal Baths and Social Interaction in Thirteenth-Century Spain," *The American Historical Review* 84, no.3 (1979): 649-667.

<sup>53</sup> Remie Constable, "From Hygiene to Heresy," 202.

was a clear separation between them. There are urban law codes preserved which determine that different religious groups should visit the baths at different times.<sup>54</sup> For instance, *The Fuero of Teruel*, the urban charter for the city of Teruel issued in 1176 deals with this:<sup>55</sup>

Of the public bath: Following this are provisions about the public bath. The [male] bathers may go to the communal bath on Tuesdays and Thursdays and Saturdays, according to the law. Women may go to the bath on Mondays and Wednesdays. Jews and Moors may go on Fridays, and on no other day by any means. . . . Moreover, if the Jews or Moors bath on some other day than Fridays, each of the bathers shall pay a fine of 30 sueldos to the judge and the alcaides and the almotacaf by thirds with the plaintiff, if it should be proven according to law.<sup>56</sup>

When determining that men are allowed to visit baths on Tuesdays, Thursdays and Saturdays, the Jewish men are not included in the rule. For them, only visits on Friday are allowed. Interestingly, even women were allowed to enter the baths twice a week. The reason was probably that a relatively small number of Jews lived in Teruel. Therefore, one visit a week could have been enough for them.

Apart from the religious distinction, there was also separation by gender. A clear example is Muslim Spain where it was determined that the bathhouse should either be used by men or women, rather than both genders. If both sexes did use the same bath, it had to be at a different time or on different days.<sup>57</sup>

In Italian towns, bathing culture was partially continued from the Late Antiquity through the Middle Ages, but private bathing in one's own house overcame the public one around 800.<sup>58</sup> As archaeology is paying considerable attention to these buildings, there has been much research done on public baths in Rome, Ravenna, and Brescia, amongst many,

<sup>54</sup> Remie Constable, "From Hygiene to Heresy," 203.

<sup>55</sup> *Fueros* are municipal charters through which the cities were given privileges. Powers, "Frontier Municipal Baths and Social Interaction in Thirteenth-Century Spain," 649.

<sup>56</sup> Medieval Sourcebook, "Jews and Christians in Teruel: The Fuero of Teruel, 1176 CE," accessed May 15, 2019, <https://sourcebooks.fordham.edu/source/1276teruel.asp>.

<sup>57</sup> Remie Constable, "From Hygiene to Heresy," 204.

<sup>58</sup> Squatriti, Magnusson, *Working with water in Medieval Europe. Technology and Resource-Use*, 251-252.

which confirmed the assumption based on written sources that bathing practice was never completely abandoned.<sup>59</sup> For example, in the Amalfi region in southern Italy, there were four public baths operating in the High Middle Ages.<sup>60</sup>

As could be seen from these examples, medieval baths, built on Antique traditions, kept many functions and aspects. Understanding how these places functioned is necessary for explaining the bathing culture of Zagreb, which will follow in the next chapter.

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<sup>59</sup> Caskey, "Steam and Sanitas in the Domestic Realm. Baths and Bathing in the Domestic Realm," 170.

<sup>60</sup> Caskey, "Steam and Sanitas in the Domestic Realm. Baths and Bathing in the Domestic Realm," 191.

## Chapter 2. A Tale of Two Baths

In the period between the thirteenth and the sixteenth centuries, there were two public baths in Zagreb, both located on the Medveščak Stream, one of them on each bank<sup>61</sup>. The stream itself became important for the economic, social and political functioning of the city in the thirteenth century.<sup>62</sup> That was the period when many mills were built on it, and they started to be a significant source of income for the town authority and the citizens owning the mills.<sup>63</sup> The mills were the primary reason for manipulating the watercourse as they were necessary for the economy and production of the town.<sup>64</sup> The same case was with the Medveščak Stream where the artificial channel called Pritoka was dug through to redirect the part of the stream for milling purposes.<sup>65</sup> The new channel flowed until the Pisani bridge where one of the baths was later located.<sup>66</sup> Therefore, the preconditions for building the bath were set by digging a channel for building mills. This and their geographical proximity could be the explanation why the contracts of buying, selling or donating often listed a bath and the mills as part of the same arrangement. Located very close to each other, they used to be owned by the same person for practical reasons.<sup>67</sup>

Moreover, the stream was also a dividing line between the two parts of which Zagreb was constituted, Gradec and Kaptol. Being on the border between two jurisdictions, the Medveščak Stream and the objects located on it used to be the place of conflicts. A 1392 document, which introduces a short period of peace between the citizens of Gradec and the

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<sup>61</sup> The Stream was known as Crikvenik in the thirteenth century, which signified its belonging to the church.

<sup>62</sup> Franjo Buntak, *Povijest Zagreba* [History of Zagreb] (Zagreb: Nakladni zavod Matice Hrvatske, 1996.), 63.

<sup>63</sup> Buntak, *Povijest Zagreba*, 63.

<sup>64</sup> Andras Vadas, "Some Remarks on the Legal Regulations and Practice of Mill Construction in Medieval Hungary," in *Wasser in der mittelalterlichen Kultur* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2017), 292.

<sup>65</sup> The word Pritoka indicates the tributaries of a river or a stream.

<sup>66</sup> Ivo Goldstein and Slavko Goldstein, *Povijest Grada Zagreba. Od prethistorije do 1918.* [History of Zagreb. From the Prehistory until the 1918], 35.

<sup>67</sup> One example of this is the provision by chapter of Zagreb from 1515 which was supposed to resolve the litigation between dominus Dimitar and Prebendaries. The mill and bath were both owned by Dimitar, *balneum et molendinum pretacti domini Demetrii*, MCZ III, 131.

canons of Kaptol listed the Medveščak Stream and its water as a driving force for the mills the main reason of the conflicts.<sup>68</sup> That conflicts continued is visible from a 1396 legal case between the canons of Zagreb and the town authorities. In this year, as a revenge for the attacks of citizens of Gradec on houses and people of the chapter, the canons attacked, sacked and destroyed mills belonging to the town authorities.<sup>69</sup> Located on the same stream, baths were also a source of conflict as they were an important social institution and a source of revenue for their owners. The division between the baths was the same as the division between the two jurisdictions. One was located on Gradec side, while the other was on the Kaptol side.

The fact that the baths first appeared in Zagreb in the late thirteenth century is not surprising. The period between the first half of the twelfth century and the first half of the fourteenth century was the time when the ideas from Late Antiquity about health and diseases were implemented into the medieval world.<sup>70</sup> As will later be seen, curing illnesses was performed in the baths.

Furthermore, the thirteenth century was a period of urban development in the Kingdom of Hungary, including Slavonia. Building fortifications and public institutions was part of this process which was followed by the spread of urban lifestyle.<sup>71</sup> Due to these two factors, baths which were an integral component of urban lifestyle, started appearing.

Existence of two baths in Zagreb which shows that bathing culture was not as developed as it was in some other towns. For example, at the end of the thirteenth century, Paris had 26 baths while Vienna, as well as Frankfurt, had 29.<sup>72</sup>

<sup>68</sup> Dobronić, *Slobodni i kraljevski grad Zagreb*, 36.

<sup>69</sup> For more details about the confrontations, see MCZ I, 378-384.

<sup>70</sup> Fabiola I.W.M. van Dam. "Permeable Boundaries: Bodies, Bathing and Fluxes: 1135-1333," in *Medicine and Space. Body, Surroundings and Borders in Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, edited by Patricia A. Baker, Han Nijdam and Karine van't Land (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2012), 118.

<sup>71</sup> For more detailed explanation of the whole process, see Szende, "Towns and Urban Networks in the Carpathian Basin between the Eleventh and the Early Sixteenth Centuries".

<sup>72</sup> Majorossy, "A test és a lélek fürdője. A középkori pozsonyi fürdőkről," 344.

As both baths changed owners who used to come from different social groups, e.g. church orders, nobles, the ban, and so forth, it is important to make a chronological order of the changes of ownership, all the more so because this has never been systematically done. Besides tracing the ownership shifts, I will also analyze the owners' background and position in society. By doing this, I will determine the social strata the owners come from and see who had an interest in owning a bath.

## 2.1. The Bath on the Eastern Bank

Not having any maps preserved from medieval period which would enable historians to be absolutely certain about the location of the baths presents a problem, but because of the descriptions in the sources according to the surrounding area, it is possible to assume their location with a high probability. For that reason, I am providing a map here on which I have marked both baths and the Pisani bridge which is one of the key markers for the bath on the western bank.

As in other cases, Zagreb baths were located on the place where a great fluctuation of people coming to the town or passing from Gradec to Kaptol or *vice versa* happened. Similarly, in Pressburg, each of four baths was built along the road leading to the center, close to the town gates.<sup>73</sup>

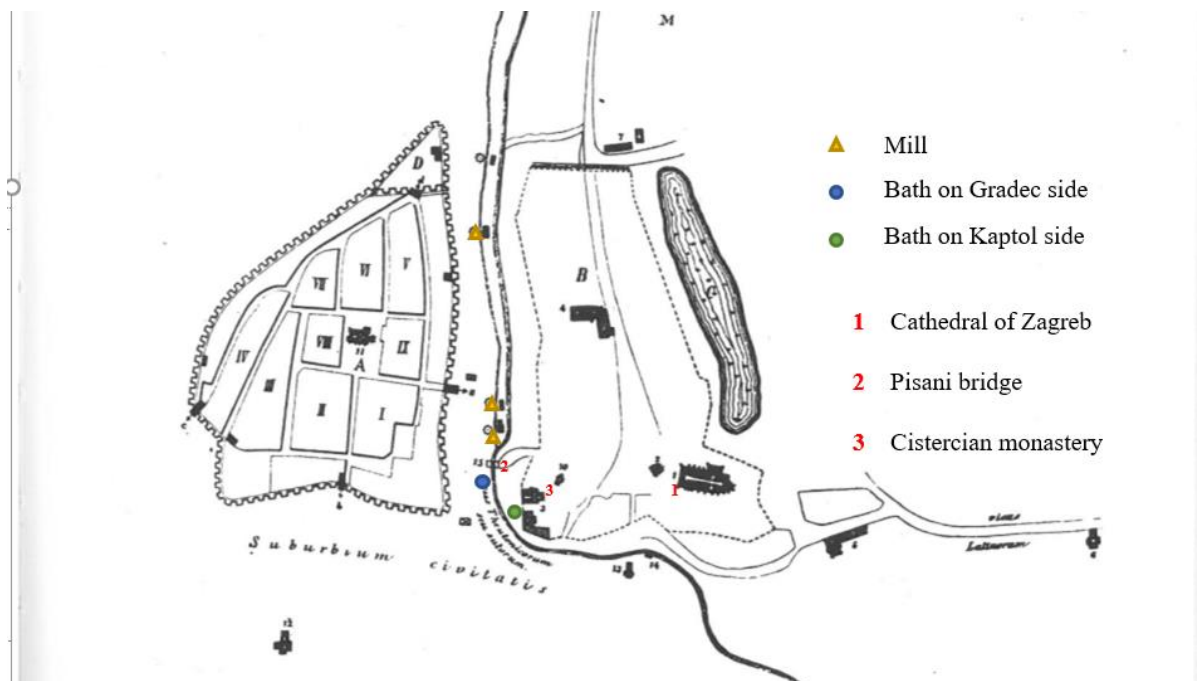
The baths were marked on the map in the work *Tisućljetni Zagreb*, but the western bath, i.e. the one on Gradec side was positioned further to the south, under the eastern bath. Since many incidents happened near the Pisani bridge, the bath must have been located closer to it, like the map underneath this paragraph shows.

The eastern bath is marked on this map on the same place as the one in *Tisućljetni Zagreb* since it is clear from the sources that it was under the church of Saint Mary, located

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<sup>73</sup> Majorossy, "A test és a lélek fürdője. A középkori pozsonyi fürdőkről," 347.

next to the monastery of the Cistercian Order. The church is indicated under number three on the map. However, the western bath, located on Gradec side must have been further up the stream than it is assumed.<sup>74</sup>



Picture 1 Map of Zagreb in the late fourteenth century. The map shows the location of two baths.

The first bath, according to its appearance in the sources, is the one located on the eastern bank of the Medveščak Stream, i.e. on the Kaptol side. This bath is known as a public bath in historiography.<sup>75</sup> This name is used on account of the fact that it was open to everyone, but the problematic aspect is that this bath was actually for most of the time owned by church institutions. This fact could cause a problem for any historian approaching the topic as it could suggest that the bath was owned by the municipality. It may also be confusing that the other bath used to be mentioned as public. To avoid further misunderstanding, I think that the method

<sup>74</sup> From the research I have made, I determined that the bath must have been closer to the bridge than the historians so far have assumed. However, there is one mentioning in the 1473 source which located the bath *inter pontem et locum pontis vulgo Pyzani mozt et inter quoddam molendinum in territorio nostro*, see MCZ XI, 16. However, this is a single piece of information which is still not enough to conclude that the bath was located even further north, between the mill indicated on the picture and the Pisani bridge.

<sup>75</sup> Franjo Buntak ascribed this bath the term “public”, but he uses the same term for the other bath as well. This was obviously based on the fact that they were opened for the public. However, he does not use any other titles for distinguishing the baths, but rather makes a distinction based on their geographical location, see Buntak, *Povijest Zagreba*, 138.



Tkalčić uses is more appropriate. In his works, he uses the same terminology that was used by the sources. In other words, he uses the name for the bath according to the owner. In the period when the Cistercian Order was the owner, Tkalčić ascribes the bath to them, while later at the time when it belonged to the Prebendaries of the Zagreb bishopric, he calls it prebendary, based on the usage of the sources.<sup>76</sup>

First, in the earlier source, in 1291 when the bath is mentioned for the first time, it is geographically defined as *balneum in rivo subtus Grech*.<sup>77</sup> Because of the description of the bath by its location, it is impossible to determine who owned the bath before 1291. A later example of the terminology is the 1515 litigation when the bath is listed as *balneum dominorum prebendariorum* because it belonged to the prebendaries during the sixteenth century.<sup>78</sup> Since both the Cistercians and the Prebendaries were in close relation to the Zagreb bishopric, the term *balneum ecclessie Zagrabie* can also be found in the sources when describing the bath.<sup>79</sup>

By collecting the information from the different sources, it is possible to establish the approximate location of the bath. In one legal dispute from 1376, it is determined as being near the church of Saint Mary which was in proximity of the Cistercian monastery, *prope ipsam ecclesiam beate virginis secus rivum Grech habitum*.<sup>80</sup> The same, geographical determination is applied in the 1516 document where the bath is referred to as *balneum prope ecclesiam beate virginis*.<sup>81</sup> The other piece of information which can help locate the bath sets it under Opatovina, not far from the Splavnica, a small street at the end of what used to be the Medveščak Stream.<sup>82</sup> The part of town called Opatovina was known as *Vicus monasterii* in the

<sup>76</sup> Tkalčić uses the Croatian term “Cistercitsko”, an adjective which denotes that it belongs to Cistercians, and the Prebendary bath in the introductory parts of many of his volumes, see MCZ II, CLXXIV. As the bath was held by the Cistercian Order for a long time and then was given to the Prebendaries in the 1366, the transition is clear and there was no possible misunderstanding on which bath was he referring. MCZ I-III.

<sup>77</sup> MCZ I, 68.

<sup>78</sup> MCZ III, 131.

<sup>79</sup> MCZ I, 455.

<sup>80</sup> Near to the church of the Holy Virgin along the stream Grech. This stream is the same one which is later known as Medveščak. MCZ I, 455.

<sup>81</sup> MCZ III, 154.

<sup>82</sup> Špoljarić, *Stari Zagreb od vugla do vugla* [The Old Zagreb from Corner to Corner] (Zagreb: AGM, 2008), 169.

Middle Ages, indicating that those lands belonged to the Cistercian order.<sup>83</sup> Regarding the fact that there was a bridge which connected Splavnica with the church of Saint Mary and the nearby Cistercian monastery, the bath had to be located there as well.

Regarding the ownership, it is possible to partially reconstruct how the bath changed its owners. Initially, it was assigned to the Cistercian Order. The Order of Cistercians was primarily a rural establishment, located outside the town. This was also the situation in Zagreb in the earlier period, where they were first situated outside the medieval town, on the island of Saint James on the River Sava which formed the southern border of the town.<sup>84</sup> However, in the late thirteenth century, the Order decided to move into the center of the medieval town, something not typical for the Cistercians. Moving into the town enabled them to get ownership over some institutions, one of which was the bath.<sup>85</sup>

There were a few possible reasons because of which Cistercians decided to leave the island of Saint James. One problem could have been the frequent floods of the River Sava which endangered their properties. Also, the canons of Zagreb had some properties on the Sava which may have caused additional insecurity in the Order which feared that canons could take their lands.<sup>86</sup>

Nevertheless, the primary reason for their movement was most probably economic. Even though they managed the bath while still being settled on the island of Saint James, being located on the outskirts of the town made it harder for them to maintain the building and control managing it. There was the same situation with the two mills which they already owned before

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<sup>83</sup> Klaić, *Zagreb u srednjem vijeku*, 52.

<sup>84</sup> Danko Dujmović, "Otok svetog Jakova: Prilog poznavanju srednjovjekovnoga kulturnog krajolika Zagreba" [The island of Saint James: A Contribution to our knowledge about medieval cultural landscape of Zagreb], *Croatica Christiana Periodica* 40, no. 78 (2016): 39-40.

<sup>85</sup> Danko Dujmović, "Otok svetog Jakova," 42.

<sup>86</sup> Klaić, *Zagreb u srednjem vijeku*, 446-447.

1259 while being located on the island of Saint James.<sup>87</sup> It was probably impractical and hard to keep control over their properties from a distance.<sup>88</sup>

Moreover, a peculiar thing is that the Cistercians, and not some other clerics, e.g. canons, had ownership over the bath. This is unusual because even though the practice of owning properties and then renting them out was typical for the Cistercian Order, there are no many examples of the Order owning a bath. One of the rare examples is a case of a public bath in Amalfi where the Cistercian monastery of Saint Peter Toczulo was given the bath in the early thirteenth century. The previous owner, Manso Capuanus and his son, donated the bath to the Cistercian order for the salvation of their souls and the souls of their parents.<sup>89</sup> Another example is the village of Répcekehely, which later became *oppidum*, which was in the early fifteenth century owned by the Cistercian abbey. As there was a *balneum* located in the village, László Ferenczi concluded that the bath must have been owned by the Cistercians as well.<sup>90</sup> Despite these exceptional examples, the practice of owning a bath was still not typical for the Cistercian Order through Europe. The fact that they owned a bath in Zagreb was probably caused by two factors. First, it was one of the most profitable institutions to be owned in the center of Zagreb. Second, the Cistercians also owned two mills nearby, and as already mentioned, the mill and the bath used to be owned by the same person or institution.

In 1291 after the litigation between the Cistercian Order represented by its abbot, and the Canon Petar of Zagreb, the bath was assigned to the Cistercians. The litigation was mediated by Ivan, bishop of Zagreb because the bishopric had the jurisdiction over the bath and the bishop had the authority over both the canons and the Cistercians. From this source,

<sup>87</sup> The mills were donated to the Cistercian Order by the archdeacon and canon of Zagreb Peter, the same person who donated the bath to them in 1291, see Mladen Ančić, "Cistercians in Thirteenth Century Croatia," *Mediaevistik* 10 (1997): 214.

<sup>88</sup> Ksenija Brigljević, "The Cistercian Monastery and the Medieval Urban Development of Zagreb," *Annual of Department of Medieval Studies* 1 (1993/1994): 104.

<sup>89</sup> Caskey, "Steam and Sanitas in the Domestic Realm. Baths and Bathing in the Domestic Realm," 188.

<sup>90</sup> Laszlo Ferenczi, *Management of Monastic Landscapes. A Spatial Analysis of the Economy of Cistercian Monasteries in Medieval Hungary*, Doctoral Dissertation, 276.

we find out that the bath was located under the *curia* of Canon Petar, which is a clear confirmation of the fact that the bath was located on the Kaptol side. The source states that the conflict about the ownership had been going on for some time before being resolved in 1291 which proves the bath was already operational before this year. After 1291, the Cistercian Order got the ownership over the bath and they used to rent it out to the canons and town officials.<sup>91</sup> Renting out the bath was obviously a more considerable source of income for the Order than managing the bath by themselves. The question arises if Cistercians had any other interest in owning the bath, except for financial benefits. This is especially important because owning such an institution does not match the ideas of monastic orders, but the lack of any evidence suggesting otherwise seems to suggest that it was not an ideological concern for the Cistercians.

The first example of the renting practice is from 1339 when they gave the right of usage of the bath to Nikola, the town judge. The annual rent for the bath was 60 denars.<sup>92</sup> Already from this first case of the renting practice, it is clear that the bath was an important and valuable institution if the town judge was interested in renting it. This is also the first mentioning of the bath after 1291 and as no previous renter is mentioned in the source, probably the Cistercians managed the bath by themselves until 1339. After Nikola's death *sine herede et testamento*, the Cistercians took the bath back.<sup>93</sup> Then the Cistercians rented it to Mafeo Biondo from Venice, the first in the line of those Italian citizens who managed this bath.<sup>94</sup> Bruno Škreblin listed two more Italians in the function of bath tenants for a period of time, Gerinus de Spinal and Martin Renis de Florence.<sup>95</sup> Gerin acquired the renting right by getting it from his wife, Benika, who was the daughter of the aforementioned Mafeo.<sup>96</sup> Gerin was the son of Nikola Gerin,

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<sup>91</sup> Buntak, *Povijest Zagreba*, 138.

<sup>92</sup> MCZ I, CLX.

<sup>93</sup> He died without heirs and a last will, see MCZ I, 229.

<sup>94</sup> MCZ I, CLX.

<sup>95</sup> Bruno Škreblin, "Ethnic Groups in Zagreb's Gradec in the Late Middle Ages," *Review of Croatian History* 9, no.1 (2013): 32.

<sup>96</sup> Bruno Škreblin, "Uloga obiteljskih veza u formiranju gradske elite zagrebačkog Gradeca" [The Role of Family Ties in the Formation of the Urban Elite of the Gradec of Zagreb] *Zbornik Odsjeka za povijesne znanosti Zavoda za povijesne i društvene znanosti Hrvatske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti* 34 (2016): 45.

descendant of family Gerin or Sirgerini which first appeared in the sources for Zagreb in 1317.<sup>97</sup>

It is important to note that renting was not hereditary from the beginning, but the bath was given back to the Order after the death of the renter. Firstly, this is clear from the case of the aforementioned case of Nikola who died leaving no last will and the Cistercians took the bath back. The question remains if Nikola's heirs would have the right to keep the bath in case he left the last will.

The second confirmation that the managing right was not hereditary is the case of Mafeo Biondo, whose daughter Benika tried to keep her rights as a tenant over the bath after Mafeo died. However, the Cistercians opposed this and the conflict escalated ending in the court.<sup>98</sup> The bath and the small room which was part of the complex were assigned back to the Cistercians. However, Benika was allowed to remove everything that her father had built on the territory of the bath.<sup>99</sup> Even though the whole structure of the bath is unknown, we know that Benika dismantled some wooden buildings.<sup>100</sup> Therefore, there were obviously more rooms and the bath was wooden, consisting only of this one room before Mafeo obtained the right of operating it.

In 1364, Abbot Vinimand of the Cistercian Order, gave the right to operate *predictum locum balnealem honorabili viro domino Paulo archidiacono kamarchensi, Thome et Johanni fratribus suis ac ipsorum heredibus*.<sup>101</sup> This is an obvious change from the previous cases when the bath was returned to the Cistercians after the death of the renter. The difference is that the bath was now rented to a cleric, while the previous owners were the town judge and after him the citizen of Zagreb, Mafeo Blondo. After the current transaction, the archdeacon and his

<sup>97</sup> Škreblin, "Uloga obiteljskih veza u formiranju gradske elite zagrebačkog Gradeca," 45.

<sup>98</sup> MCZ I, CLX.

<sup>99</sup> The whole litigation process is described in MCZ I, 455-457.

<sup>100</sup> MCZ I, 455-457.

<sup>101</sup> Aforementioned bath to the honorable man archdeacon Pavao of Komarnica, his brothers Toma and Ivan but also to their descendants. (own translation) MCZ I, 229.

brothers were responsible for managing the bath and had permission to sell it or give it away under the condition that the eventual new renters after them kept paying their dues determined by the contract. This is a change from the earlier period because the Cistercians did not require the bath to be given back to them in the case of the death of the renter. Rather, it was probably more practical for them to leave this process to the renters who could give the bath to someone. It was determined that starting from 1366 they had to pay rent of four *pensas denariorum*, equaling 160 denars and give a gift to the Order three times a year in the minimum value of ten denars.<sup>102</sup> The rent was paid monthly, unlike the earlier case when town judge was supposed to pay a yearly rent of 60 denars. Apart from the rent, the brothers of the Cistercian Order had to be shaved for free and have their blood let.<sup>103</sup> Obviously, this was a safer and more reliable income for the Cistercians than managing the bath themselves and collecting the money from the entrance fee and services offered in the bath.

Allowed by the decrees of the 1364 contract, Pavao left the *balneum muratum* by his last will in 1366 to the Prebendaries.<sup>104</sup> Since the last will states that the bath was built of stone, it was obviously built in stone by an investment of Pavao because in the earlier period the bath had been built of wood.<sup>105</sup> From that time on, the Prebendaries were operating the stone bath in Opatovina but only as renters, not as owners. The Prebendaries were priests, members of ecclesiastic structure who were given cathedral prebends at Kaptol for their service and were expected to take part in the liturgy and govern church estates in return.<sup>106</sup> The service of the prebendaries was established in the second half of the thirteenth century when the chapter as an institution developed and they formed a group of *kalendinum Prebendarium* which then managed the properties as a unit. The members were appointed by the Chapter of Zagreb and

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<sup>102</sup> A pensa equaled forty denars. See see Bálint Hóman, *Magyar pénztörténet 1000-1325* [History of Hungarian Money: 1000-1325], (Budapest: Akadémiai, 1916), 672.

<sup>103</sup> MCZ I, 229-230.

<sup>104</sup> MCZ I, 406.

<sup>105</sup> MCZ I, CLXI.

<sup>106</sup> Jerković, "Zagrebački kanonici," 66.

not by the bishop or the king as used to be the case in some other bishoprics.<sup>107</sup> This prebend, a part of the land was the main source of income for each prebendary. However, they did not get the land from the property of the Chapter. They got the parts of the prebends belonging to the canons.<sup>108</sup>

The problem regarding managing the bath appeared in 1511, when the newly elected priest Dimitar, took the office. In the previous year, by the permission of the King Ladislaus, Bishop Luka of Zagreb bishopric was appointed to build the new tower on the place where the Church of Saint Emeric had been located. In order to accomplish this, he needed to remove the church and give to the parish priest of Church of Saint Emeric, Toma a new building. For this, the Church of Saint Mary, previously owned by the Cistercian Order, but now neglected was chosen. By moving Toma and his office to the Church of Saint Mary, he was also supposed to get the rights which were previously ascribed to the Cistercians. Since Toma died in 1510, Dimitar who took the office got the rights instead. One of those rights was ownership over the bath and collecting the rent from the tenants.<sup>109</sup>

Dimitar was the official owner of the bath from that moment and the Prebendaries continued paying him the tributes which they used to pay to the Cistercians earlier, i.e. the money tribute, giving a gift three times a year. Moreover, the service of shaving and bloodletting remained free of charge for the abbot and the priests visiting the bath.<sup>110</sup> However, Dimitar wanted to take the bath back and administer it himself or rent it to someone else probably under better conditions. His intentions escalated in a 1515 litigation which lasted for two years before being finally resolved. The significance of this conflict is visible from the instances included in resolving the problem. First, it was the Chapter of Zagreb that tried to settle the situation. The Chapter decided that the Prebendaries could keep the managing right

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<sup>107</sup> MCZ I, CXXXV-CXXXVII.

<sup>108</sup> Jerković, "Zagrebački kanonici," 67.

<sup>109</sup> MCZ III, LXXXI-LXXXIII.

<sup>110</sup> MCZ III, LXXXVI.

if they kept up to their obligations toward Dimitar. After the Chapter's decision, the dissatisfaction of both Dimitar and the Prebendaries led Cardinal Toma Bakač archbishop of Esztergom to interfere and try to resolve the conflict. However, even Bakač was unable to put an end to the conflict. Thus, Pope Leon X (1513-1521) got involved in 1516 and sent the letter ordering that the litigation should be resolved.<sup>111</sup> In the end, a solution was found by keeping the conditions which were valid before the litigation started. The Prebendaries were allowed to keep managing the bath and Dimitar as the new owner of the bath had the right to take the rent and the gifts from the Prebendaries.<sup>112</sup>

The historiography tends to claim that Prebendaries were the owners of the bath. However, the fact that they kept paying the rent to the Cistercian Order and later to Dimitar shows otherwise. The Prebendaries were in charge of managing the bath, but they paid the rent which makes them renters rather than owners.

## 2.2. The Bath on the Western Bank

Regarding the other bath, the one that Tkalčić calls the “town” or “communal” bath, the terminology in the sources is even more varied.<sup>113</sup> Firstly, similarly to the previous case, this bath is also primarily defined by its geographical position. The designation as a town or communal bath derives from the fact that it was located on the Gradec side, and not based on ownership by the municipality as some historians wrongly claim.<sup>114</sup> The bath is identified as being located in the lower part of the city, *balneum in inferiori parte civitatis zagrabiensis* or

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<sup>111</sup> MCZ III, 166-168.

<sup>112</sup> MCZ III, XCII. See the full text of the letter MCZ III, 166.

<sup>113</sup> The Croatian term is “gradsko”, an adjective indicating something that belongs to the town, see MCZ II, XXI and MCZ II, CXCIV.

<sup>114</sup> Tkalčić uses the Croatian term “gradsko” which determines something as belonging to the town. However, I think that Tkalčić used the term only to determine the location on the town, i.e. Gradec side because in the descriptions of the litigations connected to the baths, he is aware that the bath was not in the ownership of the town authorities.



in relation to the hill over the city, Grič, *balneum in eius [montis Grechensis] suburbia*.<sup>115</sup> It constituted the border between Gradec and Kaptol and due to this, it used to be a place of discord. It was also located near the main bridge, the Pisani bridge, the main passage between two parts of Zagreb. Consequently, it was mentioned in a source as a *balneum eiusdem in suburbio supra pontem Pyzani most*.<sup>116</sup> This bridge was a main connecting point of Gradec and Kaptol. Its name comes from the fact that it was coloured in red, because *Pisani* means coloured. Today, it is known as Krvavi Bridge, the Croatian term from Bloody because of many conflicts that happened on it.<sup>117</sup>

This bath also changed owners coming from different social groups, but for most of the time, it was owned by citizens of Gradec. This fact shows that the baths were important, desirable and profitable buildings. The bath is mentioned for the first time in the agreement from 1344 between Stjepan and Akuš, sons of the deceased Ban Mikac of Slavonia, and the newly elected Ban Nikola.<sup>118</sup> By this contract, they were given the ownership over the bath and all unlisted buildings belonging to the complex. Moreover, this right was meant to be hereditary because the agreement states that managing the bath is the right of Stjepan and Akus, but also *et eorum heredibus*.

Stjepan Prodanić was the next one who owned a mill and a bath in Gradec, even though the sources about him acquiring these objects have not been preserved. According to Tkalčić, Prodanić bought the bath from the previous owners Stjepan and Akuš.<sup>119</sup> However, he was a descendant of Mikac, probably one of his grandsons and the *comes* (ispán) of Pozega and Zala

<sup>115</sup> MCZ I, 169, and 394, respectively.

<sup>116</sup> MCZ II, 348.

<sup>117</sup> I will keep the original title, Pisani bridge, as used in the sources, see Kampuš, Karaman, *Tisućljetni Zagreb*, 41.

<sup>118</sup> Mikac was ban of Slavonia between 1326 and 1343. Sofija Koretić, "Odnos vladara i plemstva Zagrebačke i Križevačke županije tijekom protudvorskog pokreta" [The Relations Between the Ruler and the Nobility of Counties of Zagreb and Križevci During the Period of Movement Against the Court], MA diss., (Zagreb, 2014), 28.

<sup>119</sup> MCZ I, XXXVII.

Counties so he probably inherited the bath from his predecessors.<sup>120</sup> As can be seen from the family tree compiled by Kopasz, Mikac had a son and a grandson named Stjepan.<sup>121</sup> Prodanić, known as Vrdug<sup>122</sup> was closely connected to Queen Elisabeth and the royal court. His relationship with the royal court changed when he was involved in a rebellion in the so-called Bloody Assembly of Križevci. In 1397, ban Detrik Bubek organized assembly in Križevci, a town in the northern part of Croatia. It escalated and it ended in the leader of the rebellion, Stjepan Lacković (Lackfi), being arrested. Stjepan Prodanić, one of the members of rebellion was defeated in a battle by king's army at River Drava.<sup>123</sup> After the rebellion was put under control, King Sigismund took properties from the people who participated.<sup>124</sup> Because of that, the King confiscated the bath from the *notorius aemulus* Stjepan Prodanić in 1398 and decided to entrust it to Bishop Eberhard of Zagreb instead.<sup>125</sup>

Through the change of ownership, this bath also became a property under the jurisdiction of a cleric. However, it is not clear why this property and the case were under the king's jurisdiction and not under the jurisdiction of Gradec authorities as the bath was a public building.<sup>126</sup> However, it must have been because of the charge of treason against Sigismund.<sup>127</sup> After the death of Bishop Eberhard Alben, the bath was kept by the family Alben which operated the bath for some time.<sup>128</sup>

Subsequently, it was rented to a certain Mihael, son of a goldsmith Sebastian, first in the line of his family who was mentioned on Gradec. The exact date of the agreement by which

<sup>120</sup> See Engel Pál, *Magyarország világi archontológiája 1301-1457* (Budapest 1996), 235.

<sup>121</sup> Nádor Kopasz, "Életrajz a XIII–XIV. Századból" *Századok* (1888), 150.

<sup>122</sup> Vrdug is a word which signifies devil in Hungarian. Whether in this case it was a negative connotation which was supposed to accompany Prodanić's name or was it a family name remains unclear.

<sup>123</sup> Koretić, Odnos vladara i plemstva Zagrebačke i Križevačke županije tijekom protudvorskog pokreta, 16-17.

<sup>124</sup> MCZ I, CXVI-CXVII.

<sup>125</sup> MCZ I, 394.

<sup>126</sup> MCZ IX, IX.

<sup>127</sup> Pál Engel, *The Realm of Saint Stephen. A History of Medieval Hungary 895-1526* \*London: I.B.Tauris, 2001), 204.

<sup>128</sup> Eberhad Alben was bishop of Zagreb from 1397-1406 and ban. Later, he became chancellor on the court of King Sigismund (1411-1437), see Goldstein, *Povijest grada Zagreba*, 94.

Mihael rented the bath remains unknown since no contract has been preserved. Originally, the family was of Slavic origin. Mihael married Klara with whom he had seven offsprings.<sup>129</sup> He left the bath to one of his daughters, Barbara as a legacy after his death in 1444.<sup>130</sup> Barbara was married to a goldsmith from Baranja named Benedikt. She donated the bath to Benedikt in 1451.<sup>131</sup> Benedikt, probably having no heirs but in need of the money, gave the bath to Nikola of Nuremberg in exchange for 150 golden florins in 1463.<sup>132</sup>

The last owner of the bath in the fifteenth century we have information about is Klara, daughter of Luka from Stjeničnjak, who is mentioned in a source from 1473. She was the widowed daughter-in-law of the previous owner, Ivan Bolsak, the chief judge of Gradec, son of the above mentioned Nikola of Nuremberg.<sup>133</sup>

The location of the bath in the center of the town, on a connecting point between two parts, it was probably the place where citizens bathed, but there is a possibility that outsiders bathed as well. In this aspect, maybe Pressburg is a clearer example, where the baths were located on the margins, i.e. along the roads leading into the town, where they reached the town walls. One of the four baths was even located on Fisherman's gate, therefore it was easily accessible for the people visiting.<sup>134</sup> Therefore, due to the location of the baths, the option of the people from outside visiting the baths of Zagreb can also be assumed.

## 2.3. Economic Aspect

As could be seen from the social standing of those who owned and rented the baths, many important, high-ranked people wanted to be included. The same was the case with medieval Pressburg, where leading citizens were interested in owning the bath, obviously

<sup>129</sup> Škreblin, "Uloga obiteljskih veza u formiranju gradske elite zagrebačkog Gradeca": 48.

<sup>130</sup> MCZ X, 47.

<sup>131</sup> MCZ X, 128.

<sup>132</sup> MCZ XI, 16.

<sup>133</sup> MCZ XI, 16.

<sup>134</sup> Majorossy, "A test és a lélek fürdője. A középkori pozsonyi fürdőkről," 353.

recognizing the business potential of those institutions.<sup>135</sup> Similarly to Zagreb, there was an example of judge Jacob of Pressburg who bought the bath building in 1361. Some years later, in 1379, Nykusch Salczer, a burgher bought the bath.<sup>136</sup> Therefore, it is possible to trace comparable groups owning the baths in Zagreb and in Pressburg.

In the *Statuta Praebendariorum*, there is a document from 1498 listing the men who donated money for repairing the bath owned by the prebendaries. After that, there is a price list determining fees for the services offered to the priests in the bath. According to that, bloodletting from the small vein cost four Viennese denars while visitors had to pay two solidi for letting the blood from the big vein. Two solidi equaled sixty denars so there was obviously a huge price difference between the two services. The price for putting the horns was one Viennese denar for five horns.<sup>137</sup>

The rent was an important source of income that was safe to calculate with and probably one of the main reasons why baths were so popular and why the owners more often rented them out than managed them by themselves. In the contract from 1364 between Abbot Vinimand of the Cistercian Order and the Archdeacon of Komarnica Pavao, the latter was given administering right over the bath for the rent of four *pensa denariorum*, i.e. 160 denars, and for the three gifts yearly worth at least ten denars.<sup>138</sup> By the same contract, the Cistercian monks were given the permission to enter the bath without paying the entrance fee *quandocumque predicta stuba balnei diebus consvetis pro balneandis hominibus calefacta fuerit, nos et fratres nostri liberam habebimus in eandem intrandi*.<sup>139</sup>

There are the cases when the *balneator* was the one renting the bath. In the 1357 document it is stated that *Gerinus et domina sua ipsam stubam balnei licet translocatam in*

<sup>135</sup> Majorossy, "A test és a lélek fürdője. A középkori pozsonyi fürdőkről," 348.

<sup>136</sup> Majorossy, "A test és a lélek fürdője. A középkori pozsonyi fürdőkről," 348.

<sup>137</sup> MCZ III, 317-318.

<sup>138</sup> MCZ I, 229.

<sup>139</sup> On the days when the previously mentioned bathing room will be heated for the people, we and our brother have the freedom to enter. (my translation) MCZ I, 230.

*sua habent proprietate*.<sup>140</sup> Even though the source does not define the function of the aforementioned Gerin, he and his wife are mentioned in the later 1360 litigation where Gerin is listed as *balneator*.<sup>141</sup> Therefore, being in the function of *balneator*, it could be that Gerin and his wife acquired the managing right rather than ownership.

There is no evidence of other sources of income from the bath, but the possibility cannot be excluded. In some baths, like in the case of Pressburg, people used to drink and eat there, apart from the bathing and socializing.<sup>142</sup> Also, in the case of thermal baths of Varaždin, instead of rent, the chapter sold the wine which they produced by themselves and got their income from that.<sup>143</sup> Sources for Zagreb do not mention any of these examples, but servants are mentioned whose responsibility was probably also to supply drinks for the visitors if needed.<sup>144</sup>

## 2.4. Bath as a Place of Conflict

The bath located on Gradec side, used to be directly or indirectly included into conflicts due to its location. As described above, it was situated near the Pisani bridge, the main bridge connecting Gradec and Kaptol.<sup>145</sup> Besides the citizens, anyone entering the town was using the bridge as it was in the nucleus of the town.

In 1422, canons attacked some of the citizens of Gradec. The place of combat was on the border between the two jurisdictions, specifically near well Manduševac, the Church of Saint Martin and the communal bath, all the objects in proximity to each other. In the battle, many citizens of Gradec were heavily injured while some were even killed. However, the source does not specify if part of the fighting happened inside the bath.<sup>146</sup>

<sup>140</sup> Gerinus together with his wife had transferred the bathhouse to their own property. MCZ IV, 94.

<sup>141</sup> MCZ IV, 174.

<sup>142</sup> Judit Majorossy, "A test és a lélek fürdője. A középkori pozsonyi fürdőkről," 343-344.

<sup>143</sup> Florence Fabijanec, "Prilog poznavanju uloge vode u svakodnevnom životu srednjovjekovne Hrvatske," 45.

<sup>144</sup> MCZ III, 317-318.

<sup>145</sup> MCZ II, 348.

<sup>146</sup> Borislav Grgin, "Vrhunac srednjovjekovnog razvoja" [The Peak of the Medieval Development], in *Povijest grada Zagreba*, Ivo Goldstein and Slavko Goldstein, eds., 74.

There is one document which explicitly testifies about a fight that happened inside the bath. It was initiated by Osvald Tuz of Lak, bishop of Zagreb who was, together with his brother given Medvedgrad, a castle in the northern part of Zagreb. Osvald was bishop of Zagreb between 1466 and 1499 and he enjoyed the protection of King Matthias Corvinus who gave him the right to manage the castle.<sup>147</sup> In the years 1471 and 1472, he was part of the conspiracy against the king that caused their relationship to deteriorate. After acquiring Medvedgrad, Osvald claimed the ownership of many territories of Gradec which he tried to capture by force.<sup>148</sup> In 1472, *capetanei gencium exercituum reverendi in Christo patris, domini Osvaldi, episcopi Zagrebiensis*, Ivan de Buzla, Matija Olaz, and Grgur Zubalo entered with their armed men the bath next to Pisani bridge (*cum quam pluribus gentibus eiusdem armatis et potenciaris manibus ad dictum balneum dicte civitatis irruentes*).<sup>149</sup> It is pointed out that they acted with the permission of the bishop. There, they found two noble men, Petar of Byzkad and Stjepan Bykchele of Zelnawar, place east of Zagreb and one burgher. While Stjepan was beaten up and wounded (*diris verberum et vulnerum plagis affecissent*), Petar was captured, tied up and led through Kaptol and was kept in captivity. The burgher, without any sin committed was also beaten up heavily and left half dead. As it was emphasized that the burgher had not done anything wrong, the two noble men who were injured were obviously targeted for some reason which remains unknown to us.<sup>150</sup>

The reason why this case was explained in such a detail was probably due to many factors. First of all, the captains committed the crime with the permission of bishop. The

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<sup>147</sup> Grgin, "Vrhunac srednjovjekovnog razvoja," 76.

<sup>148</sup> Captains of the bishop Osvald of Zagreb committed the violent trespass and entered the bath with many armed men. (my translation) MCZ II, III.

<sup>149</sup> MCZ II, 348.

<sup>150</sup> Another case of violent actions motivated by bishop is from the same year, 1472, when peasants led by bishop came armed to occupy the territories on the western part of Zagreb, namely Dedići, Čnomerec, Bitek and Novaki. After this attack, followed another one on the crossing Kraljevski brod over River Sava at south. Bishop's men occupied the place, but also took some men for captives and threw some peasants into the river. The captives were taken to the fort of Medvedgrad which was ruled by bishop Osvald where they were held until they paid ransom. MCZ II, CXC.

investigation and the verdict were issued by *judices nobilium*, a group of four judges who were in charge of investigating criminal cases happening in the county. Through accusing the captains of the bishop's army, their intention was probably to accuse the bishop himself. To emphasize the case, even more, it is pointed out that the attack happened in the time of the annual fair held on Saint Margaret's day, when the peace was supposed to be maintained, as the town was protected by the special immunity given by the king, called *ffranga*.

## Chapter 3. Social Functions of the Baths

Besides being primarily cleaning places, bathing houses were also an important part of the medieval city as places of social gathering and leisure.<sup>151</sup> Therefore, the primary objective of this chapter is to show what functions the baths of medieval Zagreb fulfilled and from which social groups the visitors came from. In other words, the goal is to determine what attracted people to go there and how baths formed a part of social life for the people of medieval Zagreb. As no narrative sources are available, this chapter will be based mostly on official documents such as litigations, last wills, and, in the case of a church bath, monastic statutes.

By using the already mentioned 1364 contract by which the Abbot Vinimand entrusted the management of the bath to Pavao, his brothers Thomas and John, and their descendants, it is possible to reconstruct services offered in the bath.<sup>152</sup> Part of the contract consists of listing the bath's functions, which included shaving, bloodletting, and bathing in warm water, to be discussed in greater detail in the following pages. Therefore, it is possible to reconstruct what people did inside the baths beside the hygienic activities.

### 3.1. Social Component

#### 3.1.1. *Balneatores, rasores, minutores*

There were certain tasks in the baths for which different people were responsible. In charge of management was the *balneator*.<sup>153</sup> They had responsibilities which included overseeing the functioning of the bath, repairing damaged tubs and looking after visitors. Apart from managing the bath, they were supposed to employ barbers, *rasores* whose job was to

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<sup>151</sup> Remie Constable, "Cleanliness and Convivencia," 257.

<sup>152</sup> MCZ I, 229.

<sup>153</sup> MCZ III, 317-318.



shave the monks' beards every fourteen days.<sup>154</sup> In cases of Sopron and Pressburg which Kubinyi discusses, *balneatores* came from lower layers of society.<sup>155</sup> In case of Zagreb, it is not possible to reconstruct the social standing of these men.

Also, the function of *minutor sanguinis* is specified, who was responsible for performing the bloodletting.<sup>156</sup> Even though the *balneator* or the barber could sometimes be the one in charge of the bloodletting, the 1360 source mentions the function of the *minutor* who was charged with letting the monks' blood four times a year.<sup>157</sup> The same distinction between *balneator*, *rasor* and *minutor* is present in the 1364 contract which determined the services canons of Zagreb had to ensure for the Cistercians visiting the bath, and in return, they gave them the right to manage the bath. According to the contract, they were supposed to send the *balneator* and *minutor* in the bath to do the shaving and bloodletting for monks when needed.

### 3.1.2. Baths as Meeting Places. The Visitors

As could be seen from the previous chapter, the owners and the renters of the baths represented different groups of ecclesiastic and secular society. The bath on the eastern bank was managed by Cistercian Order, a town judge, Italian citizens, the archdeacon of Komarnica and finally by the Prebendaries.

The western bath was first mentioned in the ownership of the ban's sons, then it belonged to certain citizens. After that, the king gave the bishop of Zagreb the ownership of the bath. One of the owners was also a goldsmith from the eastern part of Croatia.

<sup>154</sup> There was a possibility that *balneator* could have performed shaving himself because the document says that it could be done by *balneator* or *rasor*. MCZ I, 230.

<sup>155</sup> Kubinyi, "Fragen der städtischen Gesundheitspflege in den mittelalterlichen Städten Ungarns".

<sup>156</sup> Klaić, *Zagreb u srednjem vijeku*, 288.

<sup>157</sup> MCZ IV, 174.

To conclude, the ownership structure was diverse as owners came from different groups of society. In the following pages, I will show the diversity of the regular visitors of the baths.

Both baths were open to the public and there were no restrictions on who was allowed to enter them. According to the census from 1368, over two thousand people lived in Gradec in around four hundred houses.<sup>158</sup> Together with Kaptol and the surrounding area, the number of citizens was between three and three and a half thousand.<sup>159</sup> One of the best examples is Paris which already at the end of the thirteenth century had twenty-six bathhouses operating. The example of Paris is often used as one of the best examples since it had a population of seventy thousand people and twenty-six bathing houses.<sup>160</sup> It meant that one bath was predicted for a little over 2500 people, and of course, not everyone used the bath. Therefore, two baths on that number in Zagreb were able to cover the needs of the town. However, the sources for the eastern bath, owned by the church structures, are more detailed and it is easier to reconstruct who frequented it.

The source from the Statute of Prebendaries is of great use for information about the people who frequent the baths. The Statute, determining the rules about shaving the monks, *fratres*, mentions the peasants who were obviously also regulars of the bath, and the term used for peasant is *rusticus*.<sup>161</sup> Even though this shows a clear distinction in the treatment of the two groups since it states that the monks should not be shaved with the same razors as the peasants, nothing is said about them being separated when in the bath. As this was an instruction for the manager of the bath, the *balneator*, if such a separation had been needed, it would probably be stated. Aside from monks and peasants, there are also *clientes aliquis reputationis*. Moreover, we have male and female servants in the baths, named *servitor* and *servitorae*. In the litigation from 1360, against a young man who entered the room where ladies bathed naked, the

<sup>158</sup> *Povijest grada Zagreba*, 66.

<sup>159</sup> Florence Fabijanec, "Prilog poznavanju uloge vode u svakodnevnom životu srednjovjekovne Hrvatske," 42.

<sup>160</sup> Smith, *Clean. A History of Personal Hygiene and Purity*, 170.

<sup>161</sup> MCZ III, 317-318.

*balneator* and his wife are the witnesses.<sup>162</sup> From this, it is clear, as already explained, that both men and women visited the bath. Moreover, the wife of the *balneator* is noted whose function was probably to serve the visitors.

Moreover, the document about the *capetanei* of Zagreb bishopric, Ivan of Buzla, Matija Olaz and Grgur Zubalo, entering the bath in Gradec and injuring two nobles, Stjepan and Petar, is a proof that noble men visited were also among the regulars. The term used for those nobles is *egregius*. With them was also one burgher whose name is not mentioned.<sup>163</sup>

Regarding the social status of the visitors, it is possible to see certain levels of stratification applied to them. Even though the priests and the citizens were allowed to visit the bath at the same time, different rules were applied to them. This is clearly illustrated by the regulation which says that for shaving the monks, razers of better quality should be used, rather than those commonly used for shaving other visitors of the bath, as transpires from the Statute of Prebendaries which states that *ad radendum barbas fratrum habebit cum suis servitoribus apta rasoria, non illa laicalia, quibus raduntur rustici*.<sup>164</sup>

Limited material is available to enable more detailed analysis, but the sources presented here do allow me to draw certain conclusions. Baths were regularly visited by the people from various groups of society: peasants, nobles, burghers, and monks could enjoy them at the same time.

As the religious composition of Zagreb was relatively homogenous, there was no need for any kind of segregation inside baths based on this criterion. However, the question of gender segregation must be considered.

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<sup>162</sup> MCZ IV, 221.

<sup>163</sup> MCZ II, 348.

<sup>164</sup> MCZ III, 318.

### 3.1.3. Gender Separation

The question of gender separation inside the baths of Zagreb is still unanswered due to the lack of information. Regarding the sources, there is only one mention of a young man *quod nudus in stubam ubi domine balniabantur intrasset*.<sup>165</sup> It is a 1360 document referring to the bath on the Gradec side, which records the accusation in which plaintiff Pausa accused son of a certain Goncha of entering the heated room where ladies were taking a bath.<sup>166</sup> Two witnesses confirmed this incident: the *balneator* Gerin and his wife, who was probably serving female clients in the bath.<sup>167</sup> Even though this is the single known piece of information about this issue, it is important because it proves that both men and women frequented the bath as early as the middle of the fourteenth century. However, based on this document, it is impossible to conclude whether there were separate rooms for men and women inside the bath or rather a temporal division during the day, with a separate time when men and women were allowed to enter the bath. Although the source leaves us without information regarding the gender separation in the other bath, it is fairly certain that men and women were generally not sharing the space inside this bath.

Another source is an excerpt from the Statute of Prebendaries in 1498 where the rules for the *balneator* treating the visiting monks are stated. These rules were at the same time instructions for monks themselves and their expected behavior when visiting the bath. While the *balneator* was responsible for ensuring that *servitrices* were not interfering with the monks, it was expected from brothers to think about their own honor and behave respectfully in the company of the *servitrices*, the female servants.

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<sup>165</sup> Tkalčić, MCZ IV, 221.

<sup>166</sup> This litigation is an untypical example. However, son of Goncha was mentioned in many other criminal and civil cases in the same year. For example, he was accused by plaintiff Andreas de Spinal for different misdemeanours, see MCZ IV, 173-174, 179-180 and 195. Moreover, plaintiff Pausa who was in charge of case against son of Goncha which is analysed in this chapter was included in another court case with him. For more details, see MCZ IV, 177.

<sup>167</sup> Who entered the heated room where ladies were bathing naked. (own translation) MCZ IV, 227.

The bath *Aquae Iasae*, a thermal bath located in Varaždin, north of Zagreb was functioning since the Roman period and came into the ownership of the Zagreb chapter in the late twelfth century. In that bath, gender separation was formally established in 1606 after the bath had been renovated. The question remains, what motivated the chapter to make this division so late, only at the beginning of the seventeenth century. It is possible that the previous structure of the bath did not allow to separate the genders because of the lack of space inside. Reconstruction conducted in 1606 probably made it possible to make separate rooms for men and women.

Interestingly, there was no hospital in Zagreb located close to the baths. For example, both Sopron, in northwestern Hungary, and Pressburg had hospitals and brothels nearby. An indicator of this is an event from Pressburg in 1439 where the brothel was relocated. Majorossy claims that this move could have been motivated by the tendency to keep the good reputation of the bath, without drawing a negative impression on the bath as an institution.<sup>168</sup> Therefore, hospitals, brothels, and baths obviously had common clients.

### 3.2. Cleaning and Healing

Zagreb baths were based on cold water which needed to be heated on a furnace to make the cleaning experience enjoyable. Regarding bathing, Vinimand's 1364 contract stipulated that on the days when water in the bath was heated, all the friars should be allowed to enter without paying a fee.<sup>169</sup> Therefore, the entrance fee for these days was probably higher than the regular price on days when the water was not heated. On the one hand, considering Zagreb's climate, it would be impossible to bathe in unheated water during the winter months, and also, warm water was believed to have medical benefits. However, what is important here is that the

<sup>168</sup> Majorossy, "A test és a lélek fürdője. A középkori pozsonyi fürdőkről," 350-351.

<sup>169</sup> MCZ I, 229-230.

temperature made it more comfortable to stay longer in the bath, turning it into a place of social gathering.

Many medieval baths were the places where certain health-related techniques were performed. This was part of *regimen sanitatis*, compiled knowledge about medical practices.<sup>170</sup> This knowledge was distributed through the universities and their students. As a Cistercian Order considered education as very important, many of the students belonging to the Order attended universities.<sup>171</sup> Through that, they probably encountered *regimen sanitatis* and realized the importance of bath as a place of healing. Being the owners of the bath in Zagreb, the monks probably introduced these theories.

Inside the baths, some health-related practices were conducted, namely the bloodletting and bandaging of smaller wounds.<sup>172</sup> When exactly this practice started is unknown, but it was already performed in the second half of the fourteenth century when a young man, son of Goncha, was accused of entering the room in the bath where the ladies were bathing. The main accusation was that this man *faciens se minutorem dixisset se velle minuere sanguinem*.<sup>173</sup> This is the proof that bloodletting was performed already and that the *minutor* had a special function.

Based on the sources for the bath located on the Gradec side, it is possible to reconstruct the health-related services offered in the bath in the sixteenth century when the Prebendaries were the owners. The practice of bloodletting by phlebotomy was developed in the Antiquity based on the theories of Greek philosophers about human health.<sup>174</sup> It was kept and practiced through the whole of the Middle Ages. According to these theories, the body consists of four liquids, among which there was blood. Bloodletting was seen as a method of cleaning and

<sup>170</sup> Van Dam, "Permeable Boundaries: Bodies, Bathing and Fluxes: 1135-1333," 118.

<sup>171</sup> Van Dam, "Permeable Boundaries: Bodies, Bathing and Fluxes: 1135-1333," 119.

<sup>172</sup> Florence Fabijanec, "Prilog poznavanju vode u svakodnevnom životu srednjovjekovne Hrvatske", 43.

<sup>173</sup> He made himself a *minutor* (person in charge of performing bloodletting) and said that he wants to perform bloodletting. MCZ IV, 174.

<sup>174</sup> The term comes from Greek, where *phlebos* means vein and *temnein* means to cut. Liakat Ali Parapia, "History of Bloodletting by Phlebotomy," *British Journal of Haematology* 143, no. 4 (2008), 490.

regulating the harmful humors in the body. By removing blood, the health could be improved, but also there was a belief from Greek times, adopted by medieval authors that bloodletting prolonged one's life.<sup>175</sup> This theory that the body consists of four humors was transferred from Aristotle, Hippocrates, and Galen to the medieval scientists<sup>176</sup>. We can find the same ideas in the work of Avicenna<sup>177</sup>. However, blood used to be contaminated with the bad humors, i.e. bad blood, phlegm, and biles. By practicing the bloodletting, the body was cleaned from the bad humors which had a negative impact on health.<sup>178</sup>

The missale of the Zagreb bishopric from 1511 clearly indicates how bathing culture and health functions were connected. This missale contains a calendar which determines what is recommendable to eat and drink each month for maintaining good health. It also suggests which months are recommendable for bathing and bloodletting and which are not. Moreover, it provides an explanation why something was or was not recommendable in the specific month. All these factors, eating and drinking hot or cold food and drinks, bloodletting and taking a bath were the ways in which body humors were regulated, according to the ancient theories.<sup>179</sup> These instructions were reacknowledged by the universities in the thirteenth and fourteenth century.<sup>180</sup>

The practice of bloodletting was mentioned in the case of Zagreb bath and it is contained in the Statute of Prebendaries from 1511. Several types of bloodletting are specified in the source – *de vena minori* and *de [vena] maiori*. The process itself is referred to as *fleubothomia*.<sup>181</sup> Because the whole process of bloodletting was based on the theories about the body humors, the *minutor* was to decide, based on the disease of the patient, how much blood

<sup>175</sup> Nancy G. Siraisi, *Medieval and Early Renaissance Medicine. An Introduction to Knowledge and Practice* (Chicago, London: The University of Chicago Press, 1990), 97.

<sup>176</sup> Siraisi, *Medieval and Early Renaissance Medicine*, 139-140.

<sup>177</sup> Caskey, "Steam and "Sanitas," 188.

<sup>178</sup> Siraisi, *Medieval and Early Renaissance Medicine*, 97-105.

<sup>179</sup> Siraisi, *Medieval and Early Renaissance Medicine*, 117.

<sup>180</sup> For development of these instructions known under the general term *regimen sanitatis*, see Van Dam, "Permeable Boundaries: Bodies, Bathing and Fluxes: 1135-1333".

<sup>181</sup> MCZ III, 317.

should be removed and according to that he chose the right vein. Siraisi states that blood was mostly drawn from one of the three major veins of the arm.<sup>182</sup> What type prevailed in Zagreb is not possible to say, but based on one of the sources, bloodletting from the *vena capitalis* was prescribed for December. Whether that proves that blood was usually drawn from the *vena minori* remains an open question. Also, there are no symptoms mentioned in the sources which would require this type of therapy. Therefore, the *minutor* was obviously the one who was supposed to recognize the symptoms and decide which therapy will help.

Another service offered was putting horns on the patient's body. This practice is also mentioned in the 1511 document.<sup>183</sup> The technique is known as cupping. The cups would be put on the patient's body in order to move the bad humors to the specific part of the body which was considered to be problematic. Cups could be made of metal, but as they are called *cornus* in case of the Zagreb bath, they were probably made out of animal bones.<sup>184</sup> Animal horns would be applied to the injured part of the body. As Rosner argues, based on the earlier historiography, this was exactly the technique used in the Zagreb bath.<sup>185</sup> Its function was to treat internal problems by creating a sort of a vacuum which would then move the bad humors to the appropriate part of the body. This function was usually performed by a cupper, a function which cannot be found in sources for Zagreb. Therefore, it was probably performed by the *minutor*. The price listed in the source fixed the price of one Viennese denar for putting five horns.<sup>186</sup>

Unlike some other calendars which divide the year by seasons, the 1511 missale of Zagreb gives instructions for each month. These instructions were located under the calendar

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<sup>182</sup> Siraisi, *Medieval and Early Renaissance Medicine*, 97-105.

<sup>183</sup> MCZ III

<sup>184</sup> MCZ III, 317-318. Information about the metal cups used for cupping can be found in Siraisi, *Medieval and Early Renaissance Medicine*, 139.

<sup>185</sup> Fred Rosner, "Bloodletting in Talmudic Times," *Bulletin of the New York Academy of Medicine* 62, no. 9 (1986), 939-940.

<sup>186</sup> MCZ III, 318.



for each month in a four-versed form. The rhymed verse is used because they were obviously meant for the general public and were to be easily memorized. Since the source is prescriptive, it is impossible to determine if people really followed these rules.

*Ianuarius: Balnea tutus intres et venam findere cures.*

*Martius: Balnea sunt sana, sed que superflua vana. Vena nec abdenda, nec potio sit tribuenda.*

*Aprilis: In quo scalpescit corpus sanguis quoque crescit. Ergo solvatur venter cruorque minuatur.*

*Maius: Scindatur vena, sed balnea dentur amena.*

*Julius: Venam non scindat nec ventrem potio ledat. Somnum compescat et balnea cuncta pavescat.*

*Augustus: Balnea non curet, nec multum comestio duret. Nemo laxari debet vel fleubothomari.*

*September: Tunc venam pandas, species cum semine mandas.*

*November: Balnea cum Venere tunc nullum constat habere. Potio sit sana atque minutio bona.*

*December: Frigus vitetur capitalis vena scindatur. Lotio sit vana, sed vasis potio cara.*<sup>187</sup>

The missale recommends different types of bloodletting depending on the month. For example, in December it is recommended to let the blood out of the main vein.

Based on this source, bathing in the summer months should have been avoided. On the other hand, bathing and bloodletting were recommendable in the winter months. Apart from the healing function, it was also more logical to visit the bath with warm water during those months than bathing during the summer.

The fact that shaving, bloodletting and putting horns were performed in the bath proves the multipurpose functionality of the baths. Also, the existence of *minutor*, *rasor* and *balneator* suggests that there was a significant number of visitors, since one of them could not fulfill more

<sup>187</sup> January: Freely enter the bath and undertake the bloodletting. March: Baths are healthy, but not in excess. You should not let blood, neither drink too much. April: The body starts itching and blood starts multiplying. Because of that you should let blood. May: You should let the blood and take a bath. July: You should not let blood and avoid bathing. August: Do not bathe or eat much. Do not put horns or clean your body. September: You should let blood and eat vegetables with seeds. November: You should avoid bathing and drink moderately. December: You should let the blood from the main vein and drink moderately, warm drinks. (my translation) Here listed months are the ones that include guidelines for bathing and bloodletting. See the whole calendar in: Tkalčić, MCZ III, 265-286.

functions. In some cases, the *balneator* was the one in charge of shaving, but those were probably exceptional situations.

### 3.3. Saving the Soul – Religious Aspect

There was a tradition of donating money and land to the Church in order to save one's soul and have masses said for the deceased person's salvation.<sup>188</sup> The priests would pray for them and speak out the person's name during the mass service. Led by the same logic, people used to leave money in their wills for the repairs of the bath owned by monastic orders and later by the bishopric of Zagreb. The belief in intercessory power of the poor, students and mendicant friars was the reason why money was donated to these groups.

A nobleman from Velika Mlaka, a village on the outskirts of Zagreb, donated a small hamlet for the repairs of the bath owned by prebendaries. They sold the hamlet and with the income bought the *caldar*, heater for heating the water. This information is available through the 1516 document which determined what prayers should be performed for this donator: *Item qualibet feria secunda Requiem cum collecta Inclina pro quodam nobile, qui ultra Zawam in possessione Mlaka legaverat villam predictis dominis prebendariis, pro cuius precio caldar ad balneum ipsorum emptum est.*<sup>189</sup>

Also, in 1516, the castellan of Stjeničnjak, a city near Zagreb, donated one hundred forints for the repair of the bath, *ad reformationem balnei ipsorum legaverat florenos centum*. The same amount was donated by archdeacon Gjuro Ivančan of Beksin.<sup>190</sup> It is recorded that the money was used by the Prebendaries to repair the walls of the building.

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<sup>188</sup> Daniel E. Bornstein, *Medieval Christianity* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2009), 342.

<sup>189</sup> MCZ III, 169.

<sup>190</sup> Apart from donated money, the archdeacon Gjuro also donated silver and golden objects for the church inventory in 1502. In return, Prebendaries determined that during Gjuro's life but also after his death the mass should be held in his honor every Saturday in the Church of Saint Mary, see MCZ III, 169-170.

Another donation was made in 1498 by Matija of Donbro, cantor and canon of the cathedral of Zagreb, who offered one hundred golden florins *pro reparatione ac restauratione balnei, quod magnam ruinam et signanter in tectura patiebatur*.<sup>191</sup> Matija did this *pro refrigerio anime*, meant to be used for repairing the bath in the ownership of the Prebendaries.<sup>192</sup> The mass was also to be held for archdeacon Pavao of Komarnica and his brothers entrusted the bath to the Prebendaries.<sup>193</sup> In return, the names of those men were listed during a special mass dedicated to the people who donated money to the church.<sup>194</sup>

What is interesting is that it was specifically pointed out in the will that the money is left for the repair of the bath. It was not a donation to the Cistercian Order or Prebendaries who could then decide how to use it, but rather the donors determined in advance how they wanted their donation to be invested. This was the case with Matija of Donbro who specified that the roof needed to be repaired. Being a canon of the bishopric of Zagreb, he probably visited the bath and, based on what he had seen, decided to make the Prebendaries repair the roof. Some of the other donors came from different social layers. The canon and are only some of the donors on the list on which we also find a nobleman and a castellan.

Moreover, the mass was to be held for archdeacon Pavao of Komarnica and his brothers *qui legaverunt belneum predictis dominis prebendariis zagrabiensibus*.<sup>195</sup>

Another aspect connected to religion cannot be found in Zagreb, but its existence cannot be completely rejected. It is called *selpad*, meaning bath for the soul. People would donate the money for the poor to bathe. Through this, the baths were turned into semi-religious

<sup>191</sup> For reparation and rebuilding of the bath, of which the roof was especially damaged. (my translation) MCZ III, 317.

<sup>192</sup> MCZ, III.

<sup>193</sup> MCZ III, 169.

<sup>194</sup> MCZ III, LXVII.

<sup>195</sup> Who entrusted the bath by the last will to the Prebendaries of Zagreb (my translation), MCZ III, 169.

institutions.<sup>196</sup> This spiritual function could have been present in Zagreb as well, but there is no evidence of such practice.

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<sup>196</sup> Majorossy, “A test és a lélek fürdője. A középkori pozsonyi fürdőkről,” 354.

# Conclusion

As I have shown, baths of Zagreb, *balnea*, were an important social component in medieval Zagreb. Even though there were only two baths in Zagreb, they were proportionate to the number of citizens so they definitely did attract people from different groups of society which proves that the idea of communal bathing was developed.

In this thesis, my main goal was to determine what services and functions were included in the wide spectrum that formed bathing culture and what made these baths become more than a necessity for its visitors.

The two baths shared many characteristics with other medieval baths in Europe. Because of that, I found it necessary to make a general overview of the bathing culture starting with ancient Greece and continuing into the High Middle Ages. The goal of this overview was to, by looking at the specific aspects, determine which components were preserved and reappeared to the functioning of the baths in Zagreb. Through doing this, I was able to prove that religious and healing aspects were key components that formed the bathing culture in Zagreb.

The idea of communal bathing was obviously present and practiced. The proof of this is the ownership structure. Influential and wealthy individual who owned the baths obviously found those institutions to be lucrative. This would not have been the case if there was not significant interest in visiting those places. Considering the fact that the entrance fee was not very high, the profit obviously came from numerous visitors.

Bath as a healing place was the legacy of the Roman world. Basing their knowledge on the theories of physicians and philosophers of the Greek period, medieval people continued removing bad humors from their bodies and curing diseases by the process of bloodletting. This process, also known as phlebotomy, was performed already in the second half of the

fourteenth century in Zagreb, by a specially trained person called *minutor*. This was not always the case, that *minutor* was a special function. The specialization of different functions inside the baths is another confirmation that the whole idea of bathing was very developed.

The overview of the bathing culture in the Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages in chapter 1 has enabled me to describe how this culture was maintained, adopted and adapted in the medieval societies. The most frequent type of baths in Ancient times was *thermae*, bathhouses which were built on the springs of thermal water. This was especially the case in the Western part of the Roman Empire, due to many springs. On the other hand, in Byzantine space, *balneum*, baths where the water needed to be heated became more widespread. Zagreb baths were both *balneum* type, where the water needed to be heated to make it pleasant for a long stay in the bath-houses.

Regarding their location and ownership structure, this work composed and analyzed how the two baths can be distinguished topographically, and how they changed the owners. This is an important element because of the lack of synthesis on the topic. Due to that, there are still examples in historiography where historians get confused about to which bath they are referring. A significant misconception is that one of the baths was communal, i.e. owned by the town authorities. Even though there was a period when the ban of Slavonia owned the bath, he was the owner as a private person and not as a representative of royal authority. Therefore, this work offers a clearer picture of how the owners changed. Since all the relevant sources are mentioned and analyzed, there can be no confusion as to which bath is a certain source referring. Also, in the case of Stjepan Prodanić who owned the bath on Gradec side in the fourteenth century, it was assumed that he bought the bath from the previous owners. However, based on my analysis, he inherited the bath from his ancestors.

Moreover, the historians so far have misplaced one of the baths, the one on the Gradec side on the maps. In this work, I have provided the new idea of where this bath was located.

As the analysis has shown, these baths made no discrimination based on the social status of the visitors or the gender. Unlike the Spanish example, where Muslims, Jews, and Christians were supposed to visit the baths at different times, not interfering with each other, this was not the case in Zagreb. Monks, nobles, and peasants were all listed among the visitors, but what was the percentage of each group remains unknown. However, the treatment of the visitors based on their status in the society was different.

The baths offered several services inside. First of all, it was a cleaning place. As already mentioned, the water needed to be heated to make it enjoyable. Apart from this, health-related services were offered as well, concretely bloodletting and putting animal horns on the body of the patient. The function of this processes was to remove bad humors from the body which were considered to be the cause of the diseases.

Finally, baths had a religious aspect. People used to leave money for repairing the baths *pro refrigerio anime*, for saving their own soul. By donating the money to the prebendaries, members of the church hierarchy who were running the bath in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century, the donors made sure that those Prebendaries would pray for them and help them to save their souls.

The analysis demonstrated that baths represented significantly more than a cleaning place for their visitors. They were urban institutions, very important for the community and for socialization, pleasure and necessity at the same time.

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