

RESIDENZENFORSCHUNG



SOCIAL FUNCTIONS OF URBAN SPACES THROUGH THE AGES SOZIALE FUNKTIONEN STÄDTISCHER RÄUME IM WANDEL

Edited by Gerhard Fouquet, Ferdinand Opll,
Sven Rabeler and Martin Scheutz



THORBECKE

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Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen

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Ljubljana/Laibach in the Southeast of the Empire

The Case of Environmental Relations of a Medieval City

MIHA KOSI

Since the late Middle Ages Ljubljana/Laibach was the principal and the biggest town in Carniola (Krain, Slov. Kranjska), a border province in the Southeast of the ›Reich‹, the core of present day Slovenia (Fig. 1). The Ljubljana Castle was mentioned for the first time between 1112 and 1125, as the possessions of two Bavarian high noble families are documented in the area: of the lords of Machland and, even more important, of the margraves of Cham-Vohburg (Diepoldinginger-Rapotonen). The property of both was inherited by the Spanheims, dukes of Carinthia, who created a large and compact seignury in the first half of the twelfth century¹. In 1144 Ljubljana was even the residence of the duke's brother – *Ōdalricus de Laibach, frater ducis*² – and the existence of an early urban settlement beneath the castle hill at that time can be assumed (later *Altenmarkt*). The Spanheims remained lords of the city for almost a century and a half, until 1269, in which time a lively urban development took place³, especially in the time of the dukes Bernhard (1202–1256) and his son Ulrich III (1256–1269)⁴, when already three town quarters are attested in the sources: *Altenmarkt*, *Stadt* and *Neumarkt*⁵ (Fig. 2). Ljubljana remained the principal city of the territorial princes of Carniola throughout the Middle Ages: of the Bohemian king Ottokar Přemysl, who took it by storm after a short siege in 1270, of the counts/dukes of Görz-Tirol, who in 1277 received it in pledge together with Carniola from King Rudolf of Habsburg after

1 A detailed study with completely new findings on early development of Ljubljana seignury: ŠTIH, *Dve novi notici* (2002), esp. pp. 33–34; IDEM, *Der bayerische Adel* (2006).

2 *Urkunden- und Regestenbuch des Herzogtums Krain*, vol. 1 (1882), no. 95, p. 97; *Gradivo za zgodovino Ljubljane*, vol. 10 (1965), no. 1.

3 On the family of Spanheims see DOPSCH, *Gründer* (1991), pp. 43–67; HAUSMANN, *Grafen* (1994), pp. 9–62; OPLL, *Kärnten* (2001), pp. 65–80; ŠTIH, *Rodbina* (2003), pp. 55–75.

4 On the political development in Carniola in the thirteenth century, especially under Duke Ulrich III, see KOMAC, *Od mejne grofije do dežele* (2006), with extensive summary in German on pp. 303–312 [Von der Mark zum Land. Ulrich III. von Spanheim und Krain im 13. Jahrhundert].

5 Urban development in the Middle Ages is sufficiently researched, though the city still lacks a proper monographic treatment. See KOS, *Srednjeveška Ljubljana* (1955); ZWITTER, *Začetki* (1966), pp. 217–238; VILFAN, *Nekaj vprašanj* (1956), pp. 132–148; IDEM, *Zgodovina Ljubljane* (1984), pp. 75–95; KOSI, *Ljubljana* (2009), pp. 142–147; IDEM, *The Beginnings* (2014), pp. 128–131.

the fall of Ottokar, and finally of the Habsburgs themselves from 1335 onwards⁶, which testifies of the city's importance.

The town lords were owners of a considerable territory around the city and at the same time territorial princes. Through the centuries they endowed Ljubljana with different privileges against neighbouring urban settlements of other lords, which was a great advantage for the economic development of the city. Also, given its prominent strategic and transport/communications position in the centre of Carniola⁷, it is not surprising that Ljubljana became the biggest city in the country and acquired the status of a provincial capital already in the late Middle Ages (*hauptstat in Krain*, 1442⁸). According to the first exact data from 1600, which are still more or less representative of the situation at end of the Middle Ages, there were 358 houses inside the city walls and 138 in the suburbs, in total just short of 500. The estimated number of inhabitants was 4.000–5.000, probably even more⁹. In accordance with its position and importance within Carniola, Ljubljana also has relatively well preserved medieval sources. There are more than 800 deeds relating to the city, its inhabitants and institutions from the twelfth century to 1526¹⁰; the city's book of privileges from 1566 is preserved, containing documents from the thirteenth century onwards¹¹; there are land registers and account books of the town lords and different church institutions etc. Unfortunately, no sources of the city authorities from the Middle Ages (i. e. ›Stadtbücher‹) are preserved, as for instance the conclusions of the city council, court protocols, account books, lists of citizens and their legal affairs etc. Even so, the state of sources is favourable and enables us to get a fairly clear picture in regard to various relations between a medieval city and its environment.

Ljubljana lies in the centre of Carniola, in the fertile and relatively densely populated Ljubljana basin. It is located on the navigable Ljubljanica, a right tributary of the Sava River, known as an important transport thoroughfare since Antiquity and even pre-Roman times¹². The Roman city of Emona occupied the higher ground on the left bank of the river¹³ while the oldest part of the medieval town developed on the opposite bank, confined by the castle hill and the river. Both oldest quarters – *Altenmarkt* and *Stadt* – were therefore well-protected by the river, the hill and the marsh (*Brühl*) to the south. Only the youngest

6 VILFAN, *Zgodovina Ljubljane* (1984), pp. 86–87.

7 On trade, transport and communications see KOSI, *Potujoči srednji vek* (1998), pp. 58–59, 207–210, 231–237, 253–257, with extensive summary in English and German on pp. 285–336.

8 *Gradivo za zgodovino Ljubljane*, vol. 3 (1958), no. 55.

9 ZWITTER, *Starejša kranjska mesta* (1929), p. 49; VILFAN, *Zgodovina Ljubljane* (1984), p. 88; GESTRIN, *Ljubljana* (1984), p. 120.

10 They were published as *Gradivo za zgodovino Ljubljane v srednjem veku*, vol. 1–12, between 1956 and 1968.

11 Written down in 1566, it contains 99 basic privileges, granted to the city by the town lords through the centuries, with added 40 from the time between 1566 and 1744. Many of them are explicitly concerned with the provision of the city with vital resources and rights: wood, water, arable areas, meadows, pastures, fishing rights etc. Preserved in *Zgodovinski arhiv Ljubljana*, LJU 488, Mesto Ljubljana, *rokopisne knjige*, Cod. XXV/1, accessible also digitally on <http://www.zal-lj.si/project/privilegijska-knjiga-2/> [8/2/2018].

12 See *The Ljubljanica* (2009).

13 Cf. ISTENIČ, *Emona* (2009), pp. 102–107.

Neumarkt, mentioned for the first time in 1267, developed on the other bank and was protected by a stone wall at an early stage (Fig. 3).

To the north and northeast of the town stretched the fertile, intensely cultivated and populated Ljubljansko polje while extensive wetlands of the Ljubljansko barje (Ljubljana Moors) were spreading to the south and southwest, with agricultural settlements originally only along the drier rims and on a few hills in the centre¹⁴. The entire central area of the marshes – mostly peat bogs – was mainly covered by meadows and occasional meagre forests and remained largely uncultivated until as late as the beginning of the nineteenth century. It was only the modern farm equipment of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries that finally enabled settlement and intensive cultivation¹⁵. The entire Ljubljana basin is surrounded by extensive hills, even today largely covered by forests (Fig. 4). They were penetrated by the colonisation of the high and late Middle Ages, which cleared the forests and created countless small hamlets and isolated farmsteads¹⁶. The broader natural environment of the medieval Ljubljana was therefore highly diverse, including very different types of landscape ranging from fertile cultivated lowlands and hills with extensive forests to virtually uninhabited and frequently flooded moors. In the following we will shed light on specific problems concerning the relations between the city and its environment – first inside the city itself and in its immediate surroundings and then in the broader area of the Ljubljana seignoury.

Water

Considering the natural environment, the medieval Ljubljana had the closest relationship with the river, after which the city also took its name – Laibach/Ljubljana¹⁷. For medieval towns dependency on rivers was of primary significance – in the negative sense because of floods that frequently threatened many urban settlements in the past, but more importantly in the positive sense, as rivers were among the main natural factors for the eventual foundation and prosperity of medieval towns in a particular location. A river, if navigable, offered a cheap means of transporting trade goods and supplying the town. Besides, a convenient place to cross a river by ford, ferry or bridge was one of main location factors for urban settlements. Both – river transport and river crossings – offered possibilities of income (different tolls). And finally, in the past, a river was an important source of a town's food and energy supply¹⁸.

14 KOS, *Starejša in mlajša naselja* (1951), pp. 157–177; IDEM, *Srednjeveška naselitev* (1964), pp. 94–95, 100–101.

15 MELIK, *Kolonizacija* (1927), pp. 5–6.

16 KOS, *Starejša in mlajša naselja* (1951), pp. 173–176; IDEM, *Srednjeveška naselitev* (1964), pp. 101–102.

17 The Slavic name of the settlement is first documented already in 1146 as *Luwigana*. *Gradivo za zgodovino Ljubljane*, vol. 10 (1965), no. 2.

18 On the relations between man and river in the Middle Ages see SCHUBERT, *Scheu vor der Natur* (1994), pp. 31–35; KÜSTER, *Versorgung* (1998), pp. 314–316; IDEM, *Geschichte* (1996), pp. 193–200.

The Ljubljanica is a typical karst river. The slow water flow makes it ideal for river transport, which has been used to great advantage throughout history¹⁹. However, it is markedly prone to floods, especially due to the torrential character of its tributaries immediately upstream of the city. In the Ljubljana Moors, the annual floods still continue to affect considerable areas today²⁰. Regrettably, there is no reliable information available about floods in the medieval Ljubljana, but they must have posed an acute problem, especially considering that the first plans to construct a channel to redirect a part of the river flow away from the city were made already in the mid-sixteenth century and were – at enormous cost – finally carried out in 1772–1780 with ›Gruber’s Channel‹ (named after the architect Gabriel Gruber)²¹. Nevertheless, it was already in the late Middle Ages that Ljubljana set up the so-called rake, a wooden barrier that spanned the river immediately upstream of the city and prevented the water flow from carrying different kinds of material (wood, ice, loose boats etc.) through the city (Fig. 5)²². The barrier lowered the water level in the city and made the water flow swifter, which may have facilitated faster drainage of polluted waters through the city area. On the other hand, it raised the water level upstream, and in 1515 the prior of the Carthusian monastery in Freudenthal/Bistra complained that this caused frequent floods at the priory, situated some twenty kilometres upstream of Ljubljana²³.

The medieval city primarily relied on the river as a source of water for different uses²⁴ and as a source of food, providing the fish. Drinkable water was, beside the household needs, also used by different crafts: bakers, butchers, beer brewers, inn keepers etc. In the earliest times, water in Ljubljana was undoubtedly scooped directly from the river. Even in later times this practise remained in use, at least by houses standing close to the stream, as nicely illustrated by the detail of the great veduta of Ljubljana from the mid-seventeenth century depicting a wheel and barrel system for collecting water (Fig. 6)²⁵. Second original source of water were small streams, coming from the castle hill. One such stream was geologically and archeologically established, crossing the core of the medieval *Stadt* proper²⁶. It was filled up already in the high Middle Ages, and a public well was constructed in the centre of the city square in front of the town hall. It must have been built at an early stage, considering that renovation works – a new water trough – were carried out in 1569. Later, in the mid-eighteenth century, an outstanding baroque fountain was created there by fa-

19 KOSI, *Navigation* (2009), pp. 148–152; IDEM, *Potujoči srednji vek* (1998), pp. 151–153.

20 MELIK, *Kolonizacija* (1927), p. 7.

21 KRAMER, *Das Laibacher Moor* (1905), pp. 130, 133–134.

22 VRHOVEC, *Hauptstadt Laibach* (1886), pp. 65–68; IDEM, *Topografski opis* (1885), pp. 206–208; KOS, *Srednjeveška Ljubljana*, pp. 18–19.

23 KOBLAR, *Poplav* (1898), p. 176; KOS, *Srednjeveška Ljubljana* (1955), p. 18.

24 On water supply in medieval cities in general DIRLMEIER, *Zuständigkeiten* (1981), pp. 131–139; IDEM, *Lebensbedingungen* (1986), pp. 152–154; SCHUBERT, *Scheu vor der Natur* (1994), pp. 36–39; KÜHNEL, *Gemeinschaft* (1986), pp. 49–58; KÜSTER, *Versorgung* (1998), pp. 314–315.

25 This is a vast veduta of Ljubljana from around 1660–1670, made on seven sheets and together measuring 125 x 70 cm. It still reflects all the main late medieval features of the city before baroqueisation, frequently with unsurpassed details. See STELE, *Valvasorjeva Ljubljana* (1928).

26 ŠTULAR, *Začetki* (2012), pp. 145, 153.

mous Italian sculptor Francesco Robba (richly payed by city authorities)²⁷. In the other town quarter, the *Altenmarkt*, a source from castle hill supplied water for the well near the church of St Florian and was later also used for the wells in the new Jesuit Collegium built close by. In the early modern period public wells existed in all three main squares of the town and undoubtedly originated already in the late Middle Ages²⁸. About private wells, however, we do not have any sources at our disposal yet.

On the other hand, Ljubljana also developed a water pipeline²⁹ at least as early as mid-sixteenth century, which is comparable to some more important German cities, i.e. Straßburg, Frankfurt, Hamburg, Regensburg³⁰. In 1565 the city authorities employed *Röhrenmeister* – they received an order to buy 60 larch tree pipes, doubtlessly for the maintenance of the city's waterworks. In the following centuries a conduit supplied the water for the area on the right riverbank (*Stadt* and *Altenmarkt*) from the Golovec Hill, at a distance of a little more than one kilometre. A system of clay pipes leading from the main squares towards Golovec was uncovered in the nineteenth century and very likely belonged to these waterworks³¹. The *Neumarkt* quarter on the other side of the river was likewise supplied by waterworks, supervised by the commandery of the Teutonic Order. As known from 1737, the water for the fountain in the commandery as well as for the public use of the inhabitants of *Neumarkt* was supplied by *uralte Wasserleitung*, but the source of the water cannot be established for sure (it was probably the nearby Rožnik Hill, ca. half a kilometre away)³².

The medieval city also relied on the river as an important source of food³³. The first mention of Fishermen's Lane (*Fischergazze*), which was situated in the area of *Neumarkt*, dates as far back as 1366³⁴. At the end of the Middle Ages, most fishermen lived in this quarter: in Fishermen's Lane, on the bank of Ljubljanica (*an dem Rain*), in front of the walls of *Neumarkt* (in Krakovo) and partly also on the other side of the river at the south side of *Altenmarkt* (in Žabjak)³⁵. At the end of the fifteenth century there were at least 15 active fishermen here, which is a good testimony of the importance of fish as part of the city's everyday food supply³⁶. Considering the location of the fishermen's dwellings,

27 VRHOVEC, Hauptstadt Laibach (1886), pp. 96–108; IDEM, Topografski opis (1885), pp. 216–221.

28 VRHOVEC, Hauptstadt Laibach (1886), pp. 69–70, 93, 96–97, 144; KOS, Srednjeveška Ljubljana (1955), p. 11.

29 For examples of water supply works in medieval German cities cf. DIRLMEIER, Zuständigkeiten (1981), pp. 133–139; GREWE, Water Technology (2000), pp. 145–151; SCHUBERT, Scheu vor der Natur (1994), p. 38.

30 Cf. DIRLMEIER, Lebensbedingungen (1986), p. 153; GREWE, Water Technology (2000), p. 151.

31 VRHOVEC, Hauptstadt Laibach (1886), pp. 93–96; IDEM, Topografski opis (1885), p. 208. When the clay-pipe system in Ljubljana was built, is unknown so far. The use of clay pipes elsewhere is documented at the end of the Middle Ages (Augsburg, Freiburg im Breisgau) as well as at waterworks of Mannheim, built from 1790 onwards. Cf. DIRLMEIER, Zuständigkeiten (1981), pp. 138–139; GREWE, Water Technology (2000), p. 146.

32 VRHOVEC, Hauptstadt Laibach (1886), p. 93.

33 SCHUBERT, Scheu vor der Natur (1994), pp. 35–36; KÜSTER, Versorgung (1998), pp. 314–315.

34 Gradivo za zgodovino Ljubljane, vol. 1 (1956), no. 70; KOS, Srednjeveška Ljubljana (1955), pp. 16–17.

35 OTOREPEC, Rokodelstvo (1972), p. 20.

36 Gradivo za zgodovino Ljubljane, vol. 12 (1956), no. 1, pp. 1–4; no. 2, pp. 7, 9–10; no. 3, pp. 1–3.

it may be assumed that they fished primarily upstream of the city, on the other side of the barrier (rake), where the water was deeper, calmer and also cleaner, left unpolluted by the city's other activities. To what extent the fishermen were aware of this and what role this played in their activities remains unknown. Fish consumption, especially in the city's three monasteries, must have been considerable. In 1493 Emperor Frederick III therefore allowed the Franciscan friars to build a fishpond (*klaine teichstat*) near the ditch in front of the Upper Gate on the city's common ground, which the citizens had previously used for pasture, for the provision of the cloister with fish (*zu notturfft vnd aushaltung derselben closterlewt*)³⁷. Evidently there was a stream coming from the castle hill, probably supplying also the mentioned ditch, or the needed water was directed to the pond from the Ljubljana River (however, given the shape of the terrain, the latter possibility seems less likely).

Considerable amounts of water in the city were also required by numerous craftsmen, especially tanners and shoemakers as well as weavers, cloth makers, dyers etc. One of the strongest trades in late medieval Ljubljana was the furriers', whose guild was the oldest, known already since 1370 when they had their privileges granted by the dukes Albert III and Leopold III³⁸. Yet, it seems that they were mostly traders in furs, and it is not known how much of the furs were actually treated by them in the city. The second largest guild in medieval Ljubljana was that of shoemakers, who were usually tanners as well. At the beginning of the sixteenth century there were at least 22 and they lived and worked in different quarters, in 1527 predominantly in *Altenmarkt* (8) and in St John's suburb – *Vorstadt bei St. Johannes* (6)³⁹. From the end of the Middle Ages onwards, many of the crafts – shoemakers, tanners, blacksmiths, nail makers, furriers, thong makers and weavers – were increasingly concentrated in St John's suburb, downstream of the city, with the backs of their houses upon the river, undoubtedly because of the needed water supply⁴⁰. Already in the mid-fifteenth century there were at least 15 blacksmiths' houses alone in this quarter⁴¹. This concentration can be very likely attributed to the tendency of the city authorities to diminish the pollution of the water flowing through the city, as was observed for instance in Nuremberg and elsewhere⁴².

No less important was the medieval city's water demand for the purposes of hygiene and wastewater drainage⁴³. Basic hygiene was carried out in public baths⁴⁴ and in the medieval Ljubljana two such baths are documented already in the second half of the thirteenth

37 Gradivo za zgodovino Ljubljane, vol. 6 (1961), no. 71; KOS, *Srednjeveška Ljubljana* (1955), p. 4.

38 Gradivo za zgodovino Ljubljane, vol. 1 (1956), no. 75; OTOREPEC, *Rokodelstvo* (1972), p. 28.

39 Gradivo za zgodovino Ljubljane, vol. 12 (1968), no. 5, p. 8; OTOREPEC, *Rokodelstvo* (1972), pp. 30–31.

40 KOS, *Srednjeveška Ljubljana* (1955), pp. 47, 52, 54–55; OTOREPEC, *Rokodelstvo* (1972), p. 31.

41 Gradivo za zgodovino Ljubljane, vol. 11 (1966), no. 44, pp. 7–10; OTOREPEC, *Rokodelstvo* (1972), p. 34.

42 Cf. SCHNEIDMÜLLER, *Städtische Umweltgesetzgebung* (1989), pp. 120–121.

43 Cf. DIRLMEIER, *Zuständigkeiten* (1981), pp. 139–143; IDEM, *Lebensbedingungen* (1986), pp. 154–157; SCHUBERT, *Scheu vor der Natur* (1994), pp. 39–42.

44 On public baths in the late Middle Ages and Early Modern period in detail TUCHEN, *Öffentliche Badhäuser* (2003).

century: the upper one in *Neumarkt* and the lower one in *Stadt* proper⁴⁵. Between 1257 and 1269 Duke Ulrich III of Carinthia donated to the Benedictines from Oberburg *domum et aream in civitate Laibachensi et stupam balneaream cum area* [...]⁴⁶. These later so-called 'lower baths' stood close to the cathedral of St Nicholas and the Franciscan monastery (*die nider padstubbm in der stat bey dem closter vnnnder sannd Nicla ze Laybach*)⁴⁷. In 1267 the same Duke Ulrich III donated to the house of the Teutonic Order in Ljubljana *aream* [...] *in Laibaco in nouo foro sitam circa aquam* with a license *in predicta area communem stupam balnearem edificare*⁴⁸. These 'upper baths' stood close to the southern walls of *Neumarkt* and are known to have been built with one side upon the river⁴⁹. Thus, both baths were situated on the riverbank where the needed water was obtained, however, on the opposite bank from the craftsmen's quarters, which were the potential source of water pollution. In the winter, apart from hygiene, the public baths also provided a warm place for people, especially members of the lower classes whose dwellings had no heating⁵⁰.

In regard to waste waters, special mention should be made of the butchers' trade. Butchers' shops or stalls were usually located close to or immediately upon the river. In the late medieval Ljubljana, most were situated on the two main bridges, the Upper and the Lower one⁵¹. Consequently, the water needed for cleaning was close and the waste could be easily disposed of. Also, the latrines of many houses near the river were above the water, as can be seen in a detail from the mid-seventeenth century veduta (Fig. 6). In the same drawing we can also see a wooden structure in the area of *Altenmarkt* protruding over the walls and above the water, which perhaps served as the public latrine. The same type of building was depicted down the stream and close to the north wall, accessible from the Franciscan monastery. In *Altenmarkt* we can also see wooden pipes leading through the walls to the river, apparently for wastewater drainage from that quarter, probably connected with an underground channel under the street (Figs. 7 and 8).

The second main significance that the river had for the medieval city and medieval world in general was as a source of energy – for powering flour mills, saw mills, fulling mills etc.⁵² The right to use water for different purposes was the so-called regalian right and it belonged to the territorial prince – in the case of Ljubljana also the town lord – and he granted the city or individual citizens the right to have mills in specific locations. Already around 1330

45 Cf. KOBLAR, Kopaljšča (1900), pp. 67–72.

46 Gradivo za zgodovino Ljubljane, vol. 11 (1966), no. 19.

47 Ibid., vol. 11 (1966), no. 44, pp. 6–7; KOS, Srednjeveška Ljubljana (1955), pp. 27–28.

48 VERBIČ, 700 let (1967), pp. 70–71; KOS, Srednjeveška Ljubljana (1955), p. 18.

49 KOS, Srednjeveška Ljubljana (1955), p. 18; KOBLAR, Kopaljšča (1900), p. 68.

50 Cf. SCHUBERT, Wald (1986), p. 261.

51 [...] *fleischpanckh* [...] *zũ der pruckgen über die Laybach*, Gradivo za zgodovino Ljubljane, vol. 3 (1958), no. 42; [...] *fleischpanckh auf der obern prugken zu Laibach*, *ibid.*, vol. 10 (1965), no. 82; [...] *auf der obernprugken, da fleischpanckh steen*, *ibid.*, vol. 6 (1961), no. 36; [...] *fleischpanckh* [...] *an der nidern brukhen*, *ibid.*, vol. 10 (1965), no. 61; [...] *vleischpanckh auff der nyder pruckhn*, *ibid.*, vol. 6 (1961), no. 25; KOS, Srednjeveška Ljubljana (1955), pp. 14, 23–24; OTOREPEC, Rokodelstvo (1972), pp. 22–24.

52 On the emergence of water mills in Europe since the Early Middle Ages cf. LOHRMANN, Energieprobleme (1979), pp. 298–305.

two ship mills were mentioned, one on the riverbank of *Stadt* proper near the Church of St Nicholas and the other in a village of Slape a few kilometres downstream. Duke Henry of Görz-Tirol donated them to his notary with the instruction that in case of malfunction or decay of the *naves*, his officials in Ljubljana were obliged to reconstruct and locate them on the same spot, as was the old custom (*iuxta antiquam consuetudinem*)⁵³. One century later, static mills with dams were documented in both said locations. In 1478 Emperor Frederick III considered demolishing the dam at St Nicholas and reintroducing the ship mill (*mul auf scheff*), but his plans were subsequently withdrawn upon the citizens' appeal that it would reduce the water level and lessen the defence capability of the city, which at that time did not have the protective wall built on the riverbank yet⁵⁴. Later there were complaints from villagers that the same dam was responsible for the high water level and frequent floods which supposedly reached as far as Polhov Gradec, Planina and Cerknica, tens of kilometres upstream. Because of this, the dam and mill were attacked and destroyed during the peasant uprising of 1515, but were reinstated afterwards⁵⁵. The third mill, known since 1330, stood on the Gradaščica, a tributary of Ljubljanica River, in the southern suburb above the city⁵⁶. Other mills known since the late Middle Ages were at Poljane and St Peter's parish church downstream of the city and in the village of Vič above the city⁵⁷. It is important to note that many of these locations were permanent and the right to have mills in these locations remained intact until the nineteenth century. Some later developed into industrial plants (Fig. 9).

The water accumulated at the dams of the flour mills was often used for other kinds of mills, too. The saw mill located in St John's suburb is known as early as 1388 (*seg ze Laibach bei sand Johanns*)⁵⁸, which is comparable to the development in other parts of the ›Reich‹ at that time⁵⁹. In the mid-fifteenth century a *Stampf* was first mentioned, which was probably a fulling mill, using water power for making of woollen cloth⁶⁰. This is likely as the *watmangers*, treating and selling cloth, are attested in Ljubljana as early as 1329⁶¹. There were actually two *Stampfen* downstream from the city, at Poljane and Slape, both

53 Gradivo za zgodovino Ljubljane, vol. 11 (1966), no. 41.

54 Ibid., vol. 6 (1961), no. 45; KOS, Srednjeveška Ljubljana (1955), p. 29.

55 OTOREPEC, Rokodelstvo (1972), p. 21.

56 Gradivo za zgodovino Ljubljane, vol. 1 (1956), no. 40; *ibid.*, vol. 6 (1961), no. 64; OTOREPEC, Rokodelstvo (1972), p. 22; KOS, Srednjeveška Ljubljana (1955), p. 41.

57 The mill at Poljane was first mentioned in 1364, two mills at St Peter's in 1413 (Gradivo za zgodovino Ljubljane, vol. 2 [1957], nos. 26, 54) and the mill in Vič in 1482 (*ibid.*, vol. 9 [1964], no. 88). Cf. OTOREPEC, Rokodelstvo (1972), p. 22.

58 Gradivo za zgodovino Ljubljane, vol. 1 (1956), no. 95. Another saw mill is known since 1581. It was located next to the city's flour mill in the southern suburb in Kolezija and was also the possession of the city commune. VALENČIČ, Gozdovi (1954), p. 180.

59 Cf. SCHUBERT, Der Wald (1986), p. 260.

60 Cf. LOHRMANN, Energieprobleme (1979), p. 301.

61 OTOREPEC, Rokodelstvo (1972), p. 27. A fulling mill is known to have existed at the beginning of the fifteenth century also in the neighbouring town Kamnik/Stain. IDEM, Donesek (1957), pp. 46–47.

close to the existing flour mills (Fig. 9)⁶². The mills with dams were a big obstacle for navigation on the Ljubljana River. It is therefore not surprising that they could only be found in the lower part of the city as well as downstream of it, and none upstream (except on tributaries). This allowed lively river transport from the sources of Ljubljana at Vrhnika/Oberlaibach to the city port, from where navigation was rendered impossible by the dams and consequently the goods were transported further to the confluence with the Sava River on land by carts and wagons⁶³.

Wood

Forests formed another strong connection between the medieval city and its natural environment⁶⁴. Wood was of vital importance for medieval society in general, since it served as raw material and the main source of energy⁶⁵. In Carniola, as in many other parts of Europe, the clearing of forests and agrarian colonisation reached a huge extent during the thirteenth century⁶⁶. But extensive woodlands remained in the immediate vicinity of medieval Ljubljana, stretching far into the hills in the southeast and northwest, so the wood supply never posed a serious problem. The forests lay outside the immediate town territory and its jurisdiction, but they belonged to the Ljubljana seignury of the territorial prince. Also the fertile Ljubljansko polje to the north of the city and other areas in the vicinity were originally covered by forests, consisting primarily of oak and hornbeam trees, which were partly cleared in the high Middle Ages under the direction of the lords of Ljubljana⁶⁷. Numerous place names of villages still remind us of former woodlands, many connected with oak forests, more specifically ›dob‹ (*Quercus rubur*), such as Dobrava, Dobrova, Zadobrova, Dob, Dobje, Dobovlje, Dobova, Dobravica, Dobeno. Others are related to hornbeam trees – Slov. ›gaber‹ (such as Gabrje), birch – Slov. ›breza‹ (Brezovica, Brezje), willow – Slov. ›vrba‹ (Vrba, Vrbičje, Vrbljene), maple – Slov. ›javor‹ (Javor, Javorje), alder – Slov. ›jelša‹ (Jelše, Zajelše), elm – Slov. ›brest‹ (Brest). Many names are associated with groves, located on the alluvial plains along the rivers, from Slov. ›log‹ or ›loka‹ (Log, Zalog, Prelog, Loka, Zaloka) or with forests of territorial prince in general, from German ›Forst‹ (Boršt, Podboršt, Zaboršt).

Most of the forests in the vicinity belonged to the territorial prince, the lord of Ljubljana seignury, who granted special rights of usage to his citizens in Ljubljana. This subsequently led to frequent conflicts of interests with other forest users – village communes and neighbouring lordships. The documents resulting from these disputes, which were usually written down in the city's book of privileges, are the best sources to shed light on the

62 Gradivo za zgodovino Ljubljane, vol. 6 (1961), no. 1, p. 11; OTOREPEC, Rokodelstvo (1972), p. 22; KOS, Srednjeveška Ljubljana (1955), p. 56.

63 KOSI, Navigation (2009), pp. 148–152; IDEM, Potujoči srednji vek (1998), pp. 151–153.

64 Examples from German cities in KIESS, Bemerkungen (1981), pp. 79–87.

65 SCHUBERT, Wald (1986), pp. 257–263.

66 Cf. LOHRMANN, Energieprobleme (1979), p. 306.

67 KOS, Starejša in mlajša naselja (1951), pp. 172–173; IDEM, Srednjeveška naselitev (1964), pp. 101–102.

relationship between the city and the neighbouring woodlands⁶⁸. The areas reserved for the city's usage are referred to as *gemain*, common land, and included forests as well as pastures and meadows. Such a *gemain* was first mentioned in a citizens' complaint from 1370, stating that it was taken away from them, and in the subsequent ducal decree that it must be returned and protected as it was before⁶⁹. In 1385 *stat gemain, holz und weid* – the city's common, wood and pasture – is referred to with the instruction that it was not to be used by the citizens who failed to pay taxes and perform their due services to the city community⁷⁰ (assumably, this was a measure to limit the circle of forest users because of limited resources of the city)⁷¹.

In regard to the city's wood supply, a document from as early as 1317 sheds light on a dispute between Ljubljana and the Carthusian monastery in Bistra/Freudenthal near Vrhnika, which complained over the citizens cutting wood within the limits of monastery grounds. The priory was situated at a considerable distance from the city (ca. 20 kilometres), but the location proved convenient for the citizens because of possible transport on the navigable Ljubljanica River. Since the monastery was founded by the lords of Ljubljana, Duke Henry of Görz-Tirol decided against his citizens and forbade them the exploitation of these woods without specific consent of the monks⁷².

The city had a great demand for wood, which was mostly used as construction material, with the greater part of buildings in Ljubljana being made of wood throughout the Middle Ages and well into the early Modern Era⁷³. This is confirmed by the detail of Ljubljana's veduta from mid-seventeenth century where whole buildings or at least their upper parts were still wooden (Fig. 10). Fuel wood constituted the second most important use of wood; it was used for heating as well as for the purposes of numerous craftsmen that relied on heat or flame: blacksmiths, bakers, potters, brewers, tanners, candle makers, inn keepers and others. Also, the two city baths burnt considerable amounts of wood for water heating⁷⁴.

The documents concerning the supply of wood for the city frequently mention *zimerholz vnd prenholz*, construction wood and fuel wood. The most important and therefore also most exploited ones were forests close to the town, particularly those on the castle hill. In 1439 the future king, Duke Frederick V, issued a mandate to his captain in the Ljubljana Castle that the wooded grounds on the castle hill had always been reserved for the needs of the city and the castle, for which reason the citizens of Ljubljana carefully guarded and grew that forest. Namely, the citizens made a complaint against the captain that he had appropriated that wood and by excessive cutting of trees totally depleted the forest⁷⁵. In the time of need, as during the threat from Ottoman incursions in 1478 when Ljubljana

68 For examples of disputes over the usage of forests in Württemberg, cf. BLICKLE, *Wem gehörte der Wald* (1986), pp. 170–172.

69 Gradivo za zgodovino Ljubljane, vol. 3 (1958), no. 10; VALENČIČ, *Agrarno gospodarstvo* (1958), p. 8.

70 Gradivo za zgodovino Ljubljane, vol. 3 (1958), no. 16; VALENČIČ, *Gozdovi* (1954), p. 178.

71 Cf. SCHUBERT, *Wald* (1986), pp. 264–265.

72 Gradivo za zgodovino Ljubljane, vol. 10 (1965), no. 17; VALENČIČ, *Gozdovi* (1954), p. 180.

73 On wood as building material cf. LOHRMANN, *Energieprobleme* (1979), p. 309.

74 SCHUBERT, *Wald* (1986), p. 261; LOHRMANN, *Energieprobleme* (1979), pp. 306–310.

75 Gradivo za zgodovino Ljubljane, vol. 3 (1958), no. 49.

was strengthening its fortifications, the king allowed the citizens unlimited use of wood from any forests in the immediate vicinity. For that purpose he ordered all his officials and other owners of forests not to hinder the citizens in any way and let them cut and take away all the timber they needed⁷⁶.

The greater part of Ljubljana's supply with wood, however, came from areas further away, 15–20 kilometres from the city. In 1421, for instance, Duke Ernst settled a dispute between Ljubljana's citizens and the lords of Auersperg/Turjak south of Ljubljana concerning the forests in the Mokrec Hill (*weld mit namen Makriz*). The inhabitants of Ljubljana claimed that they had depended on their wood supply for *zimerholz vnnnd prenholz* from these woods for over a hundred years, after which the duke decided in their favour⁷⁷. On that same occasion in 1421, another dispute between the citizens and the lords of Hertenberg over the woods in the hills northwest of Ljubljana was decided in favour of the city. The verdict contained an explanation of the jurisdictional status of these woods. The duke clearly stated: »These woods are ours and belong to our city of Ljubljana; they are the *gemain* of the city, with the exception of the fields and meadows that belong to the farms in that area, which are excluded from the *gemain*«⁷⁸. The woods were therefore the duke's property, part of his seignury of Ljubljana, and were put to the common use of the citizens of Ljubljana (Fig. 11).

Occasionally the right to cut wood for one's own use was also granted to a particular individual citizen, as was the case in 1444 when King Frederick IV granted the wealthy citizen Stautheimer from Ljubljana the right to acquire *prennholtz zue seines haus notturft zue Laybach* from the king's forest in Utik⁷⁹. In 1463 the same king/emperor granted the bishop of the newly founded bishopric in Ljubljana the right to obtain *zimerholtz vnd prennholtz* from his forests⁸⁰. In 1484 a citizen from Ljubljana even held a tower in pledge on the nearby Šišenski Hill, including the surrounding forest, so his needs for wood were obviously met⁸¹.

The wood as building material was predominantly oak wood. This is clearly evident from a complaint of the Ljubljana commune to the king in 1503 that his administrator in Carniola was cutting wood for fuel (*vmb prennholtz*) in the oak forest close to the city, which had always been reserved for the use of the city and the castle (obviously as building material)⁸². An even better testimony and a unique source from this era dates back to 1510, the time of war between Austria and the Republic of Venice. Therein Emperor Maximilian

76 [...] *paw holtz was sy des dartzu bedurffen werden vmb dieselb vnser stat Laybach wo sy daz finden ze nemen vnd zu geprauchten* [...]. Ibid., vol. 4 (1959), no. 9; VALEŃIČ, Gozdovi (1954), p. 179.

77 Gradivo za zgodovino Ljubljane, vol. 3 (1958), nos. 40, 43; VALEŃIČ, Gozdovi (1954), p. 179.

78 [...] *gemain vnnnd wald* [...] *vnnser ist vnnnd zu vnnserer stat Laybach gehört* [...]; [...] *das alles gemain sey der egenanten vnserer stat vnd den dörfern iren mittailn ausgenomen, was ekher vnnnd wissmad darin vnnnd dabey sey die zu den huben gehört* [...]. Gradivo za zgodovino Ljubljane, vol. 3 (1958), nos. 39, 41; VALEŃIČ, Gozdovi (1954), p. 179.

79 Gradivo za zgodovino Ljubljane, vol. 9 (1964), no. 74.

80 Ibid., vol. 7 (1962), no. 90.

81 Ibid., vol. 10 (1965), no. 87.

82 Ibid., vol. 4 (1959), no. 38.

stated that his citizens in Ljubljana had been cutting large quantities of oak trees in the forests and the *gemain* allocated to them in the past for the purposes of building and providing a better defence of the city. He ordered his captain in Ljubljana that he should, together with the citizens, enclose or fence these forests and prohibit the cutting so that the young trees could grow and the forests could flourish again to provide for the needs of his city and castle in the future⁸³. The mentioned woods were supposedly in Mestni log, in the close vicinity of the city in the southwest; they were later known to have been in the possession of the city as *Stattwaldt* (Fig. 11)⁸⁴. For the Slovenian territory this is an early testimony of how a medieval city also used a kind of planned management of forests that were the source of its wood supply⁸⁵. Such measures are, for instance, also known to us from the counts of Ortenburg, who, already in 1406, issued a detailed regulation (*Waldtordnung*) in regard to their extensive forests in Carniola and Carinthia⁸⁶.

Besides the need for wood as building and fuel material, there was also great demand for wood as raw material among many craftsmen in the medieval city: cartwrights, barrel, box and chest makers, joiners, rope makers, bow and arrow makers and others, indirectly also those engaged in leather industry (shoemakers, saddlers, purse and bag makers, thong and belt makers)⁸⁷. Tanners and shoemakers, respectively, who represented a large proportion of the population of late medieval Ljubljana, needed tannin in order to tan hides and make leather. Tannin was extracted from oak bark and we have a piece of information from 1527 that twenty-two shoemakers from Ljubljana had a specific forest near Polhov Gradec allocated to them (20 kilometres away), from which they were allowed to acquire oak bark, i. e. tannin (Fig. 11). For this right they had to pay annual dues to the town lord (king), the so-called *laarecht*⁸⁸.

Relations between the town and the agrarian countryside

The relations between a medieval city and its rural surroundings were of vital importance for the daily provision, which was based on the imports of food from the countryside and could be frequently threatened by inadequate supply. Originally, in the first centuries of its medieval growth, the area inside the city walls of Ljubljana was built still relatively sparsely, leaving plenty of space between houses for gardens and orchards that could satisfy a part

83 [...] *damit dann berurt gehulz vnnd wald widerumben zu fruchten bracht vnnd das jungholz deststattlicher erwachsen werden mugen* [...]. Gradivo za zgodovino Ljubljane, vol. 4 (1959), no. 47.

84 VALENČIČ, Gozdovi (1954), pp. 179, 181.

85 For early examples of forest protection measures by medieval cities cf. SCHUBERT, Wald (1986), pp. 263–266.

86 Edited and published as *Ortenburški gozdni red* (1985). The shortage of wood for different purposes at the end of the Middle Ages evidently brought about the appearance of many *Forstordnungen* in order to limit the exploitation and manage the woods more economically. Cf. BLICKLE, *Wem gehörte der Wald* (1986), p. 168.

87 SCHUBERT, Wald (1986), pp. 259–260.

88 Gradivo za zgodovino Ljubljane, vol. 12 (1968), no. 5, p. 8.

of the citizens' needs. This can still be observed in the depiction of Ljubljana from the mid-seventeenth century in which individual houses in the core area have small orchards and houses closer to the city walls even have quite extensive and neatly fenced gardens and orchards (Figs. 12 and 13). Properties were frequently sold with a specific mention of gardens, as in 1317 when a citizen sold his *area cum orto* in the city to the Cistercian monastery in Bistra/Freudenthal⁸⁹. Later the built-up area was increasingly condensed and the cultivated land was located predominantly outside the city walls.

The immediate vicinity just outside the city walls was under the city's jurisdiction and part of its territory – the so-called *Burgfried* (Fig. 14)⁹⁰. The citizens used this area for intensive agricultural purposes – there were gardens, orchards, and little further away extensive fields, meadows and pastures for the citizens' cattle. In 1403 there was even a mention of burghers' vineyards on the Rožnik Hill⁹¹. The sources mention this cultivated space from the thirteenth century onwards, and throughout the centuries it was the object of intense real estate transactions, indicating its importance for the citizens and the city's supply. There are tens, if not hundreds of documents revealing the selling or buying of gardens, orchards, fields, or donating them to ecclesiastical institutions in the city, together with the pertaining buildings, such as sheds, barns and granaries (Fig. 15)⁹². There were two areas of slightly elevated, drier and most fertile grounds in the immediate suburbs, which were intensively cultivated and which most of the sources about property transactions refer to: *Purchstal* (Gradišče) to the west, the area of the former Roman city of Emona and its immediate surroundings, and *Pubel* (Gorica, 'the hill') and the area around the *vorstadt bei St. Johannes* north of the city⁹³. We can clearly see what they looked like in details of the veduta from the seventeenth century (Figs. 15 and 16).

Further away were more extensive citizens' fields, meadows and pastures. The latter, i. e. meadows and pastures, lay mostly outside the immediate city's *Burgfried* but on the land of the Ljubljana seigneurie and were part of the city's *gemain*, common land, to which the right was granted to the citizens by the town lord (king), same as the right to harvest wood from the surrounding forests⁹⁴. In sources the *gemain* is in fact usually referred to as *holz und waid*, wood and pasture. Some of these common lands lay relatively close to the city. In the already mentioned deed of 1493 the king allowed the Franciscan friars to build a fishpond in front of the Upper Gate on the city's *gemain* that would no longer be used for pasture⁹⁵. Other city's common lands lay outside the *Burgfried*. In 1439 the citizens, for instance, complained to Duke Frederick V that his captain in the Ljubljana Castle appropriated their *gemain* outside the *Burgfried*, which they had used for grazing and sowing

89 Ibid., vol. 7 (1962), no. 16.

90 On the extent of Ljubljana's *Burgfried* see KOS, *Srednjeveška Ljubljana* (1955), p. 39; ZWITTER, *Razvoj* (1929), p. 148; VRHOVEC, *Ljubljanski meščanje* (1886), p. 51.

91 *Gradivo za zgodovino Ljubljane*, vol. 2 (1957), no. 46; KOS, *Srednjeveška Ljubljana* (1955), p. 44.

92 The first mentions of cultivated areas (*agri*) directly around the walls are from 1277 and 1280. *Gradivo za zgodovino Ljubljane*, vol. 1 (1956), nos. 3, 4; VALENČIČ, *Agrarno gospodarstvo* (1958), p. 8.

93 KOS, *Srednjeveška Ljubljana* (1955), pp. 42, 46–47, 54–55.

94 VALENČIČ, *Agrarno gospodarstvo* (1958), pp. 4, 8–9.

95 Cf. note 37.

(of rye, oats, buckwheat and millet, as known since 1571)⁹⁶. In fact, the captain had allowed external people who were not citizens to graze their animals there against a fee. The duke, of course, ordered the captain to allow the citizens to use their traditional *gemain* again⁹⁷. Such complaints were repeated in the following decades, with the additional detail that these common pastures were also intended for the cattle brought to Ljubljana for the city's provision by foreigners as well as for the herds of passing traders – explicit mention was made of Hungarians with their herds on their way to Italy (*die Hungern vnd annder handlund leut mit irem viech*)⁹⁸. Other common ground – mostly meadows – lay even further away from the city. In 1415 the citizens of Ljubljana found themselves in a dispute with three village communes south of the city in regard to some meadows where they usually cut grass. The administrator of the territorial prince's lands went with some of the oldest citizens to the disputed area, heard the arguments of both sides, and then determined one ditch as the boundary between the area where the grass would be cut by the villagers, and the area closer to the city which would be reserved for the citizens' use⁹⁹. In those times the Ljubljana Moor southwest of the city was apparently primarily exploited for mowing grass. In 1463 the Bishop of Ljubljana, too, was explicitly granted the right to mow in Ljubljana Moor – to have *wismad auf dem mos bey Laibach*¹⁰⁰.

Finally, we may also emphasise the vital relations between the medieval Ljubljana and the wider agrarian countryside, on which – being quite a large urban centre – it depended for everyday import of foods and raw materials. Even in the fifteenth century Ljubljana was the only city in Carniola to have three weekly fairs – on Wednesday, Saturday and Sunday¹⁰¹. This shows that there must have been quite a considerable import and regular goods traffic in the city. The fifteenth century witnessed the intensification of a process that caused great concern to the citizens and the territorial prince alike. The villagers, stimulated by their respective lords, traded with their products in the countryside, primarily at numerous church fairs, causing the diminishing of vital supply for the cities and boroughs. Many complaints of citizens and decrees of the territorial prince have been preserved in regard to this problem, stating that cities and boroughs had grave problems in satisfying their daily needs – *an teglichen notdurften*¹⁰². Explicit mention is made of the frequently inadequate supplies of grain, cattle, vine, oats, and furs¹⁰³.

My thesis is that this fragile relationship and vital dependence on the countryside was one of the main reasons why the citizens of Ljubljana began, already in the early fourteenth century, to invest a considerable portion of their wealth into buying homesteads – usually as fiefs – in the wider area around the city. A huge number of preserved documents of citi-

96 VALENČIČ, *Agrarno gospodarstvo* (1958), p. 9. Buckwheat spread more widely in the Slovenian territories only at the end of the Middle Ages.

97 *Gradivo za zgodovino Ljubljane*, vol. 3 (1958), no. 50.

98 *Ibid.*, nos. 60, 65.

99 *Ibid.*, no. 30.

100 *Ibid.*, vol. 7 (1962), no. 90.

101 *Ibid.*, no. 82; OTOREPEČ, *Rokodelstvo* (1972), p. 8.

102 Example in a source from 1461: *Gradivo za zgodovino Ljubljane*, vol. 3 (1958), no. 72.

103 *Ibid.*, no. 64; vol. 4 (1959), no. 21.

zens relate to buying, selling and donating homesteads or arable plots¹⁰⁴. If we have a look at the distribution of these real-estates (Fig. 17), we can see that they were mainly located in the fertile lowlands, in the radius of 15 to 20 kilometres around the city, usually along the main roads, and almost none in the hilly countryside to the northwest and southeast (obviously connected with favourable transport accessibility). Naturally, one of the reasons was the investment of superfluous capital, but another important reason was undoubtedly the citizens' concern for their regular and stable supply in foods and raw materials for crafts. This supply was surely more reliable coming from tenants who worked on land owned by the citizens, especially if it lay in convenient locations close to the main roads, much more so than from the farms owned by noblemen who had their own speculations in regard to profit. Same considerations obviously also led different ecclesiastical institutions in the city to take similar steps, for instance the *spitalmaister* of Ljubljana's city hospital (known since 1326) who in 1494 acquired two farms »for the poor people and the hospital in Ljubljana«¹⁰⁵.

Ljubljana as a model of a medium-sized medieval city, with adequately preserved sources, is a good example of the relations between a late medieval urban centre and its »natural« environment (more or less influenced by human activities) as well as the rural environment, already heavily transformed by human society. The sources provide an in-depth illustration of the especially close dependency of the town on the river as a source of water, food and energy, and on the forests as a source of wood for construction, fuel and raw materials. However, equally important and not to be ignored are also relations to the surrounding rural countryside, on which the town depended for its everyday supply of foods and raw materials. Thus, in this past era a profound interaction between the centre of human habitation and its surrounding environments is clearly evident. These relations undoubtedly also exist in present times – albeit in modified ways – but we are mostly unaware of them, as in the era of mass consumption basic natural resources are more or less taken for granted.

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104 Some earliest documents of this kind are from the years 1297, 1306, 1308, 1314, 1322. Ibid., vol. 1 (1956), nos. 7, 13, 14, 15, 20, 22; vol. 7 (1962), no. 10.

105 [...] *den armen lewten vnd dem spital ze Laibach zwo hueben [...] mit allen iren zw gehörungen dinsten vnd gulten* [...]. Ibid., vol. 6 (1961), no. 73.

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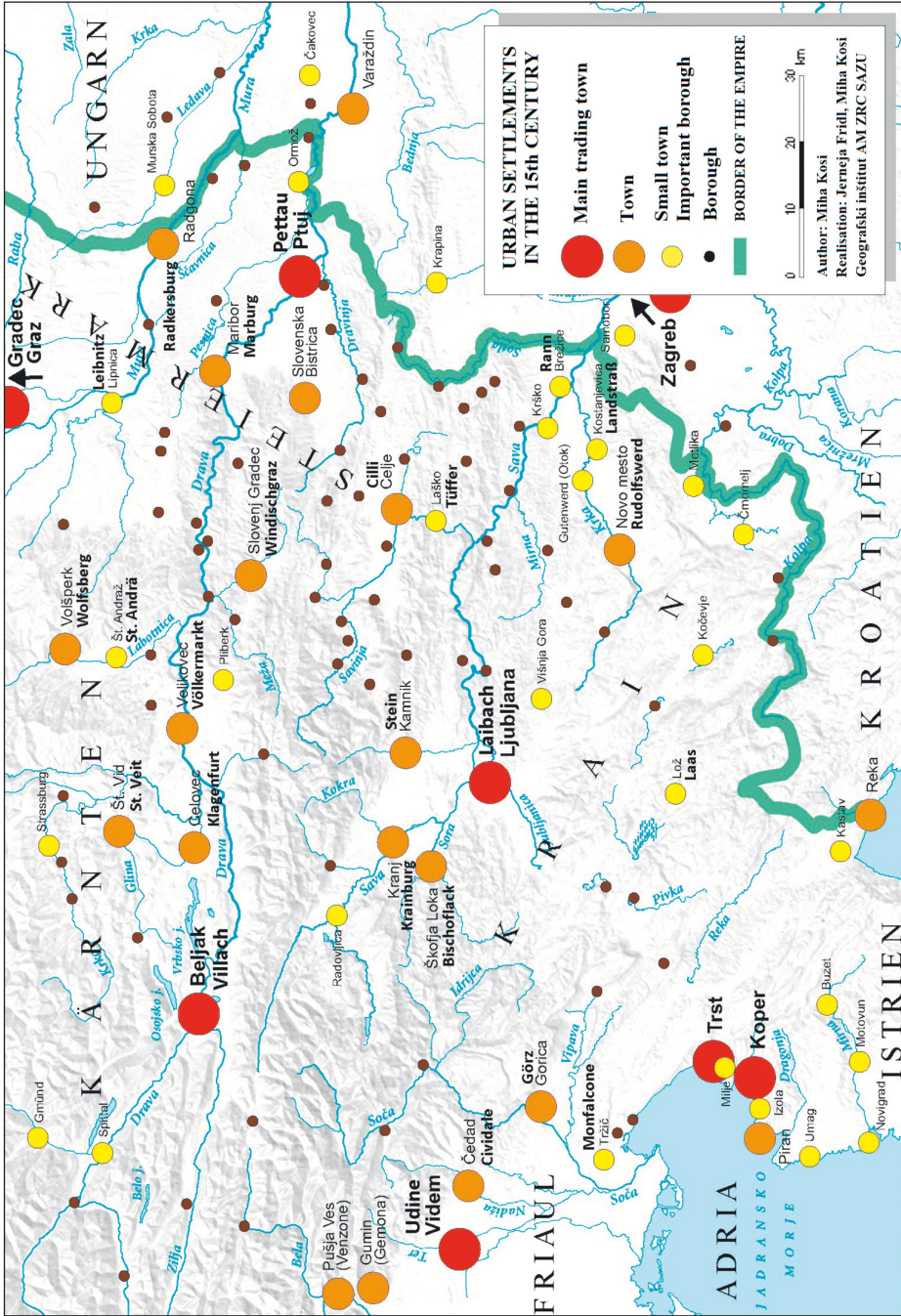


Fig. 1: The urban network in the Southeast of the Empire in the fifteenth century. Kosi, *Poručjoci srednji vek* (1998), p. 62.

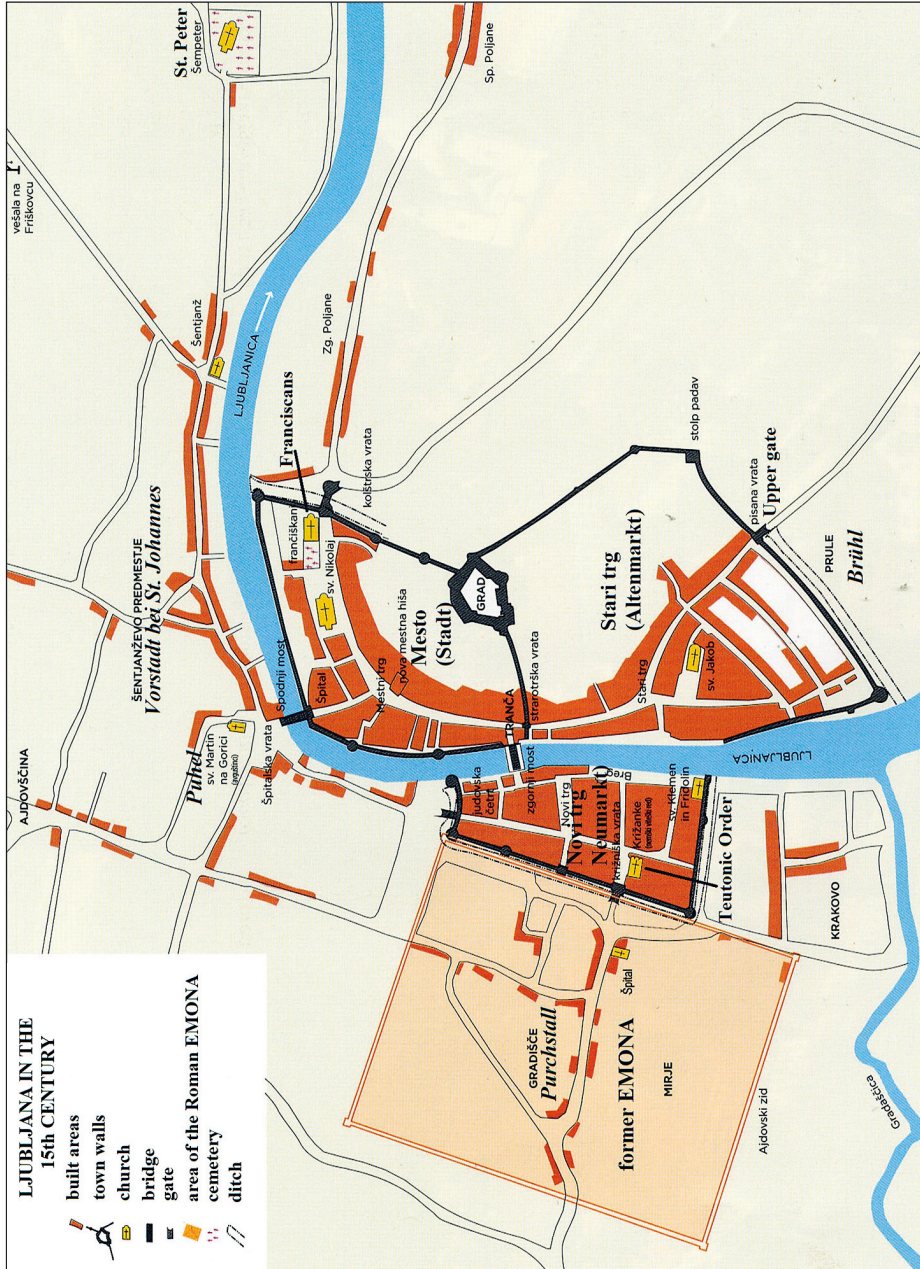


Fig. 2: Ljubljana in the fifteenth century. The Ljubljana (2009), p. 144.

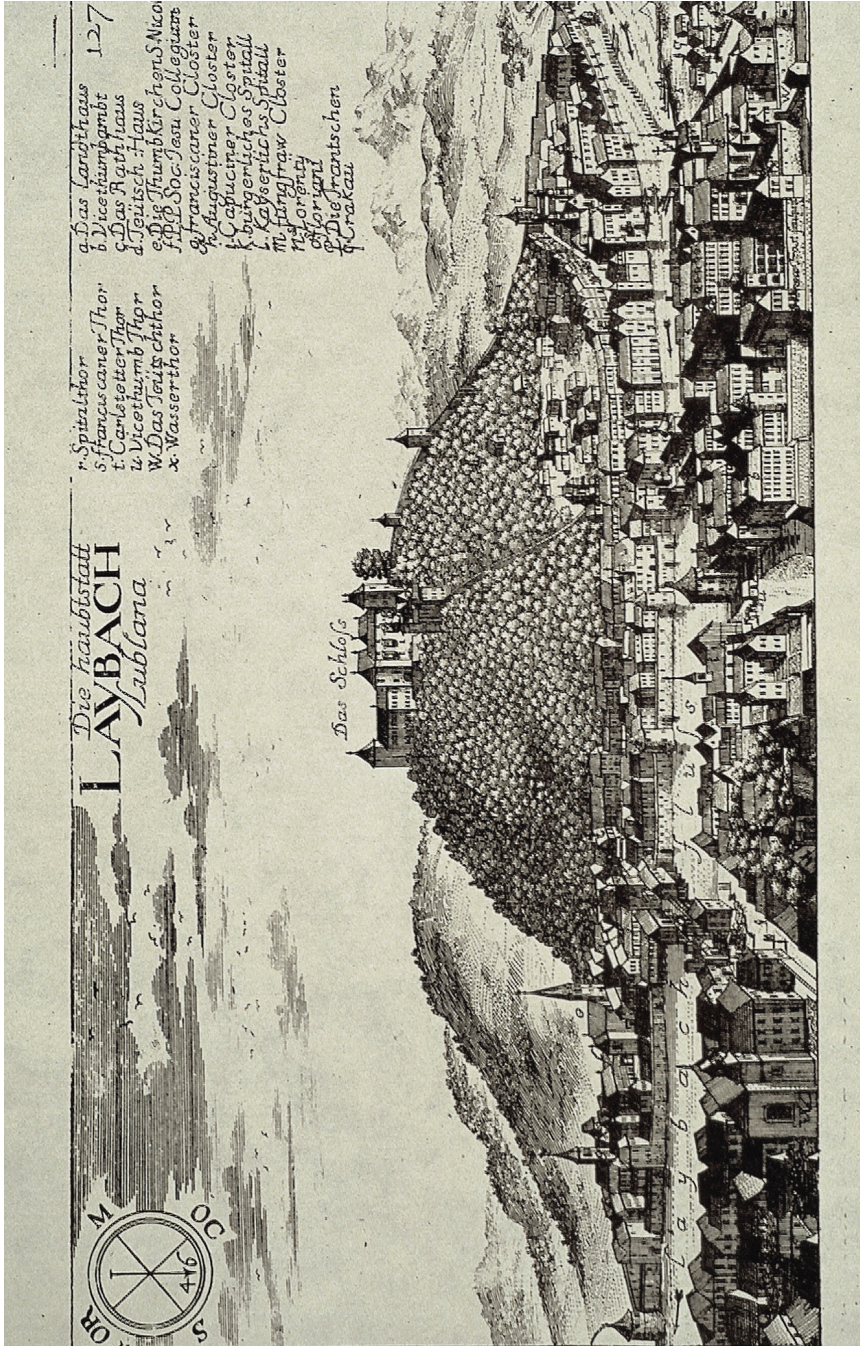


Fig. 3: Ljubljana. Valvasor, Topographia Ducatus Carnioliae Modernae (1679), p. 127.



Fig. 4: The extent of forested area in the hills around Ljubljana in the eighteenth century. Military maps (>Josephinische Landesaufnahme<) from the time of Emperor Joseph II, 1784–1787. Slovenija na vojaškem zemljevidu, vol. 2 (1996), sections 189, 190, 191, 203, 204, 205.



Fig. 5: Rakes across the Ljubljana river and the confluence with the tributary Gradaščica just below the city. Great vedura of Ljubljana from 1665/1666 (detail). Zagreb, Biblioteka metropolitana, Grafična zbirka, book 17, drawing 338.

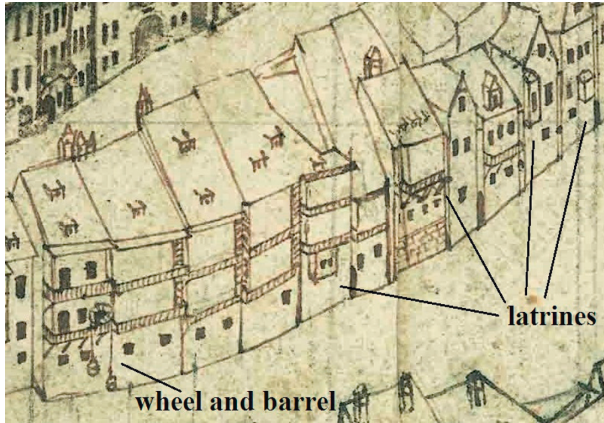
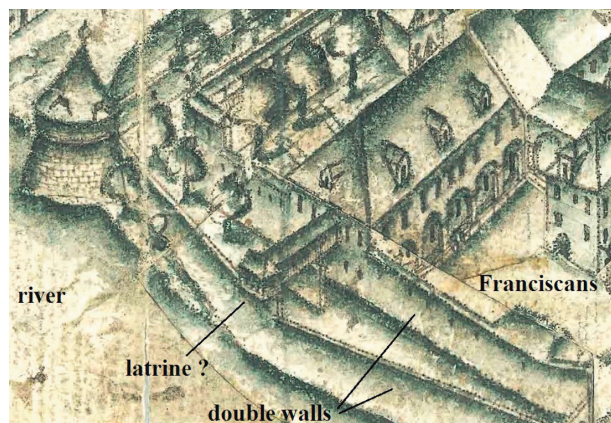
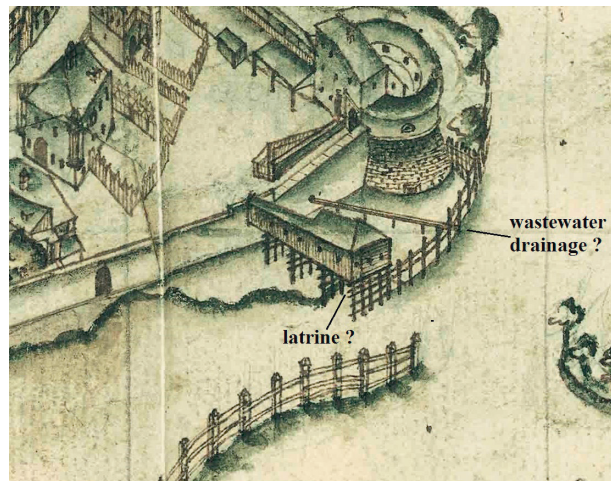


Fig. 6: The first row of houses on the riverbank of *Altenmarkt*. Great veduta of Ljubljana from 1665/1666 (detail). Zagreb, Biblioteka metropolitana, Grafična zbirka, book 17, drawing 338.

Figs. 7 and 8: Two details showing supposed latrines near the town walls in the south of *Altenmarkt* and at the Franciscan monastery in the north-eastern corner of *Stadt*. Great veduta of Ljubljana from 1665/1666 (details). Zagreb, Biblioteka metropolitana, Grafična zbirka, book 17, drawings 337, 338.



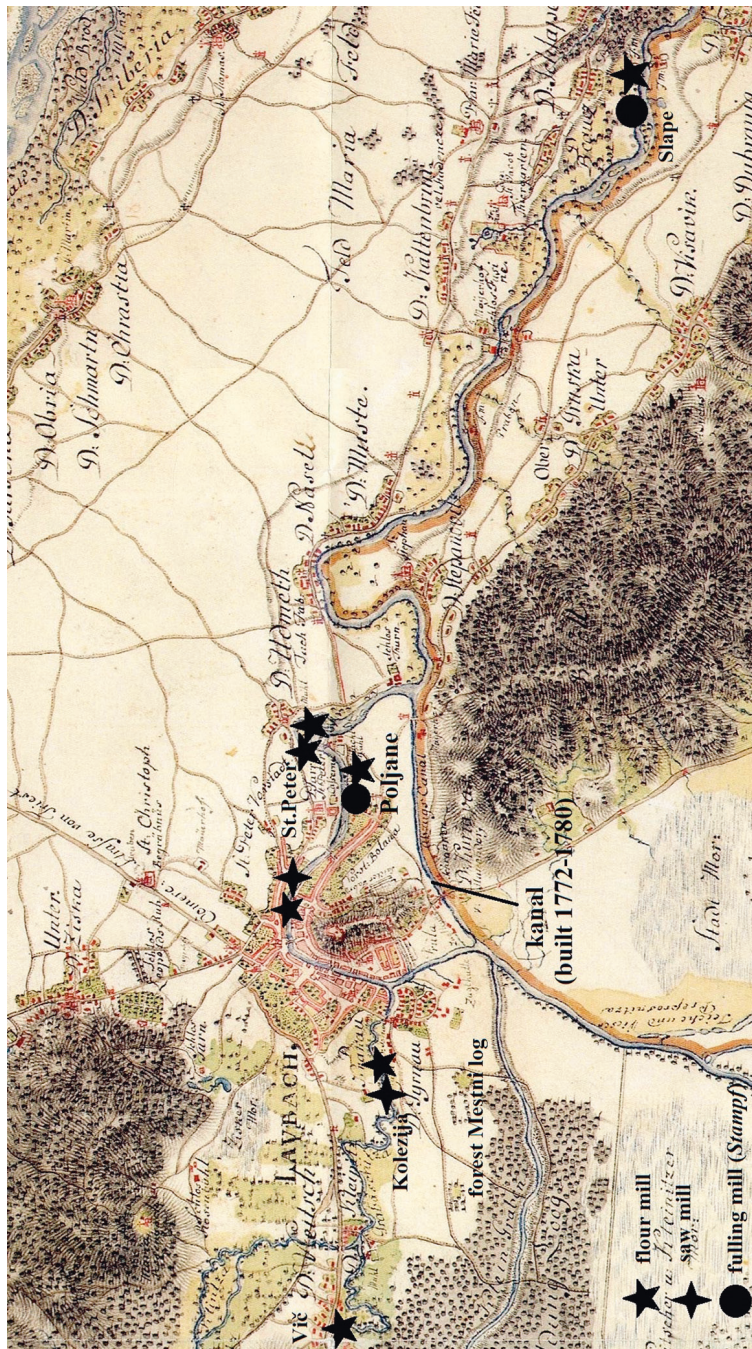


Fig. 9: Mills using water energy of Ljubljana and Gradašica rivers at the end of the Middle Ages. The base is a military map from the time of Emperor Joseph II (cf. Fig. 4), 1784–1787. Slovenija na vojaškem zemljevidu, vol. 2 (1996), section 190.

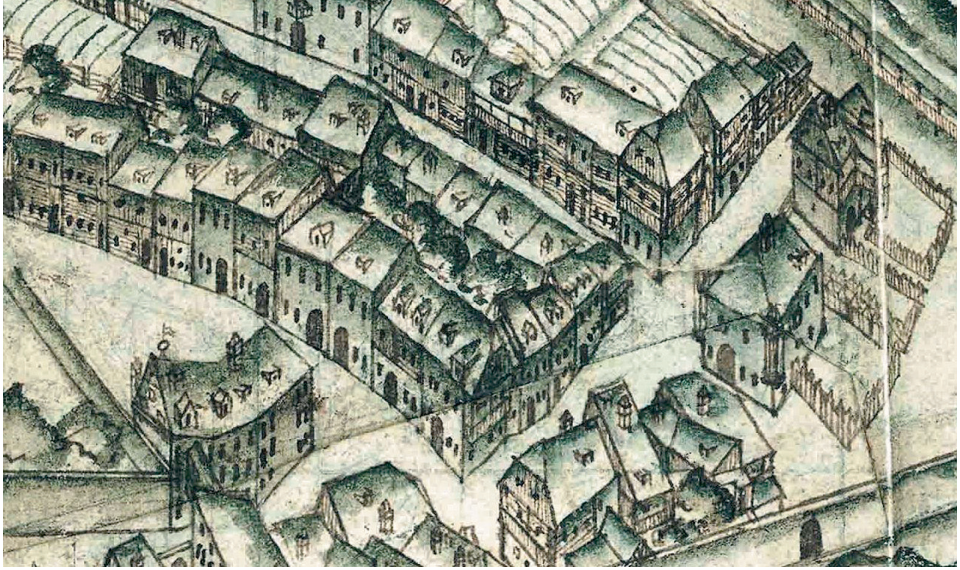


Fig. 10: In the seventeenth century many houses in Ljubljana were still wooden or at least partially made of wood. The area of *Altenmarkt*, a detail from the great veduta of Ljubljana from 1665/1666. Zagreb, Biblioteka metropolitana, Grafična zbirka, book 17, drawing 338.

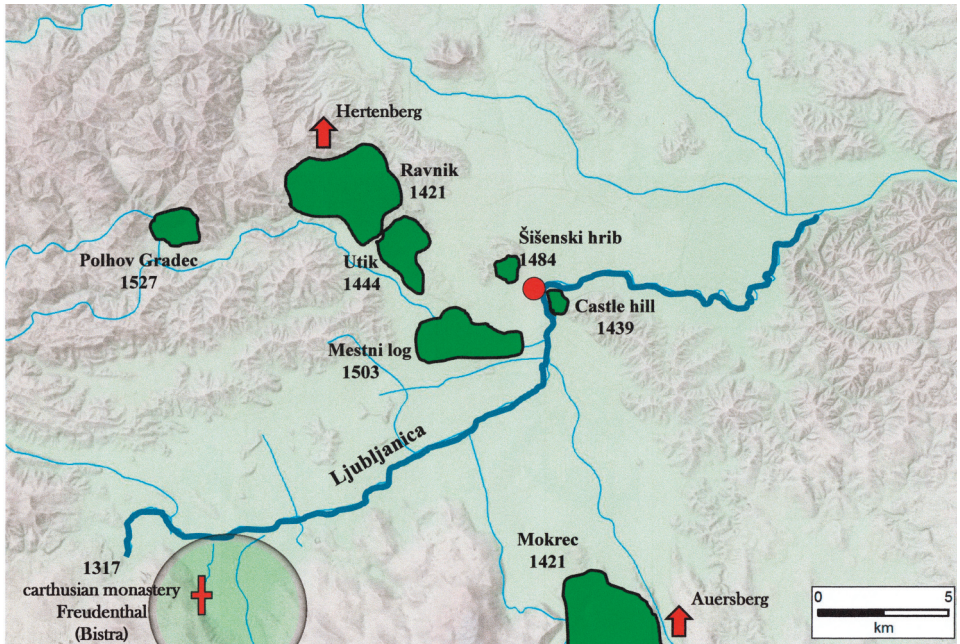


Fig. 11: Main wood supply areas (*gemain*) of the city of Ljubljana in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries (the dates indicate the years in which they are mentioned in the sources).

Figs. 12 and 13: Gardens and orchards inside the city walls of Ljubljana in the mid-seventeenth century. The area of *Altenmarkt*, two details from the great veduta of Ljubljana from 1665/1666. Zagreb, Biblioteka metropolitana, Grafična zbirka, book 17, drawing 338.

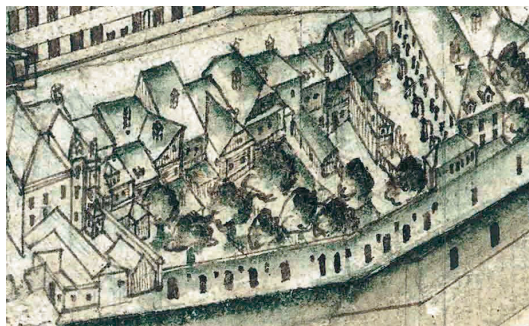


Fig. 14: Immediate area of the town's jurisdiction (*Burgfried* of Ljubljana) as known from the sixteenth century.

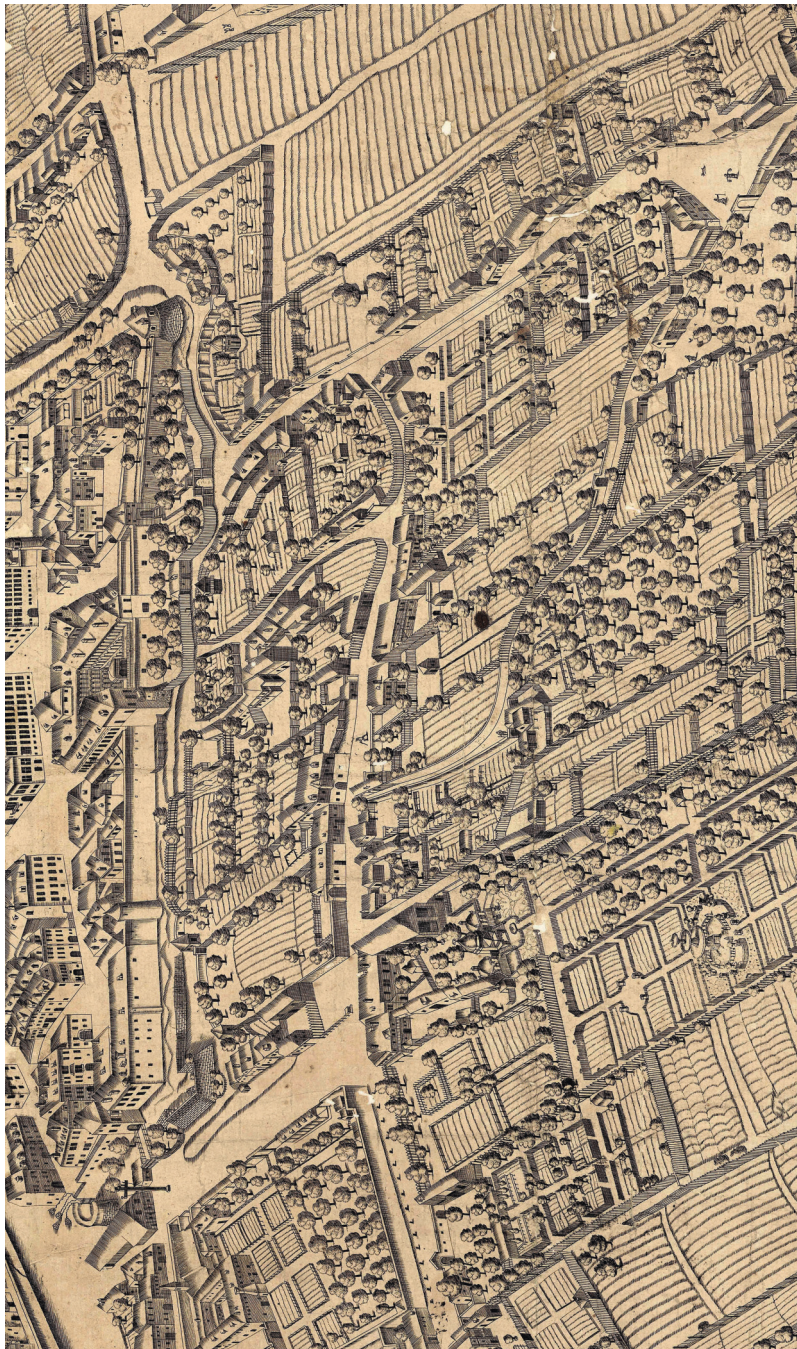


Fig. 15: Gradišče (*Purchstall*) in front of the walls of *Neumarkt*, the area of the former Roman Emona, with intensive agricultural use and numerous sheds, barns and granaries. Great veduta of Ljubljana from 1665/1666 (detail). Zagreb, Biblioteka metropolitana, Grafična zbirka, book 17, drawing 340.



Fig. 16: Gardens and fields in the area around St. John's suburb (*vorstadt bei St. Johannes*) north of the city. In the upper right corner is St. Martin, the former monastery of the Augustinian hermits on *Pubel*. Great veduta of Ljubljana from 1665/1666 (detail). Zagreb, Biblioteka metropolitana, Grafična zbirka, book 17, drawing 339.

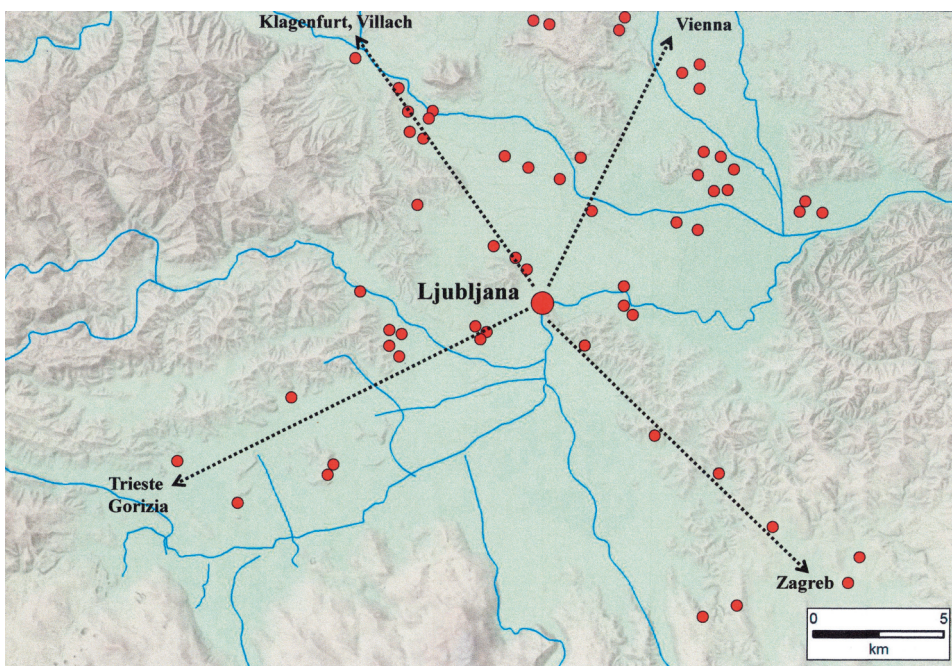


Fig. 17: Distribution of farms bought, owned or donated by the citizens of Ljubljana in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Their location is clearly visible in the fertile lowlands in easily accessible areas close to main roads.