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The Walloon settlers in Spiš in the Middle Ages

Since the middle of the 12th century, the region of Central and Eastern Europe has become a place of increased migration of German guests. Demographic tensions between the overpopulated west and the sparsely populated east, but also increased trade activity, have caused population movements from west to east. The oldest layer of German settlement of this period came from the Lower Rhine, i.e. from the area where the German element intermingled with the Romanesque-speaking population. In addition to the German-speaking Flemish people, the Romanesque Walloons who lived in their neighborhood also moved quite naturally with them. That is why in this period we meet Wallonian guests not only in Hungary but also in Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia. Following the then trade routes along the Rhine and Danube rivers, they reached Eastern Europe, where they quickly established themselves and settled permanently. As capable traders and craftsmen, they settled in several trade centres at the time: Cologne, Regensburg, Prague, Vienna, Brno, Krakow.¹

In the kingdom of Hungary, we assume the presence of a Romance-speaking population as early as in the 11th century. Mentions of them can be found not only in the statutes of domestic church synod from 1092, but also in some Belgian chronicles, which speak of Walloons from the town of Liége

H. Amman, Die französische Südostwanderung im Rahmen der mittelalterlichen französischen Wanderungen, "Südostforschungen" 14 (1955), p. 406; Gy. Székely, Wallons et Italiens en Europe Centrale aux XI^e—XVI^e siècle, "Annales Universitatis Scientiarum Budapestinensis de Rolando Eötvös nominatae. Sectio historica" 6 (1964), pp. 3—71.

in the Eger valley.² Other groups of Walloons immigrated during the 12th century to Transylvania (along with the Flemish people)³ and other important cities of the kingdom (Esztergom, Székesfehérvár, Pécs, Oradea, Zagreb), which were then episcopal or generally important ecclesiastical centres.⁴ Together with the Germans, they also got to Spiš, a region situated on the northern borders of the kingdom of Hungary. And just the Walloon settlement of Spiš is the main topic of the present study, in which we try to find out the origins of the Walloon settlers, the impact and intensity of their settlement in this region and the process of their assimilation during the Middle Ages. The most important Wallonian locality in Spiš county originated in Spišské Vlachy

- 2. The tradition speaking of Walloons in the Eger valley has been preserved by three Walloon chronicles from the 15th century by Jean Stavelot, Adrien de Oudenbosch and Cornelius de Zantfliet. See Chronique de Jean de Stavelot, ed. A. Borgnet, Bruxelles 1861, pp. 595 596; Rerum Leodiensium sub Johanne Heinsbergio et Ludovico Borbonio episcopis opus Adriani de Veteri Busco monachi sancti Laurentii, in: Veterum scriptorum et monumentorum historicorum, dogmaticorum, moralium, amplissima collectio, 4, eds. E. Martène, U. Durand, Parisiis 1729, pp. 1216 1217; Chronicon Cornelii Zantfliet S. Jacobi Leodiensis monachi, in: Veterum scriptorum et monumentorum historicorum, dogmaticorum, moralium, amplissima collectio, 5, eds. E. Martène, U. Durand, Parisiis 1729, pp. 455 456. For their analysis see: G. Bárczi, A középkori vallonmagyar érintkezésekhez, "Századok" 71 (1937) no. 9 10, pp. 399 416; J. Csákó, Az Árpád-kori Magyarország a francia trerületen keletkezett elbeszelő kútfők tükrében, Doktori diszertáció, Budapest 2015.
- 3. The Flandrenses, i.e. people from Flanders or the Flemish (Flemings) came into Transylvania during the reign of king Geysa II. (1141–1161) as it is written in the source from 1192–1196. The ethnonym "Flandrenses" in the Middle Ages meant in that time not only the Flemish but all inhabitants of the county of Flanders, no matter the language they were speaking, so in this ethnonym we can understand also the Walloons. "in illo solo deserto, quod gloriosae memoriae Geysa rex Flandrensibus concessit," 1192–1196 (*Urkundenbuch zur Geschichte der Deutschen in Siebenbürgen*, 1, eds. F. Zimmermann, C. Werner, Hermannstadt 1892, no. 2, p. 2); K. K. Klein, *Flandrenses in Siebenbürgen*, "Zeitschrift für Mundartforschung" 28 (1961) no. 1, pp. 43–70.
- 4. G. Bárczi, A középkori vallonmagyar érintkezésekhez, pp. 399 416; L. Zolnay, Az esztergom il atinusokról, in: Annales Strigonienses. Esztergom évlapjai. Az esztergomi múzeumok évkönyve, 1, ed;. L. Zolnay, [Bp.] 1960, pp. 155 167; Gy. Székely, Wallons et Italiens, pp. 3 71; E. Fügedi, Székesfehérvár középkori alaprajza és a polgárság kezdetei Magyarországon, "Településtudományi Közlemények" 20 (1967), pp. 31 45; Gy. Győrffy, A székesfehérvári latinok betelepülésének kérdése, in: Székesfehérvár Évszázadai, 2: Középkor, ed. A. Kralovánszky, Székesfehérvár 1972, pp. 37 42; Gy. Székely, A Székesfehérvári Latinok és vallonok a középkori Magyarországon, in: Székesfehérvár Évszázadai, 2: Középkor, pp. 48 49; Gy. Kristó, Nem magyar népek a középkori Magyarországon, Budapest 2003, pp. 167 178.

located in the vicinity of the important German town of Spišské Podhradie, where Saxon quests were the first to be documented in Spiš.⁵

The construction of the nearby Spiš castle in Spišské Vlachy village is generally associated with the presence of these Walloons. This cannot be ruled out, especially when Wallonian individuals participated in the construction of Liptov castle in neighbouring Liptov, but we cannot claim that the Walloons settled here precisely because of the construction of the Spiš Castle.⁶ In our opinion, Walloons came to Spiš, as well as to Transylvania, together with more numerous German (Flemish) people originally for the purpose of military security of the border. Our opinion is supported by the location of both of these regions on the country's borders. The remnants of this original task (military security of the border) are reflected in the civic privileges of the Saxon "guests" in Spiš county from 1271, which contains an article on their military duty.⁷

In a remarkable manner addressed guests in Spišské Vlachy (Hungarian: Szepesolaszi) the king Bela IV of Hungary while granting them some privileges in 1243. The term *hospites nostri in villa Ollasy de Tornava* made many confused about who the actual addressee of the document was. The deed, more precisely, its transcript from 1265, has been preserved in the book of privileges of Spišské Vlachy from the 17th century. This book was stored in the archives of the town, so it is logical to assume that the privilege was addressed to this locality. We also agree with the opinion of historian Peter Ratkoš that *de Tornova* territorial designation confirms the era when Spiš

- M. Marek, Saxones nostri de Scepus. K niektorým otázkam príchodu saských hostí a ich života na Spiši, in: Terra Scepusiensis. Stav bádania o dejinách Spiša, Levoča – Wroclaw 2003, pp. 353 – 366.
- 6. The construction of the stone castle in Spiš dates back to the 12th century. Wallonian or French stonemasonry experts were well known and often used in medieval Hungary. They were involved not only in the construction of secular buildings but also church buildings: "magister Johannes lapicida filius Tyrionis de civitate S. Adeodati (Saint Dié, France) [...] obligavit se elevaturum murum ecclesie [...] beati Michaelis archangeli [...] simul cum turri seu campanili... Albe," 1287, Alba Iulia (Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár Országos Levéltára, Diplomatikai Levéltár, 277 191); Urkundenbuch zur Geschichte, 1, no. 221, p. 156.
- 7. Výsady miest a mestečiek na Slovensku, 1, ed. Ľ. Juck, Bratislava 1984, no. 43, pp. 55 56.
- Codex diplomaticus et epistolaris Slovaciae, 2, ed. R. Marsina, Bratislava 1987, no. 128, p. 84; Regesta regum stirpis Arpadianae critico-diplomatica. Az Árpád-házi királyok okleveleinek kritikai jegyzéke, 2/1, ed. E. Szentpétery, Budapest 1943, no. 1825, pp. 19 – 20.

was still part of the extensive Turňa castle, which also included the territory of what was later known as Spiš county.⁹

Let us return to the local *hospites*. According to the granted privileges, they were to be taxed at the same level as they were during the time of Coloman of Galicia, who took possession of Spiš before the Tartar invasion (1241). We believe that the *hospites* mentioned in the privilege were no longer just Walloons at that time but an ethnic conglomerate consisting of the original "Latin" people and newer immigrants, the so-called Saxons. These newer "quests" who came during the 13th century, but especially after the Tartar invasion significantly strengthened the original wave of colonists from the Lower Rhine settled in some localities of central Spiš and thus the colony of Walloons in Spišské Vlachy as well. Our assumption is supported by the fact that among the local population we find names that are obviously of German character.¹⁰ The same is true in the case of another more well-known locality with a Wallonian settlement - Székesfehérvár - whose charter of 1237 (preserved only in a copy from the 15th century) does not mention any Latin quests, although they undoubtedly lived there at the time, but explicitly orders that the granted privileges should also be used by quests who have just settled among the burghers of Székesfehérvár."

While the Walloons received their own privileges in a document from 1243, Saxon guests in Spiš were granted privileges by Stephen V of Hungary in 1271. In the latter the Latin people are not explicitly mentioned. They were an older class of guests than the Saxon immigrants who came here in the second wave of settlement after the Tartar invasion. These Saxons settled

- P. Ratkoš, Privilégium Spišských Vlách a Turnianske prédium, "Slovenská Archivistika"
 14 (1979), pp. 84 85; P. Labanc, Spišské Vlachy, in: Lexikon stredovekých miest na Slovensku, eds. M. Štefánik, J. Lukačka, Bratislava 2010, p. 474.
- 10. In 1317, Spišské Vlachy was listed as a privileged seat of the Spiš Saxon community. Personal names indicate it clearly. However, there are only documents from a later period: "Trumboldus judex, Nicolaus Phas modernus judex, nec non Jacobus Chák [...] cives [...] civitatis nostrae (i.e. regis) Wallendorf," 1404; "Nyclos Phas iudex ac Hans Hwngerkazth et Pethermesther, iurati de villa Latina," 1411 (Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár Országos Levéltára, Diplomatikai Fényképgyüjtemény, 267 882; Supplementum analectorum terrae Scepusiensis, 2, ed. M. Schmauk, Szepesváraljae 1889, no. 95, pp. 146 147; no. 107, p. 171). Earlier data mostly provide names that could be just as Wallonian as German, for example: Gerhard Gerard, Frideric Fréderic, Reynhard Rynard.
- Codex diplomaticus Arpadianus continuatus, 11, ed. G. Wenzel, Budapest 1873, no. 2, p. 11;
 Regesta regum stirpis Arpadianae critico-diplomatica. Az Árpád-házi királyok okleveleinek kritikai jegyzéke, 1/2, ed. E. Szentpétery, Budapest 1927, no. 619, pp. 189 190;
 Gy. Györffy, Az Árpád-kori Magyarország történeti földrajza, 2, Budapest 1987, p. 379.

next to them. That is why, in 1273, Ladislaus IV of Hungary granted the guests in Spišské Vlachy the freedoms enjoyed by the Saxon guests in Spiš, in the form of privileges granted in previous times jointly to this Saxons, as well as to the "Latini." ¹² Thanks to the Saxon immigrants, Spišské Vlachy joined the Saxon community. In 1317, when Charles I of Hungary confirmed Saxon privileges and listed the towns and villages belonging to the Saxon community, Spišské Vlachy was also included in it. ¹³

However, we are now more interested in the original Romance-speaking population of the village. There has not always been unity in the historic community in determining their specific ethnicity. Spišské Vlachy appears in the source documents mainly in the Latin form of *Villa Latina* or by the official name *Olaszi*, which is too general for their ethnic specification. However, we also found the forms of *Villa Romanorum* and *Wallendorf* in the documents. As for the term *villa Romanorum*, historian Peter Ratkoš translates it as an *Italian village*. However, this is incorrect. The term *Romani* was used for Walloons in Bohemia as well as in Silesia and Western Europe at that time. We have a parallel to the form of *Wallendorf* in the Hungarian context, in Transylvania. It is certainly not by chance, that there were two localities with this name among the local Saxons. We point out that the term Wall, pl. Wallen was used by the Germans both in Hungary and in their

- 12. "hospites nostros de Latina Villa in Scepes [...] eandem libertatem habeant [...] qua universi alii omnes hospites nostri Saxones de Scepes iuxta formam privilegiorum suorum, que tam ipsis Saxonibus, quam Latinis prenotatis priscis temporibus communiter concessa fuerant, gratulantur," 1273 (Výsady miest, 1, no. 47, p. 58).
- Regesta diplomatica nec non epistolaria Slovaciae, 2, ed. V. Sedlák, Bratislava 1987, no. 263, p. 130; Výsady miest, 1, no. 100, pp. 88 – 89; P. Labanc, Spišské Vlachy, p. 476.
- "Bernhard de villa Romanorum" (State Archives Levoča, Private archive of the Spiš Chapter, Scr. 7, fol. 1, no. 8); P. Ratkoš, Privilégium Spišských Vlách, p. 84.
- 15. Examples from Cologne, Prague and Brno: H. Amman, Die französische Südostwanderung, pp. 413 414. As for Silesia see: B. Zientara, Walonowie na Śląsku w XII i XIII wieku, "Przegląd Historyczny" 66 (1975) no. 3, pp. 353, 357. According to the latest opinion, hospites in Spišské Vlachy were originally members of the Romance speaking group who came from the Adriatic coast in Dalmacia. M. Homza, Vývoj sídelno-etnických pomerov včasnostredovekého Spiša, in: Historia Scepusii, 1, eds. M. Homza, S.A. Sroka, Bratislava Kraków 2009, p. 178.
- 16. "Wallendorf," 1328 (Analecta Scepusii sacri et profani, 1, ed. C. Wagner, Viennae 1774, p. 198). One of the Transylvanian localities lay in the vicinity of Făgăraș in the south (1396, Waldorph) and the other on the river Bistrița in the north of Transylvania (1295, "de inferiori Waldorf"). See Gy. Györffy, Az Árpád-kori, 1, pp. 243 244, p. 557 and Gy. Györffy, Az Árpád-kori, 2, p. 203.

homeland to refer to Romance-speaking people, especially Walloons.¹⁷ The founder of one of these two villages was Johan Latinus, endowed in 1206 with a large area, on which this village was later founded. However, our attention is aroused, as M. Auner has already pointed out, by the way in which John's name is written in this document. Instead of giving the name the proper grammar case, the writer of the document mentions it in an indefinite form (*Johan Latini hospitis, terra Johan*) alongside the same form (*Johanne Strigoniensi archiepiscopo*). It is therefore clear that this name was not the ordinary Latin form of the name John, i.e. Johannes, but its Wallonian or French variant — Jean.¹⁸

Hungarian scribes had great problems with its pronunciation and especially the transcription, so in the source material we have the opportunity to meet a whole collection of various forms of this name (*Ian*, *Iaan*, *Ienus*, *Gan*, *Gaan*, *Gyan*, *Gean*, *Geyan*, *Dyan*, *Gyhan*, *Gyhaninus*, *Geninus*, *Janinus*, *Iank*, *Gjangh*, etc.). ¹⁹ Its original form was recorded only by collectors of papal tithes in the kingdom of Hungary, who, what is very important, were of Italian origin. It was they who in the 30s of 14th century wrote the name of the parish priest in Olasz village in the county of Baranya in the form of *Jean*, which indicates the French or Wallonian and not the Italian origin of the inhabitants of at least this Olasz village. There can be no doubt at all that, if those Italians had a reason to do so, if that priest was indeed Italian, they would certainly have written the Italian form of his name. ²⁰

We also find bearers of the mentioned Wallonian personal name in the community of quests from Spišské Vlachy. In 1302, when we meet Ian, son

- 17. They were called Vlach, pl. Vlaši by the Slovaks (Olasz in Hungarian) and their settlements Vlachy (Olaszi, Olaszfalu in Hungarian). See Walchen, Romani und Latini. Variationen einer nachrömischen Gruppenbezeichnung zwischen Britannien und dem Balkan, eds. W. Pohl, I. Hartl, W. Haubrichs, Wien 2017.
- Gy. Györffy, Az Árpád-kori, 2, p. 203; K. Fehértói, Onomasticon Hungaricum. Nomina propria personarum aetatis Arpadiane. Árpád-kori személynévtár (1000–1301), Budapest 2004.
- 19. For the Wallonian variant compare: "Angelus de villa Gyon [...] ille autem contendebat se filium Latini hospitis esse et absolute liberum," 1213 (Regestrum Varadiense examinum ferri candentis ordine chronologico digestum, eds. J. Karácsonyi, S. Borovszky, Budapest 1903, no. 255); "ad vineam Gan Latini," 1288, Zagreb (Monumenta Historica Liberae Regiae Civitatis Zagrabiae, 1, ed. J. B. Tkalčić, Zagrabiae 1889, no. 71, pp. 61 62).
- Monumenta Vaticana Hungariae, 1/1: Rationes collectorum pontificorum in Hungaria. 1281–1375, Budapest 1887, p. 69. The mention of the Komárno castellan from 1398 clearly confirms this: "magister Gan in figura iudicii magnifici viri strenui militis Rennyr Pat natione regni Francie castellanus ac vicecomes Komaromiensis" (Zsigmondkori oklevéltár, 1, ed. E. Mályusz, Budapest 1951, no. 5426, p. 597).

of Renold and his son-in-law Pirin (*Perin*), his name is written in Latin as *Iohannes*, hut in 1326 he is again mentioned, but as Dyan. His father Renald is certainly the same person as Rynald, who in 1262, together with his companions, acquired land near Spišské Vlachy that would later be called Jerenáš (Hungarian: Aranyás), from their relative Andrew, the son of "castle warriors" (*de filiis iobagionum*). According to a document from 1326, Oluša, widow of Dyan, son of Renald from Spišské Vlachy owned land in Aranyás, which was once acquired by her father-in-law Renald.

Other individuals are also mentioned in Aranyás in 1304, who, based on the nature of their names, we assume were of Wallonian origin and came from the nearby Spišské Vlachy. These were Peter and Marcel, sons of Esop and their son-in-law Persuin. A year later, Rudolf and his six daughters Gera, Clema, Zenna, Mareta, Magonina and Greta are mentioned as coming from Aranyás.

Another person originally from Spišské Vlachy with a variant of the name Jean was mentioned as Gyank in 1319. His son Eugene held a curia in Spišské Vlachy.²⁷ Probably the first mention of Gyank is in the charter of donation on *Belcella* in Šariš county (todays Janovce village) issued by Stephen V of Hungary in 1261 for Ian, son of Nicolas of Spiš (*Ian, filii Nicolai de Scypus*).²⁸ The identity of both Gyank and Ian is only evident in a document from 1303, when *Iohannes, filius Ewgen, filii Iaan* and his cousin Stephen give up Janovce for the benefit of Eugene's daughter's husband.²⁹ This Ian, who

- Regesta diplomatica nec non epistolaria Slovaciae, 1, ed. V. Sedlák, Bratislava 1980, no. 166, p. 96.
- Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár Országos Levéltára, Diplomatikai Fényképgyüjtemény 272 473,
 272 491; Anjou-kori oklevéltár, 10, eds. L. Blazovich, L. Géczi, Budapest Szeged 2000,
 no. 439, p. 267.
- 23. Codex diplomaticus Arpadianus continuatus, 8, no. 19, p. 26.
- 24. "Olus relicta Dyan filii Renaldi de Latina Villa" (Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár Országos Levéltára, Diplomatikai Fényképgyűjtemény, 272 473, 272 491); Anjou-kori oklevéltár, 10, no. 439, p. 267. The name Janovce was first recorded in the 18th century. The village got its name after this Ian, son of Nicolas, who settled there new inhabitants. Cf. B. Varsik, Osídlenie Košickej kotliny, 3, Bratislava 1977, p. 322.
- 25. Regesta diplomatica, 1, no. 623, p. 527.
- 26. Regesta diplomatica, 1, no. 384, p. 180.
- 27. Regesta diplomatica, 2, no. 440, p. 209.
- 28. Codex diplomaticus Hungariae ecclesiasticus ac civilis, 5/1, ed. G. Fejér, Budae 1829, pp. 162—163.
- 29. Regesta diplomatica, 1, no. 257, p. 133. Compare with "Iaan et Gregorius, filii Tywan" from Vlachy in Liptov county (Regesta diplomatica, 1, no. 957, p. 410).

in 1270, together with his sons Eugene and Peter also became a co-owner of Pusté Pole and Kamenica villages in Šariš,³⁰ is mentioned among the noble and leading men of Spiš in 1274.³¹ We note that his name was recorded in the form of Jeanin, which is a French diminutive of the name Jean.

In the middle of the 13th century Ian was recorded as a possessor of the villages Žehra and surrounding Slatvina, Richnava and Krompachy. In 1245 he received permission from the Spiš provost Matthias to build the church of St. Spirit in Žehra. According to the document he was already settled there at that time. A year later, this Ian, son of Nicolas, the king's valiant knight, received Žehra together with the adjacent territory of the neighboring villages of Slatvina, Richnava and Krompachy from the king Bela IV. for his proven merits during the Tatar invasion.³²

His older son Eugene, called from Richnava, had an only son Ian, but he died prematurely so the successor of the family and heir to the entire property domain in eastern Spiš was Ian's younger son Peter and his son Stephen, who were called from Slatvina. In a document from 1300 we learn that their relatives "coming from one root and from one holding" were Danus, son of Zador and Danus's son Nicolas from Žehra. As a result of the murder of Danus's brother Beuch, which Eugene and Stephen committed in Žehra, property division was made between them. Accordingly Eugene and Stephen renounced the villages Žehra, St. Margaret (along with the right of patronage to local churches) and half of Olšavica in favour of Danus and Nicolas. On the other hand, Danus and Nicolas ceded Olšava, Kaľava, Dúbrava, Slatvina, Vojkovce, Richnava, Krompachy, Jalšovany and the other half of Olšavica to Eugene and Stephen. We do not know at what degree of kinship both families were, but it can be seen that Danus, Beuche and Zador had names that are more of Slovak origin. Be that as it may, the mentioned property didn't remain in the hands of Eugene and Stephen for a long time, some

^{30. &}quot;Janino filio Nicolai, Eugen et Petro, filiis eiusdem Janini [...] quedam loca venacionis nostre ultra indagines [...] Bachamezey et Torkueley" (*Codex diplomaticus patrius*, 8, ed. E. Nagy, Budapest 1891, no. 106, pp. 135–136). As for the name Janin, see the list of French names in Paris from 1421, 1423 and 1438: https://www.ellipsis.cx/~liana/names/french/paris1423.html (29.12.2021).

^{31. &}quot;mediantibus nobilioribus et melioribus dicte terre [...] Jaan" (*Regesta regum stirpis Arpadianae critico-diplomatica*. Az Árpád-házi királyok okleveleinek kritikai jegyzéke, 2/2-3, ed. E. Szentpétery, I. Borsa, Budapest 1961, no. 2534, p. 105).

^{32. &}quot;Iohannes, comes de Sygra" (*Codex diplomaticus et epistolaris Slovaciae*, no. 194, p. 129 and no. 220++, p. 153). The second document is a forgery.

villages were sold to relatives from Žehra, others eventually fell into the hands of Nicolas of Perín, who married one of Eugene's daughters from Richnava, until they were finally counted among the appurtenances of Spiš castle.³³

In the territory of the above mentioned village Jalšovany a new settlement arose in the beginning of the 14th century called Vlašinov Potok (*Vlasinovpotok*). It appears in the sources for the first time in 1314.³⁴ The name of the settlement is worthy of attention. Undoubtedly, it refers to the ethnic origin of its owner, who was Walloon. As we have already mentioned, Romance-speaking people were called Vlach or Vlašin by the Slovaks. And as for the identity of this man, it could be Eugene, rather than his father Ian who at the beginning of the 14th century was no more alive.

To the above mentioned Ian let us add that in addition to the name Vlašinov Potok, also the name of the extinct village *Gyanfalva*, located somewhere between Spišské Vlachy and the village of Vojkovce, reminds us of this notable person from the Wallonian community in Spiš. The village of *comes* Ian is mentioned for the first time in 1262 in the vicinity of Žehra. Sa a *terra Ianchonis*, is documented in 1310 in a demarcation of the territory that once belonged to Eugene, son of Ian. Under the name *Villa Iohan*, together with Spišské Vlachy, it was entered in the list of settlements belonging to the community of Spiš Saxons. In 1358, when Nicolas of Perín wanted to acquire it, it again appeared under the name *Gyankfalua* and for the last time it is recorded in 1399 as *Villa Iohannis* in demarcation of the property of Spišské Vlachy.

It is interesting that this settlement was counted in the Saxon community in 1317, although it belonged to a private person. However, it is also possible that its founder was not Ian from Žehra, but his namesake Iank from Spišské Vlachy, who, like Ian from Žehra, had a son named Eugene. It's quite bizarre that at one time and in one place there was a son and a father with the same name. Although it seems unlikely, it is not the same person. The

^{33.} Codex diplomaticus patrius, 6, ed. E. Nagy, A. Ipolyi, D. Véghely, Budapest 1876, no. 338, pp. 456 – 457.

^{34.} Regesta diplomatica, 1, no. 1168 – 1169, p. 498.

^{35.} Codex diplomaticus Arpadianus continuatus, 8, no. 19, pp. 26-28.

^{36.} Regesta diplomatica, 1, no. 791, p. 341.

^{37.} Regesta diplomatica, 2, no. 263, p. 131.

Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár Országos Levéltára, Diplomatikai Levéltár, 41 371; Anjoukori okmánytár. Codex diplomaticus Hungaricus Andegavensis, 7, ed. Gy. Tasnádi Nagy, Budapest 1920, no. 246, p. 474.

Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár Országos Levéltára, Diplomatikai Fényképgyűjtemény, 258 925; Supplementum analectorum, 2, no. 92, pp. 141 – 142.

facts (or documents) speak for themselves. Eugene, son of Ian from Žehra died sometime before 1310 and Eugene, son of Iank from Spišské Vlachy lived according to the testimony of credible documents in 1323.⁴⁰ He was certainly a little younger. In addition, he had up to four siblings: Arnold, Hank, Kokoš, and Stephen, while his older namesake had only one brother, Peter.⁴¹ He inherited a manor in Spišské Vlachy from his father Iank who married the daughter of comes Arnold from Spišský Hrhov, which brought him as a dowry portions in Hrhov and in Krig (today Vojňany). Eugene then wrote the name of the latter as his surname.

As for the property rights in Žehra it must be said, that in addition to the above-mentioned persons, magister Perin also had two acres of land there. It is possible that he is the same person as Pirin, the son-in-law of Renold's son Ian of Spišské Vlachy, whom we mentioned elsewhere in 1302. However, Perin's origin is not specified in the document. This portion separated from Žehra land was donated to him as the former land of Spiš castle in 1293 by King Andrew III. (*sub libertate nobilium regni*). Magister Perin allegedly performed his faithful service as a young man at a time when Andrew was only a duke, and later suffered serious injuries in a military expedition against the Austrian duke. On the whole it could be said that in several Wallonian families from Spišské Vlachy the process of feudalization took place successfully. By means of royal donations and family ties they gained considerable property in the immediate or more distant surroundings.

As we can see, people of Wallonian origin also settled outside of Spišské Vlachy. In Vlachy, the Wallonian ethnic group was gradually overlaid by the German (Saxon) population, but Slovaks and Hungarians also lived among them. At the end of the Middle Ages, it was a small town in which Walloons were practically non-existent. The Walloons were gradually assimilated in the German majority and were unable to maintain their ethnic identity. The preserved names of the community of Spišské Vlachy are a clear indication of this.

^{40. &}quot;possessiones quondam comitis Eugini," 1310 (*Regesta diplomatica*, 1, no. 791, p. 341).
"Eugenio filio Iank de eadem [i.e. Crig]," 1323 (*Regesta diplomatica*, 2, no. 1034, p. 450).

^{41.} Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár Országos Levéltára, Diplomatikai Levéltár, 40 585.

^{42.} Codex diplomaticus Hungariae ecclesiasticus ac civilis, 6/1, ed. G. Fejér, Budae 1830, pp. 247—248; Regesta regum stirpis Arpadianae critico-diplomatica. Az Árpád-házi királyok okleveleinek kritikai jegyzéke, 2/4, ed. E. Szentpétery, Budapest 1987, no. 3915—3916, p. 112. The village of Granč later developed in the donated area.

Contemporary documents indicate the existence of mixed marriages between the Walloons and the Saxons (Germans) in Vlachy: "domine Irumtruth, consorti Iank de Villa

1278	Reynhardus de Villa Latina	Regesta diplomatica, 1, p. 96, no. 166
1302	Iohannes, filius quondam Renoldi, de Villa Latina	Regesta diplomatica, 1, p. 96, no. 166
1307	Benhardus de Villa Latina	Regesta diplomatica, 1, p. 230, no. 501
1316	Irumtruth, consors Iank de Villa Latina	Diplomatikai Levéltár, 40 736; Regesta diplomatica, 2, p. 72, no. 115
1319	Eugenius, filius Gyank de Latina Villa	Diplomatikai Levéltár, 63 642; Regesta diplomatica, 2, p. 208, no. 440
1319	Iohannes Friderici de Villa Latina, clericus Strigoniensis dyocesis, publ- icus [] notarius	Diplomatikai Fényképgyüj- temény, 209 905; Regesta diplomatica, 2, p. 210, no. 443
1322	Petrus dictus Ridzik de Villa Latina [] consenciente Iohanne, filio Ren- hardi, sororio suo	Regesta diplomatica, 2, p. 366, no. 838
1326	Olus relicta Dyan, filii Renaldi de Latina Villa cum filia sua Imus, Jakus, Mykus et Renkes, filii eius- dem Olus [] Petrus dictus Rezzegh de villa Latina	Diplomatikai Fényképgyüj- temény, 272 473, 272 491
1339	Fynta, villicus de Villa Latina	Diplomatikai Fényképgyüj- temény, 264 168
1404	Trumoldus iudex, Nicolaus Phas, modernus iudex, nec non Iacobus Chák dictus cives dictae civitatis nostrae (i.e. regis) Wallendorf	Diplomatikai Fényképgyűj- temény, 267 882; Supplemen- tum analectorum, 2, no. 95, pp 146–147
1412	Nyclos Phas iudex ac Hans Hwn- gerkazth et Pethermesther, iurati de Villa Latina	Diplomatikai Fényképgyüj- temény, 258 924
1418	Nicolaus dictus Feschen iudex et Martinus dictus Granpner, iurati de Villa Latina [] cives et hospites	Diplomatikai Levéltár, 10 740

Latina," 1316 (Regesta diplomatica, 2, no. 115, p. 72).

1418	Iohannes Hilbran et [] Barbara, consors eiusdem de Villa Latina	Diplomatikai Fényképgyűj- temény, 290 628, fol. 205b; Zsigmondkori oklevéltár, 7, ed. E. Mályusz, Budapest 2001, no. 800	
Burghers and guests in Spišské Vlachy in the Middle Ages			
1419	Michael iudex civitatis nostre (i.e. regis) Villa Latina vocate in terra nostra Scepusiensi habite	Diplomatikai Fényképgyüj- temény, 258 925	
1457	Laurentius Messerschmidt, iudex, et Bartholomaeus Rottel concivis de Villa Latina alias Olazy	Supplementum analectorum, 2, no. 163, pp. 281	
1462	Laurentius Messersmit iudex ac Paulus dictus Mote de [] Olazi	Supplementum analecto- rum, 2, no. 163, pp. 281	
1507	Adreas Kabisdorfer, iudex ac iurati cives et inhabitatores civitatis nostre Villa Latina vocate in terra Scepu- siensi habite	Diplomatikai Fényképgyüj- temény, 258 925	
1522	Iohannes Willach, pharrer czw Walendorpf	Diplomatikai Fényképgyüj- temény, 235 115	
1522	Gregorius Pischel, concivis noster [] domina Caterina Kawl [] An- dreas Schpaga (?), iudex, iuratique seniores de Villa Latina	Diplomatikai Fényképgyüj- temény, 235 301	

However, the Wallonian element can be seen in other localities of Spiš region. The original form of name of the village Mečedelovce — *villa Micheleth* derived from its founder, Michelet, indicates its Wallonian roots. His possession was confirmed in 1255 with such obligation of military service, which was performed by other Spiš castle warriors (*filii iobagionum de Zepus*). ⁴⁴ In 1264 someone with a similar name — although it is probably a different person — (*Michulet filius Trumb*) came into possession of two ploughlands in a territory between Bijacovce, Ordzovany, Studenec and St. Margaret, situated in the neighbourhood of the Wallonian family mentioned above. ⁴⁵

^{44.} Codex diplomaticus et epistolaris Slovacia, no. 492, p. 342.

^{45.} Regesta diplomatica, 1, no. 380, p. 178; Oklevéltár a gróf Csáky család történetéhez, 1:
Oklevelek 1229–1499, Budapest 1919, pp. 4–5. It is certainly worth noting the identity
of Michulet's father's name (Trumb) with the word root contained in the name of the

In 1274, the same *Myculith* with the ethnic byname *Gallicus*, like Ian of Spišské Vlachy, was one of the most noble men in Spiš region.⁴⁶

It is known that the ethnonym *Gallicus* also indicates a Wallonian origin. This is evidenced by a document from 1278, by which Ladislaus IV of Hungary confirmed the possession of part of Odorín village to the siblings: Stephen, Gaan, Wyrunch, Nicolas and Richard, while at the same time they renounced half of it in favor of their relatives Ganina and Nicolet. Here the whole Wallonian kinship of this Nicolet ~ Myculite is shown to us in full.⁴⁷

As we can see, these Walloons owned Odorín, or part of it, which the family acquired in 1263 through their father Eberhard. He extorted it through the court from a goldsmith named Stephen, who in the same year also got rid of another part of Odorín, when he sold it to the local burgher Brum. After the goldsmith's death, the king gave the rest of the property to the judge of the Spiš Saxons, Goblin. Over time, the independent villages of Čepanovce (now part of Markušovce), *Ďanovce (Gyánfalva) and *Brum's field (Brumfölde) developed.48

Čepanovce is first mentioned as *villa Stephani* in 1306 in connection with the sale of a number of holdings (*curia*) of the extinct locality **Scenizdorf* to already known Goblin from Levoča. At that time, the vendors of this property, the sons of Eberhard and their descendants, were identified by the nobiliary

- mayor of the Wallonian community inhabited by Spišské Vlachy, which is mentioned in a document from 1404 (*Trumboldus*), see the table above.
- 46. "Myculith Gallico" (Regesta regum stirpis Arpadianae critico-diplomatica. Az Árpád-házi királyok okleveleinek kritikai jegyzéke, 2/2 3, no. 2534, p. 105).
- 47. Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár Országos Levéltára, Diplomatikai Levéltár, 71 660; Regesta regum stirpis Arpadianae critico-diplomatica, 2/2 3, no. 2912, p. 223. Compare Wirunch's surname with a French surname Virenque, which is still used today. It occurs in the department of Aveyron in the south of France: Geneanet. Cf. https://www.geneanet.org/genealogie/virenque/FRA/VIRENQUE-France (29.12.2021).
- 48. Regesta regum stirpis Arpadianae critico-diplomatica. Az Árpád-házi királyok okleveleinek kritikai jegyzéke, 1/3, ed. E. Szentpétery, Budapest 1930, no. 1381, p. 423; A. Fekete
 Nagy, A Szepesség területi és társadalmi kialakulása, Budapest 1934, pp. 110—112. Although the name Eberhard is of German origin, the bearer of this name didn't have
 to be necessarily of German origin. For example in Silesia in 1277 the person of the
 same name is classified as Walloon: "Symone palatino nostro, Eberhardo fratre suo,
 Gallicis" (Gy. Székely, Wallons et Italiens, p. 55). An even more interesting information
 in connection with the family of this Eberhard is provided by a document from 1281
 mentioning an individual named "Gahan filius Eburhardi" in the ranks of Esztergom
 burghers (Gy. Györffy, Az Árpád-kori, 2, p. 252).

particle *de villa Stephani*.⁴⁹ Čepanovce village got its name from the eldest son of Eberhard, Stephen.

*Ďanovce ~ Gyánfalva is documented as an independent village two years later, also in connection with the sale of properties. The sons of Eberhard sold part of their property *in villa sua sylvestri hereditaria*, *Geanfalua appellata* to Goblin, brother of Frowyn of Levoča. ⁵⁰ But they did not yet write the name of this village as their nobiliary particle. As a nobiliary particle it is not mentioned until 1337, when a member of this Wallonian family, Wyhard, son of Mikuš from Čepanovce, sold the half of the holding to his brother Ladislav of Gyánfalva. ⁵¹ Apparently the village was named after Eberhard's second son, Gaan ~ Gyán.

However, it is not the last one in Spiš named after a person using this Wallonian form of personal name. Perhaps the most known of them is Gánovce village near the town of Poprad, which was first documented in 1317 during the transfer of part of the local land. It is clear from the context of the charter that three families had property rights here: Basilis, son of Gaan and his two sons Detmar and Gahaan, further Cuntz's son Helbrand and his three descendants Gaan, Arnold and Nicolas, and finally Gotschalk and Kunzman, sons of Gerard. We assume that the original owner, after whom the village was named, was Basil's father, Gaan. This theory is supported by the fact that one of the other two owners of Gánovce village acquired his property by buying it from Gaan and his sons.⁵²

In addition to the Gánovce village, the sons of Gaan also had a share in the neighboring Hozelec village, a locality which, together with Gánovce, belonged to the so-called "Sedes superior," an institution in which the noble lance-bearers from Spiš were organized. Members of the "Sedes superior" seemed to have been entrusted originally with military border protection. They were obliged to supply 10 lance-bearers in the royal army, for which they enjoyed several rights including judicial autonomy. However, the ethnic character of this community could not be reliably determined. The Wallonian names, in addition to the Slavic, German and Hungarian ones, can be found

^{49.} Regesta diplomatica, 1, no. 449, p. 207.

Regesta diplomatica, 1, no. 575, p. 261. In 1317, the settlement was referred to as "villa Gean" (Regesta diplomatica, 2, no. 211, p. 108).

^{51.} A márkusfalvi Mariássy – család levéltára 1243–1803, 1, ed. B. Iványi, Lőcse 1917, p. 125.

^{52.} Regesta diplomatica, 2, no. 261, p. 130.

^{53.} Regesta diplomatica, 2, no. 570, p. 262.

scattered also in other villages belonging to this special self-governing community in the 13 $-14^{\rm th}$ centuries. 54

Another settlement with a similar name was *Gyhanfalua* extinct at the end of the Middle Ages, when the first written form of the name was recorded in 1377.⁵⁵ The settlement is referred to among Hungarian scribes in various versions of its basic form (*Gehanfalva*, *Ghanfalva*, *Kanfalva* but also *Klozdorf alio nomine Jankfalua*). We know that Jacob from Gyhanfalva, the son of Albert belonged to the "Sedes superior" nobility, although we have no further information regarding his origin.⁵⁶

The following family certainly came out of the Wallonian colony in Spiš. It is the family of Rubert, sometimes called Olaz in Hungarian, which means a speaker of a Romance language, whose son Stephen and his descendant Tiburcius released parts of their property in Spiš in favor of Stephen's son-in-law, Hermann, son of Bentram. His German name does not mean that he wasn't of Wallonian origin. 57 However, in 1294, this family got rid of the entire property, now called *Hnojník village, by selling it to Nicolas Stojan. On this occasion, we also learn that they held this property under the privilege of King Bela IV of Hungary (1235—1270). 58

Other settlements in Spiš, whose names may still refer to the Wallonian roots of their founders, include the settlement of Kolínovce, documented for the first time in 1317 (*villa Colini*) as a member of the Spiš Saxon Community. King Sigismund of Luxembourg later donated Kolínovce village to the parish of St. John the Baptist in neighboring Spišské Vlachy. ⁵⁹ The name Kolin is quite common in Spiš region and we can also find it in German localities. However, the form of the name, typical of Roman pronunciation recorded

^{54. &}quot;Hivard!, Viliam," Pikovce; "Villam, Gean, Jenk," Levkovce; "Archeus," Spišský Hrušov; "Pirin (Perrin?), Gobl," Primovce; A. Fekete Nagy, A Szepesség, pp. 285–292. Pirin is referred to as hospes.

^{55.} A. Fekete Nagy, A Szepesség, p. 155.

^{56.} In 1438, Peter, son of Hank "de Ianckfalua alias Closdorf" and his sons Servác and Mikuláš were mentioned here. The hamlet was situated between Studenec and Ordzovany. See Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár Országos Levéltára, Diplomatikai Levéltár, 39 448. To this day the toponym Hanzovec relates back to that family. See A. Fekete Nagy, A Szepesség, p. 155.

^{57.} *Codex diplomaticus patrius*, 6, no. 179, pp. 250 – 251.

Hnojník village lay between the villages of Spišské Tomášovce and Smižany. See Codex diplomaticus patrius, 6, no. 306, p. 412.

^{59.} Analecta Scepusii, 1, p. 281.

in 1494 (*Kollendorf*), brings us more to the Wallonian context of its origin. In addition, Kolínovce is a direct neighbor of Spišské Vlachy.⁶⁰

The name of the village Tvarožná (Hungarian Duránd), what Gy. Székely pointed out, mentioned in 1268 as *Villa Durandi*, suggests possible Wallonian roots, as this name was common among the Romance speaking population. ⁶¹ We encounter it as a personal name, even in the environment of Esztergom Wallons. In this context, we draw attention to the name of the patron saint of the local church, St. Servace. The saint of this name was also the patron saint in Maastricht, the city and area which it seems that the Walloons of Spiš came from. Tvarožná also belonged to the Community of Spiš Saxons. ⁶²

Comes Marsilius, the owner of the village of the same name (villa Marsilii), situated in the neighborhood of Vlková (1318), probably also had Wallonian roots. The fact that he gave his son the German name Rikolf does not disprove this theory — in an environment where both ethnic elements lived close together and the Germans (Saxons) were the majority, this is not surprising. 63

Generally it can be said that the members of the Wallonian ethnic group were quite widespread in the Spiš region. We find them in several locations concentrated mainly in the centre of the county (Spišské Vlachy, Vlašinov Potok, Aranyás, Gyánkfalva, Mečedelovce, Odorín, Čepanovce, Ďanovce, Gánovce). True, in many of these villages the Walloons didn't really live, they were only their owners. The main centre of the local Walloon community was Spišské Vlachy. From there they spread to the near and far surroundings.

- 60. "possessionem Colinsdorf alias Colinfalva," 1494 (Diplomatikai Levéltár, 24 992). Bearers of the name *Colinus* are often found in those Hungarian towns, where we have a documented presence of Walloons (Esztergom, Székesfehérvár, Buda, e.g.), "Abraham filius Kolini," 1307, Esztergom (Gy. Györffy, Az Árpád-kori, 2, p. 253).
- 61. Gy. Székely, Wallons et Italiens, p. 7; Codex diplomaticus Hungariae ecclesiasticus ac civilis, 8/2, ed. G. Fejér, Budae 1832, pp. 57–61.
- 62. "Durandus prior domus hospitalis S. Crucis de Strigonio," ca 1300 (Monumenta ecclesiae Strigoniensis, 2, ed. F. Knauz, Strigonium 1882, no. 488, p. 473). For the sake of completeness it must be said, however, that this patron saint was once documented also in the churches of nearby Vrbov and Brezovica in Šariš county, i.e., in places connected more with the presence of the German settlers. See Regesta diplomatica, 1, no. 550, p. 252.
- 63. Regesta diplomatica, 2, no. 381, p. 184; "Ricolpho, filio Marsilii de villa Pokai," 1323 (Regesta diplomatica, 2, no. 1081, p. 469). In addition, the German names, although Romanized, were also frequently used among Walloons in their homeland in the Middle Ages. Cf. M. Gysseling, Zur Romanisierung germanischer Personennamen in Wallonien im Frühmittelalter, in: Namenforschung. Festschrift für A. Bach zum 75 Geburtstag, eds. R. Schützeichel, M. Zender, Heidelberg 1965, pp. 49–54.

The local Walloons, together with the Saxons, probably enjoyed judicial and administrative autonomy in the region from the time of their arrival, represented externally by a joint judge or count, i.e., they were relatively independent of the local representative of state power — count of Spiš. ⁶⁴ From an ecclesiastical point of view, the Walloons from Spišské Vlachy were also outside the jurisdiction of the Spiš provost as they were directly subordinated to the Archbishop of Esztergom. However, the fact that the number of Spiš Walloons was small (they were settled in larger number only in one locality) and the fact that they were surrounded by more dominant ethnic group with which they enjoyed common freedom, meant that they dispersed over time and succumbed to assimilation. ⁶⁵

- 64. "Elias, Comes Saxonum et Latinorum, et consules, ceterique Saxones et Latini de provincia Scepusiensi," 1280 (Codex diplomaticus Hungariae ecclesiasticus ac civilis, 5/3, ed. G. Fejér, Budae 1830, pp. 47—48); "hospites de Latina villa [...] a iurisdiccione [...] prepositi de Scepes ab ipso congregacionis ipsorum principio sint exempti," 1273 (Výsady miest, 1, no. 47, p. 58).
- 65. The fact that Walloons were smaller in number than Saxons in Spiš and in Transylvania caused them to assimilate themselves more quickly and to identify more frequently with the Saxon ethnic group. "Conradum et Danielem, filios Johannis Latini, milites nostros Saxones," 1231 (Urkundenbuch zur Geschichte, 1, no. 63, p. 54); "quidam Saxo [...] nomine Gaan, filius Alardi," 1277 (Gy. Györffy, Az Árpád-kori, 2, pp. 149 150). See also: "Alardus, Henricus, filius eiusdem de Suburbio," 1295, Spišské Podhradie (Codex diplomaticus Hungariae, 6/1, p. 340). These records confirm that the Walloons lived in close proximity both in Spiš and in Transylvania.

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Abstract

Marek Miloš The Walloon settlers in Spiš in the Middle Ages

Keywords: Walloons, migration, settlement, Spiš county, Spišské Vlachy, Slovakia, kingdom of Hungary, Middle Ages

In the kingdom of Hungary we assume the presence of a Romance-speaking population as early as in the 11th century. Other groups of Latins, mainly Walloons, immigrated during the 12th century to Transylvania, along with the Flemish people, and to other important cities of the kingdom (Esztergom, Székesfehérvár, Oradea Mare, Pécs, Zagreb). But also into Spiš county. The most important Wallonian locality in the upper part of the country (Slovakia) was established in Spišské Vlachy located in the vicinity of the important German locality of Spišské Podhradie, where Saxon "quests" were the first to be documented in Spiš. The presence of Walloons in Spiš is generally associated with the construction of the nearby Spiš castle although there may have been other reasons for their arrival. The local settlement is first recorded in sources in 1243, when King Bela IV. granted the settlers from Spišské Vlachy a special privilege. But Latin hospites in Spiš county lived not only in Spišské Vlachy and its immediate surroundings. The presence of individuals from the Romance language area is testified in other localities of Spiš as well, mostly in villages of the Hornád river valley (Aranyás, Mečedelovce, Odorín, Žehra and so on). The Wallonian community in Spiš wasn't very numerous in comparison with local Slavs or German (Saxon) settlers and very soon was gradually assimilated in the domestic Slovak or German environment.

Abstrakt

Marek Miloš *Walońscy osadnicy na Spiszu w średniowieczu*

> Możemy założyć, że w królestwie Węgier ludność romańskojezyczna pojawiła się już w XI wieku. Inne grupy tej ludności, głównie Walonów, w XII wieku imigrowały wraz z Flamandami do Transylwanii oraz do innych ważnych miast królestwa (Esztergom, Székesfehérvár, Oradea Mare, Pecz, Zagrzeb), jak również na Spisz. Najważniejsza osada walońska w górnej części kraju (Słowacja) powstała w Spiskich Włochach (Spišské Vlachy), położonych w pobliżu ważnej niemieckiej miejscowości Spiskie Podgrodzie (dawniej Podegrodzie Spiskie, Spišské Podhradie), gdzie jako pierwsi na Spiszu udokumentowani zostali saksońscy "goście". Obecność Walonów na Spiszu wiąże się na ogół z budową pobliskiego zamku spiskiego, choć mogły istnieć również inne powody ich przybycia. Miejscowe osadnictwo jest po raz pierwszy odnotowane w źródłach w 1243 roku, kiedy to król Bela IV nadał osadnikom ze Spiskich Włochów specjalny przywilej. Ale romańskojęzyczni osadnicy na Spiszu mieszkali nie tylko w Spiskich Włochach i ich najbliższej okolicy. Obecność osób z romańskiego obszaru jezykowego jest poświadczona również w innych miejscowościach Spisza, głównie w wioskach w dolinie Hornadu (Aranyás, Mečedelovce, Odorín, Žehra itd.). Społeczność walońska na Spiszu nie była zbyt liczna, szczególnie w porównaniu z miejscowymi Słowianami czy niemieckimi (saskimi) osadnikami i bardzo szybko uległa stopniowej asymilacji z rodzimym słowackim czy niemieckim środowiskiem.

Słowa kluczowe: Walonowie, migracja, osadnictwo, region spiski, Spiskie Włochy, Słowacja, królestwo Węgier, średniowiecze