

Peter Štih

Castrum Leibach

Najstarejša omemba Ljubljane
in njeni začetki

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in zgodovinskim uvodom

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and the City's Early History

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and a History Introduction

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Od antične Emone do srednjeveške Ljubljane:

kratek sprehod skozi starejšo zgodovino mesta

Osrednja lega v Ljubljanski kotlini z zemljevidno prikladnim prehodom in od pradavnine plovna reka sta dajali prostoru med grajskim gričem in Golovcem na vzhodu ter Rožnikom in Šišenskim hribom na zahodu značaj pomembnega prometnega križišča na poteh, ki so povezovale severno Italijo s Podonavjem ter vzhodne Alpe z zahodnim Balkanom. Omenjeni prostor, t. i. Ljubljanska vrata, v katerega je še danes umeščeno jedro Ljubljane, je s svojimi zemljevidnimi danostmi tako kar sam po sebi narekoval nastanek naselbine, ki bo znala primerno izkoristiti svoj pomemben prometni položaj in ga hkrati nadzorovati. Kot nam priča izoblikovanje mesta v rimskega dobi, nato središča obsežnega zemljiškega gospodstva s sedežem na ljubljanskem gradu ter pod njim zraslega srednjeveškega mesta, ki se je sčasoma razvilo v glavno mesto dežele Kranjske in je nato preraslo v kulturno in duhovno središče Slovencev ter v najnovejšem času postal še prestolnica slovenske države, je imela ta naselbina v zgodovini vedno značaj centralnega kraja širšega prostora.

Najstarejša dokumentirana poselitev na prostoru Ljubljane sega v čas okrog leta 1000 pr. Kr., to je v obdobje pozne bronaste in nato starejše železne dobe. Izpričuje jo prazgodovinsko naselje na grajskem griču, najkasneje v prvi polovici 1. stol. pr. Kr. pa je nastala naselbina na njegovem jugozahodnem vznožju, okvirno na prostoru današnjega Starega trga. V njej so sprva živeli staroselski domačini, nato pa so v zadnjem desetletju pr. Kr. prevladali Rimljani. Naselbina pod grajskim gričem naj bi se že takrat imenovala Emona, saj je ime skoraj zagotovo predrimsko in so ga Rimljani prevzeli od domačinov. Najkasneje do leta 15 po Kr. pa so Rimljani na nasprotnem, levem bregu Ljubljanice zgradili novo mesto. Bilo je enotno zasnovano, pravokotne oblike in s kamnitim obzidjem, katerega ostanki so še danes dobro vidni. V pisnih virih je to mesto izpričano kot *colonia Iulia Emona*, že v 4. stol. pa je bila vključena v znameniti mit o Argonautih: ti naj bi jo zgradili na svojem begu pred Kolhidijci, ko naj bi pripluli po Donavi in Savi vse do izvirov Ljubljanice, od koder naj bi nato po kopnem prenesli svojo ladjo do Jadranskega morja. Čeprav brez zgodovinske podlage, je zgodba povečevala ugled mesta, katerega prvi kolonisti so izvirali pretežno iz mest v Padski nižini in iz Akvileje (Ogleja), nekaj pa je bilo tudi vojaških veteranov in seveda domačih staroselcev. Njeni prebivalci so živeli v glavnem od trgovine in obrti, k mestu pa je pripadal (in gospodarsko gravitiralo) obsežno podeželsko-agrarno zaledje (*ager Emonensis*), ki je verjetno segalo od Karavank do Kolpe ter (vsaj sprva) od Ljubljanskega barja vzhodno od Navporta (Vrhnik), ki je že spadal

pod Akvilejo, pa do Trojan in Višnje Gore. Za življenje njenih prebivalcev tudi ni bilo nepomembno, da je Emona upravno spadala še v Italijo – in ne v provinco –, kjer je bila najbolj vzhodno mesto na njeni najbolj izpostavljeni meji. Zaradi tako izpostavljenega strateškega položaja je bila večkrat vpletena v državljske vojne, ki so v 4. stol. pretresale Rimsko cesarstvo, v 5. stol. pa je bila na udaru barbarskih ljudstev in vojska, ki so z vzhoda hitele v Italijo: tako so se npr. pred Emono leta 408 zadrževali Zahodni Goti, preden so pod svojim kraljem Alarihom leta 410 oplenili Rim, leta 452 pa so jo na pohodu v Italijo ogrožali Atilovi Huni. V tem času splošnega propadanja Rimskega cesarstva in nenehne nevarnosti je Emona hitro nazadovala, mnogi njeni prebivalci pa so se odselili v varnejša in odmaknjena višinska utrjena naselja v hribovitem svetu na robu Ljubljanske kotline. Po odstavitevi zadnjega cesarja zahodnega dela Rimskega cesarstva leta 476 je Emona pogosto menjala svoje gospodarje, čeprav barbarske vladavine niso hkrati pomenile tudi že konca antične tradicije in rimske državnosti, ki se je nadaljevala tako pod Odoakrom kot pod Vzhodnimi Goti (489-539) in seveda tudi v času kratkotrajne bizantinske oblasti. Šele z langobardsko zasedbo Posavja in Podravja (ok. 547-568) so se začele tudi v Emoni trgati institucionalne in druge vezi, ki so jo povezovale z Italijo in z rimsko ureditvijo. Nekaj časa je vztrajala samo še cerkvena organizacija s škofom na čelu. Škofijski sedež je v Emoni prvič izpričan leta 381, zadnjič pa leta 579; že pred koncem 6. stoletja je moral emonski škof skupaj z delom svoje verske skupnosti poiskati zatočišče v Istri, najverjetneje v Novigradu. Njihov odhod je bil posledica naselitve Slovanov, ki so v slovenski prostor prišli skupaj s svojimi gospodarji – Avari. Popačena oblika emonskega imena *Atamine* (nastalo iz *Ad Emonam*), ki nemara izvira ravno iz teh prelomnih časov, napeljuje na misel, da so Slovani še prevzeli prvotno ime kraja in ga prilagodili svojemu jeziku, preden je ime utonilo v pozabo, življenje v mestu pa ugasnilo.

Ker Ljubljana ni nasledila imena svoje rimske predhodnice in srednjeveška naselbina ni nastala na lokaciji antične Emone, ampak vzhodno od nje ob sami reki in pod grajskim gričem na nasprotnem bregu, je upravičeno sklepati, da je v zgodovini kraja prišlo do popolnega preloma v njegovem razvoju in življenju, ki se je odrazil v diskontinuiteti imena in poselitvenega prostora. To stanje se je odzrcalilo tudi v tem, da približno pol tisočletja nimamo o Ljubljani nobenih informacij v (pisnih) virih. Na nekdanje prebivalce in čase so spominjale zgolj razvaline antičnega mesta na prostoru, ki je zaradi tega dobilo ime Gradišče.

Na povsem nov način je kraj ponovno evidentiran v zgodovini v 12. stoletju. Predvsem je dobil novo ime, ki ga nosi še danes – Ljubljana. Slovenska in romanska oblika je kot *Luwigana* (beri: Lubljana) prvič sporočena leta 1146 v listini oglejskega patriarha Pelegrina I., ki je bil med drugim tudi ustanovitelj cistercijanskega samostana v Stični (1136) in benediktinskega v Gornjem Gradu (1140). O pomenu in izvoru imena Ljubljana obstaja več razlag, vsekakor pa v njem tiči slovanska osnova *ljub-*. Po zadnjem mnenju naj bi kraj dobil ime po reki, ki naj bi jo Slovani prvotno imenovali **Ljubija*. To rečno ime naj bi bilo osnova za krajevno ime **Ljubijke*, iz katerega je nato nastala

Ljubljana. Današnje slovensko ime za reko, ki je kraju domnevno dala ime, pa prvi omenja šele Primož Trubar v 16. stoletju; vendar je njegova *Lublanica* izpeljana iz krajevnega imena *Ljubljana* in ne obratno! Kot bomo še videli, je nekoliko starejše in v zgodnejših obdobjih veliko pogosteje zapisano nemško ime kraja, ki se je glasilo *Laibach*; tako pa se je v nemščini imenovala tudi reka, ki teče skozenj. Tudi pri njegovi razlagi obstajajo različna mnenja, najbolj uveljavljeno pa je tisto, ki pravi, da izhaja iz besede *Labach*, ki je v starejši bavarščini označevalo močvirnat svet. Ime dobro ustreza razmeram na Barju, skozi katero je tekla reka in dala tudi v tem primeru ime kraju ob njej.

Druga velika sprememba glede na antično Emono pa je bila v tem, da je kraj izgubil značaj urbanega, mestnega naselja in je imel ob svojem drugem začetku značaj središča velikega zemljишkega gospodstva, kjer je življenje temeljilo na agrarni produkciji. Prve otpljive sledi takšne organizacije življenja segajo v desetletja pred sredino 12. stoletja, ko je koroški vojvodski rodbini Spanheim uspelo, da si je pridobila in v svojih rokah združila posest, ki je pred tem pripadala različnim cerkvenim in posvetnim posestnikom ter tako utemeljila enotno in veliko ljubljansko zemljishko gospodstvo. Okvirno je obsegalo tisto ozemlje južno od Save (od Medvod navzdol), ki ga zajema pogled z ljubljanskega grajskega griča. Tu je bil že pred spanheimsko pridobitvijo zgrajen grad, ki je postal oblastni center novo izoblikovanega ljubljanskega gospodstva. Njegovo gospodarsko središče pa je bilo zelo verjetno na širšem območju Novega trga na levem bregu Ljubljanice, kjer je bila organizirana pristava oziroma dvor s pridvornimi hlapci, skladišči, pristaniščem na Bregu in drugo infrastrukturo. Prvi, ki se je imenoval po Ljubljani, je bil leta 1144 Ulrik Spanheimski, katerega starejši brat Henrik V. je ravno istega leta na koroškem vojvodskem prestolu zamenjal njunega očeta Ulrika I. Dejstvo, da je vojvodov brat rezidiral na ljubljanskem gradu – to namreč v jeziku tistega časa pomeni poimenovanje plemičev po posameznih krajih –, podčrtuje velik pomen, ki sta ga imela ljubljansko gospodstvo in z njim zvezan grad na splošno in še posebej za Spanheime. Bil je ena od podlag njihove moči in v skladu s tem je bil dobro stoletje kasneje izrecno naštet med glavnimi gradovi (*castrum capitale*) spanheimske rodbine. A ta oznaka velja za ljubljanski grad tudi glede na manjše gradove (stolpe), postavljenе ob mejah ljubljanskega gospodstva: Jeterbenk, Polhov Gradec, Falkenberg, Ig, Osterberg-Sostro, morda tudi Goričane in proti koncu spanheimskega obdobja prvotno svobodnjaški Turjak. Na njih so rezidirali spanheimski ministeriali, ki so kot nižji plemiči opravljali za svoje gospode različne službe. Ministeriali so kot najvišja družbena skupina izpričani tudi v Ljubljani sami, kjer so v imenu svojih gospodov upravljali z gradom in gospodstvom in za nekatere izmed njih vemo, da so v Ljubljano prišli skupaj s Spanheimi s Koroškega. V listinah se ti plemiči omenjajo že v 12. stoletju in so poleg Ulrika Spanheimskega najstarejši po imenu znani »Ljubljancani«. Mednje je sodil tudi leta 1163 omenjeni ljubljanski župnik Peter, čeprav je bil sedež njegove župnije pri cerkvi sv. Petra v bližini današnjega Univerzitetnega kliničnega centra zunaj prostora, ki ga je zaobjelo srednjeveško mesto.

Prav v čas druge polovice 12. stoletja kaže postaviti tudi začetke ljubljanske meščanske naselbine. Povezati jih je mogoče z neagrarnimi dejavnostmi, ki so se sprva odvijale v sklopu in za potrebe zemljiškega gospodstva in ki so jih opravljali kovači, kožarji, kolarji, tesarji, lončarji, mlinarji, čolnarji, tovorniki ipd. ter postopoma tudi bolj urbanemu načinu življenja prilagojeni poklici, kot so bili mesarji, peki, čevljari, tkalci, krojači in zidarji. Tako kot v številnih drugih primerih je takšno urbanizirajoče se jedro kasnejše meščanske naselbine nastalo pod gradom, kjer se je izoblikoval tudi trg, na katerem je potekala trgovina z izdelki meščanov. Kot priča že ime Stari trg, je najstarejši predel Ljubljane, ki je dobil tržno pravico in s tem status trga, nastal okrog cerkve sv. Jakoba, na prostoru, zavarovanem z grajskim gričem na severovzhodu, Ljubljanico na zahodu in močvirnim svetom na jugovzhodu, po katerem so doobile ime Prule (od nem. Brühl). Na Stari trg se je na severu navezovalo Mesto, predel okrog Mestnega trga med Čevljarskim (Šuštarskim) mostom in Vodnikovim trgom. Za ta del Ljubljane se je najprej uveljavil izraz mesto (*civitas*), ki se omenja že na novcih ljubljanske kovnice iz okrog 1220 (CIVITAS LEIBACVN ipd.). Omembu mestnega obzidja za ta del Ljubljane v neki listini iz leta 1243 potrjuje, da je potrebno nastanek ljubljanske meščanske naselbine v Mestu okvirno datirati v drugo ali tretje desetletje 13. stoletja. Mesto, ki je opredeljevalo natančno določen predel Ljubljane, je bilo tako prva načrtno zasnovana in obzidana naselbina ljubljanskih meščanov, ki so se od preostalih »Ljubljančanov« v tem najzgodnejšem času razlikovali tudi po svobodnem osebnem položaju, po svojih, soupravo mesta povezanih pravicah in dolžnostih ter po gospodarskem udejstvovanju, usmerjenem v trgovino. Prav zaradi te usmeritve je bil skozi Mesto (in nato čez Stari trg) speljan tudi ves promet, ki je potekal med gorenjsko-štajersko in dolensko smerjo. Trgovsko blago je moralo biti v njem obvezno skladisčeno (in ponujeno v prodajo), preden je bilo lahko transportirano naprej. S severa je promet v Mesto usmerjal most, ki je bil zgrajen na prostoru današnjega Tromostovja. Most se prvič omenja leta 1280 in njegovo tedanje poimenovanje Stari most (*pons vetus*) jasno govori, da je moral biti precej starejši in da je takrat v Ljubljani stal tudi že drugi, mlajši »novi« most. To je bil Čevljarski most, ki je povezoval Mesto z Novim trgom, tretjim ljubljanskim predelom. Kot priča njegovo ime, prvič dokumentirano leta 1267 (*novum forum*), je Novi trg zagotovo nastal kasneje kot Stari trg, odprto vprašanje pa je, ali tudi za Mestom. Novi trg je nastal na prostoru že omenjenega pridvornega zemljiškogospodstvenega kompleksa, od katerega je zemljiški in mestni gospod Bernhard Spanheimski že pred letom 1228 prepustil Nemškemu viteškemu redu oz. križevnikom njegov južni del. Ti so na mestu, kjer so imeli nemara že pred njimi v drugi polovici 12. stoletju svojo postojanko templarji, postavili svojo komendo – današnje Križanke, medtem ko je spanheimski dvor obvladoval severni del, katerega jedro nakazuje vicedomska hiša iz 15. stoletja na prostoru sedanjega poslopja Univerze. Vmesni prostor so zapolnile mestne hiše in tržni prostor, v ta predel pa so se leta 1325 naselili tudi Judje iz Furlanije, ki so v mestu ostali do svojega izgona leta 1515. Na predel mesta, kjer so živelji, še danes spominjata Židovska ulica in Židovska steza, medtem ko so imeli ob Gosposki ulici od 14. stoletja naprej svoja mestna bivališča plemiči.

Ljubljano so tako v srednjem veku sestavljeni trije predeli, ki so bili sprva obzidani vsak zase. Za Mestom, ki je prvo dobilo svoje obzidje, je bil z obrambnim zidom verjetno najprej obdan Novi trg. Tega je proti zahodu, le da z njegove »zunanje« strani, že od začetka varoval stari zid rimske Emone. Potekal je ob današnji Vegovi ulici in od njega je bilo na jugu in severu potrebno potegniti samo še dva kraša kraka proti Ljubljanici. To se je zgodilo okrog leta 1300, saj se leta 1307 obzidje Novega trga že omenja. Zadnji je obzidje verjetno dobil Stari trg, ki ga je bilo potrebno zgraditi predvsem na jugu, proti Prulam. Kdaj natančneje se je to zgodilo, pa ostaja neznanka. Ljubljana je imela tako v srednjem veku podobo »trimestja« z gradom nad njim; obdajalo jo je mestno pomirje, to je k mestu pripadajoče ozemlje (*Burgfried*, prvič omenjeno leta 1364). Približno predstavo o njegovem obsegu zarisuje obroč ljubljanske obvoznice. Ocenuje se, da je Ljubljana v pozrem srednjem veku štela okrog 4000 prebivalcev, ki pa so se vedala zelo razlikovali po svojem socialnem in pravnem položaju: poleg trgovcev in obrtnikov, ki so bili tudi v pravnem smislu meščani, je bilo npr. mogoče v mestu srečati tudi kakšnega plemiča, pa svetno in redovno duhovščino, deželno uradništvo, Jude, veliko pa je bilo tudi pravih podložnikov, dekel, hlapcev in drugih skupin prebivalstva brez meščanskih pravic. (Moški) prebivalci s statusom meščana so imeli že v 13. stoletju pravico sodelovanja pri oblasti in upravi v mestu. Ta je bila prvotno izključno v domeni mestnega gospoda, ki je bil lastnik mesta in je v mestu to oblast običajno izvajal prek mestnega sodnika, ki ga je imenoval sam in se v Ljubljani prvič omenja leta 1269, čisto na koncu spanheimskega obdobja. Vendar se je že kmalu poleg njega začela razvijati avtonomna mestna oblast. Utelešala jo je skupnost meščanov, ki se je po latinsko-italijanskem vzoru imenovala komuna (od *communitas*) oziroma po nemškem gmajna (od *Gemeinde*) in je na svojih zborih odločala o nekaterih mestnih zadevah. Začetke mestne avtonomije v Ljubljani je zaznati po izumrtju prvih mestnih gospodov Spanheimov, ko se leta 1280 prvič omenja pečat mesta Ljubljane.

Skupnost ljubljanskih meščanov je najkasneje od takrat obstajala kot pravna oseba, prvotno zbiralische komune pa je bilo v hiši, ki je nad velikim obokom stala nad današnjo ulico Pod trančo; na mestu torej, kjer so se na podaljšku Čevljarskega mostu, ki je vodil na Novi trg, in v bližini vrat, ki so vodila iz Mesta na Stari trg, stikali vsi trije predeli Ljubljane. Ta najstarejša ljubljanska mestna hiša se leta 1406 omenja kot *kamawn*, komuna, kasneje, ko je bila leta 1484 na Mestnem trgu zgrajena nova mestna hiša, pa je postala mestni zapor. Iz komune, zpora vseh meščanov, se je že v 14. stol. izoblikoval 12-članski (notranji) mestni svet, ki je sčasoma postal glavni avtonomni oblastni organ mesta in je dal ime »rotovž« (od *Rat-haus*: hiša sveta), sedežu mestnih oblasti. Kasneje se mu je pridružil še 24-članski zunanji svet kot neke vrste nadzorni organ. Posebnost srednjeveške Ljubljane je bila v tem, da je v desetletjih okrog prehoda iz 13. v 14. stoletje mestnega gospoda zastopalo kar po več sodnikov hkrati. A že kmalu zatem, ko so Habsburžani leta 1335 skupaj s Kranjsko prevzeli tudi oblast nad Ljubljano, je imelo mesto enega samega mestnega sodnika; še bolj pomembno pa je bilo, da ga je nekako od srede 14. stoletja mestna komuna volila sama in ga ni več postavljal

mestni gospod. V primerjavi z drugimi habsburškimi mesti je bil tak razvoj prese netljivo zgoden, zaradi volilnosti mestnega sodnika pa tudi ni bilo potrebe po posebnem predstojniku mestne samouprave – županu. Zato ga Ljubljana v srednjem veku tudi ni imela; po vzoru drugih mest ga je dobila šele leta 1504, pa še to bolj iz prestižnih razlogov kot iz nujne potrebe. S privilegijem takratnega ljubljanskega mestnega gospoda, kralja Maksimiljana I., sta dobila ljubljanski mestni sodnik in mestni svet pravico, da si »poslej večno vsako leto izmed sebe izvolita župana, ki mora biti spretna, zmožna in poštena oseba«.

V tem času je bila Ljubljana tudi že povsem izoblikovano glavno mesto dežele Kranjske in v tem smislu jo omenja že neka listina iz leta 1442 (*Laybach ...hauptstat daselbst in Krain*). Grad, sprva oblastni center zemljiškega gospodstva in (občasna) rezidenca mestnega gospoda oziroma od njega postavljenega gradičana, je postal središče deželnoknežje oblasti in na njem so kot namestniki in zastopniki deželnega kneza sedeli deželni glavarji, na kar nas opozarjajo njihovi grbi v grajski kapeli sv. Jurija, poslikani sredi 18. stoletja. V mestu je rezidiral tudi deželni vicedom, ki je upravljal s komornim premoženjem deželnega kneza, ob njem pa seveda vse preostalo deželno uradništvo z deželnim upraviteljem na čelu. Svojo hišo, »lontovž« (od *Landhaus*: deželna hiša) so imeli na Novem trgu, na mestu, kjer je danes Slovenska akademija znanosti in umetnosti, tudi kranjski deželni stanovi. Njihove dedne poklonitve kranjskemu deželnemu knezu so seveda prav tako potekale v Ljubljani, kjer je bil tudi sedež sodišča, pristojnega za kranjsko plemstvo. Leta 1461 oziroma 1462 pa je Ljubljana dobila še škofijo. Njena stolnica je postala cerkev sv. Nikolaja, ki se prvič omenja že leta 1262. Ljubljana, v kateri so bili poleg že omenjene komende Nemškega viteškega reda v Križankah tudi frančiškanski (minoritski) samostan na današnjem Vodnikovem trgu (prvič omenjen leta 1242) in samostan avguštincev (sicer že zunaj mestnega obzidja na današnjem Prešernovem trgu, prvič omenjen leta 1314), je tako že pred koncem srednjega veka postala tudi cerkveno središče, ki je presegalo meje dežele Kranjske.

Vzpon Ljubljane v deželno glavno mesto se je začel pod Spanheimi v 13. stoletju, zlasti z zadnjim vladajočim članom rodbine, koroškim vojvodom in gospodom Kranjske Ulrikom III. Njegovo pogosto pojavljanje v Ljubljani priča, da je mesto postalo njegova deželna rezidenca. Po Ulrikovi smrti leta 1269 je njegov dedič, češki kralj Otokar II. Přemysl, po tridnevnom obleganju zavzel Ljubljano – njeno obzidje ni vzdržalo svoje prve velike preizkušnje – in si hkrati z mestom podredil tudi Kranjsko. Že po nekaj letih mu jo je z Ljubljano vred odvzel njegov tekmelec, kralj Rudolf Habsburški, in jo leta 1279 skupaj s Kranjsko zastavil goriško-tirolskemu grofu in kasnejšemu koroškemu vojvodu Majnhardu II. Pod goriško oblastjo se je položaj Ljubljane kot deželnega središča le še okrepil; več sodnikov hkrati, ki se takrat omenjajo v Ljubljani, je bilo zadolženih tako za mestne kot deželne zadeve. V tej dobi se je okrepil tudi gospodarski položaj mesta, v katerega so se poleg z bančništvom povezanih Judov priselili bogati trgovci iz severne Italije – med njimi so bili zlasti pomembni Porgerji –

in okreplili tranzitno trgovino. Z izumrtjem majnhardinske veje goriško-tirolskih grofov leta 1335 je Ljubljana skupaj s Kranjsko prešla v roke Habsburžanov in postala oporišče za njihovo ekspanzijo proti morju: z njim je bila npr. leta 1370 povezana tudi sklenitev mirovnega sporazuma med Benetkami in Habsburžani poleg cerkve sv. Jerneja (Stara cerkev) v Šiški pri Ljubljani, ki je začasno urejal položaj Trsta, preden je leta 1382 priznal habsburško oblast. Edino resnejšo nevarnost habsburški oblasti na Kranjskem so ob koncu srednjega veka predstavljali grofje Celjski, vendar je njihov vojskovodja Jan Vitovec leta 1442 neuspešno oblegal Ljubljano, ki je 1472 srečno prestala tudi turško obleganje. S svojo lego na t. i. kraški oziroma ljubljanski cesti je postala Ljubljana v 14. in 15. stoletju najvažnejše trgovsko središče osrednjega dela slovenskega ozemlja in prometno vozlišče trgovine na velike razdalje v smeri proti Italiji, primorskim mestom, Hrvaški, Ogrski in južnonemškemu prostoru, svoje pa je k temu pomenu prispeval tudi začetek vodne poti po Ljubljanici in naprej po Savi. Ljubljana sredi 15. stoletja po gospodarski moči ni prekašala samo vseh kranjskih mest, ampak celo štajerski Gradec in Dunajsko novo mesto. V celoti gledano, lahko rečemo, da je Ljubljana ob koncu srednjega veka doseгла na vseh področjih življenja položaj, ki ji je v naslednjih obdobjih omogočil, da se je razvila v politično, gospodarsko in kulturno središče Slovencev in Slovenije.

Castrum Leibach

– prva omemba srednjeveške Ljubljane in njeni začetki

Dolgo je veljalo, da se Ljubljana v srednjeveških virih prvič omenja leta 1144. V kodeksu, v katerega so v prošti Reichersberg ob reki Inn na današnji avstrijsko-nemški meji še pred koncem 12. stoletja prepisali kratke notice, ki so dokumentirale pridobitve samostanske posesti, je ohranjen tudi zapis, da je neki Amilbert iz Kollnizza pri Št. Pavlu na Koroškem podaril omenjeni proštji posest, ki jo je imel v današnji Spodnji Avstriji. Med pričami te sicer nedatirane tradicije, ki pa jo je z dobrimi razlogi mogoče postaviti v leto 1144, se na drugem mestu omenja tudi prvi po imenu znani »Ljubljancan«, že omenjeni Ulrik, brat koroškega vojvode Henrika Spanheimskega (*Ödalricus de Laibach, frater ducis*). Le dve leti za to tradicijo je bila v Ogleju v Furlaniji leta 1146 napisana listina, v kateri je prvič zapisana tudi slovensko-romanska oblika imena Ljubljana: *Luwigana*. S to v izvirniku ohranjeno in prav tako že omenjeno listino sta grof Bernhard Spanheimski in njegova žena Kunigunda prodala oglejski cerkvi grad Artegna (slov. Ratenj) južno od Humina v Furlaniji. Tudi v njej se med pričami omenja Ulrik iz Ljubljane (*Wodolricus de Luwigana*), ki pa zaradi svojega nizkega socialnega položaja, izraženega z zadnjim mestom med številnimi pričami, zagotovo ni identičen z dve leti poprej omenjenim Ulrikom Spanheimskim-Ljubljanskim. Upravičeno ga je šteti za spanheimskega ministeriala v Ljubljani, torej osebo nižjega plemiškega stanu, ki je za svoje spanheimske gospode opravljal v Ljubljani službo gradiščana ali kaj podobnega.

Toda leta 2002 je bilo opozorjeno, da imamo o začetkih srednjeveške Ljubljane še starejše podatke, ki omogočajo, da pomaknemo njeno v pisnih virih dokumentirano zgodovino še za približno eno generacijo nazaj, v čas med letoma 1112 in 1125. V Kapiteljskem arhivu v Vidmu v Furlaniji, ki je del tamkajšnjega Nadškofijskega arhiva, hranijo večji pergamentni list, na katerem so vpisana imena umrlih dobrotnikov, ki so s posetjo ali dohodki obdarovali stolni kapitelj oglejske cerkve. Čeprav je bilo na njegov pomen za zgodovino Ljubljane opozorjeno šele na začetku 21. stoletja, pa seznam v zgodovinopisu ni neznan, saj ga je po ne preveč natančnem prepisu iz 18. stoletja prvič objavil Pier Silverio Leicht že leta 1903 in nato po izvirniku, ki ga tu objavljamo kot faksimile, leta 1982 še Cesare Scaloni. Seznam, ki je bil po imenih umrlih (dobrotnikov) imenovan *Nomina defunctorum*, so sestavili v Ogleju. Kot je napovedano že v njegovem uvodnem odstavku (vrstice 1-6 I. stolpca), je služil ohranjanju spomina na umrle dobrotnike, ki so se jih v različnih liturgičnih kontekstih spominjali na dan njihove smrti. Zato vsebujejo posamezni vpisi seznama samo dan smrti (če so ga

seveda vedeli in brez letnice, ki za namen, zaradi katerega je seznam nastal, ni bila pomembna), ime dobrotnika in kratko oznako podarjene posesti. Informacije o dnevih smrti posameznih dobrotnikov so najverjetneje izvirale iz nekrologa oglejske cerkve, knjige mrtvih, ki so jo vodili pri škofiji in v kateri so po koledarskem načelu vpisovali imena tistih, ki so se jih že zeleli spominjati, medtem ko so informacije o podarjeni posesti lahko izvirale iz listin, tradicijskih notic in drugih podobnih zapisov, ki so jih hrаниli v arhivu oglejskega kapitla. Seznam je napisan v treh stolpcih in obsega vsega skupaj 135 vrstic (stolpca I in II imata po 42, stolpec III pa 51 vrstic). Rok (pisarjev), ki so ga napisale, je bilo kar šest in vse spadajo v 12. stoletje. Toda od tega je prvih 96 vrstic napisala ena sama roka, medtem ko je preostalih pet pisarjev dodalo le 39 vrstic zadnjega, tretjega stolpca (roka II vrstice 97-112; roka III vrstici 113-114; roka IV vrstice 115-125; roka V vrstice 126-131; roka VI vrstice 132-135); tako je seznam v osnovi nastal v enem zamahu. Za nas je najbolj zanimiv vpis v 26. in 27. vrstici I. stolpca, ki pravi, da je na sedme decembske kalende (25. novembra) umrl odvetnik Rudolf, ki je podaril kanonikom 20 kmetij ob gradu Ljubljana (VII. k[alendis] Decembr[is] Rodulfus advocat[us] ob[iit], q[uo]d XX manso[s] iuxta castru[m] Leibach canonici[s] dedit.).

Ta prvi in temeljni del seznama, ki vsebuje tudi zapis o Rudolfu, je najverjetneje nastal v drugi polovici leta 1161, kmalu po smrti oglejskega patriarha Pelegrina I. (umrl 8. avgusta 1161). Seznam namreč uvaja lista patriarhov, ki jim šele bolj proti koncu vpisov prve roke (80. in 81. vrstica) sledi zapis o daritvi, ki jo je kanonikom namenil Pelegrin I. Nenavadno mesto tega vpisa gre povezovati s tem, da je omenjeni patriarch umrl med nastanjem *Nomina defunctorum*, ravno v času, ko je imel njegov prvi in glavni kompilator sestavljen že večji del seznama in ga je zato vnesel na prvo prosto mesto. Raziskave se tudi pokazale, da je bil prvi sestavljalec in pisec *Nomina defunctorum* kanonik oglejskega stolnega kapitla Romulus, ki je bil hkrati med letoma 1158 in 1174 tudi vodilni notar oglejske cerkve, preden je leta 1187 ali 1188 postal škof v Concordiji v Furlaniji. Dobro so mu morale biti znane tudi razmere na današnjem slovenskem ozemlju, saj je v patriarhovem spremstvu in v funkciji notarja večkrat potoval po njem in tu tudi napisal več patriarhovih listin. Na Kranjskem ga prvič srečamo leta 1163, ko je v Škrlevem na Dolenjskem napisal listino oglejskega patriarha Ulrika II., s katero je kapeli sv. Margarete v Velesovem podelil farne pravice. Leta 1169 je čez Radovljico nadaljeval pot v Beljak, leta 1173 je na Štajerskem v Rečici pri Gornjem Gradu napisal listino patriarha Ulrika II. za kartuzijo v Žičah, naslednje leto pa v Gornjem Gradu listino istega patriarha, ki je razsodil v sporu med belinjskim opatom in savinjskim arhidiakonom glede cerkve sv. Pankracija v Slovenj Gradcu. Zadnjič je bil Romulus na Slovenskem leta 1177, ko je na Kranjskem napisal listino, katere prejemnik je bil cistercijanski samostan v Stični.

Rudolf iz zapisa z omembo Ljubljane je označen kot *advocatus*. To pomeni, da je bil odvetnik oglejske cerkve in jo je kot laik zastopal v posvetnih zadevah, predvsem v sodstvu, bodisi kot sodnik (nad škofijskimi podložniki) bodisi kot stranko v postopku.

Odvetništvo je bilo torej nadvse pomembna oblastna in tudi zelo donosna funkcija in v primeru oglejskega patriarhata so jo opravljali samo pripadniki najvišjega plemstva. Od leta 1125 je bil ta urad deden v rodbini goriških grofov, pred tem pa so ga imeli v svojih rokah pripadniki različnih visokoplemiških rodbin. V drugi polovici 11. stoletja so to bili Eppensteinici, koroška vojvodska rodbina, v kateri sta bila odvetnika Markvard (1064-1074) in kot naslednik njegov sin Henrik III., ki je funkcijo oglejskega odvetnika nemara opravljal do leta 1090/93, ko je postal koroški vojvoda. Kot odvetnik ga je nasledil Burkhard iz bavarskega Moosburga, drugače istrski mejni grof, ki ga je najkasneje leta 1102 nasledil njegov zet Konrad iz Lungaua, ki je to funkcijo opravljal do leta 1112, ko je umrl. Vsi našteti, razen Burkharda, so tudi vpisani v *Nomina defunctorum* kot dobrotniki oglejskega kapitla: Markvard v 29. vrstici I. stolpca, Henrik v 22.-24. vrstici I. stolpca in Konrad v 25. vrstici I. stolpca. Tako glede na dejstvo, da nam iz drugih virov med Konradom in Majnhardom I. Goriškim, ki je kot oglejski odvetnik izpričan leta 1125, ni poznan noben nosilec te funkcije, kot tudi upoštevaje, da v *Nomina defunctorum* Konradovemu vpisu sledi vpis o Rudolfu in njegovi daritvi (vrstici 26 in 27 v I. stolpcu), je upravičeno sklepati, da je moral biti Rudolf odvetnik oglejske cerkve ravno v vmesnem času (1112-1125) in da je v ta čas potreben umestiti tudi njegovo daritev dvajsetih kmetij pri ljubljanskem gradu.

Zaključke glede časovne umestitve Rudolfa na podlagi njegove omembe v *Nomina defunctorum* pa potrjuje tudi listina, datirana s 7. aprilom 1126 in izgotovljena nekje ob reki Soči (*actum Ysonzo*), torej v takratni Furlaniji. Tedaj je neki Rudolf »iz kraja Tarcento« (*Rudolfus de loco Tercento*) podaril proštji Sv. Petra v Berchtesgadnu zahodno od Salzburga bogato posest, ki jo je imel v Karniji in v Furlaniji. Dogodka ob Soči se je udeležil krog zelo prominentnih visokoplemiških oseb, ki s svojo navzočnostjo izkazujejo, da je moral tudi Rudolf iz Tarcenta, kraja severno od Vidma v Furlaniji, pripadati isti družbeni skupini. Med ugledneži, ki so prišli leta 1126 na Sočo, je na prvem mestu naštet grof Bernhard Spanheimski († 1147), ki je imel takrat v spanheimski rodbini vodilno vlogo in v katerega listini iz leta 1146 je naveden prej omenjeni spanheimski ministerial Ulrik iz Ljubljane. Skupaj z Bernhardom je prišel tudi njegov starejši brat in koroški vojvoda (1124-1134) Engelbert II. († 1141), ki sta ga spremljala dva sinova: istrski mejni grof Engelbert III. (1124-1173), omenjen med drugim v tradicijski notici iz leta 1144, v kateri se njegov nečak Ulrik imenuje po Ljubljani, ter Ulrik I. († 1144), ki je leta 1134 nasledil očeta na koroškem vojvodskem položaju in je bil oče ljubljanskega Ulrika. Naslednji je v seznamu prič naštet grof Majnhard I. Goriški († ok. 1142), ki je le malo pred tem postal oglejski odvetnik in katerega mati Diemuta je bila sestra Bernharda in Engelberta II. Spanheimskoga. Med preostalimi devetimi prav tako prominentnimi pričami, ki so se imenovale po furlanskih in koroških gradovih, je omeniti še nekega Otona, ki je v listini označen kot Rudolfov sorodnik, morda nečak (*Otto nepos predicti Rudolfi*). Enako ime oglejskega odvetnika Rudolfa in Rudolfa iz Tarcenta, visok družbeni položaj obeh, nadalje povezave obeh s Spanheimi, ki jih v primeru prvega nakazuje posest v Ljubljani, v primeru drugega pa navzočnost vodilnih članov spanheimске rodbine ob Soči ter

končno tudi kronološki indic v *Nomina defunctorum*, da je bil Rudolf oglejski odvetnik v drugem in tretjem desetletju 12. stoletja; vse to govori za to, da sta bila oglejski odvetnik Rudolf in Rudolf iz Tarcenta ena in ista oseba in potrjuje, da je potrebno prvo omembo Ljubljane oziroma tamkajšnjega gradu datirati v čas med letoma 1112 in 1125.

Več indicev kaže, da je Rudolf pripadal rodbini svobodnih gospodov iz Machlanda v Zgornji Avstriji, ki je drugače izvirala z Bavarske. Tudi ta rodbina je štela med dobrotnike proštje v Berchtesgadnu in je imela posest v Tarcentu, katere del je Rudolfov »nečak« Oton leta 1147 namenil samostanu v Waldhausnu v Zgornji Avstriji, ki ga je takrat ustanovil. Več pokazateljev govori tudi za to, da je imel Rudolf istoimenskega očeta, ki se je v zadnji četrtni 11. stoletja imenoval po Margarethenriedu pri Landshutu na Bavarskem in je imel že takrat povezave s Kranjsko. S tem Rudolfom iz Margarethenrieda je bil namreč povezan, morda celo sorodstveno, neki plemič z imenom Engilbero »Kranjski« (*Engilpero Chreinensis*), za katerega je bilo mogoče ugotoviti, da je identičen z Engelbertom Turjaškim, ki je bil začetnik te rodbine na Kranjskem, kjer se prvič omenja že leta 1062. Z dobrimi razlogi je zato domnevati, da je tako kot Engelbert tudi že Rudolf iz Margarethenrieda prišel na Kranjsko z Bavarske in da je bil že on lastnik Ljubljane, čeprav je v tej vlogi nesporno izpričan šele njegov presimirani sin Rudolf iz Tarcenta. Pot, ki je kmalu po sredi 11. stoletja pripeljala z Bavarske v slovenski prostor tako prvega lastnika in graditelja Turjaka kot verjetno tudi prvega lastnika in graditelja ljubljanskega gradu, ni bila v tistem času nič izjemnega, temveč prej nekaj običajnega. Cela vrsta podobnih primerov namreč kaže, da je vzhodnoalpski in severnojadranski prostor od avstrijske Donave do slovenske Save in celo do Furlanije in Istre postal po koncu madžarskih vpadov v drugi polovici 10. in zlasti v 11. stoletju območje ekspanzije bavarskih škofij in plemstva. Oboji so na velikem kolonizacijskem območju iskali priložnost za uveljavitev in možnost za prosperitet in so tukaj kmalu zavzeli vodilne položaje, tako v posestnem kot tudi v oblastnem smislu.

Spanheimi – čeprav najzaslužnejši in najbolj pomembni za njen začetni razvoj od središča zemljiskega gospodstva v mestu – torej niso bili prvi lastniki srednjeveške Ljubljane niti prvi gospodarji tamkajšnjega gradu. Oboje so si morali šele pridobiti. Prihod kar štirih moških članov spanheimске rodbine – k njim pa lahko kot petega prištejemo še goriškega grofa Majnharda I., ki je bil po svoji materi Diemuti Spanheimski nečak tam navzočih Bernharda in Engelberta II. ter bratranec Engelberta III. in Ulrika I. – leta 1126 v Furlanijo, kjer so se udeležili Rudolfove daritve proštji v Berchtesgadnu, je potrebno razumeti kot odraz sorodstvene ali pa kakšne druge zelo tesne povezave Spanheimov z Rudolfom iz Tarcenta. Srečanja takšne vrste namreč niso bila naključna ali rutinska, ampak dobro pripravljena, lahko bi rekli celo inscenirana in so demonstrirala mesto in vlogo posameznika v takratni družbi, ki so jo določale osebne in sorodstvene, ne pa institucionalne povezave. Takšna srečanja so bila tudi dobra priložnost za urejanje različnih medsebojnih zadev in nič presenetljivih.

vega ne bi bilo, če je ob Soči tekla beseda tudi o Ljubljani oziroma o tamkajšnjemu gradu, ki so ga Spanheimi očitno pridobili prav od Rudolfa iz Tarcenta. Pri tem lahko le ugibamo, na kakšen način (z dedovanjem, zamenjavo, nakupom, podaritvijo ipd.) in kdaj se je to zgodilo: lahko ravno ob srečanju v Furlaniji leta 1126, lahko pa tudi že prej ali pa tudi kasneje. Nedvomno je le to, da se je to moralno zgoditi enkrat pred letom 1144, ko se je po Ljubljani oziroma tamkajšnjem gradu že imenoval Ulrik Spanheimski.

A pridobitev ljubljanskega gradu še zdaleč ni pomenila, da je skupaj z njim v spanheimske roke prišlo tudi obsežno ozemlje Ljubljanske kotline južno od Save, ki je nato tvorilo veliko ljubljansko zemljiško gospodstvo. Iz virov tistega časa je mogoče izluščiti, da so na tem prostoru v 11. in prvi polovici 12. stoletja zemljiško posest imeli različni visokoplemiški zemljiški posestniki. Med njimi so bili grofje iz Vohburga na Bavarskem (med Münchnom in Regensburgom), katerih posest je že leta 1062 otipljiva na jugovzhodu Ljubljane okrog Pijave Gorice. Tej rodbini je pripadal tudi grof Ulrik iz Passaua, katerega hči edinka in njegova univerzalna dedinja Uta je bila poročena z Engelbertom II. Spanheimskim, ki smo ga leta 1126 srečali ob Soči. S to poroko v spanheimsko rodbino ni prišlo samo eno od njihovih kasnejših vodilnih imen (Ulrik), ampak tudi bogata dediščina na Bavarskem in na Kranjskem. Del spanheimske posesti v Ljubljanski kotlini je očitno potrebno povezovati z vohburško dediščino in njeno pridobitev je postaviti v čas okrog leta 1100, ko je žena Engelberta II. Spanheimskega dedovala za svojim leta 1099 umrlim očetom. Drug del je, kot se zdi, izviral iz posesti, ki jo je na severozahodu Ljubljane v smeri proti Medvodam že pred koncem 10. stoletja imel neki grof Bernhard. Ta je prejkone spadal v sorodstveni krog Hedvige, imenovane po gradu Mossa (slov. Moša) na desnem bregu Soče pri Gorici, ki je bila poročena z očetom Engelberta II. Spanheimskega, Engelbertom I. Na račun te poroke so Spanheimi pridobili tudi posestva v Furlaniji, ob srednji Soči in v Vipavski dolini. »Hedvigin« del kasnejšega ljubljanskega gospodstva so Spanheimi lahko pridobili kot njeno doto ob poroki z Engelbertom I. okrog 1067/70 ali pa kot dediščino po njeni smrti kmalu po letu 1100. Poleg tega so si morali Spanheimi pridobiti tudi posest, ki jo je imel v bližini Ljubljane oglejski kapitelj. Poleg dvajsetih kmetij, ki mu jih je daroval Rudolf iz Tarcenta, je imel kapitelj na tem območju še najmanj tri kmetije, ki jih je okrog let 1140 do 1150 dobil od grofa Hartvika iz Bagna na Bavarskem. Njegova rodbina je imela v slovenskem prostoru v 12. stoletju precej obsežno posest, raztreseno od Predvora, Dobrne, Krškega, Rake in Ribnice do Vipave. S tremi kmetijami v Ljubljani, ki jih je Hartvik podaril kapitelju, pa so grofje iz Bagna, ki so bili sorodstveno povezani s Spanheimi, izpričani tudi kot zemljiški posestniki na prostoru kasnejšega spanheimskega ljubljanskega zemljiškega gospodstva. Ker v prvi polovici 12. stoletja pridobljena ljubljanska posest oglejskega kapitelja kasneje ni več dokumentirana, se zdi upravičeno domnevati, da jo je kapitelj neznano kdaj zamenjal s kakšno spanheimsko posestjo, ki je ležala bliže Ogleju, bodisi v Vipavski dolini bodisi v Furlaniji. Neznano ostaja tudi, kdaj in na kakšen način so si Spanheimi pridobili še preostalo posest, ki so jo imeli grofje Bogenski v Lju-

bljani, saj ne more biti dvoma, da so tri kmetije, ki jih je Hartvik Bogenski podaril oglejskemu kapitelju, predstavljale le drobec njihove tamkajšnje posesti.

Notica o Rudolfovi podaritvi tako ne pomika le prve omembe Ljubljane za približno eno generacijo nazaj, ampak daje hkrati tej omembi tudi novo kvaliteto in dimenzijo, saj nam odkriva, da je na grajskem griču že v prvih desetletjih 12. stoletja stal grad. Zanj se je sicer predvidevalo, da je moral stati že v času, ko se leta 1144 po Ljubljani imenuje brat koroškega vojvoda, čeprav je bila prva neposredna omemba ljubljanskega gradu izpričana šele v letu 1256 in je prvi konkretnejši namig na njegov obstoj prav tako izviral šele iz leta 1220, ko je koroški vojvoda Bernhard Spanheimski izstavil neko listino *in palacio nostro Leibach*, s čimer je razumeti palacij ljubljanskega gradu, ki je vojvodu in gospodarju Ljubljane služil kot rezidenca ob njegovih obiskih Ljubljane. Notica o Rudolfovi daritvi z omumbo ljubljanskega gradu (*castrum Leibach*) tako ne potrujuje le pravilnosti gornje domneve, ampak tudi kaže, da je moralna biti Ljubljana s svojim gradom že v predspanheimskem obdobju središčna točka Ljubljanske kotline, saj so bili prav gradovi prva vozlišča politične, vojaške, sodne in upravne oblasti. Nič manj pomembno ni, da je bilo na podlagi nove najstarejše omembe Ljubljane mogoče povsem na novo prikazati najstarejšo posestno zgodovino Ljubljane in njene začetke. V nasprotju z ustaljenim mnenjem se je pokazalo, da koroški Spanheimi niso bili njeni prvi lastniki in posestniki in da si svojega velikega ljubljanskega zemljiškega gospodstva, ki jih je uveljavljalo kot najpomembnejše zemljiške gospode na tem področju, niso pridobili v enem zamahu, ampak so ga postopoma in iz različnih rok zaokroževali v prvi polovici 12. stoletja. Zaokrožili pa so te svoje pridobitve najkasneje v desetletju pred sredino istega stoletja, ko so imeli v svojih rokah tudi ljubljanski grad, pod katerim se je v drugi polovici 12. stoletja začela razvijati urbana naselbina, ki je v prvih desetletjih 13. stoletja prerasla v mesto Ljubljana.

Izbrana bibliografija

O zgodovini Ljubljane obstaja zelo bogata bibliografija. Za potrebe tega prikaza, ki zgolj povzema ugotovitve številnih znanstvenih raziskav zadošča, da so navedena samo nekatera temeljna in hkrati mlajša dela, ki nudijo vpogled v trenutno stanje raziskav ter hkrati s svojimi bibliografskimi podatki omogočajo seznanjanje s preostalo literaturo.

Od sintez in monografskih publikacij, ki obravnavajo zgodovino Ljubljane v njenem celotnem loku od prazgodovine pa do sodobnega časa, velja na tem mestu omeniti triježičen poljudno napisan pregled *Ljubljana: Podobe iz njene zgodovine / Aspetti di storia cittadina / Bilder aus der Geschichte der Stadt* (Ljubljana 1965), nadalje obsežen monografsko zasnovan zbornik s prispevki številnih avtorjev *Zgodovina Ljubljane: Prispevki za monografijo* (Ljubljana 1984) ter geslo *Ljubljana* (Zgodovina) v Enciklopediji Slovenije 6 (Ljubljana 1992), str. 220-236. Opozoriti je potrebno tudi na bogato opremljeno monografijo *Ljubljanica – kulturna dediščina reke* (Ljubljana 2009), ki kaže na pomen Ljubljanice za Ljubljano skozi njeno celotno zgodovino. Za zgodovino antične Emone je še vedno temeljnega pomena pregled, ki ga je za *Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft XI* (Stuttgart 1968), str. 540-578, napisal JAROSLAV ŠAŠEL, ponatisnjen pa je tudi v njegovih izbranih delih *Opera selecta* (Ljubljana 1992), str. 559-579. V monografski obliki, zlasti z arheološkega vidika, pa je zgodovina Emone primerno prikazana v dvojezični knjigi LJUDMILE PLESNIČAR GEC *Urbanizem Emone/ The Urbanism of Emona* (Ljubljana 1999). Za zgodovino srednjeveške Ljubljane, ki je v središču tega prispevka, je potrebno najprej opozoriti na *Gradivo za zgodovino Ljubljane v srednjem veku* (Ljubljana 1956-1968), ki ga je v 12 zvezkih objavil Božo OTOREPEC in kjer so objavljeni skorajda vsi viri, ki se nanašajo na srednjeveško zgodovino Ljubljane, medtem ko je od pregledov zgodovine Ljubljane skozi celoten srednji vek potrebno posebej opozoriti na članek SERGIJA VILFANA *Zgodovina Ljubljane do začetka 16. stoletja*, ki je objavljen v že omenjenem zborniku *Zgodovina Ljubljane: Prispevki za monografijo* (Ljubljana 1984), str. 75-95. Za urbanistični razvoj in mestno topografijo v istem obdobju je nespregledljiva knjižica MILKA KOSA *Srednjeveška Ljubljana: Topografski opis mesta in okolice* (Ljubljana 1955). Za prvo omembo Ljubljane v srednjeveških virih in za genezo spanheimskega ljubljanskega zemljškega gospodstva je temeljna razprava PETRA ŠTIHA, *Dve novi notici za najstarejšo zgodovino Ljubljane*, Zgodovinski časopis 56 (2002), str. 7-42, medtem ko je listini z drugo in tretjo najstarejšo omembo nazadnje obravnaval DUŠAN Kos v komentarju k faksimilirani izdaji listine iz 1146 v *Luwigana 1146: Ob 850-letnici prve omembe Ljubljane v pisnih virih* (Ljubljana 1994), str. 7-54. Za začetke Ljubljane kot mesta je pomembna razprava FRANA ZWITTRA *Začetki ljubljanske meščanske naselbine*, objavljena v *Hauptmanovem zborniku* (Ljubljana 1966), str. 217-238, medtem ko je za zgodovino ljubljanskega meščanstva

in mestne avtonomije še vedno dragocena knjiga istega avtorja *Starejša kranjska mesta in meščanstvo* (Ljubljana 1929). To velja tudi za poglavje o Ljubljani v knjigi Boža OTOREPCA, *Srednjeveški pečati in grbi mest in trgov na Slovenskem* (Ljubljana 1988), str. 78-96. Mestni sodniki in župani so podrobno obravnavani v dveh knjigah VLADISLAVA FABIJANČIČA, *Zgodovina ljubljanskih sodnikov in županov 1269-1820* (Ljubljana 1998, 2003), zgodovino ljubljanskih Judov pa je nazadnje predstavil KLEMEN JELINČIČ BOETA v knjigi *Judje na Slovenskem v srednjem veku* (Ljubljana 2009), str. 289-300. O Ljubljančanah v srednjem veku sta pisala tudi MILKO Kos, *O izvoru prebivalcev Ljubljane v srednjem veku*, Zgodovinski časopis 10/11 (1956-1957), str. 7-31, in DUŠAN Kos, *Vitez in grad: Vloga gradov v življenju plemstva na Kranjskem, slovenskem Štajerskem in slovenskem Koroskem do začetka 15. stoletja* (Ljubljana 2005), str. 173-180. Na možnost obstoja postojanke templarjev v Ljubljani že v 12. stoletju je opozoril MIHA Kosi, *Templarji na Slovenskem: Prispevek k reševanju nekaterih vprašanj srednjeveške zgodovine Prekmurja, Bele krajine in Ljubljane* (Ljubljana 1995), medtem ko je ustanovitev ljubljanske Škofije in njeno najzgodnejšo zgodovino podrobno obdelala LILIJANA ŽNIDARŠIČ GOLEC v monografiji *Duhovniki kranjskega dela ljubljanske Škofije do tridentinskega koncila* (Ljubljana 2000). Obrt, trgovina, gospodarski pomen Ljubljane in njeno vlogo v prometu osvetljujejo v svojih delih in z različnih zornih kotov Božo OTOREPEC, *Rokodelstvo in obrt v srednjeveški Ljubljani*, objavljeno v: *Ljubljanska obrt od srednjega veka do začetka 18. stoletja* (Ljubljana 1972), str. 5-54, FERDO GESTRIN, *Trgovina slovenskega zaledja s primorskimi mesti od 13. do konca 16. stoletja* (Ljubljana 1965), SERGIJ VILFAN, *Zgodovina neposrednih davkov in arestnega postopka v srednjeveški Ljubljani*, Zgodovinski časopis 6/7 (1952-1953), str. 417-442, ter MIHA Kosi, *Potajoči srednji vek: Cesta, popotnik in promet na Slovenskem med antiko in 16. stoletjem* (Ljubljana 1998). Za konec velja še omeniti, da je o etimologiji imena Ljubljana / Laibach nazadnje razpravljal SILVO TORKAR, *O neprepoznanih ali napačno prepoznanih slovanskih antroponimih v slovenskih zemljepisnih imenih: Čadrg, Litija, Trebija, Ljubija, Ljubljana, Biljana, Folia onomastica Croatica* 16 (2007), str. 257-273.



Pieroni pinxit 1639

Veduta di LVBBIANA.

Eno najstarejših vedut Ljubljane je 1639 narisal Giovanni Battista Pieroni
(foto Tomaž Lauko, Narodni muzej v Ljubljani, Grafični kabinet, inv. št. 3864/R 772).
One of the oldest Ljubljana vedute was painted by Giovanni Battista Pieroni in 1639
(photo Tomaž Lauko, National Museum of Slovenia, the Graphics Cabinet, Inventory
Number 3864/R 772).

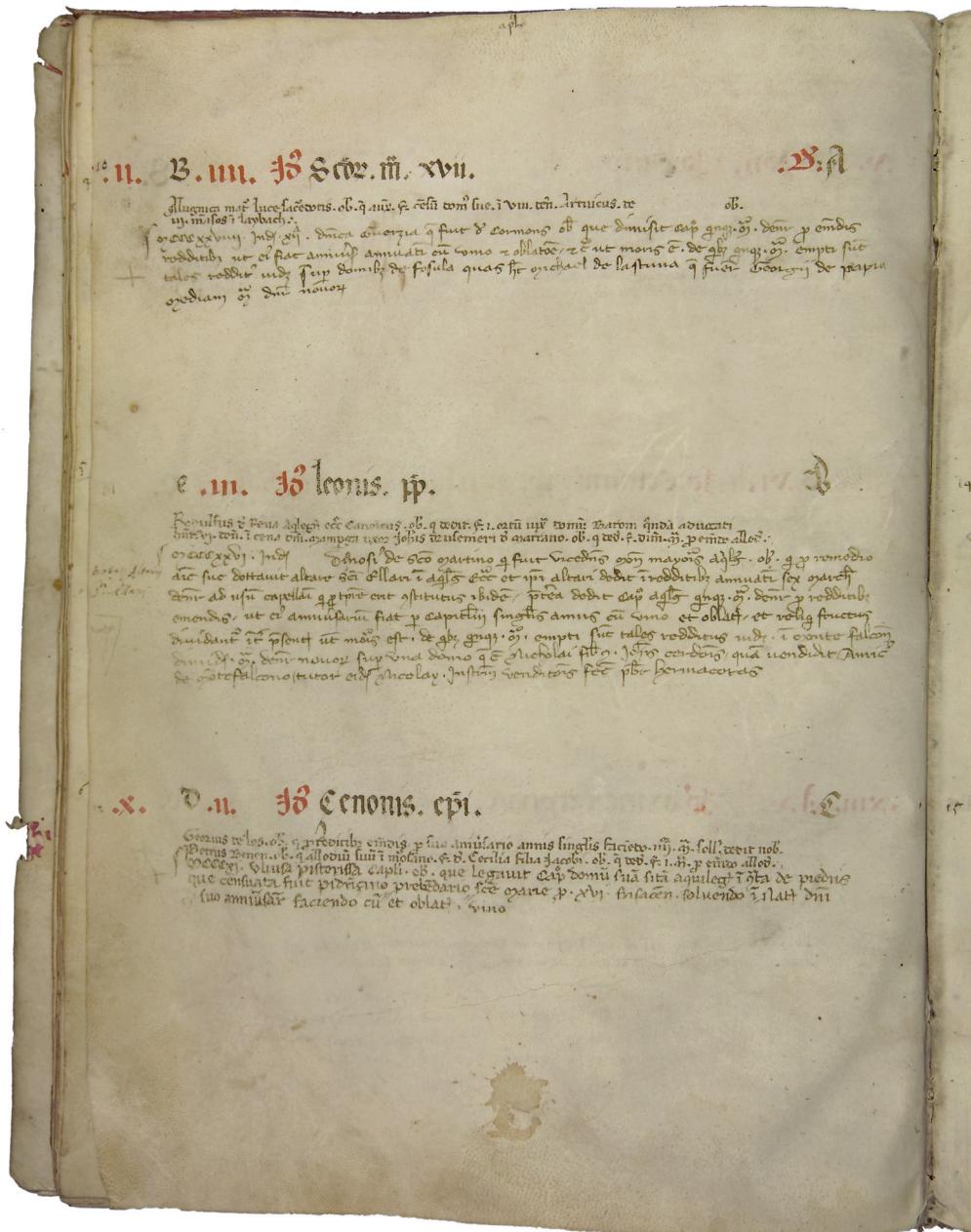


Ljubljana v 15. stoletju

Ljubljana in the 15th century

Zemljovid: Računalniška priprava Roman Hribar, Narodni muzej Ljubljana; predloga Miha Kosi v: P. Turk, J. Istenič, T. Knific in T. Nabergoj (izd.), *Ljubljanica – kulturna dediščina reke*, Narodni muzej Slovenije, Ljubljana 2009, str. 130.

Map: Created by Miha Kosi in: Turk, P., Istenič, J., Knific, T. and Nabergoj, T. (eds.), *Ljubljanica – kulturna dediščina reke*, National Museum of Slovenia, Ljubljana, 2009, p. 130, digitally edited by Roman Hribar, the National Museum of Slovenia.



u. B. m. 33 Scz. m. xvii.

*Illustriss. mag. lacefacerens ob. q. ann. q. celi com. sue. i. vni. tunc. re
ob. v. menses i. lumbis.*

e. ill. 3d leonis. w.

Reculus et seu delegat ecclesie Canonicus, ob. q. test. f. c. eccl. iux. tunc. Baron. huius adiudicati
breviter. t. tunc. dñi. xviij. capitulo vero Ihesi testamenti d. avaritio. ob. q. test. f. vni. q. p. p. alioz.
excessu. sed. Dignus deo carinno q. fuit vndeodio eis maiorum alijs. ob. q. p. nroedio
sic sic detrahit avaro s. ellari i. dñe. fcc. et ipsi altari credidit amissi se rite
dñm ad usq; capellam q. p. tunc est altitudo rite. p. tca. dedit cap. aglo. greg. q. dom. p. redit
omendo. ut ei amissi fiat p. capitulij sanctis annis et uno et oblat. et relig fructus
devidant ut p. sonet ut mox est. q. dñe. greg. q. cont. sic tales reddit. sed. t. expte falcon
dñm. q. dñe. nouerit sup. dono domo q. nicholay p. f. Joho. cor. dñm. quia uocavit. Amis
de cote falconis tauris est nicholay. Justus. videntur fecit p. b. formacordis

x. **vii.** **Id** Cenomis, ep̄i.

Secundus vel nos, q[uod]oq[ue] p[ro]fessib[us] cito[m] q[uod] sicut ampliatio anni singulis facit. n[on] q[uod] s[ecundu]m tunc nob[is] p[ro]fessio Benet, b[ut] q[uod] allusionem suu[m] i[n] motione. Et Cœlestia filia Iacob. ob. q[uod] v[er]o i[n] d[omi]n[u]m p[ro]prio alleli.

ii. B. iii. 3d Scov. iii. xvii.

*Illustris mef luce facētōis. ob. q. aue. & cēlū com̄ lue. i. viii. ten. littricū. re
m. m. f. Lypbach.*

Na čas pred sredino 12. stoletja se nanaša tudi zapis v Oglejskem nekrologu (Archivio del Capitolo di Udine, Cod. 33), da je 10. aprila umrl neki Hartvik (Artuicus), ki je tamkajšnjim kanonikom podaril tri kmetije v Ljubljani.

A donation record preserved in the Aquilean necrology (Chapter Archive of Udine, Cod. 33) also refers to the period before the middle of the 12th century and reveals that a man by the name of Hartwig (Artuicus) who had gifted three Ljubljana farms to the Church of Aqulea died on 10 April.

(II. B. IIII. Idus Sanctorum martyrum XVII. / Alugnica mater Luce sacerdotis obiit, que auxit fratibus censem domus sue in VIII. denariis. Artuicus de *** obiit, <qui dedit fratibus> / III. mansos in Laybach.)

Nono. & oart. Conrad aduocat ob qui manos in r̄imis ded
xi. & decembr Rodulfus aduocat ob q. xx. manso iuxta castru
Leibach canonici dedit

Izsek iz *Nomina defunctorum* (Archivio del Capitolo di Udine, Pergamene, IV, 66), da je 25. novembra umrl odvetnik Rudolf, ki je podaril oglejskim kanonikom dvajset kmetij ob ljubljanskem gradu.

Excerpt from *Nomina defunctorum* (Archivio del Capitolo di Udine, Pergamene, IV, 66) revealing that advocate Rudolf who had gifted the canons of Aquilea twenty farms near the Ljubljana Castle died on 25 November.

(VII. kalendis Decembris Rodulfus advocatus obiit, qui XX mansos iuxta castrum /
Leibach canonicis dedit.)

From ancient Emona to medieval Ljubljana:

A brief journey through the history of the city

Centrally located in the Ljubljana Basin, favourably positioned along a navigable river, the area between the Castle Hill and Golovec to the east and Rožnik and Šišenski hrib (the Šiška Hill) to the west has always been an important crossroads between routes linking Northern Italy with the Danube Basin and the Eastern Alps with the Western Balkans. With such geographic traits, this area – known as the Ljubljana Gate – where still today the most significant part of Ljubljana is located, called for the establishment of a settlement utilising and controlling such advantages to its benefit. As witnessed by the development of the city in the Roman times and then that of the centre of a vast feudal estate with the Ljubljana Castle as its headquarters overlooking a medieval town blossoming underneath, which in time developed first into the capital of Carniola, then into the cultural and spiritual centre of the Slovene nation and recently also into the capital of Slovenia, this settlement has always possessed the character and the potential of a large and important centre.

The oldest documented settlement in the Ljubljana area (the testimony of which can be found in the prehistoric settlement on the Castle Hill) dates back to approximately 1000 B.C. – to the Late Bronze Age and the Early Iron Age. By the first half of the 1st century B.C., a settlement on the southwest foot of the Castle Hill, where the Old Square (Stari trg) can be found today, had been formed. At first, this settlement was home to ancient settlers, while by the last decade B.C. Romans had represented the predominant population. This settlement under the Castle Hill was most probably called Emona. Its name almost certainly dates back to the pre-Roman times and was later adopted by Romans. By 15 A.D., the Romans had constructed a new city on the opposite left bank of the Ljubljanica river. The city followed a uniform design which was rectangular in shape and was surrounded by stone walls the remains of which are still visible today. The written sources refer to this city as *colonia Iulia Emona*. By the 4th century A.D., it had become part of the well-known Myth of the Argonauts. Allegedly, the Argonauts built the city while fleeing Colchians. The Argonauts navigated the Danube and the Sava all the way to the Ljubljanica springs from where they carried their disassembled ship and continued on foot until they reached the Adriatic Sea. Even though unsupported by historical evidence, the myth increased the popularity of the city with the first settlers from the Po Basin and Aquileia, military veterans and the native population. City dwellers mainly lived off trade and crafts, while the city also encompassed a vast rural hinterland (*ager Emonensis*) gravitating economically towards Emona and most probably stretching all the way to the Karavanke to the north, to the Kolpa to the south, the Ljubljana Marshes to the west (up to Nauportus (Vrhnik) which belonged to

Aquileia) and Trojane and Višnja Gora to the east. The fact that played a significant role in the lives of its dwellers was that Emona, in administrative terms, belonged to Italy and not to a province, within which it functioned as the easternmost city on its most exposed border. It was because of its exposed strategic position that Emona was involved in civil wars raging in the Roman Empire in the 4th century A.D. on several occasions, and that it was exposed to the barbaric peoples and armies invading Italy from the east in the 5th century. In 408, Visigoths reached Emona from where they continued on their way to Rome which they, guided by their king Alaric, eventually sacked in 410, while in 452 Emona was attacked by Attila's Huns on their way to Italy. During this decline of the Roman Empire, threatened by imminent danger, Emona experienced a rapid downfall. Many of its city dwellers decided to move to safe and remote fortified settlements in the hilly area at the edge of the Ljubljana Basin. After the deposition of the last Western Roman Emperor in 476 A.D., Emona frequently changed its masters. Barbaric rulers did not bring a sudden end to ancient traditions and Roman statehood. These continued under Odoacre and Ostrogoths (486 – 539) and during the period of brief Byzantine rule. It was only with the Longobard occupation of the Sava and Drava River Basins (approximately 547 – 568) that Emona witnessed an interruption of institutional and other ties with Italy and the Roman traditions. After that, the only surviving institution was the Church headed by a bishop. The first mention of a bishop in Emona dates back to 381, while its last mention occurred in 579, for before the end of the 6th century the Bishop of Emona, together with some of his congregation, was forced to seek refuge in Istria, most likely in the city of Novigrad, after the arrival and settlement of the Slavs who came to this area together with their Avar masters. *Atamine* (from *Ad Emonam*), a distorted form of Emona's original name, most probably originating in this period of change, indicates that the Slavs adopted the city's original name and adapted it to their language. Although this name has been documented, it was later forgotten, while the city died out.

Considering the fact that Ljubljana did not inherit the name of its Roman predecessor and that the medieval settlement was not established in the same area as ancient Emona, but rather slightly to the east, along the river and at the foot of the Castle Hill on the opposite river bank, it can be concluded that the history of the city reveals a complete break in its development and existence which can be inferred from the discontinuity in the use of its name and in the use of the settlement area. This explains the period extending over approximately half a millennium during which Ljubljana was not mentioned in any (written) source. The only reminder of the former dwellers and times of prosperity was the ancient ruins in the area referred to as Gradišče.

The place reappeared in a historical record in the 12th century, this time referred to by a new name it has preserved until the present day – Ljubljana. Its Slovene and Romance form *Luwigana* (read as Lubljana) was first communicated in 1146 in a document by the Patriarch of Aquileia Pelegrin I who also founded the Cistercian Monastery of Stična (1136) and the Benedictine Monastery of Gornji Grad (1140). There are various explanations regarding the meaning and the origin of the name of Ljubljana.

Yet, it is indisputable that its root, *ljub-*, is of Slavonic origin. According to the most recent explanation, the town was named after the river referred to by the Slavs as **Ljubija*. The name of the river functioned as the root for the topographical name **Ljubijke* which eventually gave birth to *Ljubljana*. The modern Slovene name for the river which allegedly gave the name to the town of Ljubljana was mentioned for the first time in the 16th century by Primož Trubar whose *Lublanica*, the name of the river, was, however derived from *Ljubljana*. The German name of the town – *Laibach* (which was also the name of the river running through it) – seems to be of a slightly older date and more often recorded in the earlier periods of history. Again, there are various explanations about the meaning of this German name. According to the most widely accepted explanation, *Laibach* derives from *Labach* which in Old Bavarian means marshes. This matches the conditions on the Ljubljana Marshes with a river which gave the name to the town developing around it running through it.

Unlike ancient Emona, the new settlement was not of an urban character, but rather functioned as the centre of a vast feudal seigneurie focusing on agriculture. The earliest evidence of such an organisation can be traced to the decades before the middle of the 12th century when the Carinthian Dukes of Spanheim obtained and merged the estates previously owned by various clerical and secular landlords, thus giving rise to a single Ljubljana seigneurie, also comprising the area south of the Sava (south of the town of Medvode), visible from the Ljubljana Castle Hill. The castle standing on the Castle Hill before the arrival of Spanheims thus became the administrative centre of the newly established Ljubljana seigneurie, while the economic centre of the seigneurie was most probably in the area of the New Square (Novi trg) on the left bank of the Ljubljanica where a manor house with servants, warehouses, the Breg river port and other infrastructure could be found. The first person to have been named after Ljubljana in 1144 was Ulric of Spanheim whose elder brother Henry V succeeded his father Ulric I on the Carinthian Duke's Throne the very same year.

The fact that the Duke's brother resided in the Ljubljana castle underlines the importance the Ljubljana seigneurie, as well as the castle, had for the general public and for the House of Spanheim in particular. It was one of the pillars of their power, which is why a hundred years later it was explicitly listed as one of the most important castles (*castrum capitale*) owned by the Spanheims. This is also how the Ljubljana castle was perceived in relation to smaller castles (towers) located on the Ljubljana seigneurie borders, i.e. Jeterbenk, Polhov Gradec, Falkenberg, Ig, Osterberg-Sostro, possibly Goričane and, towards the end of the Spanheim period, also the previously independent Turjak, where Spanheim ministerials, belonging to lower nobility, resided and performed various services for their masters. Ministerials, some of whom arrived to Ljubljana from Carinthia together with the Spanheims, were the highest social class living in Ljubljana where they managed the castle, as well as the seigneurie. Reference to them is found in documents dating back to the 12th century. Apart from Ulric of Spanheim, they are the oldest inhabitants of Ljubljana known by their names. One of these inhabitants of Ljubljana mentioned in a document dating back to 1163 was a priest by the name Peter even though the seat of his parish, St. Peter, was located in the vicinity of the present-day University Medical Centre, thus situated outside the area of the medieval city.

The beginnings of an urban settlement in the Ljubljana area can be traced back to the second half of the 12th century when professions linked to non-agricultural activities which were needed at the estate, such as blacksmiths, skinners, barrel makers, carpenters, potters, millers, boatmen and drivers, appeared. Later on, other professions, more adapted to an urban living style appeared in Ljubljana, such as butchers, bakers, shoemakers, weavers, tailors and masons. As in many other cases, this urban tissue which later gave birth to an urban settlement developed underneath the castle. This is where a market, where trade with the local produce was organised, was formed.

As the name of the Old Square (Stari trg) reveals, this is where the oldest part of Ljubljana lies. This was formed when the Old Square was given market rights and thus also market status around the Church of St. Jacob, in an area protected by the Castle Hill to the northeast, the Ljubljanica to the west, and the marshes known as Prule (from the German *Briühl*) to the southeast. The Old Square was linked to the City (Mesto) to the north. The City comprised the area around the Town Square (Mestni trg), the Shoemakers' Bridge (Čevljarski most, also referred to as Šuštarški most) and the Vodnik Square (Vodnikov trg). It was this very part of Ljubljana that was first referred to as the city (*civitas*) as can first be observed on the coins minted in Ljubljana around 1220 (CIVITAS LEIBACVN and similar). The mention of the city walls in this part of Ljubljana in a 1243 document confirms that the origins of the Ljubljana urban settlement in the City need to be dated to the second or third decade of the 13th century. The City, which is a clearly defined part of Ljubljana, was therefore originally conceived and designed as a fortified settlement of Ljubljana burghers who, unlike other inhabitants of Ljubljana, were free citizens with their rights and duties closely linked to the administration of the city and their economic activities focusing on trade. This is why all the traffic between the Upper Carniola (Gorenjska) and Lower Carniola (Dolenjska) went through the City (and from there through the Old Square) and why the merchandise needed to be stored and offered for sale before it could be transported outside Ljubljana. The traffic from the north entered the City over a bridge which was built where today the Three Bridges (Tromostovje) are located. The original bridge, referred to as the Old Bridge (Stari most, *pons vetus*) was first mentioned in 1280. Still, it must have been of a much older date as back then Ljubljana also boasted a second bridge of a later date, also referred to as the new bridge. This was the Shoemakers' Bridge, linking the City with the New Square (Novi trg), the third Ljubljana district.

As can be inferred from the name of the New Square (*novum forum*), this square, which was first documented in 1267, is definitely of a later date than the Old Square. It remains uncertain, though, if it was built after or before the City. The New Square developed on the location of the previously mentioned manor house with its infrastructure. It was before 1228 that Bernhard of Spanheim transferred the southern part of this estate to the German Knight Order (the Knights of the Cross). These built their stronghold, Križanke, where allegedly the Knights Templar had held their post

in the second half of the 12th century, while the Spanheims controlled the northern part with the Vicedom House from the 15th century, situated where the University of Ljubljana has its seat today, as its centre. The area between these two parts was soon filled by houses and a market area. In 1325, Jews from Friuli moved to this part of the town and stayed in the city until their eviction in 1515. The streets of Židovska ulica (Jewish Street) and Židovska steza (Jewish Lane) still narrate the story of their presence in Ljubljana, while from the 14th century onwards, Gosposka ulica (Gentry Street) in the same part of the town was the preferred location of the nobility.

In the Middle Ages, Ljubljana comprised three fortified entities. The first entity to be fortified with defence walls was the City, most probably followed by the New Square which had been protected to the east by the ancient Emona city walls in what today is Vegova ulica (Vegova Street). From there, only two stretches needed to be added in the northern and eastern parts towards the river. The construction of the missing stretches was carried out around 1300, for in as early as 1307 the defence walls around the New Square were already mentioned in documents. Most probably, it was the Old Square that was fortified with defence walls after the other parts of Ljubljana. The city walls needed to be constructed in the southern part of the area, towards Prule. Nevertheless, it remains unknown when this happened. What is known is that in the Middle Ages Ljubljana had the appearance of "three cities" situated under one castle and surrounded by land pertaining to the city (*Burgfried*, mentioned for the first time in 1364) stretching all the way to the modern-day Ljubljana ring. It is estimated that in the Late Middle Ages Ljubljana was home to approximately 4,000 inhabitants of different social and legal status. Apart from tradesmen and craftsmen, whose legal status was that of burghers, there also lived in Ljubljana noblemen, secular and regular clergy, state officials, Jews, as well as proper subjects, maids, servants and other groups who had not been granted burghers' rights.

In as early as the 13th century, male burghers were granted the right to participate in city affairs. This was originally the exclusive right of the city lord who owned the city and who governed through the city judge, appointed directly by him. Such a Ljubljana city judge is mentioned for the first time in a document from 1269, towards the end of the Spanheim rule. Nevertheless, autonomous city authorities – represented by a community of burghers who at their assemblies decided upon certain city affairs – had already been emerging. In Ljubljana, the first beginnings of city autonomy could be observed soon after the extinction of the Spanheims, i.e. in 1280 when the seal of the city of Ljubljana is mentioned for the first time, clearly indicating that the community of the Ljubljana burghers functioned as a legal entity from then onwards at the latest. Initially, their place of gathering was the house located above a large vault in the street which is known today as Pod trnčo, at the extension of the Shoemakers' Bridge leading to the New Square and close to the gate leading from the City to the Old Square – where all the three Ljubljana areas came together. This is the oldest Ljubljana

Town Hall referred to in 1406 as *kamawn*, commune. When a new City Hall was built in 1484 in the Town Square, the Old Town Hall was turned into a town prison.

In the 14th century, the commune, a general assembly of all the citizens, evolved into a 12-member (internal) City Council which in time became the most important body of autonomous town authorities and gave name to "Rotovž" (from *Rathaus*, the Council House). At a later stage, a further 24-member external City Council was established as a type of supervisory body. One of the peculiarities influencing the life in medieval Ljubljana was that, around the turn of the 14th century, the city lord was simultaneously represented by several judges. However, as soon as the Habsburgs took over the rule over Carniola and Ljubljana in 1335, the city only had one city judge. More importantly, from the middle of the 14th century onwards, the city judge was elected by the city commune and was no longer appointed by the city lord. This happened exceptionally early in comparison with the other cities under the Habsburg rule. Still, because of the elections of the city judge there was no need for a representative of local self-governement, i.e. the mayor. This is the reason why, throughout the Middle Ages, Ljubljana never had a mayor. The first mayor of Ljubljana was only elected in 1504, out of prestige rather than out of need. With the privilege granted by the then city lord, King Maximilian I, the Ljubljana city judge and the City Council were granted the right "to annually elect from their midst a mayor who shall be an able, capable and honourable person".

This was the time when Ljubljana already fully functioned as the capital city of Carniola as has also been mentioned in a 1442 document (*Laybach...hauptstat daselbst in Krain*). The castle which originally represented the centre of the Ljubljana seigneurie and the (occasional) residence of the city lord slowly became the centre of the land authorities of Carniola where governors as the deputies and representatives of the duke performed their duties as revealed by their coats of arms in the castle Chapel of St. George with frescoes dating back to the 18th century. Ljubljana was also the residence of the Land Vicedom managing the duke's property, as well as of all the state officials headed by the governor. In the New Square, where the Slovene Academy of Sciences and Arts is located today, there also was "Lontovž" (from *Landhaus*, the Land House) – the House of Estates. Their hereditary oaths to the Duke of Carniola obviously took place in Ljubljana, where also the court competent for the Carniolan nobility had its seat. In 1461 or 1462, Ljubljana became the seat of a bishop, with the Church of St. Nicolas, mentioned for the first time in a 1262 document, as its cathedral. Apart from the German Knight Order in Križanke, Ljubljana also boasted a Franciscan (Minorate) monastery in the Vodnik Square (first mentioned in 1242) and an Augustine monastery (located outside the city walls in the Prešeren Square, mentioned for the first time in 1314). With the establishment of a diocese, even before the end of the Middle Ages, Ljubljana became the religious centre of a geographical area much larger than the land of Carniola.

The rise of the city into the capital of Carniola began under the rule of Spanheims in the 13th century, owing much of its prosperity to the last ruling Duke of Carinthia and Lord of Carniola, Ulric III, who visited Ljubljana frequently. After his death in 1269, his heir, Ottokar II Přemysl, the King of Bohemia, sieged and conquered the city, thus also subduing Carniola. Only a few years later, his rival, King Rudolf I of Habsburg succeeded in taking over Ljubljana and pawned it to Meinhard II, the Count of Gorizia and Tyrol who later on became also the Duke of Carinthia. Under the rule of the Counts of Gorizia, Ljubljana became an even more important centre with several judges entasked with city and land matters. During this period, the economic circumstances improved, and the Jews, who represented the banking sector, were joined by rich merchants from Northern Italy (with the Porgers being of particular importance) who played a significant role in increasing transit trade. With the extinction of the Meinhard branch of the Counts of Gorizia and Tyrol in 1335, Ljubljana, as well as Carniola, came under the rule of the Habsburgs, thus becoming an important base for their expansion towards the sea. In 1370, for example, a peace agreement between Venice and the Habsburgs, containing provisions on the temporary arrangement regarding Trieste (before Trieste recognised Habsburg supremacy in 1382), was concluded in the Ljubljana district of Šiška, in the vicinity of the Church of St. Bartholomew (also known as the Old Church, Stara cerkev). The only serious threat to the Habsburg supremacy in Carniola towards the end of the Middle Ages could be seen in the Counts of Celje. Jan Vitovec, their commander-in-chief, besieged Ljubljana in 1442, but did not succeed in his attempt to conquer the city. Later on, in 1472, Ljubljana also happily survived a Turkish siege. In the 14th and 15th centuries, favourably positioned on the Karst road, also referred to as the Ljubljana road, the city became the most important trade center of the central Slovene territory, as well as a traffic hub for long-distance trade directed to Italy, coastal towns, Croatia, Hungary and Southern Germany. This position was even further strengthened with the waterway starting at Ljubljana and continuing along the Ljubljanica and the Sava. In the middle of the 15th century, Ljubljana's economic power was not only unmatched by other Carniolan towns, but was unrivaled even by Graz in Styria and Wiener Neustadt. Consequently, towards the end of the Middle Ages, Ljubljana gained the importance which later on enabled it to develop into the political, economic and cultural centre of the Slovene nation and Slovenia.

Castrum Leibach

– the first mention of medieval Ljubljana and its beginnings

It was long assumed that Ljubljana was first mentioned in a medieval source in 1144. The codex where, towards the end of the 12th century, in the monastery of Canons Regular of St. Augustine at Reichersberg on the Inn (on what is now the border between Austria and Germany), short records have been transcribed, contains a donation record according to which a man by the name of Amilbert from Kollnitz in the vicinity of St. Paul's Abbey in Carinthia donated to the monastery of the Augustinian Canons of Reichersberg an estate in Lower Austria. Among the witnesses of this undated deed which may reasonably be dated back to 1144, there also is the first Ljubljaner known by name, the afore-mentioned Ulric, the brother of the Duke of Carinthia Henry V of Spanheim (*Ödalricus de Laibach, frater ducis*). Not more than two years after this *notitia*, in 1146, a charter was drawn up in Aquileia, Friuli, mentioning for the first time also the Slovene and Romance form of the name of Ljubljana: *Luwigana*. With this charter, of which the original has been preserved, Count Bernhard of Spanheim and his wife Kunigunde ceded the Artegna Castle, south of Gemona del Friuli to the Church of Aquileia. As the last witness to this deed, the donation record mentions Ulric from Ljubljana (*Wodolricus de Luwigana*) who was obviously of low social status and is certainly not Ulric Spanheim of Ljubljana appearing in the charter two years earlier. We may rightfully presume that he was a Ljubljaner ministerial of the Spanheims and consequently a member of lower nobility who was in service of his Spanheim masters.

In 2002, attention was brought to the possibility that there is older data about the beginnings of medieval Ljubljana. According to this data, Ljubljana's documented history could be moved back for a full generation, i.e. to the period between 1112 and 1125. The Chapter Archive of Udine, Friuli, which is part of the Udine Diocesan Archive, contains a large sheet of parchment listing the names of deceased benefactors who donated property to the Chapter of Aquileia. It was only in the beginning of the 21st century that its meaning became obvious for the history of Ljubljana. The list however, had been known to historiographers as it was first published by Pier Silvio Leicht in as early as 1903 after a rather inaccurate copy dating back to the 18th century, as well as by Cesare Scaloni in 1982 after the original, here published as a facsimile. The list, named *Nomina defunctorum* after the deceased (benefactors), was compiled in Aquileia. As suggested in the introductory paragraph (Column I, Lines 1-6), the list aims at preserving the memory of the deceased benefactors to be com-

memorated in liturgy on anniversaries of their death. Consequently, the list only contains the day of the death (not indicating the year of the death, for, even if this was known to the compiler, it was not of significance for the purpose of the list), the name of the benefactor and a brief description of the donated property. The information related to the day of the death of individual benefactors most probably originates from the Aquileian necrology, the book of the dead, compiled by the bishopric in calendar order so as to commemorate those whose memory the canons wished to preserve, while the information on the donated property might be based on charters, donation records and similar notes stored in the Chapter Archive of Aquileia. The list is written in three columns and contains a total of 135 lines (with Columns I and II containing 42, and Column III containing 51 lines) in as many as six different handwritings from the 12th century. The first 96 lines are in the same handwriting, while the remaining 39 lines of the last column were written by five different scribes (Lines 97-112 by Scribe II, Lines 113 -114 by Scribe III, Lines 115-125 by Scribe IV, Lines 126-131 by Scribe V, Lines 132-135 by Scribe VI), which indicates that the bulk of the list was compiled in one go. The entry that is of the greatest importance for the history of Ljubljana is contained in Column I, Lines 26 and 27, revealing that advocate Rudolf who had gifted to the canons 20 farms near the Ljubljana Castle died on the seventh Calend of December (25 November) (VII. k[alendis] Decembr[is] *Rodulfus advocat[us] ob[iit]. q[uo]d XX manso[s] iuxta castru[m] Leibach canonici[s] dedit.*).

This principal part of the list, also referring to Rudolf, most probably dates back to the second half of 1161, shortly after the death of the Patriarch of Aquileia Pelegrin I (d. 8 August 1161). The introductory part of the document is composed of a list of patriarchs, followed by the record of the property donated to the canons by Pelegrin I towards the end of the first handwriting (Lines 80 – 81). The unusual place of this entry may be linked to the fact that Patriarch Pelegrin I died during the compilation of *Nomina defunctorum*, at a time when the first and most important compiler of the list had already composed most of the list, which is why he added the entry on Pelegrin I in the first available empty space. The research has shown that the first compiler of *Nomina defunctorum* was the canon of the cathedral chapter of Aquileia Romulus who between 1158 and 1174, before he became the Bishop of Concordia, Friuli, in either 1187 or 1188, also held the position of the principal notary chaplain of the Church of Aquileia. He must have been well acquainted with the conditions in the territory of present-day Slovenia, for he travelled there on several occasions when accompanying the patriarch and in his capacity as notary and also composed several charters issued by the patriarchs of Aquileia. The earliest record that suggests his presence in Carniola dates back to 1163 when at Škrljevo, Lower Carniola, he composed a charter with which the Patriarch of Aquileia, Ulric II, granted parish rights to the Chapel of St. Margaret at Velesovo. In 1169, he travelled to Villach, Carinthia, by way of Radovljica, Carniola. In 1173, he drafted a charter of Patriarch Ulric II for the Žiče Carthusian Monastery at Rečica near Gornji Grad, Styria, while a year later he

wrote a charter of the same patriarch who had arbitrated a dispute over the Church of St. Pancras in Slovenj Gradec between the Abbot of Beligna and the Archdeacon of the Savinja region. Romulus visited the Slovene territory for the last time in 1177 when he wrote a charter for the Stična Cistercian Monastery in Carniola.

The above-mentioned entry refers to Rudolf as *advocatus*, which means that he was an advocate of the Church of Aquileia, representing the interests of the church in secular matters, either as a judge (in relation to the bishop's vassals) or a counsel in a proceeding. It may therefore be inferred that advocacy was associated with power and income and that only members of the highest nobility could become advocates of such dignitaries as the Patriarchs of Aquileia. In 1125, this office, previously held by members of various families of high nobility, became hereditary to the family of the Counts of Gorizia. In the second half of the 11th century, this office was held by the Eppensteins, a Carinthian ducal family, with Marquard (1064 – 1074) and his son Henry III as advocates. Allegedly, Henry III stopped being the advocate of the Church of Aquileia in the years between 1090 and 1093 when he was appointed the Duke of Carinthia. He was succeeded in the function of advocate by Burkhard of Moosburg, Bavaria, the Margrave of Istria, who was later succeeded by his son-in-law Conrad of Lungau in 1102 at the latest. Conrad continued being the advocate of the Church of Aquileia until his death in 1112. With the exception of Burkhard, all the above-listed advocates are mentioned in *Nomina defunctorum* as benefactors of the Chapter of Aquileia. Marquard appears in Column I, Line 29, Henry in Column I, Lines 22-24, and Conrad in Column I, Line 25. In view of the fact that there is no evidence of another holder of this function between Conrad and Meinhard I of Gorizia who is reported to have been the advocate of the Church of Aquileia in 1125, and that the entry on Conrad in *Nomina defunctorum* is followed by the entry on Rudolf and his donation (Column I, Lines 26-27), we may justly conclude that Rudolf must have been the advocate of the Church of Aquileia during this interim period (1112 – 1125) and that the donation of twenty farms near the Ljubljana Castle dates to this very period.

Such a conclusion, based on the reference to Rudolf in *Nomina defunctorum*, is also corroborated by a charter dated 7 April 1126 and issued somewhere along the Isonzo/Soča River in Friuli (*actum Ysonzo*). It is reported that a certain Rudolf from "the place of Tarcento" (*Rudolfus de loco Tercento*) bestowed upon the Provostship of St. Peter in Berchtesgaden, west of Salzburg, a rich property he owned in Carnia and Friuli. The event on the Isonzo/Soča was attended by a circle of most prominent members of high nobility whose presence shows that Rudolf of Tarcento, a place located north of Udine, Friuli, must have belonged to the same social class. The first on the list of dignitaries attending the event in 1126 was Count Bernhard of Spanheim (d. 1147), who was a leading member of the Spanheim family at that time and in whose charter from 1146 the afore-mentioned Spanheim ministerial Ulric of Ljubljana is referred to. Bernhard was escorted by his older brother Engelbert II (d. 1141), the Duke of Carin-

thia (1124 – 1134), accompanied by his two sons, Engelbert III (1124 – 1173), the Margrave of Istria, mentioned, *inter alia*, in the 1144 donation record referring to his nephew Ulric as “of Ljubljana”, and Ulric I (d. 1144) who in 1134 succeeded his father as the Duke of Carinthia and who was the father of Ulric of Ljubljana. The list of witnesses then continues with Count Meinhard I of Gorizia (d. ar. 1142) who shortly before this event had become the advocate of the Church of Aquileia and whose mother Diemut was the sister of Bernhard and Engelbert II of Spanheim. Among the remaining nine prominent witnesses, all named after castles in Friuli and Carinthia, there is an Otto, described in the charter as a relative, perhaps a nephew, of Rudolf (*Otto nepos predicti Rūdolfi*). The identical names of Rudolf, the advocate of Aquileia, and Rudolf of Tarcento, their reputable social positions and connections with the Spanheims which, in the case of the former, can be inferred from his property in Ljubljana and, in the case of the latter, from the presence of the leading members of the Spanheim family on the Isonzo/Soča, as well as the chronology in *Nomina defunctorum*, all indicate that Rudolf, the advocate of Aquileia, and Rudolf of Tarcento were one and the same person, thus also corroborating that the first mention of Ljubljana, i.e. the Ljubljana Castle, should be dated between 1112 and 1125.

There are several clues suggesting that Rudolf belonged to the Lords of Machland from Upper Austria, who originally came from Bavaria. This family was among the benefactors of the Provostship of Berchtesgaden and owned a property in Tarcento, part of which Rudolf's “nephew” Otto used in 1147 as his endowment to the monastery of Waldhausen in Upper Austria which he founded the same year. There is evidence to suggest that Rudolf had a father of the same name, referred to as Rudolf of Margarethenried near Landshut, Bavaria, in the last quarter of the 11th century who was well connected with Carniola. Rudolf of Margarethenried was connected, perhaps even linked by family ties, with a nobleman by the name of Engilbero »of Carniola« (*Engilpero Chreinensis*), i.e. Engilbero of Auersperg (Turjak), the ancestor of the Lords of Auersperg, mentioned for the first time in Carniola in 1062. We may therefore rightly presume that both Engilbero and Rudolf of Margarethenried came to Carniola from Bavaria and that Rudolf of Margarethenried was the Ljubljana landlord even though, based on the available evidence, this fact can only be undisputedly corroborated for his presumed son Rudolf of Tarcento.

The journey taking the man who first owned and built the Turjak as well as the Ljubljana castles from Bavaria to the Slovene territory in the 11th century was not at all out of the ordinary. Many similar cases indicate that the area between the Eastern Alps and the Northern Adriatic, from the Danube in Austria to the Sava in Slovenia, stretching as far as Friuli and Istria experienced an intense expansion of Bavarian bishoprics and nobility in the second half of the 10th century and, in particular, in the 11th century, after Hungarian incursions. Both the Bavarian bishops and noblemen wished to establish themselves in the hope of prosperity in this colo-

nisation area, and soon became the largest landowners and holders of power. The Spanheims, who played a most significant part in turning the centre of their Ljubljana seigneury into a city, were therefore neither the first owners of medieval Ljubljana nor the first masters of the Ljubljana Castle. In other words, they needed to acquire them first. The fact that four Spanheims – to whom we may add as a fifth Count Meinhard I of Gorizia, the nephew of Bernhard and Engelbert II and the cousin of Engerbert III and Ulric I by his mother Diemut of Spanheim – travelled to Friuli in 1126 to assist Rudolf's donation to the Provostship of Berchtesgaden shows that Rudolf of Tarcento was linked to the Spanheims by family or some other very close ties. Such eminent gatherings were not a coincidence but rather well organised events attesting the role and the position, determined by personal rather than institutional ties, an individual had in society. Furthermore, such gatherings served to arrange various interpersonal matters. It is highly probable that Ljubljana and the Ljubljana Castle which the Spanheims obviously received from Rudolf of Tarcento were discussed at this particular gathering. We may only guess how (through succession, exchange of property, purchase, donation, etc.) or when this happened. It may well be that this transaction occurred during the 1126 Friuli gathering, but it might have happened also before or after that year. What is indisputable is that it happened before 1144 when Ulric of Spanheim was named after the Ljubljana Castle.

The acquirement of the Ljubljana Castle, however, does not indicate that the Spanheims acquired the vast property in the Ljubljana Basin south of the Sava, which later on became their Ljubljana seigneury, in one shot. In the 11th century and in the first half of the 12th century, as may be inferred from the sources dating back to that period, this area was owned by various landlords pertaining to high nobility, such as the Counts of Vohburg (between Munich and Regensburg), Bavaria, whose estate began to form in 1062 to the southeast of Ljubljana around Pijava Gorica. Among the prominent members of this noble family, there was Count Ulric of Passau whose only daughter and his universal heir Uta married Engelbert II of Spanheim, who in 1126 attended the Isonzo/Soča event. With their marriage, the Spanheims not only acquired one of their most significant names (Ulric) but also inherited vast estates in Bavaria and Carniola. Part of their Ljubljana Basin estate must therefore be traced back to the Vohburg inheritance acquired around 1100 when the wife of Engelbert II of Spanheim came into inheritance after her father's death in 1099.

A second part seems to have derived from the property stretching to the northwest of Ljubljana in the direction of Medvode owned by a Count Bernhard before the end of the 10th century. Bernhard most likely belonged to the family circle of Hedwig of Mossa, named after the Mossa Castle situated on the right bank of the Isonzo/Soča near Gorizia. Hedwig was married to Engelbert I, the father of Engelbert II of Spanheim. Their marriage also brought the Spanheims possessions in Friuli, in the Isonzo/Soča Valley and in the Vipava Valley. The Spanheims may have acquired this

part of the Ljubljana estate by way of Hedwig either as her endowment when she married Engelbert I around 1067/70 or as her legacy after she died soon after 1100. The Spanheims also needed to acquire the property owned by the Chapter of Aquileia in the vicinity of Ljubljana. Apart from the twenty farms, donated to the Chapter of Aquileia by Rudolf of Tarcento, the Chapter was also in the possession of at least three more farms donated by Count Hartwig of Bogen, Bavaria, around 1140-1150. In the 12th century, the family of Count Hartwig owned a fairly large property scattered from Predvor, Dobrna, Krško, Raka and Ribnica to Vipava. The donation record relating to the three Ljubljana farms gifted to the Church of Aquileia, recognises Hartwig, as well as the Counts of Bogen, related to the Spanheims, as one of the landlords in the area which later became the Spanheim Ljubljana seigneurie. As these three farms were no longer recorded as property of the Church of Aquileia in the first half of the 12th century, we can justly assume that the Church of Aquileia exchanged them for some other Spanheim property closer to Aquileia, perhaps in the Vipava Valley or in Friuli. It remains unknown when and how the Spanheims obtained the remaining part of the property owned by the Counts of Bogen in Ljubljana. There is no doubt, however, that the three farms donated to the Chapter of Aquileia by Hartwig of Bogen represented merely a fraction of their Ljubljana property.

The record of Rudolf's donation to the Chapter of Aquileia thus not only moves back Ljubljana's documented history for approximately one generation, it also reveals that already in the first decades of the 12th century there was a castle on the Castle Hill. It has been assumed that the castle must have been constructed before 1144 when the brother of the Duke of Carinthia was named after Ljubljana even though the first direct mention of the Ljubljana Castle did not occur before 1256 and the first indication of its existence dates back to 1220 when Bernhard of Spanheim, the Duke of Carinthia, issued a charter *in palacio nostro Leibach*, in the palacium of the Ljubljana Castle where the Duke of Carinthia and the landlord of Ljubljana resided during his visits to the city. With its mention of the Ljubljana Castle (*castrum Leibach*), the record of Rudolf's donation not only corroborates this hypothesis but also indicates that Ljubljana, with its castle, must have been the centre of the Ljubljana Basin already in the pre-Spanheim period, with all the castles functioning as centres of political, military, judicial, economical and administrative power. The fact that, on the basis of this new evidence of the first mention of Ljubljana, the old property history and the beginnings of Ljubljana can be explained in a new light, is of no lesser importance. Unlike previously believed, the Spanheims of Carinthia were not the first owners and landlords of Ljubljana. Their large Ljubljana seigneurie and their significant position of Ljubljana landlords, was not established in one go. It was acquired gradually, from various sources, in the first half of the 12th century. The Spanheims rounded off their property the decade prior to the middle of the 12th century. By then, they had owned the Ljubljana Castle underneath which an urban settlement, which started developing in the second half of the 12th century, became the city of Ljubljana in the first decades of the 13th century.

Selected bibliography

There is a rich bibliography on the history of Ljubljana. For the purpose of this overview, merely summarising the findings of a number of scientific studies, the list of some basic and some more recent publications providing both an insight into the current status of research and, with their bibliographies, suggested readings, will suffice.

Among publications and monographs providing an overview of the history of Ljubljana from prehistoric times to the present day, *Ljubljana : Podobe iz njene zgodovine / Aspetti di storia cittadina / Bilder aus der Geschichte der Stadt (Ljubljana, 1965)*, in three languages, ought to be particularly mentioned, together with a comprehensive collection of articles, functioning as a monograph, entitled *Zgodovina Ljubljane : Prispevki za monografijo (Ljubljana, 1984)*, and the encyclopaedic entry on *Ljubljana (Zgodovina) in Enciklopedija Slovenije, Volume 6 (Ljubljana, 1992)*, pp. 220-236. There is also the monograph entitled *Ljubljanica - kulturna dediščina reke (Ljubljana, 2009)*, a publication rich in pictorial materials revealing the importance the Ljubljanica river has had in the history of Ljubljana. The overview of the history of ancient Emona published in *Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft XI (Stuttgart, 1968)*, pp. 540-578, and compiled by JAROSLAV ŠAŠEL, later reprinted in his selected works *Opera selecta (Ljubljana, 1992)*, pp. 559-579, remains of great significance. The bilingual monograph by LJUDMILA PLESNIČAR GEC *Urbanizem Emone / The Urbanism of Emona (Ljubljana, 1999)* provides an appropriate overview of the history of Emona from an archeological point of view. One of the most important publications on the history of medieval Ljubljana, which has been at the very heart of the present publication, is *Gradivo za zgodovino Ljubljane v srednjem veku (Ljubljana, 1956-1968)*, published by Božo OTOREPEC in 12 volumes, listing almost all the sources referring to the history of medieval Ljubljana. Among the overviews of the history of Ljubljana throughout the Middle Ages, SERGIJ VILFAN's article entitled *Zgodovina Ljubljane do začetka 16. stoletja*, published in the above-mentioned collection of articles *Zgodovina Ljubljane : Prispevki za monografijo (Ljubljana, 1984)*, pp. 75-95, deserves particular mentioning. In order to become acquainted with the urban development and city topography of the same period, the book by MILKO Kos entitled *Srednjeveška Ljubljana: Topografski opis mesta in okolice (Ljubljana, 1955)* is a must. The most important publication shedding light on the first mention of Ljubljana in medieval sources and the establishment of the Spanheim Ljubljana seigneurie, *Der bayerische Adel und die Anfänge von Laibach/Ljubljana, Zeitschrift für bayerische Landesgeschichte 69 (2006)*, pp. 1-52, has been written by PETER ŠTIH, while the charters containing the second and third mentions of Ljubljana

have last been discussed by DUŠAN Kos in his commentary to the facsimile of the 1146 charter published in *Luwigana 1146 : Ob 850 letnici prve omembe Ljubljane v pisanih virih* (Ljubljana, 1994), pp. 7-54. The research paper by FRAN ZWITTER entitled *Začetki ljubljanske meščanske naselbine* and published in the Hauptman collection of articles, *Hauptmanov zbornik* (Ljubljana, 1966), pp. 217-238, sheds light on the beginnings of the city of Ljubljana. The same author has also written a book of great value for the understanding of the history of the Ljubljana burgher culture and city autonomy entitled *Starejša kranjska mesta in meščanstvo* (Ljubljana, 1929). The chapter on Ljubljana in the book by Božo OTOREPEC entitled *Srednjeveški pečati in grbi mest in trgov na Slovenskem* (Ljubljana, 1988), pp. 78-96, is of equal importance for this particular subject. In two of his books, i.e. *Zgodovina ljubljanskih sodnikov in županov 1269-1820* (Ljubljana 1998, 2003), VLADISLAV FABIJANČIČ deals with Ljubljana city judges and mayors in great detail, while KLEMEN JELINČIČ BOETA published the latest article on the history of the Ljubljana Jews in the book entitled *Judje na Slovenskem v srednjem veku* (Ljubljana, 2009), pp. 289-300. Both MILKO Kos in his article entitled *O izvoru prebivalcev Ljubljane v srednjem veku*, *Zgodovinski časopis* 10/11 (1956-1957), pp. 7-31, and DUŠAN Kos in his book entitled *In Burg und Stadt : Spätmittelalterlicher Adel in Krain und Untersteiermark* (Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung 45, Wien - München, 2006), pp. 230-237, wrote about the Ljubljana inhabitants in the Middle Ages. It was MIHA KOSI who in his *Templarji na Slovenskem: Prispevek k reševanju nekaterih vprašanj srednjeveške zgodovine Prekmurja, Bele krajine in Ljubljane* (Ljubljana, 1995) drew our attention to the possibility of the existence of a post of the Knights Templar in Ljubljana in as early as the 12th century. LILIJANA ŽNIDARŠIČ GOLEC, on the other hand, in her monograph entitled *Duhovniki kranjskega dela ljubljanske škofije do tridentinskega koncila* (Ljubljana, 2000) studied the establishment of the Ljubljana Bishopric and its early history in great detail. Božo OTOREPEC in his article *Rokodelstvo in obrt v srednjeveški Ljubljani* published in *Ljubljanska obrt od srednjega veka do začetka 18. stoletja* (Ljubljana, 1972), pp. 5-54, FERDO GESTRIN in his *Trgovina slovenskega zaledja s primorskimi mesti od 13. do konca 16. stoletja* (Ljubljana, 1965), SERGIJ VILFAN in his article *Zgodovina neposrednih davkov in arstnega postopka v srednjeveški Ljubljani*, *Zgodovinski časopis* 6/7 (1952-1953), pp. 417-442, and MIHA KOSI in his *Potujoči srednji vek: Cesta, popotnik in promet na Slovenskem med antiko in 16. stoletjem* (Ljubljana, 1998) look at crafts and trade in Ljubljana, as well as at the economic importance of Ljubljana and the role it played in transport from a variety of angles. Finally, SILVO TORKAR authored the most recent publication on the etymology of Ljubljana / Laibach entitled *O neprepoznanilih ali napačno prepoznanilih slovanskih antroponimih v slovenskih zemljepisnih imenih: Čadrg, Litija, Trebija, Ljubija, Ljubljana, Biljana*, *Folia onomastica Croatica* 16 (2007), pp. 257-273.

Translated by Ksenija Leban

Nomina defunctorum

Transkripcija:

Transcript:

Po originalu (pergamenti list 60 x 47 cm):

Archivio del Capitolo di Udine, Pergamene IV, 66

After the original (parchment sheet 60 x 47 cm):

Archivio del Capitolo di Udine, Pergamene IV, 66.

Dorzalne notice na reverzu:

Notes on the reverse:

Carta de memoria eorum qui dederunt bona sua canonicas

(v poznosrednjeveški gotici / in the Late Middle Age Gothic script);

Charta de memoria eorum qui legaverunt bona sua canonicas pro eorum anniversariis

(v kurzivni humanistiki / in humanist italic script); No. 3VIII.

Dosedanje objave:

Previous publications:

Cesare Scaloni (a cura di), *Necrologium Aquileiense* (Fonti per la Storia della Chiesa in Friuli 1, Udine 1982) str. / pp. 395-402 (po originalu / after the original);

Pier Silverio Leicht, *Elenco di tradizioni al capitolo di Aquileia*, v / in: *Pagine Friulane XV 5* (1903) str. / pp. 65-75 (po prepisu iz 18. stol., hraničenem v Archivio del Capitolo di Udine / after the transcript from the 18th century preserved in the Chapter Archive of Udine: Fondo Bini, Documenta varia I, 75).

Foto (in dovoljenje za objavo):

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Archivio Storico Diocesano Udine.

[I. stolpec, 1. vrstica, 1. roka / Column I, Line 1, Handwriting 1]

IN NOMINE SANCTE ET INDIVIDUE TRINITATIS.

Si quid memoria dignum sit, utile videtur ut scriptis commendetur. Eapropter cunctis Christifidelibus tam futuris quam presentibus notum esse volumus quod in presenti pagina omnium fidelium nomina defunctorum et obitus eorum dies, qui sua bona pro salute animarum suarum canonicis sancte Aquilegensis ecclesie, que etiam bona et in quibus locis donaverint brevitur intitulavimus.

Quarto Kal. Octobris dominus Poppo patriarcha obiit, qui XXX stationes in foro Aquileensi et XX in Portu Piri predictis canonicis dedit.

II. Id. Augusti Sigardus patriarcha obiit, qui villam que Ripe dicitur eis dedit cum decimis, placitis, distinctionibus, collecta christianitatis vel fisci secularis et cum Aquileensi opere et X mansos apud Flaibandum cum omnibus pertinentiis eorum, in Carnia vero decimas de Lauco Prencis et Amione.

VII. Kal. Martii Fridericus patriarcha obiit, qui decimas ville Scrilach et duas massaricias in Belenia, quando altare sepulchri consecravit, dedit.

V. Id. Maii Hermannus comes obiit, qui predictam villam Scrilach cum omnibus suis pertinentiis fratribus dedit.

Id. Decembris Orlicus patriarcha obiit, qui VIII massaricias in villa Bania cum II molendinis et in villa S. Andreę VI massaricias et decimas ville que dicitur Subsilva et I curiam Aquilegię canonicis dedit, IIII etiam stationes ad lumina sanctorum martyrum Hermachore et Fortunati in foro Aquileensi dedit, insuper IIII massaricias in villa Iamnich et II in villa Busel et I stationem in foro Aquileensi altari S. Galli dedit.

II. Non. Decembris Henricus dux et advocatus obiit, qui placitum advocatię et quidquid spectat ad ius advocatię in omnibus bonis canonicorum Aquilegensis ecclesie eisdem canonicis dedit.

Nono Kal. Martii Conradus advocatus obiit, qui III mansos in Nimes dedit.

VII. Kal. Decembris Rodulfus advocatus obiit, qui XX mansos iuxta castrum Leibach canonicis dedit.

II. Id. Augusti Hermannus de Manzano obiit, qui VI mansos in villa S. Petri dedit.

XII. Kal. Ianuarii Marquardus advocatus obiit, qui IIII mansos in Fagania canonicis dedit.

XVI. Kal. Iunii Ugo miles obiit, qui II massaricias apud Braida canonici dedit.

V. Non. Mai Iohannes filius Rantolfi obiit, qui II mansos iuxta Lquentiam canonicis dedit.

III. Non. Mai Petto obiit, qui II mansos in Pasellano canonicis dedit.

III. Kal. Martii Conradus de Sacilo obiit, qui I mansum in Aviano canonicis dedit.

Bonifacius de Montanar obiit, qui I mansum in Aviano canonicis dedit.

II. Id. Februarii Gisla filia Astulfi obiit, que I mansum ibidem canonicis dedit.

VII. Id. Martii Ingelrada uxor Artuici de Covoraco obiit, que III mansos

in Medun canonici dedit.

XVIII. Kal. Septembris Artuicus de Covoraco obiit, qui III mansos, I in villa S. Danielis, alium in Maian, tertium in Osop canonici dedit.

V. Id. Octobris Henricus de Goricia obiit, qui III mansos in Muruces canonici dedit.

III. Kal. Augusti Andreas iuvenis obiit, qui I mansum in Carpago canonici dedit.

Kal. Septembris Purcardus eiusdem Andree frater obiit, qui I mansum in Casag canonici dedit.

[II. stolpec, 43. vrstica / Column II, Line 43]

XV. Kal. Maii Irmingart obiit, que I mansum in Coloret canonici dedit.

II. Kal. Martii Werandus de Titiano obiit, qui I mansum in Groan canonici dedit.

II. Kal. Septembris Iohannes vicedominus obiit, qui II mansos in Coloret de plebe Groan canonici dedit.

III. Kal. Ianuarii Diemot obiit, que I mansum in Cornio canonici dedit, quem canonici pro altero manso Wernerii de Pinzano in Scrilach sito commutaverunt.

III. Id. Aprilis Megnardus de Salcan obiit, qui I mansum in Gargara canonici dedit.

III. Id. Iunii Walcon vicedominus obiit, qui I mansum in Banaria canonici dedit.

Kal. Februarii Itipoldus obiit, qui II mansos in Campo Longo canonici dedit.

III. Id. Iulii Gotfridus obiit, qui II mansos in eadem villa canonici dedit.

VII. Kal. Aprilis Azo de Castellon obiit, qui casale suum in eadem villa cum omnibus suis pertinentiis

et II mansos, I in Bizinis, alterum in Calvenzano canonici dedit.

Adalgerus de Civitate obiit, qui II mansos in Titiano canonici dedit.

Ubertus filius Kacilini obiit, qui I mansum in Avenzon canonici dedit.

Ölsalgus de Covoraco obiit, qui III mansos in Bizinis canonici dedit, quos Wernerus Malcavalga impedit non cessat.

III. Non. Iunii Wecelo decanus obiit, qui curtem suam cum manso qui est in villa de Travelaulmo canonici dedit.

V. Id. Octobris Antonia obiit, que I curtem Aquilegie ad portam Molendini canonici dedit.

Beatrix obiit, que peciam terre I canonici dedit pro eandem curtim.

XVIII. Kal. Iulii Cunigunt obiit, que I mansum in Karinthia canonici dedit.

VII. Kal. Octobris Fusa obiit, que I mansum in Bizinis canonici dedit.

V. Kal. Maii Hermannus iuvenis obiit, qui I mansum in Glemona canonici dedit, quem pro uno apud Tresensem sito canonici commutaverunt.

Non. Februarii Ugo de Sacilo obiit, qui I mansum in Aviano canonici dedit.

XVIII. Kal. Maii Gisla soror Iohannis de Arena obiit, que unum mansum in Coloreto canonici dedit.

XVIII. Kal. Octobris Megnardus comes obit, qui X mansos in Tulmino canonici dedit.

XII. Kal. Maii Ölsalgus de Tercento obiit, qui X mansos canonici est testatus.

III. Kal. Maii Vridront filia Alpretti de Cerclara obiit, que I mansum in Premariaco canonici dedit.

III. Non. Novembris Talia obiit, que I mansum in Carpago canonics dedit.

Pertoldus pincerna obiit, qui I mansum in Marcilana canonics dedit.

VII. Id. Novembris Œlricus eius filius obiit, qui III mansos cum silva et omnibus pertinentiis eorum canonics dedit in Arcellis.

III. Non. Novembris Gabriel obiit, qui I mansum in Maron canonics dedit.

Kal. Martii Cuono de Carisaco obiit, qui I mansum in Bizinis canonics dedit.

XVIII. Kal. Maii Pertoldus puer obiit, qui I mansum in villa Orba canonics dedit.

Kal. Februarii Penno diaconus obiit, qui I mansum in Ripis canonics dedit.

III. Kal. Februarii Rigilind obiit uxor Folcheri de Rotoiba, que IIII mansos apud Ortuih canonics dedit.

VI. Id. Augusti Pelegrinus patriarcha obiit, qui villam S. Laurentii cum silva et omnibus suis pertinentiis et quandam terram apud Iuaniz sitam canonics dedit.

Amicus Civitatensis obiit, qui I mansum in Muimas canonics dedit.

XVI. Kal. Octobris Ianis Lich obiit, qui I mansum in Martiniaco canonics dedit.

VII. Kal. Octobris Iohannes vicedominus obiit, qui II mansos in Cormons canonics dedit.

[III. stolpec, 85. vrstica / Column III, Line 85]

Amita obiit, que XII mansos in villa S. Pauli iuxta Tilimentum canonics dedit.

II. Id. Iulii Wernerus de Pinzano obiit, qui I curtim in civitate Polę cum ortis et olivis et ceteris quę ad eandem curtem spectant et villam nomine Guran et IIII mansos cum famulis in Argan et dimidiā turrim quę ibi sita est canonics dedit.

Cunigunt uxor Conradi de Sacil obiit, quę I mansum in Vivar canonics dedit.

Quidam dedit canonics I mansum in Fana <et> duas curtes

Aquileigie; I iuxta capellam S. Iusti, alteram ultra flumen Natissam.

XV. Kal. Iunii Artemannus obiit, qui II mansos in Zelia canonics dedit.

X. Kal. Octobris Claricia obiit, quę II mansos [...] canonics dedit.

VI. Id. Ianuarii Wernerus de Carsiaco obiit, qui I mansum in Galso et I cortificium cum I campo in Aviano canonics dedit.

Andreas de Conogliano obiit, qui I mansum in Bizinis canonics dedit.

[2. roka, 97. vrstica / Handwriting 2, Line 97]

III. Kal. Februarii Adaleita de Tuwris obiit, quę dedit canonics III man-

sos in villa quę vocatur Melareit. Huius rei testes sunt Heinricus

Cisel, Vraslau, Henricus de Castello novo, Dietericus de Guri-

za, Regenaldus de Monton, Stefanus de Duwin.

Ermenardus presbiter mansum unum
in villa [...] quem emit a duobus fratribus
[...] et Cenust pariter cum ipsis pro anima
sua canonics dedit. Huius rei testes sunt Sigmarus presbiter et Ma-
tinus frater eius, Pertoldus, Arnoldus de Aiello, Arnoldus
de Glemona, Pelegrinus, Fridericus, Ioannes de Lamelaria,

Petrus de Curia et alii quamplures. / Pridie Non. <Novembris> Thomas prepo-
situs Civitatensis obiit, qui unum mansum in Titia canonics dedit. / Quinto Kal.
Septembri Petrus

obiit, qui mansum in Castellon canonics dedit. / XI. Kal. <Februarii> Dietrat obiit, que V
mansos in Plagin canonics dedit. / XII. Kal. Martii Maria obiit, que II mansos
canonicis dedit. / Pridie Kal. Februarii Dietalmus obiit, qui I mansum in Faganea
canonicis dedit.

XIII. Kal. Februarii Arnoldus canonicus obiit, qui agrum I et domum canonics dedit.

[3. roka, 113. vrstica / Handwriting 2, Line 113]

Idus Septembrii Chunigundis filia Werner de Fageda obiit, que
I mansum apud Aichendorf canonics dedit.

[4. roka, 115. vrstica / Handwriting 4, Line 115]

X. Kal. Iunii Ottacus obiit qui II mansos canonics dedit
in villa quę vocatur Bliscuiz. Item filius eius Ottacus
obiit qui dimisit I massariciam canonics in supradicta villa
Bliscuiz. / Notum sit omnibus fidelibus Christi, quod ego
Dominicus canonicus terram quandam, quę iuxta ecclesiam Sancti
Iusti esse videtur, a domino patriarcha Œdalrico pro duabus
marcis emerim et fratribus meis concanonics in proprieta-
tem perpetuo iure tradiderim; videlicet ut ego omni
anno confirmationis causa denarium tribuam et post
obitum meum, quiscumque eam habuerit, a predictis cano-
nicis VIII nummos persolvat. Testes fuerunt omnes canonici.

[5. roka, 126. vrstica / Handwriting 5, Line 126]

XI. Kal. Novembris obiit Blasia quę dedit canonics domum iuxta portam, pro qua
canonicis redditur
omni anno fictus XV denariorum et patrono V denariorum.

XVI. Kal. Ianuarii obiit Talia quę canonics dedit allodium ex illa fluminis parte,
quod reddit

canonicis I denarium omni anno quoisque vir eius vixerit.

V. Kal. Martii obiit Richerius, qui dedit canonics vineam apud Curmun sub
testimonio bonorum hominum,
videlicet Pelegrin de Carlin, Mengoz, Martin canonicus et omnium canonicorum.

[6. roka, 132. vrstica / Handwriting 6, Line 132]

Lena uxor domini Henrici Cigel obiit, que canonics dedit II mansos; unum apud Nogaret,
alium apud Martiga, VIII Kal. Decembris sub testimonio bonorum hominum, videlicet
Brasclau, Arnoldus de Rena, Spornic, Pertoldus Iunita, Roselon, Peter et
aliorum multorum.

66
by volume.

Carta ad memoriam q̄d̄t̄ b̄t̄ fūcūmūl̄.
Charia d̄ Memoriā q̄d̄t̄ ligauerit bona sua m̄o
q̄d̄t̄ m̄uſ.

N^o 3 vij.

o. d. คุณภาพ

81

