Mediaeval Towns

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Introduction

Among the phenomena of late mediaeval society towns as highly organized settlement agglomerations held a very special position. Their appearance determined, to a greater extent than churches or castles, the level of culture or civilization reached by a certain province in its development, and, at the same time, they reflected the social controversies of their age. In the face of this it is only natural that experts from various fields take part in the study of towns, i.e. geographers and town planners, art historians and sociologists, each of them from his (or her) specific point of view. All of these professions have, each in its field, rendered far-reaching discoveries, yet their observations have, to a large extent, remained partial. A balanced structural analysis, which would, through the consideration of all historical data, facilitate a more complex evaluation of town textures and the basic characteristics of their development, is therefore still one of the most provocative challenges, particularly for those who do not only analyse historic towns, but also determine their future development.

The establishment and development of large towns that sooner or later grew into regional or even state capitals was always determined by large rivers. This held true of ancient Egypt and Mesopotamia as well as of large European towns. Aachen as the capital of Charlemagne was located by the Rhine, and four of the present-day state capitals developed along the Danube: Vienna, Bratislava, Budapest and Belgrade, besides the ancient imperial independent town of Regensburg.

On Slovene land there were no rivers that could measure up to the Danube and other great European rivers, therefore other factors played a more decisive role in the establishment of towns, although they similarly came into existence in the valleys and always adjacent to rivers. One of these factors was the Roman imperial communication network with a number of important, partly military and primarily trade posts. A brief survey of the famous *Karta Peutingeria* reveals that the origins of most of the larger Slovene settlement agglomerations can be traced at the locations of classical towns or in their direct proximity. It is possible to deduce from the map that Rome followed the well-known principle according to which towns or larger settlements were located within walking distance of a single day on Slovene territory as well. The itinerary between major posts on the map was marked in Roman miles. When substituted with the settlements, the locations of which were indicated by inscriptions on Roman stelae and confirmed by archaeological excavations, the posts yield a network of urban agglomerations almost identical to the present one.

The definition of a town (*municipium, urbs, civitas*) turns out to be more complex, on second thought. The legal definition is the least complicated: a settlement granted civic deeds, first by the sovereign, and since the twelfth or thirteenth century by the prince of the province or the feudal lord. The deeds included municipal jurisdiction and the right of ownership of town walls.

The town proves more difficult from the aspect of its meaning. It was a settlement with a differential social structure of inhabitants, consisting mostly of craftsmen, and additionally of an 'amphibious' population that lived at least partly on the cultivation of land,

particularly in smaller places, yet they were no longer subjects of the feudal lord. Another stratum of the population were hired hands that were free, and a substantial one comprised clergymen and the secular aristocracy, in exceptional cases, while the part of tradesmen was negligible in contrast to Italian towns (i.e. coastal towns in the case of Slovenia) and larger European cities. The major part of trading activities took place in fairs, and trade was fostered by foreign professional merchants without permanent residence in the towns in question. Therefore the role of patricianship was negligible in Slovene towns, if it existed at all, in contrast to foreign towns where it had already assumed a vital position in their social structure.

The composition of inhabitants as described above was reflected in the structure of Slovene towns that were mostly formed over long periods of time; individual acts of granting civic deeds were therefore only formal confirmations of the already existing state of affairs. In contrast to villages and rural market settlements, the outward characteristics of towns comprised primarily market-places and serried stone houses pierced by narrow passages and streets. Houses were mostly one storey high, covered with steep roofs, and facing the main street or square. The houses of urban plebeians in auxiliary parallel streets were single-storey buildings and at least partly built of wood. The internal structure of mediaeval towns in Slovenia was largely dictated by the natural features of their location and by their development. They could develop organically or from an artificial plan; evidently the former variety prevailed.

In view of the estimation that several Slovene towns were positioned at the location of Roman *municipia* of two millenniums ago, a certain continuity would have been expected in the urban planning of Ljubljana, Celje and Ptuj; yet this was not so. Ancient Roman towns that were devastated during the period of migration of peoples, were disregarded by new settlers, particularly the Slavs, and no attempt was made at their reconstruction. The ruins of these towns served as convenient repositories of building materials during the Middle Ages, and that was all. The mediaeval street network of towns therefore almost never overlapped the previous Roman network, with some coincidental exceptions. Even Roman town walls that could have been renovated and used to advantage for the protection of mediaeval settlements were neglected in most cases; perhaps because Slovene mediaeval towns were generally much smaller than their classical predecessors. Possible exceptions were Celje, where the western part of the mediaeval city wall was based on classical walls, and Ajdovščina, where the outline of the military settlement *Castrum ad fluvium frigidum* was utilized as the border within which a borough developed, quite irregularly, subsequently. Before the attempt to delineate the basic characteristics of mediaeval towns the difference between their plans and those of classical towns must be highlighted. Classical towns were much more regular and the role of Roman forums cannot be compared to mediaeval market-places. There was another difference derived from the mentality of classical and mediaeval man, respectively: the former was more inclined towards earthly considerations, despite his faith in the next world, since his world of the living was strictly separated from the world of the dead; for the mediaeval Christian the situation was quite different. He considered earthly life as merely transitory since the real, eternal life began only after death. The Romans therefore always buried their dead outside town areas and town walls, to the left and right of town roads, whereas mediaeval people located them in their close proximity, in graveyards by parish churches within the walled-in areas, since they believed their parting from the dead was merely transitory. These are facts that are often disregarded, although they should be subject to thorough analysis.

A decisive moment for the establishment of mediaeval towns in most parts of Slovene territory, again with the exception of the coast, was often their location near feudal strongholds and cas-

tles, possibly additionally protected by rivers on the external boundaries. In such cases there was no space in abundance, since it was restricted to a narrow zone between the steep castle hill and the river-bed. The most typical Slovene example is Ljubljana, the others being Ptuj, Gornja Radgona, Kamnik, Lož and even Maribor; it is striking that there was often a direct connection between the castle and the settlement. Such a connection, in the form of the city wall, was evident in Ljubljana, Škofja Loka and Ptuj, and it was further typical of boroughs like Rogatec and Postojna. Settlements at the foot of castle hills customarily acquired an urban character at an early stage on account of court economy that facilitated the development of that stratum of the population that defined settlements as urban – the artisans. A case in point was Ptuj in the fourteenth century, with a butcher, a smith, a keeper of the baths and even a goldsmith, in addition to the obligatory magistrate.

Locations sheltered by castles were equally important for the establishment of organic mediaeval towns like those at the confluence of rivers or by meanders, whereas merely haulage settlements along vital routes had never developed into towns. Locations at river confluences were typical of Kranj, Radovljica, Škofja Loka and Celje, and various towns sprung up by the meanders of rivers, e.g. Novo Mesto, Črnomelj, Kočevje and Kostanjevica. In the case of the latter, it is interesting that the tongue of land by the meander of Krka was transformed into an island by a canal, like in the nearby castle of Otočec, or Gradac in White Carniola, and maybe even elsewhere.

In the case of the above-mentioned mediaeval towns their designs and growth were conditioned primarily by their locations, which, on the other hand, did not hold true of new urban settlements established ad hoc, especially in the thirteenth century. There are no definite analyses yet to prove the view that the original rural settlements, later called Stari Trg ('the old borough'), Stara Loka and similar, suddenly became too small; at any rate, it was usually much easier to establish a new settlement according to the needs and desires of the founder than to reconstruct the old one that grew gradually. The establishment of Novo Mesto and Višnja Gora in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, respectively, proved that new urban settlements could have come into existence due to political or military requirements.

The urban designs of newly established towns like Slovenj Gradec, Škofja Loka or Lož were more ordered, as a rule, and their internal structures were more clear. Their ground plans were more or less square, which was an exception with other towns, e.g. Maribor or Celje. Yet the fact must be emphasized that at least at the time of the construction of the new town of Celje there was plenty of space left, and there were still many green plots that were filled with buildings only in the next three centuries. The situation could have been similar in Maribor, whereas in newly established towns the founders always planned the expanse of towns more or less successfully; in Škofja Loka, for instance, it seemed that the mediaeval construction used up all the available space. An appropriate comparative analysis of the contemporary structure of the population could indicate an interesting social background.

The researchers of Slovene towns, particularly Cene Avguštin, Stane Bernik, Jože Curk, Jelka Pirkovič and Nace Šumi, have thus far established a number of rules determining their characteristics. They particularly stressed the feature of funnel-shaped or rectangularly extended main streets that formed market-places in towns, and in exceptional cases separately formed rectangular squares, typical of newly established settlements or at least newly created urban areas. The serried construction of houses along main streets was always strictly divided into lots, and another typical feature was the internal structure of town dwellings with outhouses at the far end of enclosed courtyards. Less is known about the buildings reserved for the ecclesiastic and secular aristocracy and

public affairs. Radovljica and Celje were fine examples of towns where houses along the main market streets were clearly divided: houses of the townsfolk on the one side, and houses of the aristocracy on the other.

Only general data are known about more modest town buildings in parallel and side streets, like the Lontrg in Škofja Loka, yet the picture of mediaeval towns can be completed by conclusions regarding the exceptionally colourful ornamented and painted house facades that are always discovered in restorations of old town centres. They can be traced in the coastal area and particularly in Upper Carniola, and to a lesser extent in other provinces as well. The easiest characteristics of mediaeval towns to determine are their highlights: vedutas were dominated by belfries as symbols of church power, and sometimes there were symbols of secular power as their counterparts in the form of castle buildings with mighty walls and towers. Compared to them the clock-towers of town halls created quite modest impressions.

The role of churches and castles within a town could be the subject of proper study. The role of the church, particularly the town parish church, is known and well investigated, yet less is known about other buildings associated with the life of parish communities, particularly from the point of view of whole urban organisms: about presbyteries, chaplaincies, benefice houses and also *ossaria* and graveyards next to town churches. The knowledge about castles is equally scant since many of them were integrated into the town walls and were often developed from original defence towers. Such cases were Kieselstein in Kranj, Rothenturn in Slovenj Gradec and the mediaeval castle in Slovenska Bistrica, later rebuilt as a grand manor.

The situation was similar with regard to the relatively late town castle of Maribor, and quite different in Celje. The town castle of the Counts of Celje as their representative stronghold was protected by special walls of its own and even a moat pointing towards the town, so that the castle could not have been considered an integral part of it. There was a general rule valid for castles and manors integrated into town walls: they were located in such a way as to protect the most exposed part of the town, possibly the corners. Such was the case of Kranj where the castle protected one of the entrances, that over Jelenov Klanec. The role of castles within towns was similar to that of bergfrids in fortified mediaeval feudal strongholds.

However, town dwellings, churches and castles were not the only elements that created urban textures. At least since the thirteenth century they were determined by other important buildings and groups of them, apart from the market-place or the main street broadened into a square, namely by almost obligatory parallel streets and side streets named after the prevailing trade or craft and by narrow passages. There were monasteries of mendicant orders, manors and granaries, manors of provincial mendicant orders, and sometimes parts with special status like Jewish streets, with synagogues in Ljubljana and Maribor. Finally, there were town alms-houses, spitals. They were always separated from the town quarters of the nobility, built in special side streets, often named after them, and stood possibly in the vicinity of parish churches and side town gates. There were typical examples of spitals in Ljubljana and other towns as well. The Ljubljana spital of St. Elizabeth was located by the Lower Bridge, in Maribor near Koroško Gate, in Celje by the Savinjsko town gate, and in Ptuj by access to the bank of the river Drava. The situation was similar in Škofja Loka where the town spital was located by the gate on the right-hand bank of the river Selška Sora.

A brief scrutiny of the subject of mediaeval urban settlements shows how thin the demarcation was between mediaeval towns and boroughs. For instance, Tržič, Vipava or Rogatec could equally be entitled to the label of a town as several other settlements that could have prided themselves in the Middle Ages. Town walls,

barely mentioned above, deserve a proper study of their own, and acknowledgement is due to Ivan Komelj and Jože Curk, who have already performed research on this subject. A special field of investigation comprises Slovene strongholds (*tabori*) against the Turks and the Venetians. The settlements of Štanjel in the Karst region or Šmartno in Goriška Brda, enclosed by walls at that time, acquired the character of fortified towns. A similar case was the borough parish church of Cerknica, fortified by walls and towers that testified to its stronghold origins. The parish church of Žalec was fortified by a defence ring, and the buildings constituting it are still called the Frenga (*Freiung*).

Studies published in the present proceedings testify to the multitude of open questions regarding old towns, since the factors determining their creation were usually diverse. The cultural context that created their image and character was of particular importance. Therefore the Italic-Venetian influence cannot be denied in a considerable part of western Slovenia, or continental influence in central Slovenia, and the Pannonian influence in the eastern part of the country. All these are challenges for researchers of this distinct and vital part of our cultural heritage.

Ivan Stopar

Map of Slovenia

Legend

F.   G.   H   I

Slovenj Gradec

Maribor

Ptuj   Ormož

Slovenska Bistrica

Celje

Krško

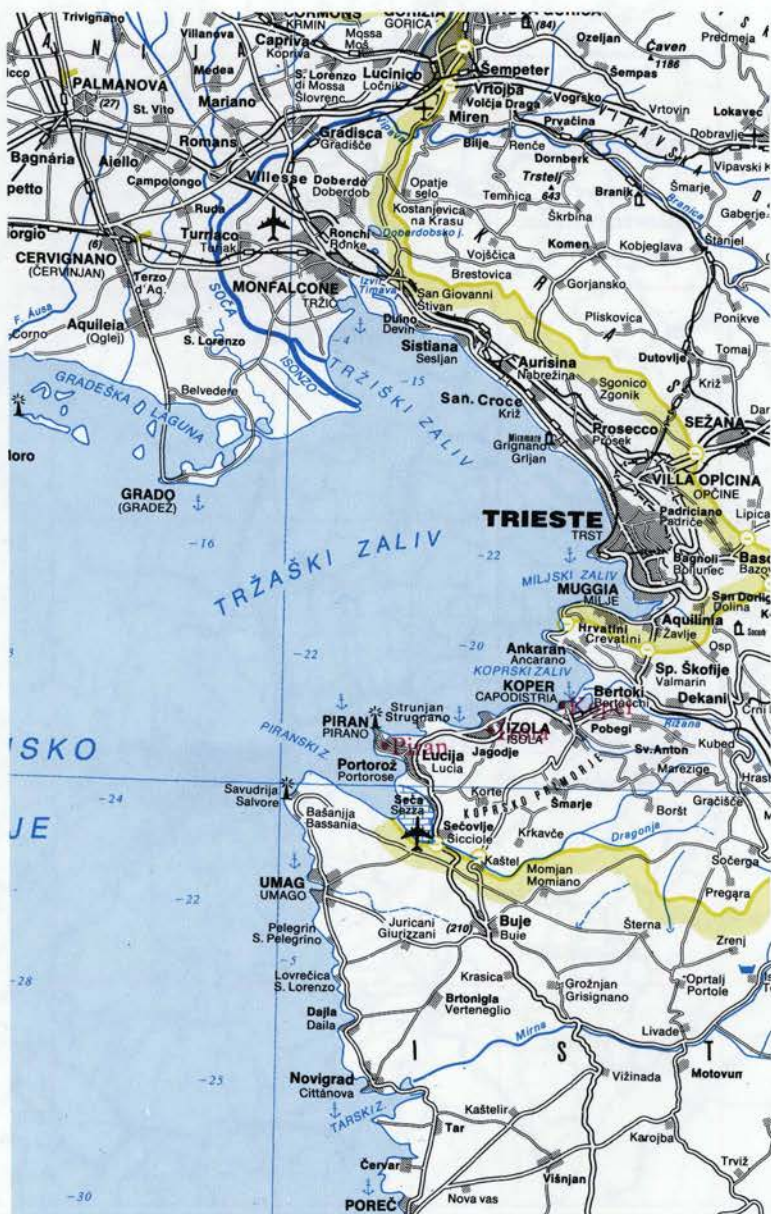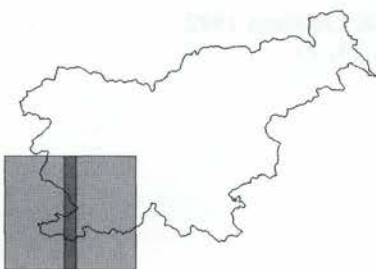Brežice

Kostanjevica

Novo Mesto

Metlika

Kočevje   Črnomelj

Merilo 1 : 500 000
1 cm na karti je 5 km v naravi

GEODETSKI ZAVOD SLOVENIJE
KARTOGRAFSKI ODDELEK

Trivignano CORMONS GORIZIA U GORICA
KRMIN GORICA Ozeljan Čaven Predmeja
Villanova Mossa Šempeter Šempas 1186
Capriva Moš Vrtojba
Medea Koprva Vogrsko Vrtovin Lokavec
PALMANOVA S. Lorenzo Lučinico Vogrsko Dobravlje
(27) St. Vito di Mossa Ločnik Vrtojba
Mariano Šlovrenc Miren Prvačina Vipavski
Gradisca Bije Renče Dornberk Šmarje
Bagnaria Romans Gradišče Trstelj Branik Branica Gaberje
Aiello Campolongo Opatje Temnica 843
Villesse selo Škrbina Komen Kobjeglava Stanjel
petto Ruda Doberdo Kostanjevica
giorgio (6) Doberdob na Krasu Dobardobsko J. Gorjansko Ponikve
CERVIGNANO Turriaco Ronchi Vojščica Brestovica K Pliskovica Tomaj
(ČERVINJAN) Terzo Rônke San Giovanni Dutovlje
d'Aq. MONFALCONE Stivan Sgonico Križ Dar
Aquileia TRŽIČ Izvir Timava Zgonik SEŽANA
(Oglej) Duino Sistiana Aurisina Prosecco VILLA OPIČINA
S. Lorenzo Devin Seslian Nabrežina Prosek OPČINE
Belvedere San Croce Padriciano Lipica
loro GRADEŠKA Križ TRIESTE Padriče
GRADO LAGUNA TRST Bagnoli Bas
(GRADEŽ) Bojunec Bazo
TRŽAŠKI ZALIV MILJSKI ZALIV San Dorli
MUGGIA Dolina
MILJE Aquilina K
Hrvatini San
Crevatini Žavlje Osp
Ankaran Sp. Škofije
Ancarano Valmarin
KOPRSKI ZALIV Dekani Crn
Strunjan KOPER Bertoki
PIRAN Strugnano CAPODISTRIA Bertocchi
PIRANO Izola Pobegi
Piran ISOLA Sv. Anton Kubed
Portorož Lucija Jagodje Marezige Hras
Portorose Lucia Korte Šmarje Gračišče
Savudrija Seča Boršt
Salvore Sečovlje Krkavče Dragonja Sočerga
Bašanija Siciciole Kaštel Momjan
Bassania Momiano Preg̣ara
UMAG Sterna Zrenj
UMAGO Pelegrin Juricani (210) Buje
S. Pelegrino Giurizzani Buie Oprtalj
Krasica Grožnjan Portole
Lovrečica Grisignano
S. Lorenzo Brtonigla Livade
Dajla Verteneglio Mirna
Daila Vižinada Motovun
Novigrad I S
Cittánova Kaštelir Karojba
TARSKI Z Tar Trviž
Červar
POREČ Nova vas Višnjan

16

Mediaeval Towns in Istria

The notion of Istria as a political and administrative entity has fairly changed over the centuries. After the Roman conquest in 178–177 B.C. historians of Antiquity and geographers located its eastern border on the river Raša and the western one on the river Timav, between the civic territories of Aquileia and *Tergeste* (Trieste). The proportions of the territory, which was subordinated to the colonial seat in *Tergeste* during the Roman period (stretching as far as the borders of the Vipava valley in the north, and to Postojna and Snežnik in the east) and to the diocese of Trieste in the Middle Ages, indicate that the notion of Istria extended to the Karst region as well. Such a state of affairs prevailed even after the end of the first century B.C. when Istria was annexed to the north Italic province *decima regio*, or to the late Roman province *Venetia et Histria* as a constituent part of the Holy Roman Empire, and thus it became part of the life of the Italic province in legal, economic and cultural respects.[1]

According to Kos, Istria undoubtedly stretched to the Timav in the intermediary Byzantine-Lombardic period as well (as during the Roman period and thereafter in the eleventh and twelfth centuries). Istria, as mentioned by Pope Gregory I and Paul the Deacon, therefore comprised its northern Byzantine part as well, which stretched as far as the demarcation Timav-Nanos-Javorniki-Snežnik in Antiquity and the Middle Ages, and mostly overlapped the diocese of Trieste and the administrative and political entity of Karst during the Middle Ages.[2]

Through the campaigns of conquest of Emperor Justinianus in

Pietro Coppo, geographic map of Istria, 1525
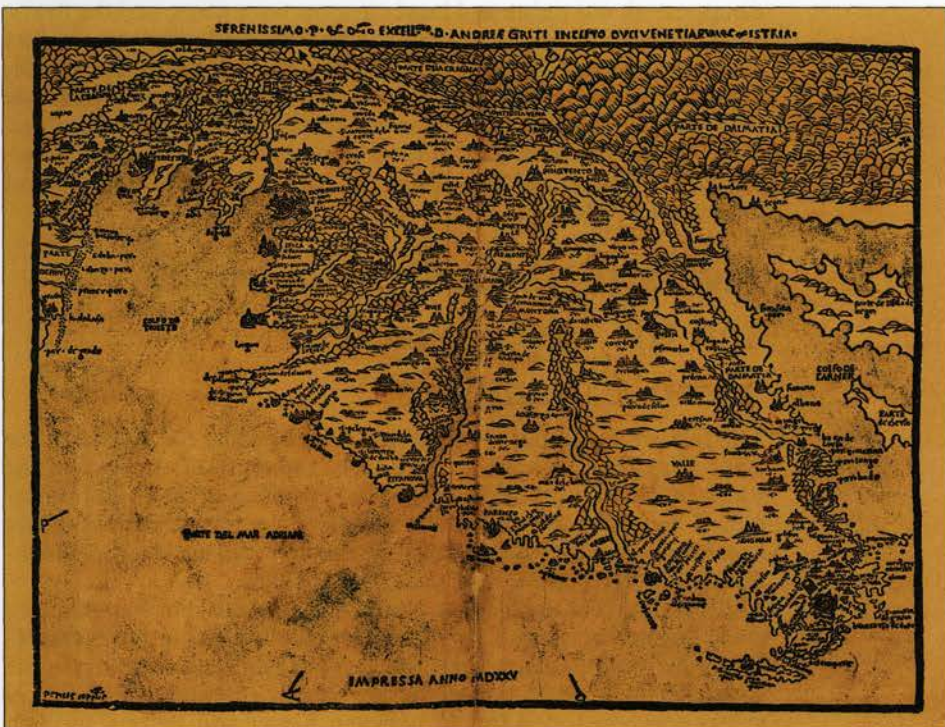
the Mediterranean and after the defeat of the Eastern Goths in the middle of the sixth century, Istria became part of the Byzantine Empire, which represented a continuity of the Roman system for at least the next three centuries. Within such a context the municipal autonomy was preserved, although Byzantium had to transform Istria into a military administrative entity (*tema*) on account of Lombardic or Avar-Slavonic incursions.[3]

The tradition of Roman law during the Byzantine period was manifested primarily in new administrative forms which were essentially based on cities (*civitas*) that were simultaneously sees of dioceses, and strongholds (*castra, castella*). At that time the sees of dioceses were Trieste, Poreč (*Parentium*) and Pula (*Pola*), and they were subordinated first to the metropolitan see in Aquileia, and later in Grado. In his *Cosmographia* from the seventh century an anonymous geographer from Ravenna enumerated various towns and castella along the Istrian coast: *Arsia* (a place by the river Raša as yet not located), *Nessatio* (Vizače), *Pola*, *Ruginio* (Rovinj), *Parentium* (Poreč), *Neapolis* (Novigrad), *Humago* (Umag), *Siparis* (Sipar), *Piranon* (Piran), *Capris* (Koper), *Tergeste*, etc.[4]

The landowners or *possessores* were the ruling class in the structure of the urban population, since participation in a municipal authority involved certain property or a census and payment of taxes. Landowners were *primiores civitatis* who were granted the curia and active participation in municipal administration and public finance. The middle class consisted of merchants and artisans who could not rise to political power. Their situation improved only during periods of barbaric incursions and wars, when the civil administration was replaced by a military one. Town militias (*exercitus*) were formed and they consisted mostly of merchants and artisans, apart from minor landowners. They increasingly formed the core of the urban population, especially when the approaching feudal system diminished the number of great landowners, and the towns themselves gradually lost the jurisdiction they exercised over extensive town districts in the face of a general deterioration of classical institutions.[5]

With the Frankish conquest of Istria in 788 the classical way of life and classical institutions declined rapidly, although the new conquerors came upon a complex system of social and legal traditions that were still stable, so they had to be reckoned with.[6] With the accession of Duke Johannes the old administration in Istria disappeared, old rights and local customs were gone, and the towns were gradually losing their previous liberties and privileges. In 804 Charlemagne sent his envoys (*missi dominici*) to Istria. They gathered in a judicial meeting in Rižana (*placitum in territorio Caprense in loco cui dicitur Riziano*),[7] granted the requests of the towns and castella, and restored part of their autonomy to them. Simultaneously, they liberalized Slavonic colonization in the hinterland and in deserted regions.[8]

Fights for Municipal Jurisdiction and the Emergence of Town Communes

The further development of Istrian towns during the period of the Italic Kingdom, or until the middle of the tenth century when the Italic crown was seized by German Emperor Otto I, was determined by gradual Venetian progression to the eastern Adriatic coast, since Venice was seeking new markets and posts for its breakthrough to the central and southern Adriatic.

The *Pactum Lotharii* from the year 840 enabled the Venetians to trade freely throughout Frankish territory including Istria, therefore they sought first to establish legal regulations and afterwards to extend their 'protection' to Istrian towns. The first of such agreements was concluded in 932 between Koper and Peter Candiano

II, Doge of Venice, and thus the foundation of Venetian domination in Istria was laid.[9] One year later (933) Venice secured seaborne trade and the protection of its possessions in Istria with the Peace of Rialto.[10] With the new agreement of 977[11] Doge Peter Orseolo I acquired the privileges as well, since the consul of Venice was permanently present in Koper and as a member of the court he adjudicated together with other magistrates *secundum consuetudinem nostram et vestram*.[12]

The further development of municipal jurisdiction was significantly influenced by numerous representative bodies and the consensus of the entire citizenry or population mentioned in the quoted agreements: the agreement of 932 was signed *cum consensu tocius populi nostri*, and the peace agreement of 933 *una cum omni populo Istriense*. Such data indicate that the feudal system in Istria had not renounced the cooperation of free citizens in public matters. The autonomistic spirit was thus present in Istrian towns after all, regardless of the strict feudal system, which had to respect, at least to a certain extent, the continuity and tradition of Antiquity. They were preserved, on the one hand, by the Romanesque character of Istrian towns that remained more or less immune to the infiltration of the Germanic and Slavonic population, and on the other hand, by constant contacts with Venice due to their common trade interests. After all, Istria was very fertile and rich with bountiful vineyards, olive plantations and woods, and an abundance of stone and salt. It provided the Venetian market with all these products, and in turn it was in need of protection and Venetian merchandise.[13]

In 952 the Istrian Mark fell under Holy Roman Emperor Otto I or within the Duchy of Bavaria, and thus Istria was exposed to powerful German influence. This influence increased after 976 when Otto II formed the independent Duchy of Carinthia, including Istria and the Veronese Mark. Since 1077 when Istria became a hereditary fief, the Margraves, in succession, had been German feudal Lords from the families of Eppenstein, Weimar-Orlamünde, Spanheim, Andechs, the Patriarchs of Aquileia, etc. In the Karst region, between Trieste and Postojna and north of Čičarija, feudal estates were more extensively established in the eleventh century once the Hungarian incursions that had impeded the establishment of state authority over northern Istria ceased. The main

Angelo de Coster, The miracle of St. George, detail with veduta of Piran, 1708, parish church of St. George in Piran

rivals on the Istrian peninsula outside civic territories became the Patriarch of Aquileia (Devin, Senožeče and Prem, since 1100 enfeoffed to the Lords of Devin) and the Istrian Margraves of Weimar-Orlamünde. After the extinction of this family in 1100 most of the Karst region devolved on the Lords of Andechs, and part of the estates in Istria passed to the Patriarchs of Aquileia. Through fights for the completion of dynastic territories the Lords of Devin had become independent of the Aquileian fiefs in the Karst region and by Quarnero (Kastav and Moščenice) by the fourteenth century, while the Counts of Gorizia acquired the dominions of Schwarzenegg, Novigrad and Gotnik between the eastern border of the territory of Trieste and Klana, and the County of Pazin (with Momjan and Završje) on the Istrian peninsula.[14]

Since the rule of the Carinthian Dukes or the Patriarchs of Aquileia as Margraves on the western coast of Istria, Venice was not satisfied with the existing relationships, and consequently Venetian pressure on the towns increased. Such a state of affairs was reflected in the accord of 1145[15] by which Koper, Izola and Pula had to swear allegiance to Doge Peter Polano after an abortive uprising. The accord presented a further step towards the gradual subordination of Istrian towns, and together with other agreements from the period between 1145 and 1152 concluded with the towns of Fano, Koper, Pula, Rovinj, Poreč, Novigrad and Umag, it clearly indicated the future Adriatic policy of Venice.[16] Through this agreement Istrian towns became more dependent on Venetian trade policy and consented to the protectorate of Venice, although they were still dependent on the Holy Roman Empire and German margraves. Nevertheless, the process of formation of town communes was promoted by their experience from the year 1145 and by the conflict of northern Istrian towns with Bishop Bernard of Trieste in 1149 over the tithe they were supposed to pay to his church. The agreement of 1145 introduced some changes in municipal administration and gradually indicated the growth of municipal autonomy. To a certain extent the transformation of municipal jurisdiction followed the model of Venice, where the power of the Doge during the period of Pietro Polano was much less personal and absolute than it had been in the past. A similar process, yet of local dimensions, could have been traced in some larger Istrian towns, where economic prosperity and wealth promoted a new aristocratic class keen on shedding feudal fetters (secular as well as ecclesiastic) and Venetian domination as well because it had already hindered economic development.[17]

The Venetians exercised various policies towards Istrian towns. In the second half of the twelfth century they endeavoured to subordinate the commune of Koper, which was turning into an important political and economic centre of the Istrian peninsula. In 1182 they granted themselves the key privilege of salt trade. The document clearly stated that salt trade was permitted in no other place between Grado and Premantura but Koper.[18]

It was due to the economic prosperity of Koper brought about by seaborne trade and trade with the hinterland that the town became a free commune with elected municipal authorities as early as 1186, and an independent diocese was established in Koper in the same year. Other communes created out of towns besides Koper in the twelfth century or the beginning of the thirteenth were Piran (1192), Poreč (1194), Pula (1199) and Trieste and Muggia (1202). They were in a position to elect their magistrates, consuls, rectors and finally podestas as well.[19]

The status of cities (*civitas*) was acquired only by those centres in Istria that had already obtained their municipal privileges during the Roman or subsequent Byzantine period and were simultaneously also sees of dioceses. Among them were Trieste, Koper, Novigrad, Poreč and Pula, yet they did not all maintain their continuity as sees of dioceses like Koper, for instance.

During the rule of the last secular feudal lords of German origin Istrian towns were free to elect their municipal leaders or even

conclude trade contracts; for instance Piran with Dubrovnik in 1188 and Split in 1192, and Poreč with Dubrovnik in 1194. They could equally settle their disputes; for instance, Labin signed a peace agreement with Rab, Piran and Rovinj.

The Patriarchs of Aquileia, who obtained the title of the Margraves of Istria (*marchesi*) in 1208-9, attempted to suppress the aspirations for communal particularism and free decision-making, yet they had to realize, in spite of their short-lived triumph, that municipality could not be eradicated in Istria, nor Venetian influence eliminated. The Doge that interfered most fervently with Istrian matters was Berthold of Andechs-Meran, who was well able to profit from convenient international relations in the spirit of *ghibellino* policy. In connection with the Imperial Diploma from 1220 he issued a series of decrees and prohibitions concerning the election of municipal officials, payment of taxes, minting of money, markets etc. All the clauses were directed against civic autonomy and against Venice itself, since Berthold saw through their double-faced politics.[20]

Such interference with civic autonomy caused considerable opposition and indignation. On account of that the civic union *Universitas Ystriae* was formed between Koper, Piran, Poreč, Pula and some smaller communes in 1230.[21] It was presided over by the Podesta of Koper, yet due to mutual rivalry and envy it did not last long.

After ruthless wars between the *ghibbelinos* and the *guelfos*, particularly after the defeat of Friedrich at Parma in 1248, great changes in European politics affected Istria as well. Koper sided with the *ghibbelinos*, i.e. with Meinhard of Gorizia, mainly with the design to be rid of the control of the Patriarch; the goal was accomplished after the death of Berthold in 1251. The new German Emperor Conrad IV decreed, during his short stay in Istria (in St. Maria delle Rose near Piran), that the Istrian Mark return directly to his empire, and he simultaneously supported the envoys of Koper in their aspirations for autonomy. His privilege granted to Koper decreed that citizens were free to elect their podestas without their prior confirmation by the Patriarch.[22] A similar concession was soon granted to Poreč as well, and that was essential in view of the development of civic autonomy, since free elections of podestas were the basis of municipal authority. The ordinances of Emperor Conrad IV accelerated the resistance of Istrian towns against the new Patriarch Gregorio de Montelongo, so that he had to indulge their aspirations. The great deed of donation to Koper, according to which the city extended its jurisdiction to Buje, Oprtalj, Buzet and Dvigrad and appointed its podestas there, must be viewed within this context.[23]

Koper continued to take advantage of the Patriarch's indulgence.

Unknown artist, View of Koper, 1589, Provincial Museum of Koper

In 1254 Lando di Montelongo, Podesta of Koper, assumed authority over Piran as well, and he additionally performed the office of *ricarius* of Istria, the follower of the former *generalis gastaldio*, and his jurisdiction was extended even as far as taxes and judicature.[24] In 1035 the deed of donation of Emperor Conrad II granted Koper the estates as far as the river Dragonja, and thus the territory of Izola and Piran as well. The privilege of 1035 was later confirmed by Friedrich II in 1222.

Koper was thus elevated above other Istrian towns, and in 1278 it even entered a bond with Albert of Gorizia. The overconfident and hegemonic policy of Koper disturbed the Republic of Venice to such an extent that it began conquering Istrian towns: in 1269 it assumed power over Umag, 1270 Novigrad, 1271 Sv. Lovrenc and 1276 Motovun.[25]

The league of Koper and Gorizia was overpowered in military conflict by the navy of the Republic of Venice. Koper surrendered in 1279; a year later the domination of Venice was acknowledged by Izola, and in 1283 by Piran. With the conquest the foundations of the Venetian province in Istria were laid. It was meant to succeed the Mark of the Patriarch, cut off German progress to the northern Adriatic, and hinder competition in seaborne trade.[26]

Istrian Towns under Venetian Domination

Venetian aspirations on the Istrian peninsula were gradually fulfilled: after lengthy struggles with the Patriarchs and the Counts of Gorizia the Peace of Treviso brought about the division of Istria in 1291. The Patriarch retained Muggia, most of the territory between Koper and Mirna and the southern part of the Istrian peninsula with Pula, Labin and part of the Raša valley. The Republic of Venice retained the western coast from Koper to Rovinj, and the Counts of Gorizia the county of Pazin. After further wars and the Peace of Torino in 1381 the southern part of the Istrian peninsula was submitted to Venetian authority, and Trieste was taken under the patronage of the Habsburgs. Aquileian power in Istria continued to diminish until Venice finally destroyed the secular rule of the Patriarch in 1419-20 and conquered the majority of his Istrian estates. The final division of possessions and the political division of the Istrian peninsula followed only after the first Venetian-Austrian war between 1508 and 1516. The Habsburgs retained the Karst north of the Muggia-Lanišče demarcation and the slightly diminished county of Pazin, which they had inherited from the Counts of Gorizia in 1374 (with the exception of Momjan and Završje). The rest of the Istrian peninsula was submitted to Venetian domination.[27]

In the northern half of the Istrian peninsula Venice introduced its own type of administration. Central Venetian administrative institutions did not govern the Istrian towns under their domination directly; they were granted superficial autonomy and thus became small states of a kind, with their own jurisdiction under the rule of the patricianship.[28] Venice interfered directly with the decisions of municipal authorities only as the supreme jurisdiction, but the indirect influence was therefore the greater.

The towns under Venetian domination lost their right of electing podestas freely, which had been of decisive importance in their conflict with the Patriarch of Aquileia. The competence of Grand Councils, at that time customary in almost all Istrian towns, included the election of all municipal officials except the podestas; they were elected by the Senate of Venice from among its members. The podesta was not only the supreme magistrate and official in a commune adjudicating together with other magistrates, but also a representative of the central, i.e. Venetian, authority who marked the whole political and economic life of the town with the character of Venice.[29]

The Republic of Venice thus enforced its sovereignty *de iure* by means of a military organization and a network of podestas in Istria, while it had already *de facto* exercised its authority for some time. It is discernible from a detailed list published by Marin Sanudo in his work *De origine, situ et magistratibus urbis venetae* that about 130 representatives of the *Signoria* of Venice were scattered between Istria and *terrafermo* in the middle of the fifteenth century, their number even increasing at the beginning of the sixteenth.[30]

The podestas governed the cities (*citta*) and territories (*terre*, i.e. lower administrative units that were not sees of dioceses, yet they had the right of autonomous jurisdiction, and thus podestas as well) by commissions (*commissioni*) of the Senate of Venice and of individual civic statutes that were, as a rule, adapted by the *Comune Veneciarum* according to its needs. Civic statutes were formed corresponding to the development of municipal jurisdiction and partly under the influence of neighbouring towns.[31] The first civic statute mentioned in written documents in Istria was the statute of Koper (1239), and the oldest preserved one was the statute of Piran from the year 1274.[32]

The contract between the Margrave Winteri and Venice (933) testified that Piran had already formed its internal judicial and political organization in the tenth century, and in 974 the document of Emperor Otto II granted it a privileged position. The document equalled Piran with Koper and decreed that the inhabitants of both
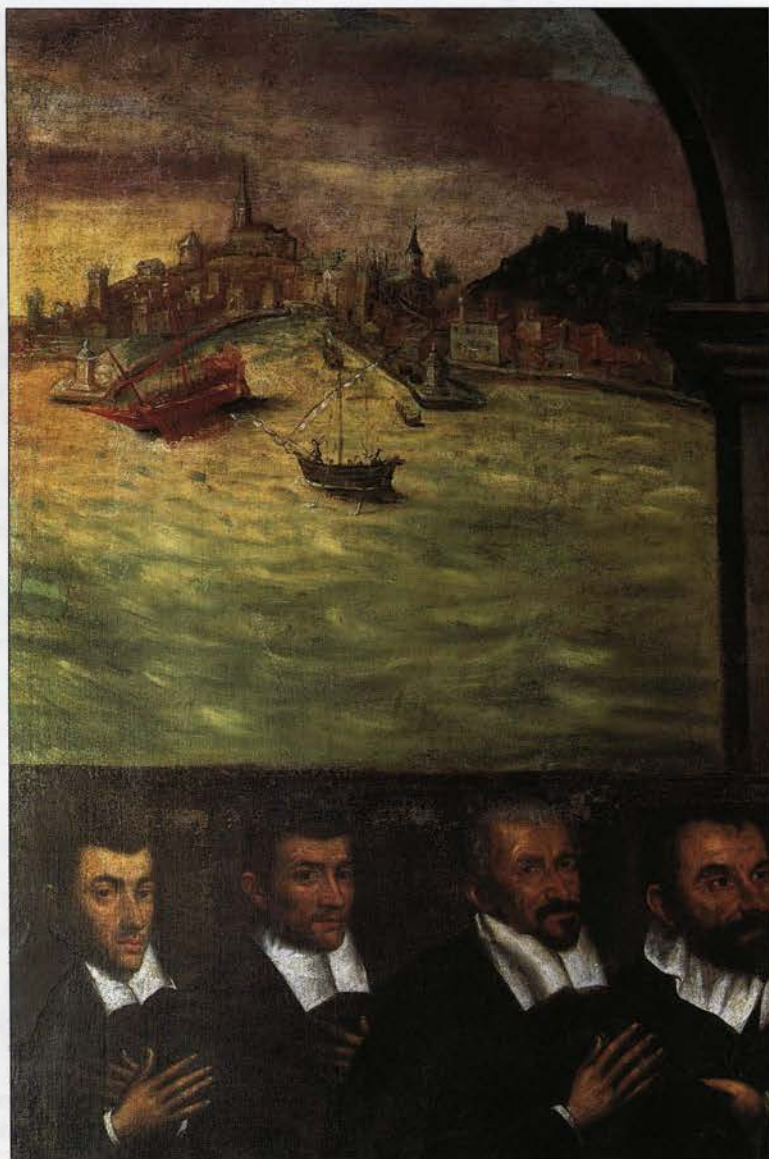
Domenico Tintoretto, The Elders of Piran, detail with a veduta of Piran, end of 16th century, Commune of Piran

towns be allowed to defend themselves with their own soldiers and the competence of local law (*cum omni sui familiari iure*).[33]

Even in the face of growing Venetian influence Piran contrived to maintain its civic law and even expand it, according to current political circumstances in Istria, to agreements between the states and between the towns themselves. An independent development of internal law can therefore be traced from the middle of the eleventh century until the third quarter of the thirteenth. During the period of Patriarch Berthold feudal law was introduced into Istrian towns by means of deeds of donation and agreements between the states, and the towns were obliged to incorporate them, to a certain extent, in their communal law.

The Grand Council of Piran that came into existence at the end of the third decade of the thirteenth century and that had been completely established as an institution of authority by 1231, could only have developed on the basis of certain changes of the law, by which part of the authority was transferred to the body which made decisions on behalf of the people, i.e. *arenga*.[34]

By the second half of the thirteenth century the territory of Piran had been still largely undefined. It comprised the whole peninsula of Piran between Strunjan and Portorož with the valley of Fazana (Lucija) and most of the Karst of Savudrija. The people of Piran were in possession of three salt-works: Sečovlje (Lera and Fontanigge), Lucija (Fazan) and Strunjan. According to documents settling the territorial disputes between Izola and Piran in 1212, 1254 and 1255, and in 1212 between Piran, Buje and Kaštel, Piran appropriated most of the Drnica valley and all the southern hillsides of Šavrini between Drnica and the valley of the brook Košterlaga in Strunjan, and a considerable part of the Karst near Kaštel and Buje.[35]

The statute of 1307 was created in the period of Venetian domination under the influence of changes brought about by it, and additionally under the influence of the Grand Council (*serrat*). About 50 Piranese families were established by it, yet their number steadily decreased during the following centuries. The statute of 1307 had already dropped the articles interfering with the operation and dignity of the new authorities, while the statute of 1332 consolidated the Grand Council and the entire municipal authority even further, and through that the civic oligarchy, allowing a greater concentration of authority within a smaller circle of families. The town itself began spreading outside the town walls toward the internal harbour, where the communal palace, *fonticum* and *loggia* (somewhat later) were located. At that time the first bankers from Florence appeared in Piran to be subsequently succeeded by Jews.[36]

The statute of 1384 presented the final and complete affirmation of the civic oligarchy. Apart from the Grand Council, the magistrates, scribes, treasurers, valuers, granary inspectors (*fonticari*), and their assistants, financial inspectors or auditors (*cataveri*), lawyers, heralds and vicedomini of previous statutes, there were wardens of streets and the coast, supervisors of villages, keepers of church property and the Small Council, who were as yet unknown in the statutes of the fourteenth century.[37]

The statutes of 1384 were endorsed and examined in 1401; in the meantime and later on old laws were copied, supplemented, and new ones were passed, yet the statutes were not revised. For members of the Grand Council of Piran endorsements of statutes, privileges and old customs were entirely of political importance. By ensuring regular endorsements they compelled the government in Venice to respect the municipal authority and town laws – in other words the situation that emerged after terminating of the Grand Council – one that secured, above all, the power of the aristocracy in the commune of Piran.[38]

The development of mediaeval Koper was different from neighbouring towns, particularly Muggia, Izola and Piran, in many respects. The document from 1145 contained a new name for it,

besides the toponyms *Capris* and *Iustinopolis*: *Caput Ystriae (populus Iustinopolis, id est Caput Ystriae)*, with no explanation of whether the three toponyms applied to parts of the peninsula of Koper that were already urbanized, or to the whole island.[39]

The civic autonomy of Koper prospered particularly under the leadership of Marino Morosini, *capitaneus civitatis Iustinopolis*, in the last decade before the city fell under Venetian domination. All military, political and administrative affairs fell within his competence. There were further changes in municipal authority that were of a centralistic nature: besides the Grand Council the Small Council was constituted, which could have existed before the year 1268, yet written sources testify to it only at that time.[40]

Morosini took advantage of the economic prosperity for urban construction and the completion of a fortification. In 1269, according to a memorial plaque, he had an open *loggia* (*lobia vetus*) built between the palace of the captain and that of the podesta, where resolutions proclaimed and the names of tax collectors and town officials who were to provide food. The town elders presented the wishes and demands of the population in the *loggia*, or solicited for a decrease of their obligations, for greater stocks, an increase of water tanks and wells, or suggested the execution of communal works. The *loggia* also served for gatherings of the town council (*arengo*), the meetings of which were usually held in the nearby palace *potestas Iustinopolis*.[41]

The details of the legal status of Koper, which were carried into effect during the period of the Patriarchs, were reflected, from the perspective of the attitude of Venetian authority regarding statutory concessions, mostly after the suppression of the great rebellion in 1348,[42] when the city was deprived of the *ius statuendi*. It was as late as 1394 that Doge Antonio Venier permitted the city to be administered as other *Terre nostrae Istriae cum status et ordinibus suis quos credendum et suos antecessores condidisse.*[43] In 1423 a new edition of the statutes was finally published in four volumes, and Doge Tomaso Mocenigo confirmed them with his decree of 8 March 1423. However, the new statute was completely adapted to the requirements of Venice and had no provisions concerning penal law.[44] Through the centralization of its power in Koper, Venice began to grant the city more extensive administrative, judicial and above

Victore Carpaccio, Madonna on the Throne, detail with model of Koper, 1516, Cathedral of Koper

all military authority over the central parts of Istria. Thus the captain and podesta of Koper controlled the entire border with the Habsburg estates in Istria, defending the northern frontier from the hinterland of Trieste to Rašpor, where the supreme Venetian commander resided. In 1511 he moved as podesta to Buzet, yet he retained the title of the captain of Rašpor.[45]

The economic importance of Koper increased with its administrative and military position. Trade links between the coastal towns and hinterland dated from the early Middle Ages because the exchange of goods and transitional trade were promoted by the favourable location of Istrian coastal towns, their developed agriculture and above all vineyards, olive plantations and salt-works. On the other hand, Koper, similar to other coastal towns, lacked wheat, meat, timber and ores, particularly iron. The Venetians were striving to introduce the principle of liberal trading through their continental trade policy, and to promote Istrian ports, particularly Koper, which became the main trading centre with the hinterland in the second half of the fourteenth century. With such profitable trade Venice surpressed the opposition in Koper and other Istrian towns against its naval monopoly.[46]

At the turn of the sixteenth century, profitable trade promoted Koper to become one of the richest and most densely populated towns in Istria; during the great plague in 1554 it numbered between nine and ten thousand inhabitants. It was not by accident that the Venetian documents of that time stated: *Civitas Iustinopolis est principale membrum quod habemus in Istria.*[47]

Besides commerce, financial business developed in the city as well. Florentine bankers had been succeeded by Jews by 1386 at the latest, yet people despised them because of their wealth and practice of usury.[48] The Jews of Koper were lending money against objects in pawn. At the initiative of the podestas of Koper they opened a bank there as early as the end of the fourteenth century. The bank extended occasional larger loans to the poor and for trade transactions and speculations of the rich.[49] Jews can be traced in Koper as late as 1479, but not after that date, in spite of the efforts of some citizens.

By 1550 when *Monte di Pietà* was established in Koper, the expelled Jews had been replaced by bankers from Tuscany. *Monte di Pietà* was a pawn shop for the poor, lending money at low rates, and thus solving banking problems in the middle of the sixteenth century.[50] The idea itself originated from Italy at the end of the fifteenth century. At the initiative of the Grand Council, Koper was the first to establish such a banking institution in Istria. Another important institution was *fontico*, a storehouse for wheat. It had been established at the end of the fourteenth century for the needs of the poor. Its purpose was to prevent a shortage of wheat, flour and other food in times of poor harvest, war or an epidemic. Venice rendered Koper the image of prestige and glamour for political and economic reasons; the city created its own glory in the field of the arts and sciences that were fostered to a great degree by the *Serenissima*. In the same manner as the capital, Koper organized chivalric contests, tournaments, regattas, carnivals and fairs. The first fairs at Campo Marzio were mentioned in the city statutes in 1493, yet they were discontinued later because of wars and infectious diseases.

The spirit of Humanism and Renaissance began to permeate the city as early as the fifteenth century. Distinguished scholars and humanists established a humanist school in Koper, and cultural life was marked by academies that were spreading to Istrian towns according to the Italian fashion of the time.[51] The growing variety of church orders and brotherhoods were becoming organizers of urban life, particularly the Franciscans, Dominicans and Servites, later joined by the Friars Minor and Gregorians. Numerous, grand processions were held in accordance with the spirit of the time, particularly in honour of the patron of the city, St. Nazarius, whose relics were returned from Genoa to his native city as late as 1422.

In the period of transition between the Middle Ages and the Modern Age, the Republic of Venice was still exercising central authority and administration over the whole of Istria, although Koper was gradually losing its leading position in trade. Since 1430 the podestas and captains of Koper performed the function of the court of appeal for civil and penal affairs of the podestas in Buje, Buzet, Oprtalj and Dvigrad, and at the beginning of the sixteenth century even in Grožnjan, Novigrad and in certain fiefs. In the middle of the sixteenth century their jurisdiction extended to the communes of Bale, Umag, and Izola. The podestas of Koper were the only ones who received direct political communications from Venice and distributed them to other towns. All transcripts had to be performed *pro rei dignitate et honore Venetiarum.*[52]

In the middle of the sixteenth century in the process of completion of the provincial administration Koper acquired the tax office (*Camera fiscale*) that lay within the competence only of great cities of Venetian *terraferma*. The office collected all state revenues from Istrian communes. The podestas and captains administratively controlled all the communes as well, and they simultaneously exercised military authority over coastal regions and were in charge of the dealing with all forms of smuggling.[53]

Finally the magistracy with its seat in Koper was established by a decree of the Senate of Venice in 1584. It consisted of the local podesta, captain and two councillors, and it functioned as the Court of Appeal for the entire Venetian part of Istria. It was primarily a strong institution of control in the hands of the *Serenissima*. Through a well-defined strategy for the homogeneity of Istria and the centralization of the provincial authority by reducing the power of the podestas, the Republic of Venice strove to abolish what was left of the autonomy of peripheral Istrian towns.[54]

Such was the conclusion of the complex policy of the *Serenissima* towards Istria and its towns. It began with the first commercial contacts and contracts in the tenth century, to be followed by direct domination at the end of the thirteenth century, and concluded with the political and administrative reorganization of the entire peninsula. Its goal was to render a more organic structure to the province and grant it the Court of Appeal, which assumed the functions of control and political coordination. At the beginning of the Modern Age Koper thus became the centre of institutional life of the whole of Istria.

Salvator Žitko

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Izola

Insula, Isola

The territory of the two-millennia-old settlement on the central limestone peninsula where the mediaeval town of Izola developed borders on Simon Bay in the west and Viližan Bay in the east, both of them with a classical *villa rustica* and a port. The territory borders on the Gulf of Trieste in the north. The alluvial plain south of the peninsula is surrounded by rounded flysch hills of a broad semicircular amphitheatre from the western cape Kana to the eastern cape Viližan. In the south the area ends

Adriatico

at the height of Kaštelir, where a prehistoric fort was built, and later a Roman stronghold, because of its secure observation post. The whole area with its advantageous climatic and paedological characteristics had been the economic foundation for the development of the coastal area based on agriculture, fishing and trade since Antiquity.

The settlement belongs to the type protected by the sea from three directions. The fourth, accessible side was protected by a sea canal, a moor or a narrow dike.[1] The beginnings of urbanization in the area of Izola date from the first century A. D.

The name of *Insula* was first mentioned in documents from 932.[2] As a constitutive part of *Iustinopolis* (Koper) it was first mentioned in 973, *praebentes locum, qui dicitur Insula*, in a deed of donation from the Holy German Emperor Otto I to the brother of the Doge of Venice. In 976 he sold it to the Patriarch of Aquileia, who donated it in 1031 to the Benedictine convent of St. Mary from Aquileia.[3] That was the first mention of the Benedictine possession of the place as a whole, albeit of a short duration, and the earliest Benedictine estate in the Slovene part of Istria. The ease of the transfer of possession

indicated the marginal importance of the settlements. The social structure of the settlement began with the introduction of the authority of the convent. The aristocracy and clerics became part of the civil population. Because of the favourable location and communications trade and crafts developed alongside agriculture and fishing; the citizenry appeared. The concentration of power and the stratification of the population with their requirements brought about the beginnings of urban organization. The convent ruled the town, although in a curtailed form, until the end of the official authority of the Patriarch of Aquileia in Istria in 1420. The tithe collected by the convent from the town was mentioned as late as 1638.

The settlement developed on the protected part of the island. Its structure was dictated by the organic routes from the mainland to the port. The configuration of the area differed from the present one; the eastern and western parts were considerably larger, reaching as far as Alieto and Ljubljana Streets and the Street along the Ancient Walls (as it was literally called). The area of the early mediaeval settlement is unknown; it developed continuously from the classical architecture with its centre by the then pier. The church of St. Maurus as a symbolic building dominated the elevation outside the settlement. Plaited ornaments from the ninth and tenth centuries were preserved in it, the only recognizable fragments of the early Christian period in the town. In 1082 the parish of

Izola was mentioned in written documents, yet still with collegiate rights.[4] The oldest market-place developed on the drained area by the present Manzioli square, where the routes to the mainland were drawn together.[5] In the second half of the eleventh century the church of St. Mary of Alieto assumed a dominant position. It was a simple, yet monumental example of Romanesque architecture. Romanesque building in the town began immediately after the Benedictine convent assumed authority. It can be traced along the present Alieto and Smrekar Streets, and some architectural elements are preserved in the Manzioli residence as the best instance of secular architecture. Outside the settlement there were the church of St. Peter, not far from St. Maurus, and the Benedictine convent, first mentioned in documents in the deed of donation from 1213.[6] Izola was the administrative and ecclesiastic centre of a larger region. The area from Izola to Korte formed its agricultural background while seaborne trade promoted the development of the settlement into a town.

Venice was spreading its influence. Istrian towns accessible to Venice from the sea walled themselves in. They were additionally protected against incursions from the mainland. The beginning of the thirteenth century was the period when Izola constructed its first town walls. The outline of the walls is not known. It can only be surmised that the walls surrounded the settlement and were

organically constructed in relation to the configuration of the terrain and the coast. There must have been at least two entrances. Later sources mentioned the old sea gate by the port, usually together with the chapel devoted to St. Bartholomew, patron of fishermen (where the present Gramsci Street runs into Great Square), and the mainland gate as a connection with firm land. The main communications of the town took place within the walls because of the dense construction of houses (Koper and Smrekar Streets with lateral connections leading to the sea and the cathedral). Izola was connected with other towns by sea routes and mainland roads. The routes established towards the Istrian hinterland during the Roman period were preserved until the nineteenth century, when the Austro-Hungarian monarchy redirected the mainland communications.

The walled-in town was secure enough to set up a commune. It was first mentioned in 1212.[7] In the same year Izola acquired all collegiate rights.[8] The communal palace was located next to the town church. A regular Romanesque composition is still hidden

within its structure. Both buildings reflected power, and the residential houses in their proximity the leading status of the citizenry. Thus the centre of the town was created. In 1273 the Church of St. Donatus was built on a dominant location outside the town, at the foot of Segadiči Hill on the edge of the amphitheatre facing Koper, as the first sacred building symbolizing the independence of the church and commune of Izola. Yet the municipal autonomy was not of long duration. In 1280 the town submitted to Venice, and the commune became only one of its administrative units.

The Venetian period presented the height of urban and architectural creation of the mediaeval town. Great excavation and fortification works, by which the town acquired its present image, dated from the beginning of the fourteenth century. Such an image can be reconstructed from the first preserved town statute of 1360.[9] There were the town walls with the main town gate facing the mainland, protected by a barbican, a dike and a special canal on the coast. The port, at the present location, was built in the twenties of the fourteenth century, including the west fortification pier in the direction of shallows and the mainland where the salt-works were located. There were two further, smaller openings to the sea, later called Porta Uga and Porta Puia. The old port was filled up and the New Square, constructed – the centre of the town's economic activity and a pendant to the old Alieto Square as the administrative centre. That was a typical case of the mediaeval double square consisting of a single open area with the communal palace and parish church in the middle. Typical organization of mediaeval public life in both squares required buildings with urban functions that originated from the secular and ecclesiastic authorities and the agricultural, fishing, salt-work, artisan and trading activities of the population: the communal palace with the bell, the parish church of St. Bartholomew, *loggia*, armoury, prison, port, market-place, *fontico*, storehouses, the olive press, fish market, slaughterhouse, butcher's stall, a symbolic tower for flags
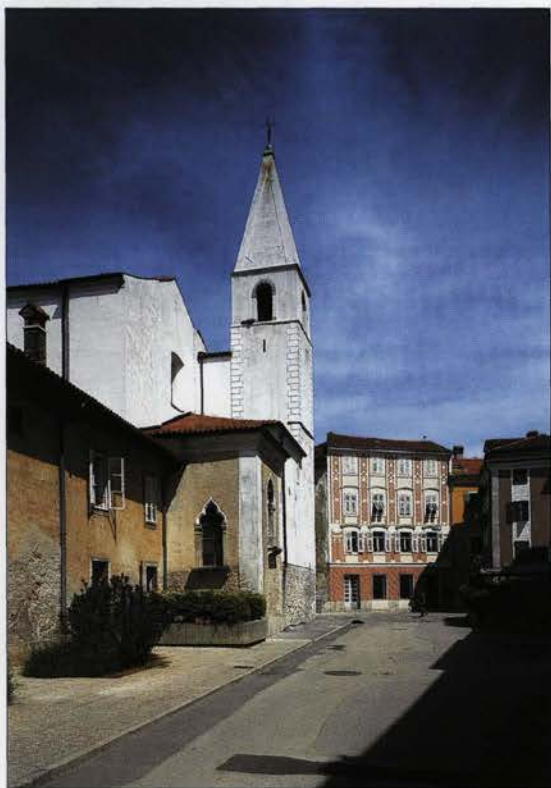
with units of measure, and a pillory. The main water source was close to the walls, yet there was flowing water in the town as well. The second road intersection beside the main square was the town gate to the mainland, the focal point from where the inhabitants went to their fields in the hinterland. In 1400 a chapel dedicated to St. Andrew, protector of fishermen, was erected over the town gate. The present Kristan Square had already been filled up. Originally it had been only the funnel-shaped end of streets by the town gate. Connections between the western and southern intersections and adaptation to the terrain created the ground plan of the main convergent routes with triangular focal points and funnel-shaped ends. Twenty-one routes were mentioned in the town statute, ending in the Square, Communal Road, and Upper and Lower Streets. They can be theoretically located by the present Manzioli and Great Squares, and Verdi, Smrekar and Koper Streets. Unique buildings of the authority and wealthy citizens were concentrated in the main square. The single-storeyed houses of simple folk filled the space between the streets adjacent to typical rectangular buildings located perpendicularly to the street. Goats in closed stables were the only animals allowed in the stone-built part of the town. The Benedictine convent of St. Catherine on the town perimeter was first mentioned in 1389. Later, under the Servite order, it assumed an important role in the education of the young of Izola.

In the first twenty years of the fourteenth century the town walls were strengthened, and the island was connected with the mainland by a stone bridge. During that period the base of the present Kristan Square was created. The churches of St. Marina, St. Mary of the Snows (Marija Snežna, the present St. Dominic) and St. Rock as protector against the plague outside the town gate were mentioned in written documents. The area was iconographically shown in the altar painting of the church of St. Maurus from the year 1581. It depicted the miraculous victory of St. Maurus over the army of German Emperor Sigismund in 1412, when he camped by the church of St. Lawrence next to the main town fountain outside the town. The miraculous victory of St. Maurus over the Genoese was symbolically portrayed in the town coat-of-arms in 1380. In the fifteenth century the see of the parish was transferred again, this time to the dominant church of St. Maurus. The town grew in the direction from the town gate past the convent of St. Catherine to the cathedral. In the present Gregorčič Street the churches of St. John the Baptist and St. Antony were built, and the brotherhood of flagellants built their school there in 1451 (*Scuola dei Battuti*). The dominant Venetian-Gothic style spread from churches, convents and administrative buildings to houses. During that period the main Gothic buildings in the town that are still preserved were erected: the Manzioli, Ettoreo, Longo, and Ugo. The town established a school and set up a hospital and a hospice for the aged.[10]
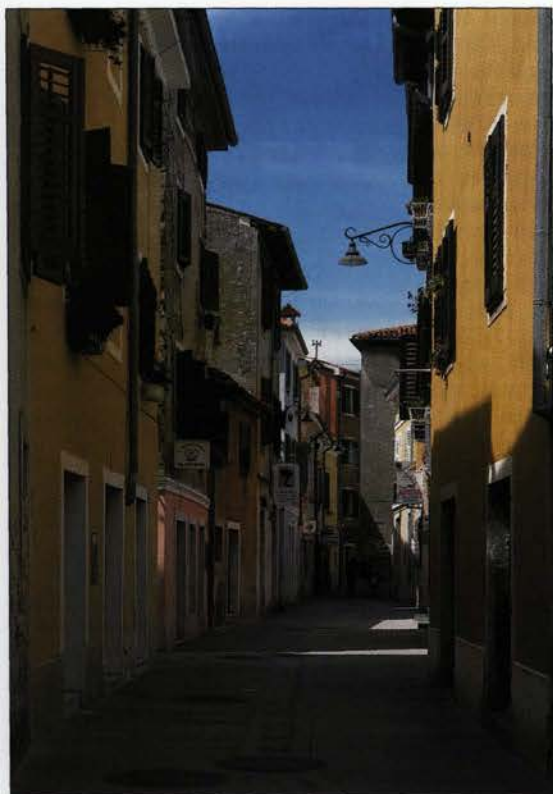
At the turn of the sixteenth century the podesta reported that the town was more or less without enclosing walls. They were constructed because of the approaching menace of the Turks and the invention of firearms. Thamar reported in his description of Izola from 1581 that the circumference of the town was 1204 passus long (about 2083 metres). Despite the correct structures of the Renaissance walls, in the case of Izola they were only fortification works based on idealized plans. The whole plan of the town walls is not preserved. It was definitely located on the coastal and mainland part of the island because part of the tower was destroyed during the construction of the Franciscan monastery in 1576. The last restoration of the town walls was mentioned in 1615. The drawing of the walled-in town on the map of Turkish sailor Sejjid Nuh (1648–1650) showed nine corner towers and four round ones. The location of the final walls against the mainland was partly preserved on an Austrian military map dating from 1804; there was the entrance to the town and two semicircular towers.[11] The course along

the canal is also discernible from a map from the period of Austrian Emperor Franz I, dated 1818. The preserved course of the town walls definitely originated from the mediaeval phase.

Descriptions and drawings of the town were rare. Pietro Coppo completed a geographical map of Istria in 1525, which was the earliest preserved depiction of mediaeval Istria. The size of the town in various periods can only be deduced from older data. The documents from the thirteenth century indicate that the Grand Council of Izola consisted of about one hundred members.[12] The parish of Izola had three canons at the time of its establishment, and the fourth one was assigned to it in 1421. Bishop Valier mentioned in his visitation in 1579 that Izola had about 800 souls, and the podesta reported in 1596 that there were 1,490 inhabitants of Izola and its surroundings. Descriptions and drawings were more numerous thereafter, yet with scant data from the mediaeval period.

With the beginning of Humanism Izola strove to follow the fashionable styles in the restoration of the town. Denser construction and connections between houses created terraced structures of the streets that were completed during the Baroque period. Buildings were enlarged; the dominant restoration of the churches of St. Maurus and St. Mary of Alieto with the bell-tower took place. The greatest town-planning intervention in the mediaeval composition was the hall-shaped conclusion of the rectangular Manzioli Square and the diminishment of the elements of Great Square as a consequence of it. Yet the organization of the town had remained unchanged during the whole of the five-century Venetian period.

The connection between the island and the mainland, the development of land routes, and the expansion of the town and industry on the mainland since the beginning of the nineteenth century facilitated the preservation of the internal structure of the mediaeval town, but they demolished the town walls as its symbol. Most of the churches in both squares were pulled down, others and some public buildings as well were changed into residential houses.

The mediaeval character of the town was thus destroyed. The convent of St. Catherine and the monastery of St. Francis were abolished by a Venetian decree in 1794. In spite of that, the Classicistic and Historicistic style followed the original plan of the town, shaped it in a uniform way, and thus bestowed upon it new qualities.

The characteristics of the mediaeval town on the former island are still clearly discernible. The organic course of narrow, slightly curved streets of the same size, flowing from the eastern Kristan Square into Great and Manzioli Squares by the port is also visible. The church of St. Dominic, small and renovated during the period of Classicism, presides over the entrance square, and the church of St. Mary of Alieto dominates the space by the harbour. The architecture of the Manzioli residence with its preserved Gothic style indicates the mediaeval importance of the central urban space. The grave Baroque facade of the communal palace with several Gothic elements overlooks the entire area of the harbour. The church of St. John the Baptist along the route from the harbour towards the church of St. Maurus indicates the third focal point with the two most important objects of Baroque urban architecture: the Besenghi palace and the Zanon palace. The Renaissance cathedral of St. Maurus renovated in the Historicist manner dominates the whole town from the top of the peninsula. The streets beneath it are divided into small rectangular lots with densely built houses. Written documents of the town report numerous arms of the podestas and important citizens cut in stone.[13]

The mediaeval settlement of the former island, the vast expanse of the sea in the north and the uneven hillside of the amphitheatre with agricultural terraces are the characteristics defining the layout of the town, its division, features and quality. The expansion of settlement and industry toward the southern alluvial plain and the hillside along the coast, the reclamation of sea shallows and the construction damaged the spatial appearance of the town during the last century. Yet the mediaeval organic structure and the prominent topographic features still grant it a leading position in the area of Izola.

Daniela Tomšič

[1] The configuration of the terrain was substantially transformed due to subsidence of the coast, alluvium and the building of dikes over two millennia (Ogorelec et al., Reconstruction of Paleonvironment in the Bay of Koper, *Annales* 11, Koper 1997). Transformations have been documented for the last two centuries, since the cadastre of Austrian Emperor Franz I. The question of the existence of a natural island or peninsula in the classical and mediaeval periods has remained open. The outline of the coast can be deduced from available data. The first author to write about 'the Insula, also called the island' was Arab geographer Al-Edrisi ca. 1150.

[2] F. Kos, Gradivo II, pp. 289-90; J. Kramar, *Izola, mesto ribičev in delavcev*, Koper 1987, pp. 36-37.

[3] P. Kandler, *Codice Diplomatico Istriano*, Trieste 1877, 1., pp. 973, 976, 1031.

[4] P. Kandler, ibidem, 1., p. 1082.

[5] Extensive landfill works took place in other towns as well during the late classical period or the early Middle Ages (M. Župančič, Insediamento, governo ed usi del territorio, ATTI del Centro di ricerche storiche di Rovigno XXXVI Trieste-Rovigno 1996, pp. 509-514.

[6] V. Joppi, Una pergamena istriana del 1213, Archivio storico per Trieste, *L'Istria e il Trentino* 1895, pp. 193-194; I. Ostojić, *Benediktinci u Hrvatskoj i ostalim našim krajevima III*, Split 1965, pp. 87-88.

[7] C. de Franceschi, Chartularium Piranense I, *AMSI XXXVI*, 1924, pp. 94-96; J. Kramar, ibidem, p. 43.

[8] P. Kandler, ibidem, 1., 1212; P. Naldini, *Corografia Ecclesiastica o sia Descrittione della Citta' e della Diocesi di Giustinopoli detto volgarmente Capo d'Istria*, Venezia 1700, pp. 326-364.

[9] L. Morteani, Isola e i suoi statuti, *AMSI III-V*, Parenzo 1887–89.

[10] G. Russignan, *Testamenti di Isola d'Istria* (dal 1391 al 1579), Trieste 1986, 1., 1464, 1481.

[11] V. Rajšp, D. Trpin, *Slovenija na vojaškem zemljevidu 1763–87* (1804), Vol. 3, Ljubljana 1997, section XIX-15.

[12] M. Pahor, Organizacija oblasti v občini Izola po listinah iz leta 1253 in 1260, Kronika 3, Ljubljana 1976, pp. 158-165.

[13] G. Radossi, Stemmi di rettori e di famiglie notabili di Isola d'Istria, ATTI XVIII, Rovigno 1986–87, pp. 303-357.

Koper

Capris, Justinopolis, Caput Histriae, Capodistria

The island on which the town of Koper was built lies on the north-western coast of Istria, protected by the Bay of Koper, near the mouth of the river Badaševica and more distanced river Rižana. The shape of the former island is elliptical, reminiscent of a convex lens; the terrain reaches its highest level at the juncture of the two symmetric axes (cf. Bernik, *Organizem slovenskih obmorskih mest*, etc.). The origins of the town were located on the highest point because that was the most convenient and secure position. The natural form of the island played a decisive role in the development of the town

throughout its history. The island was suitable for settlement, primarily during the period between late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages, when life was becoming more and more perilous on the mainland.

The area was relatively densely populated in Antiquity, particularly its coastal part. The Roman population that lived off their estates in the wealthy agrarian hinterland had to flee to more secure places in times of danger, and therefore the first serried settlements developed. It is highly probable that the first ones were already fortified.

The beginnings of the settlement on the former island of Koper and of its historical development can be traced during the period when the region of Istria was part of the Roman Empire. Numerous building sites in the area of the historic centre of the town have lately been included in more systematic archaeological research and protection. Individual finds of various cases of echo-sounding research have revealed the early mediaeval period and Antiquity. The results confirm the possibility of the existence of an even older settlement on Sermino (Horvat, Sermin) in the vicinity, by the mouth of the river Rižana. Yet there is no material evidence whatsoever to confirm the conjecture of an older settlement in the area of the island of Koper or the legend of the Greek Aegida.

Throughout its rich history the city of Koper has been known under various names (cf. Šašel, *Arheološki vestnik* 25). The settlement of *Capris* with town walls was mentioned in written sources (cf. Smole, *Kronika* 5). During Byzantine rule the name of the city was *Justinopolis* (cf. Bernik, *Organizem slovenskih obmorskih mest*). When the city devolved to the Patriarchs of Aquileia (cf. Smole, *Kronika* 5) it was named *Caput Histriae* as the capital and most important town of Istria. During that period the buildings of the town occupied most of the island. By the end of the thirteenth century the city had already been formed with all the squares and streets with their urban characteristics that have remained preserved until the present time. During that period Koper fell under the rule of Venice and was called *Capo d'Istria*. The Republic of Venice marked the formation and development of the city with its presence most obviously. It had influenced the material, spiritual and political development of the city for centuries.

Bernik (cf. *Organizem slovenskih obmorskih mest*) proved the assumption that the urban structure of Koper was finally created in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, therefore revealing a mediaeval basis that can be connected with the

late classical tradition. The buildings that were preserved in the historic centre of the city can be identified according to their stylistic elements as Romanesque, Gothic and Renaissance architecture. The oldest buildings are located in the area of the whole historic centre of the city that was enclosed by former city walls along the edge of the island. The walls on the outline of the island were an important element in the creation of the interior of the city. The formation of the city was further influenced by the social structure of the population; in the centre of the island stood the most important palaces and buildings of a profane or sacred nature. The outskirts, along the outline of the island, there was the area of the lower classes, petty tradesmen, artisans, fishermen and peasants. In the eastern part of the city objects of various church orders were erected, and they had settled in since the middle of the thirteenth century (cf. Naldini, *Corografia*, etc.).

The oldest preserved plan of the city of Koper, commissioned by Bernardo Malipiero Podesta and the Captain of Koper, was executed by engineer Giacomo Fino on 1 August 1619. It as an important source for the study of the historic and town-planning development of the city (cf. Žitko, *Kronika* 37). The drawing discernibly presents the elliptical form of the island with the central urban area, main streets and squares and the prominent buildings clearly marked.

The central urban area was shaped by two squares, called Piazza and Brolo in the above-mentioned drawing; a water tank was marked in the latter. The centre was complemented by eight external squares located on the edge of the island on the internal side of the city walls, and six of them contained a port. The most important was the present Prešeren Square (Piazzal or Porta Muda), the only one connected with the mainland. Entrance into the city was possible only along the road toward Lion Castle and further along the dike and bridge through the main gate Porta Muda to the present Prešeren Square. Because of that the square had an important role in the urban organism; its function was emphasized because it assumed the role of Brolo, the main square where supplies were obtained (cf. Žitko, 1989, 40). Other squares along the edge of the city have been preserved under new names: Kosovel Square (*Piazzal di Porta Ogni Santi*), the former Square of St. Thomas (*Piazzal di S. Tomaso*), Gramasci Square (*Piazza di Porta S. Pietro*), Fishermen's Square (*Piazzal di Porta Bossedraga*), Square by Izola Gate (*Porta Isolana*), Carpaccio Square (*Piazzal del Porto*) and Stanič-Gortan Square (*Piazzal de Porta Maggiore*). Only the former Square by Izola Gate is left out of the present city plan because of the encroachment of the port, Luka Koper, while the former Square of St. Thomas is partly preserved. The only two squares without their own ports were the present Prešeren Square and the former Square of St. Thomas. All exter-

nal squares had similar designs: a rectangular ground plan, enclosed on three sides by serried buildings, and the fourth side was formed by the city walls with a gate. Regularly there was a church among the buildings opposite the gate. There was additionally an obligatory fountain in each square. Individual quarters were created inside the squares and were named after them.

The historic heart of the city protected by the walls can be divided into two parts: the central part and the outskirts. The border between them was created by a natural fault of the terrain running parallel to the edge of the island and it is still visible, in spite of the dense buildings.[1] The northern edge of the island of Koper slopes rather steeply to the sea, therefore no substantial changes have taken place in that part of the city. The slope of the outskirts of the island (the southern, eastern and western parts) is only gentle, the area is silted and therefore not very suitable for construction. The poorest classes of population resided there among fishermen, peasants, artisans and petty tradesmen.
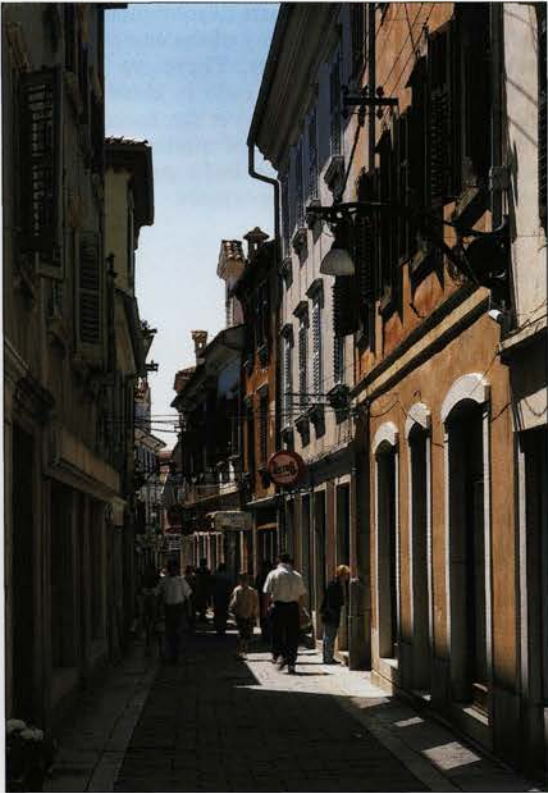
The central part of the city consisted of a densely built urban structure with the most important municipal buildings. The importance and prestigiousness of the buildings located around the central square and toward the outskirts of the city declined gradually. The serried part of the city was located on geologically firmer terrain allowing the construction of larger houses like mansions and houses of the wealthy with several storeys. On the other hand, there were no mansions on the periphery and along the fault, but only more modest dwellings with preserved Romanesque or Gothic elements indicating their origins.

The outstanding architectural monuments and the course of the city walls were discernible from the preserved cadastral register of Koper dated 1819,[2] although some parts of the walls had disappeared under the structure of the buildings. Only fragments between individual houses can be traced, while all the gates are gone, with the exception of the most important one, Porta Muda.

The appearance of mediaeval Koper, an important administrative, secular and ecclesiastic centre in Istria, can be deduced from preserved depictions. The oldest one is the painting by Venetian master Vittore Carpaccio from 1516 with the image of St. Nazarius holding a model of Koper among other saints (cf. Brejc 1983, 132-133). At the end of the sixteenth century Koper with its surroundings was depicted during a storm. The fine structure of buildings was clearly visible, the city was surrounded by walls, and there was a prominent tower in the middle.[3] Several vedutas of Koper from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries are kept in the Provincial Museum of Koper. A votive picture of the Servite order presented a view of the city with Lion Castle and Porta Muda from the mainland. Another view, from the harbour with the dominant Gregorian and Dominican monas-

nent buildings of former ecclesiastic and secular authorities, which were also the most important architectural monuments: the Praetor Palace, Loggia, Foresteria, Armeria and the cathedral with the tower. The heights of the buildings were harmonized in their form and layers. The only dominating vertical feature was the fortification tower, later turned into the city tower, and even later a church tower. At the end of the fifteenth century two older palaces were joined into the Praetor Palace, which was dedicated to the political, military and judicial functions of the podestas. It also served the municipal autonomy after the establishment of the Grand Council and other offices. In the fifteenth century the decoration of the facade with memorial plaques, arms and busts of important podestas and captains began; during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries their number increased. During the period of Podesta Vicenzo Bemba the palace was raised and renovated in the Baroque style with an illusionary symmetric disposition of merlons and a statue of Justice. Further *ghibellino* merlons were added above the towers and two distaff belfries.

Between 1458 and 1460 the Foresteria or Albergo Nuovo was built perpendicularly to the Praetor Palace, and was substantially rebuilt in 1472; it was one storey high, the top being intended for podesta's guests, and the ground floor for toll and salt offices. In 1532 the first floor was completely refurbished for aristocratic guests visiting Koper and for the temporary residence of the podesta. Next to the Foresteria stood the Armeria or *Magazzeno delle Munizioni*. Originally it was a low, massive building that was later raised by one floor; the second one was added at the beginning of the sixteenth century. The openings in the facade date from the beginning of the seventeenth century. In 1788 the buildings of the Foresteria and the Armeria were joined with a common facade that has remained until the present.

The new Loggia was built by Nicholas the architect from Piran and Tomaso the stonecutter from Venice between 1462 and 1464. Originally it was a single-storey

teries, was depicted by Joseph Scholz in his drawing from the middle of the nineteenth century. The first photographs documented the existing state of affairs and presented various transformations, more intense in the outskirts of the city after the surrounding area had been drained. The former island of Koper was joined to the mainland. The most important and picturesque parts of the city are two squares, Tito Square and Brolo. They are divided by the sacred complex of Koper (the cathedral, tower and baptistery).

The present Tito Square, formerly *Platea Communis*, was located in the centre of the historic heart of the city. It had an almost rectangular ground plan and a dominant position in its preserved mediaeval structure. The original municipal plan of the square had been preserved throughout history, and it was an expression of typical Mediterranean disposition of an urban area after Venetian authority had been established. The central urban area, characterized by its closed hall-like nature, was the place where the main streets converged. The external border of the square was formed by the promi-

building and had a different floor plan to the present one; the exterior was richly decorated. Marco Michele Salomon Podesta of Koper raised the Loggia in the seventeenth century. Thus the floor plan and the structural strength were altered, and a staircase was added. It has been preserved in that form ever since.

In the fifteenth century the cathedral was substantially rebuilt as well; a new facade was made. The lower part of it from 1460 was made in Gothic style as the exterior of the restored atrium. The upper part was executed at the end of the fifteenth century. The Baroque refurbishing of the cathedral was the work of Venetian architect Giorgio Massari. Only the facade and the southern side of the nave were left over from the previous Romanesque-Gothic church. The former free-standing tower that used to be a part of the fortification of the city was united with the cathedral later.

The harmonious architecture of the square was interrupted in its eastern part by a building designed by architect Edo Mihevc in 1964. It was erected in place of some smaller mansions that had concluded the eastern side of the square. The new building levelled the line of the sides of the square, interfered with the Diocesan gardens and interrupted the connection between the Diocesan and the Praetor Palace.

The present Tito Square flows into another important and picturesque place called Brolo that is open and airy. Its ground plan in the form of a trapezoid has not been substantially changed in the last few centuries. Because of its important role and function in the city (featuring the Fontico, Diocesan Palace, two fountains in the middle, and a water cistern) Brolo consisted of important aristocratic dwellings that were levelled in height. In spite of its early mediaeval origins, the present state of the square is primarily the result of the Baroque restorations that were more substantial in the external part of Brolo.

The historic heart of Koper, comprising the entire area of the former island, is an exceptional monument reflecting the important continuity of the settlement.

The urban development and the rich history of the city require further study. There are important mansions built in clearly discernible styles, yet the anonymous architecture of numerous dwellings that have been preserved is of equal importance.

Mojca Guček

[1] The fault in the terrain can be traced along Resselj Street where it rises gradually over Kidrič Street, along Kolarič and Santori Streets over to Župančič, Shoe-makers', Chimney-sweepers' and Sabini Streets, next to *Coleggia dei Nobili* (the present Italian grammar school) and from Marušič to Wall, Peasant and Firemen' Street.

[2] The original is kept in the National Archive in Trieste, and a copy in the archive of the Medobčinski zavod za varstvo naravne in kulturne dediščine Piran.

[3] 'View of Koper' INTER VTRVMQ TVTA, dated 1589, Provincial Archive of Koper.

Piran
Pirano

The town of Piran was built on a cape sloping from the hillside of Mogorono and deeply indented between the Bays of Piran and Strunjan. The peninsula is concluded by Punta, the extreme north-western point of Istria.

It is not known when construction on the peninsula began, although some archaeological excavations revealed that there was a settlement in the central part of the town even in Antiquity (cf. Stokin, *Arheološki pregled* 29). Some prehistoric objects were discovered which prove the continuity of settlement there. Archaeological research in the proximity of Piran
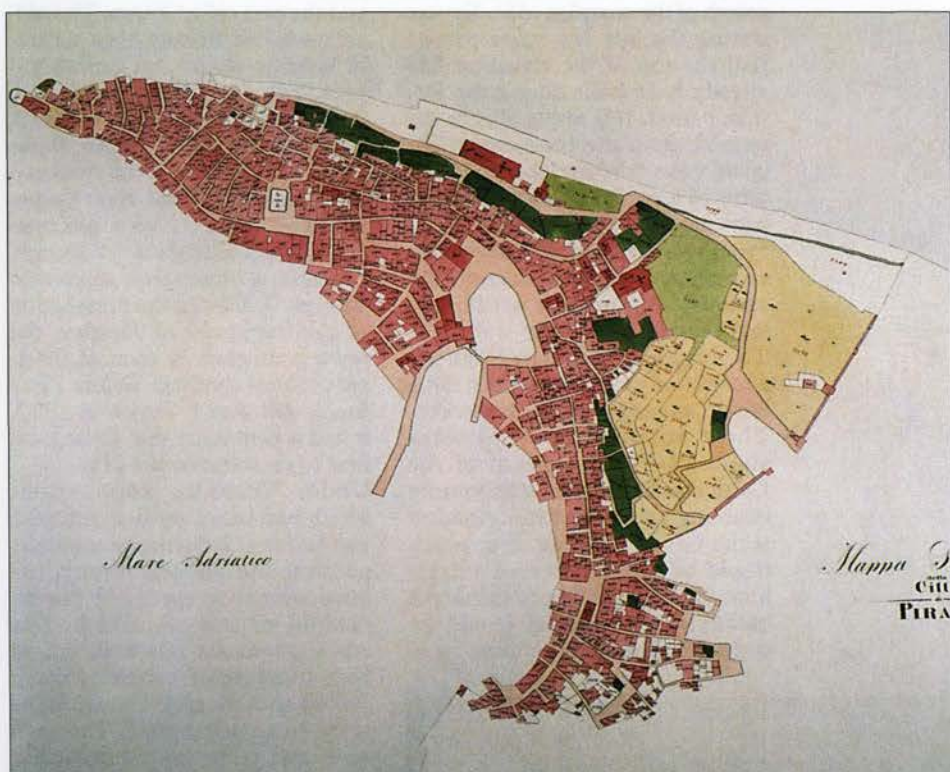
has proved the existence of smaller settlements during the Roman period, basically villas (*villa rustica*) with accompanying outbuildings. During the period of the decline of the Roman Empire life on the mainland was perilous; former inhabitants fled from newcomers to safer places during migrations of peoples. The archaeological research of the complex of St. George during the last few years proved that the top of the elevation had already been built during the Roman period. It is impossible to determine from the remnants of ancient walls whether the buildings were of a sacred character or perhaps part of a fortification.

Piran was mentioned as a fortified *castrum* in written sources from the seventh century; the settlement was therefore probably walled-in. The origins of the name Piran are a matter of speculation since there are no material sources preserved. There are several conjectures about it, like the origin of the Celtic word *biordun*, supposedly denoting a town on a hill. Another is the Greek word *pyr*, fire, which would be logical, because a lighthouse for ships sailing to the Greek colony in the vicinity would be expected at such an exposed loca-

tion (cf. Pahor, *Piran*).

In spite of the turbulent history between the eighth and thirteenth century, when parts of Istria were under different authorities, the town of Piran prospered. The location of the oldest settlement was confined to the central area of the peninsula (*Piazza Vecchia*, present-day Prvomajsko Square) and the part called Punta. The oldest town had already been walled-in because of dangers during migrations of peoples. There were four town gates: *Porta Mugla* (Miljska Vrata), *Porta Domo* (Stolna Vrata), *Porta Missana* (Osrednja Vrata) and *Porta Campo* (Poljska Vrata). Town quarters were named after them (cf. Bernik, *Organizem slovenskih obmorskih mest*, etc.). During the domination of the Patriarchs of Aquileia the town prospered in spite of internal political conflicts. Before Piran finally fell under Venice in 1283, it had a commune that passed the first town statutes in 1275.

Under Venetian domination, which had lasted for five centuries and had thus influenced economic, political and cultural history, the town started to spread in the direction of the mainland. The whole peninsula was built up, so that the former centre, *Piazza Vecchia* with the oldest house in the town, became too small. The town walls had to be moved in such a way as to include the quarter of Campo, previously outside the town. The Venetians transferred the administrative centre to Campo (the present Tartini Square). The features of the square consisted of the harbour with the most important buildings of the municipal administration: the town hall, *fontico, loggia,* and the church of St. Peter. In subsequent development this quarter took over the role of the town centre (cf. Bernik 1968, p. 130). During the same period the Franciscans settled in and built their church and monastery near the harbour.

In the fifteenth century the town became too small again because of rapid development and the influx of people, so that the hamlet of Marciana had to be included, and consequently it became a new town quarter. Because of the danger of Turkish incursions the town
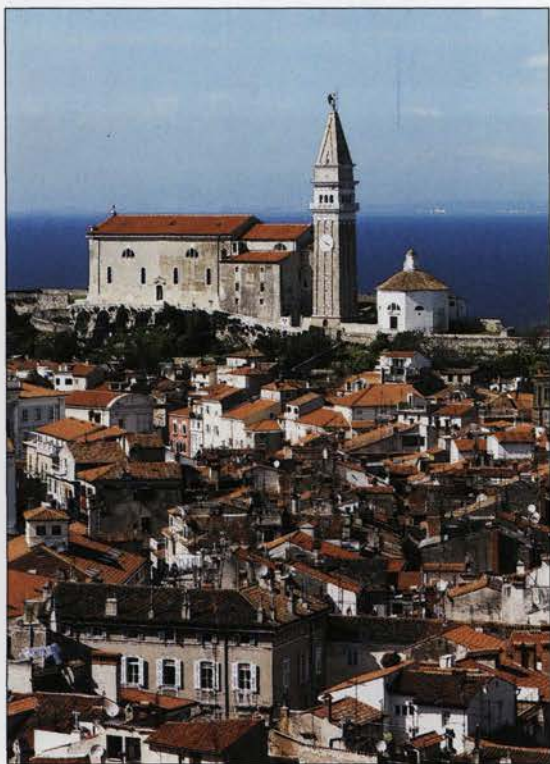
walls were moved to the area of Mogorono, where they have been preserved to the present. The course of the walls ran along the sea that enclosed the whole peninsula. The strongest part was the one facing the mainland with Rašpor Gate as the only entrance. The preserved walls on the hill are an exceptional mediaeval urban monument. Marino Sanudo, who visited Piran in 1473, reported that the internal harbour was very small and intended for barges only, whereas the external one was for

larger ships and galleys (cf. Kovič, Pahor, *Kronika* 9).

The appearance of Piran during that time was depicted in various pictures, the oldest one being painted by Carpaccio, Madonna with Child and Saints, painted in 1518 for the church of St. Francis.[1] The painting by Domenico Tintoretto, The Elders of Piran (cf. Mikuž, *Obala* 15) from the end of the sixteenth century is also important because of the view of the town in the background.[2] Both paintings are of exceptional documentary value because they are the only depictions that include the Gothic complex of the parish church of St. George.

The outstanding dominant feature of the town and simultaneously an important element of the mediaeval urban layout is the magnificent complex of the parish church, located on top of the hill above the town. The church complex is visible from everywhere, from the mainland and from the sea, especially from the former only entrance to the town. It had already been built to its present height in Antiquity. The church was first mentioned in the sixth or seventh century and it was supposedly consecrated to St. Maximilian (cf. Kandler, *Pirano*, etc.). The Romanesque church complex consisted of a three-nave basilica with a large central apse and there was an atrium above the entrance with a baptistery in front of it (cf. Rota, *Notizie sul duomo di Pirano*). At the end of the twelfth century priests and friars were mentioned in archival sources of the church of St.

George (cf. Mihelič 1995, pp. 7-8). During the Gothic period the church was substantially renovated, although the floor plan and the three-nave structure were retained. The church was consecrated anew in 1344. A legend of a miracle is connected with the renovation of the church: St. George appeared in the sky during a horrendous storm, dispelled the clouds, and thus saved the town.

At the end of the sixteenth century the church had to be rebuilt again. Because of its exposed location on the top of the hill arched buttresses were constructed on the northern and southern sides of the slope. The Baroque restoration was even more thorough: the floor plan of the church was preserved, and the three-nave space was transformed into a hall, which necessitated even more complicated structural solutions. The structure of the whole complex was changed in the process of restoration, the old baptistery was eliminated and a church tower standing above the church erected. The new baptistery was located next to the tower. Because the construction works dragged on until the middle of the seventeenth century, the church was reconsecrated in 1637. The present appearance of the church of St. George has been preserved from that time. The best depiction of the view of the whole of Piran from the sea is in the painting The Miracle of St. George by the Venetian master of Flemish origin, Angelo de Coster, from 1706 (cf. Brejc 1983, p. 149).[3]

The preserved cadastre[4] from 1818 depicts the ground plan of the town before the radical changes were made at the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth century, especially in the central urban area.

The main urban area is preserved in the present Tartini Square. For five centuries the area with the harbour had not substantially changed. The greatest transformations occurred at the end of the nineteenth century during Austrian rule. At that time the oldest and most important administrative buildings were pulled down (the town hall, *loggia* and *fontico*), and new ones were erected in their place. They were the result of the contemporary design under the powerful influence of the then capital, Vienna. The internal harbour was filled in, and a marketplace was designed in its place. The stone bridge by the entrance to the former internal harbour was demolished, and the flag-poles with Piranese units of length were transposed. On the two hundredth anniversary of the birth of the famous violinist and composer Tartini his monument was erected in the square, executed by Venetian sculptor Antonio Dal Zotto. At that time a pier was also built in the former external harbour.

Most external buildings of the square underwent considerable changes during that period. The only one left almost without alteration was the corner house in the Venetian-Gothic style at the end of the mainland route (now Ulica

IX Korpusa). The birthplace home of Tartini is also preserved, and it was thoroughly restored a few years ago (cf. Hoyer 1992). The house was built in place of former Gothic dwellings. The Tartini house is a typical example of Baroque residential architecture, an urban palace where families of the upper classes resided. During the restoration works frescoes in the interior were discovered.

At the turn of the nineteenth century the *loggia* was pulled down. A new Classicist building was erected in its place and called the casino. At the same time the church of St. Peter was renovated. It was of early origins, from the time before the quarter of Campo was integrated into the town. In 1818 the church, the work of the famous Viennese architect Pietro Nobila, obtained its present form. The present town hall was built in place of the old one from the plans of architect Giovanni Righetti from Trieste in 1879. It was designed to the contemporary taste and greatly influenced by Viennese Historicist architecture. Memorial plaques and the relief of the Lion of St. Mark were removed from the old town hall to the new one. Soon thereafter the *fontico* was pulled down as well. Architect Moso rebuilt it in such a fashion as to include in it the Baroque door of the pawn shop and the *fontico*, and the gate of St. George.

At the beginning of the twentieth century a new access road was constructed along the coast from Portorož to Piran. Most part of it had to be drained and strengthened with dikes. New buildings were erected there: a hotel, the theatre, museum and other palaces along the coast of the external harbour. The southern part as far as Punta was regulated too (present-day Cankar and Prešeren Embankment).
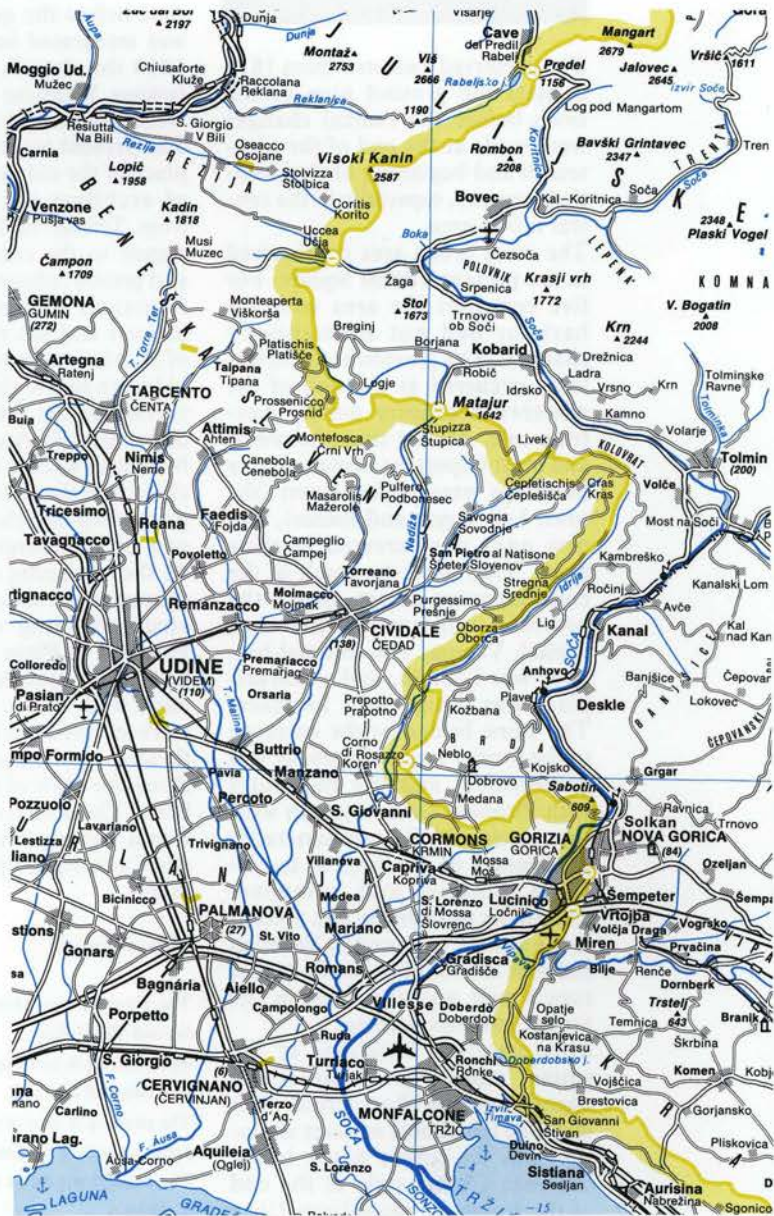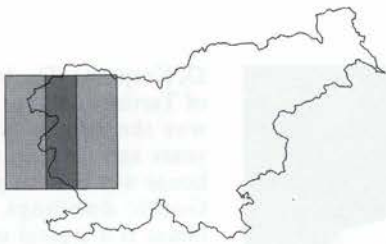
Mojca Guček

[1] The painting was taken to Italy before the Second World War.

[2] The painting is now kept in the great hall of the town hall in Piran.

[3] The painting is now in the presbytery of the parish church of St. George in Piran.

[4] The original is kept in the National Archive in Trieste.

Gorizia and the Province of Gorizia in the Middle Ages

The mediaeval history of the province of Gorizia began with the deed of donation of Emperor Otto III on 28 April 1001. At that time, almost a millennium ago, the name of the place *(villa) Gorizia, que Sclavorum lingua vocatur Goriza*, was written for the first time, and the territory *inter Ysoncium et Wipaum et Ortaona atque iuga Alpium* that was later called the province of Gorizia was drawn. The feudal lord of half of the territory, the Patriarchate of Aquileia and Patriarch Johannes IV were also recorded in the document. The second half was donated to Count Verihen (the deed of donation of Otto III from 27 October 1001), yet he could not have been the first of the later mighty dynasty of the Counts of Gorizia. The image of the province of Gorizia from the eleventh century is very incomplete because of the lack of written documentation. Conjectures can only be made about relations between the Patriarchate of Aquileia, the greatest feudal lord in Friuli and the neighbouring territories, and Count Verihen or, rather, his heirs. Much credit was due to the Patriarchs of Aquileia for the revival of the territories devastated by the Hungarians, primarily in Friuli. Yet in 1077 the Patriarchs expanded their ecclesiastic authority to administrative matters. This was possible through legal offices which they bestowed on chosen feudal lords. Maybe it was due to Aquileian lawyers that the family of Bavarian or rather Carinthian lords acquired estates in the Soča region and in Friuli. Since the first quarter of the twelfth century they were called the Counts of Gorizia *(comes de Goerze)* after their rights as counts that they possessed in Carinthia, and not after the province of Gorizia, which had not yet existed at that time. The County of Gorizia was first recorded as *Comitatus Goritiensis* in 1217. In the twelfth century (1130, 1150, 1202) the possessions along the river Soča and in Friuli belonging to the Counts of Gorizia were still regarded as an Aquileian fief. The possessions were characterized by some important geographical features; the most convenient passage from the Apennines to the Balkans and vice versa through the lower Soča valley. This important feature had determined the administrative conditions of Roman-Byzantine authority since the early Middle Ages, then the Lombardic Duchy in Friuli and the Frankish Friulian Mark. The latter subsequently confirmed the secular power of the Patriarchs of Aquileia on the territory 'in the Italic Kingdom, in the County of Friuli' as stated in a document from the end of the eleventh century. The territory of Friuli and its surroundings, demographically and economically devastated by incursions of the Hungarians, were a heavy burden from the past. The legal offices performed by the Counts of Gorizia for the Patriarchate of Aquileia (including some dioceses in the south of Tyrol) brought them considerable power and reputation. They acquired many estates in Friuli (Latisana, Belgrado, Flambro, Precenico, Codroipo, Castelnuovo) as far as Tilmento. Together with the land they had soon obtained several rights that reinforced their administrative power and facilitated the formation of their own dynastic territory. On account of that disputes arose between them and the Patriarch of Aquileia as early as the middle of the twelfth century. The dispute in 1150 indicated that the Patriarchate of Aquileia had retained its domination, yet in 1202 several es-

tates were enfeoffed to the Counts, including Gorizia. According to this contract the estates would have been returned to Aquileia should the Counts (including the female line) become extinct, yet their present power was considerably strengthened. The thirteenth century was the period when the Counts rose to great prominence, and Gorizia had simultaneously grown from a village to a centre of feudal possessions.

At the time when Gorizia was first mentioned in written sources, it was still a village. A vital factor for the Slovene settlement of the place was that the Slovene origin of its name was explicitly emphasized. However, archaeological finds proved that the continuity of settlement at the location of Gorizia stretched as far back as Antiquity. Around the year 1000, when the first written monuments of the Slovene language were made, the presence of the Slovene or rather Slavonic people there was such that they named the place in Slovene.

At the time when Gorizia was first recorded in written documents there was no administrative or ecclesiastic centre; this assumption is based on simultaneous reference to the castle in Solkan, which had no important role in subsequent development. Solkan was mentioned together with the feudal estates of the monasteries in Možac (1118) and Rožac (1221) and other feudal lords, mostly ministerials of the Counts of Gorizia. The parish of Solkan played a more important role; it was indirectly mentioned about the year 1181 (priest Ivan of Solkan), and it had been run by parish priest Andrej since 1194. At that time Gorizia was part of the parish of Solkan. In the middle of the fourteenth century the priests of Solkan were appointed priests of Gorizia as well, *in plebe Salcan alias Goricie*. In the eleventh century Gorizia (*loco Goriza*) was mentioned in connection with the donation of the estate of a certain *Heinricus de Guriza* from a noble family (perhaps a relative of Verihen) to the Diocese of Brixen. He was mentioned again around 1090 and in 1102.

The castle as a typical feature of a mediaeval settlement was first mentioned in Gorizia in 1202, two centuries after the settlement had been first mentioned, which, of course, did not indicate that it was built only at that time. During the thirteenth century the castle was recorded in documents several times (1230, 1250, twice in 1267, 1277, 1292). The growth of Gorizia from a village to a town was probably connected with the castle as the centre of dominion and the expanding dynastic territory, similar to other mediaeval urban settlements. On the top of the castle hill houses of ministerials, merchants, artisans and officials were added to the buildings of the original village around the castle. Thus the centre of an urban settlement was created, yet simultaneously there still existed a village on the south-western part of the hill from the year 1001. At the beginning of the thirteenth century the settlement was developed to such an extent that Emperor Otto IV granted it market deeds in 1210. The granting of a weekly fair was one of the conditions for the rise of the Counts of Gorizia to Princes of the Province. Each year a fair was held in Gorizia on the festival of St. John the Baptist. Additionally, Count Meinhard III released the inhabitants of Gorizia of all bonds for seven years, under obligation to repair the bridges across the river Soča. In denominations of Gorizia the settlement around the castle, a borough or a town, *oppidum superius* (in the chronicles of Martin Bavčer) or *terra superiore*, was gradually distinguished from the village, as indicated in the document of 1307 (*tam in villa quam in foro*).

The importance and development of Gorizia were closely connected with the Counts of Gorizia. Gorizia and its surroundings were probably the fief where the lawyers of the Patriarchate of Aquileia provided their services, and since the beginning of the twelfth century, as mentioned above, that office had been performed by the Counts of Gorizia. Legal offices and the judicature were rich economic sources; it was in the judicature that the Counts of Gorizia started appropriating rights that were not their due.

They sought to establish their own autonomous province outside the Patriarchate of Aquileia and the Duchy of Friuli by expanding their power. A series of impotent Patriarchs following Berthold of Andechs after the year 1251 facilitated the achievement of their goals, the conclusion of family bonds playing a vital role. The bond with the family of the Counts of Tyrol was of special importance after 1250 when Meinhard IV married the daughter of Albert, the last Count of Tyrol. After the death of his father-in-law (in 1253) he thus inherited half of the Tyrolean estates, and after the death of the heirs of the other half (the Hirschbergs) their share as well. In 1271 Meinhard's sons Albert I and Meinhard V divided between themselves the estates of Tyrol and Gorizia. Thus two lines were created: Meinhard's Tyrolean-Gorizian line with estates in Tyrol, and Albert's Gorizian line with estates in the Soča region, Istria, Karst, Friuli, Carniola and Carinthia. Meinhard was a particularly powerful dynast because he obtained Carniola in pledge and Carinthia was enfeoffed to him; he was enthroned according to local custom as the Duke of Carinthia. However, after the death of his son Heinrich (in 1335), who was appointed King of Bohemia, the Tyrolean line died out. Carniola and Carinthia devolved to the Habsburgs. A few years later (1342) the Gorizian line was divided into the Istrian and narrower Gorizian line. The estates of the Istrian line were in Istria and the Slovene Mark, and the estates of the Gorizian line in the Soča region, Karst and Friuli. After the extinction of the Istrian line in 1374 their estates were inherited by the Habsburgs, heirs of the last Count of Gorizia, Lenart, who died in 1500 without issue.

The vast estates of the Counts of Gorizia and their family lines, stretching from the eastern Tyrol to Istria, were connected with numerous ministerials who managed the estates in individual provinces for the Counts. The Counts additionally obtained the right to mint money, and collect toll and customs tariffs. The position of the Captain General of Aquileia, which they had acquired for a lengthy period of time as early as at the end of the thirteenth century, was of equal importance. Yet the title of Princes of the Province was more important for affirmation of their power. The Tyrolean line obtained the title in 1286 when they became the Dukes of Carinthia, and the Gorizian line in 1365 under the rule of King Karl IV. The title meant that their bonds with the Patriarchate of Aquileia and the County of Friuli were severed. Friuli had developed into a province (*Patria*) with its autonomous council (parliament) and provincial law (*Constitutiones Patriae Foroiulii*, 1366). The provincial law of Friuli was also in force in the County of Gorizia with minor alterations: in the German translation of the constitutions the name of the Patriarch of Aquileia was substituted with that of the Count of Gorizia. In the fourteenth century courtly offices were transformed into provincial ones due to the transformation of Gorizian dominion into a province. Offices of heads as deputies of the Count of Gorizia in the administration and judicature were introduced in Lienz, Gorizia, Metlika and Pazin, yet, as a document from 1325 stated, the Count 'had retained his power over everything.' The Counts supported the administrative offices and did not pledge them to lower aristocrats. In that way they attempted to achieve greater efficiency and dependence. In the Province of Gorizia the provincial aristocracy began to develop in the fourteenth century. However, the first traces of the States can be found in records during the period of Lenart, the last Count of Gorizia.

The whole vast possession of the Counts of Gorizia had no territorial unity, being dispersed. The position of the region of Tolmin is worth mentioning here. It could have been a link between the estates of the Counts of Gorizia in the lower Soča region and those in the Drava valley in Carinthia. However, they had only possessed it for a short period of time during the fourteenth century. Otherwise the region of Tolmin was firmly in the hands of the Patriarchate of Aquileia; after 1377 the landowner had been the

Chapter of Cividale. The 'Front County of Gorizia' was created in the fourteenth century out of the estates in eastern Tyrol and northern Carinthia, with the centre in Lienz and the residential castle of the Counts of Gorizia in nearby Bruck, and the 'Back County of Gorizia' out of the estates along the river Soča. When the Count attempted to join both parts into a single province in 1456, he failed because the Counts of Gorizia had lost their Carinthian estates in struggles for the inheritance of the Counts of Celje with the Peace of Požarnica in 1460. That was the period of decline of power of the Counts of Gorizia, which had begun with the sudden death of Heinrich II on 23 April 1323. After his death all his newly acquired estates in northern Italy were lost (Conegliano, Treviso, Padua). Thus the period of decline of power of the Counts of Gorizia, more than a century and a half long, had begun. Around the year 1390 the County was threatened by the Bavarian Dukes. The predicament was solved by the intervention of the aristocracy of Gorizia: they paid damages to the Bavarians out of the money collected from them, and in return they demanded a third of the estates of Gorizia.

Gorizia developed in the face of constant efforts by the Counts of Gorizia to consolidate their authority and to preserve the position they had achieved. After the granting of market deeds (in 1210), the next step was the statute of 1307; it was granted to the borough by one of the most powerful Counts of Gorizia, Heinrich II. The statute, valid for the borough and the village, was drafted according to Aquileian models, and the inhabitants of Gorizia had probably respected the same regulations even before 1307. It contained numerous regulations governing trade. One of them was that one third of the livestock purchased in the region between Gorizia and Razdrto had to be sold in Gorizia; if purchased further away, all of it had to be sold in Gorizia. Meat, cheese, salt and similar food had to be sold only in a public square in Gorizia, and wine also in the village. The days of St. Bartholomew and St. Andrew were appointed for fairs. The inhabitants of Gorizia were obliged to repair bridges, the town hall, the borough gate and the walls. They were exempted from the payment of taxes, yet they paid excise and provided the provisions and other goods in times of war. Jews were obliged to perform night-watch duties like other inhabitants. The text of the statute was supplemented by Count Meinhard VII (1351). The statute itself was followed by the act of granting civic rights to Gorizia in the period between 1392 and 1398. The settlement of Gorizia had still retained the duality of the borough and village, or the town and village, which came to an end in 1455 when Count Heinrich IV joined both places and granted civic rights to the united town of Gorizia.

The legal status of the settlement influenced the demographic and urban development. The castle occupied a central position in the town. There were numerous records in written documents from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries about the castle, the Counts of Gorizia and the system of their authority. The bridge near the entrance to the castle was mentioned, as well as the chapel where services were performed by chaplains of the Counts of Gorizia. Part of the castle was a *palazzio* (1330). Two further ones were mentioned (1321) as well as a small room (1277), balcony and hall, the conference room of Heinrich II (died in 1323), the room where the Count resided and the one of his wife Beatrice. In addition to that there was also a pantry, probably an armoury as well, a great room above and the upper hall. During the absence of the Count the castle was protected by the Castle Count (*Burggraf*). At the turn of the fourteenth century Gorizia already possessed the town hall, borough gate and the town walls, as recorded in the first statute. There were several records of the town hall where disputes were solved (1307, 1337, 1405, 1471; once mentioned as the *loggia*); the first record of the house of magistrate Koman originated from 1285. Further records were of the market-place in the borough (and also in the village) for trading during fairs;

there were records of the butcher's stall in 1312, bakery in 1390 and a bath in 1398. The chapel of the Holy Spirit was erected in 1399. The borough of Gorizia had two gates, the great one in the south-west, and the small one in the north in the direction of the parish church in Solkan. There were fortification towers by the gates. Houses were in the possession of the Counts of Gorizia, who enfeoffed them. Otherwise there were houses of other land-owners as well. The names of individual parts of Gorizia were re-corded in written documents literally as: By the Great Gate, Out-side the Great Gate, By the Small Gate, Behind the Castle, By the Bridge, By the Public Square, By the Town Walls, By the Town Hall, and By the Butcher's Stall.

The settlement grew because of immigration. The inhabitants of Gorizia originated from its environs, yet there were also newcom-ers from western Romanesque regions and Germans who settled in from the north. The Slovene origins of the inhabitants were discernible from lists of the mediaeval population of the province of Gorizia (drafted by Franc Kos). However, such a method of determining the origins is not very reliable; it is easier to deter-mine the social structure. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centu-ries Italian aristocratic families settled there (Rabatta, Attems, Orzone). Later on they played an important role in the history of Gorizia. German settlers came mostly in search of work with the Counts (as ministerials and officials).

Near the market town of Gorizia, which was surrounded by a wall, there was a village, usually denoted as *villa, suburbium* or Lower Gorizia (*vnnder Görcz*). Between 1305 and 1473 it was mentioned in documents eighteen times. There were streets and a square called Lower Square, in the village as well. Part of the village was called Grabn (*graben*; a 'ditch' or 'ravine'). There was also a Franciscan monastery that was first mentioned in documents in 1303 (there were further records of it from 1321, 1322, 1342, 1356, 1363, 1398 and 1399). In the fourteenth century there were records of the small (1325) and the great church (1351) and of two grave-yards by them. The great one was consecrated to St. Hilary and Tatian, and it was the predecessor of the present cathedral in Gorizia. The village was smaller than the borough with gardens, vineyards and fields around the houses. A road led from the vil-lage to the mills on the river Soča. Parts of the village were called the Wegschayd, Tanela, Babul and Balol.

Travnik Square ('meadow'), now the centre of Gorizia, was lo-cated in the suburbs at that time, sometimes being denoted as *Anger* (1341) or *Traunich* (1519). There were records of the present quarter of Podturn (*sub turri*) in 1387, the ferry-boat on the Soča (about 1341), the brook Koren with its mills (1319) and several more distant places like Rafut (*Rafaldt* in 1471), Stara Gora (*Alten perg* in 1387), Liškur (1398) and others that cannot be identified (*Rennweg, Olbart, Škofija*).

The development of Gorizia as a place with civic deeds since 1455 had depended on its administrative and political functions and also on its economy, especially crafts and trade. It was a trading centre for the north (the Soča valley), east (the Vipava valley) and west (Friuli). Yet the trading routes from the north were not of equal importance as those through Friuli and the Kanal valley. On account of that the power of the Friulian towns grew. The crafts of Gorizia deteriorated with a reduction of the garrison after the decline of the Counts of Gorizia, since soldiers used to be the greatest consumers of products and services. The removal of the Counts of Gorizia to their new seat in Lienz in Austria (Bruck Castle) had not saved the dynasty either. One of the medieval char-acteristics of Gorizia was that the town was the residence of feu-dal lords who had their estates in the countryside. Agriculture had remained the main branch of the economy of the region along the river Soča. There are no statistical data about the population of the Province of Gorizia during the Middle Ages. Franc Kos com-pared the number of houses and the inhabitants in the area around

the castle of Gorizia about the year 1900 and discovered that over 511 people lived in 41 dwellings. His conjecture based on that data was that the quarter had been more populated during the Middle Ages.

The course of the walls surrounding the town is another matter of speculation for the researchers of the history of Gorizia. The walls recorded in 1307 were not town walls but borough walls. The walls with the moat were mentioned in documents in 1329, 1365 and 1398. The formulation *murus civitatis Goriciae* appeared in a document from 1471, without indication of whether the walls had included both parts of Gorizia, already joined at that time.

The history of Gorizia was bound to the rise and fall of power of the Counts of Gorizia; yet the image of the surroundings was somewhat different. The possession was divided among several feudal lords, secular and ecclesiastic. The Patriarchate of Aquileia predominated among the latter; there were powerful monasteries in Rožac, Možac and Monaster near Aquileia. Among the former were the Lords of Rihemberg, Dornberg and Devin, apart from the Counts of Gorizia. The agricultural economy experienced several crises, which resulted in abandoned farms (natural disasters, diseases, Turkish incursions) and drift from the land. In the Middle Ages the frontier of the language was established as well: the territory between the boundary of the Friuli plains, the sea from Štivan to Trieste, stretching as far as the Julian Alps and the Karst passages in the east, was settled by the Slovenes.

During the Middle Ages Gorizia was the only urban centre in the region of the river Soča. On the estates of the Patriarchate of Aquileia in the lower Soča valley some urban settlements started to develop. Gradišče by the Soča developed from a fortification at the end of the fifteenth century into the centre of the estates of the Lords of Eggenberg (1647–1717). Monfalcone, the stumbling block for the Patriarchs of Aquileia and the Counts of Gorizia on account of its toll-houses, devolved to the Venetians in 1420. Grado had been a centre of Church authority since the early Middle Ages. The Patriarch there was in constant conflict with Aquileia, and in 1482 he moved his seat to Venice. Cervignano and Cormons, where the Patriarchs of Aquileia used to have their seat, developed into larger settlements. In those areas of the Soča region which were densely populated with the Slovenes, Sv. Križ was the only place that was granted civic deeds in 1532.

After the death of the last Count of Gorizia the fights for his inheritance began between the Habsburgs and the Republic of Venice, the Habsburgs eventually inheriting their possessions. The estates in the Soča region were united into an administrative entity that obtained its final form in the middle of the eighteenth century as the Province of Gorizia and Gradisca, the regions of Bovec and Tolmin being added to it before then.

Branko Marušič
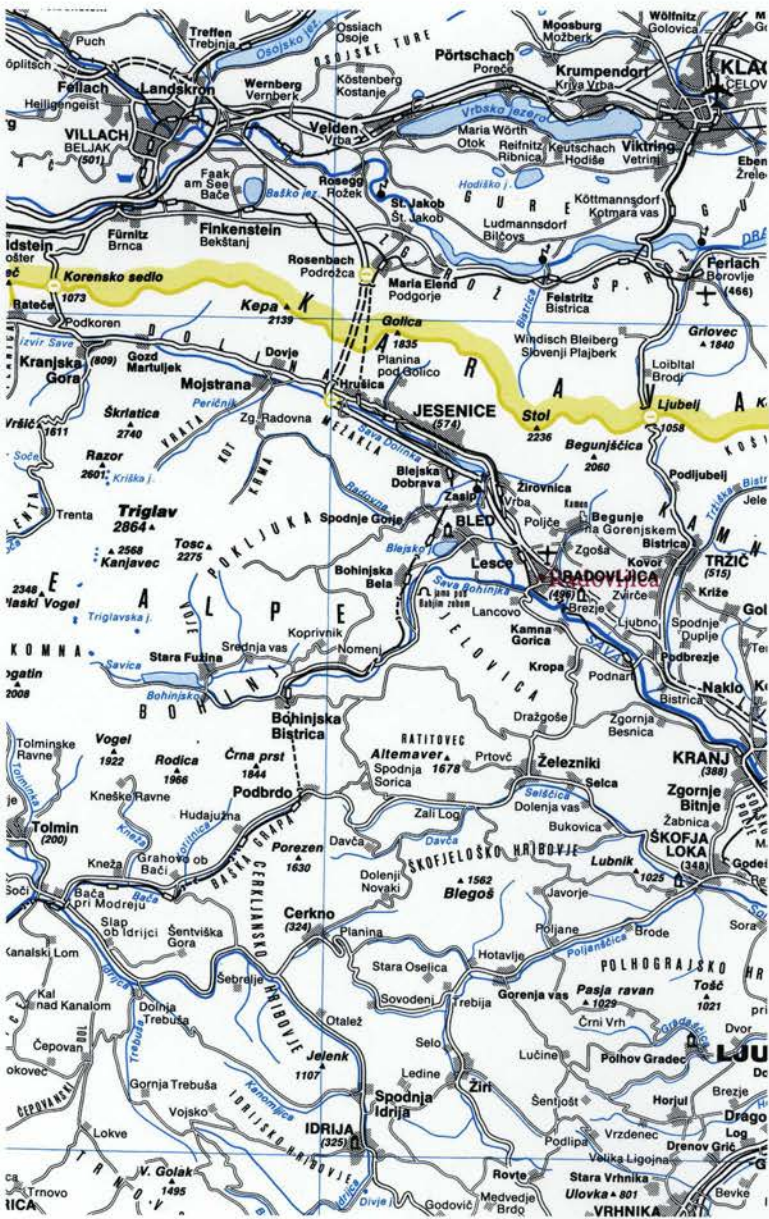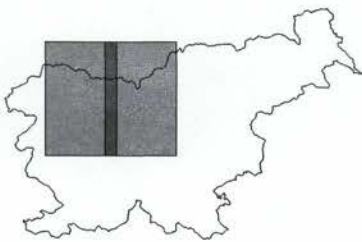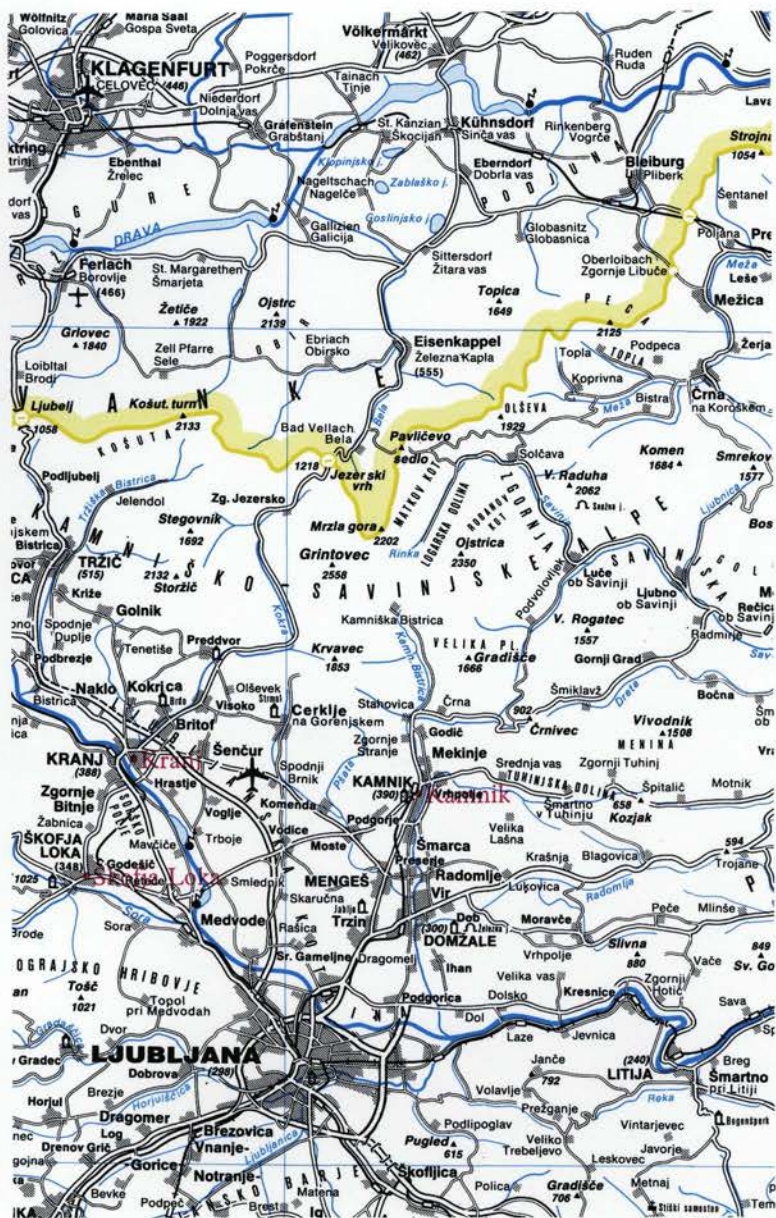
The Towns of Upper Carniola

In contrast to towns in the lowlands, the majority of the mediaeval towns in Upper Carniola developed on stony prominences, typical of this mountainous region. Their locations were naturally protected, usually raised above the countryside, and therefore attractive for settlement. The town of Kamnik was an exception to the rule; it developed on different terrain and was an example of a typical valley barrier. The borough of Tržič was of similar character. It is included in our study of towns because it was an important settlement for colonization. The function of a valley barrier can be attributed to Škofja Loka as well, sealing the entrances to Selško and Poljansko valley.

The towns of Upper Carniola were closely connected with rivers and waters that had contributed to the formation of their foundations. Therefore Kranj was located above the confluence of the rivers Sava and Kokra, and Škofja Loka by the confluence of the Selška and Poljanska Sora and on the plateau formed by the Tržiška Bistrica and Moščenik. Kamnik was enclosed by the Kamniška Bistrica in the north-east, and Radovljica by the valley of the Sava on the one side and by the brook Suha on the other.

The towns of Upper Carniola mostly developed along vital ancient routes leading from the mountain passes of the Karavanke through Kranj and the river Sava to the basin of Ljubljana, and through the gate of Škofja Loka to the Primorsko region and further on to Italy. Kamnik with its location on the eastern edge of the lowland of Upper Carniola was linked to traffic routes through the Tuhinj valley or through the valleys of the Črna and Dreta to Styria and Carinthia. Tržič had always been connected to the road over the mountain pass of Ljubelj for its existence. Radovljica was somewhat distant from the provincial main road, yet it was connected with the route to Bohinj along the river Sava Bohinjka and through Lesce, and over the Sava bridge to the ironworks area at

Joseph Wagner,
Kamnik,
lithograph, ca.
1845

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the foot of Jelovica mountain with the haulage route leading in the direction of the Primorsko region.

Almost all towns of Upper Carniola were connected with previous historical periods. This holds true particularly of Kranj, which had been settled in prehistoric times, and of Kamnik, where finds from Antiquity were discovered in Mali Grad ('small castle'),[1] or in Radovljica, originating from the old Slavonic period. Roman remains[2] were also discovered in the area of Škofja Loka. Tržič is the only place with no outstanding data of previous settlement, despite the fact that the route over the Ljubelj pass had already been utilized by the Romans.

When a road reached an urban area in the Middle Ages, it entered the market-place, which was extended on both sides of it, as in Kamnik or Tržič, or similarly as in Villach. In Kranj, Škofja Loka and Radovljica the road was transformed into a broad square of a more or less rectangular form, adapted to the terrain. Arterial roads, like Prešeren Street in Kranj or Street in Škofja Loka or the northwestern part of the square in Radovljica, were usually urbanized later on, and their graded construction established the narrowness of the town gate. The arterial road of Kamnik, the present Šutna, remained outside the town walls, perhaps because of the natural barrier of the Klanec, today's Samec Passage, or even more probably, because the town had outgrown itself, as did Karlovec, a suburb of Škofja Loka.

The beginning of squares can be estimated on the basis of their shapes. The square of Kamnik and others of the same kind had appeared before the year 1200 or at least at the turn of the century, as E. Klebel[3] had stated, while those of rectangular shape came into existence in the next century. Kamnik therefore belonged to the oldest urban settlements according to the shape of its square, and historic documents had proved this to be so. Civic deeds were granted to Kamnik by the Counts of Andechs, probably in the first quarter of the thirteenth century.[4] The next was Kranj, also granted the deeds by the Counts of Andechs; the citizens there were mentioned in documents as *burgenses* as far back as in 1221.[5] Škofja Loka was recorded as a town[6] in 1274, and Radovljica was granted civic deeds between 1478 and 1510.[7] The predecessor of Kamnik was the borough of Ljubelj (*Forum in Lubelino*) recorded as early as 1261.[8] After it had been supposedly buried beneath an avalanche, the market was moved to the valley where a new colonization settlement began to develop by the confluence of the Tržiška Bistrica and Moščenik. According to the allocation of land there it was similar to the other towns of Upper Carniola. In 1492

I. I.
Weinmann, A.
Sommerfeld,
Kranj in a
passport from
the beginning
of the 18th
century,
copper
engraving

Tržič was granted the status of a borough, as was recorded in the deed of establishment.[9]

With the arrival of the first settlers from more urbanized European countries an urban settlement began to grow. The newcomers came from Carinthia (a citizen of Freising was among the first known names of the inhabitants of Kranj from the thirteenth century),[10] Bavaria (Škofja Loka), Italy and Germany. They were assembled and brought over, similarly as during the period of rural colonization, by so-called locators, who usually earned larger shares of land from the enterprise.[11] The measurers (*mensores*)[12] divided the town area into appropriate shares. Each citizen was granted a building site of equal size. The rest of the land was allocated to the aristocracy, church and the town. The plots in the form of strips usually stretched from the market-place to the edge of the prominence. Each citizen erected a house and an outhouse with a yard and garden on his plot. Narrow passages or outhouse paths served as entrances to the back yards. Outside the town the town lord assigned various shares of arable land:[13] fields, meadows, common pasture, in some places mountain pastures as well (e.g. the Radovljica mountain pasture on Mt. Jelovica). Such pieces of land could have been expanded and they aided the inhabitants to weather periods of recession which had caused outright rustication of towns in some regions of Slovenia.

Originally the town dwellings were made of wood with their facades facing the square and divided by narrow passages for the drainage of rain water. Workshops or shops and pantries comprised the whole ground floor, and entrances were in the middle of the facades. Cellars were usually dug into the floors. The first floor was reached by means of a staircase or even a ladder. The hall featured an open fireplace and a pantry or granary was connected to it in the direction of the backyard. The smoke escaped through the roofing. The living quarters stretched over the whole house, which was usually six to eight metres long and overlooking the square with two windows. Houses with this type of floor plan, although partly rebuilt later, were preserved in Radovljica (e.g. Nos. 20 and 21 in Linhart Square).[14]

The towns of Upper Carniola mostly grew beneath castles or in connection with them. Kamnik was beneath Stari Grad and Mali Grad ('old and small castles'), Škofja Loka beneath the older castle on the Krancelj and the somewhat smaller Castle of Loka, Tržič beneath Novi Grad (*Neuhaus*), Kranj next to the castle of the margrave of Kranj, and Radovljica next to Ortenburg Castle, a kind of outhouse of the castle of Lipnica (Walenberg). The town and the castle supported each other in defence. This held true particularly of Škofja Loka and Kamnik, where the town was connected to the castle with a wall. Khislstein Castle in Kranj was part of a civic fortification, although legally separated from it as a dominion. In Radovljica the castle and the church formed the cen-

Matthiäus Merian, Kranj, copper engraving

tre of defence of the settlement. The Neuhaus of Tržič, probably the successor to an older fortress, served for the protection of the Ljubelj route and the settlement beneath it.

With the development of urban settlements the original sees of parish churches were transferred from the province to the towns, which influenced their growth and their positions in the provinces. Thus the original see in Rodine was transferred to Radovljica on the initiative of the Ortenburgs, future founders of the borough, and the original parish of Nevlje to Kamnik. In Kranj the original parish church had existed there even when the town was being established; only Stara Loka was reluctant to surrender its original rights. Therefore the church of Škofja Loka had long remained subordinated to it. The church in Tržič was located on the left bank of the Bistrica, where only the minor church of St. Andrew stood. The economic development and the resulting heyday of church architecture during the fifteenth century and at the beginning of the sixteenth had increased the role of town churches considerably. The church of Kranj was thus renovated at the end of the fourteenth or the beginning of the fifteenth century in such a manner that the former apsidal ending was replaced with a 'long or town choir', in the fashion of the time. At the beginning of the sixties of the fifteenth century a more respectable nave was built (construction began in the forties), which was of great influence for the development of the Gothic hall-shaped church architecture in Slovenia.[15] In the middle of the fifteenth century a presbytery with opulent arches was built by an unknown mason in Radovljica. The master left a signed self-portrait, similar to the ones on the vaults of the church naves in Kranj and Škofja Loka.

Fortifications used to be fairly simple during the early stage of the growth of towns. Those parts of a town that were insufficiently protected by nature were furnished with dikes, moats and stockades like in Kamnik.[16] Town walls with towers were the result of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Škofja Loka was the first to be surrounded by a wall. The walls themselves were recorded in a document from 1314.[17] Another indicator of the period of their construction was the rectangular floor plan of the towers. Those in Kranj, Kamnik and Radovljica had circular floor plans; the round form emerged in Slovenia under Italian influence at the end of the fourteenth and in the fifteenth centuries. The (still existing) town walls surrounding the church of Radovljica dated from the first half or the middle of the fourteenth century. The fortification of Tržič was similar to that of Eisenkappel in the form of manmade valley barriers, originating from the period of Turkish incursions.

The towns of Upper Carniola experienced substantial changes in the late fifteenth century, particularly with the decree of King Friedrich II of 1478, according to which the towns were allowed to receive country people, i.e. subjects of feudal lords. Such measures were intended to reinforce defence capabilities during threats of Turkish incursions, on the one hand, and promote the development of the urban economy, on the other. The order of the Emperor had a particular influence on the transformation of the demographic structure of the towns of Upper Carniola. The share of the local population had increased through the arrival of newcomers. The civic oath performed in the Slovene language was typical of new circumstances; records of it were preserved in Kranj from the beginning of the sixteenth century.[18]

Larger building sites were available to newcomers primarily on the edges of former outhouse paths, which were gradually transformed into streets through new houses. In that way the present Tavčar and Tomšič Streets in Kranj were created. In Škofja Loka the newcomers filled Lower Square and the suburbs of Karlovec, in Radovljica the arterial road by the Upper Town Gate, and in Kamnik Prešeren Street was created in that way. Šutna, settled at that time, had remained outside the town walls, like Karlovec in Škofja Loka, and it was protected only by fortification walls around the parish church.

Since the second half of the fifteenth century more records were preserved of stone-built houses, yet still with shingle roofs, as the traveller Santonino reported on Škofja Loka and Kranj.[19] Stone-built houses began to appear along the main squares and arterial roads, while other quarters had long preserved their wooden architecture (in Tržič even in the market-place), until the great fires which devastated the towns of Upper Carniola during the seventeenth, eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

During the transition between the Middle Ages and the Modern Age stone-built architecture of town houses had become the bearer of new trends in design under the influence of the Renaissance. In Upper Carniola and elsewhere in Slovenia some of these dwellings are still preserved. During that period the former overtly functional tendencies in the creation of town houses were replaced by a distinctive sense for richer external house facades and their interiors as well. Thus the town house had developed from its modest form into a perfect artistic organism created out of various trends that were already present in the Middle Ages.

On the threshold of the sixteenth century the Renaissance had conquered the broader area of Europe with its new architectural ideas. The towns of Slovenia and its outlying districts had still utilized the styles of the late Gothic architectural inventory during that time. It seemed that the architectural features of the late Gothic period in Slovenia, which could not have been fully developed in a timber construction, had only then reached its pinnacle, yet with some additions from the already emerging new style.

The economic heyday that the Slovene towns had experienced during the transition between the Middle Ages and the Modern Age was combined with the new Humanist mentality, the growing need for comfort in the home, prestigiousness and an aesthetic disposition. And consequently new conditions had been established for the rapid development of urban residential architecture, in the towns of Upper Carniola too.

Church architecture was very influential for the urban residential architecture of that time. Its late Gothic hall-shaped church, typical of Kranj, Škofja Loka and Radovljica, as mentioned above, introduced a new way of creating volumes. The exemplary results of such styles were: the two-nave hall-shaped church with a colonnade in the town hall of Kranj from the early sixteenth century, the hall with a main central column supporting the arch on the ground floor of the Pavšlar house in Main Square in Kranj, the two-nave workshop on the ground floor of the Šivec house in Radovljica, and the shop with a central column in the Mencinger house dating from the sixteenth century in the same town. Gothic church architecture with its elaborate vaulted systems had also influenced the development of various types of vaults,[20] suitably transformed, and common primarily in houses with richer architecture in the main squares and streets of the towns of Upper Carniola. More will be said about them further on.

Matthiäus Merian, Škofja Loka, copper engraving, 1649

Feudal architecture was another important initiator of various formal, stylistically modern features in urban architecture of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The influences of former Austrian provinces and border countries originating from historical circumstances were also very prominent and sometimes quite direct in urban architecture. It was often the case that new artistic impulses of the south were transferred to Slovenia through feudal architecture of the north, and local masons adapted them thereafter to local requirements. The role of Friulian masons and their assistants (*valhi*) was also substantial. Documents from Škofja Loka reported their work, which was probably not limited only to Škofja Loka. Active trading routes with coastal towns[21] initiating other contacts, especially in the field of culture, played their part in the introduction of the new style. North Italian masons played an important role for the expansion of Renaissance features. In the sixteenth century, during the danger of Turkish incursions, they modernized the strongholds of castles and towns in Slovenia or erected new ones. Their influence was discernible in the construction of the south-eastern wing of Khislstein Castle and the armoury of Škrlovec in Kranj, and in the construction works of Bishop Philip in the castle of Škofja Loka between 1511 and 1526, where the construction was supervised by local mason Jurko Maurer. New views of fortifications can be traced in Kamnik of that time as well.

Among the Renaissance features already expressed through the late Gothic style (as mentioned above) there was a tendency toward producing horizontal building plans, which was soon transferred to urban architecture as well. Originally town houses faced streets or squares with their narrower front sides, and thus the construction of streets consisted of numerous independent housing units that were divided by narrow passages. The first indications of joining houses into more compact groups appeared at the turn of the sixteenth century. Roofs were turned towards streets because of the more rational use of building space, and they consequently created horizontal accents in streets according to the new trends of the time. The same held true for the trend toward the horizontal arrangement of decorative elements on the facades expressed in the form of the horizontal lines of windows and roof projections. Another expression of the same tendency was the balcony, usually supported by consoles and extending over the whole of the facade. It was similar to Gothic balconies in castles, yet entire floors supported by consoles originated primarily in Italy[23] and the regions under its influence, where such elements were made even in timber. Wooden consoles supporting such balconies were actually extensions of beams of the timber ceilings in the interiors of houses. Typical examples are to be found in Koper, Cividale etc. They had supposedly been introduced by Venice from the East as a feature of Oriental residential architecture.[24] Numerous examples representing the typical form of the balcony in town houses and castles throughout Central Europe were located in almost all the towns of Upper Carniola: in Main Square in Kranj (Nos. 9, 10, 11, 12), in Lower Square in Škofja Loka (Nos. 5, 8, 14), and in Linhart Square in Radovljica (Nos. 22, 23, 24, 5). Older examples of balconies were supported by Gothic columns made of stone (the toll-house in Kranj from the year 1527) or by round columns (the Mali house in Radovljica). Times were favourably inclined toward such projecting balconies in towns since they had enriched the facades of houses and additionally extended the residential quarters without affecting the strictly protected lines of streets.

Connections between castles and towns had always been active because they had supported each other in matters of defence, as mentioned above. Apart from that, the mediaeval architecture of a town fortification originated from the construction of castles of the late Middle Ages. During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries when decorative elements became very prominent in the

construction of houses, the influence of castle architecture with its numerous formal elements was again transferred to the town house. The afore-mentioned balconies were therefore first introduced into castle architecture. This held true particularly of corner balconies which had developed from round or rectangular towers. At the end of the fifteenth and at the beginning of the sixteenth century they appeared in towns as well, particularly in the houses of the wealthy in Škofja Loka, Kranj, Radovljica and Kamnik. Floor balconies in the form of a turret with a rectangular or round attachment were the result of the trend toward decoration or more respectable images of the house exteriors. Because the street lines were serried only single balconies were possible on each house, either in the middle or in the corner of the facade. Such elements usually mark the beginning of squares (e.g. No. 15 in Town Square in Škofja Loka, No. 25 in Main Square in Kranj) or the crossroads of two main streets (the Homan house from 1529 in Škofja Loka, No. 3 in Main Square in Kranj, and No. 3 in Linhart Square in Radovljica). One of the outstanding examples according to its form and early origins was the corner balcony of the former Seydl house in Kamnik (No. 23 in Main Square) from the third quarter of the fifteenth century.

Numerous stone portals of town houses in Upper Carniola were an important formal feature. The elaborate curved portal of house No. 18 in Main Square in Kamnik and the partly preserved one of the Prešeren house in Kranj were among the oldest. According to their late Gothic construction they can be classified into the late fifteenth or the beginning of the sixteenth century. There were fewer portals intended for internal rooms with rectangular entrance openings with consoles supporting the beams, or with mouldings in the so-called form of the back of an ass, or sculpted in the form of buckwheat grain. Examples of them were the hall of the town hall (Rotovž) in Škofja Loka or in houses Nos. 4 and 5 in Linhart Square in Radovljica. During the sixteenth century the towns of Upper Carniola were flooded with portals of the late Gothic style in the form of buckwheat grain. They can be classified either according to the breadth of the cut, or to their make in different local workshops. In the case of houses of Kranj and Radovljica, the corner cuts were relatively narrow (e.g. the toll-house in Kranj or the Mali house in Radovljica). In numerous still preserved late Gothic portals in the Town and Lower Squares in Škofja Loka, the cut was substantially broader, and even more so in the case of the portals of Kamnik, e.g. in the former Great (present Maister) Street. Some of them had a protruding base, which was an important foundation for the further formal development of porches.

In contrast to portals there are only a few examples of preserved

Joseph Wagner,
Tržič,
lithograph,
detail, ca. 1845

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doors. During the Middle Ages doors were made of vertically placed boards connected with timber crossbars. In Škofja Loka (No. 13 in Town Square) an example of iron doors was preserved dated 1499 and consisting of roughly wrought plates connected with irregularly positioned iron crossbars.

The development of windows was also interesting. The edges of stone and wooden window frames cut in the Gothic manner were preserved well into the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The windows of the above-mentioned Seydl house in Kamnik with figurative and floral ornaments on the windowsills were a rare and valuable exception. They were made in a sculptor's workshop in Kamnik in the third quarter of the fifteenth century (cf. Emilijan Cevc).

The most common form of the arch, which had gradually replaced the former, non-fireproof wooden ceiling since the second half of the fifteenth century, was the so-called tub, sometimes with pointed curves (e.g. Prešeren Hram in Kranj). It was usually pierced by lateral arches ending in an oblong embossment, which was usually extended to the whole edge. Sometimes two pairs of lateral arches in opposite directions were joined, thus creating an arch similar to the cross vault. Yet more or less regularly created cross vaults had retained their predominance, particularly in arched hallways where vaulted fields were divided by shallow crossbeams. The lateral arches were initially usually supported by columns or pillars (e.g. the town hall in Kranj) and sometimes by elaborate consoles (the house for nuns in Radovljica from the seventeenth century and house No. 31 in Main Square in Tržič dating from the sixteenth century). The typical form of the arch was the tub extended by stucco crests. The decoration of crested arches imitated various patterns of Gothic ribbed arches, from simple cross arches to the star-shaped ones or the frolicsome late Gothic vaults. After the Gothic arches had lost their structural role, the logical step in further development was crested stucco replacements. Due to their simple production they had soon supplanted Gothic ribbed vaults even in churches. When crested ceiling decoration was introduced in urban architecture, it first utilized traditional Gothic elements: shallow mouldings (No. 31 in Main Square in Tržič), supporting columns (the Šivec house in Radovljica) and pillars (the Homan house in Škofja Loka), figurative or geometric consoles (No. 31 in Main Square in Tržič, No. 28 in Linhart Square in Radovljica), etc.

Timber ceilings with elaborate beams and boards laid crosswise with obliquely cut edges had preserved the Gothic tradition. One of the oldest examples was preserved in the Šivec house in Radovljica. The ceiling of the Sartori house in Radovljica had a fine Gothic profile as well. Only few timber ceilings were preserved in towns due to numerous fires, yet they experienced a new revival in rural architecture of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

The modest ground plans of town houses typical in Upper Carniola until the second half of the fifteenth century were subsequently replaced by a new arrangement of house routes and by the tendency toward more comfort in the home. By turning houses with their broad sides towards streets, the passages dividing the buildings had disappeared. The acquired space was used for the extension of the dwellings or workshops. The formerly unified workshop on the ground floor was divided by a hall, and the living rooms above by a closet. Its walls were supported by the new partition wall on the ground floor. Closets had appeared in towns during the early sixteenth century at the latest. The closet of the Magušar house, No. 4 in Linhart Square in Radovljica, had a typical late Gothic porch. In Kranj the closet was recorded in the first half of the sixteenth century.[25] It was described as a bedroom and was thus a new element in the development of residential culture of that time, i.e. a new differentiation of dwelling space. The division of the dwelling space into a room and a closet and their relationship were formally indicated by the disposition of windows into three axes on the upper facade, so that two windows belonged to the larger room and one to the closet. The former bi-axial fa-

cade was transformed into the new tri-axial one, which had often been preserved in urban architecture well into the eighteenth or even nineteenth century.[26]

Through partition walls in the hallway open fireplaces were relegated to separate rooms – kitchens on the first floor.[27] Cellars were often moved into an extension of the workshop or later the hallway. Vaulted cellars or pantries or granaries were usually located above[28] as in the Šivec and Mencinger houses (Nos. 22 and 5 in Linhart Square) in Radovljica. The emergence of halls on the ground floor had far-reaching consequences. The hall became the centre of communications in a house, thereby relieving the workshop of its former role. The workshop originally used to be directly connected to the living quarters on the first floor by a staircase or ladder, but now the staircase was moved into the hall. The hall was connected with the workshop by a separate entrance intended for internal use. Soon thereafter a new door leading directly to the workshop or shop from the street was introduced. One example of it was the newly discovered portal of a richly moulded late Gothic form in the Prešeren house in Kranj.

The hallway thus connected the square or street directly with the backyard of a citizen. The connection was crucial for the development of towns. Outhouse paths which had previously connected the backyards with timber outhouses were no longer needed; backyards could have been reached through the hallway, even by smaller carts. The edges of former outhouse paths were gradually occupied with houses, particularly those owned by provincial newcomers who were granted the right of settlement by the decree of the Emperor from 1478, during the period of Turkish incursions.

The basic floor plan of the town house had later developed vertically or in the direction of the backyard, due to altered living requirements, the larger numbers of inhabitants or the sale of residential quarters. The development of the town house in the direction of the backyard was facilitated only by the introduction of arched hallways through which the unimpeded entrance to new quarters was ensured. In larger buildings arched hallways additionally assumed the role of aesthetically formed shafts of light, reminiscent of similar solutions in castle architecture. Arcades were among the outstanding characteristics of Renaissance residential buildings of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In spite of that, the oldest, e.g. the rectory of Radovljica or No. 4 in Linhart Square there, and the Pavšler house in Kranj, can be included into our study. Their Renaissance plans were namely supplemented with old additions: columns and pillars in the late Gothic style, and the edges of arches were still reduced in length.

According to the preserved painting decorations of the sixteenth

Joseph Wagner, Radovljica, lithograph, ca. 1845

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and seventeenth centuries the towns of Upper Carniola were more vivid and picturesque in the past than they are now. This held true of Radovljica and particularly Škofja Loka, which was described in a folk song as the 'colourful Loka'. Works of different masters decorated the facades of town houses. Apart from predominantly religious painted figural compositions, the windows, doors, corners of houses and floors were often accentuated at least since the sixteenth century. Fine examples were preserved in Radovljica (town houses in Linhart square, the rectory), in Kranj (the town hall, toll-house and the Pavšler house), and in Škofja Loka (the town hall and Cankar Square). Unfortunately, later periods, particularly the nineteenth century, had ruined most of them with new architectural alterations of the facades.

The workshops and shops of former citizens were later furnished with various paintings or sculptural decorations. For instance the horseshoe blacksmith in Old Square (the present Trg Svobode) in Kamnik furnished his workshop with the image of a horseshoe in a Gothic stone relief dated 1547. A leather master in Great (now Maister) Street furnished his workshop in the Kajfež house with the arms of the leather trade dated 1549, and it was likewise executed in stone relief.

The triangular, mostly crested facades of mediaeval town houses with passages between them had created the typically Gothic volatility of the heights of street walls, yet they had not contributed to their spatial finality. Nevertheless, the Gothic street and square organisms were examples of rhythmically changing spatial bodies adapted to the formation of the terrain. They can be best experienced by moving through them, while the Renaissance buildings can be defined and perceived only from a given point.

The mediaeval motion of street heights had gradually been replaced by horizontal trends in the design of facades since the second half of the fifteenth century. Unified horizontal facade planes created more defined street walls and contributed to the sculptural effect of their volumes. The adjoining of two or several houses into common property also contributed to this effect of spatial ambience.

Fortification devices with their tectonically located masses, created in the towns of Upper Carniola since the fourteenth century, had strengthened the spatial character of the urban ambience which was enclosed by town gates in the form of fortified towers. The fortification devices were no longer isolated objects in urban architecture, the way they used to be in the past, but, rather, part of the unified mass of residential architecture. Vertical dominant features of individually built structures played a significant role as well. They were mostly church towers which were often thoughtfully disposed within the town. This held true particularly of Kranj, where an interrelationship was created with the towers of three churches: the parish church, the Rosary church and the Pungert church, dominating all the main streets and squares. In Kamnik the tower of the Mali Grad located in the axis of Main Square dominated the whole ambience. The church of St. Andrew or the former Neuhaus Castle played a similar role in Tržič. The hills and mountains raised above the towns supported the spatial effect of urban ambience. One example of that was Prešeren Street in Kranj, the area of which was closed in the north by the natural dominant feature of Storžič mountain along the axis of the street. Another example was Škofja Loka with the mass of the castle and the castle hill dominating the whole town.

The same creative force that distributed the dominant features in urban ambience and can be traced in numerous settlements in Slovenia and Europe as well, was discernible in the compositions of various sculptural elements. Architectural verticals disposed in the urban ambience of Kranj created a composition in the form of a pyramid; its uniqueness was described by Merian in his *Topography* from the year 1649. A veduta similar to that of Kranj consisted of the castle in Škofja Loka as the top of an illusory spheri-

cal triangle, with the church tower of the parish church in the east and the former Poljansko Gate in the west. The triangular plan of Tržič created out of the Radetzky manor and the verticals of the parish church and the church of St. Andrew was equally attractive. According to the wealth of architectural monuments and their present state the towns of Upper Carniola are among the most typical examples of the mediaeval and Renaissance urbanization of the territory of Slovenia. The economic rise of those towns during the late Middle Ages and the Renaissance was followed by periods of calm, which had protected them from substantial alterations to their urban structure.

The towns of Upper Carniola belong to the planned, colonization type of settlements created out of fixed plans adapted to the terrain, which were typical especially of the east of Europe and which were introduced into Slovenia in the thirteenth century.

Colonization and the ground plan connected with it in Upper Carniola probably reached as far back as the period when towns were granted civic deeds or were first recorded in written documents under the label of a borough, *forum*. Soon thereafter they were recorded as towns (Kamnik), and sometimes the two labels were used simultaneously in the same document (Škofja Loka) or in succession in a short span of time (Radovljica). The conjecture based on such data is that in a formal respect there were no great differences between a borough and a town. Tržič with its completed colonization ground plan was also granted fair deeds later. In the case of Kranj, where there was no reference to the borough in documents, the colonization was perhaps simultaneous with the establishment of the town.

The settlement locations in Upper Carniola that were most common, appropriate and suitable for defence were, as in numerous other Alpine towns, plateaux at the confluence of rivers (Kranj, Škofja Loka and Radovljica) or gorges in lowlands between rivers and hills (Kamnik, Tržič).

A formative factor of equal importance as the location of settlements was the road leading through a settlement that was either spread out on both sides (Kamnik, Tržič) or one which created a rectangular square (Kranj, Škofja Loka and Radovljica). This basic concept was connected with the further development of the town, either in a longitudinal direction (Radovljica, Tržič), a parallel plan (Škofja Loka, Kranj), or a combination of both (Kamnik).

The castle of the feudal lord, the founder of the town, was another formative dominant of towns. The castle was integrated into the system of defence of the town and had an important role in the spatial and sculptural appearance of the town. The same held true of churches which were part of the ground plan and of the spatial and sculptural development of the town. The castle and the church with their verticals and the fortification devices are still the main constitutive elements in views of the towns of Upper Carniola. Urban architecture at its early stage was thus subordinated to general, predominantly functional plans, typical of the whole European region with active colonization. Stone-built town houses that appeared in the second half of the fifteenth century had retained the idiom of the Middle Ages, in spite of the approaching Renaissance, more precisely of the late Gothic period, yet combined with achievements of the architecture of the new age.

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¹ Milan Sagadin, *Mali grad v Kamniku*, Ljubljana 1997.

² *Arheološka najdišča Slovenije*, Ljubljana 1975, p. 173.

³ E. Klebel, *700 Jahre Stadt Villach*, Villach 1940.

⁴ Cf. Božo Otorepec, Doneski k zgodovini srednjeveškega Kamnika, *Kamnik 1229–1979*, Kamnik 1985, p. 19.

⁵ Franc Kos, *Gradivo V*, p. 1348.

⁶ Fontes rerum austriacarum 31, p. 306, quoted by Pavle Blaznik, *Škofja Loka in loško gospostvo*, Škofja Loka 1973, p. 54.

⁷ Cf. Ferdo Gestrin, Nastanek trga in mesta Radovljica, *Radovljiški zbornik*, Radovljica 1992, p. 30, Božo Otorepec, *Srednjeveški pečati in grbi mest in trgov na Slovenskem*, Ljubljana 1988, p. 114 (quoted as B. Otorepec, *Pečati in grbi*).

⁸ Milko Kos, *Gradivo za historično topografijo Slovenije*, Ljubljana 1975, p. 327 (quoted as M. Kos, *GHTS*).

⁹ Publication of the document: Fran Zwitter, *Starejša kranjska mesta in meščanstvo*, Ljubljana 1929, p. 72.

¹⁰ Josip Žontar, *Zgodovina mesta Kranj*, Ljubljana 1939, p. 40 (quoted as J. Žontar, ZMK).

¹¹ C. Higounet, *Die deutsche Ostsiedlung im Mittelalter*, Munich 1990, p. 252.

¹² Ibidem, p. 296.

¹³ Ibidem, p. 307. Cf. Ferdo Gestrin, Radovljica, vas, trg in mesto do 17. stol., *Zgodovinski časopis* 45, 1991, No. 4, pp. 535, 539.

¹⁴ Cf. C. Avguštin, Meščanska hiša v Radovljici – začetki in preobrazbe, *Radovljiški zbornik*, Radovljica 1992, p. 74.

¹⁵ Cf. France Stele, Gotske dvoranske cerkve v Sloveniji, ZUZ XV, 1938, p. 15; Srednjeveška umetnost v Kranju (in Žontar, *Zgodovina mesta Kranj*, p. 115), Emilijan Cevc, Kranjska župna cerkev v luči stavbnega reda, *900 let Kranja*, Kranj 1960, p.105, Ivan Komelj, Arhitektura kranjske župne cerkve, *900 let Kranja*, Kranj 1960, p. 128.

¹⁶ Emilijan Cevc, Kamniti mestni obrambni jarek, *Kamniški zbornik* 6, 1960, p. 89.

¹⁷ Note No. 6, No. 499, p. 75 (quoted by P. Blaznik).

¹⁸ Josip Žontar, *Zgodovina mesta Kranja*, Ljubljana 1939, p. 46.

¹⁹ Paolo Santonino, *Popotni dnevniki 1485–1487*, Klagenfurt, Vienna, Ljubljana 1991, pp. 40, 41.

²⁰ Cf. Nace Šumi, *Arhitektura 16. stoletja na Slovenskem*, Ljubljana 1966, p. 52.

²¹ Cf. Ferdo Gestrin, *Trgovina slovenskega zaledja s primorskimi mesti*, SAZU, Ljubljana 1965.

²² Cf. Emilijan Cevc, *Slovenska umetnost*, Ljubljana 1996, J. Curk, Delež italijanskih gradbenikov na Štajerskem v 16. in 17. stoletju, ZUZ nova vrsta VII, Ljubljana 1965, K. Kolbach, *Steirische Baumaister*, Graz, I. Komelj, Utrdbena arhitektura 16. stoletja v Sloveniji, ZUZ nova vrsta VII, Ljubljana 1965, N. Šumi, *Arhitektura 16. stoletja na Slovenskem*, Ljubljana 1966.

²³ Cf. R. K. Donin, *Das Bürgerhaus der Renaissance in Niederdonau*, Vienna, Leipzig 1944.

²⁴ Cf. Stane Bernik, *Organizem slovenskih obmorskih mest Koper, Izola, Piran*, Ljubljana 1968, p. 54.

²⁵ Inventory of the house of Peter Schneider, merchant of Kranj from 1539, J. Žontar, *Zgodovina mesta Kranja*, pp. 107, 108.

²⁶ Old depictions of timber mediaeval houses sometimes present tri-axial facades, usually when there were small windows in the timber wall on the floor, which could not have supplied sufficient light for the still unified living space.

²⁷ A kitchen from that time was preserved in the Šivec house in Radovljica, yet the fireplace of a later date was made in the mouth of a stove, in contrast to the Kropfhauser house in Kranj, where the fireplace still had its independent place in the kitchen, J. Žontar, *Zgodovina mesta Kranja*, p. 108.

²⁸ Cf. the Šivec and Mencinger house in Radovljica with the lowered level of the granary floor.

Kamnik

Stein, Steyn, Camnich

Kamnik developed on the crossroads of important routes leading from Upper Carniola to Styria and Carinthia, at a location sheltered by the castle of the feudal lord in the late Middle Ages. Its name was first recorded in written documents between 1143 and 1147.[1] Most probably a market-place started to develop during that time

under the north-eastern side of Mali Grad ('small castle') in the place called Stari Trg ('old borough'). Yet the new activity fostered by the Counts of Andechs, the lords of the Stari and Mali Castles, was only temporary, on the occasion of church festivals celebrating patron saints, etc.

Mali Grad of the Counts of Andechs was the basis of settlement for the original borough. In the twelfth century the transit route through the place fostered further development of Kamnik. The road expanded beneath the castle, forming a considerable market-place, and new settlers built their houses with workshops and shops around it.

Therefore the market-place of Kamnik was originally not a rectangular square similar to those of Kranj, Radovljica or Škofja Loka and numerous other towns, which had begun to appear after the year 1200.[2] The form of the market thus indicated the early settlement of the borough of Kamnik, which was first recorded as a *forum* at the beginning of the thirteenth century.[3]

Kamnik was granted civic deeds in the first half of the thirteenth century, when the citizens were recorded as *cives* in a document of 1229.[4] Božo Otorepec dated the beginning of the town around the year 1220. After that date the coins of Kamnik, supposedly minted in Mali Grad since 1195, had born the inscription CIVITAS STEIN. On the other hand, he commented that it could have been earlier.[5] It can be reasonably assumed that Kamnik as the administrative seat of the estates of the Counts of Andechs was granted civic deeds before Kranj, which was equally granted the deeds by the Counts of Andechs and the citizens of which were first recorded in a document from 1221.[6] Consequently, it can be stated that according to its ground plan and the date of the act of granting civic deeds (probably orally) Kamnik was the oldest urban settlement in Upper Carniola established on purpose, and among the oldest in Slovenia. Yet Kamnik was distinctly recorded in documents as a town only in 1267 ('*in civitatibus nostris*').[7]

The focal point for the development of Kamnik was Main Square.[8] The sides of the market-

place were slightly curved and they met at both town gates: Klanec and Graben. Most probably Great Street (the present Maister Street) had soon branched off perpendicularly.[9] On the other side of the bridge over the river Bistrica it joined the road leading in the direction of Styria through the Tuhinj valley. The branch of the street had probably appeared at the end of the thirteenth century or at least at the beginning of the next during the very development of the town, as in other places. The growth of urban settlements was most rapid at the first stage; later it stagnated, and it was during the period of Turkish incursions that it had increased again on account of newcomers from the province. The appearance of Great Street was important for the formation of the ground plan of the town. Its course had transformed the original oblong plan of Kamnik into a rectangular one, which had completely blocked the valley between the hill of Stari Grad in the east and the (present) Žale in the west. In that way the settlement had acquired the character of a strategic valley barrier. Parallel streets had thereafter leaned on the transit route and filled up the space of the town, especially since the late fifteenth century. When the Franciscan monastery was established at the end of the fifteenth century, a parallel street to Main Square developed – the present Monastery Street. In this way the urban development of the settlement surrounded by the town walls was mostly completed.

Town walls were a vital part of civic settlements during the Middle Ages. When towns were granted civic deeds, they were also granted the right to construct appropriate fortifications. Boroughs usually had no right of walls, although some simple forms of fortification can be traced there (e.g. in Eisenkappel, Mokronog, probably Tržič or Radovljica in the fourteenth century). Strongholds built around churches usually provided protection for inhabitants during Turkish incursions. Even towns often had to make do with simpler forms of defence since the construction of walls with towers, moats and stone-built gates was very costly for newly established settlements. In Kamnik the gate on Šutna were recorded as early as 1232,[10] yet there is no evidence of its construction, whether it was stone-built or merely a stockade

and protected by moats and dikes. Finds of wooden pales in various places of the town together with remains of the moat behind the houses in the west could indicate that.[11] During the fourteenth century records of the town gates were more numerous; in 1391 they were recorded even together with the town walls.[12] All reports proved the existence of an already erected fortification dating from the late fourteenth century at the latest.

The church of St. Jacob by the town walls was first recorded in 1423. It was included in the system of town fortifications together with the Franciscan monastery newly established at the end of the fifteenth century.[13] The construction of the so-called Trucurn was also part of this late expansion. From thence the line of the town walls followed the rocky hill above the present route to Žale, then descended steeply to the town gate on Klanec and became part of the fortification of Mali Grad, crossed the old Briško gate in the eastern part of the castle, then followed the flow of the river Bistrica at a proper distance, passed the town gate there and the round corner tower (probably built during the period of Turkish incursions), joined the present Tomšič Street, and then turned west as far as the Franciscan monastery and church. Outside the town walls, along the river Bistrica and its artificial branches there had been workshops of artisans who utilized water in their manufacture since the very beginning of the town.

Larger settlements began to appear outside the fortified city, like Šutna, New Square and later Graben.

The south-western suburb of Šutna was recorded in documents very early on, its territory first be-

ing recorded in a document from 1232.[14] At that time the town spital was erected on Šutna and the church of St. Mary next to it. The church soon became the parish church instead of the original predecessor in Nevlje. During that time the place had not yet obtained the character of a contiguous colonization settlement. The transformation took place later, during the period of Turkish incursions and after the decree of the Emperor from 1478 allowing rural subjects to settle in towns. The towns filled up to such an extent that new opportunities for settlement were sought after. On account of that the settlement of Šutna developed, divided into three parts, with probably still timber houses[15] of the triaxial Renaissance type. The stronghold built around the church protected the settlers from Turkish incursions.

New Square, first recorded in documents in 1402,[16] served as a relief square on the left bank of the Bistrica, and was connected with the town by a wooden bridge. Since the fifteenth century numerous leather and shoemaking workshops, mills and a felt rolling mill were recorded in this square.[17]

The suburb of Graben in its present form developed much later than Šutna,[18] although its name was first recorded in documents in 1321.[19] The description of the settlement was connected with the existence of the town moat in its vicinity. The settlement was connected only with the road toward Stranje and Črna, and it was less attractive than Šutna through which all the traffic passed. Similarly to that of Šutna, the territory of Graben was divided into equal parts during the eighteenth and nineteenth century; during the latter it was mostly built up with existing houses,[20] the most prominent being the Seydl house No. 23 in Main Square, already mentioned in the introduction. The town hall with a turret in the roof and an outbuilding at the front was exceptional as well,[21] yet it burnt down in 1805 and was replaced first by the Prosvetni Dom and later by the square at the crossroads formed by Maister Street and Main Square.

[1] F. Kos, *Gradivo IV*, No. 195, p. 113.

[2] E. Klebel, *700 Jahre Stadt Villach*, Villach 1940.

[3] Franc Kos, *Gradivo V*, No. 755, p. 379; Božo Otorepec, Doneski k zgodovini srednjeveškega Kamnika, *Kamnik 1229–1979*, Kamnik 1985, p. 19 (quoted as B. Otorepec, *Doneski*); B. Otorepec, *Srednjeveški pečati in grbi mest in trgov na Slovenskem*, Ljubljana 1988, p. 51, cf. Note No. 7 (quoted as B. Otorepec, *Pečati in grbi*).

[4] In the document of 1229 the citizens of Kamnik were mentioned (*'civium steynensium'*) and thus indirectly the town as well. F. Kos, *Gradivo IV*, No. 507, p. 253

[5] B. Otorepec, *Doneski*, p. 19; *Pečati in grbi*, pp. 51, 52.

[6] Milko.Kos, *Gradivo za historično topografijo Slovenije*, Ljubljana 1975, p. 283 (quoted as M. Kos, *GHTS*).

[7] B. Otorepec, *Doneski*, p. 19; *Pečati in grbi*, p. 52.

[8] M. Kos, *GHTS*, p. 244. The Main Square was recorded in documents only in the fourteenth century when the house of Tomaž Cendel was mentioned in it, 'an dem placz'. M. Kos, *GHTS*, p. 247. B. Otorepec, *Doneski*, p. 21.

[9] The Great Street ('in der grossen gassen') was recorded relatively late, in 1465; M. Kos, *GHTS*, p. 247.

[10] B. Otorepec, Listina iz 1232 in starejša zgodovina Kamnika, *Kamnik 1229–1979*, Kamnik 1985, pp. 23-32 (quoted as B. Otorepec, *Listina*); B. Otorepec, *Pečati in grbi*, p. 52.

[11] Emilijan Cevc, Kamniti mestni obrambni jarek, *Kamniški zbornik 6*, 1960, p. 89.

[12] M. Kos, *GHTS*, p. 247.

[13] M. Kos, *GHTS*, p. 250.

[14] B. Otorepec, Listina iz 1232 in starejša zgodovina Kamnika, *Kamnik 1229–1979*, Kamnik 1985, pp. 23-32.

[15] There were no architectural elements in houses on Šutna older than from the eighteenth or nineteenth century. However, the houses were still built according to the old concept of floor plans.

[16] M. Kos, *GHTS*, p. 248.

[17] Cf. B. Otorepec, *Doneski*, p. 21.

[18] Graben was depicted in the votive picture of Kamnik from 1779 in the church in Zakal.

[19] M. Kos, *GHTS*, p. 248.

[20] There were only some timber or stone-built houses of Graben in the votive picture of the church in Zakal.

[21] Cf. the votive picture from 1779 in the church in Zakal.

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Kranj
Chreina, Chrainburch

The town of Kranj is located on the prominence formed by the rivers Sava and Kokra and on the transit route leading from the Karavanke mountain passes over the river Sava to the Ljubljana basin in the east, and over the area of Loka to the south in the direction of Italy.

Archaeological finds proved the continuous existence of several settlements protecting the precipitous walls above the confluence of the two rivers from the Hallstattan Age, La Tène Age and the Roman period, the period of migrations of peoples and the old Slavonic period. The name *Carnium* originated from the late Roman period when Kranj was an important element of defence of the Roman Empire (*Claustra Alpium Iuliarum*).

After the arrival of the Franks Kranj, or rather, *Chreina* as the name was recorded in documents about the year 1060, became the seat of the margrave of Carniola and thus the most important town in the province. The establishment of the seat of the original parish in the second half of the tenth century and the burying of the dead around the church were connected with the beginning of one of the largest old Slavonic necropolises in Slovenia. An extensive late Roman necropolis was also discovered on the right bank of the river Sava by the former church of St. Martin.[1] Gradually market activities started to develop by the seat of the original parish, bringing about the establishment of a town in the first half of the thirteenth century.[2] Kranj was first recorded as a town (*civitas*) in 1256,[3] and citizens of Kranj (*burgenses de Creinburg*) were recorded in documents as early as 1221.[4] The founders were probably the Counts of Andechs, who had become deputies for the margrave of Carniola, and apart from their estates with the seat in Kamnik they additionally possessed the margrave's fief around Kranj due to their office. The town obtained its arms with an eagle from the Counts of Andechs. Urban settlement had started to expand after the distribution of plots among new settlers. Originally feudal land on the prominence of Kranj was divided into equal parts on which people built their houses and cultivated their gardens, similarly as in the times of rural colonization, only on a different scale. The rest of the land was intended for the town, church and aristocracy. Originally the area of the urban settlement comprised the present Main Square, yet the influx of population demanded expansion. On account of that the present

Prešeren and Cankar Streets were soon urbanized, probably in the late thirteenth century. The backyards of houses were connected with the market-place and the two roads by means of outhouse paths that were reached by cross streets (e.g. the present Jenko Street) or passages between houses (e.g. the present Pavšlar passage). The extreme north-eastern part of the town prominence had long remained uninhabited. It was planted with trees, therefore it was named Pungert (from the German *Baumgarten*, 'orchard'). The construction of the church of Intercessors against the Plague revitalized that part of the town around the year 1478.[5]

The market-place (the present Main Square), with a more or less rectangular form adapted to the terrain and typical of the period after 1200, was the centre of economic life of the town and the backbone of its ground plan. On the eastern side of it there was the parish church, which acquired its final form in the fifteenth century, and its hall-shaped plan had influenced the development of churches of that type in Slovenia.[6] There was a Romanesque *ossarium* on the northern side of the church, and it was replaced by a graveyard chapel of the family of Eghk, whose manor was in the vicinity, in 1463.[7] The town hall with its consulting room and the outbuilding for gatherings of the townsfolk (the commune) stood at a prominent location on the crossroads of Main Square and Post Street, near the so-called Pigs' Square. The town hall was first recorded in documents in the early sixteenth century.[8] The present Maister Square, formerly an expanded narrow street, was the last addition to the town in the north-western direction. The Upper Gate was located by its conclusion. Entrance into the town from the south-east was closed by Lower Gate in the central part of the present Vodopivec Street.

Kranj had been fortified from very early on. Later additions with towers of circular floor plans, partly connected with the remains of the late Roman walls, originated from the late fourteenth or early fifteenth century. During the period of Turkish incursions they were strengthened by double walls in the north-west and with a tower on the Škrlovec, a typical monument of the Renaissance fortification which also included the south-eastern part of Khislstein Castle.

road covering the natural prominence, similar to that of Kranj.

The spatial impact of streets and squares in Kranj and in other towns of Upper Carniola was reinforced through the growth of house facades and their interconnection. The disposition of architecturally dominant features, i.e. towers of the parish church, Rosary church, Pungert church and other verticals, enhanced the impressions of Main Square and other streets.

The undoubtedly intentional arrangement of dominant features in the urban area, as depicted in the painting of Kranj by Merian from 1649, was further carried into effect in the composition of the principal sculpted elements of the urban organism. The tower of the parish church presented the axis of the urban mass, the pyramidal form of which was created by architecturally dominant features dispersed in the urban centre. The line of composition was then led from the Rosary church to the Pungert church, thus reaching the edge of the prominence. On the other side the line passed the Upper Gate and was concluded by the housing area of former outhouses. The inclusion of the mountain silhouette into the pyramidal view of the town, which was perhaps coincidental, had powerfully enhanced its visual effect. On account of that Kranj is compositionally one of the most sophisticated urban organisms in Slovenia and in Central Europe.

Cene Avguštin

Turkish incursions were a direct cause for the formation of the ground plan preserved until the present. After the decree of Emperor Friedrich III of 1478 new settlers had started to fill up the edges of both outhouse paths, two parallel streets developed by Prešeren Street and Main Square – the present Tavčar and Tomšič Streets, through which the so-called parallel system of traffic communications had developed in Kranj. The same type was partly preserved in Slovenj Gradec, in St. Veit in Carinthia and especially in Gmünd; in other parts of Europe it was typical primarily of Bern in Switzerland, with numerous streets running parallel to the main arterial

[1] An extensive bibliography on the archaeological finds of Kranj is compiled in *Kranjski zborniki* (1960–1995) and in other publications; Walter Schmid, Josip Korošec, Paola Korošec, Stane Gabrovec, Jože Kastelic, Andrej Valič, Milan Sagadin, Timotej Knific, Jana Horvat, Vinko Šribar, Peter Petru, France Stare, Jaro Šašelj, Janez Höfler, Rajko Bratož, F. M. Dolinar and others.

[2] About the beginning of the market or urban settlement cf. Josip Žontar, Fran Zwitter, Božo Otorepec, Ferdo Gestrin, Milko Kos, Bogo Grafenauer and others.

[3] M. Kos, *GHTS*, p. 283.

[4] Fr. Kos, *Gradivo 5*, p. 348.

[5] M. Kos, *GHTS*, p. 288.

[6] Bibliography quoted in the chapter The Towns of Upper Carniola.

[7] Josip Žontar, *Zgodovina mesta Kranj*, Ljubljana 1939, p. 60; Andrej Valič, Kostnica in pokopališka kapela v Kranju, *Pod zvonom sv. Kancijana*, Kranj 1991, p. 59.

[8] 'offen komawn', 'Stuben des rathaus', cf. Josip Žontar, *Zgodovina mesta Kranj*, p. 37; Cene Avguštin, Mestna hiša v Kranju, *Varstvo spomenikov IX*, 1962–1964, p. 61.

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Škofja Loka

Lonca

At the beginning of the thirteenth century a settlement recorded in written documents from 1215[1] as Lonca (present-day Škofja Loka) began to develop on the prominence formed by two rivers, at a location sheltered by the castle on Krancelj hill. The position of the settlement restricted access to the valleys of Poljansko and Selško, through which the route from Upper Carniola led to the Primorsko region and further to Italy. On account of that trade had soon developed in that place, promoted by the feudal lords of Škofja Loka, the Bishops of Freising (973–1803). In 1248 Škofja Loka was recorded as a borough, *forum*,[2] in 1274 as *oppi-*

dum and *forum*,[3] and in 1310 distinctly as a town (*civitas*).[4]

The road leading to Poljansko valley expanded in the middle of the prominence into a rectangular market-place, Town Square, which ended in a funnel-shaped form in front of the former Poljansko Gate. On the opposite, northern, side the square branched off into two smaller streets. A similar formation took place on the Poljansko side, where the road branched off outside the centre of the town. Such a form of a forked branch, revealing the functional planning of a settlement, was rare in the territory of Slovenia, yet common in other parts of Europe,[5] with numerous variations. According to the rectangular ground plan of the market-place Škofja Loka belonged to those urban agglomerations that had begun to develop after the year 1200 and had replaced the former layout of broadened roads.

The growth of population brought about the emergence of Lower Square or Lontrg, parallel to the Upper, present-day Town Square. Lontrg had been recorded in written documents since the end of the fourteenth century.[6] In the development of Škofja Loka Lower Square had played the role of a settlement to relieve the overpopulated upper part of the town. The very example of Lontrg confirmed the extremely active colonization and construction of Škofja Loka at its early stage of development. Lontrg created the so-called parallel system of communications in

the ground plan of the town, the type known from Kranj and Slovenj Gradec, yet in the case of the latter two it had developed from the so-called outhouse paths and also later as in Škofja Loka. Lontrg was adapted to the terrain similarly to Town Square. Along the road, slightly curved over the terrace, there were plots of land, the forms of which proved their planned mediaeval colonizational origins.

Like other towns of Upper Carniola, Town and Lower Squares of Škofja Loka were typical colonizational urban settlements, established on purpose. Apart from their plots that were similar in shape and size, they were characterized by their more or less contiguous construction of residential houses. On the other hand, the part of Škofja Loka between Upper Square and the river Selška Sora was more heterogeneous with

regard to its architecture. It was there that the church of St. Jacob was erected relatively early, and subsequently the convent of the Poor Clares, the rectory and the newly-built Selško Gate leading to the town from the north. It seemed that this part of the town was intended for the requirements of the town itself and the church, similarly to the northern sides of squares in Kranj and Radovljica. Colonists, artisans and tradesmen built their houses on equal plots of land surrounding the marketplace. Their origins, shape and development were described in the introduction.

The consequence of the distance between the old stronghold on Krancelj and the emerging borough was the construction of a new castle just above the site, which was recorded in 1215 as 'castrum firmissimum in Lonca'.[7] The defence of the town soon depended on it. The fortification was first recorded in documents in 1286.[8] The town walls were recorded in connection with the efforts of Bishop Conrad III (1314–1322) directed to the fortification of the town in 1314. At first the walls included only the upper part of the town, without the lower terrace with the present Lontrg. Similar to other towns the relief 'new squares' or 'lower squares' or even 'lower towns' (examples were Althofen, Wolfsberg in Carniola and New Square in Ljubljana of somewhat different origins) developed later than the urban settlements in question. On account of that they were usually fortified

later as well. Therefore it can be reasonably assumed that Lower Square was walled in during the period of the construction works of Bishop Berthold between 1397 and 1401,[10] during the time when the new urban part had already been recorded in written documents. Towers with rectangular floor plans testified to the early origins of the fortification. In the case of Kranj they were soon replaced by new, circular ones. Later periods had changed the former, rather unified image of the town in many ways. Numerous houses, especially in Town Square, were raised by a storey, joined, and generally adapted to the requirements of their proprietors or to the taste of that time. Such was the case with the houses of wealthy

people and the aristocracy. The Homan house from the fourteenth century, rebuilt in 1529, with a floor balcony, two corner turrets and paintings on the facade, was among the outstanding ones, or the old rectory (No. 38 Town Square) with a late Gothic plaque made by sculptor Jakob Schnitzer and dated 1513, and bearing the arms of the former proprietor Volbenk Schwarz. Three further prominent houses were the former Town Hall (*Rotovž*) with a painted facade from the seventeenth century, a late Gothic entrance and a Renaissance arcade courtyard, the Martin house with a late Gothic portal (No. 26 Town Square) leaning on the town walls near the former Poljansko Gate or the moat, the so-called Graben, and

the vicar's house in Cankar Square, recorded in documents in 1587.

Among the most prominent houses in Lower Square there was the Granary with a plaque of Bishop Philip dated 1513 (made by Jakob Schnitzer). Granaries like the one of Škofja Loka were common in other towns in the possession of the Diocese of Freising (e.g. in Innichen). Stewards of bishops kept there the wheat collected as obligations of their subjects. In the southern part of the square stood the spital of Škofja Loka with a chapel. The almshouse had sheltered fugitives and elderly citizens since its establishment in 1547 and until 1949.[11] Spitals were common in other larger towns of Upper Carniola as well.

The outstanding architectural monument of Škofja Loka was the church of St. Jacob, which was first recorded in written documents in 1271. It was of the late Gothic, hall-shaped type of church. The nave originated from 1471. The mouldings on the vault represented various guild symbols and were made in the same workshop as the vault of the presbytery of the church in Radovljica and the nave of the church in Kranj.[12] Around 1524 a master known by his initials HR added a Gothic vaulted presbytery to the nave.[13] The church tower dated 1532 was an important spatial dominant feature of the town, similar to the castle.

The oldest part of the castle[14] was a tower with a square floor plan built in the early thirteenth century. In 1892 the tower was pulled down, yet its layout is still discernible in the paving of the courtyard. After the earthquake of 1511 the castle was rebuilt by mason Jurko Maurer. At that time the chapel and the great circular tower were

erected. At the foot of the castle hill there used to be the convent of Poor Clares established in 1358 (the present Ursuline convent).[15] Outside the mediaeval town walls was the suburb of Karlovec with several houses decorated with late Gothic architectural details.

On the other side of the river Poljanska Sora and the former Devil's Bridge there was the old hamlet of Puštal with its castle. Many features that had been destroyed in the course of time or concealed with subsequent renovation were preserved in an interesting depiction of Škofja Loka, the votive painting from Sopotnica dated 1698. An unknown artist presented the image of the town rebuilt during the Gothic and Renaissance periods in a very sculptural way. The castle with its towers in light colours was contrasted with the dark hilly background and the convent beneath it was seen as an architectural bridge between the conglomeration of the castle and the town. Town Square with its horizontal line was interrupted by the slim turrets of the town hall and the former chapel of the Holy Trinity, by Lontrg with its level skyline of houses, and finally by the part between the river Sora and the convent, marked by its uneven terrain and the fortified area by Selško Gate, and above all by the mass of the church of St. Jacob with its tower. The impression of conclusiveness and fluidity of the town was enhanced by the fortification encircling it in the shape of a solid frame and by dominant towers setting in motion the whole

periphery of the town.

Cene Avguštin

[1] B. Otorepec, *Pečati in grbi*, Ljubljana 1988, p. 117.

[2] Fontes rerum Austriacarum II., 31, No. 153, quoted by Pavle Blaznik, *Škofja Loka in loško gospostvo*, Škofja Loka 1973 (quoted as P. Blaznik, *Škofja Loka*).

[3] Fontes rerum Austriacarum II., 31, No. 306, quoted by B. Otorepec, *Pečati in grbi*, Ljubljana 1988, p. 117 and P. Blaznik, *Škofja Loka*, p. 54.

[4] Fontes rerum Austriacarum (Fra) 36, p. 128, quoted by P. Blaznik, *Škofja Loka*, p. 54.

[5] E.g. Lövenberg in BRD.

[6] P. Blaznik, *Škofja Loka*, p. 56; B. Otorepec, *Pečati in grbi*, Ljubljana 1988, p .117.

[7] Fra 3, pp. 126, 125, quoted by P. Blaznik, *Škofja Loka*, p. 42.

[8] P. Blaznik, Loško mestno obzidje, *Loški razgledi 4*, 1957, from p. 15 on.

[9] Fra 35, No. 499, p. 75, quoted by P. Blaznik, *Škofja Loka*, p. 54.

[10] P. Blaznik, Loško mestno obzidje, *Loški razgledi 4*, 1975, pp. 15-20.

[11] P. Blaznik, *Škofja Loka*, p. 310; France Štukl, *Knjiga hiš v Škofji Loki III*, Škofja Loka 1984, pp. 129-130.

[12] France Stele, Gotske dvoranske cerkve v Sloveniji, *ZUZ XV*, 1938, p. 15; E. Cevc, *Srednjeveška plastika na Slovenskem*, Ljubljana 1963, p. 267, I. Komelj, *Gotska arhitektura na Slovenskem*, Ljubljana 1973, p. 210.

[13] Emilijan Cevc, Kipar HR, *Loški razgledi III*, 1956, p. 161, *Poznogotska plastika na Slovenskem*, Ljubljana 1970, p. 274.

[14] The castle of Škofja Loka cf. Branko Reisp, *Škofjeloški grad*, KNSS 130, Ljubljana 1984.

[15] P. Blaznik, *Škofja Loka*, p. 106.

Škofja Loka, votive painting from Sopotnica, 1698, Museum of Škofja Loka

Radovljica

Radmanova vas, Radmansdorf

Radovljica was an example of a settlement transferred from a former location to a more favourable new one for reasons of defence or traffic. The same fate befell several mediaeval towns in Slovenia and its vicinity. In the case of Radovljica the earlier settlement was Predtrg near Radovljica on the other side of the ravine Dol which separated both places.

Predtrg, an old Slavonic village,[1] was subject to extensive colonization promoted by the Ortenburgs, feudal lords of this region, at the end of the twelfth or the beginning of the thirteenth century. According to the custom of the time, colonists were gathered and brought over to the new place by a certain
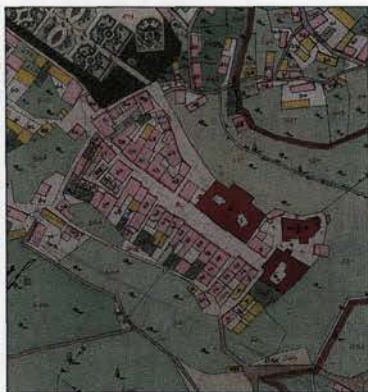
Rado or Radman, and the settlement was named after him (Radovljica as 'Rado's village' in Slovene, or *Radmansdorf* as 'Radman's village', as the place was called by the Germans). When market activities began to develop on the prominence where the present Radovljica is located, the Ortenburgs initiated a new borough. The name of the place was transferred to the new settlement, and the earlier village obtained the name appropriate to its new position – Predtrg ('foreborough').[2]

The prominence had probably already been settled during the old Slavonic period, similarly to Predtrg.[3] A small private church had been built there very early, and its successor took over the consecration of the church to St. Peter.[4] The Ortenburgs wished to enhance its importance by transferring the seat of the parish from Rodine to Radovljica, definitely before 1296 when the first known parish priest of Radovljica, Lavrencij, was recorded in written documents.[5] The new church centre as an important agglomeration factor had soon promoted trade. The small square between the church and the castle served that purpose – the castle that was built by the Ortenburgs in the thirteenth century for the defence of that area. At first trade met only local demands, and increased during church festivals. The situation was similar in other towns of Upper Carniola and probably also in other settlements that had subsequently developed into boroughs and towns.

During archaeological excavations in 1992[6] broad walls were discovered along the western side of the church leading in the direction of the castle. They additionally functioned as the graveyard walls, which indicate that the church, together with the rectory and the *ossarium* chapel,[7] was originally joined with the castle into a fortified complex. E. Klebel[8] considered this one of the factors which had later influenced the development of boroughs and towns in the eastern part of the Alpine region (Villach, Völkermarkt, etc.).

The colonization of the Ortenburg estates during the fourteenth century (e.g. Kočevje) included Radovljica as well. Market deeds

had been granted to it by 1333 at the latest.[9] The old settlement by the church was replaced by a planned complex with its centre in the rectangular square, around which new settlers had built their houses. The narrowness of the prominence allowed for no parallel communication which would have facilitated access to the backyards of houses, the same as in Kranj. Instead of that narrow cross streets led to the yards, one for two or three houses. Some of them were connected with the origins of transitional hallways, which facilitated access to backyards from the front side, and which were thereafter built up during the transition between the Middle Ages and the Modern Age.

The position of the town was strengthened by the development of the economy, trade, crafts, and particularly ironworks with the obligatory iron trade,[10] and by various privileges granted to Radovljica by the Counts of Celje and the Habsburgs. The question of the emergence of the town walls was connected with the decree of Friedrich III of 1478. The right to receive provincial people among its citizens during the period of Turkish incursions would have been useless, had Radovljica not been fortified. On the other hand, the existence of the town walls indicated the change of the status of the borough, which was granted civic deeds during that time. Ferdo Gestrin stated that took place in the seventies of the fifteenth century, when several towns of Upper Carniola were granted civic deeds during the period of the most se-

vere Turkish incursions (Kočevje in 1471, Krško and Lož in 1477, Višnja Gora in 1478).[11] Božo Otorepec allowed for a broader period of time for the emergence of towns, i.e. since the end of the fifteenth century until 1510 when Radovljica was incontestably recorded in written documents as a town.[12]

Fortification devices leaning on the old fortification by the church, the earlier origins of which were indicated by the rectangular form of towers, enclosed the town by means of walls and towers with circular floor plans. Access of the enemy into the town, apart from via Upper Gate, was hindered by strong walls and a moat in front of them. Radovljica is the only town in Slovenia with a moat that is still preserved. The citizens of Radovljica unselfishly constructed the walls and maintained them thereafter. Even in the eighteenth century, when the concern for fortification had mostly vanished, the inhabitants proposed renovation of the walls and wooden bridges by the town gate.[13]

The manor of Radovljica was an important urban feature of the town, apart from the late Gothic hall-shaped church from the middle of the fifteenth century (the presbytery) or the end of it (the nave dated 1495). The extensive building comprising most of the northern side of the market-place, the present-day Linhart Square, originated from the *palazzio* of the Ortenburgs or Ditrichstein Castle from the early sixteenth century. The Thurns had started to build the present manor-house soon after their arrival at Radovljica around 1616.

The parish church located in the extreme north-eastern end of the prominence was of lesser importance for the further development of the town. Yet its image and tower add to the otherwise conclusive mass of the town.

Radovljica occupies an important position in the broader Slovene urban area on account of its preserved architecture and elements of the ground plan and space. Their development can be traced from the simple designs of the Middle Ages to the architectural wealth of later periods.

Cene Avguštin

[1] Andrej Pleterski, Staroslovansko grobišče na polici v Predtrgu pri Radovljici, *Arheološki vestnik* 41, 1990, p. 465.

[2] Cf. Hinko Uršič, Postanek in razvoj trga v Radovljici, typewritten diploma thesis, Department of Geography, Ljubljana Faculty of Arts; Ferdo Gestrin, Radovljica, vas, trg in mesto do 17. stoletja, *Zgodovinski časopis* 45, 1991, No. 4, p. 27; Cene Avguštin, Zgodovinsko urbanistični značaj starega mestnega jedra Radovljice, *Radovljiški zbornik*, Radovljica 1995, p. 77.

[3] Andrej Valič, Radovljica, Poročila o arheološkem izkopavanju ob farni cerkvi leta 1968, *Varstvo spomenikov XIII/XIV*, p. 174; Milan Sagadin, *Varstvo spomenikov XXXII*, 1990, p. 188.

[4] Cf. J. Rus, O tipu našega mesta na pomolu, *Ljubljanski zvon*, 1930, p. 740; F. Gestrin, Radovljica, vas, trg in mesto do 17. stoletja, *Zgodovinski časopis* 45, 1991, no. 4, p. 522; Janez Höfler, *O prvih cerkvah in pražupnijah na Slovenskem*, Ljubljana 1986, pp. 22 and 28.

[5] M. Kos, *GHTS*, Ljubljana 1975, p. 499.

[6] Milan Sagadin, *Varstvo spomenikov XXXII*, Ljubljana 1990, p. 188.

[7] The *ossarium* chapel cf. Blaž Resman, Skica za umetnostnozgodovinski portret ž. cerkve sv. Petra v Radovljici, *Radovljiški zbornik*, Radovljica 1995, p. 271; the rectory cf. Nika Leben, Stavbni razvoj, etc., *Radovljiški zbornik*, Radovljica 1995, p. 293.

[8] E. Klebel, *700 Jahre Stadt Villach*, Villach 1940.

[9] Cf. Božo Otorepec, *Pečati in grbi*, Ljubljana 1988, p. 113.

[10] Ferdo Gestrin, Radovljica, vas, trg in mesto do 17. stoletja, *Zgodovinski časopis* 45, 1991, No. 4, p. 527, picture.

[11] Ferdo Gestrin, Radovljica, vas, trg in mesto do 17. stoletja, *Zgodovinski časopis* 45, 1991, No. 4, p. 527.

[12] Božo Otorepec, *Pečati in grbi*, Ljubljana 1988, p. 114.

[13] Archive of the Republic of Slovenia, Vic. arh. fasc. 134/A *Visitations puncto der Stadt Radmansdorf economica visitations.*
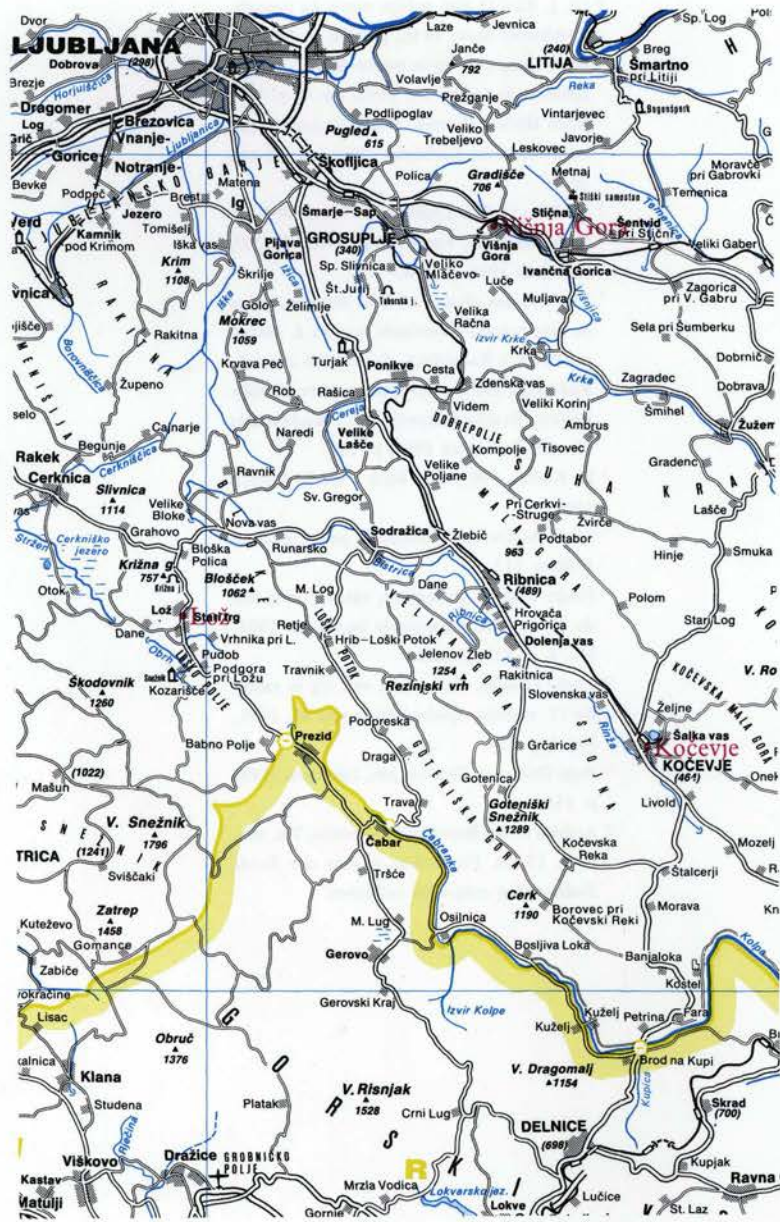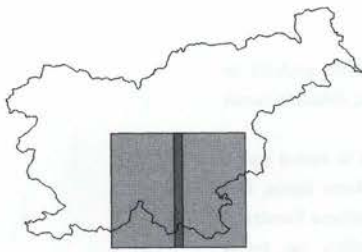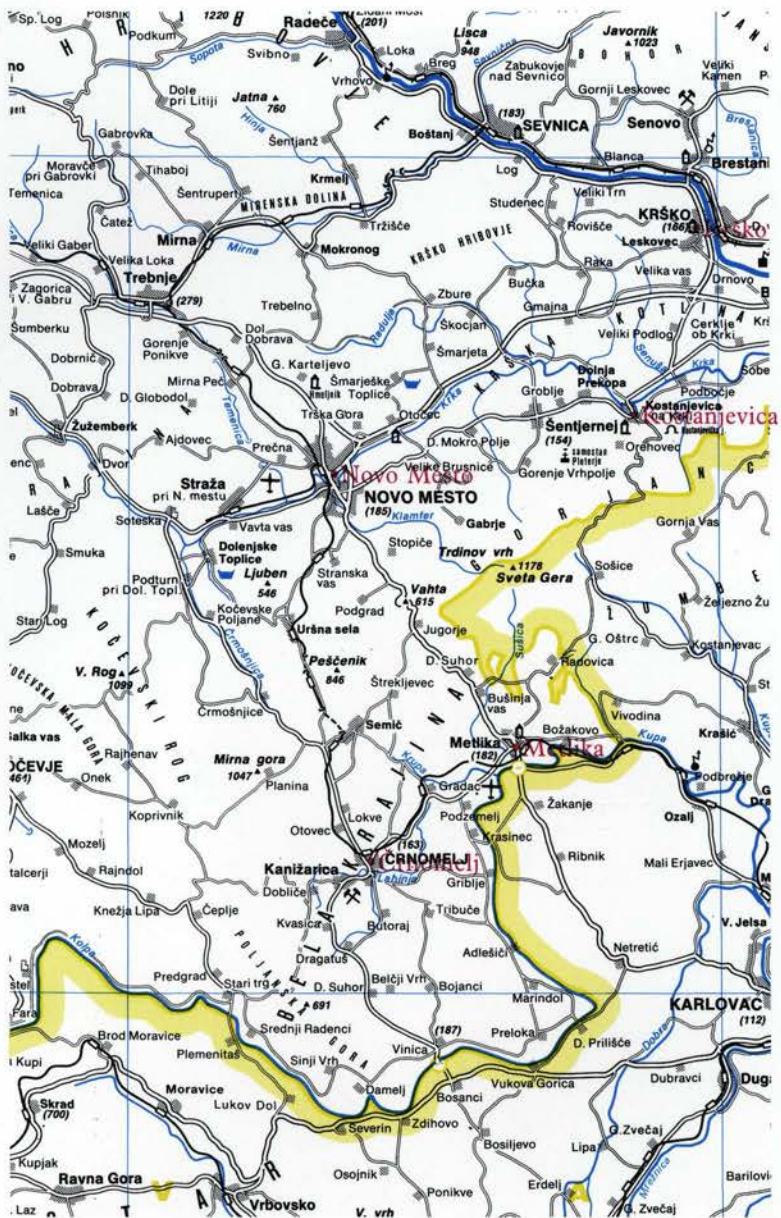
Lower Carniola and Inner Carniola

The towns of Lower Carniola and Inner Carniola were established by feudal lords, in the same way as other towns in the continental part of Slovenia. In contrast to Upper Carniola they were established somewhat later, mostly during the fourteenth century. Some early exceptions of the thirteenth century were Kostanjevica, Črnomelj, Radeče and Mokronog. Kostanjevica was indisputably recorded in written documents as a town in 1252, and Črnomelj had been established as a borough before 1277. The boroughs of Radeče and Mokronog were recorded in 1206 and 1280, respectively.

Boroughs that were later elevated to towns emerged, as a rule, at the foot of castle hills or near the stronghold seats of ministerials. Such fortified towers or manors had gradually developed into town castles. There were traces indicating that settlements of garrisons, serf artisans, craftsmen and other people connected with castles and their administrative and economic functions created the early stages of some boroughs. The existing sources do not confirm the thesis that market villages that were at the same time parish centres represented one of the early stages of boroughs. Places like Litija, Šentvid near Stična and Stari Trg by the river Kolpa had the role of fairs and possessed some other fair deeds, yet they were not elevated to towns. A typical example was Ribnica and its original parish of St. Stephen. Ribnica was recorded as a borough in 1350, it had a typical market plan, and it had remained as a borough. In short, the towns of Lower Carniola did not develop around parish seats. Two exceptions to the rule were Črnomelj and partly Lož. In Črnomelj the parish church developed out of the original church in possession of the Lords of Andechs or even the Lords of Višnja Gora, even before the place had obtained the status of an urban settlement. Lož was an exception since the borough settlement was undoubtedly transferred from the original centre of the Loško valley to the proximity of Loško Castle. In all other cases

Die Statt RVDOLPHSWERT

J. W. Valvasor,
Novo Mesto,
copper
engraving,
1689

the towns, during their emergence, had been submitted to parishes in ecclesiastic and administrative aspects, with their seats in old agrarian or missionary centres.

Lower Carniola was not a unified province during the Middle Ages. It formed part of larger territorial entities, the names of which had changed from the County by the Sava to the Dutchy of Carniola and the County in the Mark and Metlika. The borders of these entities had changed over the centuries as well. The Slovene Mark had been extended along the lower Krka and in the Gorjanci mountains after the year 1200. The Spanheims had liberated new, formerly Croatian territories between Šentjernej and Bregana and in Žumberk in the Gorjanci at the turn of the thirteenth century. The Ministerials of the Spanheims, the Lords of Kostanjevica, played an important role in these military enterprises. They were named after the Spanheim castle, Landestrost. The stronghold, *Fest zu Landstrost*,[1] was first recorded in written documents in 1226, and an urban settlement of the same name even a decade earlier. The conquest of the present White Carniola by the Lords of Višnja Gora was the introduction to the formation of the County in the Mark and Metlika. As it is known, Albert of Višnja Gora had conquered the Croatian territories between the Gorjanci mountains and the river Kolpa from his castle Mehovo in the Gorjanci simultaneously with the Spanheim assault along the lower river Krka. During the decades after his death in 1209 the Counts of Andechs, who were related to the Lords of Višnja Gora and the Hungarian court, had laid the foundations for a new ecclesiastic and administrative organization of the new territory. After White Carniola had devolved to the Counts of Gorizia in 1277, the urban settlements of Črnomelj and Metlika gained prominence. The Dominion of Višnja Gora was a constitutive part of the County in the Mark and Metlika together with the borough of the same name and the original estates of the Lords of Višnja Gora.

The borders of Carniola and the Mark had undergone another substantial transformation. After the year 1311 the territory had decreased on account of the loss of the Savinjsko region, and the river Sava had become the demarcation between Carniola and Styria. The castle of Krško had remained on the Carniolan side. A borough settlement began to develop beneath it during the fourteenth century, and in the last quarter of the century it was elevated to the town of Krško.

The development of Inner Carniola was different. Until the decline of the secular authority of the Patriarchate of Aquileia in 1420, it was connected to Friuli more than to central Carniola. Trade routes were directed mostly to Rijeka and the Gulf of Quarnero, on the one hand, and to Lower Carniola, on the other.

Karl Postl,
Kočevje,
gouache, 1864

The so-called Patriarch route over Bloke and the highland of Bloška Planota played an important role. The only mediaeval town in Inner Carniola was Lož.

A separate chapter of mediaeval urban history was connected with the colonization of the Kočevje region. In the fourteenth century the Ortenburgs brought over German-speaking subjects to the formerly uninhabited woodland. In that way a large area of the so-called Kočevarji was created in the middle of Slovene ethnic territory. Kočevje was the only town in the region. On account of the remoteness of the area the inhabitants had preserved their culture and language well into the Modern Age until their tragic deportation in the Second World War.

The feudal map of Lower Carniola and Inner Carniola was colourful and fragmented. It is beyond our scope to go into details concerning the general political and economic history of the territory. The circumstances that had brought about the emergence of urban settlements and finally the establishment of towns are briefly outlined in descriptions of individual towns. Only some common denominators of the present theme are deduced from general historical surveys.

The fates of dominions connected with towns indicate the complexity and instability of circumstances at that time. What they had in common was that it was primarily secular feudal lords that took part in the establishment of boroughs and towns. An exception in Lower Carniola was the borough of Guttenwert in possession of the Diocese of Freising. Kostanjevica was established as an urban settlement by the Spanheims, similar to the near-by Cistercian monastery. Unfortunately, the family of the Spanheims, who supported their town on the island of the river Krka economically and politically, had died out before the end of the thirteenth century. New feudal lords succeeded each other rapidly. Kostanjevica was not subject to any special attention on their part, which was one of the reasons for the decline of this formerly important town.

Črnomelj at its pre-urban stage belonged to the Counts of Andechs; it became a borough under the Spanheims, and a town under the Counts of Gorizia. Metlika was an utterly Gorizian establishment; it had begun as a borough under Albert II, and some decades later Heinrich II elevated it to a town. After the death of Albert IV, the last of the Istrian branch of the Counts of Gorizia, both towns of White Carniola devolved to the Habsburgs.

The exchanges of feudal lords of the castle and of the urban settlement of Lož were very hard to follow. The dominion of Lož had been in the sphere of interest of the 'state' of Aquileia since the eleventh century. Since the middle of the twelfth century and un-

Karl Postl,
Višnja Gora,
gouache, 1864

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til 1244 the feudal lords there had been the Counts of Heunburg. During that period the original borough of Lož came into existence, the predecessor of the present Stari Trg near Lož. For a certain period of time after 1244 Lož had been under the direct administration of the Patriarchate of Aquileia. At that time the Counts of Gorizia and the Ortenburgs endeavoured to seize it. Finally the latter prevailed in the thirties of the fourteenth century. Yet they had remained lords of this important dominion only until 1418 when the family died out. They were succeeded by the Counts of Celje and the Habsburgs after them. Kočevje had experienced a similar succession of feudal lords, only starting somewhat later, with the Ortenburgs.

The castle of Višnja Gora, after which a branch of successors of Hemma the Countess of Freising and Zeltschach were named, was first recorded in written documents in 1154. The Counts of Višnja Gora were followed by the Counts of Andechs and the Babenbergs. The borough of Višnja Gora came into existence under the Counts of Gorizia. Later Višnja Gora equally devolved to the Habsburgs, yet not after the extinction of the Counts of Celje, but two decades earlier, in 1431.

The earliest record of a name later transferred to a town was that of Krško. When the name *Gurchewelde* was first recorded in written documents, it denoted 'a field, or the land by the river Krka'. It was feudal land, the possession including Brestanica, which was enfeoffed by Frankish King Arnulf to his vassal in 895. The castle of Krško was first recorded as late as the second half of the twelfth century, namely in connection with the Ministerials of Bogen, Lords of Krško, since 1154, and undoubtedly in a document of 1189 recording the pledge of the castle and the estates to the Archdiocese of Salzburg. Thus the Archdiocese of Salzburg had become the owner of this dominion for a century and a half. In the middle of the fourteenth century the feudal lords there were the Counts of Celje. The famous Friedrich II, Count of Celje, resided in the castle of Krško, at that time a mighty feudal stronghold high above the town. The founders of Krško as a town were the Habsburgs.

The credit for the establishment of five towns of this group was due to the Habsburgs. Four of the places were almost simultaneously elevated to towns by Emperor Friedrich III. The main reason for this act was the danger of Turkish incursions. Kočevje, as the most exposed among them, was the first to be granted the status of a town, namely in 1471. In 1477 Lož and Krško followed, and Višnja Gora a year later. Finally all eight towns of Lower Carniola and White Carniola came under the prince of the province.

Novo Mesto, the most important town in Lower Carniola, has a story of its own. Its Slovene name ('new town') indicates that it

Pavel Künl (?),
Novo Mesto,
gouache, 1849

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must be of relatively recent origins. It was established a century after the period during which the majority of urban settlements in Slovene territory had come into existence. It was true that some of the boroughs were elevated to towns subsequent to Novo Mesto, yet the fact remained that it had come into existence 'in a green meadow' so to speak, and had not developed in the usual way out of a borough.

The second feature of Novo Mesto was that the Habsburgs had established it at the time when leading feudal families strengthened their position in this part of the German state. The founder of Novo Mesto, after whom the town was officially named until the end of the Habsburg monarchy, was the first Prince of the Province of Carniola, Duke Rudolf IV.[2] The main reasons for the establishment of the town were of strategic and economic nature. The middle of the fourteenth century was the period of consolidation of the politically unstable border with Hungary, which promoted the development of trade. At the same time there had been no sign yet of the danger of the Turks. The Prince of the Province had therefore wisely selected the location of a new town in the centre of Lower Carniola.

On account of its favourable communications position and special deeds granted to the town by the Prince of the Province, Novo Mesto was the most prosperous of the towns of Lower Carniola. Its golden age took place during the second half of the fifteenth and the first half of the sixteenth century. The rest of the towns of Lower Carniola and Lož had reached their pinnacle at the same time. Curiously, the period of prosperity overlapped that of Turkish raids. It is beyond our scope to analyse the causes of prosperity and decline of the towns. It can only be said that their demise was worst during the seventeenth century.

All the towns of Lower Carniola, together with Lož, had developed a form of civic autonomy common in the continental towns of Carniola and Styria. In those towns that came into existence directly beneath feudal castles, the feudal lords had substituted some of the functions of the autonomy of the urban settlement through their 'officials', particularly the function of the magistrate. It was only gradually that the functions passed over to the community of citizens. Such were the cases of Krško, Višnja Gora and Lož. The relatively early autonomy of Metlika was also very interesting; the magistrate and the council of the twelve were recorded there as early as the fifteenth century.[3] The election of the magistrate was an annual affair which took place in the town church. The church in Višnja Gora equally had the function of a meeting place of the community.

The economic basis of the towns of Lower Carniola was generally

Joseph Wagner,
Krško,
lithograph, ca.
1845

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lower than the average level of Carniola. Merchants traded over long distances only in some of the towns, for instance, in Novo Mesto, Višnja Gora and Lož. The towns of Lower Carniola mostly served as markets for the near-by agricultural hinterland.

Apart from tradesmen there were artisans in towns from the very beginning. The predominance of crafts meeting the direct needs of the inhabitants and people from the surroundings was typical of the towns of Lower Carniola. Butchers, cobblers and tanners were among the ones prevailing in written records, and additionally bag-makers and furriers. There were some tailors and lesser numbers of smiths, cutlers and those working in similar professions. The data about various guilds established in the early sixteenth century were preserved for Višnja Gora and Lož.

It was common to all the towns of Lower Carniola that their inhabitants lived on the cultivation of fields and gardens and breeding of animals. Commons were utilized for pasture, strewing and timber. During the decline of trade and crafts agriculture had become almost the only means of survival. The towns of Lower Carniola had turned agricultural. Such a 'development' was most evident in Kostanjevica, Lož and Višnja Gora.

During the golden age of the towns of Lower Carniola the main sources of revenue were certain privileges like seasonal and weekly fairs, magisterial functions, and obligatory storage of goods and toll incomes, if the towns had had them on lease. Since the fifteenth century a special right granted by the Prince of the Province had been introduced, namely the right to collect a bridge toll. The right was originally intended for the maintenance of bridges and other fortification devices outside the town gates. The maintenance of town walls and everything belonging to them formed some of the duties of the citizens as did acting as guard and defence. In reality the impoverished towns used a bridge toll to make ends meet during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The town walls, towers and gates were left to the ravages of time and numerous fires.

On account of the deterioration of their economic base the towns had gradually lost what they had possessed at the time of their establishment. Long distance trade was taken over by foreigners. The Prince of the Province reduced the revenues of towns by means of exemptions from the payment of a toll for certain groups of 'users'. On the other hand, various taxes and obligations had increased. Trade among peasants, peddling and contraband contributed the lion's share to the decline of urban crafts and local trade. Those towns that had somehow assumed some of the administrative functions on account of their positions, had managed to survive. That held true of Novo Mesto, Kočevje and Metlika. Krško survived primarily due to increased traffic on the river Sava and the activities connected with it. Črnomelj, Kostanjevica, Lož and Višnja Gora awaited better times in their impoverished states – several towns of Slovenia are still waiting.

Jelka Pirkovič

[1] Milko Kos, *Gradivo za historično topografijo Slovenije*, Ljubljana, SAZU, 1975, p. 275.

[2] Rudolf elevated Carniola to a Duchy one year before the establishment of Novo Mesto in 1364. The succession of the two political moves indicated the importance the Habsburgs had attributed to their new urban settlement.

[3] Anton Svetina, *Metlika, dve razpravi iz pravne zgodovine mesta in okolice*, Ljubljana, published privately, 1944, p. 8.

Črnomelj

Schirnomel, Tschernembl

Črnomelj was recorded in written documents in 1228 as *loco*, a place, and not yet as *foro*, a market. At that time Berthold of Andechs, the Patriarch of Aquileia, brother-in-law of Sophia of Višnja Gora, consecrated the church of St. Peter in a place called *Schirnomel* in the province of Metlika and subordinated four other churches to it. Sophia was the widow of Heinrich of Andechs and the last representative of the mighty family of the Counts of Višnja Gora. A settlement and a church had probably existed in Črnomelj even before the Counts of Višnja Gora-Andechs conquered White Carniola before the year 1200. Archaeological finds on the prominence and in its proximity testified to that.

Črnomelj had always been an active settlement on account of its location on a meander formed by the rivers Dobličica and Lahinja in their confluence. A decisive factor

for its development was the location on a favourable route connecting the valley of Krka to White Carniola and the territories beyond the river Kolpa. This route was substantially older than the one over the Gorjanci mountains, which gained prominence 'only' during the thirteenth century.

The mediaeval town of Črnomelj was not often recorded in contemporary written sources, therefore its history was difficult to reconstruct. Fortunately, there were numerous archaeological finds; more recent excavations have revealed a host of data on the mediaeval history and that of the early Modern Age.[1] It can be safely stated that the prominence had already been inhabited during the prehistoric period and even more so during the Roman period. In the early Middle Ages this was a settlement with a cult structure, an assumption based on finds of old Slavonic graves north of the parish church of St. Peter. The burial ground presumably originated from the tenth or eleventh century.[2] There are two possibilities explaining the origins of the church: either that the church had already existed there during the period when White Carniola was under Hungarian rule, or it came into existence as the church in possession of the Counts of Višnja Gora or Andechs in the first decades after the liberation of White Carniola. In any case, the settlement and the church were so important that they became the seat of the ecclesiastic organization of

the province in 1228.

Another centre of settlement, evidently earlier than the urban settlement, was the castle of Črnomelj. Historians assume that it had developed from the court of the Spanheim ministerials.[3] The Spanheims were Lords of White Carniola, therefore the original court had come into existence sometime in the middle of the thirteenth century.[4] When the Counts of Gorizia assumed authority over the province, they settled their ministerials from the family of the Karsbergs in Črnomelj, and they transformed the court into a castle. The third centre of settlement was the Commendam of the Teutonic Order. The fourth centre of settlement, perhaps even the earliest one and therefore giving name to the place, was the mill on the river Lahinja, beneath the building of the Commendam.[5]

It can be assumed that Črnomelj came into existence under the Spanheims, although there were no written records about it. Črnomelj as a borough was first recorded in 1277, seven years after the death of Ulrich of Spanheim, in a deed of pledge by means of which White Carniola came under the Counts of Gorizia.[6] One of the last acts of

Ulrich connected with White Carniola was the incorporation of the parish church of St. Peter, together with its subsidiaries and estates, into the Commendam of the Teutonic Order of Ljubljana. The Teutonic Knights settled in Črnomelj in 1268, and some decades later also in Novi Trg, the present Metlika. Črnomelj did not have the status of a town under the Spanheims, being only a borough with the fair deed. The magistrate of Črnomelj was first recorded as late as 1390, and citizens as vendors of their houses some years earlier, in 1388.[7]

Črnomelj was granted formal civic deeds subsequent to Metlika, although it was older. The Counts of Gorizia obviously favoured Metlika. The civic privilege of Črnomelj had not been preserved. Presumably Črnomelj had been elevated to a town before the year 1374, when Albert IV of Tyrol-Gorizia died and White Carniola was taken over by the Habsburgs according to a deed of inheritance. The thesis that the urban characteristics of Črnomelj indicated its 'Carinthian' origins seemed farfetched at first sight. Stane Bernik pointed out the similarity of the ground plan of Črnomelj with that of St. Veit an der Glan.[8] St. Veit had come into existence under the Babenbergs, even before the Spanheims became Dukes of Carinthia. During the thirteenth century the town with the seat of the court of the Spanheims must have served as a model for town planners in the Spanheim territories, or for the Spanheim ministerials; their office was to organize economic life around their seats. The urban pattern of St. Veit can be discerned in the old part of Klagenfurt and in Kostanjevica on the Krka.

The urban plan of Črnomelj was simple, as if 'evolved' out of natural features of the terrain and the mediaeval principles of utility. It consisted of three parallel streets, the middle and main one called Town Square, and two side ones, formerly called Parsonage and Back Streets. Town Square was actually a street square without the funnel-shaped extension, which indicated its early origins, i.e. from the thirteenth century at the latest. On the northern side all three streets led to the square between
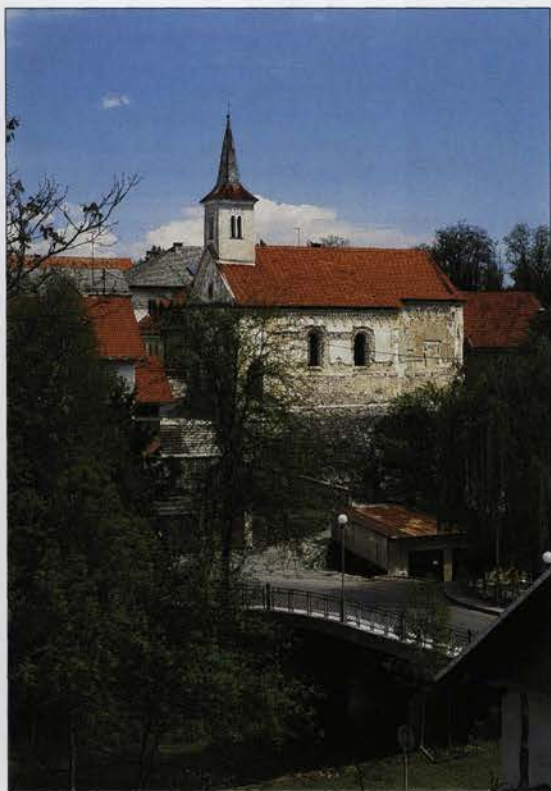
the parish church and the castle, and further along the castle to the intersection of arterial roads from the north-east and north-west, from the Črmošnjiško valley and from Metlika. The intersection had preserved the old name, Na Vavtari. It originated from the German word *Fallthor*, a draw-gate. The depiction by Valvasor presented the town gate as a separate part of the fortification. A bridge led to the gate, protected by two towers. Podlogar reported on the moat.[9] In his opinion the moat was so deep that water could flow along it from the Dobličica directly to the river Lahinja, which was, however, hardly credible because of a massive and relatively high rock formation at that location.[10] Archaeological excavations have proved only the locations of the town gate and the bridge across the moat.[11]

The southern ends of all streets were connected by a lateral street curving downwards in the south-western corner in the direction of the river Dobličica. The steep part

of the street was called Kolnik. Directly in front of the outflow of the Dobličica into the Lahinja the water was crossed by an old bridge still built on mediaeval foundations.[12] Another stone bridge crossed the Lahinja before the outflow of the Dobličica.

Since White Carniola had been an unsettled border area during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, Črnomelj, similar to Metlika, had to be walled-in even before it acquired civic deeds. The church of the Holy Spirit erected in 1487 was built on the former town walls.[13] The north-western tower and part of the walls were preserved in the so-called Stonič Castle. The south-western tower was still discernible in outhouses above the Dobličica at the beginning of the twentieth century.[14]

A more thorough survey of the Franz cadastre (i.e. cadastre from the period of Austrian Emperor Franz I) of 1825 and the consideration of archaeological finds indicate that the urban plan of Črnomelj deviated from the common type of the central street with two parallel side streets. In Črnomelj these two streets obviously had not come into existence simultaneously and in the same manner. Back Street was a typical street by the town walls, leading along the back facades of the houses of Town Square. Since Črnomelj had deteriorated in its construction after the sixteenth century, the street was never completed. Stonič Castle was located by it, or rather across it.

In contrast to Back Street, Parson-

age Street was not an usual street along the walls or an outhouse street, but the second street of the town according to its importance. The Commendam was located at its northern end and the benefice church of the Holy Spirit at its southern end. Remnants of an older path leading along the eastern edge of the prominence, above the mill and down towards the river were discernible in this street. Excavations in the church of the Holy Spirit have revealed remnants of the town gate.[15] A path for pedestrians and riders led from the gate to the bridge. The abovementioned Kolnik was utilized for descent with carts.[16]

The urban plan of Črnomelj showed greater similarity to that of Kostanjevica than it had been assumed. The difference between them was that Črnomelj was located on a high prominence, thus preventing direct access to the bridgehead. Locations of their parish churches varied as well. St. Peter was positioned in the triangle at the intersection of Town Square and Parsonage Street, i.e. in the centre of the settlement. As has been generally stated, the majority of mediaeval churches were not located along the main roads, and this holds true in our case as well. A church located in the trading-artisan centre of the town, as in Kranj, Ptuj or Črnomelj, was a reliable indicator that its position was older than the town itself. On the other hand, it is true that there are no discernible mediaeval features on St. Peter, except its location and archaeological strata.

The castle and the Commendam were rebuilt in the seventeenth century. The church of the Holy Spirit and Stonič Castle were rebuilt in the eighteenth century. Stonič Castle was actually a wealthy town dwelling that was created by joining two older houses and finally a tower of the town walls.[17] The fortification devices disappeared at the turn of the nineteenth century, and the Franz cadastre did not include them any more.

It can be deduced from the Franz cadastre that at the turn of the nineteenth century all town houses, with the exception of nine, were made of timber. There are still two buildings with a timber

construction preserved in the centre of Črnomelj. Otherwise the inhabitants have discarded such a sign of their 'backward and rural' origins by themselves. Unfortunately, interesting monuments of the urban history of our towns have been irretrievably lost as a consequence.

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[1] The excavations between 1988 and 1991 were performed by Zavod za varstvo naravne in kulturne dediščine v Novem mestu under Phil Mason.

[2] *Arheološka najdišča Slovenije*, Ljubljana, DZS, 1975, p. 240.

[3] Dušan Kos, *Med gradom in mestom*, Ljubljana, ZRC SAZU, 1994, p. 15.

[4] The Spanheim rule of the Andechs estates lasted approximately from 1246 until 1276.

[5] Leopold Podlogar, *Kronika mesta Črnomlja in njega župe*, pp. 7-8; it recapitulates the opinion of Rutar that Črnomelj denoted 'a mill' for grinding wheat. The first part of the name was probably derived from a personal name, while the second, '-melj', indicated its origin from the root 'mleti' ('grind'). It is interesting that the oldest Latin and German versions of the name Črnomelj were closer to the Slovene than to the German name of the place.

[6] Since the borough of Metlika was not mentioned in the document, it is clear that there was no such settlement at that time. Črnomelj is therefore older than Metlika regarding the classical settlement and the mediaeval origins.

[7] Božo Otorepec, *Srednjeveški pečati in grbi mest in trgov na Slovenskem*, Ljubljana, Slovenska matica in SAZU, 1988, p. 49.

[8] Stane Bernik, *Črnomelj: urbanistični, arhitektonski in spomeniškovarstveni oris*, p. 11.

[9] Podlogar, as quoted, p. 4.

[10] Another old name for the place in front of the former town gate was Suhi Most ('dry bridge'). Bernik, as quoted, p. 12.

[11] *Varstvo spomenikov*, 23 (1981), p. 281.

[12] Ibidem, 35 (1993–95), p. 92.

[13] Podlogar, as quoted, p. 46. He reported the folk name Na Britofu ('in the graveyard') for the place by the church. The existence of a graveyard was proved by archaeological excavations. *Varstvo spomenikov*, 32 (1990), 34 (1991) and 35 (1993–95).

[14] Martin Malnarič, Stolp v obzidju mesta Črnomlja, *Izvestja muzejskega društva za Kranjsko*, XVII (1907), Nos. 3-4, p. 117.

[15] *Varstvo spomenikov*, 32 (1992), p. 203.

[16] Kolnik denoted 'a cart track' or 'a rut'.

[17] Ibidem, 34, p. 202.

Kočevje
Gottschee

The history of Kočevje was closely associated with the mediaeval colonization of the Kočevje region. It was initiated and executed by the Counts of Ortenburg, the then Lords of a substantial part of Lower Carniola, Inner Carniola and the region along the upper river Kolpa. The centre of the Ortenburg estates was in Carinthia and Tyrol. They had first appeared in Slovenia after 1220, when the dominions of Ribnica and Čušperk were enfeoffed to them by the Patriarchs of Aquileia, and erected the castles

Poljane and Kostel on the periphery of the Kočevje region even before colonization took place.

The most important representatives of the Ortenburgs for Kočevje and the Kočevje region in the fourteenth century were Otto V, Provost of Brixen, who died in 1348, and his nephew Otto VI, who died in 1374. The two dates marked two waves of colonization in the Kočevje region. During the first

period villages in the plain of Kočevsko Polje were established. Otto V had the new feudal centre built in the form of a *villa* with the chapel of St. Bartholomew in the place called *Mooswald*, or Mahovnik in Slovene ('mossy forest, place'). In 1337 the Patriarch of Aquileia elevated the chapel to a subsidiary of the parish of Ribnica. Otto VI carried out the colonization of remote places even more ambitiously than his predecessor; the process involved extensive deforestation and substantial resources.[1] It is of minor importance whether the story of the settlement of rebellious Frankish-Thuringian peasants was true or not. The fact is that during his period the region of Kočevje become populated to such an extent that churches had to be erected in five settlements and regular services provided. The document of the Patriarch from 1363 settling the ecclesiastic affairs in the area stated that 'in some forests and groves that used to be uninhabited and uncultivated dwellings were created for people, and the same forests and groves were deforested for agriculture, and a large number of people was gathered. In those places the inhabitants [...] erected new churches [...] as permitted by our blessed Son of Christ, the illustrious Count Otto VI of Ortenburg, on whose estate the above-mentioned estates are located...'[2]

The name of Kočevje first appeared in that document in its German form *Gotsche*.[3] The new name replaced the previous *Mooswald*, yet it had named the place and the region for long. In

the next document from 1377 Otto VI spoke of 'our borough in Kočevje', which was the first record of that place as an urban settlement.

Most authors are of the opinion that Kočevje was not located in the meander of the river Rinža while it was a borough, but on its left bank, adjacent to the former grave-yard and the church of St. Bartholomew. The conclusions about the transfer of the settlement are based primarily on the location of the church of St. Bartholomew, which was first recorded in 1339, as mentioned above. The second source was the civic privilege of Emperor Friedrich III from 1471,

by means of which the Emperor ordered the transfer of the town or rather the construction of a new settlement at a safer location.

Yet it must be stated that the formulation in the privilege containing the 'order' for the removal was almost equal to the formulation in the privileges of Krško and Višnja Gora. In the case of Krško it was evident that its location was not altered after the acquisition of the status of a town. Višnja Gora had equally been located at the present site decades before Friedrich III issued the privilege deed. Therefore it can be concluded, in the case of Kočevje, that the Emperor only defined the status of the town

Karl Postl,
Kočevje,
gouache, 1864

in the legal sense and facilitated
the construction of fortifications
by means of resources brought
about by the status. It was clear
on the basis of strategic and de-
fence considerations that only the
part of the town located on the me-
ander of the river, adjacent to the
former Ortenburg court, was for-
tified. A weir was built in front of
the town in the south-easterly di-
rection, raising the level of the dis-
appearing river Rinža, the flow of
which dried out in dry spells. In
this way water was provided for the
dike along the western side of the
town, and the meander was turned
into an island. The church and the
graveyard remained on the other
side of the Rinža.

It seemed that Kočevje had not
been walled-in during the fifteenth
century and for some time there-
after, but surrounded by a wooden
stockade, clearly depicted in the
arms of Kočevje.[4] Yet the town was
in desperate need of stronger walls.
In 1492 the Emperor once again
ordered the citizens and serfs to
construct it. However, it was evi-
dent from written documents that
the walls had not been completed
even by 1501. In any case, in the
great fire in 1596 there were walls
built of stone around Kočevje.
Valvasor reported about a century
later that the town was 'sur-
rounded by mighty walls with a
tower in each corner, and a moat
on top of that.' In the second half
of the eighteenth century the walls
were still preserved, although most
had already disintegrated, and the
moat was gone.[5] The walls were fi-
nally pulled down at the turn of the

nineteenth century, since they were
no longer depicted in the Franz
cadastre of 1825.

In 1471 Stari Trg by the church
of St. Bartholomew[6] was men-
tioned in a privilege deed, and that
record was the only proof of the
original location of the borough on
the right bank of the river Rinža.
Later the name of Stari Trg sank
into oblivion. St. Bartholomew
with the graveyard had served as
the parish church of the town un-
til the Modern Age.[7] Thereafter
the seat of the parish was trans-
ferred to the town church of St.
Florian, which has since then been
consecrated to St. Fabian and Se-
bastian. In 1872 the church of St.
Bartholomew was pulled down.
The graveyard was abolished some
decades ago, and now blocks of flats
are standing at the same location.

The fate of the other centre of the
settlement, the former Ortenburg
court, was even more tragic. Un-
der the Habsburgs, who succeeded
the Counts of Ortenburg and the
Counts of Celje as feudal lords, the
former court was transformed into
a public building with the seat of
the office of Kočevje. When the
town was walled-in, it was inte-
grated into the fortification and
served as an additional stronghold
by the southern town gate. At the
end of the sixteenth century it was
so old and crumbling that it was
provisionally restored, but there-
after destroyed in a fire. It was the
new town lords, the Counts of
Auersperg, who had thoroughly re-
built it in 1641 and transformed it
into a powerful castle residence,
which was praised by Valvasor. It

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impressed him to such an extent that he had it depicted in the engraving of Kočevje in his book *Die Ehre des Hertzogthums Crain* (*The Glory of the Duchy of Carniola*) as much larger than the rest of the town. The castle was damaged during the Second World War. After 1945 no attempt was made at its restoration; on the contrary, it was levelled out, so that nothing has remained of it.

The former imposing main square – the inhabitants called it Hauptgasse, 'main street' – was surrounded by town dwellings built of stone. It was typical of Kočevje that stone-built houses had prevailed since the second half of the eighteenth century. Some timber ones were preserved on the periphery of the town. The mills on both banks of the river Rinža above the upper bridge were likewise made of timber.

The picture of the main square from 1864 depicted a typical funnel-shaped quadrangle.' It was visually closed on both sides by two retracted buildings. On the northern side there was the town church, and on the southern a town dwelling opposite the northern corner of the castle. Most houses were one storey high, some even two, with broader facades. Ancient houses prevailed among the lower ones, with narrower facades with crested gables facing the square. There were two arched openings on the ground floor. One of them served as an entrance to the hallway of the home and the other to the shop or workshop.

Like other towns in Slovenia Kočevje had lost two ancient symbols during the last two centuries, namely the town walls and the gallows. The latter was located close to the pilgrim church in Trate, along the northern road leading into the town, through the village of Mlaka and further in the direction of Ribnica.[9] It is tragic that the town has lost almost all its urban features (the divisions into plots and street islands, old town houses along the main square and in side streets) on account of the modern *damnatio memoriae*. Only the disfigured main square has been preserved, the present Trg Zbora Odposlancev, as well as the locations of the two bridges across the Rinža and the successor of the

Auersperg town church of St. Florian built at the turn of the twentieth century.[10]

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[1] It is known that Otto had borrowed larger sums of money from the Jews of Ljubljana on several occasions. Ivan Simončič, *Zgodovina kočevskega ozemlja*, p. 59.

[2] Ibidem, p. 60.

[3] The document was written in Latin as was common in the Church administration. Since Latin scribes had not translated the Slovene names into German (as was common in German documents), the inscription of *Gotsche* is in contrast to the theory of the Slovene origin of the name of Kočevje.

[4] Let me note briefly that the arms of Kočevje contained an interesting inscription *Sigillum civitatis in Kotschew* 1471. This means that the name was translated into Slovene.

[5] Vincenc Rajšp, Majda Ficko, *Slovenija na vojaškem zemljevidu 1763–1787*, Ljubljana, ZRC SAZU, AS, Vol. I, 1995, p. 73.

[6] One of the three annual fairs supposedly took place there, namely the one dedicated to St. Bartholomew. Peter von Raditz, *Aus dem Privilegienbuche der Stadt Gottschee*, Argo, II, 1893, No. 10, pp. 187-189.

[7] There are two existing records concerning the removal of the seat of the parish. It should have happened either in 1791 or in 1871. Stane Bernik, *Kočevje: urbanistično arhitekturni oris: topografsko gradivo*, Ljubljana, Zavod za spomeniško varstvo, 1969, notes Nos. 27 and 28, pp. 33 and 34.

[8] Carl Postl, *Malerische Skitzen von Gottschee und denen in Krain und Istrien liegenden Herzoglich von Auersperg'schen Domainen, / nach der Natur aufgenommen und verfaßt von Carl Postl, k.k. Ingenieur in der aufgelösten ungarischen Landesbaubehörde in Pension /* 1864. The manuscript book is kept in Studijska knjižnica Mirana Jarca in Novo Mesto.

[9] The gallows was drawn in the chart section 232 of the military map of Emperor Joseph II. The textual part included information about the road to Ribnica leading over Koblarji at that time. Vincenc Rajšp, Majda Ficko, *Slovenija na vojaškem zemljevidu 1763-1787*, Ljubljana, ZRC SAZU, AS, Vol. I, 1995, p. 72.

[10] The plans for it were drawn by Viennese architect Friederick von Schmidt.

Kostanjevica na Krki

Landstrass, Landestrost

The present Kostanjevica can hardly be distinguished from a village. Its inhabitants, the inhabitants of the island to be more precise, consider themselves citizens. In their opinion, those living as close as on the other bank are common country people.

The town is somewhat special because it is located on a river island. The island is almost certainly of artificial origins, created by the digging of a dike of approximately two hundred metres in length. Its date can only be speculated about. The oldest picture of Kostanjevica, the unrealized plan of a new fortification drawn by Giovanni Pieroni in 1639, depicted a town surrounded by water.[1]

The old German name of *Landestrost* denoted the 'defence of the land' and emphasized the arguments for the emergence of the mediaeval castle and settlement. Another form of the name recorded in written documents some decades after the first was *Landstrass*.[2] The most plausible explanation of the name is the following. The added part, '-strass', was a Slovene translation of the German '-trost', meaning 'guard, defence'.[3] The present Slovene name, Kostanjevica, was first recorded in Valvasor's book *The Glory of the Duchy of Carniola.*

The founder of Kostanjevica, the same as in the case of Ljubljana, was Bernard of Spanheim Duke of Carinthia (1202–1256). In his time Kostanjevica was more important than Ljubljana due to strategic and economic considerations, being located on the old border between Carniola and Croatia. There was a castle of the same name, the location of which is now unknown. Some authors are of the opinion that the remains of the castle are in the castle near Podbočje, four kilometres from Kostanjevica as the crow flies.[4] If that were true, the spatial relation between the urban settlement and the castle would be even less definite as it is in the case of the borough of Podsreda and the castle of the same name, residing high above the valley of Bistrica.

There is another explanation, namely that the name *Landestrost* had not only denoted the castle on Stari Grad, but also a stronghold on the island of Kostanjevica. The

stronghold protected the strategic crossing of the river Krka. A fact not to be disregarded is that the name Na Straži ('on guard') has been preserved for that part of the Kostanjevica island near the southern bridge. Historians agree that an urban settlement of the same name had already existed about the year 1215. The earliest coins of Kostanjevica namely originated from that period, with the inscription *civitatis Landestros,* and in 1220 the parish priest of Kostanjevica was mentioned.[5] It can be deduced that the fortification, the stronghold and the settlement with the parish church had come into existence at the same time, and with the exception of the first, were probably located side by side.

The backbone of the town consisted of two streets. The street network in the form of a two-pronged fork was an exception in our subject matter. A similar case can be found in Bohemia, where it developed in the thirteenth century in connection with a frontier castle. A spital, later transformed into the parish church, was located in the centre of the place. The Spanheim urban settlements of St. Veit and Klagenfurt in Carinthia, first recorded as towns together with Kostanjevica, had a similar plan, only it consisted of a single, funnel-shaped square. In Klagenfurt a water castle of the Spanheim Ministerials, Lords of Heileck, was located by the southwestern corner of Old Square. In the Renaissance period the castle was rebuilt as the provincial court.

It was unknown where the Lords of Kostanjevica had come from. There are written documents recording that Duke Bernard had brought his people from St. Veit,[6] so it is therefore not surprising that the planners of Kostanjevica adopted the urban layout of St. Veit for the new Spanheim settlement. The two streets of Kostanjevica were traditionally called Veliki Plac and Mali Plac ('great and small squares'). At the south-eastern end of the island they led to the bridge, which was fortified during the Middle Ages. Even Valvasor's sketch for the copper engraving in *The Glory of the Duchy of Carniola* depicted a fortified gate. According to its location at the intersection of the two streets and to the method of construction the lower part of the tower of the

church of St. Nicholas could have been a remnant of an earlier fortification.[7]

Veliki Plac was actually only a road without the funnel-shaped form. It had always served as the main road through the town. The southern part of Mali Plac was extended into a typical, funnel-shaped square with a straight north-western side. The presumed castle of the Ministerials of Kostanjevica, somewhat retracted from the street line, was located at its southern edge. At the beginning of the seventeenth century at this site was definitely the administrative building of the dominion of Kostanjevica. Later it was turned into the rectory and a school. Its architectural features indicate that it was built in three construction stages, the earliest of them extend-

ing back to the end of the fifteenth century.[8]

The location of the original Spanheim Castle is still an open question. Apart from the administrative building, the former castle was recorded in the land register of the monastery of Kostanjevica from 1625, supposedly located behind the parish church of St. Jacob.[9] The location in the northern corner of the island of Kostanjevica could equally have been possible. During echo-sounding archaeological excavations several years ago only remnants of pottery were found there.[10] Traces of the moat that had divided this part from the rest of the settlement indicated the special position of the north-western part of the island or rather the proximity of the parish church. Mali Plac curved towards the north-east in front of the church grounds, and joined Veliki Plac.

On account of its island location Kostanjevica had been linked with the mainland by means of two bridges, the lower and the upper one, even during the Middle Ages. The bridge was first recorded in written documents in 1343, and subsequently in 1406, when the text mentioned a house with a burgage and a garden by the upper bridge.[11]

The town on the island was not walled-in, as can be deduced from Valvasor's depictions and the fact that Kostanjevica had no walled streets. Narrow paths lead laterally to the main roads and the banks of the river Krka. Their layout is regular and they divide the island into three parts, each of them being divided into plots. The plots of Kostanjevica are broader than those of 'more developed' mediaeval towns. Additionally there are no traces of plots being subsequently joined into larger units. Kostanjevica had therefore not experienced the process typical of the development of towns after the fifteenth century.

It seemed that the houses there had always been placed with the longer side facing the street. Single-storey houses prevailed, joined into short terraces. The Franz cadastre of 1825 proved that the houses of Kostanjevica were made of timber, with few exceptions. They had been gradually replaced by stone-built houses since the last quarter of the previous century. Additionally, Kostanjevica had not known the developed type of town houses with several storeys, backyard wings or even walled-in courtyards. There were gardens, orchards and small fields at the back of the plots, which contributed to the idyllic image of the 'Venice of Lower Carniola'.

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[1] Ivan Komelj, Utrdbena arhitektura 16. stoletja v Sloveniji, *Zbornik za umetnostno zgodovino*, nova vrsta VII (1965), pp. 86-87. Komelj only described the plan by Pieronni, without publishing it. The island location of Kostanjevica was also depicted in the earliest maps of the provinces of Slovenia, e.g. Sambucco's map of Ilirija from 1572.

[2] That was in 1267. Milko Kos, *Gradivo za historično topografijo Slovenije*, Ljubljana, SAZU, 1975, p. 273.

[3] Leopold Pettauer, Imena važnejših starejših gradov na Slovenskem nekdaj in sedaj, *Kronika slovenskih mest*, V, 1938, No. 1, p. 13.

[4] Ivo Pirkovič, K topografiji freisinške posesti na Dolenjskem, *Kronika*, 1961, p. 180, and Jože Mlinarič, *Topografija posesti kostanjeviške opatije*, p. 14. Archaeological excavations have proved that the mediaeval castle fortification was located on the hill by Stari Grad, built in the thirteenth century at the latest, and existed until the fifteenth century. Mitja Guštin, *Podbočje: Stari grad*, Brežice, Posavski muzej, 1993, p. 98.

[5] Božo Otorepec, *Srednjeveški pečati in grbi mest in trgov na Slovenskem*, p. 65.

[6] The source from 1294 mentioned scribe Friederik, the son of a citizen of St. Veit in Carinthia. Ibidem, p. 65.

[7] Majda Frelih Ribič, Konservatorska opredelitev urbanističnega spomenika Kostanjevice, *Varstvo spomenikov*, 26, p. 119.

[8] Andrej Smrekar, entry 'Kostanjevica na Krki', *Enciklopedija Slovenije*, Vol. 5, Ljubljana, 1991. p. 326.

[9] Jože Mlinarič, *Kostanjeviško gospostvo po urbarju iz leta 1625*, Kostanjevica na Krki, Galerija Božidar Jakac, 1970, p. 9.

[10] Marjan Slabe, Kostanjevica na Krki: Arheološka raziskava avg. 1988, *Varstvo spomenikov*, 32, 1990, pp. 31-49.

[11] Božo Otorepec, note No. 5, p. 68.

Krško
Gurkfeld

The beginnings of Krško were connected with Krško Castle on the elevation high above the river Sava, where the gorge of the Sava expanded and the plain of Krško Polje began. The formerly mighty castle was deserted in the eighteenth century, and already a ruin in the nineteenth.

The burgage of Krško Castle was mentioned in 1341, the following year, and again the burgages in the borough of the same name in 1351.[1] Since the burgages were sold in the same way as farms, that indicated that the possessions of the borough were legally not distinguished from those of the farms. The position of the citizens of Krško in the middle of the fourteenth century was substantially different from the position of those of Kostanjevica, who could have had free use of their land within the urban area. The owner of the burgages of Krško including the inhabitants was the relevant feudal lord. At the beginning of the fifteenth century transactions of real estate in possession of the citizens of Krško had already been recorded. In the middle of the fourteenth century, when the borough of Krško supposedly came into existence, it comprised sixty burgages and a half. Documents explicitly stated those inhabited by fishermen and hunters, which indicated that the settlement under the castle had the position of a court economy. It can be assumed that artisans resided in it as well, supplying the neighbourhood with their products, and partly living on

agriculture and on vineyards on the slopes of the Trška Gora mountain. Since no important road passed Krško, there were no tradesmen in the first period of the settlement. The closest road was the one from Zidani Most to Brežice, yet it was located on the left bank of the river Sava.[2] There was a ferry-boat in the broader part of the Sava valley, protected by the castle. It facilitated the connections of Raka, Leskovec and the villages in the hinterland of Krško with the road on the right bank. It must be pointed out that the course of the Sava had been close to the peripheries of the Leskovec hills until 1600, and it had curved towards Brežice at Drnovo.

In the first half of the fifteenth century, under the Counts of Celje, Krško had developed economically. Documents from that period recorded a greater number of artisans, particularly butchers, cobblers and tailors.[3] On account of Turkish plundering along trade routes the navigation on the Sava was revived and the town had economically recovered due to freight transfer and increased ferry-boat traffic. In 1478 the new town lord, Emperor Friedrich III, exempted the monastery of Kostanjevica from payment of a bridge toll in Ljubljana and Krško.[4]

Economic and not only strategic reasons were responsible for the establishment of the town of Krško, the same as in the case of most towns of Slovenia. The establishment deed of Emperor Friedrich III of 1477 referred to the defence against the Turks. It

was true, however, that town walls were constructed immediately after the granting of privileges to Krško. It was typical of the spatial plan of Krško that the urban settlement was located in a narrow space between the river Sava and the Trška Gora mountain. Therefore it only developed in one direction, i.e. along the road square which ran on the river embankment. Its southern part was directed to the harbour on the Sava. The road logically continued on the other bank of the Sava, at Videm. The church of St. Florian, protector against fire and floods, used to stand near the port of Krško. The northern part of the town was marked by the town church of St. John the Evangelist,[5] and was surrounded by church walls. In 1768 the church became the vicariate of the parish of Leskovec. The town spital, first recorded in 1525, leaned on the church walls. The Baroque church by Fuchs from 1777, with its typical festival of the Holy Spirit, was a reminder of it. At the south-eastern corner of the church grounds there was a rectangular street island consisting of three houses. One of them was bought by J. W. Valvasor in 1693. The complex was originally Gothic, and it was rebuilt at the beginning of the seventeenth century.[6] Maybe the buildings succeeded the court recorded in 1391, which was located beneath the castle on the bank of the Sava, and which was donated by the Counts of Celje to the benefice of St. Nicholas at Krško Castle.[7]

The town walls of Krško had the

form of two parallel barriers. Valvasor's engraving in the *The Glory of the Duchy of Carniola* depicted the northern town walls descending from the castle of Krško past the town church to the river Sava. The course of the southern part ran along the slope of the Trška Gora mountain and south of the Capuchin monastery (built in 1644) to the river bank. If Valvasor's depiction was correct, then the port of Krško was located outside the town walls and functioned as a suburb. The intersection of the present Dalmatin Street and Cesta Krških Žrtev indicated the location of the town gate, which was recorded in a land register of the dominion of Krško from 1570.[8]

The division into plots indicated that the earliest part of the town with the above-mentioned sixty burgages must have been in the northern part of the road square, i.e. between the present Hočevar Square and the municipal building. The plots by the western side ended under the slope of the Trška Gora mountain, while those by the eastern side were shorter and ended in the direction of the bank of the Sava. Yet the southern part of Krško between the Capuchin monastery and the former harbour was divided into plots in the form of lamellas and had a serried construction of houses.

Due to the narrow space between the main arterial road and the river the only outhouse path led along the foot of the Trška Gora mountain. The northern and southern branch of the path curved and joined the road square. There were

some narrow lateral passages between the square and the path, the present Bohorič Street. One of them, now Firemen Street, is a remnant of the southern branch of the wall path.

The Franz cadastre of 1825 showed that numerous houses were made of timber in the first half of the last century, primarily in the southern part of Krško. Even some years ago there was a house with a timber construction next to Dalmatin Street. Unfortunately, it was pulled down and replaced by a new one during the renovation of the town.

A document from 1411 was of particular interest because it reported how an inhabitant of Krško, butcher Jorg, and his wife sold a house to the Prior of the monastery in Pleterje. The text was written in mediaeval German, and the building was denoted with the words 'gemawrten cheller und gemawrte chomnaten auf dem selben cheller.' Historians had translated that as 'a stone-built cellar and a stone-built room above it'.[9] There are two explanations in Lexer's dictionary of the high mediaeval German: the word 'keller' did not denote 'a cellar', but a 'shop' during the Middle Ages.[10] The word 'chomnaten' was a written variation of the 'kemenate' denoting 'a (living) room or place warmed by a fireplace'. Wolf's German-Slovene dictionary from 1860 included the word 'Kemnate'. It was explained as a 'stone building' and translated as 'kimnata, čumnata'. The Slovene word 'čumnata' had lost its meaning of 'a room with heating', and indicated only 'a smaller room in a (rural) house'. Yet it was related to the English and French expressions 'chimney' and 'cheminée'.

Our source for Krško illustrates the history of urban architecture in Slovenia. It proves that an example of the typical one-storey town dwelling had already existed in a small and rather unimportant borough like Krško at the beginning of the fifteenth century. It is important that the house was built of stone and no longer made of timber. The concepts of the ground floor and the first floor were probably simple, consisting of one cell, yet with the division into the shop or workshop on the ground floor and living quarters with a fireplace on the first floor.

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[1] Jože Mlinarič, Krško in njegovo gospostvo v srednjem veku, *Krško skozi čas*, p. 32, and Božo Otorepec, *Srednjeveški pečati in grbi mest in trgov na Slovenskem*, p. 75.

[2] The road on the right bank under the rock of Deviška Pečina was built only in 1847.

[3] Jože Mlinarič, Krško in njegovo gospostvo v srednjem veku, p. 38.

[4] Jože Mlinarič, *Topografija posesti kostanjeviške opatije 1234–1768*, p. 87. The bridge toll was a special tribute paid by hauliers to the town for general use of the bridges and other facilities in the urban area. The first wooden bridge across the Sava was built as late as 1866.

[5] The saint by the town walls was depicted in the arms, as determined in the establishment deed of the town. Božo Otorepec, *Srednjeveški pečati in grbi mest in trgov na Slovenskem*, pp. 76-77.

[6] Dušan Kramberger, konservatorsko poročilo, *Varstvo spomenikov*, 35, 1995, p. 110.

[7] Jože Mlinarič, Krško in njegovo gospostvo v srednjem veku, *Krško skozi čas*, p. 35.

[8] Jože Koropec, Krško v obdobju velikih slovenskih kmečkih vstaj, *Krško skozi čas*, p. 53.

[9] Jože Mlinarič, Krško in njegovo gospostvo v srednjem veku, *Krško skozi čas*, p. 38.

[10] Mathias Lexer, *Mittelhochdeutsches Taschenwörterbuch*, Stuttgart, 1986, pp. 105-106.

Lož

Laas, Las

It is difficult to imagine that Lož was a prosperous town during the Middle Ages. Soon afterwards it started to deteriorate for various reasons. A record from the eighteenth century states: 'The town used to be respectable, and it is still a town of the Prince of the

Province. Yet it was so discriminated due to its decline that it hardly resembles a village.'[1] Sources from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries presented a different picture of life. There were weavers, carpenters, peddlers, inn-

keepers, cobblers, tanners and bag-makers recorded in Lož, which indicated that the settlement supplied the neighbourhood with its products and services. There were also gold-smiths,[2] and particularly merchants trading over long distances.[3] The trade route between the continental hinterland and the sea passed through Lož.

The trade and political circumstances of that time must be taken into account. The Patriarch of Aquileia was the feudal lord of the broader territory of Inner Carniola, Istria, Karst and the drainage-basin of the river Kolpa. The passages from Friuli to Carniola and the routes over the Snežniško highland and the mountains of Gorski Kotar towards the Gulf of Quarnero were under his control.

In the thirties of the fourteenth century the Patriarch had enfeoffed the dominion of Lož to the Ortenburgs for the first time.[4] About a century ago the dominions of Ribnica and Čušperk were equally enfeoffed to them by the Patriarch, and later additionally the castles of Ortnek, Poljane and Kostel. The presence of the Ortenburgs in the upper valley of the Kolpa had increased the importance of the routes from Bloke along the Loško valley and the plain of Babno Polje to the Gulf of Quarnero. That was an ancient

route, confirmed by remnants of Roman limes in Prezid, which was named after it (in Slovene '*zid*' denotes a 'wall'). Some historians point out that the route had only appeared since the end of the fourteenth or fifteenth century.[5] Such chronological determination is based primarily on the data of increased traffic and the emergence of toll-houses connected with it in the present Croatian part of the route. Goods that were traded from the interior to the sea were primarily wheat, honey, wax and cattle hides, and salt in the opposite direction. Contraband and peasant trade were equally prosperous.

It is not surprising that the castle of Lož as the original centre of the settlement and the *raison d'etre* of the urban settlement emerged on a height above the most favourable mountain pass leading from the plain of Cerkniško Polje and from the height of Bloke to the Loško valley. The castle was first recorded in 1218, yet its architec-

tural elements indicate that a castle *palazzio* was built in the twelfth century.[6] The castle was the seat of the provincial court of law. The scaffold where capital punishments were executed was located on the periphery of the dominion, by the path linking the baptismal chapel of St. Gertrude in Nadlesk with the pilgrim mountain of Križna Gora. A fact worth highlighting is that in the case of Lož the province, the castle and the borough were called by the same name, as in the case of Metlika. To make things even more complicated the name of the settlement additionally referred to the place by the parish church of St. George, the present Stari Trg ('old borough'). The parish had probably emerged relatively early, about the middle of the twelfth century, and it was first recorded in 1221.[7] Stari Trg was therefore an example of a settlement with a prehistoric, or rather, a classical tradition and an original parish, which was granted fair deeds in the Middle Ages (the borough was

first recorded in 1237), yet with hardly any urban features. A map of Stari Trg from about 1800 depicted a village with houses along two roads crossing perpendicularly.[8] The first one was the main road from the plain of Babno Polje to Lož, and the second one led upwards to the parish church. There it was expanded to form a funnel-shaped square of small proportions, with about ten building sites.

In 1341 the Patriarch of Aquileia permitted, at the request of the Head of Lož, the borough to be removed together with the fair deeds to another location beneath the castle of Lož. The document of the Patriarch reported, among other things, that the inhabitants and *coloni* of Stari Trg were to move with the fair and build their houses there for reasons of defence and in order to promote the development of the borough.[9] The decision was probably influenced by the fact that a few decades earlier the parish priest of Stari Trg helped the Counts of Gorizia to take temporal possession of the dominion of Lož.[10] In spite of everything, the decades after the removal were not more peaceful, since the castle and the borough were seized by enemies in succession.

The new borough of Lož had a street plan formed by a funnel-shaped square out of the main road and a lateral street leading to the town church of St. Peter. The path continued past the mighty defence tower of Tabor and upwards to the castle of Lož. Valvasor's engraving of Lož from 1689 depicted the castle as a ruin, yet still with power-ful walls. The rectification of the Franz cadastre noted the exact location of the surrounding walls and the ruins of the centre, yet the whole was divided into dozens of small plots. In the nineteenth century the remains of the castle obviously served as a quarry, and after the disengagement of land it was appropriated by nearby peasants.

The land by the borough was divided into street islands. The islands on the eastern side of the square, beneath the hill, were not typical on account of the elevation of the terrain. The northern part of the settlement showed obvious signs of an earlier mediaeval centre, maybe a court and a toll-house along the main road, or even of a village as a precursor of the borough.[11] The urban plan of the western part of the settlement was a relatively clear example of a mediaeval strip division into plots, from which the original division into house blocks was discernible. The blocks consisted of three or four building units, i.e. burgages. The lateral division into street islands was also indicated, yet the islands were not built up on all four sides on account of the stagnation of the development of the borough.

The Franz cadastre from 1823 clearly showed the course of the wall street and the land where the walls and the moat used to be. A brook still flows along the same course. The walls and the moat filled with water already existed in 1380,[12] almost a century after the elevation of Lož to a town. The privilege deed was issued by Em-

peror Friedrich in 1477, almost at the same time as for Krško. Valvasor's view of Lož clearly depicted that the town was of oval form. In the description of Lož pertaining to a military map from the period of Emperor Joseph II it was written that the town walls still existed, yet they were low and inadequate.[13] They had been pulled down by 1825, since they were no longer depicted in the Franz cadastre. The northern gate was visible in Valvasor's view of Lož, and it was protected by a cylindrical tower with a tent-shaped roof. The other gate could be discerned by the juncture of the walls and the road towards Stari Trg. If Valvasor's view was creditable, the course of the town walls must have been to the north of the town church of St. Peter. The church with its belfry and the tower of Tabor constituted a special defence complex with their walls. The tower of Tabor was probably part of the earliest pre-urban fortification on account of its dimensions and the location by the entrance to the castle, and simultaneously the residential and defence seat of one of the ministerials of Lož.

The former prominence of Lož was confirmed by the fact that the houses in the main square and some others had been built of stone since ancient times.[14] Their present appearance does not differ greatly from the appearance of houses in nearby villages of the Loško valley. The houses in the main square were one storey high, as a rule, facing the square with their narrower sides and gables. There were passages between houses, some of which were narrow, only a metre wide; others were broader and served as drives. It is interesting that there are still numerous entrances from side streets and not from the main road. It would take further investigation, even of an archaeological nature, to prove whether that is a sign of the early origins of that type of house or a consequence of ruralization.

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[1] Vincenc Rajšp, Majda Ficko, *Slovenija na vojaškem zemljevidu 1763–1787*, Ljubljana, ZRC SAZU, AS, Vol. I, 1995, p. 55.

[2] Božo Otorepec, *Srednjeveški pečati in grbi mest in trgov na Slovenskem*, Ljubljana, Slovenska matica in ZRC SAZU, 1988, p. 98.

[3] There were seven merchants from Lož in Rijeka in 1437. Ferdo Gestrin, *Trgovina slovenskega zaledja s primorskimi mesti*, SAZU, Ljubljana 1965, pp. 44–45.

[4] Dušan Kos, *Med gradom in mestom: Odnos kranjskega, slovenještajerskega in koroškega plemstva do gradov in meščanskih naselij do začetka 15. stoletja*, Ljubljana, ZRC SAZU, 1994, p. 187.

[5] Ibidem, p. 204.

[6] Ivan Stopar, *Gradovi na Slovenskem*, Ljubljana, Cankarjeva založba, 1986, p. 322.

[7] Janez Höfler, *O prvih cerkvah in pražupnijah na Slovenskem*, Ljubljana, Znanstveni inštitut FF, 1986, p. 41.

[8] Janez Kebe, Loška dolina z Babnim poljem, p. 240.

[9] '[...] *ibi domus eorum facere et aedificare*'. Ibidem, p. 19.

[10] Ibidem, p. 18.

[11] An old source from 1283 recorded seven farms in the village Wizdorf in connection with the castle of Lož; Stane Okoliš, *Izseki iz zgodovine Loža in okolice*, p. 561. The tollhouse of Lož was first recorded in 1313 (Jože Mlinarič, *Stiška opatija 1136–1784*, Novo mesto, Dolenjska založba, 1995, p. 119.) The exact location is unknown. It was probably beneath the castle, in the subsequent borough of Lož. The second possibility with the name Šrenga is denied by the fact that it is not located by the main road, but by a branch leading past Snežnik Castle over Snežniško Pogorje to the valley of the river Reka.

[12] Božo Otorepec, *Srednjeveški pečati in grbi mest in trgov na Slovenskem*, p. 97.

[13] Vincenc Rajšp, Majda Ficko, as quoted.

[14] At least that was the state of affairs according to the Franz cadastre from 1825. An earlier source recorded that almost all houses in the town were made of wood.

Metlika
Neumarcht, Möttling

Historians have stated that Metlika was, next to Kostanjevica, the earliest town in Lower Carniola. The exact date of its establishment is unknown. Civic privileges were granted to it by Count Heinrich II of Tyrol-Gorizia, who visited Metlika for the first time in 1306 and died in 1323. The later confirmation (the original document is not preserved) of the privileges stated that the citizens of Metlika had equal rights to those of Kostanjevica. During the period of the Counts of Gorizia Metlika was the seat of the Head of White Carniola. Even after the County had come under the Habsburgs in 1374, the district court of law and the Head as deputy of the Prince of the Province were still in Metlika. The court of law was abolished at the beginning of the sixteenth century and with it the office of the head died away. Through that White Carniola had actually become part of the Dutchy of Carniola. That was the conclu-

sion of the process that had started with the conquest of the territory between the Gorjanci mountains and the river Kolpa on the part of the Counts of Višnja Gora at the end of the twelfth or the beginning of the thirteenth century and with the establishment of the ecclesiastic authority of the Patriarchate of Aquileia in 1228.

The name of Metlika was recorded in written sources as the name of the province. The Counts of Gorizia established the County in the Mark and Metlika in the greater part of present-day White Carniola. In the Middle Ages the borough or town with the current name Metlika was called Novi Trg ('new borough') in Metlika. On account of the later transfer of the name from the province to the town the historians wrongly concluded that there must have been a borough with the name of Metlika before the present one, and that it was located in close proximity to the present village Rosalnice. Yet there were no data in the documents confirming the thesis that the settlement had been removed, similarly as in the case of Lož, from the plain to a strategically more advantageous position on a rocky prominence above the alluvial valley of the river Kolpa. Yet the name Novi Trg indicated that the urban settlement was of a later date than the borough of Črnomelj, which already existed in 1277.

The location of Metlika was typical of mediaeval towns in the territory of Slovenia. As Jože Rus stated, it was a town on a prominence.[1] The settlement was protected by rocky walls from three sides, so that the difference in height between the valley of Obrh or Suhor and the territory on which the castle was located was about twenty-five metres. The prominence that was only about two hundred and fifty metres long had hindered the growth of the settlement. The town walls located on the hillside on the western periphery of the prominence diminished the defence capabilities, while the course of the opposite, eastern, part ran along the highest terrace. The walls were fortified with defence towers. Remnants of one of them are discernible in the line of the walls above Drage. The other tower is completely preserved and

Möttl
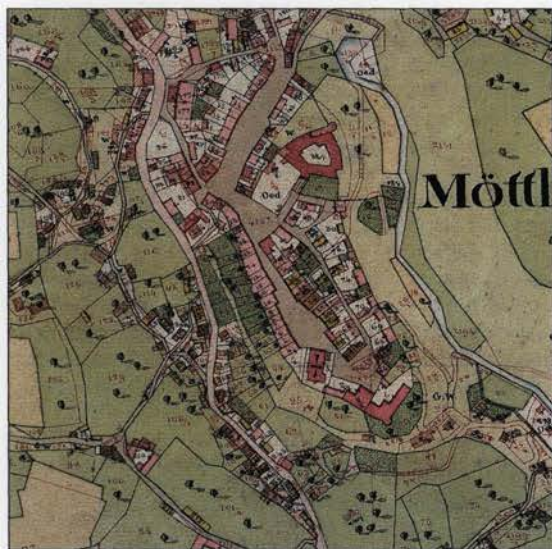
it is located by the artificial square south of the castle. On account of its dimensions, form and position it is possible to conclude that that was probably one of the original courts recorded in documents from the beginning of the fourteenth century, yet in its rebuilt form from the sixteenth century.[2] The town walls were first recorded as early as 1367, several decades before the beginning of Turkish incursions.[3] The great fire of 1705 that devastated Metlika had equally damaged the walls, the town gate and towers. The inhabitants no longer renovated them, but used them as parts for their houses. The description of Metlika in a military map of Emperor Joseph II from the second half of the eighteenth century reported that the town was surrounded by the town walls with houses leaning on them, and that there had

already been several passages through the walls.[4]

The north-eastern and southern corners of the prominence were protected by strongholds, namely the castle on the one and the Commendam of the Teutonic Order on the other side. The castle must have come into existence before the establishment of the urban settlement at least in the second half of the thirteenth century, although there were no written records mentioning it. It was located on the highest point of the prominence and not on the part that could have controlled the strategically vital route connecting Lower Carniola over the Gorjanci hills past Mehovo Castle with the ferry-boat by the village of Križevsko, a route that had only been established after the conquest of White Carniola by the Counts of Višnja Gora. Increased incomes of the toll-house by

Mehovo indicated that the importance of the route increased in the middle of the thirteenth century.[5] It seems that the castle of Metlika was originally not intended either for defence or control of this traffic route. Its short cut had remained along the course from the south slope of Bočka directly towards the south to the ferry-boat until the second half of the eighteenth century. The original function of the castle or its predecessor was clearly the protection of the spring of the brook Obrh as the only one with a constant flow in this part of the Karst region. A path led to the lower part of the brook along the prominence, and a street in its place is still called K Obrhu ('to the brook Obrh'). Another path led from the castle to the brook, and it was later protected by the town walls and maybe even a drawbridge across the artificial ravine. Is that the bridge recorded in the source from 1306 locating the emergence of the document in *Nuovo fore super pontem?*[6]

The history of the construction of the Commendam of Metlika is more clear. It was built at the same time as the urban settlement, so to speak, i.e. in the first decade of the fourteenth century. Next to it stood the town church of St. Nicholas, which was first recorded in 1364 as a subsidiary of St. Mary by Tri Fare. The present church is incorrectly oriented, which was probably the consequence of the construction of a new, larger church in 1759 at the above-mentioned location. As early as the last decades of the fourteenth century

Metlika acquired its own parish, and the Commendam had simultaneously seceded from the head office in Ljubljana, while Commanders of the knightly order performed the office of parish priests and later deans of Metlika, so that a Provostship emerged next to the Commendam.[7] Both buildings were rebuilt in the eighteenth century, similarly to the church, after the great fire.

The form of the terrain and the location of defence positions determined the ground plan of the town and included not only the castle and the Commendam, but also the town gate, which was located at the point where Ulica na Grad joined the former Upper, now Patizansko Square. The name of the area in the hollow beneath the town gate was mentioned in written sources as Stari Grad ('old castle'), which indicated that the path in Drage was defended by a special stronghold. The Upper Square led from the town gate beneath the castle to the above-mentioned path leading to the spring of the brook Obrh. Lower Square, now Town Square, was located perpendicularly to it and led from the town gate to the parish church. It seems that the Upper Square was the centre of the urban settlement and had been built up with serried houses from the outset. The western side of Town Square is built up today, yet the houses lean directly on the town walls, which indicates their late origins. The walls are also not of the same height as the western side of the square. These modest houses,

built of stone at the time of the Franz cadastre of 1825, were clearly erected after the walls had no longer served their original purpose, therefore after the fire of 1705.

A word or two about the division into plots and a typical town dwelling of Metlika. The plots bordering on the two squares were narrow and also short due to a shortage of space, and they differed from the common mediaeval pattern. The houses of Metlika had no outhouses and gardens in the backyards. Older houses regularly faced the square with their narrower fronts, and they were either single-storey houses only or one storey high. The houses by Upper Square and the western side of Lower Square were already built of stone at the time of the Franz cadastre. The eastern part of Lower Square, where the pharmacy and the neo-Gothic town hall were built later, was surrounded by timber single-storey houses with a rural appearance. There were also some timber houses in K Obrhu street, and primarily in Drage, by the main road. Those were replaced by 'improved' houses in the historicist style in the second half of the nineteenth century.

The townsfolk lived partly on crafts and trade and primarily on the cultivation of land, their gardens and fields surrounding the town. The best land was in the possession of the town lord and the Commendam. The land on the hill above the church of St. Martin was significantly called Pungart (from the German for 'orchard') and it belonged to the castle. The Commendam and the rectory possessed vineyards on the Veselica. Apart from their gardens and field, the inhabitants had use of the commons at the locations of Stari Grad, Borštek and Sušice.

The establishment of the town spital in 1493 and the benefice connected with it confirmed that Metlika used to be an important town.[9] It had the right to perform blood judicature, and the name of the Gavgen Grič hill ('scaffold'), to the west, is still reminiscent of it.[10]

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[1] Jože Rus, O tipu našega mesta na pomolu, *Ljubljanski zvon*, (1930) No. 11, p. 688.

[2] Peter Štih, *Goriški grofje ter njihovi ministeriali in militi v Istri in na Kranjskem*, Ljubljana, ZIFF, 1997, p. 134.

[3] Ibidem.

[4] *Slovenija na vojaškem zemljevidu 1763–1787*; Opisi, 1, Ljubljana, ZRC SAZU, Arhiv RS, 1995, p. 111.

[5] Ferdo Gestrin, Trgovsko-prometni položaj Novega mesta (od ustanovitve do konca 16. stoletja), *Novo mesto 1365–1965: prispevki za zgodovino mesta*, Maribor, Obzorja, 1969, p. 133.

[6] Božo Otorepec, as quoted.

[7] Dušan Kos, *Bela krajina v poznem srednjem veku*, Ljubljana, Zveza zgodovinskih društev Slovenije, 1987, p. 55.

[8] Ibidem, p. 51.

[9] Anton Svetina, *Metlika, dve razpravi iz pravne zgodovine mesta in okolice*, p. 4.

[10] Jože Dular, *Brata Navratila*, Metlika, Belokranjsko muzejsko društvo, 1980, p. 21.

Novo Mesto
Rudolfswert, Neustadtl, Rudolfovo

In contrast to other towns presented in this book, in the case of Novo Mesto the establishment of the town coincided with its construction. Rudolf IV of Habsburg had the town built[1] either in 1364, or at the beginning of 1365, and in April 1365 he issued the privilege deed for it. Novo Mesto was also important because it represented the type of town in the possession of the ruler, the Prince of the Province with special privileges. When Rudolf's advisers were selecting the location for the construction of Novo Mesto, they had to inspect the surrounding area and evaluate that the location on the hill in the meander of the river Krka called Gradec was the most advantageous one. At that time Gradec was in possession of the Cistercian monastery in Stična. There were other meanders on the river from that point upwards, yet they were less suitable for settlement. Three further meanders downstream the Krka were settled at the time of the construction of Novo Mesto, in spite of constant flooding. The Freising borough of Guttenwert and the Spanheim town of Kostanjevica grew there. The third urban settlement, recorded in documents as *Chronaw*, was presumably located near
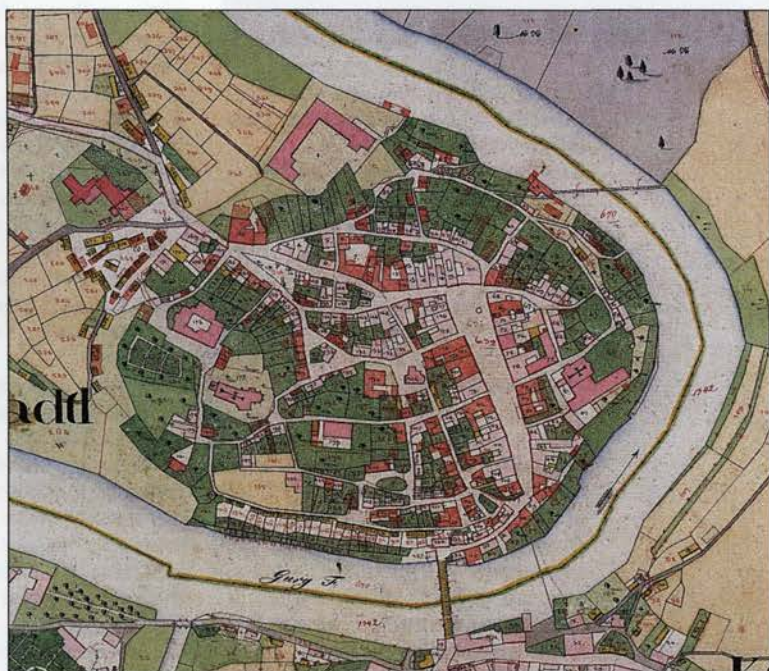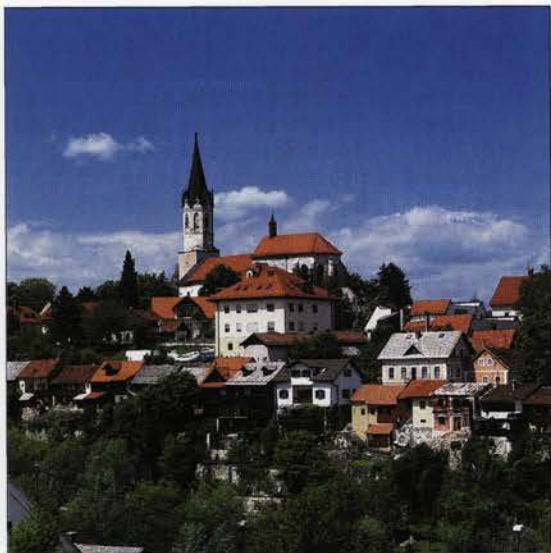
Dolenje Kronovo, on the river meander with a significant ancient fallow name of Tržič.[2]

The location of Gradec of Stična was sunny and safe from floods. It was surrounded by rural countryside and was located at the intersection of two important transit routes. The first one led from Hungary along the valley of the Krka, and across the Rašica towards the Gulf of Trieste and Italy. The second one, in a lateral direction, connected Gradec through the toll-house of Mehovo with Metlika and further with the Gulf of Quarnero. Such favourable circumstances contributed to the emergence of a presumed prehistoric stronghold[3] at the location of Gradec, and another, larger and more important one in its direct proximity, i.e. in Marof. The stronghold in Marof reached its climax in the Hallstattan Age. We know of the existence of both strongholds indirectly, on the basis of finds in the fields of Chapter, Town and Znanec. The area had also been settled during the La Tène and Roman periods.

Let us turn back to the middle of the fourteenth century. Rudolf of Habsburg had agreed with the Prior of Stična on the exchange of Gradec for another estate.[4] In the same year he issued the privilege deed for the town.

The special political and strategic role of Novo Mesto influenced the characteristics of its urban plan. It was the only town in Slovenia that was not sheltered by a castle. The Chapter Church of St. Nicholas stood atop the hill instead of the expected castle of the town lord; however, the presumed fortified tower of Stična had been located there before 1365.[5] The Chapter was initiated by the then Emperor, another Habsburg, Friedrich III, a century after the establishment of the town, in 1495. The church building was constructed in several phases since the first quarter of the fifteenth century until the middle of the nineteenth.[6] The near-by Provostship is equally the result of development through the centuries. Circular town walls were typical of Novo Mesto, apart from the acropolis-like Chapter. The course of the walls was determined by the location of the town on a mound, surrounded by a river meander from three sides. In the place of Pod Bregom where a ferry-boat crossed the Krka, the walls were doubled.[7] Remnants were preserved on the north-western side, below the top of the Chapter hill. The inhabitants of Novo Mesto call that part Šance. It was there that the town was connected with the 'mainland'. Two gates led into the town, the north-eastern Gorenja Vrata and the southern Dolenja Vrata ('upper and lower gates'). Remains of the first one were discovered during the restoration of the Skabernet house and the district office (the present library) opposite to it. The lower gate protected the crossing of the river. The earliest suburb of Novo Mesto, Kandija, was located on the opposite river bank. According to its name it could have been as old as the use of the name Kandija for 'the land on the other side of water' after the Candian war between the Venetians and the Turks (1645–1669).[8] The northern arterial road descended towards the upper gate from Marof, where gallows used to stand as late as the eighteenth century – sinister proof of blood judicature.

The third urban feature that distinguished Novo Mesto from other towns in Slovenia was the large Main Square of an oblong trapezoidal shape. Its dimensions were exceptional. In the upper, northern part it was almost rectangular, gradually narrowing towards the south, yet not graded. Until the construction of the present bridge

over the Krka in 1898 the square was closed by a group of houses, and a steep winding street led from its south-western corner through the lower gate towards the river crossing. Such urban features prove that the square was constructed according to a consistent plan and simultaneously with the establishment of the town. This, of course, was not the case with houses along the square: they were constantly being rebuilt on account of their 'depletion', repeated fires and also of changes of taste or new requirements. The main architectural emphasis of the upper half of the square with houses of wealthy citizens was created by arched hallways on the ground floors. Such a feature was exceptional in the architectural heritage of Slovenia. The most plausible explanation for it was that the masons, who had come to the city to build the church of St. Nicholas and the Provostship, executed some 'prestigious' additions to the houses of Main Square, like portals, window frames and arcades. Stylistic features of the preserved parts and the manner of construction proved that the oldest arcades were erected in the middle of the fifteenth century, and the majority of them at the time of the establishment of the College Chapter, when the town had reached its heyday.[9]

The periphery of Main Square was divided into typical Gothic strip-shaped plots. The lower, eastern edge of the square was clearly not built up yet in the second half of the fifteenth century. A Franciscan monastery with the church of St. Leonard had settled in the background of the square after 1472, on the basis of money donated to it by the aristocracy and contributed by the citizenry.[10] The gardens behind the town dwellings and the location of the Franciscan monastery inside the town walls proved that the town was planned on a grand scale even during its establishment. The other, Capuchin monastery, the construction of which began in 1658, had to make do with a location outside the town gate, along the northern arterial road. Final remnants of this monastery have recently been discovered during the construction of a new commercial centre in New Square. The remains of a pre-urban stage of settlement, i.e. Gradec of Stična, are a distinctive feature of Novo Mesto. They can be traced on the highest terrace beneath the Chapter hill, in the present Prešeren Square.[11] Presumably there was an ancient route connecting the stronghold of Marof with the crossing of the river Krka. This is the present-day location of Prešeren Square, and Sokol and Dilač Streets. Before the year 1365 there were farms along the same route, recorded in a deed of exchange between Rudolf IV and the monastery of Stična. When the

land was measured for the new town, a large market-place was drawn, apart from Gradec on the lower terrace, which had to be deforested, as the heart of the new urban settlement.[12]

Streets along the town walls were typical of Novo Mesto, similar to all other mediaeval towns that were walled-in. Such streets were of later origins and developed from paths leading along the walls inside the town. The paths facilitated maintenance of the walls and were vital during attacks as access to the fortifications. On account of that they had to be maintained and unobstructed with overgrowth. After the walls had lost their defence function, the area adjacent to them was built up and the paths were turned into streets. In Novo Mesto the circle of wall streets enclosed the ancient centre of the town almost completely. Their course is interrupted in two areas of special importance, i.e. in the gardens of the Provostship and the Franciscan monastery. The lower classes settled along Vrhovec, School and Hladnik Streets and Breg where there are still smaller, mostly single-storey houses. Their line is located on a rocky slope on Breg, in a picturesque way that is a typical feature of Novo Mesto.

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[1] Milko Kos, Ustanovitev Novega mesta, *Novo mesto 1365–1965*, Maribor, Obzorja, 1969, p. 78.

[2] Stane Granda, Srednjeveški trg Kronovo, *Grafenauerjev zbornik*, Ljubljana, 1966, pp. 232-330.

[3] Borut Križ mentioned not only the stronghold in the area of Marof confirmed by excavations, but also the location on the Chapter hill. Borut Križ, Prazgodovinska gradišča v občini Novo mesto, *Novomeški zbornik*, 1985, pp. 29-30.

[4] Jože Mlinarič, *Stiška opatija 1136–1784*, Novo mesto, Dolenjska založba, 1995, p. 149.

[5] Jože Mlinarič, *Stiška opatija 1136–1784*, Novo mesto, Dolenjska založba, 1995, pp. 43, 44.

[6] A synthetic overview of the history of the construction of Chapter Church was presented by Robert Peskar. He followed Komelj's explanation of two construction stages. *Gotika v Sloveniji*, Razstavni katalog, Ljubljana, 1995, pp. 113-114.

[7] Fortification devices were first recorded in written sources in 1437. Komelj dated the remnants of the walls as from the first half of the sixteenth century, on account of the preserved architectural details, e.g. embrasures. Ivan Komelj, *Umetnostna preteklost Novega mesta*, p. 198. The town walls along the Krka, together with three towers, were drawn on the military map of Emperor Joseph II, issued between 1763 and 1787.

[8] Kandija, i.e. Candia, was another name for Crete. If nothing else, the consequence of the war was experienced in Slovenia in the form of refugees from Dalmatia, who fled from the Turks.

[9] Could the stone-cutter marks preserved in Chapter Church indicate from where the masons had come to Šentrupert and then to Novo Mesto? The solution to this riddle would render greater significance to the estimation about the models for Udine in Friuli or for several towns in Bohemia. Gregorič and Komelj dated the majority of the arcades in Main Square as from the second half of the sixteenth century. Jože Gregorič, *Kulturna slika Novega mesta in njegovo zunanje lice*, p. 123; Ivan Komelj, *Umetnostna preteklost Novega mesta*, p. 198.

[10] The inscription on the plaque above the old monastery porch informs that the citizens had resigned the chapel of St. Leonard to the new monastery, and the money for the purchase of land was donated by Elizabeta Snopčan from the family of the Lords of Črnomelj.

[11] Several authors, Gregorič, Mušič and Komelj among them, argued that remnants of the fortified Gradec of Stična were preserved in the lower part of the Chapter tower.

[12] The name of the earliest town church of St. Antony in the Woods was recorded in written sources. It was pulled down in the second half of the nineteenth century.

Višnja Gora

Weichselberg, Weixelberg

The mediaeval town of Višnja Gora was located on a narrow hill above the valley of the river Višnjica controlling the traffic along the valley. The mighty ruins of the castle of Višnja Gora stand on the steep crest above the town. The ancient country road led from the valley through the town and then over the slope of Višnja Gora and across Peščenjak to the basin of Grosuplje. Gallows used to stand on the pass and mark the territory of the provincial court of Višnja Gora.

The settlement of Višnja Gora extends back to ancient times. Remnants of a prehistoric stronghold, ramparts and burial ground were discovered at Stari Grad ('old castle').[1] The Roman route from *Emona* to *Siscia* led along the valley of the Višnjica and past Ivančna Gorica. The castle was first recorded in 1154, although its origins probably extended to the period of Hemma the Countess of Freising and Zeltschach. It was erected on a strategic height above the road pass, from whence the original German name (*Wechsel*, 'exchange', Latin *vicis*) could be derived. According to another theory it was derived from the old German '*wich*' (Latin *vicus*) denoting 'a court or house'. The important feudal family from the high Middle Ages that had inherited extensive possessions of Countess Hemma in Carniola and in the Mark was named after the castle. The Counts of Višnja Gora were also co-founders and beneficiaries of the Cistercian monastery in Stična. During the centuries that followed the monastery of Stična had played an important role in the history of Višnja Gora as the feudal lord and the ecclesiastic centre. In 1389 the original parish of Šentvid was joined to the monastery together with the church of St. Giles of Višnja Gora.

The toll-house of Višnja Gora was first recorded in a land register of the Babenbergs written between 1232 and 1246. During the next few decades the feudal lords ruled in rapid succession. After the conclusion of the Habsburg-Tyrolean war for the Bohemian crown in 1311, the dominion of Višnja Gora was appointed two feudal lords. The first one was Heinrich II, Count of Gorizia, the founder of Metlika and Gorizia. He was granted the borough of Višnja Gora, part of the urban revenues and half of the toll, but not the castle.[2] It is not quite clear who was granted the other part, and it is also important for our study in so far as it may be the cause for the emergence of the two borough settlements. Thereafter the castle was in the possession of the Habsburgs, the Counts of Celje, and since 1431 the Habsburgs again. The latter had joined the two formerly separated parts of the dominion of Višnja Gora.

Let us turn back to the thirteenth century. A settlement with the church of St. Giles emerged along the road in the valley in the second half of the century. A settlement of castle officials and the garrison developed on the hill beneath the castle. Such a division of a place under a single name into two parts at different locations was not

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an exception in Slovenia. A fine example has been preserved in the case of Gorizia. Borgo with its patrician mansions was located on the hill in front of the castle, while the urban part of Gorizia developed at the foot of the hill and along the road.

Višnja Gora was first recorded as a borough in 1365, during the time of the Counts of Gorizia.[3] Until the middle of the thirteenth century the name of Višnja Gora denoted the present Stari Grad with the urban settlement beneath it and the hamlet Žabjek adjacent to the parish church of St. Giles and Stari Trg. It was Stari Trg ('old borough') that indicated the settlement had been removed from the valley to the hill beneath the castle after it became a town, a development similar to those of other places in Slovenia.[4] The existence of the church of St. Mary in Stari Trg should have proved it. The church was built relatively late, between 1430 and 1450, and

its emergence was not connected with the borough.[5] At that time the borough of Višnja Gora (at its present location) had already prospered.[6] The inhabitants held weekly fairs and took part in long distance trade. They sold their land and paid a house tax, the so-called *hofczin*, to their town lord, who was also the prince of the province. What was most important, the town already had the town council and the town seal as early as 1443, which proved the relatively high level of its civic autonomy.

The seal of Višnja Gora was extraordinary, as Otorepec has stated.[7] Its formal elements indicate its relatively early origins, maybe from the fourteenth century. The existence of the inscription, *Pvrc Wexxelwerc*, 'the castle of Višnja Gora', was even more important, since it confirmed the thesis of the development of the borough from the settlement of the garrison of the castle in the legal

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and spatial aspects.

Thus we have reached the year 1461. At that time Emperor Friedrich III issued two documents for Višnja Gora. He did not elevate it to a town, yet he granted it two vital civic deeds, namely the right to elect the magistrate and the right of an urban area. In its description Stari Trg was defined as a place of its own within the urban area.

Friedrich III finally settled the legal status of Višnja Gora seventeen years later, when he granted it some other civic privileges. The year 1478 is therefore considered as the year of the establishment of Višnja Gora. There are several data indicating that the construction works of the town walls took place in the decades after the establishment.

A new chapter of the history of this town was thus begun, although it has never grown out of its original framework. It is known that there were fifty-one burgages in Višnja Gora in 1460, which was somewhat less than in Krško and considerably less than in Novo Mesto.[8] A century and a half later, during the heyday of the town, their number increased to ninety, and it has only decreased thereafter. Despite subsequent deterioration Višnja Gora is an exceptional architectural monument for two reasons. The first is that the development of the town 'froze' the stage of the seventeenth century due to the very lack of new initiatives. The second reason was a lucky coincidence that the archives of Višnja Gora have been pre-

served to the present day. The history of Višnja Gora is therefore better known than in the case of other towns of Slovenia.

The small town is there for us to see, located on a hill. The border between the town and its surroundings has been preserved, since subsequent development has not erased it. The only great change was the demolishment of the town walls at the turn of the nineteenth century, the north-western tower being the only reminder of it.

The arterial road forms the backbone of the town, leading to a hill in a double curve, to the place where the Lower town gate used to be beneath the town church of St. Anna. The course of the funnel-shaped Town Square leads from there over the crest to the former Upper Gate, where it turns away from the town and ascends to the slope of Višnja Gora. The course of the mediaeval road did not run through the town, but around it, as mentioned in written sources. In the direction of Trebnje it passed the parish church and ascended to Weichselbach Castle, later Codelli Castle,[9] and further upwards along the slope of Višnja Gora. The inhabitants finally attained permission from the provincial authorities to construct the road through the town as late as 1567.[10] Some decades earlier part of the road was surfaced, and the inhabitants committed themselves to maintaining proper drawbridges in front of the town gate.

The course of the town walls was marked by a narrow artificial ter-

race surrounding the castle hill where the wall path used to be. Part of it is now called Sokol Street, yet it used to be called the path and the upper path. Višnja Gora has no other street network, with the exception of some narrow lateral passages between Town Square and the wall paths. They indicate the former division of the area into street blocks. The building sites located around the church stood out. The original fortified centre of the pre-urban settlement of the garrison can be visualized with the aid of a little imagination. The plot distribution of Višnja Gora has not been extended due to the terrain. It is interesting that the plots on the western side of the square continued in the hollow beneath the town in the form of garden plots of equal width. They were followed by strip-shaped ends of the fields. The Franz cadastre from 1825 showed fifty building sites adjacent to Town Square (among them some blank ones and several joined into larger entities), which corresponded exactly to the data from 1460. The growth of the town, recorded in 1609, was to the detriment of the settlement in front of the Upper Gate and along the two paths in the form of modest, mostly timber houses.

Other important data about the morphological structure of the town and the life connected with it can be found in the archives of Višnja Gora.[11] Apart from the Upper and Lower Gates there was the so-called Small Gate. Since it is not discernible in Valvasor's depiction, it had to be located in the western side of the town walls, thus facilitating access to the gardens and fields in the hollow. The stones for the maintenance of roads and the walls were cut in the town quarry. The walls themselves were covered with shingles and rain was drained from them into two water tanks, which served as public wells since there was no running water in the town. Butcher stalls were located in the square where a public measure for linen stood. The exact location of the commune is unknown. It is known, however, that it had an announcements board, which indicated that the inhabitants could read and write. The town had paid for a teacher since the first half of

the sixteenth century until 1700, when it became impoverished. The teacher was also the town scribe, as a rule. Two wardens at the Upper and Lower Gates were public officials too. A clock-maker was paid from the treasury. His task was to maintain the town clock, which is discernible on the church tower from Valvasor's depiction. One of the towers additionally served as the school, and the other as the armoury. There were granaries along the town walls where peasants from the neighbourhood could store their wheat in times of danger. There was also a public bath in the town, and a quack doctor took care of public hygiene and health. In 1599 the inhabitants of Višnja Gora were granted the right to organize the town's annual shooting competition, and contestants were awarded linen provided by the deputy of the prince of the province, the vicedom, especially for that occasion. The common was in Trstenik where a gunpowder mill had operated for a short period of time at the beginning of the seventeenth century. The common was granted to Višnja Gora, at that time still a borough, in 1444, when the Emperor donated to it five farms under the borough.[12] In return the inhabitants had to maintain the gallows near the cross of St. Barbara, located on the eastern periphery of the provincial court, along the main road.

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[1] *Arheološka najdišča Slovenije*, Ljubljana, DZS, 1975, p. 205.

[2] Peter Štih, *Goriški grofje ter njihovi ministeriali in militi v Istri in na Kranjskem*, Ljubljana, ZIFF, 1997, pp. 30-31.

[3] Dušan Kos, *Bela krajina v poznem srednjem veku*, Ljubljana, Zveza zgodovinskih društev Slovenije, 1987, p. 12.

[4] Milko Kos, Stari trg in sorodna krajevna imena, *Geografski vestnik*, 5-6, 1930, p. 163.

[5] Jože Mlinarič, *Stiška opatija 1136–1784*, Novo mesto, Dolenjska založba, 1995, pp. 214, 302. The church is long gone, yet it is depicted in Valvasor's engraving of Višnja Gora.

[6] A deed of donation from 1450 expressly mentioned the meadow along the provincial road adjacent to the brook Višnjica under Višnja Gora. The settlement was therefore not located in the valley, but at a higher location at that time; as quoted, p. 214.

[7] Božo Otorepec, *Srednjeveški pečati in grbi mest in trgov na Slovenskem*, Ljubljana, Slovenska matica in ZRC SAZU, 1988, pp. 124-125.

[8] Krško consisted of about 60 and a half burgages around the year 1350, and Novo Mesto 281 in 1515. Jože Mlinarič, Krško in njegovo gospostvo v srednjem veku, *Krško skozi čas*, p. 32; Ferdo Gestrin, Trgovsko-prometni položaj Novega mesta (od ustanovitve do konca 16. stoletja), *Novo mesto 1365–1965: prispevki za zgodovino mesta*, Maribor, Obzorja, 1969, p. 136.

[9] The castle no longer exists – it was burnt down in the Second World War. Its name was *Thurni per Visnye Gore*, as Valvasor reported, which indicated its mediaeval origins in the form of a tower court.

[10] Boris Golec, *Trgovski promet na širšem območju Višnje gore*, p. 82.

[11] The data were published by Golec, as quoted, and Božo Otorepec, *Ob 500-letnici mesta Višnja Gora*.

[12] Božo Otorepec, as quoted, p. 281.
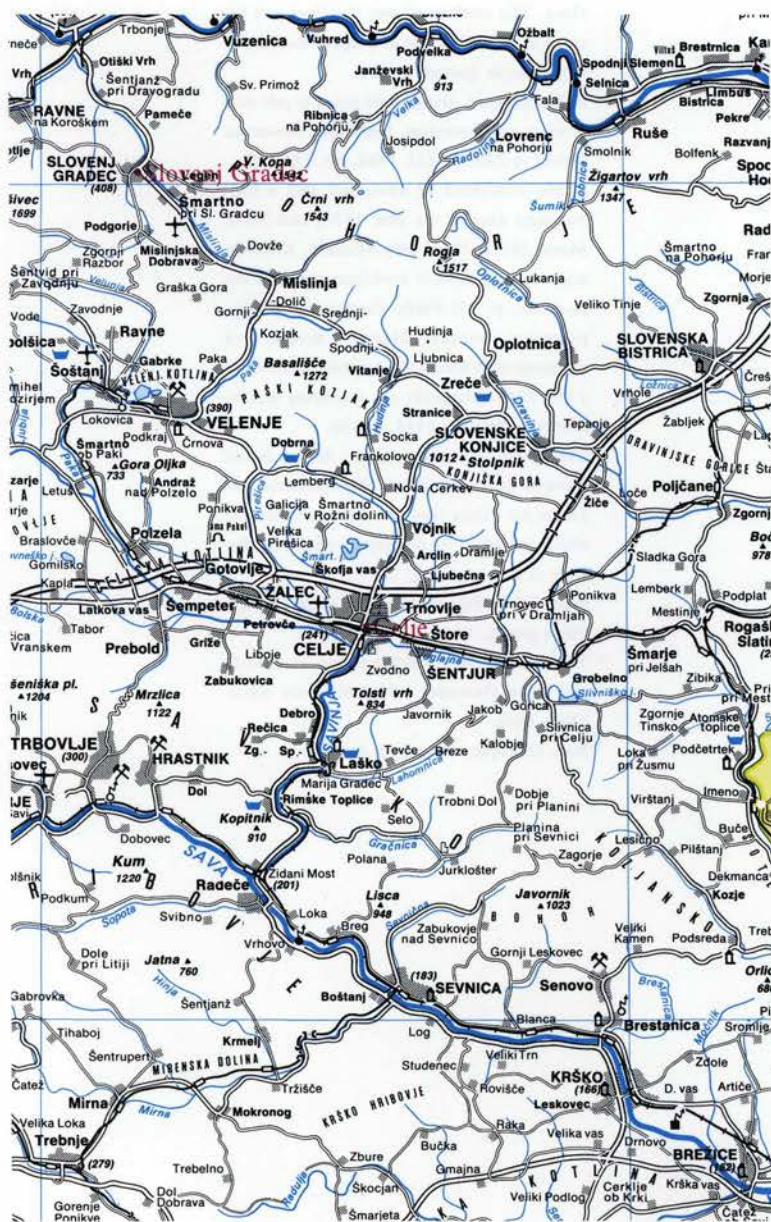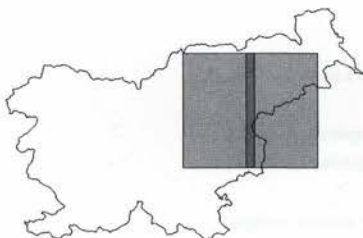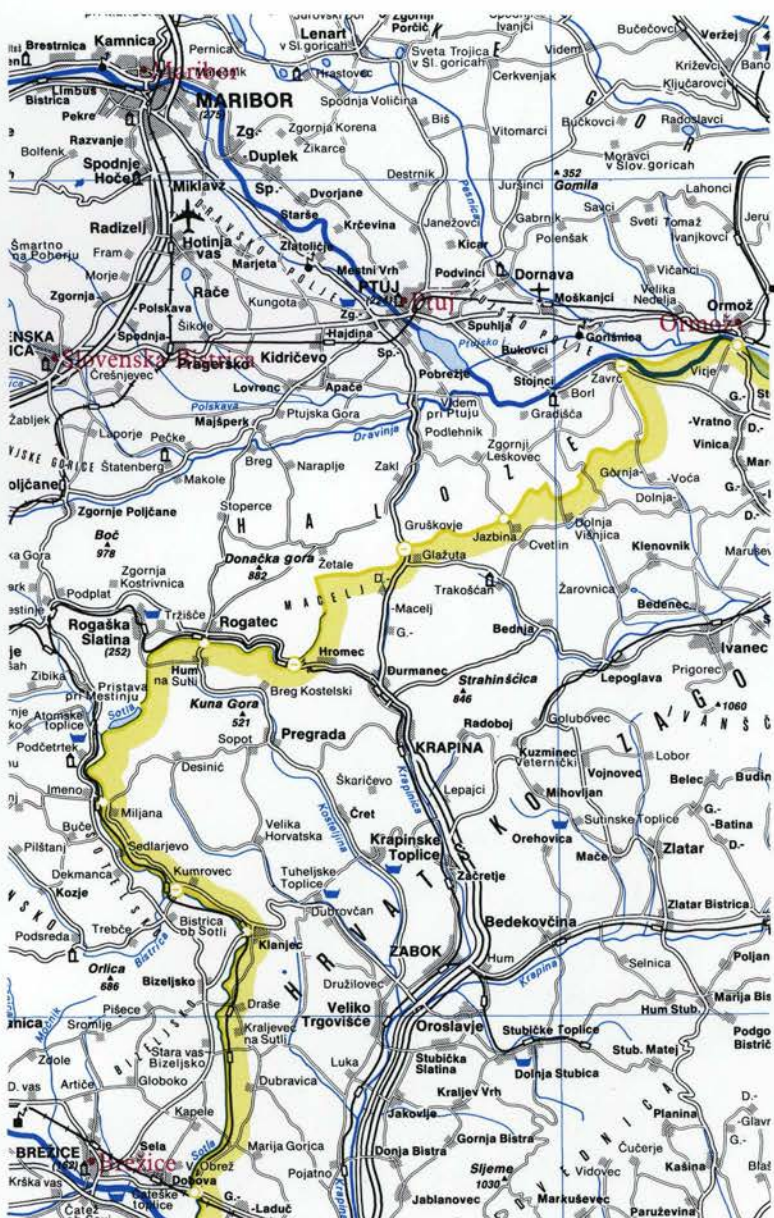
The Establishment and Development of Mediaeval Towns in Slovene Styria

Since the very beginning towns as settlements with liberal inhabitants had played a different role in the administration of the country, its economic organization and communications infrastructure than the countryside with its feudal system of villages and hamlets. It was that difference that transformed the towns into entities that influenced their direct and often distant surroundings in accordance with the growing importance of fiscal economy. Some of the towns had stagnated in their development due to historical reasons of the Modern Age, yet none of them deteriorated. Since their urban development had regularly passed the stages from a borough village to a borough and finally a town (not always at the same location), it is almost impossible to trace them within their present appearances or even ground plans (from plot structures). Thus the village predecessors of Maribor were the settlements around Garrison and Castle Squares (Vojašniški and Grajski Trg), and the borough predecessor was the settlement along Koroško Road. Pre-Hungarian Ptuj originated from hamlets near the bridgehead in Vičava, on the Dominican plateau and around Provost Church, and post-Hungarian Ptuj from the borough settlement between Castle Hill and the river Drava. Slovenj Gradec originated from near-by Stari Trg ('old borough') with Gradec, Slovenska Bistrica from the village of Gradišče in the south-eastern part of the town, Brežice from the former adjacent village of Gradišče (later destroyed by the river Sava), Ormož from a Hungarian hamlet in the western part of the settlement rampart, and Celje from a bridgehead hamlet on the southern periphery of classical urban remnants.

Although some boroughs had developed more or less perfect borough plans and built their *rotovži* ('town halls') and spitals, only some of them could have 'afforded' complete town walls or partial

Unknown artist, Maribor, painting in oils on canvas, 1681

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ones. The walls were obligatory for towns and therefore constructed with no exceptions, not only for reasons of defence, but also due to their legal status based on the principle that 'the urban air was liberating.'

The first question to be answered in a study of towns in Slovene Styria is the question of when they came into existence. The direct tradition of Antiquity was out of the question even in the cases of Celje and Ptuj, since there was a gap in their settlement between the sixth and eighth centuries of such proportions that it cannot be considered as continuity. That, however, does not indicate that they were not occasionally partly inhabited, at the least. Celje is closest to continuity according to its location, since its mediaeval centre was connected with classical remains in its ground plan, and the Modern Age town even utilized their sewage system in the nineteenth century. A similar, yet less direct connection took place in Ptuj. Its post-Hungarian settlement had developed to the east of the classical one, along its suburban road and the present Prešeren and Murko Streets towards the east. After the Frankish conquest of Slovenia at the end of the eighth century the more extensive development of trade and traffic began which facilitated the emergence of the first borough settlements adjacent to still usable and at least partly restored Roman roads.

Ptuj was first recorded in 853, when the church in the possession of Prince Pribin near his court was consecrated. Both the church and the court were presumably located on the Dominican prominence above the road, which ascended from the renovated bridgehead in Vičava beyond, and led further along the valley between Panorama and Castle Hill to Rogoznica. In 874 the settlement consisted of three hamlets, the two adjacent to the bridgehead and Pribin's court and another of Prince Kocelj on the other side of Castle Hill with a court and a church located close to the remnants of the classical cemetery basilica. A road led to them along the ancient classical layout, surrounded by the remains of Roman grave plots. The settlement prospered in all respects since it obtained a bridge with a bridge toll, an annual fair with a fair toll, a court and the parish seat near Pribin's church, which depended on the newly introduced 'Slovene' tithe. Except for the public buildings enumerated above there were further buildings in Ptuj at that time: storehouses, lodgings, dwelling places and also courts. It was typical for the settlement topography that the western part was designated as the lower one, and the eastern as the upper one, which was reasonable according to the position of the bridgehead and the elevation of the terrain, yet in contrast with subsequent denominations referring to the flow of the river. There was an

Celje,
watercolour
based on the
original from
the middle of
the 18th
century,
Provincial
Museum of
Celje

additional third part of the settlement, which came under the Archdiocese of Salzburg after the death of Kocelj's widow in 890, and which was presumably located on the Dominican plateau according to the nature of the settlement area. Hungarian occupation lasting for several decades had interrupted or at least hindered the development of the place. It continued after the year 970, when the function of defence was added to those of the bridge and fair. Ptuj had become an important, yet very exposed frontier stronghold. The settlement was fitted with ramparts, and the presumed fort on the hill was replaced by a castle which was at least partly built of stone.

The urban origins of the other six towns were younger originating from the twelfth (Maribor) and thirteenth century (Brežice, Celje, Ormož, Slovenska Bistrica and Slovenj Gradec). Market-places of various forms were their centres from the outset. Some of them were of a strip-shaped or lens-shaped form due to the removal of the transit road (Brežice, Slovenj Gradec), and sometimes with a trumpet-shaped conclusion (Ptuj), while others were extended rectangularly or trapezoidally (Celje, Maribor, Ormož). Slovenska Bistrica additionally had a funnel-shaped conclusion.

During the establishment of boroughs their future functions were taken into consideration, yet they were subsequently completed and thus they influenced the urban transformation of towns. In several settlements additional market-places were soon required, and the market centre was thus spread throughout the town, which caused the development of several town quarters.

The successful development of towns depended on numerous factors, primarily the importance of the founder, geographical features, the communications position and the importance of fortifications, which underwent a new evaluation within the framework of the new provincial defence structure.

The founders of the towns under consideration were the bearers of sovereign rights: the Princes of Provinces (Maribor, Slovenska Bistrica), the Archbishops of Salzburg (Brežice, Ormož, Ptuj), the Patriarch of Aquileia (Slovenj Gradec), and the Counts of Celje elevated to Princes (Celje), yet their founders' rights had entirely devolved to the Habsburgs by the middle of the sixteenth century.

The geographic aspect was also important in the emergence of towns since most of them developed close to river crossings (Brežice, Celje, Maribor, Ormož, Ptuj), and only two of them in the centres of large administrative units of the territory (Slovenska Bistrica, Slovenj Gradec). The locations of towns were dictated by the interests of their founders (town lords), who wanted their settlements to be prosperous and close to their administrative and residential posts. Therefore the towns were, as a rule, established

Morik Steinbach, Ptuj, watercoloured pen-and-ink drawing, 1832

in the proximity of important castles. On account of their spatial relationships the towns are divided into those established beneath castles and those that had developed adjacent to them. The best example of a town beneath a castle was Ptuj. The Lords of Ptuj resided in the castle above the town as the Ministerials of the Archbishops of Salzburg, while their shooters and militants resided around the castle in twelve shooting courts. Thus the town developed beneath the castle, which had no closer connection with the castle until the middle of the fourteenth century. On the other hand, Maribor cannot be considered as a suburb, since the castle on the Piramida hill was fairly distant from its market centre. The borough emerged along Koroško Road, between the original settlement in Pristan and the administrative court (later the castle) beneath it, and the parish church on a terrace above it. The rest of the towns developed adjacent to castles: Slovenska Bistrica between the court of the Prince of the Province (later the castle) and the village of Gradišče, Brežice between the castle and the parish church of St. Lawrence, Ormož to the west of the castle of the Lords of Ptuj, and Celje between the lower castle of the Counts of Heunburg and the parish church of St. Daniel. Only Slovenj Gradec was established 'on a green meadow', considerably distant from its borough predecessor of Stari Trg and the castle above it.

All seven towns were distinguished by their chosen positions at important transit locations. Another important factor that influenced the formation of urban settlements was their defence aspect. Ptuj and Maribor were the first to obtain town walls in the third quarter of the thirteenth century. They were followed by: Slovenj Gradec in the last quarter of the thirteenth century, Brežice, Ormož and Slovenska Bistrica in the first half of the fourteenth century, and Celje as the final one in the third quarter of the fifteenth century. By means of the town walls the towns distinguished themselves from the feudal countryside that surrounded them. In the fifteenth century their importance for defence increased and with it the positions of strongholds. They played an important role particularly in the sixteenth century when some of them obtained the status of provincial fortresses (Brežice, Maribor, Ptuj), were appropriately fortified and acquired strategic importance on the state level.

During the period of the Traungavs (1056–1147) and Babenbergs (1147–1246) the economic conditions, yet not the formal and legal ones, for the establishment of towns were gradually created. In contrast to the Traungavs the Babenbergs had known towns from their central territory of Lower Austria. Strongholds had already emerged at the sites of Roman camps and castella along the Danubian limes during the Carolingian period. Within them new places developed amidst Roman ruins, and they partly used their more or less preserved walls for their houses and outhouses and for defence. In Lower Austria there were already ten towns in the twelfth century, including Vienna, Tulln and Krems, which developed from Roman ruins. A new feature of urban settlements, unknown before, was introduced through them, namely their defence capability. Open borough settlements were joined by enclosed urban ones, which provided protection and shelter from outside enemies to their inhabitants, temporary refuge to people from the surrounding area, and safe residence to travelling tradesmen and hauliers. Towns had thus joined the castles in their defence capabilities as guarantors of order and security. Consequently, the princes of provinces subsequently used them in their fights against the aristocracy, who relied primarily on their castles in their rebellions. The terms of *civitas* and *oppidum*, which had defined the urban settlements in the Danubian region in the twelfth century, acquired their proper meaning in Slovenia only in the thirteenth century, when the first three towns were formally established: Ptuj, Maribor and Slovenj Gradec. Ptuj, in possession of the Archdiocese of Salzburg, was established before the year 1250, Maribor belonging to the Prince of the Province after 1250, and Slovenj

Gradec in possession of the Patriarch of Aquileia in 1267 owing to the Spanheims. All three were granted the right of town walls, which they all realized in the first half of the thirteenth century. Ptuj with its triangular walls had enclosed the two mendicant monasteries and included the castle by the first half of the fourteenth century, Maribor with its rhomboid walls contained the monastery of Friars Minor and both town courts (the castle and the administrative building), and Slovenj Gradec with its rectangular walls facilitated the emergence of the castles of Rottenturn and Trapp. During these processes all settlements had expanded their areas, which held true particularly of Maribor, which expanded its own by more than threefold. The development of towns was greatly influenced by the internal policy of King Otokar II, Pržemisl of Bohemia, who had been the Prince of the Province of Styria for the second time and for a longer period between 1260 and 1276. He was the first to recognize the economic importance of towns and use it for his struggle against the rebellious aristocracy. In order to strengthen his position in the Province he established three new towns at strategic locations. Those were Bruck an der Mur, Leoben and Radgona, and it is only the latter that is of interest to us (the former two being in present-day Austria). Opposite to the borough village that emerged on the southern bank of the river Mura beneath the frontier castle and the original parish of St. Rupert, he set up a settlement on the island of the Mura between 1261 and 1265. It was enclosed by walls with the castle Tabor of the Prince of the Province in its north-eastern part. Radgona, which was recorded as a borough in 1265, and as a town in 1299, distinguished itself as a frontier fortress in skirmishes with the Hungarians in 1286. New monastic orders in the thirteenth century, which no longer avoided settlements, played a decisive role in the establishment of new towns. In contrast to the earlier, more aristocratically reserved Benedictines, Cistercians and Carthusians who were in search of ascetic solitude and who performed great tasks in the colonization of uninhabited land through deforestation, settlement and organization of agricultural cultivation, new orders appeared after 1200. They were seeking closeness with people and settled in the proximity of boroughs and towns. In the fifties four mendicant orders emerged in succession: the Dominicans in 1216, the Friars Minor in 1223, the Carmelites in 1254 and the Augustinians in 1256. The Dominicans settled in Friesach in 1217, and the Friars Minor in Graz in 1238. They were followed by the Augustinians and the Carmelites, and by female orders of the Dominicans, Poor Clares and Carmelites, who were joined by the Teutonic Order and the Maltese Order. It was typical of their monasteries that they were established in the peripheries of towns, partly in order to strengthen their defence capabilities, and partly because there was no room in the towns. Their huge complexes of buildings would have upset the existing settlements that were densely built and could only have accepted

Ormož, The Old Kaiser Suite, needle lithograph, ca. 1830

the monasteries as conceptual intrusions.

After Styria had formally come under the Habsburgs in 1282, another town of the Prince of the Province was established, Slovenska Bistrica. It was granted the status of a town about 1310, before it formally became a Habsburg town. Slovenska Bistrica competed in trade with Maribor against Ptuj, which was in possession of the Archdiocese of Salzburg. It was important primarily due to its location at the intersection of transit routes from Maribor and Ptuj towards Konjice and Poljčane. At that time the road over the Čretveško mountain near Konjice had already gained importance and become a competitive route to that from Ptuj, past Zbelovo and Ponikva to Celje. The other two newly-established towns, Brežice and Ormož, were also in the possession of the Archdiocese of Salzburg. The former extended its market-place into a strip between the castle and the parish church, while the latter formed a rectangular square with the arterial road leading from it through the eastern Borough Gate and later through the north-eastern Hungarian one. Brežice was recorded as a town in 1322, Ormož in 1331, and both were granted the status during the period of Archbishop Friedrich III of Leibnitz (1315–1338), a loyal supporter of the Habsburgs in their struggles with the Bavarian Wittelsbachs, which brought considerable support to the Archdiocese on the part of the Princes of the Province.

In the fifteenth century several boroughs came into existence and only a single town, Celje. It was established by the Counts of Celje turned Princes in 1451, only five years before they had become extinct, and it was completed by the Princes of the Province and the inhabitants through the construction of rectangular enclosing walls in 1473. The town castle together with its outhouses, the monastery of Friars Minor and the parish church, were integrated into the town, while the palace of the Counts and a spital adjacent to Koprivnica were excluded and pulled down for reasons of defence. The construction of the walls changed the road system within the town, and the exchange of the town lord that in its surroundings. With the demolition of Zidani Most in 1441–1442 the road link of Celje with the Posavje region was destroyed, and the route through Mišji Dol and Sevnica could not have replaced it. After the extinction of the Counts of Celje, the Princes of the Province supported the route from Maribor, Ptuj and Rogatec towards Ljubljana, which granted considerable importance to Celje as the seat of a special Vicedom of the Counts. With Celje, the last, namely the seventh, town in Slovene Styria came into existence, since others followed it only at the beginning of this century.

The period between 1358 and 1493 is described as the time when the late Gothic citizenry had started to gain importance. The towns and several larger boroughs became vital economic factors, since they stimulated business development, and were centres of capital and growing financial power, intersections of business and trade contacts, and cultural promoters of specific urban material and spiritual affairs. Therefore the princes of provinces and other town lords supported them with increased resolution by special privileges granting them partial or complete civic autonomy. General provincial law was no longer binding for their inhabitants, but a special civic law adapted to different economic structures and conditions of establishment. Among them Ptuj was the town with the broadest trade references; its town tower was, and still is, the symbol of its importance. Since the first half of the fourteenth century Maribor had had its town tower as well, yet forming part of the complex of the parish church and therefore less conspicuous. The same held true of the late Gothic tower in Radgona, which became part of the town hall, thus loosing its independence.

It is discernible from the afore-mentioned that Ptuj was the most important town in Slovene Styria since it was a trade intersection between Hungary and Italy. Other towns, with the exception of Maribor with its sound economic base, performed the functions of posts along transit routes.

The Jews that were under special protection of the princes of provinces and the Archbishops of Salzburg proceeded according to the economic strength of the towns. In towns where they lived in greater numbers and for a longer period of time, they resided in special quarters, ghettos (in Maribor, Ptuj, Radgona) and had their own synagogues, in others they lived temporarily and were spread throughout the town. They dealt primarily in finance, which was prohibited among Christians on account of interest rates until the middle of the fourteenth century. The towns were permanently damaged by the gradual banishment of the Jews between 1408 and 1497. All of them, with the exception of Ptuj, had lost their economic prominence considerably. Some of them were partly saved by their regional importance: Celje as the seat of the Princely County, Maribor as the centre of the wine trade. The average inhabitants of the towns mentioned lived mostly on local trade and crafts. The artisans were united in brotherhoods and subsequent guilds, which regulated their business and private lives, and hindered yet simultaneously protected them against competition, particularly that of provincial crafts and trade.

The population of the towns at the end of the fifteenth century reveals that they were all small, without exception. The largest one was Ptuj with 1,700 inhabitants, Maribor with approx. 1,600, Celje approx. 700, Slovenska Bistrica and Slovenj Gradec approx. 500, Brežice approx. 300 and Ormož approx. 200 inhabitants. Like all Styrian towns those in the Slovene part of the Province faced economic difficulties in the second half of the fifteenth century, and Ptuj was the only one that surmounted them successfully. Apart from Graz and Radgona, it was the wealthiest town in Styria in the first half of the sixteenth century, while Maribor stagnated. General deterioration affected Ptuj only at the end of the sixteenth century, when the cattle trade was transferred from Styria to Croatia. Through that Ptuj had lost its position in the international market, and it stagnated in its development in the first half of the seventeenth century, the same as Radgona. As a substitute for such economic deterioration, Ptuj and Maribor gained the positions as important military strongholds integrated into the defence structure of the Province and therefore of the whole state in the second half of the sixteenth century. New roles had not granted them better economic positions, yet through them they weathered the stagnation of the seventeenth century, which had brought Slovene towns to the brink of economic ruin.

Jože Curk

Joseph Kuwasseg, Slovenska Bistrica, lithograph, ca. 1845

Brežice

Renn

Brežice originated along the route leading from the north to the south over a tongue-shaped prominence between the river Sava and Hrastinje. Until 1491 it was in the possession of the Archdiocese of Salzburg, then of the Prince of the Province, with the exception of the Dominion, which became a Patrimony in 1586. The origin of the settlement was in the nearby hamlet of Gradišče, which subsequently deteriorated. Brežice emerged after the year 1200 as a contrived centre of the province located northwards of the castle, which was recorded in written documents in 1249 as the seat of an expansive dominion with its own mint (in 1252) and the provincial court (in 1268). Brežice was first recorded as a borough in a land register from 1309, and as a town with its own toll-house, administration and the court in a land register from 1322. The magistrate was appointed by the Archbishop of Salzburg or his Vicedom of Leibnitz. Brežice was besieged by the Croatians in 1329, so it was probably fortified at that time (*oppidum*), which was confirmed by a report from 1354 in which the upper and lower gates were mentioned. In 1353 the town was granted the deeds equal to those of Leibnitz and Ptuj, and the annual fair was confirmed. The town church of St. Lawrence must have stood there in 1213, and certainly in 1297. Over ten towers of a residential nature and additionally serving for purposes of defence were constructed during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The notion of towers described stone-built houses of several storeys and rectangular floor plans, and only seldom proper buildings with a tower construction. Nevertheless, the town was burnt down by the Turks in 1469, and conquered by rebellious peasants in 1515. On account of the increased menace of the Turks Brežice became an important fortification of the Province. A fortress with four towers was erected instead of the former castle between 1529 and 1559, and it was gradually transformed into the present castle between 1567 and 1601. From 1552 to 1572 the town was fortified by the removal of the mediaeval encircling walls and the construction of extensive

new ones. They were built from the south to the north, furnished with double tower gates and double side wall gates, and completed with the erection of a large bastille close to the eastern town gate. In 1567 the construction works became outdated, promoting the transformation of the fortification into a castle which was completed by its new proprietor Franz Gall von Gallenstein in 1601.

The town is located above the former river-bed of the Sava between Vrbina and Hrastinje. The transit route expanded into a market street, and connected the regions of Posavje and Posotelje with the valley of the river Krka and the plain along the river Sava. Since the river flow ran closer to the western than the eastern periphery of the town, it was divided into two parts of different size as a consequence. Its urban structure there-

fore developed only the eastern business street and three lateral streets, the first one of which led through the town gate to the fields in Hrastinje. The transit route led into the town in a straight line from the north, and perpendicularly out of it in the south due to the castle complex located in the southern part of the town. The road crossed the moat and branched off into two parts beneath the castle. The first one led towards Dobova, and the other towards Vrbina, where it crossed the river Sava by a ferry-boat. The Renaissance town walls that were constructed in the third quarter of the sixteenth century enclosed the town in its club shape. There were two town gates, the northern upper and the southern lower one, and two side ones, the eastern towards Hrastinje and the western towards the Sava, as well as sev-

eral towers that were partly in the possession of the town and partly private property.

The western plots were considerably shorter than the eastern ones as a consequence of the divergence between the market street and the eastern side of the town walls, and they were located between the main thoroughfare and the business streets, while the area between the latter and the town walls remained open. The form of the market-place and the plots indicated the two-stage construction in the urban development of Brežice, the mediaeval one and the Modern Age one. The southern, earlier stage comprised the area between the castle granary and the church, and the later one the area between the church and the present district court. The southern half of the town with the broader market street and regular plots originated from the time of the emergence of the settlement in the thirteenth century, while the northern one with the narrower part of the market street and less regular plots originated from the end of the sixteenth century, from the time after the Renaissance extension of the town. The original network of plots confirmed that Brežice came into existence according to a plan and had not developed from older Gradišče beneath it, but on a terrace above Gradišče. The location was dictated by the proximity of the castle, whereas Gradišče was outside the present town centre and closer to the river Sava.

The town consisted of 49 houses with about 300 inhabitants in 1525. It experienced the conjuncture of construction in the middle of the sixteenth century on account of its important strategic and transit location. Until the middle of the century the castle was built as a frontier stronghold, and subsequently the town fortification was modernized or constructed anew. Centuries of stagnation followed, during which the town had scarcely developed. At the beginning of the nineteenth century the population amounted only to 100 houses with 600 inhabitants. Among the buildings of the town the church and the town hall are the only ones of interest, except for the castle. The church was erected on the northern periphery of the original town, and only since 1782 at the present site, and the town hall at its old location, yet rebuilt in the Baroque style in 1769.

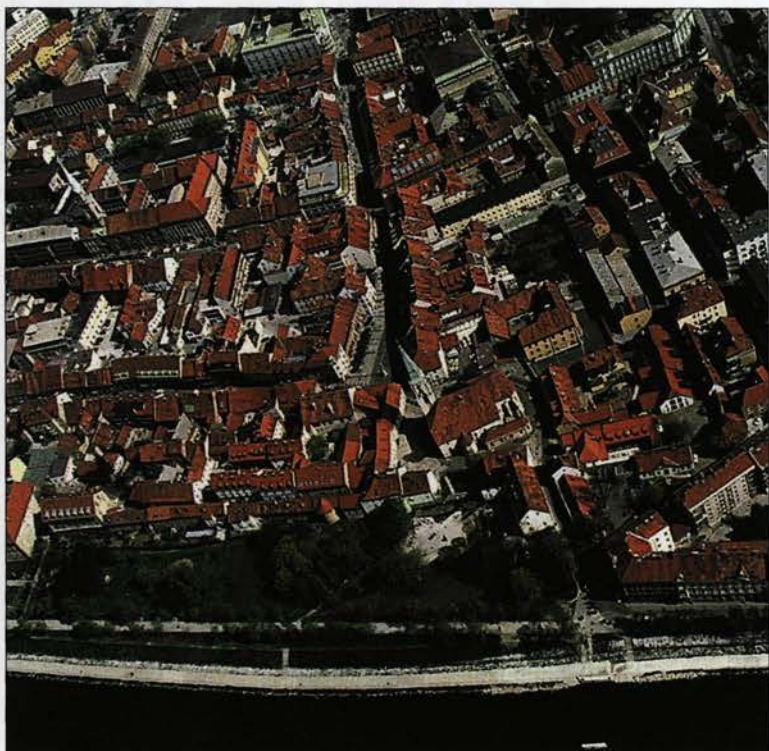*Jože Curk*

Celje

Cilia, Cilj, Cilye

Celje is the youngest mediaeval town in Slovenia. It was granted formal civic deeds as late as 1452 with the deed of Count Friedrich II of Celje, yet it was evident that the settlement possessed an ancient urban layout.
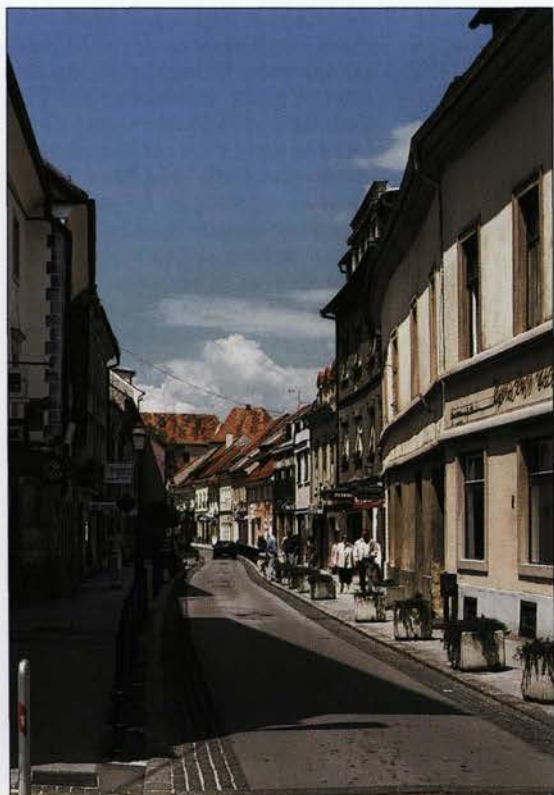

The emergence of the town, or rather the classical predecessor of Celeia, was conditioned primarily by its exceptional strategic location on the meander of the rivers Savinja and Hudinja. Roman warriors, tradesmen, artisans and coloni were brought over by the arterial route connecting the Roman Empire with its eastern provinces as early as two millennia ago. Mediaeval Celje that grew at the location of Roman *Celeia* was at first very modest in size. According to written sources it was first recorded as a borough in 1323 under the control of the castle of the Counts of Heunberg, subsequently the Counts of Celje, and built in the late twelfth or early thirteenth century. The appearance of the settlement at that time can only be surmised, since there are no material or other sources on it. The central building of Celje, the parish church of St. Daniel, could not have emerged before the beginning of the fourteenth century, although undoubtedly it had a predecessor. The parish priest of Celje, *Rubpertus plebanus de Cilie*, was recorded in a document from 1229. The question of the contemporary autonomy of the parish of Celje is of secondary importance with regard to it.

The position of the settlement within the contemporary ecclesiastical organization was only one of the indicators of its former char-

possibly, the settlement of one of the mendicant monastic orders. Celje had them all at that time; the only thing lacking was the most significant sign of a town, namely the town walls, the symbol of security and protection, and of the actual capability of defence of the inhabitants of the town and, if necessary, provincial population as well, against all kinds of threat.

In the late mediaeval Celje the heart of the settlement was formed in the fourteenth century around the funnel-shaped main market street, the present Main Square. The houses along this street had always been distinguished as modest town dwellings along the southern side that were spatially limited by narrow paths or passages, on the one hand, and mansions on the northern side reserved for the aristocracy on the other hand. The town dwellings of this street were bi- or tri-axial, single-storey houses with workshops on the ground floor, living quarters on the first floor and outhouses at the end of enclosed backyards. The mansions, on the other hand, were much broader. They included the town hall and the armoury of the Counts of Celje. There were also some residential buildings of the aristocracy in the form of towers, and a special street reserved for Jews within the town perimeter in the fourteenth century. Outside the serried construction of houses the monastery of Friars Minor appeared as early as 1310, when the monastery church was consecrated. In the fourteenth century the spital, established by Friedrich

acter and importance. Despite everything, it seems that Celje had experienced one of the first pinnacles of its development as late as between 1350 and 1450. During that period it obtained a number of institutions which constituted the urban agglomeration and externally emphasized the importance of the town in comparison with more modest borough settlements. Such external signs of the town were the network of streets, the town hall, town spital, and, if

I Count of Celje, was recorded in written sources. Originally it was located adjacent to the church of the Holy Spirit outside the settlement, yet it was moved into the town at the end of the fifteenth century, first to the present Lord Street, and a few years later to the location opposite the parish church near Water Gate, where it had remained throughout its existence.

Until the second half of the fifteenth century the settlement was protected only by a moat and a stockade. In the late Middle Ages the appearance of the town was marked by belfries and towers, i.e. courts, which did not exceed the height of two storeys, and particularly by the silhouette of the princely castle. The magnificent castle, which was built in its original form in the second half of the fourteenth century and subsequently expanded on a large scale, was not only a new spatial dominant feature of the town, but simultaneously also the most prestigious secular building in the eastern Alpine region. The Counts of Celje invited renowned masons, sculptors and painters of their time to participate in its construction, and their contribution was not limited only to the adornments of the castle. Traces of their workmanship are discernible in other buildings in Celje as well, particularly those that were supported by the Counts as donators. A holy bishop was painted on the facade of house No. 9 in Main Square, and the artist of the fresco was probably the same as that of the fresco of the crucifixion in the Carthusian monastery in Žiče, the frescoes in the chapel of the princely court and the painted ceiling in the chapel of St. Mary of the Abbey Church of Celje. In the first half of the fifteenth century Celje was also marked by the contemporary humanist endeavours of the Counts of Celje. The architecture of their castle was still deeply rooted in the mediaeval architectural tradition, yet, on the other hand, the spirit of a new, Renaissance period emanated from the sculpture of a woman or goddess originating from Antiquity, probably from ancient *Celeia*, and placed in an alcove near the castle gate.

The image of mediaeval Celje would not be complete without the town walls, which were constructed immediately after 1452 when the place was granted civic deeds. The walls were mighty, furnished with stone-built passages and towers in the corners. The traveller Santonino wrote about them in his diary in 1487: 'The ground plan of the town is rectangular, the town walls are new, the moat is broad and deep, and strengthened by a rampart and a dike.' The walls were additionally fortified in the sixteenth century and furnished with new towers which limited the outward appearance of the town until the end of the eighteenth century. At that time they were mostly pulled down, and Celje began to expand outwards beyond the former moats.

Ivan Stopar

Maribor

Marburch, Marchpurg, Marichburga

The urban area of Maribor existed as early as the eleventh century, although its castle was first recorded in 1164 and the parish church in 1189. The earlier emergence of the town was indicated by the fact that Bernard I of Spanheim (1096–1147) was denominated Bernard of Maribor as early as 1124, after the castle which he erected on the nearby Piramida hill as the central castle of the Drava Mark. The castle facilitated the origins and development of the settlement in its proximity. Bernard of Maribor simultaneously restored the old Roman river crossing, and established the original parish of Maribor together with Conrad I, Archbishop of Salzburg (1106–1147). Along the present Koroško Street he created a settlement with about 34 plots for necessary artisans without granting the settlement any kind of legal status. The settlement with its regular plots surrounded the funnel-shaped extension of the road which led along the present Jewish Street to the east. Thus the beginning of the later street arrangement of the town was created. To the north-west and north of the settlement the complexes of the western court and the parish church were built, restraining the development of the settlement towards the north and directing it towards the east and north-east.

The thirteenth century was of decisive importance for the development of Maribor. Above all, the place had become a borough before 1209, and a town before 1254. The period of King Otokar II, Prƶemisl of Bohemia, as Prince of the Province (1251–1254 and 1260–1276) promoted the development of the town as an important bridgehead on the river Drava (the only one in the possession of the Prince of the Province) along the route towards the Adriatic. In the second half of the thirteenth century the construction of Maribor increased as never again. At that time the urban plan was created for its mediaeval and Modern Age development until the end of the eighteenth century. In 1782 Maribor was deprived of its status of an important stately fortress, and through that the town was lib-

erated from its fortification walls. The rhomboid town walls were constructed between 1255 and 1275, and their sides of about 500 metres in length enclosed 25 hectares of urban territory. At the same time the monastery of Friars Minor and the Jewish settlement were constructed, the parish church was rebuilt, and a number of town dwellings were erected together with the church of St. Ulrica in the eastern suburb and the church of Our Blessed Lady in Lebarje in the western one.

Since the town walls had transformed the existing road system of the town, a new network of streets developed in its eastern part. Through that lateral traffic decreased and meridian traffic increased, the main street of which was Lord Street. It connected the formerly independent parts of the settlement, which were divided into a borough and a village as late as the first half of the thirteenth century, along the eastern edge of the church complex, and through that a unified urban mass was created. Among other streets from the first period Minoritsko and Gospejno Streets played the role of the western wall path, Slovensko Street the northern and Vetrinjsko the eastern path. In the thirteenth century the southern side of the walls was constructed since the monastery of Friars Minor, the court of Žiče and the Jewish synagogue were built upon it.

The development of the meridian street was the final consequence of the fact that the town walls had transformed the road system, which had not been hindered by the original borough settlement around Koroško Street and the western part of Main Square. The town walls reduced the lateral traffic flow to only two roads which used the south-western Koroško Gate and the north-eastern Ulrich Gate. Their connection with the southern Drava Gate created a road system which demanded the emergence of Drava Street as a direct link between Main Square and the bridgehead, apart from the increased role of Lord Street. The subsequent origin of Drava Street was indicated by the accompanying division into plots which protruded into the one from the southern side. Through that Main

Square became the traffic centre of the town, and its eastern starting-point as the transit route (Jewish Street) died away. The south-western Koroško Gate had remained the main town gate until the middle of the sixteenth century. When the road to Graz was removed from Rošpoh to Lajteršperk, Ulrich Gate became the main town gate. The town entrances of former transit routes interrupted by the town walls were preserved in the form of minor wall gates. Through the introduction of Lord Street Maribor acquired its main meridian street which directed the traffic from the Drava bridge towards the east, and since the second half of the sixteenth century further towards the north. Its division into plots indicated its later origins from those of Main Square and Slovensko Street. The latter interrupted the walls in the west and remained an active route only in its eastern part. The trapezoid Garrison Square was formed in the original settlement along the river Drava, and the funnel-shaped Castle Square in the village settlement along Slovensko Street. The origin of the present Vetrinjsko Street branched off from it in the period before the construction of the town walls, and it served as a link with Jewish Street while it was still a transit route. With the transformation of the road system the occupation of the urban area had changed as well, and its north-western part had remained sparsely inhabited.

Two further commercial centres, apart from Koroško Street with Main Square and Slovensko Street with Castle Square, were the port (Lent) with Garrison Square, which served for activities connected with river traffic, and the ghetto adjacent to Jewish Street as the trade and finance centre. The first town dwelling in Maribor was recorded as early as ca. 1222, and the spital with the church of the Holy Spirit for twelve wards were erected in 1384.

In the fourteenth century the town walls were completed, a number of free houses were constructed including the Jewish synagogue, the town tower (ca. 1330) adjacent to the parish church and a prestigious presbytery (ca. 1400). On account of the fire in 1362 the town hall

was removed from Koroško Street to No. 4 Main Square. The fire of 1450 devastated the court of the prince of the province adjacent to Gospejno Street, which used to be half abandoned, and that of 1468 damaged the administrative building at the corner of Lord and Slovensko Streets, which was replaced by the present town castle after 1478. Since 1437 the main concern of the town was the fortification, which was renovated after 1450 in the spirit of the mediaeval defence doctrine. In 1481 it sufficed to fend off the incursion of the Hungarians, but after 1522 it proved outdated. At that time the Turkish incursions were resumed, and they reached their climax in September 1532 when the town survived a Turkish siege. A Renaissance renovation of the fortification followed. The town, however, was not greatly reno-

vated, and since the second half of the fifteenth century it stagnated gradually and passed the seventeenth century in a relatively uneventful way.

It is clear from the aforementioned that three starting-points and two stages must be distinguished in the urban development of Maribor.

The first starting-point was the hamlet which developed at the river crossing and formed a trapezoid market-place (the present Garrison Square) along the transit route leading from the ferry-boat port (later the bridgehead) over Lebarje towards Rošpoh and Kamnica. Traditionally the hamlet possessed the church of St. Mary, where the monastery of Friars Minor was established in the thirteenth century, and it gradually covered most of its territory.

The second starting-point was the village settlement which developed

along the road between Kamnica and Melje, in the area of the present Castle Square and the eastern part of Slovensko Street. This settlement, denoted as *villa* as late as the first half of the thirteenth century, was integrated into the walled-in town similarly to that in Pristan.

The third starting-point was the borough settlement (since about 1200) which existed between the first half of the twelfth and the middle of the thirteenth centuries with its centre along Koroško Street and with its boundaries between the present Minoritsko, Gospejno and Orožen Streets, along the southern periphery of Slomšek Square, and the northern and eastern periphery of Rotovž Square, along the middle of the present Main Square and along the southern periphery of the terrace of the river Drava and the northern periphery of Garrison Square.

Thus it was located between the settlement of Pristan and the estates of the town court and the parish church adjacent to the road that branched off from the transit road in the present Vodnik Square and led along the present Koroško Road towards the east, and branched off once again beyond the settlement, with the first branch towards Melje and the second towards Krčevina.

The emergence of the urban settlement in the third quarter of the thirteenth century can be considered as the stage of unification, when the rhomboid town walls enclosed 25 hectares of urban territory.

The last stage of the construction comprised the late Gothic completion of the walled-in town which curved around its centre with the original parish church and castle.

Jože Curk

Ormož
Friedau, Fridowe

The origins of the settlement of Ormož extend back to the late Bronze Age with its urn burial grounds, when one of the largest plain settlements of the eastern Alpine region existed at that location. During the La Tène period the settlement was inhabited by the Celts, while the Roman road avoided it along the causeway and past Hardek towards Puševci. During the early Middle Ages the fortified location attracted occasional inhabitants. During the 300-year Hungarian occupation between 900 and 1200 permanent residents settled there and established the settlement of *Holermus*. After the incorporation of the territory into Styria the Archbishop of Salzburg became the feudal senior of the place, and the Lords of Ptuj the landowners, who created

the dominion of Ormož as its feudal lords.

The location of Ormož was of great strategic importance since it protected the passage over the ridge of Slovenske Gorice where it interrupted the plain of the river Drava, and where the road over the Drava towards Vratno and further towards Croatia branched off from the Hungarian road. The oval area of the Bronze Age settlement, the size of which was 400 x 380 metres, was surrounded by a rampart and a moat, and it was extensive enough to contain *Holermus* and the tower castle *Friedau*. After the road had been transferred through the settlement in the second half of the thirteenth century, the castle complex in the eastern part had to be taken into consideration. Therefore the road avoided it perpendicularly towards the north, through which the castle was separated from the village. Ormož was still considered a village in 1273, and a borough in 1293, and definitely so in 1320. In 1331 the inhabitants were granted the same civic deeds as those of Ptuj, and Ormož thus became a town. In 1279 the tower castle from the middle of the thirteenth century was joined by a free-standing residential building, which created the basis of the present hook-shaped southern wing of the castle. As the residential castle of the Lords of Ptuj it had obtained the name of *Friedau*, which was transferred to the newly-established settlement in 1331.

The urban plan of the town was dictated by the oval ground plan of the Bronze Age settlement. The road ascending from the valley of the Lešnica passed the town in an almost straight line, forming a rectangular square in the middle, then it curved sharply to the north and

merged with the road towards the east. The transit road thus divided the town into two parts. The southern, smaller part consisted of a line of serried houses. Around 1500 a Franciscan monastery was added to them, and about 1570 the town hall. North of it three curved streets were joined by the church complex and led out of the town through Hungarian Gate. They were connected with several minor lateral streets, so that the town consisted of 13 streets in 1801. While the southern part was built with serried houses, the northern one was built with serried houses only in the southern, market side, the rest being occupied with individual houses interrupted with passages, gardens and orchards. The Bronze Age rampart and the town walls constructed on it were only interrupted by the transit road, the passages of which were protected by a triple tower gate. The suburbs of Ptuj developed outside the western gate, and a smaller Hungarian suburb outside the north-eastern gate, while the eastern gate led directly to the castle. Beneath the town Lent developed on the bank of the Drava, the place of the river port and the ferry-boat linking Ormož with Croatia.

Jože Curk

Ptuj
Petau, Petovie, Petowi

The ground plan of mediaeval Ptuj did not differ greatly from the appearance of the present town centre. The town beneath the castle hill occupied the area descending towards the river Drava in the south, extending to the first branch of the river Grajena (the present Krempelj Street) in the east, and since the middle of the thirteenth century to the second branch (the present Vodnik Street). The urban area was sufficiently defined by the castle hill and the rivers Grajena and Drava, so that it governed the development of a triangular settlement. The town walls determined the shape, and therefore the town had remained unspoiled until the present.

The development of Ptuj was conditioned by the river bridgehead, which stood at the same location as the Roman one, yet due to transformations of the river-bed it had gradually moved towards the town and a location to the west of the Dominican monastery, where it was last recorded in 1331. The mediaeval settlement, which had developed to the east of the bridge-head after the withdrawal of the Hungarians and during the rule of the Archbishops Friedrich (958–991) and Hartwig (991–1023) of Salzburg, was protected in the direction of the bridgehead by a rampart reaching from the western periphery of the castle hill, past the present Small Castle to the Drava, which flew to the east of its present river-bed. The situation had changed only after the conclusion of peace with the Hungarians. Through that the settlement gained such importance that traffic was redirected from the bypass road along Raič Street through the area along the present Prešeren Street, whereby the local street turned into a part of the transit road, which led from the bridge-head on the Drava to the bridge over the river Grajena, beyond which it branched off with one branch along the present Lacko Street towards Spuhlja, and the other along the present Miklošič Street towards Rogoznica. The rampart protected the settlement from the western side and also from the eastern one where it led from the eastern periphery of the castle hill past the church plateau and along the Grajena (the present Krempelj Street) to the then outflow into the Drava (somewhere in the present park). The settlement was naturally protected from the other two sides, namely by the fortified castle hill in the north (the original castle with twelve guard-houses) and by the Drava in the south. Such an ideal plan of the settlement underwent a less perfect transformation through the construction of the town walls in
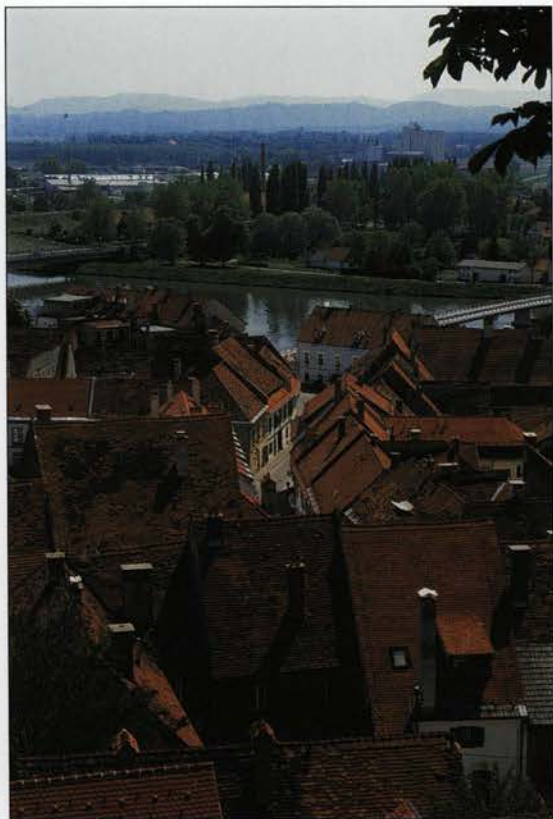
the middle of the thirteenth century. As a result the area of the settlement was enlarged by one half and the circumference doubled, since it included the promotion with the Dominican monastery in the west and the plain between the old and the new branch of the Grajena in the east and the alluvium of the Drava in the south, similar to the size of the present park, which the town utilized as its port. The eastern course of the town walls was strengthened by four towers: the Parish Tower, two predecessors of the subsequent Renaissance bastille and the Drava Tower. This section of the wall formed the town quarter to the east of the present Miklošič Street, Town Square and Krempelj Street, and it was concluded by the earlier Lower Court and the younger monastery of Friars Minor in the south-eastern part of the town. The oblique junction of the southern wing of this section of the wall with the river-bed of the Drava was determined by reasons of defence, since a different form of the conclusion would have compromised the defence capability of this part of the town.

The inclusion of the Dominican plateau into the fortification system was more of a problem. The new defence line beginning with the old tower on the castle hill curved around the monastery and demarcated it spatially and functionally in the west. That is why the line connected the monastery with Small Castle in the south through escarpment-shaped walls. Two town gates at both ends of the transit road were sufficient for the

old settlement, yet the new one utilized four. Only Drava or Water Gate had remained at the same location to the west of Small Castle, which was last recorded in 1311, and the minor gate from the direction of Raič Street and as a link with the Vurberg road. Three gates emerged in the eastern part of the town: Hungarian Gate was removed from Town Square to the end of Lacko Street, Pivsko Gate (subsequently called Špeharsko or New Gate) in the extension of Miklošič Street, and Port Gate by the Drava leading from the town to the port. The riverside of the town was not walled-in as in Maribor, but strengthened with piles, and the castle hill was protected by strongholds. Until the sixteenth century they were hard to reach, since the town was linked with the hill only along the present Castle Street, which led to the defence tower of St. Pancras on the eastern crest of the hill.

Until the middle of the fourteenth century the traffic system of the town was highly efficient. The transit road led from the bridgehead beneath the Dominican plateau and ascended by Small Castle to the level of the market street. After the great flood in 1348, which had ruined the old bridgehead, a new bridge, which was less convenient for traffic, yet it afforded better protection to the town was constructed in the centre. Due to its location created by a larger island in the river, through traffic was directed along the relatively narrow Drava Street to Minoritsko Square and further along Miklošič and Lacko Streets

that the church became the seat of the parish immediately after its renovation, and it consisted of a graveyard, baptistery and rectory, which stood at the former location of the free court to the north of the church. The redirection of the transit road, which took place about 1130, did not interfere with the grounds of the church, which reached from the castle hill to the present Murko Street. It was in the thirteenth century, when traffic increased and the town was enclosed by the town walls, that the church grounds were penetrated by Slomšek Street as a short cut to Pivsko Gate. The traffic intersection was transferred to the market street and was extended into the funnel-shaped (or triangular) Slovensko Square. The church grounds were divided into two parts by the transit road, with the church on the one side, and the rectory on the other. The old baptistery chapel located in front of the western facade of the church thus appeared at the front side of the new square, and it was replaced by the municipal tower with the baptistery of St. John the Baptist on its ground floor. Thereafter the church complex had not been transformed; the church and the rectory are still divided, their division interfering with their functional dependence.

The system of streets expanded through the development of the town. The road leading from the bridgehead through the settlement to the east and north-east formed its axis, consisting of the present Prešeren and Murko Streets with the now missing part between the bridgehead and Small Castle leading through the suburbs recorded as *vicus cerdonum* in 1291. In the centre of the settlement the road had gradually expanded, yet it acquired the funnel-shaped conclusion (the present Slovensko Square) only in the middle of the thirteenth century when the church grounds were penetrated. A rib-like system of streets developed with the streets spreading out like tentacles, primarily downwards to the river. On the other side, in the direction of the castle hill, only short passages developed between houses, facilitating access to the backyards. The passages had disappeared during the sixteenth

to Hungarian Gate, or along Miklošič Street to Pivsko Gate. On account of the transformed traffic regulation, the quarter to the west of Cankar Street had gradually died away, and the eastern part, integrated into the town only a century prior to that, developed the more. Two buildings were of vital importance for the mediaeval structure of Ptuj: the castle and the original parish church. The castle located on the hill had not influenced the urban development of the town directly. The church, on the other hand, emerged on a conglomerate prominence, under which a road descended along the present Murko Street to the valley of the river Grajena. The church was renovated after the Hungarian occupation about the year 970, yet the first century and a half of its existence was insecure, similarly to that of the town. Nevertheless, some remnants of its predecessor were preserved in the northern wall of the present central nave. The wall was important since it dictated the length of Conrad's church from around 1130, which was broader and consisted of a choir and pointed belfry. It seemed

The eastern part that was integrated into the town after the middle of the thirteenth century had never been closely connected with it. Its street layout had remained modest, consisting of the transit Lacko Street along the former river-bed of the Grajena (the present Miklošič and Krempelj Streets), a couple of passages and Zelenik and Vodnik Streets along the town walls.

The Dominican monastery and the upper free court (Small Castle) were located in the western part of the town, the monastery of Friars Minor and the lower free court (the present court of law) were in the south-eastern part, and the centre of the town was dominated by the church complex reaching from the slope of the castle hill to Slovensko Square and Murko Street. The names of the streets that had emerged since the end of the thirteenth century proved that the town was a completed urban complex in the fourteenth century. During the later centuries it had not expanded any more, but only adapted to the stylistic changes of the time. Until the fourteenth century all suburban quarters had developed with their subsystems of streets, and additional places in the vicinity, the most important being Kaniža with its Romanesque-Gothic church of St. Oswald and the main fair of Ptuj.

The settlement consisted of urban architecture with numerous private houses and several public buildings. After the construction of the town walls the centre acquired an approximately triangular form with its sides along the river Drava, the castle hill and the river Grajena. The riverside of the town extended to the river, which was in contrast to other towns located on river banks (Brežice, Celje, Maribor and Ormož). The riverside was strengthened with a pile wall, which, in contrast to possible stone-built walls, facilitated the overflow of water during recurring floods. The construction of the castle, the church, both monasteries and the town walls created the compositional landmarks, among which the urban settlement had developed. Until the end of the fifteenth century a perfect communal infrastructure had emerged, the only disadvantage
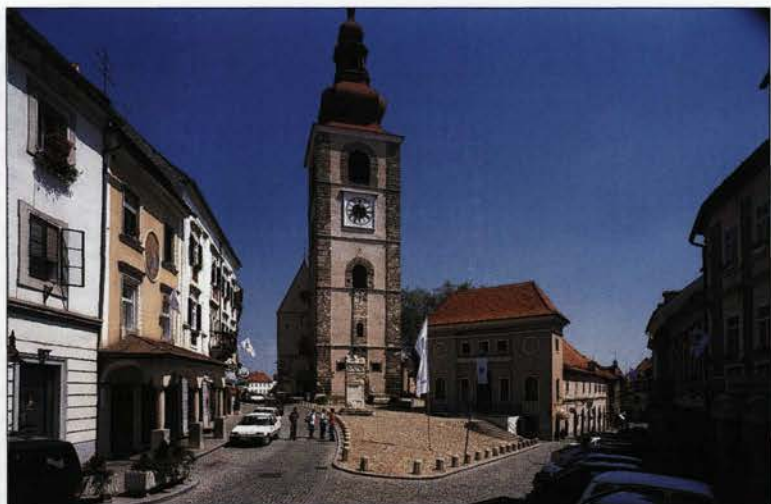
century when the house axes were transposed so that the houses faced the square. An exception to the rule was Castle Street, which led to the municipal defence tower on the eastern part of the castle hill, while Viktorin Street was somewhat younger. The streets developing to the south (the present Caf, Cankar, Jadran, Narrow and Aškerc Streets) reached Drava Street at the beginning of the fourteenth century. A town spital was established in its corner as early as 1315. When the bridge was transferred to the town in the middle of the fourteenth century, it was linked with the already existing system of streets, so that only the bridgehead had to be constructed in the former Croatian Square. Traffic had to be directed along two possible routes: either along the steep, yet broad Cankar Street, or along the gradual, yet narrow Drava Street (with a possible bypass along Vošnjak Street). Two short streets with squares (the present Cvetko and Vraz Squares) crossed the town centre, and they were utilized as secondary marketplaces for the business requirements of the town.

being transit traffic, the consequence of an incorrectly located bridge from the fourteenth century. The appearance of the town at the end of the Middle Ages was determined by the formation of its terrain. The monastery of Friars Minor located on the alluvial plateau was the point from which the town dwellings spread towards the parish church and the upper castle, which were located on the upper terrace. The houses from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries mostly made of timber were replaced by stone-built ones covered with shingles or thatched roofs during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, while their outhouses were still made of timber, since the stone-built construction had become part of civic culture only in the fourteenth century. The houses, which were usually freestanding, faced the streets with their fronts and had bi- or tri-axial facades due to narrow plots. Their interior division was simple: halls and workshops were on the ground floor and living quarters on the first floor. The ceilings were made of timber and were linked by simple stairs. Kitchens and bathrooms were in the backyards with other auxiliary rooms, and there were usually outhouses at the end of the plots. The house roofs were graded from the river bank towards the slopes of the castle hill with the castle and the church towers. They completed the appearance of the Romanesque-Gothic settlement of Ptuj as a typical example of a rich, yet small mediaeval town, which consisted of about 210 houses and 1,700 inhabitants in 1513.

Jože Curk

Slovenj Gradec

Windeschgraetz, Windiskin Graez

The settlement tradition of Slovenj Gradec extended indirectly back to Antiquity since there was a Roman post of *Colatio* to the west of the town, beneath the castle hill near Stari Trg, on the periphery of the Mislinja valley. The Slovenes established a stronghold on the castle hill, and in 1091 the Counts of Asquines, descended from a side branch of the family of the Counts of Freising and Zeltschach, built a castle there named *Grez*. The original settlement had developed beneath the castle hill. It was a borough settlement with the seat of the provincial toll-house, yet without any real potential for development after the road along the Mislinja valley had prevailed over the one in the direction of Kotlje. Therefore Heinrich IV, Count of Andechs

(1204–1228), established a new settlement adjacent to the new dominant road after 1211. The new place was located 'on a green meadow', on a slight elevation in the middle of the valley, surrounded by the rivers Mislinja, Homšnica and Suhodolnica. A road square was formed in the new settlement (*der Platz* in 1382), contracted at both ends in lens-shaped forms. Originally it was surrounded by 54 plots that were about 60 or 70 metres deep. In front of the church, built about the year 1235, there was the common for use of the nobility with a mint in the thirteenth century and thereafter with a lateral square utilized for the annual fair on the holiday of St. Elizabeth of Thuringia. There were five lateral streets in the settlement, their external pairs linking the two commercial streets that had developed behind the two main series of plots. After the settlement was elevated to a borough in 1228 and to a town about 1267, it was granted civic autonomy and judicature, and the first foreigners settled in, the Lombards and Jews. In the last third of the thirteenth century the town acquired the town walls. Before the year 1350 the tower of the family Windischgraetz was erected in the south-eastern corner of the town. In 1381 it passed over to the Trapps. In 1404 the town's Lower Gate was recorded in written documents, about 1419 an orphanage with a spital, and a church was gradually erected adjacent to it between 1424 and 1447, and between 1447 and 1494. In 1463 the town's Upper Gate was recorded in written documents, and in 1471 the Schulthauzinger tower, free-standing in the middle of the western side of the town. In 1471 the town was plundered by the Turks, and between 1488 and 1489 it was occupied by the Hungarians, who also ruined the castle above Stari Trg. In 1493 the Schulthauzinger tower was rebuilt as the town castle and the centre of the dominion of Slovenj Gradec. In 1500 the moat was recorded, which was constructed by order of King Friedrich IV in 1488 on the exposed sides of the town. Due to fires and the predominantly timber construction of town dwellings with thatched roofs there are no preserved mediaeval houses in the town. On the other

hand, the original urban plan from the thirteenth century has remained almost unaltered.

The urban plan is still indicated by the remnants of the town walls, which had enclosed the trapezoid area of the town with its longer side towards the north, with the main gates in the middle of the northern and southern sides and side gates from the western side, moats along the three sides (with the exception of the western one) and some towers, partly in possession of the town and partly of the feudal lords. The town layout proved that the western side had been transformed, probably at the end of the fifteenth century, when the Schulthauzinger tower was rebuilt as the town castle. At the same time the area of the town was extended as far as the river Suhodolnica, thus including the newly-built castle and its extensive garden with walls of its own linked with the town walls.

The mediaeval Slovenj Gradec was built according to a certain urban arrangement. The south-eastern town quarter served for the requirements of the church and social services, the north-eastern one to crafts, the area along the western walls was mostly in possession of the town castle, and the plots in the centre of the town were occupied by the citizens. During the sixteenth century, when the town was not integrated into the defence system of the Province, Slovenj Gradec developed only gradually. At the beginning of the seventeenth century it consisted of 94 houses, 64 of which were made of timber and covered with thatched roofs, and about 500 inhabitants, with about 55 civic families among them.

Jože Curk

Slovenska Bistrica

Fuhstriz, Feustritz

Slovenska Bistrica developed out of four topographic centres, three of which were located south of the river Bistrica (the village Gradišče, the administrative court and castle Bistrica, and the borough settlement between them), and one north of it (the church complex). Gradišče, named after the nearby Roman ruins, was an oval defence village with 17 farms and the central village square. It emerged between the earlier Roman road from Celje to Ptuj and the younger mediaeval road from Konjice to Maribor. The latter curved around it, which proved that the settlement had existed prior to the road. The village originated from the post-Hungarian period at the end of the tenth century, and the road from

the beginning of the twelfth, when the Spanheims acquired the Podravinje region through the marriage of Engelbert I with Hedwiga of Eppenstein about the year 1065 and through the victory of Bernard I over the Asquines about 1105, and linked it with Maribor. The emergence of the court of Bistrica, named after the river, as the administrative centre of the 'parish of Pohorje' equally originated from the period of Bernard I. The transit road, the administrative court, the river crossing and the intersection of the haulage route were the factors that brought about the emergence of the borough settlement with about 30 plots. The settlement was granted fair deeds in 1227 (the magistrate was recorded in 1240), and the church of St. Bartholomew on an elevation north of the river approximately at that time as well. The church had soon become the seat of the vicariate and a vicariate parish before 1442.

Bistrica had become a town perhaps around 1297, and definitely about 1310. The elevation was brought about by the Counts of Tyrol-Gorizia, principals of Bistrica at that time, who were seeking a stronger post at this important traffic location, yet they had to submit it to the Habsburgs as Princes of the Province in 1311. The citizens and the new town lord subsequently supervised the construction of the town walls, so that one of the conditions for the existence of Bistrica as a town was fulfilled. The second, legal condition was fulfilled in 1339 when the town was granted deeds similar to those of other towns of the Prince
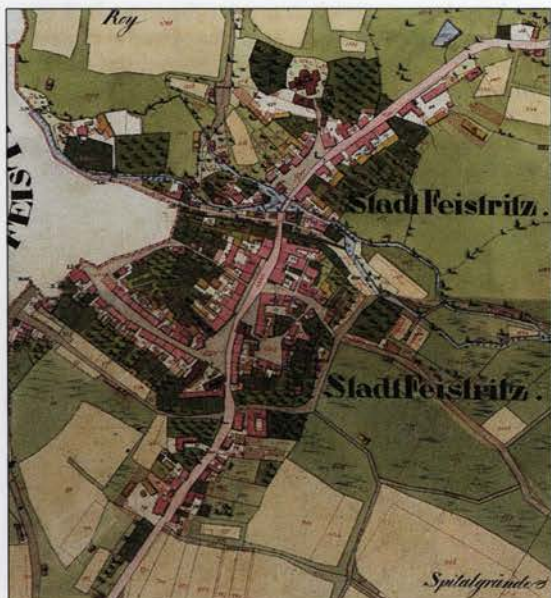
of the Province, and in 1360 equal to those of Radgona.

The course of the rhomboid town walls was such that it included the administrative court of the Prince of the Province, which was gradually transformed into a castle. The construction of the town walls also transformed the local traffic system, although four accesses into the town were preserved: the two main ones from the direction of the transit road, and the side ones from the directions of Zgornja Bistrica and Črešnjevec, respectively. The ground plan of the town was dictated by the traffic network. It formed two market-places along the transit road, and two smaller ones in front of the side gates. At the end of the Middle Ages both suburbs already existed: the northern one formed a rectangular market-place, and the southern one the lodgings for drivers and hauliers.

In the fourteenth and fifteenth cen-turies numerous details of the town were recorded, among them the Messenberg tower, the church of St. Mary, the chapel of St. Anna, the spital with the church of the Holy Spirit, the town hall, and also disasters that befell the town: wars in 1446, 1469 and 1489, and fires in 1446, 1486, 1509 and 1532. On account of the growing Turkish menace the town and the castle included in the north-western corner of it were fortified in the third quarter of the sixteenth century, and over 6,000 florins of provincial money were spent on it. The four corner towers, the town walls, the gates and the moats were renovated and the castle strengthened. It passed over to the possession of the Dominican monastery in 1587. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the town had stagnated, and the Franz cadastre therefore still showed the mediaeval urban plan of the town.

It was a settlement with a rhomboid ground plan, and it was first recorded as Slovenska Bistrica in 1565. The road through the centre of the town formed a trapezoid square with a funnel-shaped conclusion. Two roads branched off from it, towards the east and west, and both formed minor market-places before leading out of the town through the side gates. The western part of the town was crossed by a narrow street linking the central market-place along the area of the castle with one in front of the western gate. The southern quarter of the eastern part of the town had two streets linking the central market-place and the eastern road with the central square of Gradišče and the south-eastern corner tower, while the northern quarter was linked with the street leading from the eastern road towards the northern side of the town walls. The central market-place was surrounded by 9 houses on the western side, 14 houses with the town hall on the eastern side, and the church of Our Lady of Sorrows from the fourteenth century. It is evident that the town consisted of about 70 houses and some cottages with about 500 inhabitants at the beginning of the Modern Age.

Jože Curk

HRUŠICA
JESENICE
(574)
Stol
2236
Ljubelj
1058
Košut. turn
2133
Bad Vellach
Bela
Pavliče
sedlo
Blejska
Dobrava
Žirovnica
Vrba
Begunjščica
2060
Podljubelj
KOŠUTA
Bistrica
1218
Jezerski
vrh
MATKOV KO
Zasip
Spodnje Gorje
BLED
Poljče
Begunje
na Gorenjskem
Bistrica
Zgoša
Jelendol
Zg. Jezersko
Stegovnik
1692
Mrzla gora
2202
Rinka
LOBC
Lesce
RADOVLJICA
(490)
Brezje
Zvirče
Ljubno
TRŽIC
(515)
2132
Storžič
Š
KO-SAVIN
Grintovec
2558
Bohinjska
Bela
Lancovo
Kamna
Gorica
Spodnje
Duplje
Golnik
Preddvor
Krvavec
1853
Kamniška Bistric
prirovnik
Nomeni
JELOVICA
Kropa
Podnart
Podbrezje
Naklo
Kokrica
Tenetiše
Olševek
Strmol
Visoko
Cerklje
na Gorenjskem
Stahovica
Dražgoše
Zgornja
Besnica
Bistrica
Britof
Šenčur
Zgornje
Stranje
RATITOVEC
Altemaver
1678
Prtovč
Železniki
Selca
KRANJ
(388)
Hrastje
Spodnji
Brnik
KAMNIK
(390)
Spodnja
Sorica
Dolenja vas
Zgornje
Bitnje
Žabnica
Voglje
Komenda
Podgorje
Zali Log
Davča
Bukovica
ŠKOFJA
LOKA
(348)
Mavčiče
Trboje
Moste
Šm
Preser
Dolenji
Novaki
SKOFJELOŠKO HRIBOVJE
Lubnik
1025
Godešič
Retece
Smlednik
MENGEŠ
zen
1562
Blegoš
Javorje
Sora
Skaručna
Jablje
Trzin
Planina
Poljane
Brode
Poljanščica
Sora
Medvode
Rašica
Sr. Gamelnje
Dragomel
Stara Oselica
Hotavlje
POLHOGRAJSKO
HRIBOVJE
Podgo
Sovodeni
Trebija
Gorenja vas
Pasja ravan
1029
Tošč
1021
Topol
pri Medvodah
Otalež
Selo
Črni Vrh
Dvor
Jelenk
107
Ledine
Žiri
Lučine
Polhov Gradec
LJUBLJANA
(298)
Spodnja
Idrija
Šentjošt
Horjul
Brezje
Dobrova
IDRIJA
(325)
Rovte
Vrzdenec
Drenov Grič
Log
Brezovica
Vnanje-
Pugle
Podlipa
Velika Ligojna
Gorice
Notranje-
Škofiji
Medvedje
Brdo
Stara Vrhnika
Ulovka
801
Bevke
Podpeč
Matena
Ig
Smarje-S
Godovič
VRHNIKA
(294)
Jezero
Tomišelj
Brest
Zaplana
Verd
Iška vas
Pijava
Gorica
GROSU
(340)
Zadlog
Bistra
Kamnik
pod Krimom
Krim
1108
Škrilje
Sp. Slr
Št.Ju
Črni Vrh
Hotedršica
LOGATEC
(476)
Kalce
Borovnica
Mokrec
1059
Gôlo
Želimlje
1240
Javornik
Pokojišče
Rakitna
Krvava Peč
Turjak
Col
Podkraj
HRUŠICA
Ravnik
Župeno
Rob
Rašica
ava
Vipave
Sv. Lovrenc
1020
Laze
Ivanje selo
Cereja
Veli
Laš
Predjamski grad
Bukovje
Planina
Unec
Begunje
Cajnarje
Naredi
Predjama
Studeno
Rakek
Ravnik
Suhi vrh
1313
Šmihel
Landol
POSTOJNSKA VRATA
610
Cerknica
Slivnica
1114
Velike
Bloke
Sv. Gregor
NANOS
Hrašče
Dolenja vas
Grahovo
Nova vas
Pleša
1261
Cerkniško
jezero
Bloška
Polica
Runarsko
Lozice
Razdrto
Hrušovje
POSTOJNA
(550)
V. Javornik
1268
Križna g

Ljubljana
Luwigana, Laibach

Writing about mediaeval Ljubljana is not an easy task. On the one hand, there are so many written sources preserved about Ljubljana from that period as about no other town in Slovenia, yet on the other hand, the present appearance of Ljubljana is completely Baroque, which is primarily the consequence of the earthquake in 1511, which had almost completely destroyed traces of the old settlement and the mediaeval houses. Besides the established formulation, 'the town had already been settled during the prehistoric period,' which is common for almost every village, there is hardly any reliable information from which a definite appearance of the original settlement and its urban plan could be deduced. All the presumptions about the age of the three town quarters, Old Square, Town Square or New Square, are therefore based on speculation, and not on an analysis of the architectural texture and its message.

It can only be safely assumed that Ljubljana as a town had gradually developed from modest, probably fishing hamlets at the foot of the castle hill with the castle of the Spanheims on it, first recorded in 1256 as *Laybach, castrum capitalis*, and delimited by the right bank of the river Ljubljanica. There are two important circumstances that are not to be disregarded. The first one is connected with the name Old Square, which was first recorded in 1327 ('*in der alten Marcht*'), which definitely proved the location of the old borough settlement. The second one is the knowledge that St. Peter was the seat of the original parish, and therefore the church was certainly not located in an uninhabited area. Such conclusions correspond to the latest results of investigation, namely that mediaeval Ljubljana had developed from the three above-mentioned, independent hamlets, the earlier Old Square and Town and the younger New Square, as indicated by its name. Additionally, it can be safely assumed that the Romanesque church of St. Nicholas on the right bank of the Ljubljanica was part of the original Town. In 1260 the first parish priest was recorded as *Ludweig pharrer zu Laybach*, and two years later the church as well, *ecclesia sancti Nicolai*.

Ljubljana was first recorded in written sources in 1144 as *Laybach*, and two years later with its Slovene name *Luwigana*. About 1220 the inscription on the Spanheim coins was *civitas*
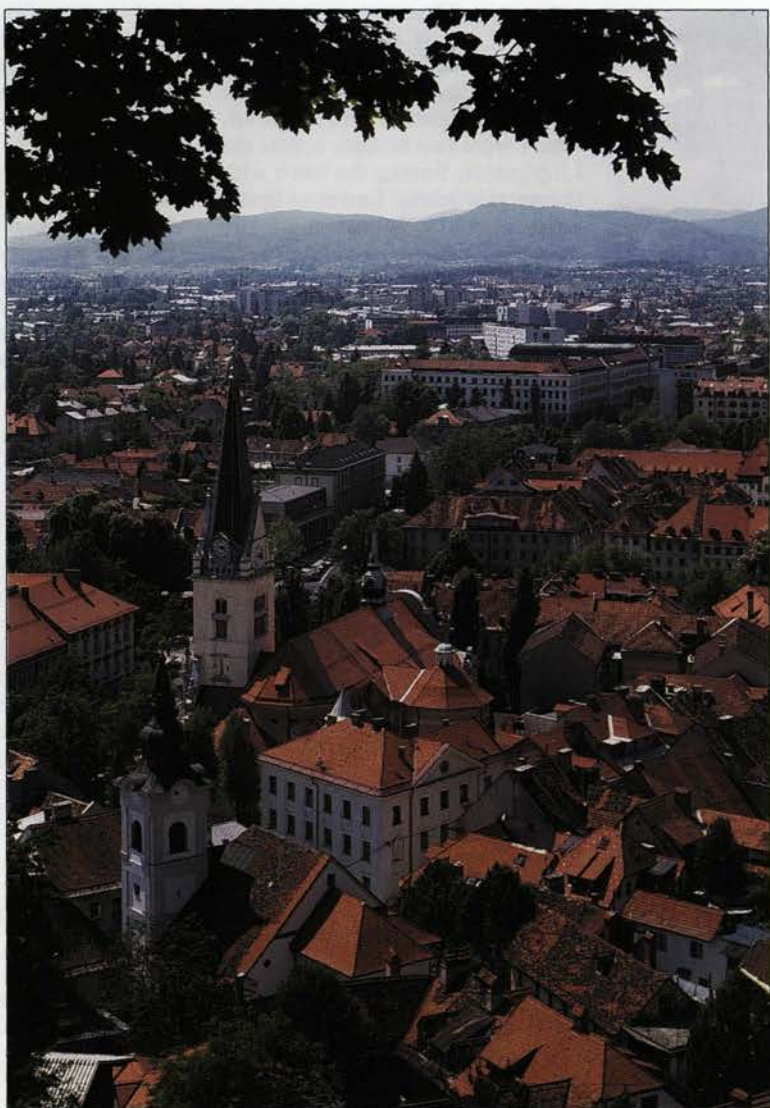
Leibacum, which indicated that at that time Ljubljana was already a town consisting of three areas of settlement. There was a commune in the area of the subsequent Tranča, which was the centre of the town administration and where the three centres were joined. There were two bridges across the Ljubljanica, linking the town with the outside world: Lower or Spital Bridge at the location of the present Tromostovje ('three bridges'), and Upper Bridge adja-

cent to the commune, linking Old Square and Town with New Square on the left bank of the Ljubljanica. The three centres were enclosed by walls separately, and in 1243 Ljubljana was first recorded as a walled-in town, *in Laibaco intra murum civitatis*. In other words, Ljubljana was the first town in the territory of Slovenia to obtain its town walls during the Romanesque period, with five gates leading into it. The walls enclosed each quarter separately, and the town as a whole was additionally connected with the stronghold, the castle of the Prince of the Province on the hill. The former course of the walls is relatively well-known, yet, unfortunately, there are only sparse remnants of them.

There are only few preserved architectural details and the locational continuity of some prominent buildings that indicate the mediaeval urban structure of Ljubljana. The formation of Old Square and Town was determined by the configuration of the terrain between the river Ljubljanica and the castle hill, which facilitated the funnel-shaped extensions of the arterial road into the market-place. The typical mediaeval plan of houses or their plots was preserved in Upper Square adjacent to the church of St. Jacob. The situation is quite different in New Square. Its plan between the eastern side of the Roman *Emona* and the left bank of the Ljubljanica was of subsequent origins and quite regular, yet still mediaeval. Apart from the houses of the aristocracy in the
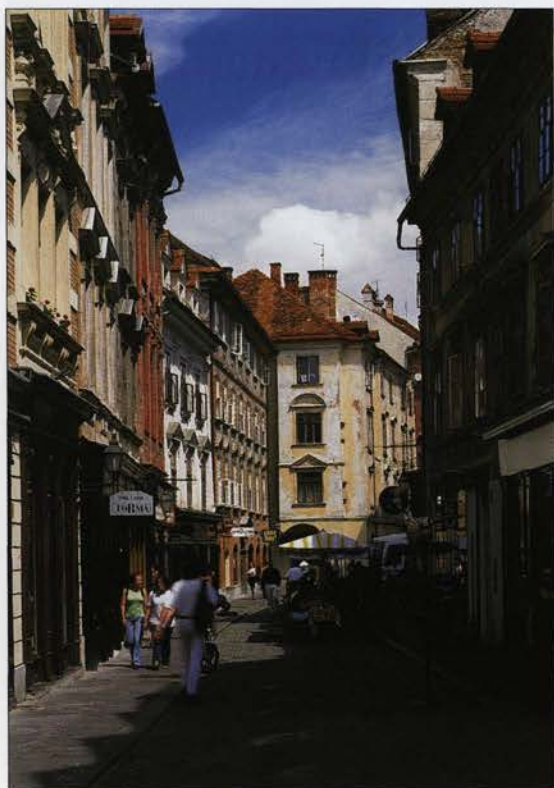
rectangular market-place, the street with the Jewish ghetto and a synagogue emerged, and before 1228 the monastery of the Teutonic Order with a church and a school. In 1511 the court of the Vicedom was erected in the northwestern corner, which was previously located near the church of St. Nicholas. In 1361 the *palatium* was first recorded, and another document from 1220 probably referred to it as well. The former appearance of this mediaeval mansion was completely destroyed in the earthquake of 1895, and it is only preserved in the Valvasor-Trost copper engraving of the view of Ljubljana from 1689.

The monastery of the Teutonic Order, as a special institution of the aristocracy, was not the only monastic institution within the urban area. There were the Franciscans, adjacent to Monastic Gate, even before the year 1242 when superior Vicencij was mentioned in written records, while the Augustinians – their monastery was first recorded in 1314 as *claustrum eremitarum* – erected their monastery outside the town walls on the Gorca, adjacent to Lower Bridge. A path led from there along the left bank of the Ljubljanica towards the ancient parish church of St. Peter, and it was appropriated by the tanners of Ljubljana.

There are almost no data about other important mediaeval buildings in Ljubljana. The Romanesque church of St. Nicholas, rebuilt in the Gothic period, was proved by some rather successful attempts at its reconstruction. The church of St. Jacob has preserved its Gothic presbytery, the town hall in Town Square, which replaced the former commune in 1484 and was rebuilt by architect Gregor Maček in 1717–1718. It contains only two half-preserved late Gothic sculptures by Peter Lipec, namely those of Adam and Eve. Even less is known of other buildings which had created the appearance of the town. That held true particularly of the schools adjacent to the churches of St. Peter, St. Nicholas and the Teutonic Order and other buildings typical of the town at that time. With some imagination a novel could be written taking place in one of the baths of Ljubljana – in 1260 the *stupam balnearum* was recorded adjacent to the church of St. Nicholas, and the *padstuben* at the Bank in 1466 – yet their description would cause great difficulties. Nothing is known of the spital of St. Elizabeth with the chapel of the same name, which was first recorded in 1326 and was partly preserved until the end of the nineteenth century. Before 1282 another spital was established by the Teutonic Order as well. There are no data even about the town walls protected by powerful towers at the most exposed locations. The regret caused by the disappearance of the mediaeval Ljubljana is at least partly alleviated by the splendour of the Baroque, which marked the oldest part of Ljubljana.

Ivan Stopar

The appearance of mediaeval towns is usually visualized in connection with town walls. Yet the walls – at least in Slovenia – were furnished with additional towers and some other fortification devices only during the period of the defence against the Turks; they can be discerned in old vedutas. On account of that we decided to pay some attention to the topographer of Carniola, Heinrich Georg Hoff, who had, undeservedly, sunk into oblivion. In his book *Gemälde vom Herzogthume Krain (Paintings of the Duchy of Carniola)* from 1808 he described the town gate of Ljubljana with its towers, and apart from that he also recorded how his contemporaries had experienced such remnants of the past. Since most of the Slovene towns had long lost their town walls, the description by Hoff can be considered as a model valid for other towns as well.

Unknown artist, View of Ljubljana from Tivoli, silk, first half of the 19th century

Ljubljana in 1808

It is generally believed that numerous fires that had ravaged Ljubljana and its surroundings brought about the renovation of the town with a more beautiful appearance than it used to have. New Ljubljana resembles the former one in no way; the former town walls, strongholds, bastilles, towers and town gates, which had transformed the town into a prison, were pulled down and removed. The town used to have five gates, namely Spital, Castle, German, Karlovško and Franciscan Gates. The former was a high rectangular tower located between the spital on the right and the Dežman house on the left. The drive-in was, similar to the whole Spital Street, rather narrow, and the tower had two storeys and reached above the spital. A warden resided on the first floor, and a storehouse was located on the second. Due to the height of the tower Spital Street had no fresh air and was always muddy.

Had the tower not been removed in 1786, several travellers passing through it could have lost their lives. The building was namely so decayed that there were cracks in the walls the breadth of a hand. As a consequence of the removal the street was granted not only a better view, but also more fresh air. A fine fountain was located to the left of the former gate, and to the right various patents and decrees of provincial offices and the magistrate were nailed on a blackboard.

The gate was taller than the castle (of the Vicedom). There were two prisons in the tower, the first with an iron gate on the ground floor, with the warden's residence above it, and the second on the first floor. The second floor, of a similar height to that of the nearby castle, was used as a cloakroom. There was Fishermen' Passage with a double gate on the inside of the tower, and a stone disc beneath it on the outside, so that the lives of people passing in and out were at stake.

The appearance of the tower from outside the town was very fine since it was furnished with columns, and apart from that a bust of Emperor Leopold VI with his arms, all made of white marble, was

N. M. J. Chapuy, Ljubljana, iron engraving, 1856

located in a black alcove. The bust is presently kept in the town hall. The traffic was such that carts had often got stuck in the tower and had to be unloaded before they were extricated. On account of that pedestrians were prevented from getting in or out for a whole day. The town walls stretching from the tower towards the river Ljubljanica and to the round tower were of the same height as the tower, and consequently the streets were very dark. In 1791 everything was pulled down and the road levelled out under the command of a building directive and the town hall.

The drive-in of the so-called German Gate, located adjacent to the Commendam of the Teutonic Order, the walls of the garden of Ljubljana on the left and the garden enclosure of Prince Auersperg on the right, was spacious, yet the nearby toilets of the main military guardhouse, thus unfavourably located, annoyed passers-by with their stench and dirt. When the gate was pulled down in 1792, a fine view of German Square was opened. The removal of the derelict houses there, which will improve the place even more, is planned as well.

Karlovško Gate was a large building with powerful thick walls, and therefore very dark. Therefore it offered shelter to villains who assaulted people passing by in the evening. The building leaned on the castle hill on the left side, and on the town walls on the right, reaching as far as the river Ljubljanica. The gate was a single-storey building, and its back gate was so decayed that it was dangerous to pass through. In 1792 that part of the gate actually collapsed and had to be removed in the same year.

Finally we reach the former Franciscan Gate, where the fine lyceum building is located at present. This gate was one of the strongest. It was built of ashlars and was a proper stronghold on the outside, with small bridges in between. The lower part of the front tower was built of ashlars on the town side, with some small windows on the floors, and there was a guard clad in armour with a lance on the first floor. The tower was demolished in 1789 at the expense of the States, and in the place of this formidable gate the finest square of Ljubljana was constructed, with the splendid lyceum building and the main guardhouse. Thus the town was granted the best view towards the suburbs of Poljansko, and from there into the town, and simultaneously some fresh air.

There was also the so-called Tranča (the word is borrowed from the French *Trenché*, section, since the river Ljubljanica cut through the town there) with two floors supported by arches adjacent to Shoemakers Bridge between the Köhrer and Jäger houses. The worst convicts were kept there and led to the scaffold thereafter. That attracted considerable attention, since the prison was in the centre of the town, and the convicts were punished weekly. The noise accompanying it and the screaming of the convicts agitated the whole of the neighbourhood, and the building screened off the light from other houses. It is to be wondered how the elders, who were otherwise well able to construct firm and lasting houses, although often at unsuitable locations and close together, had deemed to build such a place of torture in the midst of the town, thereby constantly provoking human sentiments. In 1789 master mason Ignac Prager was finally permitted to pull down the building. The place had thus obtained more air and had become considerably nicer.

Heinrich Georg Hoff, Historisch-statistisch-topographisches Gemälde vom Herzogthume Krain und demselben einverleibten Istrien.

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